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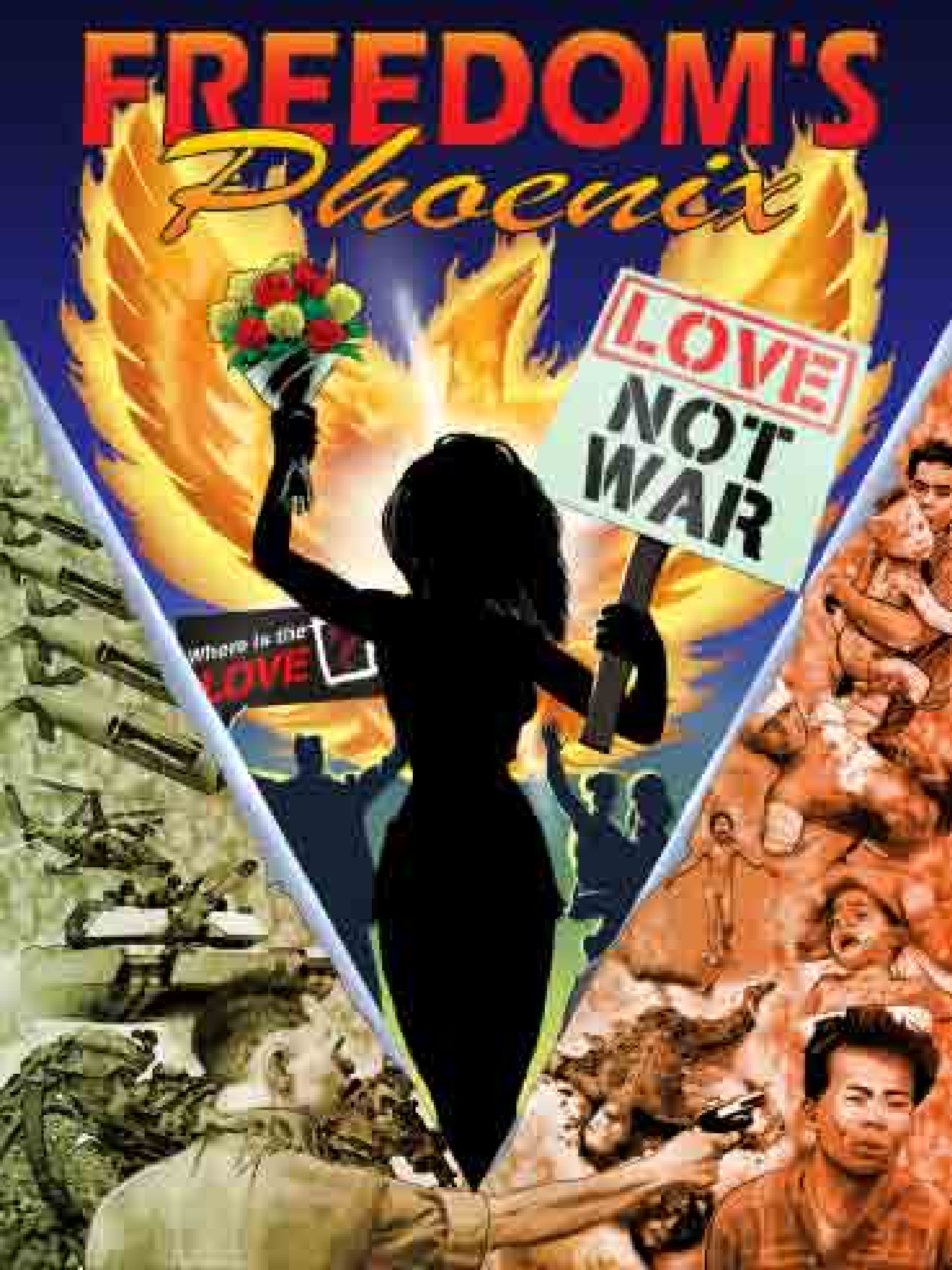

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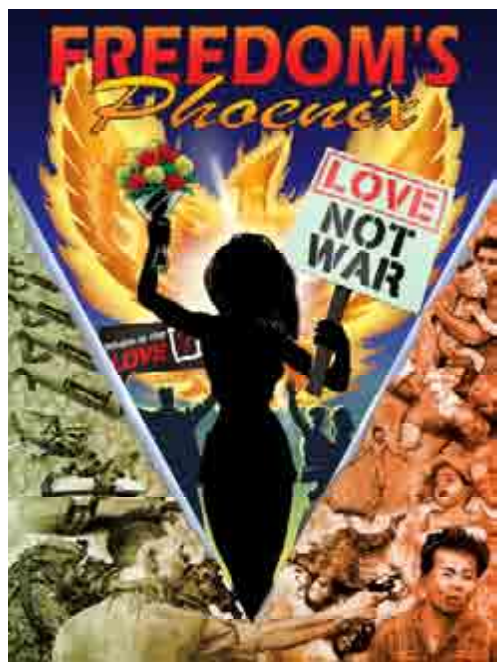

Credits:

Editor-In-Chief----------Donna Hancock
Publisher----------Ernest Hancock
Technical Advisor----------Nick Barnett
Illustrator----------Scott Bieser
Webmaster FreedomsPhoenix.com----------Tyger Gilbert

Contact Us :
FreedomsPhoenix.com

Ernest Hancock
4886 W Port Au Prince Lane
Glendale, AZ 85306 USA.

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Rebellion, Resistance, Renewal … or War?
By Karen Kwiatkowski

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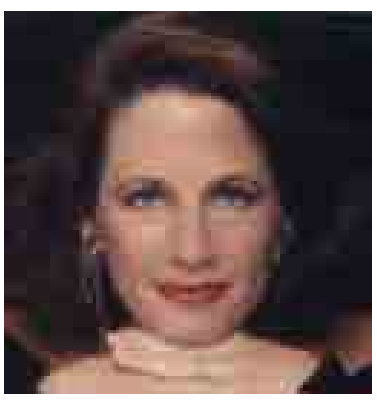

I just received my copy of a great new book entitled Why Peace edited by Marc Guttman. I am one of many contributors, and my chapter is titled "If War is the Health of the State, What is Peace?"

I will share that chapter at a later time, and I encourage you to buy and widely share this fantastic collection. Marc, a friend and a great activist for liberty, has really achieved something special and important in Why Peace.

It occurs to me that when we speak of war, we often confuse justifiable resistance of people to evil with the propaganda-driven fiascos pursued by governments in order to consolidate or expand power, or to satisfy the corporate demands placed on politicians by the organizations, industries or cabals that helped elect them.

In American history we have many examples of this, and the American government, even in its early and more innocent years, was no stranger to state-financed war for this or that friend, ally, or economic interest. Gary North even makes a case that the concept of tax resistance embodied in the Boston Tea Party and sparking the American war of independence, was indeed less a justified popular tax revolt than a war for trade monopoly joined by the nascent American government.

German socialists, fresh to America by tens of thousands as they fled their failed 1848 socialist revolution in Germany, were key in the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. Their philosophy and statism demanded Lincoln's prosecution of the war between the states. Lincoln's efforts to redefine federalism, to nationalize, to stand above the Constitution, and to politically satisfy both his industrial monopolist and European socialist backers created that deadly war, where none was desired by the vast majority of people, in either the North or the South.

This history, and the Indian Wars as well, lend credence to the idea of war as corporate strategy, implemented by governments through force, largely against the will or common sense of the people, and therefore creating a need for centralized nationalist propaganda. War and its storyline both emanate from the state. On the other hand, rebellion, resistance and a renewal -- evolutionary political change -- tends to emanate from the people, through a leavening and a changing of their hearts and minds over time.

The Protestant progressivism in the late 1800s embraced the idea that a sinning and sinful men and women could be forcefully reformed, and that a Protestant American state should be God's instrument in this human reform. The merger of church and state instead brought more war, at home and abroad. At home, surges of immigration by large uneducated Italians and Irish Catholics were dealt with by the public school movement, mandatory schooling by the state (at the time, religiously influenced) was advocated. The attempted prohibition of alcohol, and the growth of the state it created, was also a point of progressivism. Abroad, the collapse of the global Catholic empire was seen by these same progressives as an opportunity for the state, and fueled Washington's push for extended global wars.

It would be remarkably generous and entirely naïve to suggest that the progressive wars against papists, alcohol, and laziness were popular rebellions, or that they constituted some focused resistance by the average people of the country. It would also be naïve to consider that the goals of the progressives of the late 1800s and the early 1900s were not in sync with the goals of larger and increasingly global corporations of the major cities of the United States. It was this harnessing of the language and propaganda of the Christian progressives with the corporate capitalism that spawned and encouraged American's participation in the great wars of the 20th Century, and the lesser ones.

After having fought some of these wars, in the Philippines and elsewhere, retired Marine General Smedley Butler wrote his famous 1934 speech "War is a Racket." It was in the early 1930s, an age of widespread hardship, and Butler was capitalizing on both his understanding of corporate-driven wars and on popular sentiment, in a Senatorial primary campaign that he would lose.

Butler had also had a falling out with Grayson Murphy, on whose behalf Butler claimed to have been approached in 1934 to lead an army of 500,000 men to install a dictatorship in the White House. The would-be dictator was identified as Brigadier General Hugh "Iron Pants" Johnson, a member of FDR's brain trust, a FDR speechwriter and a New Deal planner. At the risk of repeating myself, the proposed dictatorship was fascist in orientation. A Congressional committee reviewed the Butler's charges, and confirmed that indeed, such a plan existed, "… and might have been placed in execution when and if the financial backers deemed it expedient." Grayson Murphy was a co-founder in 1919 of the American Legion (the purported source of the proto-army of 500,000), and a board member of organizations such as Morgan Bank, Goodyear and Bethlehem Steel.

I mention this because among many other organizations, the American Legion still takes a strong stance for wars of the state, and suggests in its language, tone, and advertisers that to oppose state wars is to oppose and disrespect the draftees and volunteers who are the foot-soldiers of these wars.

Eisenhower's farewell speech, familiar to many, echoes no more than the contemporary understanding of the embedded industrial, military and political networks of his own era. Those networks have grown, intertwined, and subsumed the policies and actions of the two major political parties in the subsequent decades. Today, as for several past decades, the warfare state benefits whether the elected President of the United States is a Democrat or a Republican.

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I think this connectedness of the state, state corporations and appointed and elected warmakers is the only way we can define the term "war." Who can deny that bailed out banks and carmakers, subsidized, taxpayer-nurtured defense, technology, energy, agricultural and pharmaceutical industries are not state corporations? Who would claim today that the incursions of the state into space, into the Internet, and into our backyards, front yards, kitchens, bedrooms, gun cabinets, bank accounts and safe deposit boxes is not a war conducted by the state?

War – its funding, its design, its conduct and pursuit, as Randolph Bourne observed, is always the health of the state. We who resist, rebel, and seek renewal, whether by Jefferson's blood of patriots or though a new and peaceful understanding of the Constitution, of God, of duty or of humanity -- what we do, what we fund, what we design, conduct and pursue is not war.

Because it isn't war, we may not have a single leader, or any leader at all. We may not raise a large army, nor will we need to field massive and complex weapon systems. The bulk of rebellion and resistance, and even renewal in a community, a state, a country, and even a nation, is silent and hidden. Like a massive iceberg, the resistance, the rebellion and political and social renewal occurs hidden from the state's view, underneath the substrate, a powerful and indestructible keel.

We use the word "war" too much today, and we fear its "power" perhaps more than we should. Wars are just the wasteful, deadly and destructive spasms of fearful kings and dictators, created largely by the laziness and greed of those who control and drive the overweening state. Conservative and Progressive alike, the so-called left and the presumed right, those who love the Constitution as God's inspired guidance and those who believe as Lysander Spooner did, that it is no law at all – all of these believers should boldly hold state war in profound contempt.

As we treasure peace, freedom, and self-ownership, community and family, we should not teach our children to revere state war, and to become patriotic robots and passive foot-soldiers of a lying, corrupted, and spendthrift government. Instead of studying the histories of wars, written by the surviving governments, we should, through example and practice, teach our children the art of resistance to evil, the power of peaceful rebellion against tyrants, and the current and very real possibilities of political and personal renewal.

Col. Karen Kwiatkowski is a U.S. Air Force veteran, wife, mother, grandmother and cattle farmer living in the Shenandoah Valley of western Virginia. She is running for Congress in the 6th Congressional District of Virginia as a hard-core Republican defender of liberty and The Constitution. Webpage: KarenForCongress.Com

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War and the Common Good
By Anthony Gregory

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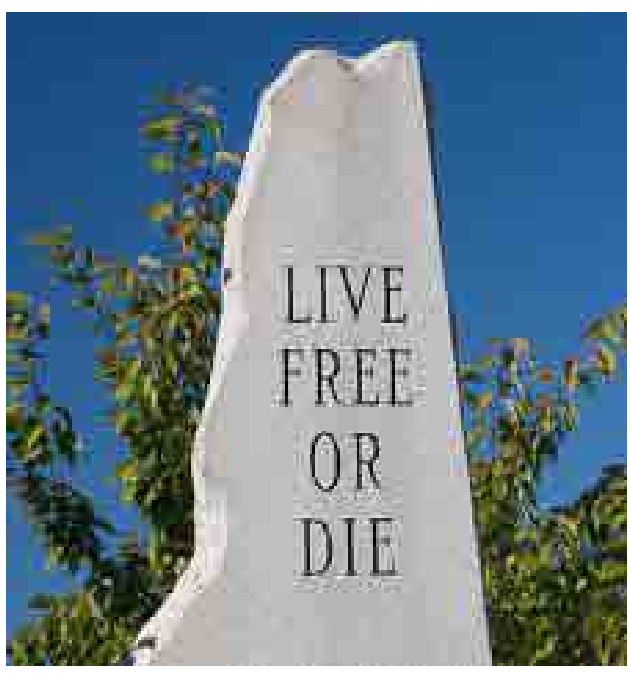
WE are used to hearing discussion of political issues boiled down to a conflict between the individual and the greater good. Nearly anyone's pet project for government can be sold as a way to promote the common, or general interest—a mission so compelling that the interests of mere individuals must be sacrificed.

Before relating this to war, it is important to consider what it means to take the individual's side on such questions. It is not to be atomistic, to believe humans do not need to cooperate with one another and form groups, social organizations and institutions of law. Far from it. Those who favor individual rights simply believe that out of a respect for the dignity and rights of the individual come community, business, society, religious groups and all the other crucial organizations of social life. We thrive on social cooperation and indeed individualists are its great defenders. We see compulsion against the individual as a great threat to civil society. We believe that when coercion replaces voluntarism, the very basis of civilization is in jeopardy. Thus do we favor the market and community and family—it is only that we see these groups as being at their best when they respect the dignity of the individual. While we understand that, in terms of human progress, the group is indeed, in a sense, more than the sum of the parts, losing sight of the freedom of each individual involved undermines the strength and humanity of such groups. We see no conflict between individual rights and the common good; rather they are inextricably intertwined.

Furthermore, we argue that private, individual selfishness, whether benign or destructive, can never be abolished by the public sector. The state only elevates flawed, selfish human beings to a position of unchecked, lawless authority over others.



And indeed, the focus on individual dignity and rights has been a focus of our culture, of America, of the West, going back many centuries. It pervades our relatively liberal culture and is seen on both the right and left. Pro-lifers focus on the dignity of the individual life of the unborn. Pro-choicers stress the importance of the personal right to choose of the individual woman. Whether the issue is guns, drugs, taxes, or the freedom to worship, most Americans are somewhat receptive to the idea that the individual is the premier unit in society, on whose freedom rests the greater good of society as a whole.

At the same time, the conservatives who defend individual freedom as it concerns economics, attack the left for being carried away with the personal liberty of individuals in the social context. They see calls for social tolerance as always an excuse for selfish, libertine behavior. Leftists respond that conservatives are shilling for greedy and rich CEOs, who care more about their own pocketbooks than the good of humanity. It is not so much that either group is devoid of an individualistic impulse; they only apply the principle that the individual good leads to the social good in different contexts, and inconsistently.

But there exists a strong streak throughout our society of believing in individual rights. There exists a resistance to the extreme forms of coerced collectivism that have plagued totalitarian nations, and much the rest of the world. And while much of the last century was a story of violently competing forms of collectivism, there is certainly a form of civil individualism that has survived, even improved in ways, and to this we owe the blessings of our civilization.

As it concerns the issues of empire, of national defense, of the military state, however, there appears to be a double standard. Those who most loudly condemn collectivism as it relates to domestic policy are often among the loudest in support of war collectivism. Consider many of the outspoken followers of Ayn Rand. Rand did some crucial work in battling the modernist, collectivist zeitgeist of her time. She was certainly no blind follower of the idea that the greater good trumps the rights of the individual. And yet she was not immune to a severe blindspot as it regarded war. In her famous novella *Anthem*, the first-person protagonist, living in a collectivist dystopia, comes upon an ethical and philosophical epiphany when he discovers the word, "I." He and his society had been conditioned to only use the word "we"—by discovering the word "I," he discovered the idea of the individual. This is a powerful book in imparting the lesson that the very conception of individual rights is itself largely a cultural phenomenon.

And yet, how did Rand discuss matters on questions of foreign policy? Often in terms of "we." Even when she criticized the Vietnam war, it was mainly from a vantage point of lamenting the fact that "we" must sacrifice our treasure and blood to liberate and socially reform "them"—"them," who were not deserving of our individualist culture. At her worst, she said that the oil under Arab land was properly "ours" and that "they" had stolen it.

Many of her followers have taken this much further. They saw 9/11 as an attack of "them" against "us." And so "we" must retaliate—not just against the individual attackers, many of whom, incidentally, died in the suicide mission. No, "we" must remake the whole Middle East in "our" image. Americans become indistinguishable from one another and from their government. So do Arabs and Muslims. The act of living in an oppressive nation alone means you have to sacrifice you rights to the great crusade for democracy. And total democracy, which many individualists have taken up as a sort of end in itself, is, in reality, of course not the same as ethical individualism.

Belligerent nationalism has for centuries been a particularly odious and destructive form of collectivism. It ranks up there with communism in its capacity to create human misery by dispensing with the lives of mere individuals. In fact, even communism benefited greatly from

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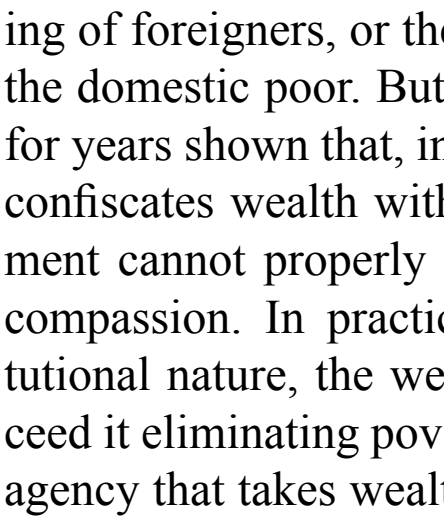
nationalist impulses throughout the world. And surely, not only the egoistical individualists like Rand's worst followers are currently enthralled by it. Much of the conservative movement, and certainly the Republican establishment, have signed on to the imperialist cause, willing to throw the individual under the collectivist warfare state bus. Much of the Christian Right has forgotten about the central tenets of their faith concerning the dignity of the individual; for them, the American nation state is what most deserves defending. The left, too, when it talks about the war often sees it not in terms of individual rights so much as in terms of national priorities, a tragedy for the country, underfinanced collectivist projects at home and disrespect for the American nation-state from the international community. They sometimes attack the idea that corporate fat cats profit off the war more than the war itself.

But what is lost in the fog of war is the dignity and freedom of the individual, something of such importance that, as the conservatives understood it when we were talking about communism, its absence means the breakdown and collapse of civilization, of the common good, of the well-being of society at large. Let us look at what the empire means for the individual, for only then can we even grasp what it means for the greater good.

Let's start with the beleaguered taxpayer. The empire and war on terror are costing each American taxpayer thousands of dollars a year. Before going further, we must reflect on just this cost. To varying degrees, classical liberals, libertarians and conservatives have long stood up for the rights of the individual not to be taxed for governmental social services. By what right can a bureaucrat seize someone's hard-earned income, even for a good cause? This is crucial, because even if liberating foreigners is a good cause that can be done by the government, so would be the feeding of foreigners, or the feeding and housing of the domestic poor. But the free marketers have for years shown that, in practice, an agency that confiscates wealth with the threat of imprisonment cannot properly be termed an agency of compassion. In practice, because of its institutional nature, the welfare state does not succeed it eliminating poverty. And yet how can an agency that takes wealth from people who earn it, and threatens them with time in a cage if they resist, be any more an agency for liberation, for rights protection, than it is for compassion? It would seem that the same practical and ethical arguments against seizing a man's income for welfare would apply to warfare as well.



Some libertarians will defend warfare state taxation. Ayn Rand certainly did. But let us remember that the American Revolutionaries who seceded from the British were not rebelling against Social Security taxes, or taxes that went to the welfare state. They were protesting relatively low taxes to fund empire, some of which was being sold as being in their best interest.

Of course, much of the taxation is indirect. It comes in the form of credit expansion, inflation and thus a weakened dollar, leading to higher prices. The corporate state is empowered, the little guy's priorities are pushed to the side. This process, incidentally, also leads to malinvestment and the business cycle, which are horrific for the economy and the greater good.

The beleaguered taxpayer is forgotten in the midst of war. For some reason it is considered trivial to mention this. It is wrong to focus on what a taxpayer would have chosen to spend his money on if it weren't taken away, even as the left dreams about what the government could have spent it on if not on war.

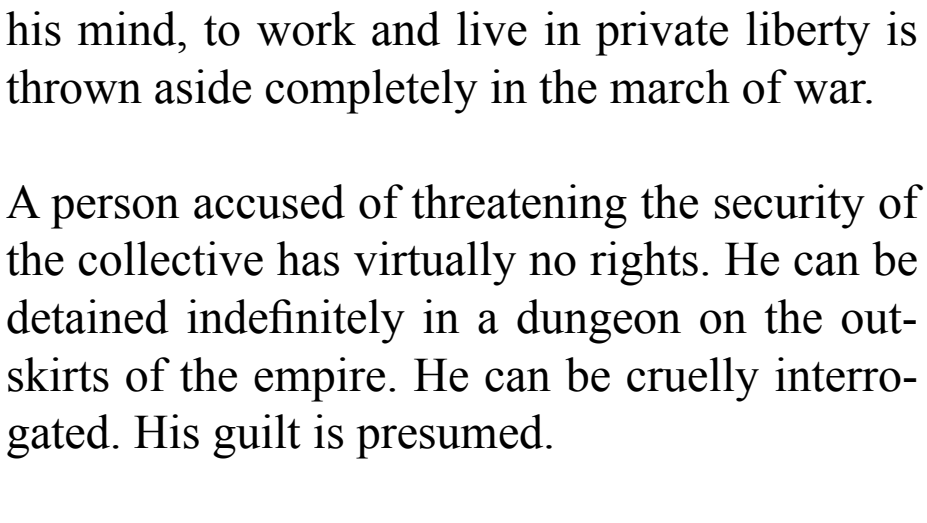
Consider what the taxpayer could have done with that money if it were not taken at all. He could help secure his retirement, send his kids to a better school, spend more time with the family, start or strengthen a business, give to charity, or do a hundred things that bolster civil society and the productive economy, rather than feed the military-industrial complex and finance mass killing abroad. If it were really in his interest to finance national defense, he would do so freely on his own. When the choice is stripped from him, we should not be surprised that the loot lines the pockets of corporate interests and fails to bring about international peace.

The warfare state is, on net, a huge drain on the economy. It has not made us richer. We live in a comparatively rich nation because of the relatively free market, to which the warfare state is always and everywhere a premier threat. Indeed, the Progressive Era, New Deal and Great Society never did nearly the violence to the free market, ushering in central planning, than the great wars in American history. The New Deal itself was simply a domestic version of Wilson's World War I economic policies, with many of the same institutions resurrected under different names and many of the same personalities, as *Robert Higgs has shown*.

The loss in hard-earned wealth is only the beginning. The warfare-security state endangers individual liberty like no other threat. It destroys the privacy of the individual. It supplants the free economy with central planning. Sometimes it brings on rationing and a full-blown command economy. Dissent is no longer a protected right. The freedom of an individual to travel, to speak his mind, to work and live in private liberty is thrown aside completely in the march of war.

A person accused of threatening the security of the collective has virtually no rights. He can be detained indefinitely in a dungeon on the outskirts of the empire. He can be cruelly interrogated. His guilt is presumed.

Habeas corpus emerged in medieval England, largely as a tool of some courts to assert jurisdiction over others. The individualist principle that one could not be detained without cause, and that all imprisoned subjects had, at a minimum access to a judge was born in the midst of competing and overlapping jurisdictional conflicts. Eventually, the writ of habeas corpus—which



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originated in the King's own royal courts—was turned against the King himself. The American revolutionaries demanded it as a constitutional safeguard, at which point it took on a modern, individualist character. After hundreds of years of struggle, a crucial mechanism for protecting the individual against unjust imprisonment was claimed.

And this is vital in every way. Committing a crime against the state, or society, or an individual has been taken to be very serious. But what about the crime of the state in detaining an innocent person? Think of what it would be like to be detained indefinitely, knowing you're innocent. This was the case for many in Guantanamo, many of whom have finally been freed. I can't imagine it. But as true individualists, we must respect the dignity of every peaceful person held inside a cage. To paraphrase Augustine, a greater good that rests upon unjust imprisonment is no greater good at all.

This principle has been turned back on its head. Once again, habeas corpus is the executive's prerogative. Alberto Gonzales claimed there was no right to it in the Constitution. People have been rounded up, detained, shipped around the globe, shoved in tortuous cells in Guantanamo and elsewhere—all in the name of collective security, in the name of the greater good. Many detainees have been tortured. The idea in vogue is that sometimes you have to completely strip an individual of his humanity in order to save humanity. This is the path toward barbarism and savagery. It is the road to the same mentality that allowed the Stalinists and Nazis to have their way.

But this compromise of individual rights has yielded no successes for the nation as a whole. It has only eroded our culture's commitment to the rights of the individual. It has led to the demonization of the "other"—the other who lives outside our collective. It also helped bring about the fantastically disastrous Iraq war, as some of the key pre-war intelligence—if we are to call it that—came out of torture. If you forget about the individual dignity, the intrinsic humanity of the prisoner you have before you, you have already failed to see the forest, and the trees, and they will all burn down in the heat of war collectivism.

The very idea of weighing individual liberty against national security is an egregious collectivist notion we must reject. There is no national security, no collective worth preserving, where we are not safe against unjust detention and oppression by the state.

As bad as all this is, the worst attacks on the individual come with war itself. Nation-building, occupying foreign countries to instill American values and institutions—all this is utopian central planning on the scale of the 20th century socialists and modernists. And the conservatives, of course, have near infinite faith in it. But a new modern man cannot be created through command and control at home. A whole nation cannot be built abroad with curfews, bombs and razor wire.

Bombing has got to be among the most barbaric practices in modern life. "This is war," we are told. And so people must die. Individuals do not count, they are only aggregates, only numbers, and the Pentagon doesn't even care about the statistical side of the equation. Lost completely is any sense that these are human beings being destroyed.

When a bomb hits a neighborhood, civilians are killed. This happened even when the domestic police in Philadelphia bombed an apartment complex back in 1985, and we can go on and on about how militarism has displaced any sense of individualism in domestic policing. But in foreign affairs, mass killing is a matter of policy.

In the 20th century, the century of gulags, concentration camps, mass conscription and centrally planned workers paradises, America emerged as the most bomb-happy regime in world history. While, at least intellectually, the crimes of fascism and communism have imparted some lessons, there is no comparable understanding of the significance of 20th century strategic bombing. In Japan, 60 cities were destroyed. In Germany, the number was more than 100. In the Korean war, Truman pinpointed civilian dams and devastated the country with thousands of tons of ordnance and millions of gallons of napalm. In Vietnam, between one and three million individuals were killed by U.S. bombing campaigns. That's about as many people as Pol Pot killed in Cambodia. For much of the post-World War II 20th century, the U.S. built up its nuclear weapons cache, the mere existence of which should dispel any myths that ours is a government overly concerned with the rights of the individual.

These were individuals who were slaughtered by a program of systematic civilian-killing. They had families, and lives, and passions. They had their favorite music, they had their faith, they had their dreams and futures. They, just like the victims of Communism and fascism, were victims of mechanized, modernist mass murder. I do think one day people will look back at the 20th century as, in part, the era when the US government murdered millions of people from the air.

In today's world, there is less support for strategic bombing as a matter of policy. There were barbaric calls after 9/11 for nuking the Middle East. Conservatives did say that the way to save face in Iraq was to pull out, but not before killing many thousands with a nuclear blast in the Sunni triangle. This murderous policy prescription must be seen in the full moral light in deserves, or else we will not evolve much as a species.

But there has been some change. I don't think Americans would be too happy if Bush nuked Iraq or Iran like Truman did Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This is all to the good.

However, the underlying premise that killing innocents abroad is acceptable has persisted. The trade sanctions against Iraq claimed the lives of

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hundreds of thousands of children. In our society, killing one child is seen as an unforgivable act. A child is the most precious thing in this world. And of course women and men have the right not to be killed, too. But the 1990s sanctions are seen as, at most, a sort of error in policy planning. They didn't work, we sometimes hear. Unfortunately, they worked all too well at the only murderous purpose they could possibly serve in the real world. They worked in killing hundreds of thousands of innocent children, each one as precious as an American child.

Shock and Awe made me sick to my stomach. Baghdad was a city with a culture, with civil life, with some degree of liberalism even. Of course, most important, there were human beings there. The best thing Michael Moore has ever done was

to show footage of Baghdad before and after bombing. Right-wingers hated this scene, because it forced Americans to confront the faces of some of the people their political leaders killed. It's ironic that these same conservatives stress all the supposed good things happening in Iraq that the media won't cover, while they seem completely unwilling to discuss the many good things happening in Iraq before Shock and Awe. Many of those good things happened to people who are not alive today.

And while Shock and Awe was in some ways a more precision bombing than Dresden, it was still mass murder. It was still totally immoral in every respect. Had Saddam had weapons of mass destruction, had he even been best friends with Osama, had he been involved in 9/11 it would still not excuse the dispensing of the individual lives of men, women and children—none of them in any way the enemy—who just happened to live in Saddam's neighborhood.

If bombing a neighborhood in retaliation could be excused, so too can terrorism in countless forms. The terrorism of September 11, insofar as it was a response to US aggression in the Middle East—and, as we know, there was plenty of it for decades—would be considered legitimate by the logic of the defenders of bombings. Surely, Iraq has been more a victim of the US than vice versa—does this mean Iraqis are allowed to do to American civilians what the US did in Afghanistan and Iraq? Of course not. American individuals had a right not to be murdered on 9/11, despite the evils of their government. This principle must be universal. Dropping bombs in a way that predictably leads to innocent deaths is nothing short of deliberate homicide, no matter what your home address.

This brings me to a particularly ghastly collectivist concept, the idea of "collateral damage." The idea is that the innocent people killed in a bombing are not the target, and so the bombing can be an act of self-defense. But this principle surely does not hold in civil life. If a neighbor of yours has trespassed on your property, even caused violence against you and your family, you have no right to kill his kids, no right to attack his neighbor, no right to lift a finger against anyone but the aggressor. The right to self-defense is fundamental, but is grounded in property rights. Practicing it, just like practicing any other right, does not absolve you in your violations of the rights of third parties. Being threatened does not give you a blank check on other people's life and liberty. "Collateral damage" is simply a euphemism for mass murder.

There are some theorists who posit that it is sometimes acceptable to kill the innocent in bombings because of the so-called human shield analogy. If an aggressor is about to kill you, and he has taken a hostage, and the only way to shoot him first is to kill the hostage, do you not have a right to do it? The warmongers say without the right to inflict collateral damage, we would be overtaken by an enemy with tanks covered with babies.

Now, this is quite an irony. Our individual ethic against killing civilians is unrealistic, they say, because in the real world you are always confronted with a human shield, or a ticking time-bomb, or an invading army with babies strapped to their tanks. Of course, the real world is nothing like that. And surely invaders and aggressors will still hesitate to embrace such a strategy regardless of our lifeboat ethics, because they know people, when pressed, will even violate their principles to save their lives.

In principle, I believe the human shield retains the right not to be shot. But even if not, this question is divorced from reality. They try to personalize the question of bombing civilians by bringing it down to the individual level. But we are not talking about the odd incident when an individual is confronted with a choice between violating his principles or death. Many of us might cave to survive. We might lie, steal, even kill, if forced into the lawless environment of a Hobbesian world. And, generally speaking, people are more forgiving, even of those who trespass against them, when there are very extreme circumstances.

The human shield analogy is really a way to obscure the real issue. We are not talking about an individual fighting back for dear life, and accidentally or incidentally killing an innocent person. We are talking about the warfare state, about aggressive invasions, about airmen far above cities and dropping flaming death upon little babies, not out of immediate self-defense in any sense at all. The attempt to apply emergency individual ethics to the military, a socialist institution, should raise flags for the true individualist. For the individual is accountable to his victims and their heirs, as well as to public opinion. The state, by definition, is not. It is above the law. It is its own judge so long as it garners public legitimacy and blind loyalty. Insofar as it is successful at this, the state is a lawless machine. If an individual violates someone's property rights in an emergency, there is some recourse, some real chance for making amends and getting forgiveness. The warfare state is a totally different animal.

And, in practical terms, if we want to avoid these Hobbesian cruelties of the battlefield, we should stay the hell out of war.

Sometimes even opponents of war forget about the methodological individualist analysis. In a

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sense, the true individualist is also the most empathetic to the individual soldier. Yes, he is morally responsible for all of his actions, and yet he too has an individual human dignity that must not be forgotten. Even in a terrible war, some soldiers do defensible, even heroic things. They serve as medics. They defend individual rights in isolated instances. And many of them don't even want to be there, but they are being forced to finish their term of service. The warfare state is, by the way, the one enterprise where the rights of the individual worker are completely thrown aside. He has no right to quit. We have indentured servitude in the military. The philosophy of individual, inalienable rights is the only one that truly stands up for the soldier who, in good conscience, wants to walk away from the horrors in which he finds himself. And so, if we respect the individual soldier, we should champion his right to quit his job.

The individualist ethic has been twisted to defend the warfare state and modern American imperialism. It is, however, to be delivered through collectivist means. This is the giveaway. This is how we know it's a bankrupt argument. Liberating individuals cannot be justly done at the expense of violating the rights of others.

For a while, individualism helped to curb the empire. A desire not to be taxed for the benefit of foreigners constrained the warfare state.

Conservatives and objectivists, among others, were well versed in the America First argument against global intervention.

But with 9/11 we saw the limits of this ethic. Individualists felt threatened and became collectivists at once. Ironically they saw the American state as the collective most protective of individualism, and so favored an expansion of that collectivism to protect themselves.

But a purely egoistical ethic, much like a nationalist orientation in nonintervention, is perhaps not enough. We need to move beyond it to respect individuals abroad. The individual slaughtered in Iraq is no less an individual, no less entitled to his rights, than an individual in America taxed or regulated out of business, or thrown in jail for consuming illegal drugs. The sacrifice of foreign lives to an American imperial agenda, along with the sacrifice of American lives, freedoms and wealth, is a practice and program wholly at odds with the natural law ethic of individual liberty and dignity on which Western Civilization, and indeed all of human society, so precariously rests.

Thus do I urge us to take all the arguments we would make against communism, fascism and domestic coercive collectivism in all its forms, and apply them with equal vigor and moral courage to the issues of war and peace. It is true that we do, indeed, believe in a greater good, in public vibrancy, in civil society and in community. We are not individualists at the expense of society, but indeed see a good society itself as a function of respecting the individuals who compose it. Our arguments on economics demonstrate we are not blind to the social good that emanates from our individualist ethic. Without some sense of goodness for the individual, in fact, it is hard even to determine what a good society is. And this ethic, if it is being trampled anywhere, it is in the realm of foreign policy and the warfare state.

Communism failed because it broke too many eggs and never made an omelette. The worker's paradise constituted the total destruction of the worker as individual, the total negation of his dignity, the total trashing of his individual rights. Thus did the whole plan fail, and thank goodness.

We are seeing a similar crumbling of American society, a degeneration of civil life and cultural mores, a lowering of moral standards. We are seeing decay and cultural corruption, and while I never badmouth the market, there is a sense in which materialism has threatened to overtake cultural reflection. The greatest traditions in law and individualism itself are under attack.

We are seeing our economy stagnate and our personal freedoms lost day by day. The partisans of empire are struggling to keep alive global American hegemony, but they are on the losing side of history.

But we do want things to go as painlessly and peacefully as possible. We do not want Americans to have to suffer a shock or global markets to be tossed into disarray.

I believe the key is to reclaim, refine and always strengthen our understanding of what it is that has led to the success story of Western civilization, the Industrial Revolution and the American

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experience: It is respect for the dignity and humanity and rights of each individual. Insofar as this country has wavered, it has been disastrous and oppressive. Insofar as it championed these principles, humanity, culture and all we take for granted have flourished.

The warfare state is the greatest of all threats to the individual in our time. It is a threat materially, philosophically, spiritually, culturally and intellectually. It displaces all the voluntary, civil associations we champion—the family, community, church and honest business. It is the total negation of the dignity of the individual, the rights of all men and women to live their lives in liberty. It is a mixture of cold, anti-libertarian modernism and barbarism, the worst remnants of the Middle Ages combined with a new callousness and technocratic fervor. It is the most persistent form of American collectivism. It is an unparalleled threat to world peace. It is the greatest enemy of humanity and individual liberty in our midst.

One day the modern warfare state will be looked upon the way we look upon the failed socialist experiments of a past time, the way we look upon chattel slavery, the way we look upon the gravest and most universally reviled episodes of the individual being dispensed with to make way for the march of collectivism and institutional inertia.

The first step is similar to the step Ayn Rand described in Anthem, although I don't think she applied it consistently. It is to understand that the individual is the principal component of human society, and that all individuals, wherever they live, have by their nature certain rights that no government is permitted to violate. It is to realize that dispensing with this principle is to dispense with our chance at having a greater good whatsoever. It is to understand that with war come bombings, standing armies, conscription, surveillance, inflation, censorship and taxation—any of which is an affront to the dignity of the individual.

It is to understand that the warfare state, like totalitarianism, is incompatible with the individualist ethic on which society depends. Such an understanding helped prevent communism from taking root in this nation, sparing Americans the suffering so many others endured to learn the lessons of full-blown economic central planning. The American empire cannot last forever in its current state. But only by championing the rights of the individual and opposing the warfare state out of principle can we hope to see the empire crumble with as little pain as possible for those caught underneath. Only by embracing the principle of individualism—the principle that truly guards the common good and is the most damning of all indictments of the militaristic warfare state—can we hope to see the empire die and never return.

This talk was delivered at the Future of Freedom Foundation's conference, "Restoring the Republic: Foreign Policy and Civil Liberties"

Anthony Gregory [send him mail] is research editor at the Independent Institute. He lives in Oakland, California. See his webpage for more articles and personal information.

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How War Deceives Warriors
By Richard J. Maybury

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IN the Air Force during the 1960s, I had an unusual, almost unique job, and from it learned a lot which today gives added depth when studying economics and investments.

One of the first things I learned in the Air Force was the term pencil whip. To pencil whip a record is to alter it so that the press, public and higher officials do not find out what you have been doing.

"Pencil whip it." In the space of four years, I must have heard that order given at least fifty times. Most of it was in the 605th Air Commando Squadron, which was a special operations outfit based in Panama. My experiences there convinced me that all special ops units have two histories, the written one and the real one.

Later I realized this applies to the whole government. I think all parts have two histories, and we have no idea what's really been happening behind closed doors.

I'm telling this story because my military experience puts me in a position to see and understand a catastrophe the mainstream press says little about. I believe that when this debacle becomes widely known, it will bring huge changes in the war and in the flows of money to pay for the war. Very likely, careers will be ruined, families of GIs will be enraged, and the military recruitment system will be wrecked.

Before I begin, let me say that America is a wonderful country, and I truly love it. But the country and the government are not the same thing.

Few Americans realize…

… the federal government has been meddling in Latin America continuously since the Marines were ordered into the Dominican Republic in 1800. Other Latin countries invaded by US forces include Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Peru, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Columbia, Panama, Paraguay, Haiti and Chile. [1](1)

That's just in the 19th century. In the 20th century, Washington's meddling in the lands between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn became constant and pervasive. Any Latin regime that does not dance to Washington's tune knows they may have to face CIA-backed guerrillas.[2]

Perhaps the best-known example is Iran-Contra in the 1980s. The Reagan administration sold weapons to their mortal enemy, the Khomeini regime in Iran, and used the proceeds to finance the Contra guerrillas' attempted coup in Nicaragua.

No one was ever prosecuted for giving aid and comfort to the Iranian enemy. The Iran-Contra circus was one of the finest examples of the effect political power has on a person's mind.

> *"More than $3 billion in cash has been openly flown out of Kabul International Airport in the past three years, a sum so large that U.S. investigators believe top Afghan officials and their associates are sending billions of diverted U.S. aid and logistics dollars and drug money to financial safe havens abroad."*
>
> Wall Street Journal, June 28, 2010, p.1

The Puppy Rule

By the time he or she is six months old, every dog knows the rule, do not bite unless bitten. Some humans are not intelligent enough to learn this rule, and they go into politics.

The Washington elite cannot resist meddling in other countries. They produce an endless stream of enemies and conflicts. Long-time readers of EWR know this generates a deluge of profits from investments that do well in wartime, if you understand how foreign policy and military affairs really work.

The Army Air Corps…

…disbanded its air commando (special ops) squadrons after WWII. For the Vietnam War, the Air Force revived these units, but almost all memory of air special ops had disappeared. Our primary job in Panama was to revive it.

We helped reinvent special ops tactics and equipment, and taught them to the troops of Washington's pet dictators in Latin America. We worked a lot with Green Berets, and with the CIA's notorious School of the Americas. One of the troops I helped train was Manuel Noriega, who later became dictator of Panama.

The Green Berets I helped infiltrate into South America were operating against someone. I'm reasonably sure it was Che Guevara.

In 1968, the Air Commando designation was dropped, and the squadron was renamed 605th Special Operations.

Perhaps the most memorable part…

…of my military experience is the fact that we rarely knew what kind of mission we were really on. We just did what we were told. A crew often had no idea they were in combat until they returned home and found bullet holes in the plane.

In the records, almost all the operations were labeled "training" or something equally tame, but I soon learned that many missions contained

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1 "Presidents Have a History of Unilateral Moves," by L. Gordon Crovitz, Wall St. Jrnl., 15 Jan 87, p.24.

2 It is no secret that many of these interventions have been to bail out United Fruit and other companies that knowingly went into high risk areas and then demanded to be rescued when the Latin politicians they bought didn't stay bought.

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features that were, for want of a better word, weird.

One example was when a C-46 crashed, killing all eight crewmen. The official report said the incident was an accident caused by mechanical failure. I never met a flight engineer who believed it. All said this particular mechanical failure could only be caused by sabotage.

AC-47 "Dragonship" like the one Richard Maybury flew on in the 1960's

Another example. One day a friend came off a mission very shaken, white as a sheet. I asked what happened. He said it was top secret but he was so stressed he had to talk about it.

He'd been on search-and-rescue alert, and was scrambled to fly to a jungle clearing where a Panamanian army truck had been in an accident. The C-47 crew was told to evacuate the injured, in a rapid engine-running onload.

When the unarmed rescue plane landed, the crew saw the truck in a ditch nearby. As the injured were hurriedly loaded, the medic asked for my friend's help.

As my friend tended to an injured Panamanian, a bandage slipped. Beneath it was a bullet hole. He checked another soldier, then another. More bullet holes.

Over the roar of the engines, he yelled to the medic, "These guys weren't in an accident, they were shot!"

The medic yelled back, "Shut up, it's top secret!"

"But we're in a combat zone and we don't have any air cover!"

"Shut up, it's top secret!"

They were not authorized to be in a war, so they had no need of protection. What could be more logical?

The rest of the crew sat in the plane clueless to the fact that at any moment they could be enveloped in 700 gallons of flaming gasoline.

Secrets and lies, always secrets and lies. This should not have been surprising. It was during the Vietnam War, which, by 1969, every informed person knew was a hoax. (Economist Murray Rothbard went so far as to say publicly that even if Washington lost the war, the Soviet Socialist empire would collapse, because socialism does not work.)

Strange incidents were a constant topic of conversation, and we eventually realized our job was not to defend America, it was to forcibly change other nations. Our politicians are naturally good, wise and noble, and they know what's best for others.

Our Spanish-speaking trainers, who overheard and understood what the Latin trainees were saying, joked about this, and members of the 311th Air Commando Squadron even wore a tongue-in-cheek insignia on their hats that said "Coup Qualified."

War is…

…90% logistics.[3] It's much more economics than strategy or tactics. The side that runs out of bullets and beans first is the side that loses.

I was a loadmaster, which is why factors described below are apparent to me and to few others.

The loadmaster is responsible for everything that happens on a transport aircraft between the cockpit and the tail. Much of this is logistics — hauling cargo and troops — plus airdrops, gun missions, search and rescue, infiltrations and exfiltrations, dropping flares, you name it. The loadmaster sees much that no one else does. And, he often stands in the open door of the plane, suspended over the terrain as if riding a magic carpet, watching what's happening below.

He has his hands on the cargo. If he pays attention, he develops an excellent understanding of what's really happening in 90% of the war.

For instance, during Iran-Contra, there may have been a loadmaster who said to himself, "well look at this, we're hauling missiles to Iran; maybe Iran isn't the threat the White House says it is."

In other words, what a loadmaster sees is not the politics you're shown on TV, it's the real thing.

I believe the root of the insanity…

…is a faulty model, or paradigm. The US foreign policy paradigm has always been a duplicate of the universal plot of 1930s cowboy movies. Governments are assumed to come in two colors, white hats and black hats, and Washington believes it should help the white hats and hurt the black hats.

The truth is that among most of the world's governments, there isn't any white, just shades of

3 Supplying War by military historian Martin van Creveld, Cambridge University Press, 1977, 1997, Chapter 8.

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black — coal black, jet black, midnight black — and US officials think they can read minds and identify which regimes have honorable intentions.

US military commanders on the scene in foreign countries quickly find they have no idea what Washington's allies are really thinking. All they know for certain is that nothing seems to fit the white-hats-vs.-black-hats paradigm on which their orders are based.

Very often, these commanders find that the ruler they are helping is as untrustworthy as the one they are fighting, he just bathes more often. Washington's well-groomed "ally" is simply using the US for his own purposes.

What else would he do?

The US commanders stumble from one nasty political surprise to the next. But it's not a good career move for a commander to report back to Washington, "I can't handle this job — the good guys are more crooked than the bad guys and I don't know what to do."

The only way commanders can cope is to begin manufacturing their own foreign policies. Documents sent to Washington are pencil-whipped to show that the commander is competent and has all important matters under control.

The result is that each year the mountain of paperwork that piles up in Washington — the government's institutional memory — becomes more addled. A lot of embarrassing stuff is swept under the rug and never gets into the official record, classified or otherwise.

In short, bad paradigms lead to bad behavior and pencil whipping of the records.

The Russian precedent

I'm reminded of President Wilson sending the army to invade Russia, a US ally, in 1918. Wilson's orders were so confused they boiled down to, we don't know why we are sending you there, so do whatever you think necessary, and afterward we will let you know if you've earned a medal or a firing squad. The army lurched from one meaningless battle to the next.[4] Ever since, except for four years in the 1940s, Moscow and Washington have been enemies.

Policies on top of policies

I'd bet that at least half the brigade commanders in Iraq and Afghanistan have been forced to make up their own secret foreign policies, and Obama hasn't the foggiest idea what's going on.

4 Decision To Intervene, by George F. Keenan, Norton & Co., 1956, Chapter 18.

One implication is that Washington does not have one foreign policy, it has scores, and I am sure a lot of them contradict each other. This is inevitable when the official paradigm — good-guys-vs.-bad-guys — is out of touch with reality.

Something similar, I believe, goes on in economic policy. Since the Federal Reserve began operations in 1914, the reality of Fed policy has rarely squared with the theory. There was, for instance, that little blip called the Great Depression.

I believe the government's institutional memory about economics has been pencil whipped just like its military memory. Its data, and the explanations of the data taught to the president and other top officials, are often "adjusted" into hogwash.

It is now common knowledge that a big part of the euro crisis is due to European governments pencil whipping their economic data. They've lied not only recently but right from the euro's beginning in 1999.[5] In my opinion, anyone who thinks the US government is not guilty of the same kind of economic fraud was born yesterday.

Summarizing,…

…when you read EWR (Early Warning Report), you are to some extent seeing the world through the eyes of a special operations loadmaster, who has not forgotten that a huge portion of the official record is pencil whipped.

This EWR article was published almost four months before the November 2010 Wikileaks scandal.

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5 "Remembering the happier days of the euro dream," by David Shukman, BBC website, 29 May 2010.

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Perpetual Wars & the Permanent Wartime Presidency By Sibel Edmonds

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With almost a decade under its belt, our multi-front war on a vaguely defined notion of terrorism targeting never-really-defined enemies across the world and here in the newly rephrased 'homeland' has come to define the state of our nation. Even the meager limitations on presidential powers of the last six decades have in effect been nullified and replaced with a newly declared and interpreted authority mirroring those of past emperors and kings, and of any classic authoritarian regimes' rulers. One look at the last decade's successfully won legal arguments on behalf of the executive, the presidency, is enough to establish the common theme that 'the war on terror is global and *indefinite* in scope, and that it effectively removes all traditional limits of wartime authority to the times and places of imminent or actual battle.'

Whether it is illegal domestic eavesdropping or unlawful detention and torture, these newly claimed and boldly practiced presidential entitlements rely on one factor, and that is the extraordinary claims of presidential war-making power. Here is a perfect example of the new permanent wartime presidency in action; boldly, loudly, and unfortunately thus far successfully:

*On occasion the Bush administration has explicitly rejected the authority of courts and Congress to impose boundaries on the power of the commander in chief, describing the president's war-making powers in legal briefs as "**plenary**" — a term defined as "**full**," "**complete**," and "**absolute**."*

The current status of our nation's president's war-making powers is defined, recognized, and has been practiced as '*plenary*;' complete and absolute. Now, let's add to this the fact that our multi-fronted war on terror is global and indefinite, a war open-ended in time and with no national boundaries. What do we have with this equation? A permanent wartime presidency with absolute powers. The Constitution indeed granted the president the power to fight with any resources Congress makes available in wartime, and accordingly the executive is expected to do whatever it takes to protect the nation, even if it leaves some room for abuse of this power. But did our founders factor in the notion of indefinite, open-ended, perpetual wars, and with them, a permanent wartime presidency status? The Constitution gave presidents the freedom to defend the nation, but what about the nation's need to protect itself against the abuses of this freedom, including the creation of perpetual wars accompanied with indefinite and absolute presidential powers?

The following excerpts are from the Devil's Advocate, John Yoo:

> *Critics of presidential war powers exaggerate the benefits of declarations or authorizations of war, and they also fail to examine the potential costs of congressional participation: delay, inflexibility, and lack of secrecy. Legislative deliberation may breed consensus in the best of cases, but it also may inhibit speed and decisiveness. In the post-Cold War era, the United States confronts several new threats to its national security: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the emergence of rogue nations, and the rise of international terrorism. Each of these threats may require pre-emptive action best undertaken by the president and approved by Congress only afterward.*
>
> *The Constitution creates a presidency that can respond forcefully and independently to pre-empt serious threats to our national security. Instead of demanding a legalistic process to begin war, the framers left war to politics. Presidents can take the initiative and Congress would use their funding power to check him. As we confront terrorism, rogue nations, and WMD proliferation, now is not the time to engage in a radical change in the way our government has waged war for decades.*

Mr. Yoo considers a thorough congressional review and authorization based on findings and careful review as tending to '*exaggerate the benefits of declarations or authorizations of war*.' If put in an appropriate context, this *exaggeration* could probably have prevented a preemptive attack on Iraq based on false and made-up intelligence on nonexistent WMD, and we may have saved thousands of American soldiers' lives, tens of billions of dollars of taxpayers' hard-earned money, and would have prevented the loss of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians' lives. Only in John Yoo's book of 'cost & benefits analysis' would this make it to the 'exaggerated cost column.'

As for '*Congress would use their funding power to check him*,' his pretend innocence would not get a pass from even the most naïve or ignorant. Considering where the *real funding* of the inhabitants of our congress comes from, taking into consideration the old adage '*thou shall not bite the hand that feeds you*,' and understanding the power of '*bacon sent home*,' who is Mr. Yoo kidding here; really?

Let's look at it from the other side of the fence. What executive office wouldn't want to possess this level of power? How many presidents would resist gravitating towards the enormous powers granted to a Commander in Chief in practice? How many of today's '*viable*' presidential candidate's bread is heavily buttered by the war industry? Here is how Richard Norton Smith put it during an interview:

> *However you define national emergency, whether it's a foreign war, whether it's a civil war, whether it's an economic depression, whether it's a Cold War or the current war on terror, the fact is power gravitates towards the president…It's a tug of war, Jim, that's been going on, a constitutional tug of war between the executive and the legislative branch. And what I was picking up off what Ellen said I think the last 75 years has, if anything, distorted what the founders intended. Because of the Great Depression, because of World War II, because of the*

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Cold War, now the war on terror, the fact is that that tug of war has actually been very one-sided. I don't think this is the presidency that the founders really envisioned.

A Little Bit of History

On November 19, 1973, the Special Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency presented Senate Report 93-549 at the first session of the 93rd Congress. The Introduction to the report, an examination of existing War and Emergency Powers Acts, states:

Since March 9, 1933, the United States has been in a state of declared national emergency. In fact, there are now in effect four presidentially-proclaimed states of national emergency: In addition to the national emergency declared by President Roosevelt in 1933, there are also the national emergency proclaimed by President Truman in 1950, during the Korean conflict, and the states of national emergency declared by President Nixon in1970 and 1971.

These proclamations give force to 470 provisions of Federal law. These hundreds of statutes delegate to the President extraordinary powers, ordinarily exercised by the Congress, which affect the lives of American citizens in a host of all-encompassing manners. These vast ranges of powers, taken together, confer enough authority to rule the country without reference to normal Constitutional processes.

Under the powers delegated by these statutes, the President may: seize property; organize and control the means of production; seize commodities; assign military forces abroad; institute martial law; seize and control all transportation and communication; regulate the operation of private enterprise; restrict travel; and, in a plethora of particular ways, control the lives of all American citizens.

With the melting of the Cold War-the developing détente, with the Soviet Union and China, the stable truce of over 20 years duration between North and South Korea, and the end of U.S. involvement in the war in Indochina-there is no present need for the United States Government to continue to function under emergency conditions.

As we all know the *establishment* did not let the '*melting Cold War*' argument stand. During the Reagan era the Cold War reached new heights, with a massive military buildup in an arms race with the USSR, before it came to an end. It wouldn't be difficult to imagine the panic experienced by the *real powers* as the Berlin wall and with it the several-decade Cold War came crumbling down. How could the massive Military Industrial Complex, and those feeding upon it, survive this 'ending,' and find a way to sustain itself? How about maintaining the role and power of the Executive Intelligence Complex? The creation, existence, and practices of these agencies were based on and justified by the 'Evil Empire,' and with it gone, so was the justification sold to the public for the existence of many dependent upon it here in the States.

Sure there were other wars; Gulf War, Kosovo… But those were mini-wars; peanuts. What was needed, that is for the sustainability, survival, and even the fantasy of expansion, was another long-lasting war. Not a dingy little country or two, and certainly not a clear-cut enemy and pinpointable target to hit and be done with. No. In fact, learning from experience, it had to be something that could not end with some darn wall coming down, or a massive regime being taken out. An open ended war; a war with undefined enemies in many colors, with many tongues, and scattered across the world; a war that could be pointed at one place, then at another, and yet another without having to fit any military definition of target or strategy; a war with no boundaries; a war with no possible end. A war that couldn't even be defined as a war, yet could act as the mother of all wars – a Perpetual War.

If anyone laughed at even the fantasy of such an absurd objective, they certainly weren't the ones who had the last laugh. All that was needed to make it happen was the creation of a state of emergency. After all, it had been done for a long time, and done so very successfully. People were used to it – living under various degrees of a state of emergency for many decades. Just take it up a notch or two, then sit back and watch the panic take root and spring into full bloom. Jazz it up with a disaster-loving and panic-driving media, and the state of emergency will go into full effect. And from there – hello Perpetual War.

Here is more on the report by the Special Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency:

A majority of the people of the United States have lived all of their lives under emergency rule. For 40 years, freedoms and governmental procedures guaranteed by the Constitution have, in varying degrees, been abridged by laws brought into force by states of national emergency. The problem of how a constitutional democracy reacts to great crises, however, far antedates the Great Depression. As a philosophical issue, its origins reach back to the Greek city-states and the Roman Republic. And, in the United States, actions taken by the Government in times of great crises have-from, at least, the Civil War-in important ways, shaped the present phenomenon of a permanent state of national emergency.

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> *Because Congress and the public are unaware of the extent of emergency powers, there has never been any notable congressional or public objection made to this state of affairs. Nor have the courts imposed significant limitations ... the temporary states of emergency declared in 1938, 1939, 1941, 1950, 1970, and 1971 would become what are now regarded collectively as virtually permanent states of emergency (the 1939 and 1941 emergencies were terminated in 1952). Forty years can, in no way, be defined as a temporary emergency.*

'*Forty years can, in no way, be defined as a temporary emergency*;' really? Obviously it can, and it was. Not only that, it actually got worse. Today they don't even bother adding '*temporary*,' and leave it out completely. How could you win or lose, and declare the end of the '*war on terror*'? Is it possible to capture and neutralize that one last boogie man, announce that the last of the terrorists has been terminated, and then go about dissolving Homeland Security, Motherland Security, Fatherland Agency, Intelligence Czars, Domestic Eavesdropping…? How about the entire industry, the thriving many trillion dollar industry, with the '*war on terror*' as their sole reason for existence? Obviously this would not fit the vision put in place by the few who matter, and the many grown dependent on them.

The Mother of all perpetual wars, War on Terror, followed by unjustified and undeclared wars: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Iran… Who are the enemies? Bad Taliban, Semi-bad Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Al-Qaeda Supporters, Possible Al-Qaeda, Islamists, Fanatics, semi-fanatics, fanatic-looking dudes, Iran-ists, and with them all the civilians 'just our collateral damage.'; babies, women, elderly…Kidnapping, torture, assassinations, black sites, black operations, black budgets…

Here at home: airport security check-points, no-fly list, semi-no-fly-list, many secret lists, tapping all phone calls, monitoring all e-mails, billions of secret documents, thousands of secret operations & plans.

For the winners in the Perpetual War, the military-intelligence-surveillance industrial complexes, the empire presidency and its advocates, and the parasitic class who lives beneath and off of them…the state of Perpetual War is a long-held dream coming true.

For the losers, we, the public majority, the mothers losing their sons and daughters to wars, the spouses left to deal with their returning amputated loved ones, many in need of medical care but with no coverage or assistance, the hard-working class dutifully parting with needed dollars and foregoing all expectations, the seekers of liberties…the realities of these made-up emergencies, and the real consequences of these vague wars are either not registering, or are being accepted and paid for silently.

This applicable quote comes to mind: "*Inter arma silent leges*: in time of war the laws are silent." And, I feel like extending the line by adding"…*for as long as the people wish to remain silent.*"

More from Sibel Edmonds at [BoilingFrogsPost.Com]

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Smedley Butler's 'War is a Racket' (Audio) Narrated by Glenn Jacobs

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SMEDLEY Darlington Butler (nicknamed "The Fighting Quaker" and "Old Gimlet Eye") (July 30, 1881 – June 21, 1940) was a Major General in the U.S. Marine Corps, an outspoken critic of U.S. military adventurism, and at the time of his death the most decorated Marine in U.S. history.

During his 34-year career as a Marine, he participated in military actions in the Philippines, China, in Central America and the Caribbean during the Banana Wars, and France in World War I. By the end of his career, he had received 16 medals, five for heroism. He is one of 19 men to twice receive the Medal of Honor, one of three to be awarded both the Marine Corps Brevet Medal and the Medal of Honor, and the only man to be awarded the Brevet Medal and two Medals of Honor, all for separate actions.

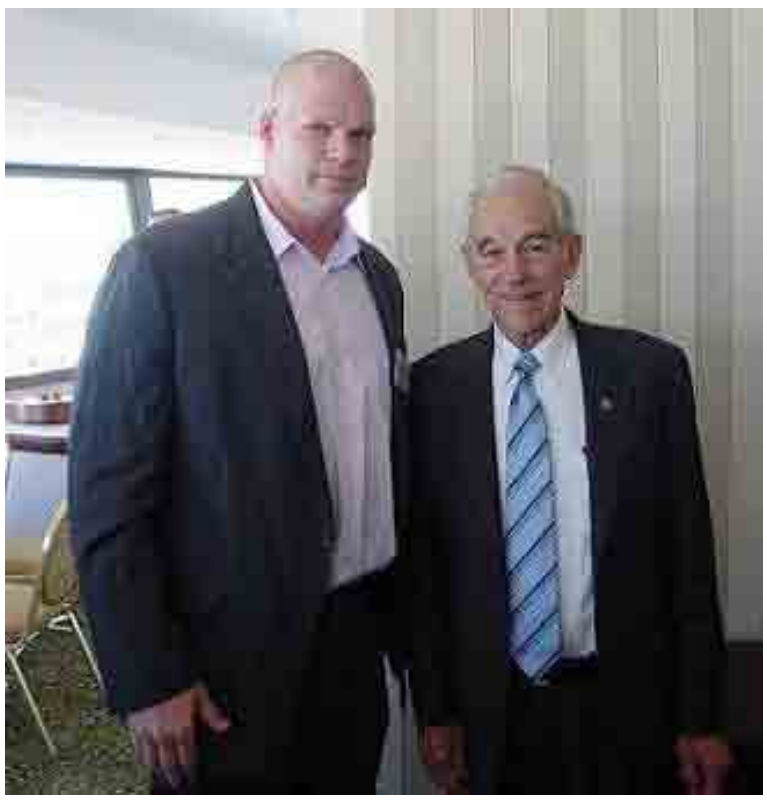
In his 1935 book *War is a Racket*, he described the workings of the military-industrial complex and, after retiring from service, became a popular speaker at meetings organized by veterans, pacifists and church groups in the 1930s.

In 1934, he became involved in a controversy known as the Business Plot when he told a congressional committee that a group of wealthy industrialists were planning a military coup to overthrow Franklin D. Roosevelt. The purported plot woud have had Butler leading a mass of armed veterans in a march on Washington. The individuals identified denied the existence of a plot, and the media ridiculed the allegations. The final report of the committee stated that there was evidence that such a plot existed, but no charges were ever filed. The opinion of most historians is that while planning for a coup was not very advanced, wild schemes were discussed.

Butler continued his speaking engagements in an extended tour, but in June 1940 checked himself into a naval hospital, dying a few weeks later from what was believed to be cancer. He was buried at Oaklands Cemetery in West Chester, Pennsylvania; his home has been maintained as a memorial and contains memorabilia collected during his various careers.

War Is a Racket is the title of two works, a speech and a booklet, by retired United States Marine Corps Major General Smedley D. Butler. In them, Butler frankly discusses from his experience as a career military officer how business interests commercially benefit from warfare.

WAR IS A RACKET (mp3) narrated by Glenn Jacobs (WWE wrestler and Ron Paul supporter) CLICK HERE for full text of speech.



PUBLISHER RECOMMENDED

Click mp3 player below:

His After his retirement from the Marine Corps, Gen. Butler made a nationwide tour in the early 1930s giving his speech "War is a Racket". The speech was so well received that he wrote a longer version as a small book with the same title that was published in 1935 by Round Table Press, Inc., of New York. The booklet was also condensed in Reader's Digest as a book supplement which helped popularize his message. In an introduction to the Reader's Digest version, Lowell Thomas, the "as told to" author of Butler's oral autobiographical adventures, praised Butler's "moral as well as physical courage"

Information courtesy of Wikipedia. Text of Speech provided by WarIsARacket.Com

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Why Governments Make War
By Justin Raimondo

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WHY is the US involved in endless war around the world? Why, for that matter, do nations – or, rather, their governments – act the way they do? The number of answers is no doubt nearly equal to the number of questioners. It's all about economics, say the Marxists (and the Hamiltonians): imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. No, say the "realists," it's all about the objective "interests" of various nations, and the interplay of those "interests" in the international arena. The neocons have a different explanation: it's all a matter of "will" and "national purpose," or a lack of same: imbued with a sense of our "national greatness," America will spread democracy all over the world – or else go into a shameful decline in which spiritual loss precedes the loss of the war-making spirit.

Yet none of these supposedly overarching theories provides an adequate explanation for how and why we find ourselves in our present predicament. America has bankrupted itself building a global empire with bases, protectorates, and colonies on every continent – and yet still we persist in pursuing a policy that is taking us to the brink of the financial abyss. Our social safety net is in serious disrepair, and shows every sign of failing: our banking system is a rickety house of cards, and the national housing crisis – the latest manifestation of the financial bubble – is dragging the middle class down into penury. Yet still we send billions – nay, *trillions* – overseas to prop up a precarious overseas empire. How is this possible –and why is it happening?

In positing a libertarian theory of international relations we depart from the prescriptive and focus on the descriptive: that is, we ignore – for the moment – the question of what the ideal foreign policy ought to be, and concentrate on the problem of describing how our present policies are formulated and implemented. We start, therefore, with the question of *who* is doing the formulating.

In "democratic" societies, we are told, "the people" are the ultimate policymakers, because they – in theory – hold their rulers accountable, not only at the polls but in the forum of public opinion and whatever parliamentary apparatus shares power with the executive. In practice, however, foreign policy is a completely separate realm, the domain of "experts" and specialists ensconced in think tanks – and, of course, the higher reaches of the councils of state.

Furthermore, unless a major war is in progress, one that has an obvious effect on the economic and political life of the nation, foreign policy is the least of the public's concerns. This is especially true in the US, but also in a broader sense: it's only natural that people are usually concerned with events closer to home, where their knowledge of the context is more extensive.

This distancing of the citizenry from the policymaking process is accentuated, in the US, by the erosion of congressional power in the foreign policy realm. In the latter days of the American empire, policy is made almost entirely within the White House and the national security bureaucracy: Congress ceded its war-making powers long ago.

The conduct of America's – or any country's – foreign policy, therefore, is the province of a very small group at the very top of the political pyramid: what might be called, for lack of a better group description, the ruling class, otherwise known as the "Establishment." These are the chief actors, – aside from freelancers like terrorist groups, various "liberation" movements, and George Soros – on the world stage.

To answer the question posed at the beginning of this article, it is necessary to ask what motivates the Establishment: what causes them to come to a consensus and act? For libertarians, and for those of a realistic mindset – not always the same thing – the answer is simple: it's all about *power*.

The retention and expansion of political power is the central task of every ruling class throughout history, no matter what their ostensible ideological orientation. Dictatorships, democracies, and everything in between all share this common trait: it is the organizing principle at the core of the policymaking machine, the brain behind the brawn. The various ideological explanations offered by these elites for their actions are invariably self-serving and ultimately irrelevant rationalizations: for example, the old Communist elites pretended to be working toward the establishment of the communist system worldwide, but in fact were devoted to the creation of "socialism in one country," i.e. feathering their own nest. In the West, political leaders insist their goal is the spread of liberal democracy and its alleged economic benefits, but the reality is that they're more concerned with their campaign treasuries and their poll numbers: the old mottoes of the Anglo-Saxon ruling class, which upheld the principle of "noblesse oblige," are so timeworn and tattered that no one even bothers to invoke them any longer.

The politicians, in short, are in it to stay in it: they are in the business of acquiring and keeping power, and that is what motivates them in all matters foreign and domestic. The "national interest," the "world revolution," the peculiar destiny afforded us as sainted beneficiaries of "American exceptionalism" – all these disparate brands of ideological snake-oil, boiled down to their essence, are just naked self-interest colored with various shades of rhetorical mumbo-jumbo.

A wise ruler – say, Marcus Aurelius – may realize the prolongation of his rule (not to mention the judgment of history) depends on pursuing peaceful, relatively beneficent policies, whereas a foolish and/or evil one – say, Hitler – may pursue policies that seem to expand his power in the short term but doom him in the long run, Yet both are similarly motivated by an overriding ambition – to wear the Ring of Power, and thus shape the course of events.

In seeking to understand why governments as international actors take or refrain from taking a

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certain course, the first task of the intelligent observer is to look toward the home front. The "official" explanations for such actions are invariably tied to some "crisis" that exists thousands of miles away, usually attributed to dastardly deeds of the villain-of-the-month. In reality, the true cause is usually much closer to home – and staring us in the face.

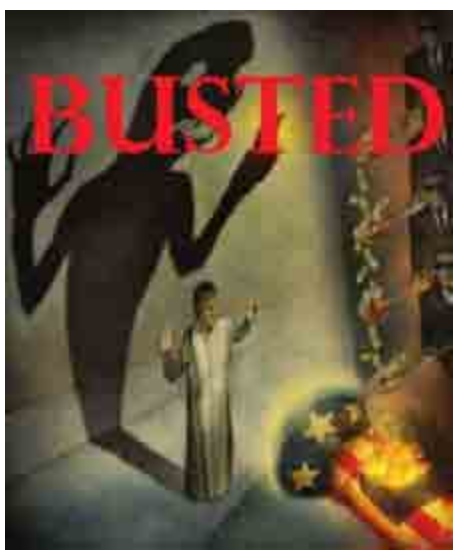
For example, let's look at the events in Libya, where we were told that, unless the US and the NATO alliance intervened, as many as a hundred thousand civilians would be slaughtered by forces loyal to Moammar Gadhafi. This alleged "humanitarian crisis," however, turned out to be the same old war propaganda, on a par with the Kuwaiti incubator babies – but not quite as convincing as those Belgian babies supposedly speared on the Kaiser's bayonets.

We're doing it for "the children" – now that's the kind of war Secretary of State Hillary Clinton can get behind! And she certainly did: indeed, it was her, in league with two other prominent "progressive" harpies in the national security high command, who demanded US action, which the President was clearly reluctant to take. Yet he went along with it in order to appease the increasingly restless Clintonian wing of his party – which has been aggressively pushing Hillary as a replacement for Biden on the 2012 ticket – and to placate George Soros. The sudden declaration of a "humanitarian crisis" was a laughably transparent pretext for intervention – a reality even clearer in retrospect, as the *real* humanitarian crisis precipitated by various rebel "militias" unfolds in such loyalist strongholds as Sirte and western Libya in general.

The real reason for the Libyan adventure was the necessity of averting a political crisis inside the Democratic coalition: Obama wanted a "team of rivals," and that is what he got. Having ceded the foreign policy of his administration to the Clintons, the President had little choice but to let Hillary assert herself: Libya was her war, and Obama let her have it for purely internal political reasons.

Our embarrassingly vacillating policy on the question of Palestinian statehood, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in general, is another prime example of how internal political dynamics drive foreign policy decision-making. After a promising start, the Obama administration abandoned its much-reviled-by-the-neocons policy of "even-handedness," and wound up capitulating to the Israeli rejectionists and their "settlement" policy, even joining them in disdaining the Palestinian Authority's bid for UN recognition of a goal long sought by US Presidents, including Bill Clinton and George W. Bush: the creation of a Palestinian state. Why the sudden turnabout?

As onetime Democratic presidential candidate Wesley Clark pointed out, big donors to the party – "the New York money people" – don't look kindly on candidates who fail to toe the Israeli government line. The timing of the grandstanding UN veto is also a clue: barely a week after the defeat of a Democrat in a heavily Jewish New York congressional district previously colored the deepest blue. The latest wrinkle in fast-deteriorating US-Iranian relations – the phony Iranian "terrorist" plot supposedly engineered by an alcoholic used car salesman – is yet more living evidence that foreign policy has less to do with realities on the ground than it does with the internal political requirements of the various actors. At a time when the President's reelection prospects are looking increasingly grim, the Obama administration is afraid of losing key donors and voting blocs who doubt his commitment to Israel's "security" – and, *voila*!, the Great Turnabout is in progress.



In positing that it's the internal politics of a country that are key to understanding its relations with other states, it's important to make no distinctions, either ideological or structural, between them. That is, one must strip away the self-descriptions and other conceits that mask the underlying commonality of all states everywhere. Whether we are talking about democracies, or monarchies, "people's republics" on the old Soviet model or banana republics a la Hugo Chavez, the same rule applies: the "Establishment," whether it be capitalist, "socialist," theocratic, or some other flavor of ideological Kool-Aid, is bound and determined to hold on to power, and will go to practically any lengths to acquire more.

This commonality is demonstrated by the fact that democracies are just as likely to engage in imperialistic wars as are dictatorships of one sort or another: our current policy of endless war demonstrates this rule rather dramatically,

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and history confirms it. Britain, by far the most liberal and democratic empire that ever existed, was simultaneously the greatest aggressor, relentlessly expanding the Empire to nearly every continent, abolishing slavery – and enslaving millions. The French revolutionaries were similarly expansionist, as dramatized by the career of a certain French corporal. Like Rome, the Athens of classical antiquity – founder of the democratic ideal – started out a republic and later acquired an overseas empire which eventually led to their downfall.

A libertarian theory of foreign affairs starts with the axiom that those in power wish to remain in power: all else follows from this basic proposition. It's the "all else," however, that is the important part, and not a mere detail to be filled in later. Because political and policy decisions are made by real people, not impersonal "forces" and floating abstractions, the specific context in which these decisions are made is key to understanding the course of events. It is *not enough* to say that there is some Vast Conspiracy – say, the Illuminati, the Bilderbergers, or the Elders of Fandom – operating behind the scenes and manipulating the "crisis" of the moment to its own advantage. It is necessary to cite specifics, i.e. *evidence* establishing causal connections between specific individuals, certain policy outcomes, and benefits accrued.

This is why journalism is such an important branch of the literary arts, and why its decline is such a blow to the cause of peace and liberty. Without specifics, and unarmed with facts, neither the professional analyst nor the interested citizen can get a clue as to what is going on with the biggest – and most dangerous – power on the planet. That's why Antiwar.com is such an important tool in the fight against interventionism and militarism: because we give you the news they don't want you to know about. Our ear is always to the ground, listening for the telltale signs of yet another "war for democracy" and/or "humanitarian crisis" requiring US military intervention. Taking you behind the headlines, we give our readers the real lowdown on the War Party's latest moves – and, like the War Party, we never rest.

We cannot rest, because the tendency of governments to constantly seek opportunities to expand their power – including across national borders – is inherent and *constant*. It can be neither eradicated, nor ignored: it has to be constantly watched – and challenged. That's why we're here, and that's why we must continue to be here for as long as governments exist.

Reprinted from AntiWar.Com

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The Three Biggest Lies the Government is Telling You
By Charles Goyette

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Government lies are legion.

So many are its lies, that narrowing them down to three of the most important is a demanding task. But our current crisis has been chiefly enabled by monetary policy, fiscal policy, and the global military empire. So I have chosen to focus on lies about each: the Federal Reserve, the orchestrator of monetary policy; the U.S. budget, the accounting of government fiscal policy; and a few of the Empire's war lies. I am sharing just a smattering of this astonishing record of duplicity in these areas, for life is short, or at least far too short to recount all of the state's lies about each.

Lie #1: The Federal Reserve Is a Bank

Practically everything the government says about banking is a lie. Central banks are not banks. The Federal Reserve, the central bank of the United States, is not a bank.

A bank is a company in the free economy that competes with other banks offering willing customers a safe place to make deposits and earn an interest rate return, while also competing to offer loans from those deposits to willing borrowers.

Central banks are government-created bureaucracies that do nothing of the sort.

The Federal Reserve is typical of central banks. It is not a free market institution in which people willingly make deposits. Instead, it wields monopoly power over actual banks. In place of managing deposits and loans of its own, it creates money out of nothing by a variety of means including debt monetization, in which it buys government debt by simply creating a credit in the account of a commercial bank with nothing more than a booking entry. This is an act made possible only by the state's grant of a legal monopoly empowering the central bank to do what, if done by a private bank, would be a crime called counterfeiting.

Central banks thus have the ability to unilaterally boom and bust their economies at will. And they have done so throughout their history, either to the benefit of the commercial bank cartels, in response to political pressure, or because of outright economic ineptitude.

Writing at Lew Rockwell.com about the myth that the Federal Reserve is a "bank," and independent, finance professor Michael Rozeff describes a central bank as a government's "fiat money bureau." "It is held up by the force of government law and power. It is imposed on the public."

The representation of them as actual banks produces confusion in which central banks are said to earn "profits." For example, a January, 2012 Federal Reserve press release reporting its "earnings," announced $76.9 billion in 2011 net income. This was described in the New York Times and the Financial Times as the Fed's "profits," just as though it were the annual report of any commercial bank's profits.

Yet in what sense does the Fed show a "profit" or have "earnings"? It is as inappropriate as describing the collections of the Internal Revenue Service as "profits."

Where are these Federal Reserve "profits" derived? They are the result of printing new dollars to buy assets; that is, they are the result of diluting the purchasing power of every dollar you or anyone else has. It is not any different than a dairy watering down 100 gallons of milk to sell 110 gallons. It is fraud. But it is a fraud legalized by act of Congress.

But the Federal Reserve is not alone. Another non-bank is the World Bank which loans money to governments and government enterprises. The World Bank has been a useful place to pasture failed U.S. government warmongers like

the disastrous Vietnam War Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara and Iraq war co-author Paul Wolfowitz. Both were named World Bank presidents even as their deadly wars raged on.

The World Bank gets almost all of its money by way of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), (also not a bank), which gets its money from taxes, the largest share coming from the American people. The IBRD also sells World Bank bonds, but they too are guaranteed by taxpayers.

American tax dollars go to other multi-national organizations such as the Asian Development Bank, the African Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

None of which are banks.

Lie #2: War Lies

Governments and politicians lie incessantly about war. They lie about the cause of war. They lie about the threat of war. They lie about the cost of war. And they lie about their lies about war.

Governments lie relentlessly about war. Just in the last fifty years the people have been lied to about U.S. government wars from Vietnam to Iraq.

The Gulf of Tonkin incident, a purported attack on U.S. ships by North Vietnam off its coast, was used by President Johnson (an "unprovoked" attack he told the nation) to win legislative authority, the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, for a war in Vietnam. But it was an incident that did not happen and Johnson knew it even as

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he escalated Vietnam into the full-blown blood bath it became. "Hell," he told his secretary of state just a few days after the resolution passed, "those dumb, stupid sailors were just shooting at flying fish!"

Lying is so intrinsic to the nature of government, that even the truth about old lies is concealed to protect new lies. In 2001, a National Security Agency study found that officials had actually doctored documents in covering up the truth about the Tonkin Gulf incident, the bogus war pretext that led to the needless deaths of millions of human beings. But the new report of that old cover-up was itself delayed for years for fear that it's release would cast doubt on the intelligence that the Bush administrations was using to justify an invasion of Iraq.

In the case of the Iraq war, not only did defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld lie about knowing where the non-existent weapons of mass destruction were in Iraq ("We know where they are. They're in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, south and north somewhat."), in a later exchange with my friend former CIA senior analyst Ray McGovern, Rumsfeld even denied he had made such a claim.

"Simply stated," Dick Cheney said of the mythical WMDs in August of 2002, "there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction." "We know for a fact," said White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer in January of 2003, "that there are weapons there." "We know that Saddam Hussein is determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction," said Colin Powell in February of 2003, "is determined to make more."

The government can be counted on to lie about the costs of war. Lawrence Lindsey, a Bush administration economist, was fired for suggesting in advance that the Iraq war would cost $100 billion to $200 billion. Although estimates in the trillions of dollars would have been closer, Rumsfeld called Lindsey's estimate "baloney."

The government tries to conceal spending by keeping it off the budget books with supplementary, appropriations and emergency measures. It even spreads war costs off of the defense department budget and into the budget of other departments such as state and energy.

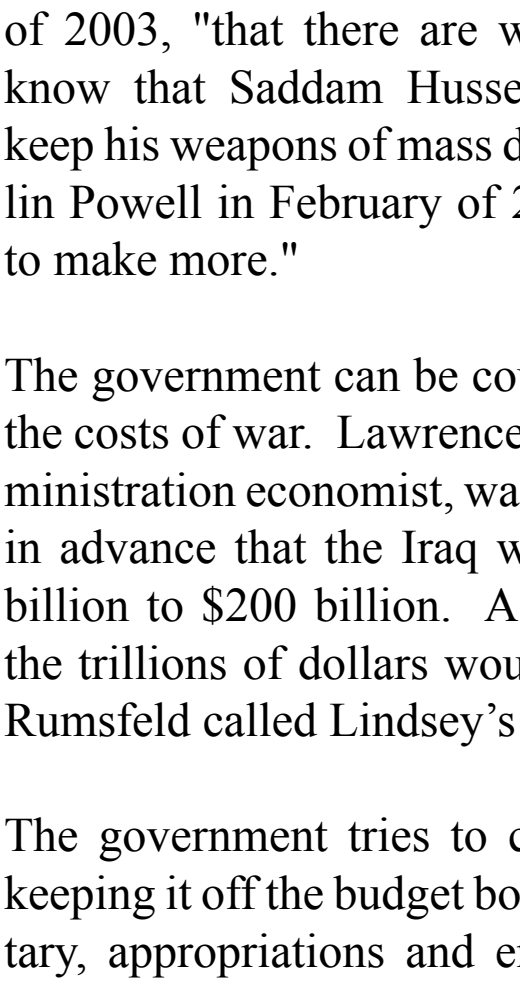
and about the way the government lied about the killing of Pat Tillman and even lied about lying about its lies about his death.

Private Lynch was a 19 year old clerk when her company was ambushed in Iraq after taking a wrong turn. She suffered injuries when her Humvee overturned and was taken by Iraqi soldiers to a nearby hospital. Although she suffered injuries when her Humvee overturned, "U.S. officials" reported that Lynch had gone down fighting and had been both shot and stabbed in action, and later even slapped around as he was interrogated on her hospital bed.

The truth is she had no such wounds. She had never fired her weapon, and, by her own account, was well cared for in the Iraqi hospital. Although the Iraqi doctor who had cared for her tried himself to turn her over to the Americans, the Pentagon, with a propaganda campaign in mind and camera's rolling, staged a dramatic raid from helicopters to "rescue" Lynch. The video was edited up in no time and released by a Pentagon anxious to have a heroic feel-good war narrative to relate. But of course the Pentagon refused a request to release the full video of the "rescue" to clear up discrepancies in its account.

While the Pentagon is perfectly capable of lying on its own initiative, members of congress pressured the Pentagon to award Lynch the Medal of Honor, even before an investigation was complete, saying it would be "good for women in the military."

Pat Tillman, killed in action in Afghanistan, was posthumously awarded the Silver Star, a combat honor given for valor in action against an enemy. But there was no encounter with the enemy. Tillman was shot to death by his fellow soldiers. This was carefully concealed with fraudulent accounts of the incident.



I have written more about government's war lies in my new book Red and Blue and Broke All Over: Restoring America's Free Economy, but must finish the point here with a reminder of the government's lies about the case of Jessica Lynch,

Senior commanders' prints were all over the cover-up about Tillman's death. General John

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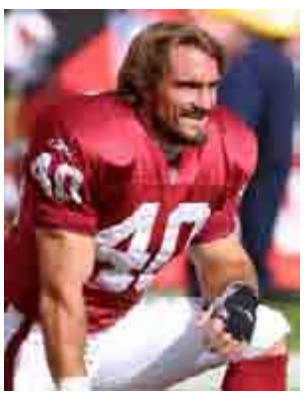
Abizaid approved the Silver Star despite knowing within days of Tillman's death that he had been shot by "friendly fire." Lieutenant General Stanley McChrystal cited Tillman for actions "in the line of devastating enemy fire," but the very next day sent a confidential memo about the fratricide to senior government officials including Abizaid warning them to protect themselves and President Bush from embarrassment in the episode.

Tillman's family charged the military with repeatedly lying to them about his death and about its investigation, as it delayed accounts of his friendly fire death until after a nationally televised memorial service orchestrated by the Bush administration. By one account, his fellow soldiers were even told to lie to the family at Tillman's funeral.

Tillman's enlistment in the army after the 9/11 attacks was a national sensation. A good looking NFL player, Tillman gave up a multi-million dollar football career to join up. Thanks to his popularity, he was like a recruiting poster for the military. His father claimed that it was this usefulness to the military that helped drive the cover-up. "They purposely interfered with the investigation, they covered it up. I think they thought they could control it, and they realized that their recruiting efforts were going to go to hell in a handbasket if the truth about his death got out. They blew up their poster boy."



Apparently the original cover-up, in which his comrades even burned the evidence of his body armor and uniform, was itself covered up. Lt. Gen. Philip Kensinger was censured by the army for lying to investigators about Tillman's death. Pat's mother, Mary Tillman, said that Kensinger was just a scapegoat. "There are a lot of people who played a role in this and they are getting off without any punishment." She singled out Lt. Gen. Stanley McChrystal and Gen. John Abizaid by name.

The government not only lies about war, it routinely lies about its lies about war.

Lie #3: The Real U.S. Debt

This may be the most brazen and transparent lie of all, the one about the U.S. national debt, now over $15 trillion dollars. It is a number that hides the severity of our situation.

Washington acts as though that is the real debt of the nation. Politicians posture for weeks at a time about it, devoting long debates to raising the ceiling on this visible portion of the national debt.

And yet the real federal debt is much, much larger and like an iceberg below the water line, most of it is hidden out of sight. And like the Titanic, Republicans and Democrats have the country headed for a tragic collision with economic reality.

Each year the federal government makes new promises and takes on trillions in new financial obligations that do not show up in the visible, official national debt. The persistent growth of these hidden debts each year far outpaces the increases in the visible debt. In 2010 for example, the visible federal debt grew by an astonishing $1.5 trillion. But the hidden debt – out of sight and without debate – grew by more than $5 trillion!

When a private business takes on an obligation to pay something, it is required to report it as a liability. It shows up on the books. Not so for the state. This allows politicians to blithely make promises without adequate revenue to pay for them. It is easy to understand why this practice should persist. Giving things to constituents feels good. Making them pay for those things causes politicians to suffer pain. Like most living creatures, politicians like to feel good and avoid pain. So when they add to the obligations of the state, when politicians make commitments for the future or promise entitlements like Social Security and Medicare to win reelection, the means to pay are often inadequate. But there is no such thing as a free lunch, which is to say, that the cost will have to be borne eventually by somebody. For the time being though, the preferred political expediency is keeping the costs, the liabilities, off the books.

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Unfunded liabilities are the difference between a program's projected costs and its projected revenues, both valued in today's dollars.

Medicare and Social Security both have promised benefits that outrace revenue streams. They are the largest components of the government's unfunded liabilities, the hidden debt of the nation. But there are other federal retirement programs with not merely inadequate funding like Medicare and Social Security, but with no revenue streams of their own at all. Among them are retirement programs for military and federal workers.

In September 2011, USA Today analyzed dozens of overlapping programs for retired federal workers. It reported that despite the existing debt crisis, Congress continues to add to the promised benefits, so that retirement programs now have a $5.7 trillion unfunded liability.

The newspaper sums up its report on the retirement programs this way:

> *Private employers are legally required to put money into pension funds to match retirement promises. Private pensions have $2.3 trillion in stocks, bonds, real estate and other assets. State and local governments have $3 trillion in retirement funds.*
>
> *The federal government has nothing set aside.*

The total unfunded liabilities of the U.S. government have been calculated with a number of present value and discount models. Results of the shortfall from these methods range from about $70 trillion to $120 trillion dollars. For a family of four this represents a liability between $900,000 and $1.5 million. (You can follow the debt as it adds up at www.USdebt.org.)

What does the state say about its unfunded liabilities? Here's a response from the Congressional Budget Office, which answers, "… no government obligation can be truly considered 'unfunded' because of the U.S. government's sovereign power to tax--which is the ultimate resource to meet its obligations."

That is utter hooey. It conjures up an absurdity in which the government could meet its obligation by sending you a Social Security check, even as it raises a tax to take 100 percent of everything you get from Social Security. The reason that is an absurdity is that it is a two-step process to do what the government will do in just one step. By means either overt (legislative act) or covert (currency destruction), it will unilaterally reduce its "obligation," leaving millions of people betrayed.

Because it is the government. And it lies about its obligations.

Just like it lies about everything else.

Charles Goyette's new book Red and Blue and Broke All Over: Restoring America's Free Economy will be released March 15.

And coming in February, Charles Goyette's Freedom & Prosperity Letter.

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A Blueprint for a Transition to a Peacetime Economy
By Mark Nestmann

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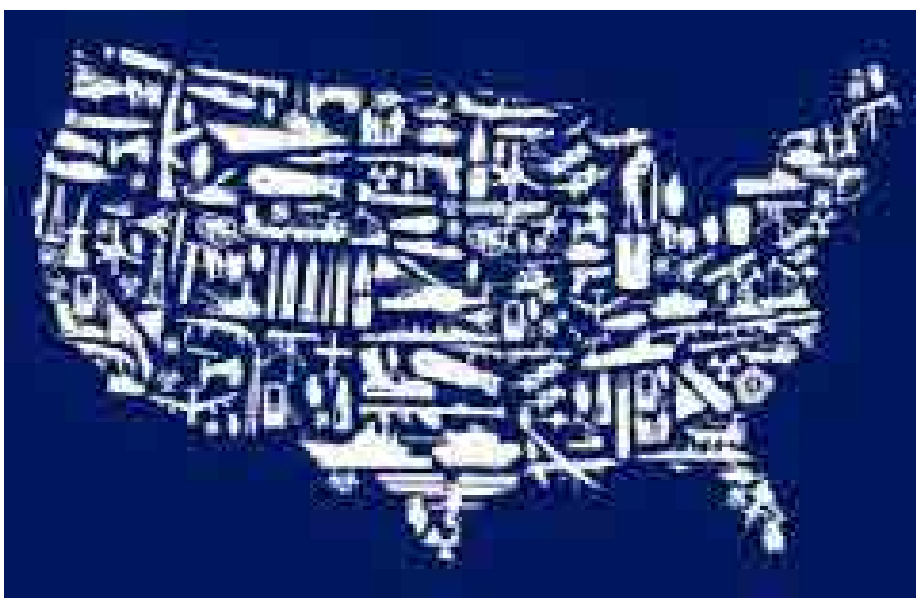
AMERICA has been at war my entire life. In the wake of World War II, the United States waged a massive war in Korea and subsequently in Vietnam. This was followed in the 1980s by smaller invasions of Grenada and Panama, and in the 1990s and 2000s, major wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In my youth, the Soviet Union was the enemy. We were indoctrinated to believe that America was the target of Russian missiles that intended to wipe out major industrial centers, including my hometown of South Charleston, W.Va. At school, we practiced "duck and cover" maneuvers that would supposedly shield us from the shockwave of a nuclear explosion.

The Birth of the Military-Industrial Complex



What force drives our continuous state of war? In 1961, President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned in his farewell address that a "military-industrial complex" was acquiring national influence that could cause a fundamental shift in the way the United States was governed. He warned of "destroying from within that which you are trying to protect from without."

The military-industrial complex that Eisenhower deplored comes into being during every war, but until World War II was largely disbanded at the end of each conflict. But since the United States never fully demobilized after 1945, the military-industrial complex has continued to expand ever since.

Eisenhower, and before him the first U.S. president, George Washington, warned that maintaining a standing military during peacetime was a dangerous precedent. The existence of these forces militarizes the underlying society, converting it into a permanent wartime footing. Over the last 70 years, a political constituency for war has been built in every U.S. state to supply the military with economic and political clout in communities across the entire country. Even more important are the changes in customs and laws that ignite suspicion against those perceived as enemies.

To maintain the military-industrial complex, those who profit from it must continuously identify and vilify new enemies. This is the job not just of the military, but also of industries that profit from military spending. Think tanks advocating military solutions are created, and congressional representatives bought and paid for by these industries are elected. The propaganda techniques these advocates of military force use were perfected by the Nazis, and are designed to indoctrinate a specific belief system into the population through repetition. The mainstream media mindlessly parrots these statements. Eventually, the propaganda begins to be accepted as being true with its underlying assumptions seldom questioned.

When the Soviet Union fell in 1989, a brief opportunity existed to demobilize. But instead, a new enemy was found: terrorism. This was a brilliant yet cynical formulation, because terrorism is a tactic, not a government. Terrorism can't be conquered or defeated the same way as a national government. The conflation of a War on Terror with the military-industrial complex thus paves the way for permanent war.

War also requires living under a continuous state of national emergency. For instance, after the attacks of 9/11/01, President Bush declared a national emergency under which we still live. However, the president can end this national emergency anytime, thereby removing the legal backing for anti-terrorist initiatives such as eavesdropping on all U.S. electronic communications and the assassination of U.S. citizens. Ending the national emergency would also help justify repeal of police-state legislation, such as the USA Patriot Act.

Obstacles to Peace

Unfortunately, peace is a hard sell. Even though the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have cost America more than $3 trillion, we have become conditioned to the assertion that peace simply isn't a viable alternative. Proponents of the War on Terror warn that demilitarization will inevitably lead to terrorist attacks on U.S. interests both in the United States and abroad. They also warn that it will lead to the rise of militant Islamic states throughout the Mideast, Asia, and Africa that are fundamentally hostile to the United States.

These claims are preposterous in the face of the facts, but they are seldom examined critically. Osama bin Laden, the architect of the 9/11/01 attacks, is now dead. The organization he led, Al Qaeda—the primary target of the War on Terror—is largely irrelevant to the changes now transforming the Arab world. Islamist parties now openly compete in elections in many countries, thus breaking fundamentally with Al Qaeda's core belief that sovereignty belongs to God, not to the people.

But even if demilitarization doesn't lead to a network of fundamentalist Islamic states targeting the United States for destruction, demilitarization also means bringing home hundreds of thousands of American soldiers stationed

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abroad. They will return to the USA just as hundreds of thousands of defense industry jobs disappear as the military shrinks to peacetime levels. The potential for social chaos in this situation is obvious.

The conventional solution to this problem is for more government control over the economy. Adherents to the Keynesian economic school advocate large scale public works and the expansion of social security programs in a demobilization to create jobs and cushion the economic impact for those not able to find them. In theory, revenues otherwise used for war could be diverted for this purpose, but to finance our most recent wars, our overseers haven't raised taxes. Instead, they've borrowed around $3 trillion to pay for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Any monies the government diverts into a peacetime economy must be borrowed as well.

Fortunately, there's no need to borrow additional trillions to expand public works and social security following demobilization. Once the United States ends its permanent state of national emergency, America could enjoy a peacetime economic boom. But the only way demobilization won't lead to economic depression is to create a domestic economic framework that favors investment and entrepreneurship. End the emergency, simplify taxes, rules and regulations, and Adam Smith's invisible hand will emerge to create new investments and jobs.

John Galt
It is Time

Freedom Works: The Example of West Germany

For a real world example of how this could work, we need to look no further than post World War II Germany. The entire country's industrial production had been bombed out of existence, as had its major cities. Germany was partitioned into two countries, East and West.

In the East, the Soviet Union maintained a massive military presence, and imposed a police state along with rigid controls over the economy. East Germany became a Soviet-style centrally planned economy, with fundamental economic decisions made administratively, rather than by the market. Rather than provide products or services based on consumer demand, those administering the planned economy set forth economic policies and then directed farms and factories to produce the planned goods and services. The outcome was predictable. While East Germany gradually recovered after World War II, it did so very slowly. The planned economy resulted in massive misallocation of resources. Millions of East Germans fled to West Germany or other European countries, leading to a labor shortage and continuing economic stagnation.

West Germany took a different course, in large part due to the efforts of Ludwig Erhard. He was an economist who became an economic consultant for the U.S. military administration following Germany's defeat A PhD in economics, Erhard was influenced by the writings of Ludwig von Mises and other followers of the Austrian School of economics. The U.S. military appointed Erhard chairman of a commission preparing for postwar economic reform. In 1948, he became Economic Director for what was to become West Germany. While his American overseers no doubt expected that he would follow a similar economic course to East Germany, Erhard shocked them by promptly abolishing price controls and production limitations. He then introduced the Deutschemark, which soon became one of the world's strongest and most respected currencies.

These reforms were an immediate success. Currency reform converted the Deutschemark into a respected store of value, and the abolition of price and production controls made investment in West Germany far more attractive. Billions of dollars of investment followed, along with the migration of millions of skilled workers from East Germany to West Germany. This led to the Wirtschaftswunder (economic miracle) of the 1950s when West Germany arose from a defeated state with a devastated infrastructure to become the world's third largest economy.

The example of West Germany demonstrates that even starting with an economy and industrial infrastructure devastated by war, a trusted currency and lower regulatory barriers can lead to great prosperity. That's a lesson we should all remember as we strive to build a constituency for a transition away from a war economy.

How can we do so? The success of Ron Paul in the Republican primaries is a promising beginning. For decades, Paul has consistently followed an anti-war agenda, and it's finally gaining some traction. If it continues, we will eventually reach a "tipping point" where demobilization becomes an accepted subject for serious political debate. The Wirtschaftswunder proves that demobilization can equate to enormous economic prosperity—but only if America creates the conditions to make that occur.

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Two Wrongs Make a War
By Larken Rose

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PEOPLE tend to view military conflicts the way they view football games. Only, when they say, "My team is gonna kill your team," they mean it literally. The trouble is, when it comes to clashes between "government" militaries, there aren't good guys and bad guys. There are bad guys and worse guys. The fact that one side may commit a bit less torture, terrorism and murder than the other doesn't mean they deserve your support.

I still occasionally see a bumper-sticker that says, "If you love your freedom, thank a U.S. veteran." And if you ended up living under Soviet control, after the Allies gave Stalin half of Europe, should you thank a U.S. veteran for that, too? If you were a civilian in Dresden, and got to watch your town, and most of the people in it, needlessly incinerated, should you thank a U.S. veteran? How about if you happened to live in Nagasaki, or Hiroshima, at the wrong time? Well, you wouldn't be around to thank anyone. Freedom doesn't come from war-mongering, even war-mongering against other war-mongers. It comes from understanding and defending the concept of self-ownership, which is something that "government" militaries never do.

As a result of constant propaganda, indoctrination, and peer pressure, almost everyone in this country, left or right, still says, "Of course, I support the troops." So let me say, loudly and without hesitation, I absolutely do NOT support the troops. They commit evil on a regular basis, constantly using violence and the threat of violence against innocents. Claiming that evil is "necessary," or calling it "collateral damage," does not change morality. In short, most combat soldiers, regardless of what regime they serve, do things that completely warrant their intended victims killing them.

Let me make sure that I don't fail to offend people by being too general. If your brave son is off somewhere, randomly kicking down doors and pointing guns at people, because someone told him to, then the desperate homeowner who decides to blow your brave son's head off is absolutely justified in doing so. Your son dying while acting as a violently aggressive mercenary for megalomaniacs does not make him a hero. It makes him an enemy of humanity. And what flag he has on his shoulder makes no difference whatsoever.

Now, I don't know whether this makes it better or worse, but I do believe that most soldiers--of all countries, in fact--join up with good intentions, thinking they will be defending their country, fighting injustice, and so on. But it's always a lie. Always. Because the "government" method of combat is completely incompatible with moral, purely defensive force. To prove this, all you need to do is imagine what would happen if you used the approach that "government" militaries use.

"Well, gosh, there's this bad guy, and I know he lives somewhere in that particular city block, so I blew up the whole thing to make sure I got him. Sorry about the hundred or so innocents I killed at the same time, but the guy was really, really bad, so that makes it okay, right?"

Or maybe...

"Well, gosh, I didn't have enough bombs to blow up the whole block, so me and some of my buddies went door to door, kicking down doors, pointing guns at everyone and searching all their houses, to find the bad guy. And of course, whenever some homeowner didn't take kindly to that, and drew a gun, we had to defend ourselves by killing them."

What kind of lunatic would imagine such an argument to be valid? Well, the kind who wear soldier uniforms, and the kind who command them. And calling such evil "serving your country" or "doing one's duty" doesn't make it any more sane or moral.

The pack mentality and simplistic thought processes of the average statist makes him accept completely insane and evil ideas. For example, the "logic" of nationalistic folk might go something like this: "Hitler was a bad guy, and therefore whoever fought against him was a good guy." No. Bad logic. The enemy of your enemy is not automatically your friend. The enemy of freedom and justice--regardless of what "team" he is on--should be your enemy, and the enemy of tyranny and violent aggression--regardless of race, nationality, religion, or anything else--should be your friend. Someone I've never

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met, on the other side of the world, with a completely different world view than mine, but who will leave me alone and wants me to leave him alone, is more my ally than anyone on any side who has pledged to commit violence whenever the state tells him to (i.e., anyone in a military uniform).

This is in spite of the fact that, again, I don't believe most soldiers start with malicious intent. However, by way of the lie called "authority," their noble virtues are twisted and hijacked, and used as fuel for evil by those who desire power over others. The soldier is told that Hitler is a really, really bad guy, doing really, really bad things (which was true), and then told that the only way to stop him is for the soldier to go do whatever his "commanders" tell him to do. If that means detaining, searching, threatening, torturing or murdering civilians--as always happens in every war--then that's just the cost of justice.

Sadly, war is proof that most people would literally rather kill, or die, than objectively re-examine their own belief systems. For example, many military veterans say that, once bullets start flying and bombs start dropping, any thought of the cause, or the ultimate goal, or some noble ideal, is out the window, and all that matters is keeping you and your buddies alive. No doubt the guys on the other side of that line are thinking the same thing. But groups of buddies on both sides think that the only way to survive is to kill the other guy, and his buddies. Because they were so effectively trained to blindly obey "authority," neither set of buddies can see the bleedingly obvious: the best way for you and your buddies to survive is (drum roll, please), GO HOME! To borrow a hippie slogan, "What if they had a war, and no one came?"

Now, there is a slight flaw in that saying. If someone attacks you, not fighting doesn't fix anything. But there's a big difference between trying to repel an attacker, and going door to door picking fights with all of your neighbors, just in case they were thinking of attacking you.And that has been U.S. "foreign policy" for a very long time. Furthermore, even when attacked, the victim doesn't suddenly acquire the right to attack innocents. If an individual punches you, that doesn't mean you have the right to go punch his neighbor, just because he happens to reside in the vicinity of someone who assaulted you.

Furthermore, falling back on "well, my team isn't as evil as yours," is pretty lame. Yes, the authoritarian gangs on the "other side" in World War II, and Vietnam, and Iraq, and lots of other conflicts, did bad things. Really bad things. So should our moral standard be, as long as the other side is a little bit more evil, we can be proud? "We" didn't lock up as many Japanese Americans in the internment camps as the Nazis locked up, so "we" are the good guys? "We" haven't executed as many military deserters as the other side, so "we" are the good guys? (Did you know that 17 people were put to death in the U.S., and many more were sentenced to life in prison, for refusing the draft for World War I?) When "we" murdered hundreds of thousands of civilians in Japan, were "we" still the good guys, because our goal was noble? (It's sad that Americans are so scared that some day, some lunatic might use nuclear weapons in a terrorist attack, forgetting that it already happened, and the lunatic was an American President.)

I dare anyone to spend some time watching the propaganda films put out by both gangs of authoritarian control freaks during World War II, and see if you can even tell the difference. "We're in the right, fighting for truth and justice against the nasty villains who want to do us harm!" Great. That's what both sides in every war always say. Sadly, the peasants on both sides still usually believe it. If America wants to be truly different and special, we could start by not believing the utter garbage that the megalomaniacs on "our side" feed us day in and day out. If we want to appear rational and humane, to ourselves and to the rest of the world, maybe we should drop the incessant, mindless chanting of "support the troops," and start advocating actual liberty, self-ownership and peaceful co-existence, here and everywhere else. Maybe before feeling superior, you should make sure that you really are superior, by advocating liberty and justice for all--yes, even people on the other side of the world who don't look like you or think like you--instead of just mindlessly, loyally cheering for the murderous mercenaries on your "team."

If this article seems a little harsh, a tad offensive, not civil or polite or compromising enough for you, keep in mind that in the time it took you to read this, it is quite likely that somewhere in the world, an innocent human being--or two, or ten--was just killed by "the troops" you support. If you think you're being righteous and noble for cheering for the gang of mercenaries that did it, if you think being loyal to your "team" is more important than opposing murder, then you need to pull your head out of your butt, and catch a glimpse of reality. Whatever good intentions they made have started with, "the troops" are the politicians' hitmen, and nothing else. I will support them when they stop being that, and not a moment before. How about you?

(P.S. Some advocates of freedom take the approach of gently, gradually trying to win people over, with kind words, finding common ground, and trying to win their philosophical opponents over with respect and consideration. Others feel that if people are committing evil, they should be directly and publicly condemned for it, in the hopes of shaming or intimidating them into changing their evil ways. Can you guess which approach I chose today?)

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US/Israel: Iran NOT Building Nukes
By Ray McGovern

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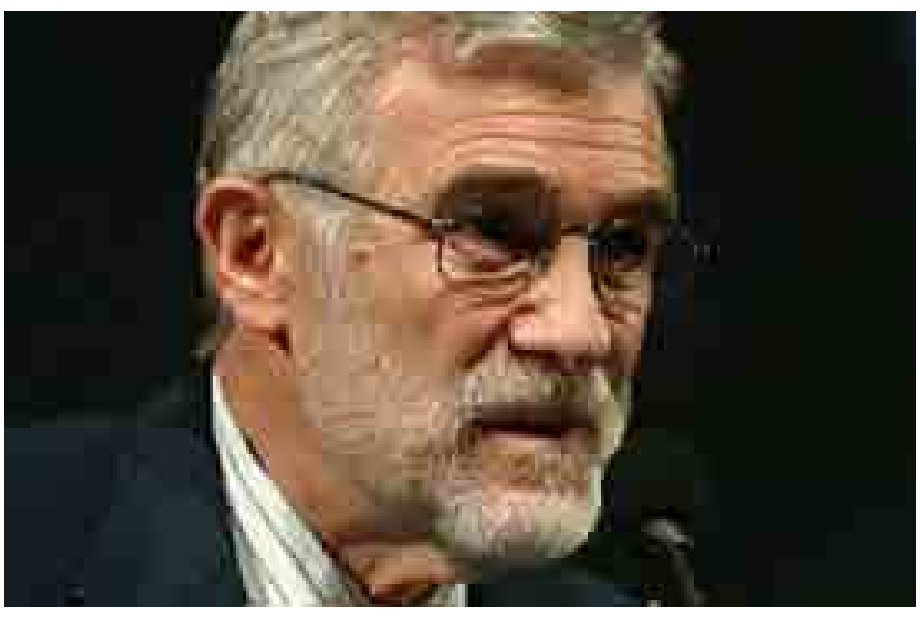


RECENT comments by U.S and Israeli military leaders indicate that the intelligence services of the two countries agree that Iran has *not* decided to build a nuclear bomb, a crack in the Western narrative that the U.S. press corps won't accept, as ex-CIA analyst Ray McGovern explains.

Has Iran decided to build a nuclear bomb? That would seem to be the central question in the current bellicose debate over whether the world should simply cripple Iran's economy and inflict severe pain on its civilian population or launch a preemptive war to destroy its nuclear capability while possibly achieving "regime change." And if you've been reading the New York Times or following the rest of the Fawning Corporate Media, you'd likely assume that everyone who matters agrees that the answer to the question is yes, although the FCM adds the caveat that Iran insists its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes only. The line is included with an almost perceptible wink and an "oh, yeah."

However, a consensus seems to be emerging among the intelligence and military agencies of the United States – and Israel – that Iran has NOT made a decision to build a nuclear weapon. In recent days, that judgment has been expressed by high-profile figures in the defense establishments of the two countries – U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta and Israel's Defense Minister Ehud Barak.

You might think that you would have heard more about that, wouldn't you? U.S. and Israel agree that Iran is NOT building a nuclear bomb. However, this joint assessment that Iran has NOT decided to build a nuclear bomb apparently represented too big a change in the accepted narrative for the Times and the rest of the FCM to process.

Yet, on Jan. 18, the day before U.S. Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Martin Dempsey arrived for talks in Israel, Israeli Defense Minister Barak gave an interview to Israeli Army radio in which he addressed with striking candor how he assesses Iran's nuclear program. It was not the normal pabulum.

Question: Is it Israel's judgment that Iran has not yet decided to turn its nuclear potential into weapons of mass destruction?

Barak: … confusion stems from the fact that people ask whether Iran is determined to break out from the control [inspection] regime right now … in an attempt to obtain nuclear weapons or an operable installation as quickly as possible. Apparently that is not the case. …

Question: How long will it take from the moment Iran decides to turn it into effective weapons until it has nuclear warheads?

Barak: I don't know; one has to estimate. … Some say a year, others say 18 months. It doesn't really matter. To do that, Iran would have to announce it is leaving the [UN International Atomic Energy Agency] inspection regime and stop responding to IAEA's criticism, etc.

Why haven't they [the Iranians] done that? Because they realize that … when it became clear to everyone that Iran was trying to acquire nuclear weapons, this would constitute definite proof that time is actually running out. This could generate either harsher sanctions or other action against them. They do not want that.

Question: Has the United States asked or demanded that the government inform the Americans in advance, should it decide on military action?

Barak: I don't want to get into that. We have not made a decision to opt for that, we have not decided on a decision-making date. The whole thing is very far off. …

Question: You said the whole thing is "very far off." Do you mean weeks, months, years?

Barak: I wouldn't want to provide any estimates. It's certainly not urgent. I don't want to relate to it as though tomorrow it will happen.

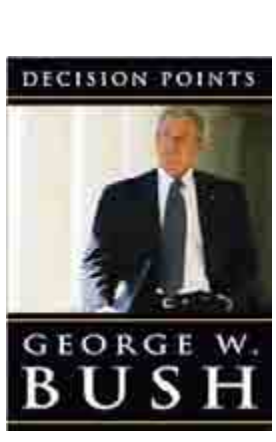
As noted in my Jan. 19 article, "Israel Tamps Down Iran War Threats," which was based mostly on reports from the Israeli press before I had access to the complete transcript of the interview, I noted that Barak appeared to be identifying himself with the consistent assessment of U.S. intelligence community since late 2007 that Iran has not made a decision to go forward with a nuclear bomb.

A Momentous NIE

A formal National Intelligence Estimate of November 2007 – a consensus of all 16 U.S. intelligence agencies – contradicted the encrusted conventional wisdom that "of course" Iran's nuclear development program must be aimed at producing nuclear weapons. The NIE stated:

"We judge with high confidence that in fall 2003, Tehran halted its nuclear weapons program; … Tehran's decision to halt its nuclear weapons program suggests it is less determined to develop nuclear weapons than we have been judging since 2005."

The Key Judgments of that Estimate elicited a vituperative reaction from some Israeli officials and in neoconservative circles in the United States. It also angered then-President George W. Bush, who joined the Israelis in expressing disagreement with the judgments. In January 2008, Bush flew to Israel to commiserate with Israeli officials who he said should have been "furious with the United States over the NIE."



While Bush's memoir, *Decision Points*, is replete with bizarre candor, nothing beats his admission that "the NIE tied my hands on the military side," preventing him from ordering a preemptive war against Iran, an action favored by hawkish Vice President Dick Cheney.

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For me personally it was heartening to discover that my former colleagues in the CIA's analytical division had restored the old ethos of telling difficult truths to power, after the disgraceful years under CIA leaders like George Tenet and John McLaughlin when the CIA followed the politically safer route of telling the powerful what they wanted to hear.

It had been three decades since I chaired a couple of National Intelligence Estimates, but fate never gave me the chance to manage one that played such a key role in preventing an unnecessary and disastrous war — as the November 2007 NIE did.

In such pressure-cooker situations, the Estimates job is not for the malleable or the faint-hearted. The ethos was to speak with courage, and without fear or favor, but that is often easier said than done. In my days, however, we analysts enjoyed career protection for telling it like we saw it. It was an incredible boost to morale to see that happening again in 2007.

Ever since the NIE was published, however, powerful politicians and media pundits have sought to chip away at its conclusions, suggesting that the analysts were hopelessly naïve or politically motivated or vengeful, out to punish Bush and Cheney for the heavy-handed tactics used to push false and dubious claims about Iraq's WMD in 2002 and 2003.

A New Conventional Wisdom

There emerged in Official Washington a new conventional wisdom that the NIE was erroneous and wasn't worth mentioning anymore. Though the Obama administration has stood by it, the New York Times and other FCM outlets routinely would state that the United States and Israel agreed that Iran was developing a nuclear bomb and then add the wink-wink denial by Iran.

However, on Jan. 8, Defense Secretary Panetta told Bob Schieffer on "Face the Nation" that "the responsible thing to do right now is to keep putting diplomatic and economic pressure on them [the Iranians] … and to make sure that they do not make the decision to proceed with the development of a nuclear weapon."

Panetta was making the implicit point that the Iranians had not made that decision, but just in case someone might miss his meaning, Panetta posed the direct question to himself: "Are they [the Iranians] trying to develop a nuclear weapon? No."

Barak's Jan. 18 statement to Israeli Army radio indicated that his views dovetail with those of Panetta – and their comments apparently are backed up by the assessments of each nation's intelligence analysts. In its report on Defense Minister Barak's remarks, the Israeli newspaper Haaretz on Jan. 19 summed up the change in the position of Israeli leaders as follows:

"The intelligence assessment Israeli officials will present … to Dempsey indicates that Iran has not yet decided whether to make a nuclear bomb. The Israeli view is that while Iran continues to improve its nuclear capabilities, it has not yet decided whether to translate these capabilities into a nuclear weapon – or, more specifically, a nuclear warhead mounted atop a missile. Nor is it clear when Iran might make such a decision."

At the New York Times, the initial coverage of Barak's interview focused on another element. An article by Isabel Kershner and Rick Gladstone appeared on Jan. 19 on page A5 under the headline "Decision on Whether to Attack Iran is 'Far Off,' Israeli Defense Minister Says."

To their credit, the Times' Kershner and Gladstone did not shrink from offering an accurate translation of what Barak said on the key point of IAEA inspections: "The Iranians have not ended the oversight exercised by the International Atomic Energy Agency … They have not done that because they know that that would constitute proof of the military nature of their nuclear program and that would provoke stronger international sanctions or other types of action against their country."

But missing from the Times' article was Barak's more direct assessment that Iran apparently had not made a decision to press ahead toward construction of a nuclear bomb. That would have undercut the boilerplate in almost every Times story saying that U.S. and Israeli officials believe Iran is working on a nuclear bomb.

But That's Not the Right Line!

So, what to do? Not surprisingly, the next day (Jan. 20), the Times ran an article by its Middle East bureau chief Ethan Bronner in which he stated categorically: "Israel and the United States both say that Iran is pursuing the building of nuclear weapons — an assertion denied by Iran — …"

By Jan. 21, the Times had time to prepare an entire page (A8) of articles setting the record "straight," so to speak, on Iran's nuclear capabilities and intentions: Here are the most telling excerpts, by article (emphasis mine):

1- "European Union Moves Closer to Imposing Tough Sanctions on Iran," by Steven Erlanger, Paris:

"Senior French officials are concerned that these measures [sanctions] … will not be strong enough to push the Iranian government into serious, substantive negotiations on **its nuclear program which the West says is aimed at producing weapons**."

"In his annual speech on French diplomacy on Friday, President Nicolas **Sarkozy accused Iran of lying, and he denounced what he called its 'senseless race for a nuclear bomb**.'"

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"Iran says it is enriching uranium solely for peaceful uses and denies a military intent. But **few in the West believe Tehran, which has not cooperated fully with inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency and has been pursuing some technologies that have only a military use.**"

(Pardon me, please. I'm having a bad flashback. Anyone remember the Times' peerless reporting on those infamous "aluminum tubes" that supposedly were destined for nuclear centrifuges — until some folks did a Google search and found they were for the artillery then used by Iraq?)

2- "China Leader Warns Iran Not to Make Nuclear Arms," by Michael Wines, Beijing

"Prime Minister Wen Jiabao wrapped up a six-day Middle East tour this week with stronger-than-usual **criticism of Iran's defiance on its nuclear program**…."

"Mr. Wen's comments on Iran were unusually pointed for Chinese diplomacy. In Doha, Qatar's capital, he said China 'adamantly opposes Iran developing and possessing nuclear weapons.'"

"Western nations suspect that Iran is working toward building a nuclear weapon, while Iran insists its program is peaceful."

3- "U.S. General Urges Closer Ties With Israel." by Isabel Kershner, Jerusalem

"Though Iran continues to insist that its nuclear program is only for civilian purposes, Israel, the United Stated, and much of the West are convinced that Iran is working to develop a weapons program. …"

Never (Let Up) on Sunday

Next it was time for the Times to trot out David Sanger from the Washington bullpen. Many will remember him as one of the Times' stenographers/cheerleaders for the Bush/Cheney attack on Iraq in March 2003. An effusive hawk also on Iran, Sanger was promoted to a position as chief Washington correspondent, apparently for services rendered.

In his Jan. 22 article, "Confronting Iran in a Year of Elections," Sanger pulls out all the stops, even resurrecting Condoleezza Rice's "mushroom cloud" to scare all of us — and, not least, the Iranians. He wrote:

"'From the perception of the Iranians, life may look better on the other side of the **mushroom cloud**,' said Ray Takeyh, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He may be right: while the Obama administration has vowed that it will never tolerate Iran as a nuclear weapons state, a few officials admit that they may have to settle for a 'nuclear capable' Iran that has the technology, the nuclear fuel and the expertise to become a nuclear power in a matter of weeks or months."

Were that not enough, enter the national champion of the Times cheerleading squad that prepared the American people in 2002 and early 2003 for the attack on Iraq, former Executive Editor Bill Keller. He graced us the next day (Jan. 23) with an op-ed entitled "Bomb-Bomb-Bomb, Bomb-Bomb-Iran?" – though he wasn't favoring a military strike, at least not right now. Here's Keller:

"The actual state of the [nuclear] program is not entirely clear, but the best open-source estimates are that if Ayatollah Ali Khamenei ordered full-speed-ahead — which there is no sign he has done — they could have an actual weapon in a year or so. … In practice, Obama's policy promises to be tougher than Bush's. Because Obama started out with an offer of direct talks — which the Iranians foolishly spurned — world opinion has shifted in our direction."

Wow. With Iraqi egg still all over his face, the disgraced Keller gets to "spurn" history itself — to rewrite the facts. Sorry, Bill, it was not Iran, but rather Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and other neocons in the U.S. Department of State and White House (with you and neocon allies in the press cheering them on), who "foolishly spurned" an offer by Iran in 2010 to trade about half its low-enriched uranium for medical isotopes. It was a deal negotiated by Turkey and Brazil, but it was viewed by the neocons as an obstacle to ratcheting up the sanctions.

In his Jan. 23 column, with more sophomoric glibness, Keller wrote this:

"We may now have sufficient global support to enact the one measure that would be genuinely crippling — a boycott of Iranian oil. The Iranians take this threat to their economic livelihood seriously enough that people who follow the subject no longer minimize the chance of a naval confrontation in the Strait of Hormuz. It's not impossible that we will get war with Iran even without bombing its nuclear facilities."

How neat! War without even trying!

The Paper of (Checkered Record)

Guidance To All NYT Hands: Are you getting the picture? After all, what does Defense Minister Barak know? Or Defense Secretary Panetta? Or the 16 agencies of the U.S. intelligence community? Or apparently even Israeli intelligence?

The marching orders from the Times' management appear to be that you should pay no heed to those sources of information. Just repeat the mantra: Everyone knows Iran is hard at work on the Bomb.

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Continued from Page 32 - US/Israel: Iran NOT Building Nukes

As is well known, other newspapers and media outlets take their cue from the Times. Small wonder, then, that USA Today seemed to be following the same guidance on Jan. 23, as can be seen in its major editorial on military action against Iran:

"**The U.S. and Iran will keep steaming toward confrontation, Iran intent on acquiring the bomb to establish itself as a regional power**, and the U.S. intent on preventing it to protect allies and avoid a nuclear arms race in the world's most volatile region.

"One day, the U.S. is likely to face a wrenching choice: bomb Iran, with the nation fully united and prepared for the consequences, or let Iran have the weapons, along with a Cold War-like doctrine ensuring Iran's nuclear annihilation if it ever uses them. In that context, sanctions remain the last best hope for a satisfactory solution."

And, of course, the U.S. press corps almost never adds the context that Israel already possesses an undeclared arsenal of hundreds of nuclear weapons, or that Iran is essentially surrounded by nuclear weapons states, including India, Pakistan, Russia, China and – at sea – the United States.

PBS Equally Guilty

PBS's behavior adhered to its customary don't-offend-the-politicians-who-might-otherwise-cut-our-budget attitude on the Jan. 18 "NewsHour" – about 12 hours after Ehud Barak's interview started making the rounds. Host Margaret Warner set the stage for an interview with neocon Dennis Ross and Vali Nasr (a professor at Tufts) by using a thoroughly misleading clip from former Sen. Rick Santorum's Jan. 1 appearance on "Meet the Press."

Warner started by saying: "Back in the U.S. many Republican presidential candidates have been vowing they'd be even tougher with Tehran. Former Senator Rick Santorum spoke on NBC's Meet the Press: 'I would be saying to the Iranians, you open up those facilities, you begin to dismantle them and make them available to inspectors, or we will degrade those facilities through air strikes and make it very public that we are doing so.'"

Santorum seemed totally unaware that there are U.N. inspectors in Iran, and host David Gregory did nothing to correct him, leaving Santorum's remark unchallenged. The blogosphere immediately lit up with requests for NBC to tell their viewers that there are already U.N. inspectors in Iran, which unlike Israel is a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and allows IAEA inspections.

During the Warner interview, Dennis Ross performed true to form, projecting supreme confidence that he knows more about Iran's nuclear program than the Israeli Defense Minister and the U.S. intelligence community combined:

Margaret Warner: If you hamstring their [Iran's] Central Bank, and the U.S. persuades all these other big customers not to buy Iranian oil, that could be thought of as an act of war on the part of the Iranians. Is that a danger?

Ross: I think there's a context here. The context is **that the Iranians continue to pursue a nuclear program. And unmistakably to many, that is a nuclear program whose purpose is to achieve nuclear weapons**. That has a very high danger, a very high consequence. So the idea that they could continue with that and not realize that at some point they have to make a choice, and if they don't make the choice, the price they're going to pay is a very high one, that's the logic of increasing the pressure.

Never mind that the Israeli Defense Minister had told the press something quite different some 12 hours before.

Still, it is interesting that Barak's comments on how Israeli intelligence views Iran's nuclear program now mesh so closely with the NIE in 2007. This is the new and significant story here, as I believe any objective journalist would agree.

However, the FCM — led by the New York Times — cannot countenance admitting that they have been hyping the threat from Iran as they did with Iraq's non-existent WMDs just nine years ago. So they keep repeating the line that Israel and the U.S. agree that Iran is building a nuclear weapon.

In this up-is-down world, America's newspaper of record won't even report accurately what Israel (or the CIA) thinks on this important issue, if that goes against the alarmist conventional wisdom that the neocons favor. Thus, we have this divergence between what the U.S. media is reporting as flat fact — i.e., that Israel and the United States believe Iran is building a bomb (though Iran denies it) – and the statements from senior Israeli and U.S. officials that Iran has NOT decided to build a bomb.

While this might strike some as splitting hairs – since peaceful nuclear expertise can have potential military use – this hair is a very important one. If Iran is not working on building a nuclear bomb, then the threats of preemptive war are not only unjustified, they could be exactly the motivation for Iran to decide that it does need a nuclear bomb to protect itself and its people.

Ray McGovern works with Tell the Word, a publishing arm of the ecumenical Church of the Saviour in inner-city Washington. During his 27-year career as a CIA analyst, he prepared — and briefed — the President's Daily Brief, and chaired National Intelligence Estimates. He now serves on the Steering Group of Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS).

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Christians Feed Their Own To The Lions
By Chuck Baldwin

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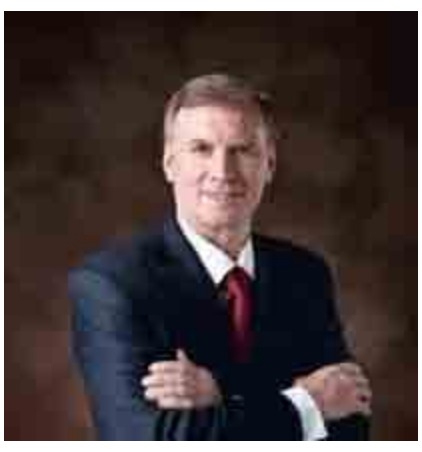

WE'VE all heard about how Christians were thrown to the lions during the reign of the Caesars. But it is very doubtful that Christians were feeding one another to the lions. Alas, it appears that should this kind of Christian persecution become vogue in America, many Christians would doubtless join with these modern-day Caesars and gladly feed their own to the lions.

How did it happen? How did Christians lose their love? Of course, our Lord predicted that the day would come when "the love of many shall wax cold." (Matthew 24:12) Sadly, this truism also obviously applies to many of us calling ourselves Christians. But how did it happen? How did Christians lose their love for souls? How did they lose their love for the Brotherhood? How did they lose their love for truth? How did they lose their love for peace? How did they lose their love for liberty? How did it happen?

I sat aghast as I watched the Republican Presidential debate in South Carolina and listened to hundreds of the GOP faithful (which included a great number of Christians) boo Congressman Ron Paul when he injected the Golden Rule into the discussion of America's foreign policy. To say I was stunned is the understatement of the year! Christians booing a Presidential candidate (who, himself, is a Christian) for suggesting that our country practices the Golden Rule? Egad! What's next? Christians cheering when people are thrown to the lions? I confess that I am flummoxed beyond words to describe!

I was raised in a Christian home by Christian parents who never missed Sunday School or church. My dad saw to it that I began memorizing scripture before I started kindergarten. I have heard the great Bible stories taught and re-taught. And while Christians have always differed on the nuances of particular Bible doctrines, the fundamental principles of God's Word were universally taught and accepted.

Universally, Christians believed and taught, "God is love." We understood the virtue and necessity of loving God and our fellow man–especially our brothers and sisters in Christ. Universally, we accepted the primacy of the Golden Rule, which states, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." (Matthew 7:12)

So, what has happened? How is it that the people who cheer the loudest for ever-burgeoning wars of aggression overseas are Christians? How is it that Christians will be the first ones to boisterously sing the chorus with John McCain, "Bomb, Bomb, Bomb, Bomb Bomb Iran"? How is it that it doesn't seem to cross their minds at all that the hundreds of thousands of innocent Iraqi men, women, and children were killed, wounded, and maimed by our government in a needless and unconstitutional war of aggression? How is it that the US government can wantonly wage war with an almost unlimited number of nations–killing and maiming thousands upon thousands of innocent people in the process–and Christians cheer? Some even join with the likes of Madeleine Albright and pompously spout: it is "acceptable collateral damage." How did this happen?

So deep is our bloodlust that when a Republican Presidential candidate (Ron Paul), who is the only military veteran in the entire GOP Presidential field, by the way, introduces the Golden Rule into a political debate, he is booed and jeered–by Christians! What in God's name has happened to us?

Watch and listen to Christians booing Ron Paul's suggestion that America practice the Golden Rule:

Is war sometimes justified? Yes! Do 2000 years of Western Civilization and even all of Biblical history recognize the right of men to protect and defend themselves, their families, their communities, and their country? Yes! Christians on the whole have never been pacifists. A few have been, but they have always been the exception to the rule. In the strict definition, the Lord Jesus Christ was not a pacifist. He proved that when he removed by force those moneychangers from the Temple. In the South Carolina debate, was Ron Paul suggesting that America not protect and defend itself? Absolutely not! Dr. Paul proudly supported Ronald Reagan's "Peace Through Strength" initiatives. He simply asked, should not our dealings with foreign countries reflect the principles of peace and goodwill as exemplified and taught by our Savior? And for that, Christians jeer and boo him?

I believe there are a couple of mitigating factors in this propensity of today's Christians to relish in bloodlust. First, many Christians have lost respect for their own character. When men give in to hatred, bitterness, jealousy, resentment, etc., they do more damage to their own soul than to anyone else's. Our Lord said that if we hated our brother we murdered him (in our hearts). So, what do we commonly see in our churches today? Envy, bitterness, resentment, gossip, rancor, and hatred! Rightly does the scripture state, "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" (I John 4:20)

If we Christians take delight in "murdering" our "friends" and fellow believers through our bitterness, envy, and hatred, why should we lose any sleep over the deaths of thousands of unknown people who live halfway around the world? And nevermind that many of these innocent victims are also our brothers and sisters in the Lord! For example, most Christians in the United States refuse to even acknowledge the fact that there is far more state persecution against our Christian brothers and sisters in Iraq since the US-backed puppet regime took power. Far more!

People who allow their heart and soul to be taken over with bitterness and hatred become angry, vengeful, and even dangerous. People with the love and peace of Christ in their hearts do not salivate for war; they do not desire violence.

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They seek peace with their fellowman. Oh yes! They are prepared to defend themselves against the wolves and lions who seek to prey on their neighbors. Yes Sir! For sure! But that is a far cry from hollering out for war against people who have not even harmed us–or who may not even have the capability of harming us. And it is a far cry from booing a Christian man who actually believes in the Golden Rule.

One of America's great warriors, General Douglas MacArthur rightly said, "War is a scourge." Why would Christians cheer for a scourge unless, as King David said, "I am for peace; but when I speak, they are for war." (Psalms 120:7)

Secondly, many Christians have developed a Caesarean "might makes right" philosophy regarding patriotism. But from the earliest days of our nation, our leaders respected Saint Augustine's "Just War" doctrine. Daniel Webster and other American statesman gave eloquent tribute to the necessity and importance of never fighting unjust wars.

Was Pharaoh justified when he ordered the deaths of thousands of innocent babies? Was King Herod justified when he ordered the deaths of thousands of innocent babies? Were Hitler, Stalin, and Mao Tse Tung justified when they ordered the deaths of millions of innocent men, women, and children? Is violence against innocent people justified merely because the one ordering violence is powerful enough to get away with it? If so, will somebody please tell me what those Nuremberg trials were all about?

If power-mad potentates of history were unjustified in the manner in which they ignored the moral, Natural Law principles of God, how can Christians rejoice when power-mad leaders in the United States do the same thing? Do we really think that God has given some sort of special dispensation to America?

Missouri Senator Carl Schurz gave what must regarded as one of the truest and most insightful oratories regarding genuine patriotism ever given. In a speech delivered at the Anti-Imperialistic Conference, Chicago, Illinois, October 17, 1899, he said, "I confidently trust that the American people will prove themselves … too wise not to detect the false pride or the dangerous ambitions or the selfish schemes which so often hide themselves under that deceptive cry of mock patriotism: 'Our country, right or wrong!' They will not fail to recognize that our dignity, our free institutions and the peace and welfare of this and coming generations of Americans will be secure only as we cling to the watchword of true patriotism: 'Our country–when right to be kept right; when wrong to be put right.'" Schurz, Carl. The Policy of Imperialism. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913. Print.

Instead of cheering when we see our country's leaders ignoring the Golden Rule, constitutional government, and the Natural laws of God, we Christians should be on our knees begging God to forgive and mend us–and vociferously demanding that these leaders cease and desist their illicit conduct! The same trepidation that filled the heart of Thomas Jefferson should fill our hearts also: "God who gave us life gave us liberty. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the Gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever."

Figuratively speaking, Christians in South Carolina threw Ron Paul to the lions. They tried to boo him off the stage when he proposed that America follow the Golden Rule in its dealings with foreign nations. I shudder to think what they would have done if he had quoted Jesus saying, "Blessed are the peacemakers."

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Divining the Truth About Iran
By Ray McGovern

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LIKE before the invasion of Iraq, the U.S. news media is flooding Americans with alarmist accounts about Iran's alleged pursuit of nuclear weapons. Even when U.S. officials suggest nuance and caution, the media ignores the signals, as ex-CIA analyst Ray McGovern reports.

Watching top U.S. intelligence officials present the annual "Worldwide Threat Assessment" before the Senate Intelligence Committee, I found myself wondering if they would depart from the key (if politically delicate) consensus judgment that Iran is NOT working on a nuclear weapon.

In last year's briefing, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper had stood firm on this key point, despite severe pressure to paint Iran in more pernicious terms. On Tuesday, I was relieved to see in Clapper's testimony a reiteration of the conclusions of a formal National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) of November 2007, issued unanimously by all 16 U.S. intelligence agencies, including judgments like this:

Director of National Intelligence James Clapper

"We judge with high confidence that in fall 2003, Tehran halted its nuclear weapons program; … Tehran's decision to halt its nuclear weapons program suggests it is less determined to develop nuclear weapons than we have been judging since 2005."

Sadly, this judgment still comes as news to many of those Americans who are malnourished on the low-protein gruel of the Fawning Corporate Media (FCM) – even though the NIE was immediately declassified in 2007 and has been in the public domain for more than four years.

Granted, former President George W. Bush did not like it — not one bit. In an unusually revealing comment in his memoir *Decision Points*, Bush complained bitterly that "the NIE tied my hands on the military side," preventing him from attacking Iran. That was the course strongly favored by hawkish Vice President Dick Cheney with his PhD *summa cum laude* in Preventive War.

And, America's FCM consistently ignores the official NIE when writing news stories hyping Iran's nuclear threat. However, if you read the articles very closely you may see references to Iran supposedly working toward the "capacity to build" nuclear weapons, not that Iran is actually working on building a nuclear bomb.

The distinction is important, but it is so subtle as to be misleading. Most casual readers would simply assume that Iran is building a nuclear bomb.

The FCM's rhetorical shift from accusing Iran of "building" nukes to seeking a "capacity to build" them is reminiscent of Bush's sleight of hand when he went from talking about Iraq's supposed WMD "stockpiles" to its WMD "programs" – after it turned out there were no WMD stockpiles.

Oddly, even when Israeli sources concur with this key point that Iran has NOT decided to build a nuclear bomb – as the Israeli newspaper Haaretz and Defense Minister Ehud Barak indicated recently – the FCM in the United States continues to leave the impression among Americans that Iran is on the verge of having nukes. [See Consortiumnews.com's "US/Israel: Iran NOT Building Nukes."]

You will almost never see in a major U.S. newspaper the assessment – backed by the 16 U.S. intelligence agencies – that Iran is NOT building nuclear weapons. At most, you'll see a boilerplate phrase about Iran denying that it is. You're also not likely to see references to the fact that Israel has a sophisticated nuclear arsenal of its own.

'Tell-It-Like-It-Is' Intelligence

Still, it's encouraging to see U.S. intelligence officials resist bending with the prevailing political winds the way the malleable CIA director, George Tenet, and his deputy John McLaughlin did when they orchestrated the fraudulent October 2002 NIE on Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction."

After they left in disgrace (having contributed to the bloody war in Iraq), fresh institutional blood was brought in to manage intelligence estimates. In a professional sense, the two were not a hard act to follow. But courage can still be a rare commodity in the careerist world of Official Washington.

What happened is that the new managers launched a bottom-up assessment of all the evidence on Iran's nuclear development program. They reached conclusions based on what they found, not on what was politically expedient; they spoke truth to power, and, in the process, helped prevent yet another disastrous war.

This year, though, there was good reason to worry that the current intelligence managers might succumb to pressure for a more "politically correct" course. One factor has been the rising crescendo in the FCM, echoing the Israeli government's hyperbolic fears regarding a "nuclear threat" from Iran.

The FCM, for example, gave unconscionably inflammatory coverage to a highly misleading November 2011 report by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on Iran. The FCM ignored available evidence from WikiLeaks documents showing that the new IAEA management was collaborating behind-the-scenes with U.S. and Israeli officials on the Iran issue.

And there was growing concern that National Intelligence Director Clapper might be outmaneuvered by the new CIA Director David Petraeus, the retired four-star general who is always the darling of Congress.

The ambitious Petraeus's own words have shown him groveling before the Israel Lobby — to the point of backing away from his own congressional testimony of March 2010, a small segment of which was implicitly critical of Israeli intransigence on the issue of Palestine.

E-mails revealed Petraeus begging neocon pundit Max Boot to help him withstand criticism from neocon circles over the rare burst of honesty that had slipped into Petraeus's prepared testimony. Petraeus then mistakenly shared the e-mail train with blogger James Morris, who made them public.

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On Tuesday, Petraeus was pandering again in his gratuitous repetition of the neocons' characterizations of the IAEA report. Petraeus said: "The IAEA … report was a very accurate reflection of reality, of the situation on the ground. I think that is the authoritative document when it comes to informing the public of all the countries of the world of the situation there."

This is a remarkable statement coming from the head of the CIA, an agency that was one of the principal drafters of the NIE in 2007, which stands at variance with the politically tinged IAEA report, which labored to make the case that Iran was gaining expertise needed to build a nuclear bomb.

However, there were, in fact, significant overlaps in the IAEA's description of Iran's nuclear program and the key judgments of the NIE, but you would hardly know that from reporting in the FCM. The IAEA report contains no smoking gun regarding Iran's intentions about building nuclear weapons, but notes that much of Iran's progress occurred prior to fall 2003 – when the NIE reported that Iran abandoned its weapons program.

Still, many pundits and politicians walked away with two misleading messages from the IAEA report: that it refuted the NIE and that Iran is now making a break for the bomb. Both representations are false, yet the assertions have been repeated often enough to give them traction with the public and Congress, which was evident in Petraeus's remarks.

As Petraeus knows better than most, the National Intelligence Estimate is the genre of intelligence assessment that the U.S. government considers "authoritative." I found it shameful, but not surprising, that he would identify himself with the IAEA rather than with the U.S. intelligence community. Shameful pandering, which Clapper — to his credit — would have none of.

The way the wind seems to be blowing from the White House and Capitol Hill, however, I think it a good bet that, before many months go by, Petraeus will be taking over the job of his current nominal boss, and Clapper will be set out to pasture for special services not rendered.

The Media on the Briefing

True to form, the FCM offered little truth in its reports on the Tuesday briefing – and quite a lot of distortion. Very little mention was made of Clapper's key assertion that Iran is not building nuclear weapons, just as the FCM discreetly averted its eyes and ears from Defense Secretary Leon Panetta's definitive statement to that effect on Jan. 8.

The Washington Post initially ran an article by Greg Miller titled, "Iran, perceiving threat from West, willing to attack on U.S. soil, U.S. intelligence report finds." That title was then squished to fit at the top of page one, right next to a smiling photo of Mr. and Mrs. Romney, and reads "U.S. spy agencies see new Iran risk: Tehran more willing to launch attacks on American soil, they say."

For his story, Miller selects the two short paragraphs in which Clapper claims that some Iranian officials — probably including Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei — "are now more willing to conduct an attack in the United States in response to real or perceived U.S. actions that threaten the regime." (I can readily imagine the word-smithing by senior officials that yielded that profound observation.)

In an instant commentary, Salon blogger Glen Greenwald described Miller's article — correctly — as a "monument to mindless stenographic journalism" and asks if anyone is still "doubting that there is a concerted media-aided fear-mongering campaign aimed at Iran."

For the record, the New York Times' Eric Schmitt led off his report in a similar vein: "Some senior Iranian leaders are now more willing to carry out attacks inside the U.S. in response to perceived American threats against their country," citing senior intelligence officials.

It is not at all picayune to note that the Times dropped the "real or" from Clapper's "in response to real or perceived U.S. actions that threaten the regime," thus removing the point that Iran might actually encounter "real" threats from the United States. All that high-priced word-smithing for nothing!

As if further proof were needed about the bias of the FCM, blogger Michael Rozeff took the Boston Globe to task for piecing together two unconnected parts of Clapper's testimony to leave the impression that Iran is making enriched uranium in order to conduct an attack on the U.S.

Who Will Tell the Truth?

As a former analyst of Soviet affairs, I became familiar with how to dissect controlled media. And as a liaison officer to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty during the late Sixties, I learned ways to penetrate denied areas with radio waves and other means.

It was those two radio stations, plus VOA and the BBC, that played such a key role in informing Russians and East Europeans about what was possible in the outside world. So, how to break through the blanket of the Fawning Corporate Media to give Americans a shot at knowing what is going on?

It seems a kind of delicious irony that — how to say this — the Russians Are Coming to help those of us hoping to break through the FCM and make our reporting and analysis available to our fellow citizens. As senators were clapping for Clapper, RT (for Russia Today) asked to interview me for their evening news program.

Knowing that my old friend Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has already spoken approvingly of RT, I did not think I needed to ask permission. Here's what I said; I can only hope some folks watched it.

Reprinted from ConsortiumNews.Com

Ray McGovern works with Tell the Word, a publishing arm of the ecumenical Church of the Saviour in inner-city Washington. He entered CIA's analysis division as a Soviet specialist in 1964 and, after preparing and briefing the President's Daily Brief (1981-85), served as deputy chief of analysis at the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (now the Open Source Center).

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"Love it, or leave it" vs. "Loathe it and Stay to Fight it"
By Cindy Sheehan

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ON January 2nd, I spoke at the rally after our Occupy the Rose Parade protest. There were at least 2,000 activists who formed a contingent at the end of the Rose Parade to protest an alphabet soup of outrages. I was there to represent the antiwar element.

I am not just an antiwar activist, I am a peacemonger--being a peacemonger goes far beyond just being "against" wars. Being a peacemonger means connecting an almost infinite number of dots to try and figure out why it seems this nation is in almost constant war because it's so difficult to stop wars once the 1% start them. It's so hard to try and put all of the pieces together and to make sense out of the hodgepodge of crimes and behind the scenes hanky-panky, but one thing I do know--wars can't be fought without an almost bottomless reserve of cash.

During my speech at the OTRP protest, I stated that I did not pay my income taxes and the response from some rightwing knee-jerkers was swift, divorced from reality (as always) and boorish.

A video of my speech, entitled something like, "Cindy Sheehan admits that she doesn't pay her taxes" was even posted at the "leftwing" (I can't type that with a straight face) Huffington Post and the comments were also divorced from reality and boorish and can be summarized thusly:

"Other people have lost their sons in the wars, what gives her the right to evade her taxes?" ***(Tax resistance is a moral principle that should be decided by each and every individual--and I would dare to say that most bereaved parents support the wars, anyway. For example, even though he opposes the wars, Casey's father has chosen to pay his taxes, that's not my problem or my business)***.

"I used to support Cindy Sheehan, but this is stealing." ***(I would steal to feed my grand-babies without a second thought, but I feel that not paying for the mega-crimes of my government is a far lesser crime and that this Empire murders, tortures and/or economically oppresses millions of people each and every day).*** "Cindy Sheehan sounds like a Tea-Bagger." ***(This accusation amuses me. I think most "Tea-Baggers" are tax-paying, gun-toting, law-abiding citizens who like to whine about "big government" without actually doing anything about it. I am not against all forms of government, but I am certainly against this one we have today. I don't tote a gun and I think it's a moral imperative to "break" laws that hurt people. I have a higher law, and that's Peace).***

"Taxes pay for good things like roads, bridges, libraries, Social Security and Medicare." ***(First of all, let's say that our roads and bridges aren't falling apart; and that libraries, schools, Social Security and Medicare are not being robbed of funding--when I do drive, I pay gas taxes and bridge tolls. I also pay sales tax, park fees, and many other varieties of taxes and fees for things I actually do use. At least 54% of federal expenditures are to pay for current wars or to service debt on past wars. If my tax money would go to single-payer health care, fully-funded schools and other social programs, etc--I would gladly pay. However, even if I decided to pay 46% of my taxes, would I be guaranteed that not one thin dime of mine would be going to kill someone? I think war profiteering has first claim on any money here in the dis-United Empire of the Earth).***

"The IRS should put her in prison." ***(The IRS is not a law enforcement or adjudication agency. They are a collection agency--collecting for the most gargantuan crime syndicate in history)***.

To be sure, interspersed amongst the ignorance and hate, there were some comments in support of my protest, but I would like to iterate here, that I am not a "tax evader" and I have been very open and honest about my tax protest every since I embarked upon it. How can this Empire be put on trial? Obama has blocked prosecution of Bush administration officials as his DOJ is targeting activists, whistle blowers, and, worst of all, his CIA is bombing children with his hell-fire missiles.

So, today I had meeting numero dos with a low-level bureaucratic functionary at the local IRS office and the next step for me may be court to try and force me to produce my financial statement, which I did not do today.

I found it very instructive that, even though I was sitting right there in the room next to my attorney, the revenue officer referred to me often as, "The Taxpayer." I had to bite almost clean through my tongue to ask him if he calls every person, "The Taxpayer." Here in the good ol' USA, we have been reduced to either, "Taxpayers," or "consumers," never, "citizens." We

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are conditioned from birth to feed our masters, toil for them, and care about them before we care for our own flesh and blood. We pay, they profit. We go into debt, they horde. We work, they benefit. We lose, they win. And "They" are not accustomed to any questioning or resistance to their orders or ordered ways of life. What is now referred to as the "1%" feel entitled to our money and our labor and the problem is that 99% of the 99% also feel that the 1% is entitled to THEIR money and THEIR labor.

Today, the revenue officer admitted that they are just looking for assets to confiscate from me. Even in the years that they are trying to collect 105k in back taxes, fines, and interest, I re-invested most of the money I ever made by speaker's fees, donations, or book sales right back into the movement. Now, I intentionally live simply and don't own anything the establishment considers of value. If the IRS goes looking for my assets, they will not find anything. If I had some kind of secret trust fund, I certainly wouldn't be scraping by for rent money every month.

I followed the advice of my new attorney (who is not a tax attorney, but he is working with one who is and who is an adviser from the National War Tax Resister's Coordinating Committee), I didn't speak during the entire meeting, but when the revenue officer said that the tax lien that has been recorded with the county clerk is going to "hurt my credit," I had to stifle a guffaw.

As stated, I don't own anything and I don't want or even need to own anything that the 1% tells me that I need to own to make my life "worthwhile." I have had to pare my life down to one that is oriented, not around things, but around ideas, people, activism, peace and mostly, love. These are things that can't be purchased with a predatory credit card charging high fees, exorbitant over-limit penalties, and usurious interest rates--but they are things that really give my life meaning and which are indispensable to me.

My son, who was killed in just one of this nation's illegal and immoral wars had priceless value to me, too--and you know what? So does everyone else killed, maimed, tortured, beaten, or otherwise oppressed by the country I was born in and choose to stay in because the people I love the most live here.

Just as The Troops ® (Registered Trademark exploited to justify war expenditures and jingoistic patriotism), who have moral opposition to any imperial war of choice, should not have to choose to be imprisoned in a Gray Bar Hotel or be trapped in a war zone--I (in answer to my kneejerker critics) should not have to "love it, or leave it." I choose to "loathe it and stay" and by the example of my actions try and make this nation a place to be proud of where the national priority is to enhance life not to destroy it.

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You can crush the flowers, but you can't stop the spring
By Nick Saorsa

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WHEN people talk about the "war machine," I sometimes wonder if they know exactly what it is. Many would say that the war machine is simply the United States' military and its far reaching tentacles that are the result of America's foreign policy... but it goes much deeper than that. You can't feed such a beast unless you have a herd of cows to slaughter. The fractional reserve banking system that is prevalent across the planet allows for governments to leverage minimal "money" to wage war and grow their police state on the back of the military industrial complex.

Uncle Sam is basically the Federal Reserve, which is a banking cartel set up nearly 100 years ago. As many have said before, "The Federal Reserve is not federal and they have no reserves." While it isn't quite clear if they have any reserves or not, they are certainly able to create money by "printing" whatever they need to prop up the failing Keynesian system that has been shaping the West for decades. It was recently revealed that the Federal Reserve is the number one holder of American debt with nearly 7 trillion dollars in US bonds and other debt instruments. Where has this money gone? Some of it went to social engineering within the United States, but this debt certainly helped support the billions upon billions of Federal Reserve Notes spent on invading Iraq and enforcing social and economic engineering upon sovereign lands.

Many activists feel that an audit of the Federal Reserve would reveal to the public the amount of deception and propaganda that has been rammed down their throats through giant media conglomerates... ultimately ending the fed. Auditing the federal reserve with the intentions of exposing the lies is a noble way of spreading the word about fractional reserve banking, and it has had success over the last few years. More people are talking about the Federal Reserve now than ever before... and many of them actually understand how it works.

Activism supporting an audit of the Federal Reserve is commendable, but it is time to take a different approach. We do not need to wait for Washington DC to say it's ok to be free; we were born free, and it's about time to start acting that way. Movements to ignore the fed are springing up across the country with hot spots in Arizona, Texas and New Hampshire. What are you waiting for?

Whenever you use US currency in a transaction, you are indirectly supporting the war machine made possible by the Federal Reserve. While it is not currently practical to expect all transactions to be made in sound money, such as silver, it is time to move as many of your transactions into such medium as possible.

A major hurdle that has been in place for bartering and trading with silver has been calculating current value of the metal you hold in your hand. Silver is still tied to a market, so conversion to Federal Reserve Notes is all too easy, but not ideal. It is easy to hold an ounce of silver in your hand and equate that to being whatever the current spot price of silver is, and I don't expect that this will change in the immediate future... but it will change. The FRN will continue to lose value as inflation makes your paycheck worth less and less money each month. As more people begin to ignore the fed, a grassroots agorist option is presented. Ignore the fed. Stop the war machine. Trade in silver.

In the meantime, we have developed a silver calculator that runs on the Android operating system. It is a great tool to have in your arsenal, and is still being improved with new features. Right now, the silver calculator (for more information, please see www.whatisthiscoinworth.info) is able to convert the spot price of silver into many denominations. It will tell you what a 90% silver quarter is "worth" and you can tally up a total for a transaction. As silver begins to pull away from the dollar, market solutions will arise, and technology such as smartphone apps will be there to help.

These changes are coming, I hope you are ready. The bad guys have a lot invested in keeping things the way they are. The status quo will not go without kicking and screaming, but the human yearning for freedom cannot be stopped. As The Flaming Lips once said, "You can crush the flowers, but you can't stop the spring." Spring is here.

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THE FED IS ENDED

IF YOU WANT IT

By Tom Westbrook

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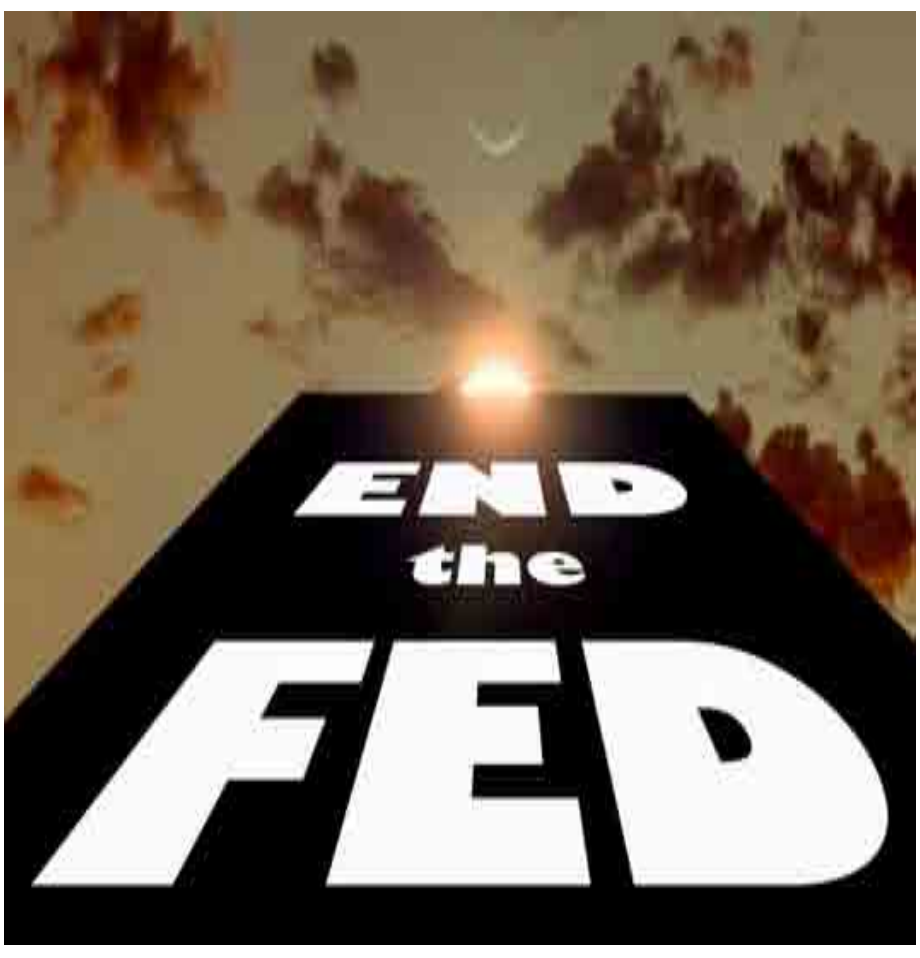

WHEN one gets tired of pandering to one's masters in an effort to effect change that continually results in futility, the time comes (as was the case with John Lennon and his campaign “War is Over”...”if you want it”) to direct the message instead of toward the rulers, toward the people. After all, the ultimate power is with the people -- once they decide to make it so.

The same could be applied to ending the Fed. After all, is the goal really to end the Fed, or is the goal to set oneself free from the Fed – while still allowing others the freedom to continually stranglehold themselves in a noose of infinite debt?

The Fed is ended! If you want it. It begins by imagining a world without the Federal Reserve, at least in your own personal world. It involves avoiding the Federal Reserve Note (FRN) like it's the black plague. But how does one survive in this modern society without FRNs? The truth is one cannot, at the moment at least, without drastic measures. It is possible, however, to change one's way of thinking and begin to take steps towards this end. The best place to start is to ask: how did we get in this mess in the first place?

The History of the 'Dollar' and its Ugly Twin the FRN

It begins by understanding that there have been several different types of 'money' in the United States over the course of the history of our country. Many have assumed the name 'Dollar' but have meant different things. So the question is, what does the word 'Dollar' really mean? In the year 1520 silver coins were minted within the current day Czech Republic and were known as 'Joachimsthaler' after the city in which they were made. This was later shortened in common usage to taler or thaler which then eventually found its way into other languages and ended up in the English language as 'dollar' and was circulated in the early American colonies during the 17th and early 18th centuries.

During the mid 18th century, the Spanish colonies circulated the Spanish dollar which was infamous and is remembered for the way in which it was cut into 'pieces of eight' and is ultimately where the term 'quarter' came from. The Spanish Dollar even became 'legal tender' in the colony of Virginia.

On April 2, 1792, the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton reported to Congress the precise amount of silver found in a Spanish milled dollar coin in common use in the States. As a result, the United States Dollar was defined as a unit of weight equaling 371.25 grains (24.057 grams) of pure silver. The Dollar remained the national currency in one form or another for the remainder of the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries, mostly in the form of silver certificates. These provided a convenience factor, but the banks loved them, as well, because they allowed the practice of fractional reserve banking – the act of printing more receipts than the banks held metal reserves for in their vault. The definition of a dollar, however, remained the same and was still 371.25 grains of pure silver regardless of rather the silver was actually in the vault or not. When the people came to collect their silver and found that it wasn't there, the banker was run out of town and never did business there again.

In 1913, the federal reserve act was passed which enabled the centralized Federal Reserve Bank to loan into existence 'notes' or Dollar 'bills' that were not 'Dollars', but IOU receipts for Dollars. This was different than a warehouse receipt because it was never implied that any silver even existed until at such time as when the bearer came to redeem his note. And there were always fewer people in line redeeming their notes than there were people in line borrowing new notes into circulation.

Clearly the note itself was not a 'Dollar' because it was printed right on the note: “WILL PAY TO THE BEARER ON DEMAND” x number of “DOLLARS” and “REDEEMABLE IN LAWFUL MONEY AT THE UNITED STATES TREASUREY, OR AT ANY FEDERAL RESERVE BANK”. If an FRN was redeemable in 'Lawful Money' then clearly the FRN could not be 'Lawful Money'. So if the FRN was not Lawful Money, then what was Lawful Money? The 'Dollar'! Which was by definition still 371.25 grains (24.057 grams) of pure silver. Because the FRN was not a Dollar but an IOU for a Dollar, and there were people naive enough to borrow and pay interest on an IOU for a Dollar (with no Dollars anywhere in site), there was no limit to the number of IOUs that the Federal Reserve Bank could issue.

By 1933 the Federal Reserve Bank had 'loaned' so many FRNs into circulation that it became impossible for the Federal Reserve or the U.S. Treasury to ever fulfill their contractual obligations and redeem all those FRNs in Dollars and the Federal Reserve along with the Treasury and the United States went into bankruptcy as

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evidenced by the passage of House Joint Resolution 192 which, in effect, monetized the debt. In other words, the 'IOU one Dollar' was no longer redeemable in Dollars and the acceptance of such was mandatory and required the discharging of any accrued debt. This meant in short, that no one was going to get paid ever again – at least not in Dollars but instead with IOUs. The acceptance of the IOU by law was monitory and resulted in the acceptance of payment or discharge of debt. This resolution resulted in the END OF THE DOLLAR as the United States national currency and it was then replaced by the Federal Reserve Note -- an IOU. Since gold would no longer be needed, it was rendered illegal, at this time, to own gold and all gold was confiscated from the people.

The 'IOU one Dollar' has consequently been colloquially misnamed as the 'Dollar' as it replaced the Dollar and the Dollar was consequentially removed from circulation. Dollar coins, however, continued to circulate up until 1964 after which time they became debased to reflect the falling value of the non-redeemable IOU (FRN). The FRN was and still is not a 'Dollar'. A Dollar was and still is defined as 371.25 grains of silver. So those who use terminology such as 'Dollar Meltdown' are factually incorrect (sorry Charles), for in fact it should be termed the 'FRN meltdown'. I, in fact, have some of those Dollars in the form of Morgan Dollars and as of yet I have not seen them 'melt down' but they have instead retained a significant purchasing power.

The scenario I present here is different than commonly understood, because, the thought of our national currency 'the Dollar' melting down is quite scary and presents a dire situation where we are left with no currency to conduct business. On the other hand, the thought of the FRN melting down might bring joy and spring in one's step, at least for those in the liberty community, being that the goal is to end the FRN, anyway, and its demise only aids in our cause. The problem that comes into play is when one is still dependent on the FRN and is still exchanging ones' labor for it. Then the meltdown of the FRN results in the meltdown of the individual dependent upon it.

The Exodus from Slavery

The transition from slavery to freedom goes like this: First, eliminate credit card debt by whatever means necessary. It may mean default; it may mean paying it down; it may mean debt negotiation; or any other creative means that only individuals such as Morpheus could dream up. Second, a paper FRN is better than a digital FRN. Keep money in the banking system only for paying bills that cannot be paid for with cash. No loans for no reasons. Not even houses or cars. Buy at auction, pay with cash.

Every FRN in circulation was spent into circulation by someone who borrowed it into existence and is still paying interest on it. Remain cognizant of the giant sucking sound that is constantly sucking money out of circulation in the form of interest. And remember there is never enough money in circulation to pay the interest plus the principal on the money in circulation. Loans defaulted on, result in effect, of the creation of an interest free fiat currency. All that money is spent into the community (hopefully, and not sent to china) while the interest on the debt is nullified. This allows many transactions for free without the cost of the interest on the currency. This is far superior to an interest bearing fiat currency. Dave Ramsey says to be debt free is the new BMW. I say to default on a loan is the new BMW. Congratulate your neighbors and bring them gifts every time they default on a loan because they are stimulating the economy by spending money into circulation and then nullifying the debt on that money. The money that is spent into circulation does not disappear when the debt disappears; it continues to circulate, and it's even better if it is converted to cash.

Of course this is a temporary solution and should be followed with the use of silver coins that are circulated into the community to replace the fiat paper. Silver coins can circulate thousands of times at zero cost to the community being that they are not borrowed into existence and have no debt attached to them. They are also, obviously more stable than paper. Buy and hold silver coins, but most importantly get rid of them. Take them to your local farmer's market and see who will accept them in exchange for beats or carrots. Wealth comes through trade, not hording.

A simple hypothetical example (something that I'm not advocating for, and don't understand the legality of, but for illustrative purposes only). Say one borrows one hundred thousand FRNs, converts them to silver coins, and then uses the silver coins to pay members in his community to say build a house. He then consequently, defaults on the debt. The debt is gone, and the house gets resold at a fraction of the cost to another member in the community. Meanwhile, the silver is still circulating in the community and being used to fund many new projects and bringing wealth to the community. Banks soon learn they can't make money in the banking industry and, consequently, determine that they must take up new skills to survive like farming or laying bricks.

We Are Not Going Back to the 1700s – The Role of Technology

The responses from many when first encountering sound money arguments are, "why would we want to go back to the 1700s". The answer is that we wouldn't. We want to go forward to the future of space colonies and flying cars. The path the get there requires the principals that we learned in the 1700s.

Computers and the internet are not going away. They will be the vehicles that will springboard us to our goals. There is a strong need for digital currencies and still much freedom on the internet. And on internet, THERE ARE NO BORDERS. Now is the time to strike, while we still have this freedom.

What we can learn from the Federal Reserve System is the convenience factor. To penetrate the soccer moms of America (not literally), we will need to compete with the convenience of the FRN, without the debt slavery and without the instability. The success of the Federal Reserve System is in part due to the standardized clearing house transaction protocol. It doesn't matter where one banks, a routing number and an account number will enable the transfer of funds electronically from one's bank to any other bank nation-wide (or even globally for that matter).

To ultimately eliminate the FRN from our lives, we need the equivalent of this in the freedom community. It wouldn't necessarily need to be centralized, but we do need a common protocol or a language that is open that all computers will be able to speak. Simple canned code snippets could be inserted into web sites everywhere that communicate with distributed currency exchanges similar to the design of BitCoin; but linking gold backed currencies rather than a fiat currency. This would enable various

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existing hard currency organizations to transfer value, gold silver, or whatever back and forth electronically.

Private investors could facilitate the currency exchange by placing buy and sell orders in various currencies reducing the commission cost of currency conversion through competition. In essence it means a redesign of Wall Street; a Wall Street exchange, by the freedom movement, and for the freedom movement.

The Liberty Trade Project

As a result of the preceding information, we have begun a project called LibertyTrade.net. The first part of the project is simply to facilitate the posting of items for sale while enabling the use of competing currencies. Although in the future, there will most likely be a convergence into a single currency standard, (because the world will most certainly demand it), it is important at this time to facilitate an open market with competing currencies of different types. Ultimately the market will determine what the end currency will look like but I'm guessing that it will not look like the FRN which is currently gasping for its last breath!

As of yet LibertyTrade.net has not implemented transactions using digital currencies, but instead, it currently allows search and posting of various currency types. It currently operates much like craigslist.org only with some additional features. It allows the posting of items for sell with a title, description, and images. The seller can also specify what currencies they will accept. When buyers search on the sight, they will be able to search on a given currency and the search results will display the items for sale from sellers who accept that currency. In the future we will also be enabling the use of different types of digital currencies and allow transactions much like ebay with paypal.

We are also currently working on a joint venture with freedomsphoenix.com that will be available in a couple of weeks. It will allow sellers to sell items and get paid in silver 'dime cards' which will be code named 'shinies' from the popular sci-fi series Firefly. Merchants will be able to post items for sell and specify as a currency accepted a 'shiny' and when a buyer buys an item, they will be able to go through Dwolla.com (allows bank-to-bank FRN cash transactions) to purchase 'shinies' from freedomsphoenix.com that will then get shipped as payment to the seller.

The sound money movement is growing rapidly and with this increased awareness and with technology on our side, we will soon be able to blaze past the Federal bureaucrats and they won't even know what hit them. The future is, indeed, bright and exciting and the free market of ideas will bring us the tools that we need to make it happen.

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Mere Anarchy Loosed Upon the World
By Bretigne Shaffer

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AS I write this, my son is running around the house naked, even though I've asked him twice to put his clothes on. I can hear the bathroom sink swooshing on and off as he makes a swimming pool for his zoo animals. I weigh getting up and possibly waking his baby sister, who is sleeping on my chest, against the lesser likelihood that he will catch a cold from running around the house naked and wet. I decide to stay put. The swooshing continues.

I wonder how a man named Scott Oglesby would deal with my son's exuberance, his lack of "respect for authority," his occasional noisiness. Last December, Oglesby, a police officer, was at Stevenson Elementary School in Bloomington, Illinois, when he heard a seven-year-old special-needs boy having a seizure. Oglesby ran into the room where the boy was being restrained by a school psychologist, shouted "you're giving me a headache!" and grabbed the boy by the throat, holding him up in the air until he turned red, before throwing him down in a chair. Oglesby is now on "restricted duty," but no criminal charges will be filed against him.

I'd like to think that cases like Oglesby's are rare exceptions. But every week there seems to be another story about someone being shot with a taser over a traffic violation, or for not responding the way the officer wanted them to. There was the paralyzed man thrown from his wheelchair by an officer in a Florida jail; the New York City cop who stopped a woman from driving her dying daughter to the hospital; the mentally handicapped teenager who was tasered to death after waving a stick around; and, in May of 2010, in another increasingly common militarized raid on a family's home, the shooting death of seven-year-old Aiyana Jones as she lay sleeping next to her grandmother. (There is little doubt as to what happened because the 20 officers who burst into the girl's home had brought with them a camera crew for a reality-TV show.)

> *"Turning and turning in the widening gyre*
> *The falcon cannot hear the falconer;*
> *Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;*
> *Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world..."*

When I first read Yeats' "The Second Coming," years ago, I saw in the first stanza a lament about the loss of a central authority, of political authority. Now I think he meant something else.

I have to believe that there was a time when people would have responded to the likes of Officer Oglesby by unceremoniously dipping him in tar, tossing a bucket of feathers over his head and casting him out from civilized society. Today he and his ilk are given "administrative leave" at best, and are soon back on the streets to endanger the rest of us. At the same time, more than half a million Americans sit in prison for the crime of using or selling substances the government disapproves of. Our nation has the highest per-capita prison population in the world by a very wide margin. Yet people like Officer Oglesby and the officers who killed Aiyana Jones do not count among the incarcerated. We are told that it is a punishable crime to ingest certain prohibited substances, a bigger crime to sell them. But, it is not a crime to shoot a seven-year-old girl in the head while she lies sleeping next to her grandmother. We have become deeply confused as to who the criminals are.

The question "why peace?" seems a silly one. Doesn't everyone want peace? Isn't that one thing we can all agree on? Everyone says they want peace, but very few are truly opposed to war or other forms of aggression. When she was US ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright famously told the world that whatever was gained from the economic embargo of Iraq was "worth" the deaths of half a million children. But I bet she says she wants peace. The assertion – almost always conditional – has become meaningless.

As the United States government prepared to invade Iraq in late 2002 and early 2003, I did everything I knew to do to prevent it from happening. I engaged in debate, I signed petitions, I handed out pamphlets in sub-zero temperatures, and on February 15th, 2003, I marched in New York City, along with hundreds of thousands of others who were opposed to the war. On my way to the demonstration, I wondered how many would show up. I had the sense that I was in a minority, that most people didn't care that much, or were too busy living their lives to do something like march for peace.

When I stepped out of the subway station, I was taken aback. Pouring into the street from every direction were people of all ages carrying signs and waving banners. As far as I could see, the streets were filled with people who shared my desire to prevent this war. I started to believe that maybe the sheer force of our humanity, our collective "no!" to more bloodshed, could prevent it. Barely a month later, the U.S. government began its invasion and occupation of Iraq.

I learned from that experience that demonstrations do not prevent wars. I was heartened by the outpouring of public opposition to war, but realized that we would need to come up with something much better than an appeal to those who are committed to waging war if we were to change anything. I also realized that most who said they were "anti-war" were really "anti-some-wars" – and not only out of political partisanship, but out of a desire to be taken seriously.

Nobody wants to come out and say that ALL war is wrong, that it is never justified. That would be unreasonable. Everyone knows that war is sometimes necessary. Everyone knows that sometimes there are just evil governments

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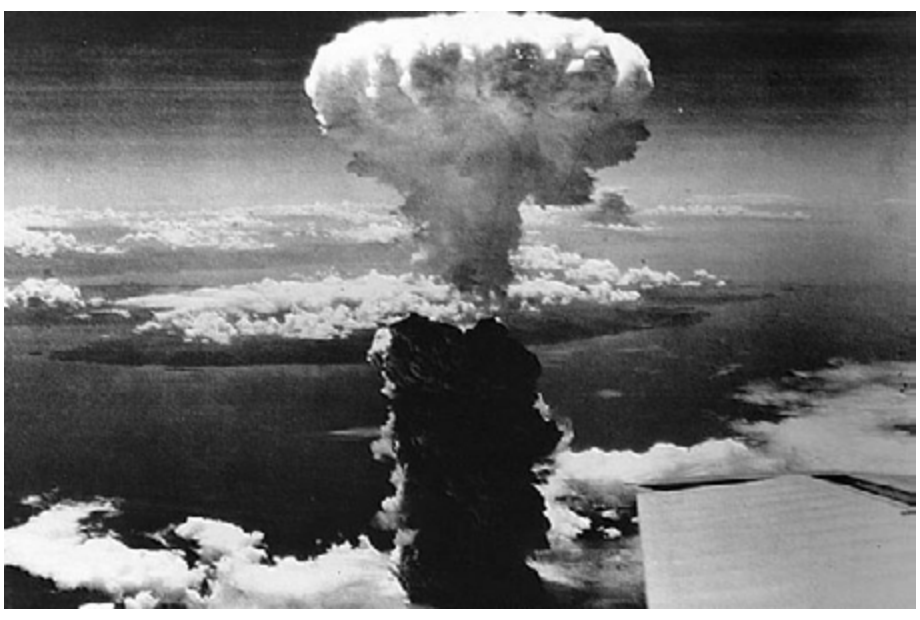
that invade other countries or commit atrocities against the people living under them. It is awful, it may even be unthinkable, but even if war is never good, there are times when it is necessary, and the practical and right thing to do is not to shy away from this reality but to be an adult and make the tough decision. Everyone knows that.

The problem with what everyone knows, though, is that it is quite often laced with omission and untruth.

Most children in American schools are taught very carefully about war, and why it is sometimes necessary. This lesson has to be very carefully planned and executed, because much earlier, those same children have been taught that "two wrongs don't make a right." Adults might rightly fear that such children would not find it easy to reconcile the two positions. So we are taught about the American Revolution. We are taught about the Civil War. And then, at some point (for me it was in seventh grade) we are taught about World War II, the Holocaust, and the horrors of the concentration camps. I had nightmares about stormtroopers and gas chambers after those lessons, and I'm sure other children did too. I don't remember precisely what those seventh-grade history books told me, but I came out of that class believing that the U.S. government went to war to save the Jewish people from the gas chambers, that it was right and just and that every once in a while, government does the right thing and this was one of those times. I'm sure other children did too.

Only later did I learn that saving the Jews was not the reason for the U.S. entering the war; that the government that supposedly cared so much for Jewish victims of the Nazi regime would not allow those same people to land in America – an act that might have saved many hundreds of thousands or even millions of lives without any military action at all; that the justification for US entry into the war, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, was not an unprovoked act, as we had been taught; that the nuclear bombs were not dropped on that country in order to end the war; that the Japanese government had been trying to surrender but balked at doing so unconditionally, a demand the US later easily revoked after the real purpose of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki – a show of force to the USSR – had been achieved.



It was only much, much later that I even thought to ask the question, relevant only to the version of history that had been presented to me: Why does saving innocent people in Germany justify killing innocent people in Japan? I still have yet to hear a satisfying answer to my question.

Far from proving the need for military intervention to deal with murderous madmen, the example of WWII shows precisely how the institution of war and the special rules that sustain it protect such sociopathic killers – as long as they are on the winning side. Former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara has admitted as much, saying that the firebombing of Japanese cities and the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki would have been considered war crimes had the U.S. lost the war. They still should be. "What makes it immoral if you lose and not immoral if you win?" asked McNamara, who by all accounts spent his later years haunted by his roles both in World War II and in the Vietnam War. Of course there is no answer to this question that makes any sense. So why are the rest of us not haunted? Why do so many of us refuse to apply consistent standards of morality to those who make war?

My son is now making a jam sandwich in the kitchen. Every once in a while he comes back to show me what he's done, blueberry jam smeared across his face and hands, and I tell him to go wash his hands so he doesn't get it all over everything. He ignores my request and runs back into the kitchen, squealing with delight. He is "defying authority," and I am relieved. Too many of the problems I see in the world are the direct result of obedience and respect for authority.

We have lost our center. The little boy who was choked by Officer Oglesby understood that what that man was doing to him was wrong. "Mommy, didn't that police officer's mommy say he shouldn't do that to people?" he asked later. That little boy has more clarity than the adults whose comments defending such abuse litter the blogosphere. He still knows the difference between right and wrong. It has yet to be wrenched from him by the system meant to "educate" him.

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When I was in high school, someone once pointed to a bunch of kids who were teasing a mentally handicapped boy. "See? That's what happens in anarchy!" He announced proudly, apparently demolishing my arguments against the state. Incredibly, it didn't occur to me to point out that this wasn't happening in "anarchy" but in the very controlled and authoritarian setting of a government school. It didn't occur to me to tell him about my experiences in a Montessori school, where such behavior was unheard of.

Maria Montessori believed that children have a natural instinct for learning and a natural instinct for civilized co-existence. When teachers do not interfere, children learn; when children are treated with respect, they naturally become respectful; when they are encouraged to resolve their conflicts peacefully, they do so. I went to school with a little boy who had Down's Syndrome, and I never saw any child treat him with anything other than compassion and decency. In the years I spent there, I witnessed some conflicts, and even a few rare instances of someone being hit. But the stereotype of abusive, bullying playground behavior was an alien thing that I never even heard of until I entered public school.

There, the lessons were just the opposite: That children are savages and must have learning and respect forced upon them. Oddly, this is to be accomplished not by showing them respect, but by treating them as lesser beings, while demanding that they respect those more powerful than them. Is it any wonder they soon start bullying those smaller than themselves? The lesson here – the lesson that goes on to inform adult decisions, institutions and problem solving out in the world – is that might makes right. Children are told to respect authority simply because it is authority. Simply because grown-ups are bigger and can punish them if they don't obey. Nothing more.

An old Cherokee tale tells us that there are two "wolves" fighting inside each of us, two opposing sides of human nature: Good vs. evil; peace vs. aggression; compassion vs. hatred. The battle between the two sides rages in each one of us, and the side that wins is the side that we feed. Most of what we call "education" feeds the bad wolves. It works against our better nature and feeds what is worst in us, allowing it to grow at the expense of what is best. It may be true that violence, hatred, and even cruelty each come from a place within our nature. But a healthy society does not exalt them. It does not try to magnify and expand the very worst of our nature, making it dominant. A healthy society discourages these attributes of human nature. We are not a healthy society and what we have become is unnatural.

It is hard to explain to people who have only known the culture of this kind of schooling that there is another way, not only of educating children, but of living in the world. It is hard to get

them to see that things don't have to be the way they think they are, that it is within the nature of each of us to live peacefully. That the "law of the playground" is a lie and *Lord of the Flies* is a work of fiction. That there is always another way.

It was a long time before I really questioned the underlying premises of war: Primarily, that killing innocent people can ever be a legitimate form of self-defense or retaliation against a violent aggressor. At some point, I was presented with the absurd hypothetical thought experiments to which the apologists for war must always resort when asked to defend its morality. I was asked to believe that a bizarre set of circumstances, combined with a certainty of outcomes possible only in a purely academic construction, offer a passable analogy to the real-world situation faced by the war-makers. I was asked to accept the premise that killing is always the only possible solution and I was further asked to accept the assumption that the war-makers are concerned with preserving innocent life. Confronted with the question, I realized that yes, I would be willing to kill an innocent person in order to save myself or someone I loved. But I also realized that the act would still be a crime, though perhaps one mitigated by my necessity. In war, such crimes – all but the very few exceptions that prove the rule – are dismissed. In war, an act that ought only even be contemplated under a set of bizarre, highly unlikely, and strictly controlled circumstances is institutionalized and made routine.

Wars of aggression must always masquerade as defensive wars. From the Spanish-American war to Vietnam and now Iraq, we have all become familiar with the lies and propaganda used to justify what many call the "illegitimate" wars. That time after time these claims turn out to be false is no accident of history. This is the nature of the institution of war itself, which grants nearly unlimited powers to do violence to a single entity within a geographic sphere. To expect that the war machine thus spawned will act on behalf of anyone's interests other than those at its helm; to expect it to use its powers to promote freedom or to protect the lives of the innocent is to believe in fairy tales. Even support for the best of all possible "good wars" must necessarily have these fairy tales at its foundation.

To believe that war can ever be "good" is to believe not only that the academic hypotheticals are accurate representations of the real-world conflict and that violence is always the only solution, we must also believe in lies that are deeply ingrained in most of our psyches. One of the most pernicious of these, one that persists in the face of centuries of evidence to the contrary, is that governments act in the interests of the people they govern.

Americans seem particularly susceptible to this line of reasoning. We vote for the people who rule our lives, the logic goes, and therefore we control them and are responsible for what they do. Most of us cling to this line of thinking and no amount of crony bailouts, "Constitution-Free Zones," indefinite detentions without charge, SWAT-style raids on unarmed Americans in

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their homes, sexual molestation as a condition for air travel, or executive orders allowing for the murder of any American citizen at the whim of the president will convince us otherwise.

It's funny to me that so many in the anti-war movement fail to recognize this, insisting instead that the problem is one of undue corporate influence on government. Many of these people distrust corporate monopoly, yet have no problem with the monopoly powers granted to the far more deadly state. They seem to believe that, in the absence of corporate pressure, the state would suddenly begin to act in the interests of those it governs. Until anti-war activists begin to comprehend the danger inherent in granting a monopoly to a single entity to "protect" and "defend" – until they learn not to expect anything other than abuse of such a position – they will remain impotent in the face of the war machine.

This first big lie spawns another one: The lie of collective identification with the nations we live in and the governments that rule us. Believing in this allows us to absolve our own government of its crimes against innocent civilians who live under evil or repressive governments. For if we are responsible for the actions of our government, those civilians must likewise be responsible for the actions of theirs, and "we" are therefore justified in using violence against them. This bloodthirsty collectivist thinking prevents us from recognizing the enemy we have in common with those civilians: Not "their" government and not "our" government, but the very institution of the war-making state itself, and the privileged position it occupies in our societies.

Even Christian just-war theory carves out a unique moral code for the war-makers, laying out conditions under which it is acceptable to kill innocent people. Why? There are no such conditions allowed for the rest of us. No matter how threatened we may believe ourselves to be, we are never permitted by the laws of society to kill an innocent human being without serious consequences. This is the biggest lie of all. It is the lie that says in some situations murder is no longer a crime; it is the lie that tells us the lives of some people are worth less than the objectives of others. Made concrete, it is the lie that in the most real and final way possible allows some people to pass judgment on the value of the lives of others.

You wouldn't necessarily know it to see him tear around the house yelling at the top of his lungs, but my son is actually very civilized. He is reasonable and can be reasoned with. But he asks lots of questions and he wants to be treated with respect. I worry about how he will fare in a world that demands obsequious obedience to arbitrary authority. My daughter suffers from seizures. They are under control now, but what happens if she has a seizure when she is older and encounters an Officer Oglesby? Or is simply surrounded by people who are increasingly conditioned to see anything unusual as a threat? And whose first impulse is often violence?

Earlier this week, there was a story about some young American soldiers in Afghanistan who decided it would be "fun" to kill some civilians. After shooting a 15-year-old boy, they posed for pictures with his body. After the boy's grief-stricken father had identified his body, the platoon's leader, Staff Sgt. Calvin Gibbs, "started 'messing around with the kid,'" wrote *Rolling Stone* Magazine, "moving his arms and mouth and 'acting like the kid was talking.' Then, using a pair of razor-sharp medic's shears, he reportedly sliced off the dead boy's pinky finger and gave it to (pfc Andrew) Holmes, as a trophy for killing his first Afghan."

I find myself looking at people differently than I used to. I see young children in military fatigues and camouflage and I wonder what their parents can possibly be thinking. I wonder about the young men I see around me. How many of them are war veterans? The guy in front of me in line at the grocery store has a crew cut. Has he ever cut the finger off the corpse of someone's child that he killed? Does he still have it somewhere? What does he do now? Is he in law enforcement? Would he fire on unarmed Americans if ordered to? Or if he just felt like it? Grab my son by the throat and hold him up in the air if he annoyed him? I don't know who the people around me are anymore.

My own answer to the question "why peace?" is an easy one: *Because I unconditionally oppose the killing of children, and because I do not believe the lie that it is "sometimes necessary," or that it can ever be "justified."* I suppose I could add to this "...or innocent adults," since there is certainly nothing more moral or just about killing them. But for me it is the systematized and sanctioned killing of children that makes war intolerable.

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"Serious people" aren't supposed to bring this up when talking of war. In the days and weeks leading up to a war, we don't hear the talking heads pontificating about the deaths of children. Instead, they ask how much the war will cost, how long it will last, what the goals are and whether "we" will accomplish them.

Nobody ever asks, *"how many children will we kill? How many will we maim? Mutilate? And how will we kill them? Will we blow them into little pieces with 'smart bombs'? Will we poison them with toxic sprays? Will our soldiers shoot them in the head? How many will they rape first? And how many children will die simply because they no longer have access to clean drinking water, or because the hospitals have been destroyed?"*

To ask these kinds of questions is to reveal oneself as a "kook," "naïve," a "bleeding heart" and "unrealistic," and to lose any hope of being taken seriously in the debate. Yet what could possibly be more serious?

Among the footage from the US war on Iraq, there is a scene in an Iraqi hospital. In it, a man carries the body of a baby that is either dying or already dead. Not because the baby has been shot or because his or her home was bombed, but because as a result of the UN-imposed economic embargo, there is no medicine available to treat the baby's condition. The look on the man's face as he carries the bundled up child helplessly should haunt anyone who so much as missed one opportunity to speak out against that murderous policy.

The scene is one of hundreds of thousands of such personal tragedies from that one act of war alone, some of which have been captured on camera, most of which have not. Each time I see one, I am jolted into an awareness that the images could well be of myself or my child. Thankfully it is not me, not my family, and it is purely by accident of where I was born that it is not. Knowing this, I feel some kind of responsibility to those who, purely by accident of where *they* were born, have these horrors inflicted upon them.

I am not a pacifist. I do believe that violence is sometimes justified. But war is not simply "violence," and one need not be a pacifist to oppose war. One need not renounce all violence in order to oppose the establishment of a class of people who are above the law; a special situation under which it is acceptable to kill innocents. If the moral codes upon which our societies are built are to mean anything at all, then we must oppose war. If we believe that people have a right to their own lives, a right not to be killed or assaulted by others; and if we believe that each person has as much right to be here as anyone else, that no-one is above the law, whether by virtue of political, social, economic or any other status, then we cannot believe in war.

Of all the lies that support war, one runs deeper than the others. It is a lie that was given to most of us at a very young age. It is a lie about who we are, what we are capable of and what is the true source of the violence in our world. It tries to make us believe that the way we live now – with our Officer Oglesbys and fire-bombings and economic embargoes and the cutting off of fingers of other people's children – represents the natural order of things. That because we are such flawed beings, we can expect no better.

"As long as humans have a proclivity for violence," this lie tells us, "there will always be war." This is utter nonsense. War does not persist because human beings are flawed or unenlightened, or even because we are violent or hate each other. Even if all of this is true about us, it does not explain war. War is not just another form of violence. It is the institutionalization of unrestrained violence with no meaningful accountability for those who inflict it.

Our problems are not caused by our flawed nature, but by flawed institutions. There will always be Officer Oglesbys in our world. There will always be some people who don't mind using violence to get what they want. There will always be criminals. The question is whether we have systems that protect the rest of us from the criminals, or systems that enable and even encourage the real criminals, while criminalizing those who are peaceful.

We would do well to disabuse ourselves of the notion that institutionalized violence creates order. It does not. It creates a safe place for people like Officer Oglesby, the men who killed Aiyana Jones, the Robert McNamaras and Curtis LeMays and the countless thousands of others who murder with impunity under cover of the state. It creates anarchy – the anarchy of Yeats' poem, spinning us out of control and taking us further and further away from anything that can legitimately be called order.

But these institutions also eat away at our center. They eat away at who we are, conditioning us to accept force, violation and disrespect as part of our daily lives; to accept the doctrine that might makes right, and to believe that nothing else is possible. They tear us from our own centers, our own moral centers, our knowledge of who we are.

"Why peace?" The reasons to abhor war are numerous, from an unyielding belief in the sanctity of human life, to fears for our own children's future. But the simplest answer, the most obvious answer, is the one that seems to elude most of us, either because we have forgotten it or had it "educated" out of us: *Because it's what we're made for.*

This essay originally appeared in the book, Why Peace, compiled by Marc Guttman.

Bretigne Shaffer [send her mail] was a journalist in Asia for many years. She is the author of Memoirs of a Gaijin and Why Mommy Loves the State. She blogs at www.bretigne.com.

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There is no way to peace, peace is the way...
Mahatma Gandhi

Supporting the Troops - (Appetite for your Cash)
By C.S. O'Brien

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"NO!" One of the most difficult words to say for those of us employed by the federal government. Over the course of 8 years of federal employment, I have been reminded almost daily of the various"opportunities" and "entitlements" I either qualify for, or could qualify for if only I bent the truth a little. Opportunities like the free laser surgery I could get to correct my 20/25 vision or the free shuttle bus to do T'ai chi on the beach that's 3 hours away every Thursday, if only I just fibbed a little and claimed to have Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The number of these programs seem endless... And then after telling my command that I intend to hang the uniform up and leave, the floodgates really opened up. Every day from that point on I am reminded by co-workers, bosses, friends, other leaving employees, and even passersby of the things that I'm probably"entitled" to (X) program because of (Y) experience.

The reasons for joining up are many, and most men and women that I've worked around signed up for practical reasons. This is contrary to the publicly touted "patriotism" (although this does exist) or the desire to go kill brown people (and unfortunately so does this).There are also significant numbers of people "serving" in order to expedite the process of becoming a US Citizen. All reasons considered, I would say the most common one I've come across are the programs where the Army/Federal Government will pay for your college. In simple dollars, this is hard to refuse. Imagine that you are 18 again, and by the time you're 26 you could have completed (or are only a semester shy) your bachelor's degree, gained 8 years of work experience, and don't owe any student loans. Especially compared to the more standard path, that's one hell of a deal that is hard to turn down. It convinces a lot of people. Hell, it convinced me.

If that wasn't enough, imagine a career where as long as you showed up to work (mostly), and did whatever you were told, you could retire after 20 years, receiving a pension for the rest of your life. Many soldiers that don't leave after their first enlistment see themselves staying in for 8 years. As has often been pointed out to me "If you've put in 8 years, you're basically halfway there... why would you quit now?" With the exception of some criminal offenses, you can stay in for 20 years even with abysmal job performance, and just be shuffled around. Then, after having been a burden on every single unit you've been in for 20 years, you get handed off to be a burden on someone else... the taxpayers.

Standing up to get the Hook-Up

Regardless of the reasons luring them in, thousands and thousands of people join the US Army every year. After a brief session of "Tear them down, then build them up" known as basic training, soldiers are continuously reinforced through their command with empowering messages. Early on, of course, we are subjected to many of the most menial and slave-like tasks you can think of while officers do their best to remind us of the pride we should feel while doing them. Even if they don't accept it at first, the system's repetition of these messages mean that even the most stubborn soldiers come to expect hearing them: The daily recitation of 'The Soldier's Creed', the requirement to know 'The Army Values', and the all-inspiring unit mottos like "Shoot 'em in the face!", "Second to none!" and "We're all we've got!"

Those of us who don't buy the shouting and speeches are often moved and empowered by the increasing amount of ritual and ceremony that goes into promotions and awards. And of course, the crowd size, shiny-ness, and decorum steadily increases with each rung up the ladder. We are steered towards establishments in a culture that give military discounts. Shiny badges are given out, and eventually we deploy and are granted permission to wear an extra patch to show off who we've been to combat with. The intense focus on building pride takes its toll eventually, and most of us begin to feel less like a 'soldier' and more like a Soldier.

To underscore the practice of placing soldiers on a pedestal and giving them a sense of importance, consider this policy enacted a couple years after the War on Terror began: Whenever the word "soldier" appears in an official Army document, it must be capitalized as Soldier. This facade of pride and self-importance is bound to crumble under serious pressure, and I'm sure it is a contributing factor to the unfortunate number of suicides we've seen in our ranks.

Services No Longer Required

Another unfortunate circumstance in war is the immense number of wounded and maimed people we see coming back. Up until even World War 2, the number of wounded was often only twice the number killed. Now, thanks to the awesome trauma care that the military has (note, much different than health care), the number of people that survive battlefield injuries is very high. This also leaves us with 5-10 times the dead in the physically wounded, and countless more mentally scarred.

Healthy or not, at some point all soldiers have to exit the Army. As has been pointed out frequently in the media, the Army is suffering from an incredible suicide trend. This method of leaving the Army is one of the least preferred, but it also has a financial impact on taxpayers: Most soldiers elect to take the Servicemembers' Group Life Insurance which can give up to $400,000, in addition to the $100,000 death gratuity that the Army pays to the next of kin when a soldier dies. However, like many life insurance policies, there are provisions that prevent payment, specifically suicide. This gives an extra incentive for investigating officers to find other 'cause of death' explanations for suicides, so that the families can get more compensation. Take for instance a recent case where a soldier who died playing Russian Roulette. In addition to keeping the local PR people from having to work as hard, the fraud could cost an additional $400,000 in insurance payout when his cause of death is marked as an accidental firearm discharge instead of as a suicide.

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As we leave the Army and begin our mandatory briefings, one of the first stops is a mandatory interactive video. This computerized briefing that took almost an hour to show all of the benefits that I am entitled to. This emphasizes things like the VA backed mortgage loans (which allow us to put zero cash down on a home purchase), employment with other federal agencies by helping to build a résumé for the USA Jobs website, recruitment brochures from local government agencies (especially law enforcement). Should the brochures, posters, and recruiters fail to find us a job in the coveted "public sector", then we are pushed towards great opportunities in the "private sector". If you guessed that the companies represented here were Raytheon, Boeing, Northrop-Grumman, and Lockheed-Martin, then you're correct. Most of these companies have a presence on military bases, and the offices that handle "transitioning soldiers" are usually well versed in their job openings.

Those are just the official, party-line entitlements. The big killer, and real scandal though, is the absolutely despicable distortion of the medical disability system.

Mobile Infantry Made Me the Man I Am Today

As was pointed out earlier, there are a lot of injured people that legitimately qualify for the existing disability system. But, it is far too taboo to openly speak of people that would abuse this system. Sad and despicable as it may be, the disability system IS horrendously abused, with two major results: First it is a tremendous additional drain on the taxpayers, but secondly is that it wildly distorts the numbers of injuries from the wars. The injuries are numerous and terrible enough to speak for themselves, but the rampant fraud inflates many of the reported numbers.

There is common knowledge within the military community now about what percentages are equated with certain ailments. These are especially monitored for retiring veterans, who qualify for BOTH a pension AND a disability check, as long as they are at least 50% disabled. Among the most common ailments that soldiers seek to receive a (mis)diagnosis for are: Sleep Apnea, PTSD, Knee pains, and hearing loss.

Misdiagnosis of PTSD is sought after for many more reasons than just disability, although that is a key factor as well. One perk is a range of activities like I mentioned earlier that allow us to blow off steam during the work week at no expense. There are also the coveted prescription, mind-altering drugs. Even if we don't need them or want them for ourselves, there is a large black market for these items (and how convenient that they're free!).

How does this PTSD misdiagnosis get started? Largely in response to the suicide trends, every single medical appointment starts with a questionnaire. Some questions include: Are you feeling depressed? Do you feel like hurting yourself? Do you feel like hurting anyone else? This battery of questions is asked at eye exams and dental checkups too; every appointment. Simply answer yes, and a priority mental health appointment can be arranged. From there, faking the symptoms and memories is easy for those that have been deployed. This is because most of us are intimately familiar with the symptoms of the other soldiers we work around that legitimately suffer from PTSD. Lies like those can't be dis-proven by an x-ray.

As an airborne school graduate, I can easily blame my knee pains on parachute jumps and could have that counted as a service related disability for myself. Like lies, pain is also hard to dis-prove, even though there may no visible damage to the joints. Likewise, hearing tests can be manipulated with some effort. And, who can blame a person for having hearing loss after being near explosions, jet engines, and large cannons going off for years? To be fair, hearing loss is more difficult to claim today as a steady trend of deterioration has to be shown over a career. But, there are numerous other conditions that can easily be faked in order to drive the magical percentage number up. Even if a soldier proves unsuccessful with one diagnosis, there is an unwritten menu to choose from. With each successful diagnosis comes a guaranteed check or tax write-off for years to come.

The Great Sleep Apnea Scam

Now comes the most abhorrent example of disability manipulation. Sleep Apnea, should one of us be diagnosed with it, is a 50% disability to itself. In fact, misdiagnosis is so commonly abused that it is even part of the (verbal) brief given at the medical clinic when starting the transition physical on my base. I have personally worked with at least 7 people in the past year alone that have been "diagnosed" with this condition, just to take advantage of the disability benefits. An overnight test is conducted in which the amount that you snore, and the frequency with which you wake up through the night are among the biggest contributing factors. If you sleep on your side or stomach, what is the easiest way to ensure you will snore or wake up frequently? Make a conscious effort to sleep on your back. That's it. Don't you wish you could have years of financial compensation for one bad night's sleep?

This condition has made the news in the past, and a quick Google search will pull up examples like this one from USA Today: http://www.usatoday.com/news/health/2010-06-07-apnea_N.htm The environmental conditions of living next to a burning trash pit for a year or riding exposed in a turret through numerous sandstorms certainly do take their toll. But, I suspect the marked increase in cases reported is NOT a reflection of the number of people being affected. It is more closely related to the spread of information, and the leeching nature of soldiers brought up in this entitlement culture. This is not meant as an attack on the condition of Sleep Apnea itself, which can be quite severe. This is an exposure of how easily manipulated the tests the Army uses for it is.

These are a few specific examples from my years in uniform, and by themselves disgust any attentive soldier. Exposure of these problems alone do nothing to solve the inherent flaws within the system. They are, however, tools that can be used to illustrate a case for liberty and help spread awareness. Just as the path to Easy Street perpetuates itself through the world of the leech, so too can knowledge and truth spread through the world of the liberty conscious.

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Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. - April 4, 1967 - Beyond Vietnam: A Time To Break Silence Video/Text

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MARTIN Luther King, Jr. (January 15, 1929 – April 4, 1968) was an American clergyman, activist, and prominent leader in the African-American Civil Rights Movement.[1] He is best known for his role in the advancement of civil rights in the United States and around the world, using nonviolent methods following the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.[2] King has become a national icon in the history of modern American liberalism.[3]

A Baptist minister, King became a civil rights activist early in his career.[4] He led the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott and helped found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957, serving as its first president. King's efforts led to the 1963 March on Washington, where King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech. There, he expanded American values to include the vision of a color blind society, and established his reputation as one of the greatest orators in American history.

In 1964, King became the youngest person to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for his work to end racial segregation and racial discrimination through civil disobedience and other nonviolent means. By the time of his death in 1968, he had refocused his efforts on ending poverty and stopping the Vietnam War.

King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee. He was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1977 and Congressional Gold Medal in 2004; Martin Luther King, Jr. Day was established as a U.S. federal holiday in 1986.

This is the least known of Dr. King's speeches amongst the masses, but it needs to be heard because it is STILL relevant today.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

I need not pause to say how very delighted I am to be here tonight, and how very delighted I am to see you expressing your concern about the issues that will be discussed tonight by turning out in such large numbers. I also want to say that I consider it a great honor to share this program with Dr. Bennett, Dr. Commager, and Rabbi Heschel, and some of the distinguished leaders and personalities of our nation. And of course it's always good to come back to Riverside Church. Over the last eight years, I have had the privilege of preaching here almost every year in that period, and it is always a rich and rewarding experience to come to this great church and this great pulpit.

I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join you in this meeting because I am in deepest agreement with the aims and work of the organization which has brought us together: Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam. The recent statements of your executive committee are the sentiments of my own heart, and I found myself in full accord when I read its opening lines: "A time comes when silence is betrayal." And that time has come for us in relation to Vietnam.

The truth of these words is beyond doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty; but we must move on.

And some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. And we must rejoice as well, for surely this is the first time in our nation's history that a significant number of its religious leaders have chosen to move beyond the prophesying of smooth patriotism to the high grounds of a firm dissent based upon the mandates of conscience and the reading of history. Perhaps a new spirit is rising among us. If it is, let us trace its movements and pray that our own inner being may be sensitive to its guidance, for we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path. At the heart of their concerns this query has often loomed large and loud: "Why are you speaking about the war, Dr. King?" "Why are you joining the voices of dissent?" "Peace and civil rights don't mix," they say. "Aren't you hurting the cause of your people," they ask? And when I hear them, though I often understand the source of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. - April 4, 1967 - Beyond Vietnam: A Time To Break Silence [Full Speech] - Click to Play:

In the light of such tragic misunderstanding, I deem it of signal importance to try to state clearly, and I trust concisely, why I believe that the path from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church -- the church in Montgomery, Alabama, where I began my pastorate -- leads clearly to this sanctuary tonight.

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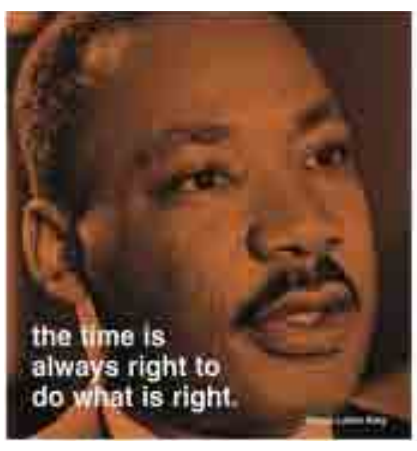
Beyond Vietnam: A Time To Break Silence

I come to this platform tonight to make a passionate plea to my beloved nation. This speech is not addressed to Hanoi or to the National Liberation Front. It is not addressed to China or to Russia. Nor is it an attempt to overlook the ambiguity of the total situation and the need for a collective solution to the tragedy of Vietnam. Neither is it an attempt to make North Vietnam or the National Liberation Front paragons of virtue, nor to overlook the role they must play in the successful resolution of the problem. While they both may have justifiable reasons to be suspicious of the good faith of the United States, life and history give eloquent testimony to the fact that conflicts are never resolved without trustful give and take on both sides.

Tonight, however, I wish not to speak with Hanoi and the National Liberation Front, but rather to my fellow Americans.

Since I am a preacher by calling, I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor -- both black and white -- through the poverty program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings. Then came the buildup in Vietnam, and I watched this program broken and eviscerated, as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic destructive suction tube. So, I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were



taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem. And so we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. And so we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would hardly live on the same block in Chicago. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

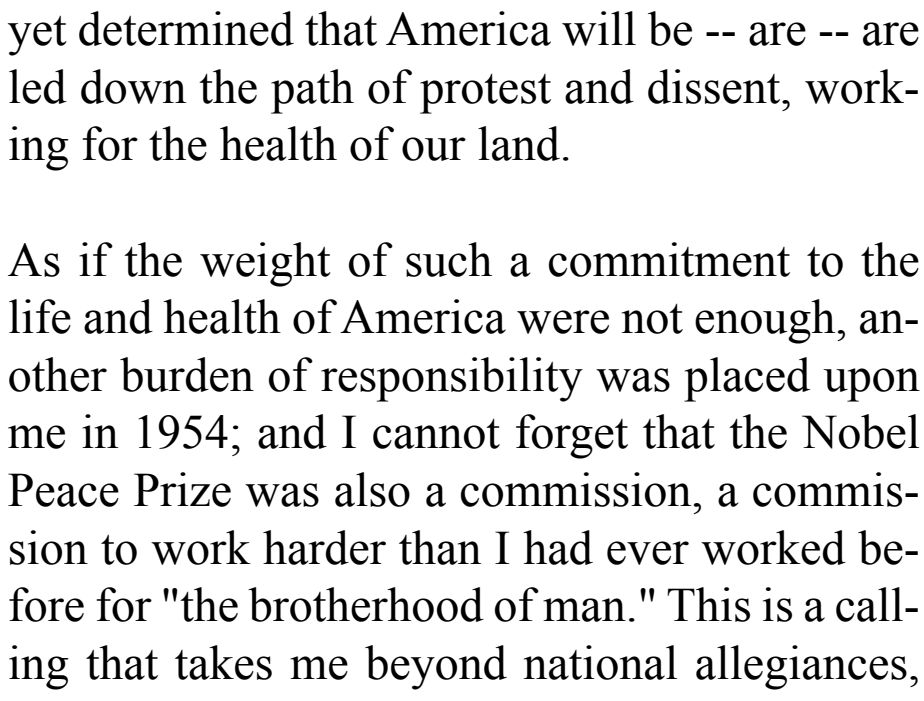
My third reason moves to an even deeper level of awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettoes of the North over the last three years -- especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men, I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action. But they ask -- and rightly so -- what about Vietnam? They ask if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today -- my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

For those who ask the question, "Aren't you a civil rights leader?" and thereby mean to exclude me from the movement for peace, I have this further answer. In 1957 when a group of us formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we chose as our motto: "To save the soul of America." We were convinced that we could not limit our vision to certain rights for black people, but instead affirmed the conviction that America would never be free or saved from itself until the descendants of its slaves were loosed completely from the shackles they still wear. In a way we were agreeing with Langston Hughes, that black bard of Harlem, who had written earlier:

> O, yes,
> I say it plain,
> America never was America to me,
> And yet I swear this oath --
> America will be!

Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read: Vietnam. It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be -- are -- are led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

As if the weight of such a commitment to the life and health of America were not enough, another burden of responsibility was placed upon me in 1954; and I cannot forget that the Nobel Peace Prize was also a commission, a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for "the brotherhood of man." This is a calling that takes me beyond national allegiances, but even if it were not present I would yet have to live with the meaning of my commitment to the ministry of Jesus Christ. To me the relationship of this ministry to the making of peace is so obvious that I sometimes marvel at those who ask me why I'm speaking against the war. Could it be that they do not know that the good news



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was meant for all men -- for Communist and capitalist, for their children and ours, for black and for white, for revolutionary and conservative? Have they forgotten that my ministry is in obedience to the One who loved his enemies so fully that he died for them? What then can I say to the Vietcong or to Castro or to Mao as a faithful minister of this One? Can I threaten them with death or must I not share with them my life?

And finally, as I try to explain for you and for myself the road that leads from Montgomery to

this place I would have offered all that was most valid if I simply said that I must be true to my conviction that I share with all men the calling to be a son of the living God. Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed is this vocation of sonship and brotherhood, and because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for his suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come tonight to speak for them.

This I believe to be the privilege and the burden of all of us who deem ourselves bound by allegiances and loyalties which are broader and deeper than nationalism and which go beyond our nation's self-defined goals and positions. We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation and for those it calls "enemy," for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers.

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the ideologies of the Liberation Front, not of the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution there until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

They must see Americans as strange liberators. The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1954 -- in 1945 rather -- after a combined French and Japanese occupation and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony. Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not ready for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination and a government that had been established not by China -- for whom the Vietnamese have no great love -- but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

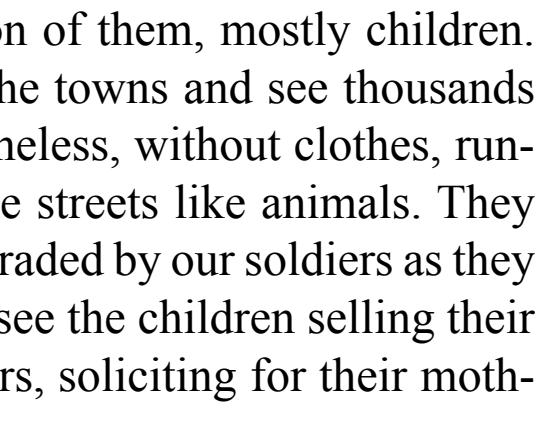
For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to recolonize Vietnam. Before the end of the war we were meeting eighty percent of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at recolonization.

After the French were defeated, it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva Agreement. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators, our chosen man, Premier Diem. The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly rooted out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords, and refused even to discuss reunification with the North. The peasants watched as all this was presided over by United States' influence and then by increasing numbers of United States troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused. When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change, especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America, as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received the regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs.

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform? What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe? Where are the roots of the independent Vietnam we claim to be building? Is it among these voiceless ones?



We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing -- in the crushing of the nation's only non-Communist revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We

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have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.

Now there is little left to build on, save bitterness. Soon, the only solid -- solid physical foundations remaining will be found at our military bases and in the concrete of the concentration camps we call "fortified hamlets." The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these. Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These, too, are our brothers.

Perhaps a more difficult but no less necessary task is to speak for those who have been designated as our enemies. What of the National Liberation Front, that strangely anonymous group we call "VC" or "communists"? What must they think of the United States of America when they realize that we permitted the repression and cruelty of Diem, which helped to bring them into being as a resistance group in the South? What do they think of our condoning the violence which led to their own taking up of arms? How can they believe in our integrity when now we speak of "aggression from the North" as if there were nothing more essential to the war? How can they trust us when now we charge them with violence after the murderous reign of Diem and charge them with violence while we pour every new weapon of death into their land? Surely we must understand their feelings, even if we do not condone their actions. Surely we must see that the men we supported pressed them to their violence. Surely we must see that our own computerized plans of destruction simply dwarf their greatest acts.

How do they judge us when our officials know that their membership is less than twenty-five percent communist, and yet insist on giving them the blanket name? What must they be thinking when they know that we are aware of their control of major sections of Vietnam, and yet we appear ready to allow national elections in which this highly organized political parallel government will not have a part? They ask how we can speak of free elections when the Saigon press is censored and controlled by the military junta. And they are surely right to wonder what kind of new government we plan to help form without them, the only party in real touch with the peasants. They question our political goals and they deny the reality of a peace settlement from which they will be excluded. Their questions are frighteningly relevant. Is our nation planning to build on political myth again, and then shore it up upon the power of new violence?

Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and nonviolence, when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition.

So, too, with Hanoi. In the North, where our bombs now pummel the land, and our mines endanger the waterways, we are met by a deep but understandable mistrust. To speak for them is to explain this lack of confidence in Western words, and especially their distrust of American intentions now. In Hanoi are the men who led the nation to independence against the Japanese and the French, the men who sought membership in the French Commonwealth and were betrayed by the weakness of Paris and the willfulness of the colonial armies. It was they who led a second struggle against French domination at tremendous costs, and then were persuaded to give up the land they controlled between the thirteenth and seventeenth parallel as a temporary measure at Geneva. After 1954 they watched us conspire with Diem to prevent elections which could have surely brought Ho Chi Minh to power over a united Vietnam, and they realized they had been betrayed again. When we ask why they do not leap to negotiate, these things must be remembered.

Also, it must be clear that the leaders of Hanoi considered the presence of American troops in support of the Diem regime to have been the initial military breach of the Geneva Agreement concerning foreign troops. They remind us that they did not begin to send troops in large numbers and even supplies into the South until American forces had moved into the tens of thousands.

Hanoi remembers how our leaders refused to tell us the truth about the earlier North Vietnamese overtures for peace, how the president claimed that none existed when they had clearly been made. Ho Chi Minh has watched as America has spoken of peace and built up its forces, and now he has surely heard the increasing international rumors of American plans for an invasion of the North. He knows the bombing and shelling and mining we are doing are part of traditional pre-invasion strategy. Perhaps only his sense of humor and of irony can save him when he hears the most powerful nation of the world speaking of aggression as it drops thousands of bombs on a poor, weak nation more than eight hundred -- rather, eight thousand miles away from its shores.

At this point I should make it clear that while I have tried in these last few minutes to give a voice to the voiceless in Vietnam and to understand the arguments of those who are called "enemy," I am as deeply concerned about our own troops there as anything else. For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. We are adding cynicism to the process of death, for they must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy, and the secure, while we create a hell for the poor.

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak of the -- for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own nation: The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours.

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This is the message of the great Buddhist leaders of Vietnam. Recently one of them wrote these words, and I quote:

Each day the war goes on the hatred increases in the heart of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instinct. The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious that the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibilities of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom, and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism (unquote).

If we continue, there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam. If we do not stop our war against the people of Vietnam immediately, the world will be left with no other alternative than to see this as some horrible, clumsy, and deadly game we have decided to play. The world now demands a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve. It demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam, that we have been detrimental to the life of the Vietnamese people. The situation is one in which we must be ready to turn sharply from our present ways. In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war.

I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do [immediately] to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict:

Number one: End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.

Number two: Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.

Three: Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military buildup in Thailand and our interference in Laos.

Four: Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and any future Vietnam government.

Five: Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

Part of our ongoing -- Part of our ongoing commitment might well express itself in an offer to grant asylum to any Vietnamese who fears for his life under a new regime which included the Liberation Front. Then we must make what reparations we can for the damage we have done. We must provide the medical aid that is badly needed, making it available in this country, if necessary. Meanwhile -- Meanwhile, we in the churches and synagogues have a continuing task while we urge our government to disengage itself from a disgraceful commitment. We must continue to raise our voices and our lives if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam. We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative method of protest possible.

As we counsel young men concerning military service, we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. I am pleased to say that this is a path now chosen by more than seventy students at my own alma mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one. Moreover, I would encourage all ministers of draft age to give up their ministerial exemptions and seek status as conscientious objectors. These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest.

Now there is something seductively tempting about stopping there and sending us all off on what in some circles has become a popular crusade against the war in Vietnam. I say we must enter that struggle, but I wish to go on now to say something even more disturbing.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality...and if we ignore this sobering reality, we will find ourselves organizing "clergy and laymen concerned" committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala -- Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end, unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy.

And so, such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as sons of the living God.

In 1957, a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past ten years, we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which has now justified the presence of U.S. military advisors in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counterrevolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Cambodia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken, the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the

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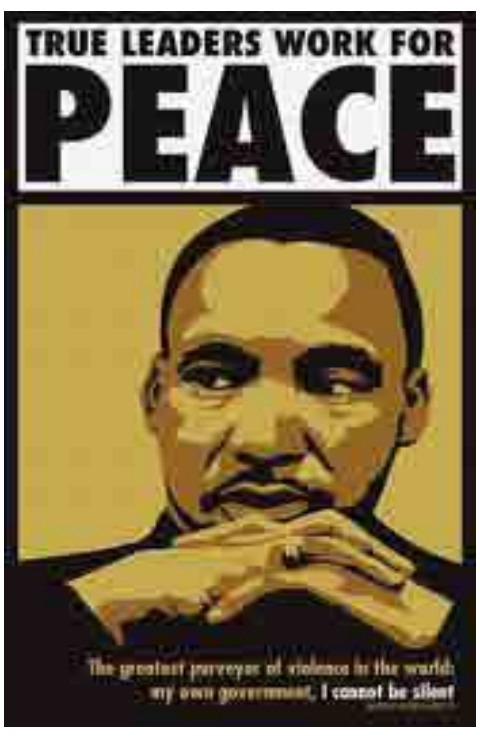
privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin...we must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand, we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside, but that will be only an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life's highway. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring.

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say, "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of South America and say, "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just.



A true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing except a tragic death wish to prevent us from reordering our priorities so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from molding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. Let us not join those who shout war and, through their misguided passions, urge the United States to relinquish its participation in the United Nations. These are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not engage in a negative anticommunism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with positive action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity, and injustice, which are the fertile soil in which the seed of communism grows and develops.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. "The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light." We in the West must support these revolutions.

It is a sad fact that because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch antirevolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has a revolutionary spirit. Therefore, communism is a judgment against our failure to make democracy real and follow through on the revolutions that we initiated. Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores, and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain."

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing -- embracing and unconditional love for all mankind. This oft misunderstood, this oft misinterpreted concept, so readily dismissed by the Nietzsches of the world as a weak and cowardly force, has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man. When I speak of love I am not speaking of some sentimental and weak response. I am not speaking of that force which is just emotional bosh. I am speaking of that force which all of the great religions have seen as the supreme unifying principle of life. Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Jewish-Buddhist belief about ultimate -- ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the first epistle of Saint John: "Let us love one another, for love is God. And every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love." "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us and his love is perfected in us." Let us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day.

We can no longer afford to worship the god of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. And history is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate. As Arnold Toynbee says:

Love is the ultimate force that makes for the saving choice of life and good against the damning choice of death and evil. Therefore the first

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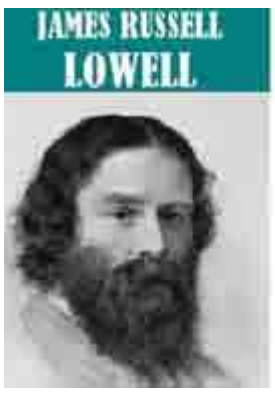
hope in our inventory must be the hope that love is going to have the last word (unquote).

We are now faced with the fact, my friends, that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there is such a thing as being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time. Life often leaves us standing bare, naked, and dejected with a lost opportunity. The tide in the affairs of men does not remain at flood -- it ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage, but time is adamant to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words, "Too late." There is an invisible book of life that faithfully records our vigilance or our neglect. Omar Khayyam is right: "The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on."

We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent coannihilation. We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.

Now let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter, but beautiful, struggle for a new world. This is the calling of the sons of God, and our brothers wait eagerly for our response. Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? Will our message be that the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men, and we send our deepest regrets? Or will there be another message -- of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause, whatever the cost? The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise, we must choose in this crucial moment of human history.



As that noble bard of yesterday, James Russell Lowell, eloquently stated:

Once to every man and nation comes a moment to decide,
In the strife of truth and Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah offering each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.
Though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis truth alone is strong
Though her portions be the scaffold, and upon the throne be wrong
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

And if we will only make the right choice, we will be able to transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of peace. If we will make the right choice, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our world into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. If we will but make the right choice, we will be able to speed up the day, all over America and all over the world, when "justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

Martin Luther King, Jr. (January 15, 1929 - April 4, 1968)

Information provided by YouTube, Wikipedia, and 4AMorePerfectUnion.Blogspot.Com

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Ron Paul House Floor Speech Sept 5, 2002 - A Foreign Policy for Peace, Prosperity, and Liberty

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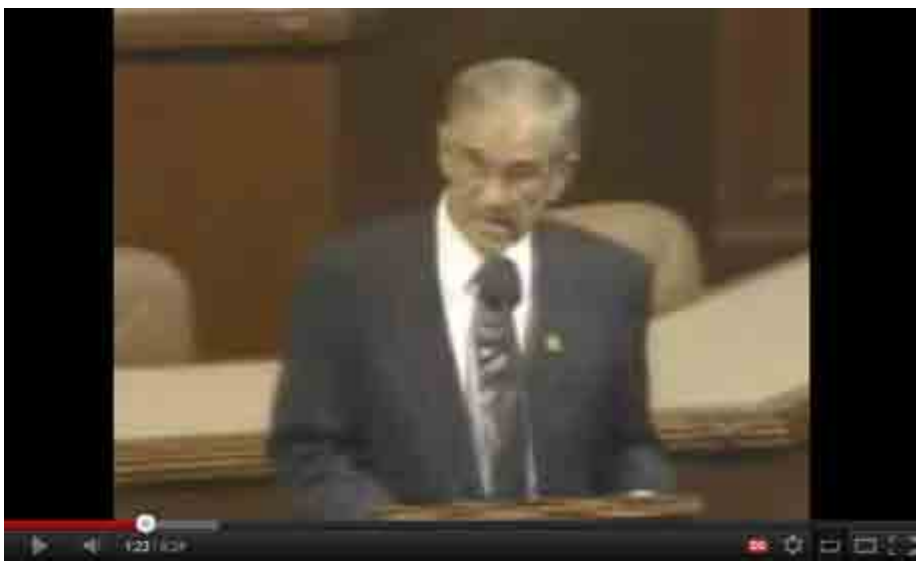
SEPTEMBER 5th, 2002 - Rep. Ron Paul [R-TX] speaks before the U.S. House of Representatives on the transition from a nonintervention policy to aggressive interventionism.

Mr. Speaker:

Thomas Jefferson spoke for the founders and all our early presidents when he states: "peace, commerce, andhonest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none..." which is, "one of the essential principles of our government". The question is: Whatever happened to this principle and should it be restored?

We find the 20th Century was wracked with war, peace was turned asunder, and our liberties were steadily eroded. Foreign alliances and meddling in the internal affailrs of other nations became commonplace. On many occastions, involvement in military action occurred through UN resolutions or a presidental executive order, despite the fact that the war power was explicity placed in the hands of Congress.

Ron Paul on The Price of War [Part 1]:



Ron Paul on The Price of War [Part 2]:

Ron Paul on The Price of War [Part 3]:

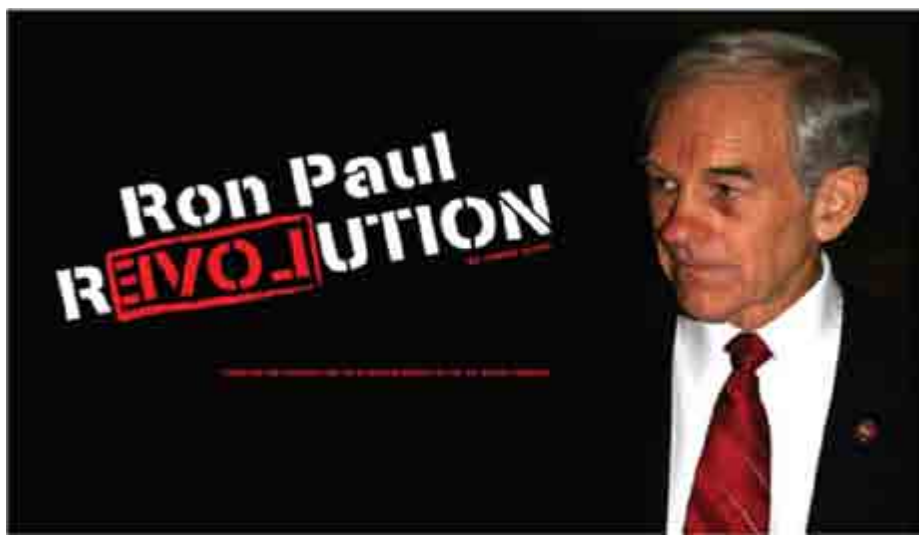
An Oldie (2002): Ron Paul on The Price of War [Part 4]:

Ron Paul Quotes:

~The moral and constitutional obligations of our representatives in Washington are to protect our liberty, not coddle the world, precipitating no-win wars, while bringing bankruptcy and economic turmoil to our people.

~Do they think if we destroy our freedoms for the terrorists they will no longer have a reason to attack us?
~Terror is a tactic. We can not wage "war" against a tactic.

Videos courtesy of YouTube . CLICK HERE for the transcript of the speech.



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Ron Paul House Floor Speech on Iraq (October 8, 2002) Video and Text of Speech

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CONGRESSMAN Ron Paul U.S. House of Representatives October 8, 2002 Statement Opposing the use of Military Force against Iraq

Transcript of Speech:

Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution. The wisdom of the war is one issue, but the process and the philosophy behind our foreign policy are important issues as well. But I have come to the conclusion that I see no threat to our national security. There is no convincing evidence that Iraq is capable of threatening the security of this country, and, therefore, very little reason, if any, to pursue a war.

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But I am very interested also in the process that we are pursuing. This is not a resolution to declare war. We know that. This is a resolution that does something much different. This resolution transfers the responsibility, the authority, and the power of the Congress to the President so he can declare war when and if he wants to. He has not even indicated that he wants to go to war or has to go to war; but he will make the full decision, not the Congress, not the people through the Congress of this country in that manner.

It does something else, though. One-half of the resolution delivers this power to the President, but it also instructs him to enforce U.N. resolutions. I happen to think I would rather listen to the President when he talks about unilateralism and national security interests, than accept this responsibility to follow all of the rules and the dictates of the United Nations. That is what this resolution does. It instructs him to follow all of the resolutions.

But an important aspect of the philosophy and the policy we are endorsing here is the preemption doctrine. This should not be passed off lightly. It has been done to some degree in the past, but never been put into law that we will preemptively strike another nation that has not attacked us. No matter what the arguments may be, this policy is new; and it will have ramifications for our future, and it will have ramifications for the future of the world because other countries will adopt this same philosophy.

I also want to mention very briefly something that has essentially never been brought up. For more than a thousand years there has been a doctrine and Christian definition of what a just war is all about. I think this effort and this plan to go to war comes up short of that doctrine. First, it says that there has to be an act of aggression; and there has not been an act of aggression against the United States. We are 6,000 miles from their shores.

Also, it says that all efforts at negotiations must be exhausted. I do not believe that is the case. It seems to me like the opposition, the enemy, right now is begging for more negotiations.

Also, the Christian doctrine says that the proper authority must be responsible for initiating the war. I do not believe that proper authority can be transferred to the President nor to the United Nations.

But a very practical reason why I have a great deal of reservations has to do with the issue of no-win wars that we have been involved in for so long. Once we give up our responsibilities from here in the House and the Senate to make these decisions, it seems that we depend on the United Nations for our instructions; and that is why, as a Member earlier indicated, essentially we are already at war. That is correct. We are still in the Persian Gulf War. We have been bombing for 12 years, and the reason President Bush, Sr., did not go all the way? He said the U.N. did not give him permission to.

My argument is when we go to war through the back door, we are more likely to have the wars last longer and not have resolution of the wars, such as we had in Korea and Vietnam. We ought to consider this very seriously.

Also it is said we are wrong about the act of aggression, there has been an act of aggression against us because Saddam Hussein has shot at our airplanes. The fact that he has missed every single airplane for 12 years, and tens of thousands of sorties have been flown, indicates the strength of our enemy, an impoverished, Third World nation that does not have an air force, anti-aircraft weapons, or a navy.

But the indication is because he shot at us, therefore, it is an act of aggression. However, what is cited as the reason for us flying over the no-fly zone comes from U.N. Resolution 688, which instructs us and all the nations to contribute to humanitarian relief in the Kurdish and the Shiite areas. It says nothing about no-fly zones, and it says nothing about bombing missions over Iraq.

So to declare that we have been attacked, I do not believe for a minute that this fulfills the requirement that we are retaliating against aggression by this country. There is a need for us to assume responsibility for the declaration of war, and also to prepare the American people for the taxes that will be raised and the possibility of a military draft which may well come.

I must oppose this resolution, which regardless of what many have tried to claim will lead us into war with Iraq. This resolution is not a declaration of war, however, and that is an important point: this resolution transfers the Constitutionally-mandated Congressional authority

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to declare wars to the executive branch. This resolution tells the president that he alone has the authority to determine when, where, why, and how war will be declared. It merely asks the president to pay us a courtesy call a couple of days after the bombing starts to let us know what is going on. This is exactly what our Founding Fathers cautioned against when crafting our form of government: most had just left behind a monarchy where the power to declare war rested in one individual. It is this they most wished to avoid.

As James Madison wrote in 1798, "The Constitution supposes what the history of all governments demonstrates, that the executive is the branch of power most interested in war, and most prone to it. It has, accordingly, with studied care, vested the question of war in the legislature."

Some- even some in this body- have claimed that this Constitutional requirement is an anachronism, and that those who insist on following the founding legal document of this country are just being frivolous. I could not disagree more.

Mr. Speaker, for the more than one dozen years I have spent as a federal legislator I have taken a particular interest in foreign affairs and especially the politics of the Middle East. From my seat on the international relations committee I have had the opportunity to review dozens of documents and to sit through numerous hearings and mark-up sessions regarding the issues of both Iraq and international terrorism.

Back in 1997 and 1998 I publicly spoke out against the actions of the Clinton Administration, which I believed was moving us once again toward war with Iraq. I believe the genesis of our current policy was unfortunately being set at that time. Indeed, many of the same voices who then demanded that the Clinton Administration attack Iraq are now demanding that the Bush Administration attack Iraq. It is unfortunate that these individuals are using the tragedy of September 11, 2001 as cover to force their long-standing desire to see an American invasion of Iraq. Despite all of the information to which I have access, I remain very skeptical that the nation of Iraq poses a serious and immanent terrorist threat to the United States. If I were convinced of such a threat I would support going to war, as I did when I supported President Bush by voting to give him both the authority and the necessary funding to fight the war on terror.

Mr. Speaker, consider some of the following claims presented by supporters of this resolution, and contrast them with the following facts:

Claim: Iraq has consistently demonstrated its willingness to use force against the US through its firing on our planes patrolling the UN-established "no-fly zones."

Reality: The "no-fly zones" were never authorized by the United Nations, nor was their 12 year patrol by American and British fighter planes sanctioned by the United Nations. Under UN Security Council Resolution 688 (April, 1991), Iraq's repression of the Kurds and Shi'ites was condemned, but there was no authorization for "no-fly zones," much less airstrikes. The resolution only calls for member states to "contribute to humanitarian relief" in the Kurd and Shi'ite areas. Yet the US and British have been bombing Iraq in the "no-fly zones" for 12 years. While one can only condemn any country firing on our pilots, isn't the real argument whether we should continue to bomb Iraq relentlessly? Just since 1998, some 40,000 sorties have been flown over Iraq.

Claim: Iraq is an international sponsor of terrorism.

Reality: According to the latest edition of the State Department's Patterns of Global Terrorism, Iraq sponsors several minor Palestinian groups, the Mujahedin-e-Khalq (MEK), and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). None of these carries out attacks against the United States. As a matter of fact, the MEK (an Iranian organization located in Iraq) has enjoyed broad Congressional support over the years. According to last year's Patterns of Global Terrorism, Iraq has not been involved in terrorist activity against the West since 1993 – the alleged attempt against former President Bush.

Claim: Iraq tried to assassinate President Bush in 1993.

Reality: It is far from certain that Iraq was behind the attack. News reports at the time were skeptical about Kuwaiti assertions that the attack was planned by Iraq against former. President Bush. Following is an interesting quote from Seymore Hersh's article from Nov. 1993:

Three years ago, during Iraq's six-month occupation of Kuwait, there had been an outcry when a teen-age Kuwaiti girl testified eloquently and effectively before Congress about Iraqi atrocities involving newborn infants. The girl turned out to be the daughter of the Kuwaiti Ambassador to Washington, Sheikh Saud Nasir al-Sabah, and her account of Iraqi soldiers flinging babies out of incubators was challenged as exaggerated both by journalists and by human-rights groups. (Sheikh Saud was subsequently named Minister of Information in Kuwait, and he was the government official in charge of briefing the international press on the alleged assassination attempt against George Bush.) In a second incident, in August of 1991, Kuwait provoked a special session of the United Nations Security Council by claiming that twelve Iraqi vessels, including a speedboat, had been involved in an attempt to assault Bubiyan Island, long-disputed territory that was then under Kuwaiti control. The Security Council eventually concluded that, while the Iraqis had been provocative, there had been no Iraqi military raid, and that the Kuwaiti government knew there hadn't. What did take place was nothing more than a smuggler-versus-smuggler dispute over war booty in a nearby demilitarized zone that had emerged, after the Gulf War, as an illegal marketplace for alcohol, ammunition, and livestock.

This establishes that on several occasions Kuwait has lied about the threat from Iraq. Hersh goes on to point out in the article numerous other times the Kuwaitis lied to the US and the UN about Iraq. Here is another good quote from Hersh:

The President was not alone in his caution. Janet Reno, the Attorney General, also had her doubts. "The A.G. remains skeptical of certain aspects of the case," a senior Justice Department official told me in late July, a month after the bombs were dropped on Baghdad…Two weeks

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later, what amounted to open warfare broke out among various factions in the government on the issue of who had done what in Kuwait. Someone gave a Boston Globe reporter access to a classified C.I.A. study that was highly skeptical of the Kuwaiti claims of an Iraqi assassination attempt. The study, prepared by the C.I.A.'s Counter Terrorism Center, suggested that Kuwait might have "cooked the books" on the alleged plot in an effort to play up the "continuing Iraqi threat" to Western interests in the Persian Gulf. Neither the Times nor the Post made any significant mention of the Globe dispatch, which had been written by a Washington correspondent named Paul Quinn-Judge, although the story cited specific paragraphs from the C.I.A. assessment. The two major American newspapers had been driven by their sources to the other side of the debate.

At the very least, the case against Iraq for the alleged bomb threat is not conclusive.

Claim: Saddam Hussein will use weapons of mass destruction against us – he has already used them against his own people (the Kurds in 1988 in the village of Halabja).

Reality: It is far from certain that Iraq used chemical weapons against the Kurds. It may be accepted as conventional wisdom in these times, but back when it was first claimed there was great skepticism. The evidence is far from conclusive. A 1990 study by the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College cast great doubts on the claim that Iraq used chemical weapons on the Kurds. Following are the two gassing incidents as described in the report:

In September 1988, however – a month after the war (between Iran and Iraq) had ended – the State Department abruptly, and in what many viewed as a sensational manner, condemned Iraq for allegedly using chemicals against its Kurdish population. The incident cannot be understood without some background of Iraq's relations with the Kurds…throughout the war Iraq effectively faced two enemies – Iran and elements of its own Kurdish minority. Significant numbers of the Kurds had launched a revolt against Baghdad and in the process teamed up with Tehran. As soon as the war with Iran ended, Iraq announced its determination to crush the Kurdish insurrection. It sent Republican Guards to the Kurdish area, and in the course of the operation – according to the U.S. State Department – gas was used, with the result that numerous Kurdish civilians were killed. The Iraqi government denied that any such gassing had occurred. Nonetheless, Secretary of State Schultz stood by U.S. accusations, and the U.S. Congress, acting on its own, sought to impose economic sanctions on Baghdad as a violator of the Kurds' human rights.

Having looked at all the evidence that was available to us, we find it impossible to confirm the State Department's claim that gas was used in this instance. To begin with. There were never any victims produced. International relief organizations who examined the Kurds – in Turkey where they had gone for asylum – failed to discover any. Nor were there ever any found inside Iraq. The claim rests solely on testimony of the Kurds who had crossed the border into Turkey, where they were interviewed by staffers of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee…

It appears that in seeking to punish Iraq, the Congress was influenced by another incident that occurred five months earlier in another Iraqi-Kurdish city, Halabjah. In March 1988, the Kurds at Halabjah were bombarded with chemical weapons, producing many deaths. Photographs of the Kurdish victims were widely disseminated in the international media. Iraq was blamed for the Halabjah attack, even though it was subsequently brought out that Iran too had used chemicals in this operation and it seemed likely that it was the Iranian bombardment that had actually killed the Kurds.

Thus, in our view, the Congress acted more on the basis of emotionalism than factual information, and without sufficient thought for the adverse diplomatic effects of its action.

Claim: Iraq must be attacked because it has ignored UN Security Council resolutions – these resolutions must be backed up by the use of force.

Reality: Iraq is but one of the many countries that have not complied with UN Security Council resolutions. In addition to the dozen or so resolutions currently being violated by Iraq, a conservative estimate reveals that there are an additional 91Security Council resolutions by countries other than Iraq that are also currently being violated. Adding in older resolutions that were violated would mean easily more than 200 UN Security Council resolutions have been violated with total impunity. Countries currently in violation include: Israel, Turkey, Morocco, Croatia, Armenia, Russia, Sudan, Turkey-controlled Cyprus, India, Pakistan, Indonesia. None of these countries have been threatened with force over their violations.

Claim: Iraq has anthrax and other chemical and biological agents.

Reality: That may be true. However, according to UNSCOM's chief weapons inspector 90-95 percent of Iraq's chemical and biological weapons and capabilities were destroyed by 1998; those that remained have likely degraded in the intervening four years and are likely useless. A 1994 Senate Banking Committee hearing revealed some 74 shipments of deadly chemical and biological agents from the U.S. to Iraq in the 1980s. As one recent press report stated:

One 1986 shipment from the Virginia-based American Type Culture Collection included three strains of anthrax, six strains of the bacteria that make botulinum toxin and three strains of the bacteria that cause gas gangrene. Iraq later admitted to the United Nations that it had made weapons out of all three…

The CDC, meanwhile, sent shipments of germs to the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission and other agencies involved in Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs. It sent samples in 1986 of botulinum toxin and botulinum toxoid — used to make vaccines against botulinum toxin — directly to the Iraqi chemical and biological weapons complex at al-Muthanna, the records show.

These were sent while the United States was supporting Iraq covertly in its war against Iran. U.S. assistance to Iraq in that war also included covertly-delivered intelligence on Iranian troop movements and other assistance. This is just another example of our policy of interventionism in affairs that do not concern us – and how this

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Ron Paul REVOLUTION

interventionism nearly always ends up causing harm to the United States.

Claim: The president claimed last night that: "Iraq possesses ballistic missiles with a likely range of hundreds of miles; far enough to strike Saudi Arabia, Israel, Turkey and other nations in a region where more than 135,000 American civilians and service members live and work."

Reality: Then why is only Israel talking about the need for the U.S. to attack Iraq? None of the other countries seem concerned at all. Also, the fact that some 135,000 Americans in the area are under threat from these alleged missiles is just makes the point that it is time to bring our troops home to defend our own country.

Claim: Iraq harbors al-Qaeda and other terrorists.

Reality: The administration has claimed that some Al-Qaeda elements have been present in Northern Iraq. This is territory controlled by the Kurds – who are our allies – and is patrolled by U.S. and British fighter aircraft. Moreover, dozens of countries – including Iran and the United States – are said to have al-Qaeda members on their territory. Other terrorists allegedly harbored by Iraq, all are affiliated with Palestinian causes and do not attack the United States.

Claim: President Bush said in his speech on 7 October 2002: " Many people have asked how close Saddam Hussein is to developing a nuclear weapon. Well, we don't know exactly, and that's the problem…"

Reality: An admission of a lack of information is justification for an attack?

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JFK Address at U.N. General Assembly, 25 September 1961 (Video and Text)

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MR. President, honored delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

We meet in an hour of grief and challenge. Dag Hammarskjold is dead. But the United Nations lives. His tragedy is deep in our hearts, but the task for which he died is at the top of our agenda. A noble servant of peace is gone. But the quest for peace lies before us.

The problem is not the death of one man--the problem is the life of this organization. It will either grow to meet the challenges of our age, or it will be gone with the wind, without influence, without force, without respect. Were we to let it die, to enfeeble its vigor, to cripple its powers, we would condemn our future.

JFK Address at U.N. General Assembly, 25 September 1961 - Click to Play:

For in the development of this organization rests the only true alternative to war--and war appeals no longer as a rational alternative. Unconditional war can no longer lead to unconditional victory. It can no longer serve to settle disputes. It can no longer concern the great powers alone. For a nuclear disaster, spread by wind and water and fear, could well engulf the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the committed and the uncommitted alike. Mankind must put an end to war--or war will put an end to mankind.

So let us here resolve that Dag Hammarskjold did not live, or die, in vain. Let us call a truce to terror. Let us invoke the blessings of peace. And as we build an international capacity to keep peace, let us join in dismantling the national capacity to wage war.

II

This will require new strength and new roles for the United Nations. For disarmament without checks is but a shadow--and a community without law is but a shell. Already the United Nations has become both the measure and the vehicle of man's most generous impulses. Already it has provided--in the Middle East, in Asia, in Africa this year in the Congo--a means of holding man's violence within bounds.

But the great question which confronted this body in 1945 is still before us: whether man's cherished hopes for progress and peace are to be destroyed by terror and disruption, whether the "foul winds of war" can be tamed in time to free the cooling winds of reason, and whether the pledges of our Charter are to be fulfilled or defied--pledges to secure peace, progress, human rights and world law

In this Hall, there are not three forces, but two. One is composed of those who are trying to build the kind of world described in Articles I and II of the Charter. The other, seeking a far different world, would undermine this organization in the process.

Today, of all days our dedication to the Charter must be maintained. It must be strengthened first of all by the selection of an outstanding civil servant to carry forward the responsibilities of the Secretary General--a man endowed with both the wisdom and the power to make meaningful the moral force of the world community. The late Secretary General nurtured and sharpened the United Nations' obligation to act. But he did not invent it. It was there in the Charter. It is still there in the Charter.

However difficult it may be to fill Mr. Hammarskjold's place, it can better be filled by one man rather than three. Even the three horses of the Troika did not have three drivers, all going in different directions. They had only one--and so must the United Nations executive. To install a triumvirate, or any panel, or any rotating authority, in the United Nations administrative offices would replace order with anarchy, action with paralysis, confidence with confusion.

The Secretary General, in a very real sense, is the servant of the General Assembly. Diminish his authority and you diminish the authority of the only body where all nations, regardless of power, are equal and sovereign. Until all the powerful are just, the weak will be secure only in the strength of this Assembly.

Effective and independent executive action is not the same question as balanced representation. In view of the enormous change in membership in this body since its founding, the American delegation will join in any effort for the prompt review and revision of the composition of United Nations bodies.

But to give this organization three drivers--to permit each great power to decide its own case, would entrench the Cold War in the headquarters of peace. Whatever advantages such a plan may hold out to my own country, as one of the great powers, we reject it. For we far prefer world law, in the age of self-determination, to world war, in the age of mass extermination.

III

Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or by madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us.

Men no longer debate whether armaments are a symptom or a cause of tension. The mere existence of modern weapons--ten million times more powerful than any that the world has ever

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seen, and only minutes away from any target on earth--is a source of horror, and discord and distrust. Men no longer maintain that disarmament must await the settlement of all disputes--for disarmament must be a part of any permanent settlement. And men may no longer pretend that the quest for disarmament is a sign of weakness--for in a spiraling arms race, a nation's security may well be shrinking even as its arms increase.

For fifteen years this organization has sought the reduction and destruction of arms. Now that goal is no longer a dream--it is a practical matter of life or death. The risks inherent in disarmament pale in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race.

It is in this spirit that the recent Belgrade Conference--recognizing that this is no longer a Soviet problem or an American problem, but a human problem--endorsed a program of "general, complete and strictly an internationally controlled disarmament." It is in this same spirit that we in the United States have labored this year, with a new urgency, and with a new, now statutory agency fully endorsed by the Congress, to find an approach to disarmament which would be so far-reaching, yet realistic, so mutually balanced and beneficial, that it could be accepted by every nation. And it is in this spirit that we have presented with the agreement of the Soviet Union--under the label both nations now accept of "general and complete disarmament"--a new statement of newly-agreed principles for negotiation.

But we are well aware that all issues of principle are not settled, and that principles alone are not enough. It is therefore our intention to challenge the Soviet Union, not to an arms race, but to a peace race- -to advance together step by step, stage by stage, until general and complete disarmament has been achieved. We invite them now to go beyond agreement in principle to reach agreement on actual plans.

The program to be presented to this assembly--for general and complete disarmament under effective international control--moves to bridge the gap between those who insist on a gradual approach and those who talk only of the final and total achievement. It would create machinery to keep the peace as it destroys the machinery of war. It would proceed through balanced and safeguarded stages designed to give no state a military advantage over another. It would place the final responsibility for verification and control where it belongs, not with the big powers alone, not with one's adversary or one's self, but in an international organization within the framework of the United Nations. It would assure that indispensable condition of disarmament--true inspection--and apply it in stages proportionate to the stage of disarmament. It would cover delivery systems as well as weapons. It would ultimately halt their production as well as their testing, their transfer as well as their possession. It would achieve under the eyes of an international disarmament organization, a steady reduction in force, both nuclear and conventional, until it has abolished all armies and all weapons except those needed for internal order and a new United Nations Peace Force. And it starts that process now, today, even as the talks begin.

In short, general and complete disarmament must no longer be a slogan, used to resist the first steps. It is no longer to be a goal without means of achieving it, without means of verifying its progress, without means of keeping the peace. It is now a realistic plan, and a test--a test of those only willing to talk and a test of those willing to act.

Such a plan would not bring a world free from conflict and greed-- but it would bring a world free from the terrors of mass destruction. It would not usher in the era of the super state--but it would usher in an era in which no state could annihilate or be annihilated by another.

In 1945, this Nation proposed the Baruch Plan to internationalize the atom before other nations even possessed the bomb or demilitarized their troops. We proposed with our allies the Disarmament plan of 1951 while still at war in Korea. And we make our proposals today, while building up our defenses over Berlin, not because we are inconsistent or insincere or intimidated, but because we know the rights of free men will prevail--because while we are compelled against our will to rearm, we look confidently beyond Berlin to the kind of disarmed world we all prefer.

I therefore propose on the basis of this Plan, that disarmament negotiations resume promptly, and continue without interruption until an entire program for general and complete disarmament has not only been agreed but has actually been achieved.

IV

The logical place to begin is a treaty assuring the end of nuclear tests of all kinds, in every environment, under workable controls. The United States and the United Kingdom have proposed such a treaty that is both reasonable, effective and ready for signature. We are still prepared to sign that treaty today.

We also proposed a mutual ban on atmospheric testing, without inspection or controls, in order to save the human race from the poison of radioactive fallout. We regret that the offer has not been accepted.

For 15 years we have sought to make the atom an instrument of peaceful growth rather than of war. But for 15 years our concessions have been matched by obstruction, our patience by intransigence. And the pleas of mankind for peace have met with disregard.

Finally, as the explosions of others beclouded the skies, my country was left with no alternative but to act in the interests of its own and the free world's security. We cannot endanger that security by refraining from testing while others

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improve their arsenals. Nor can we endanger it by another long, uninspected ban on testing. For three years we accepted those risks in our open society while seeking agreement on inspection. But this year, while we were negotiating in good faith in Geneva, others were secretly preparing new experiments in destruction.

Our tests are not polluting the atmosphere. Our deterrent weapons are guarded against accidental explosion or use. Our doctors and scientists stand ready to help any nation measure and meet the hazards to health which inevitably result from the tests in the atmosphere.

But to halt the spread of these terrible weapons, to halt the contamination of the air, to halt the spiralling nuclear arms race, we remain ready to seek new avenues of agreement, our new Disarmament Program thus includes the following proposals:

--First, signing the test-ban treaty by all nations. This can be done now. Test ban negotiations need not and should not await general disarmament.

--Second, stopping the production of fissionable materials for use in weapons, and preventing their transfer to any nation now lacking in nuclear weapons.

--Third, prohibiting the transfer of control over nuclear weapons to states that do not own them.

--Fourth, keeping nuclear weapons from seeding new battlegrounds in outer space.

--Fifth, gradually destroying existing nuclear weapons and converting their materials to peaceful uses; and

--Finally, halting the unlimited testing and production of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, and gradually destroying them as well.

V

To destroy arms, however, is not enough. We must create even as we destroy--creating worldwide law and law enforcement as we outlaw worldwide war and weapons. In the world we seek, the United Nations Emergency Forces which have been hastily assembled, uncertainly supplied, and inadequately financed, will never be enough.

Therefore, the United States recommends that all member nations earmark special peace-keeping units in their armed forces--to be on call of the United Nations, to be specially trained and quickly available, and with advanced provision for financial and logistic support.

In addition, the American delegation will suggest a series of steps to improve the United Nations' machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes--for on-the-spot fact-finding, mediation and adjudication--for extending the rule of international law. For peace is not solely a matter of military or technical problems--it is primarily a problem of politics and people. And unless man can match his strides in weaponry and technology with equal strides in social and political development, our great strength, like that of the dinosaur, will become incapable of proper control--and like the dinosaur vanish from the earth.

VI

As we extend the rule of law on earth, so must we also extend it to man's new domain--outer space.

All of us salute the brave cosmonauts of the Soviet Union. The new horizons of outer space must not be driven by the old bitter concepts of imperialism and sovereign claims. The cold reaches of the universe must not become the new arena of an even colder war.

To this end, we shall urge proposals extending the United Nations Charter to the limits of man's exploration of the universe, reserving outer space for peaceful use, prohibiting weapons of mass destruction in space or on celestial bodies, and opening the mysteries and benefits of space to every nation. We shall propose further cooperative efforts between all nations in weather prediction and eventually in weather control. We shall propose, finally, a global system of communications satellites linking the whole world in telegraph and telephone and radio and television. The day need not be far away when such a system will televise the proceedings of this body to every corner of the world for the benefit of peace.

VII

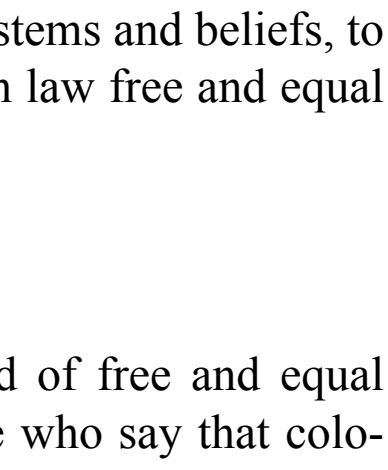
But the mysteries of outer space must not divert our eyes or our energies from the harsh realities that face our fellow men. Political sovereignty is but a mockery without the means of meeting poverty and illiteracy and disease. Self-determination is but a slogan if the future holds no hope.

That is why my nation, which has freely shared its capital and its technology to help others help themselves, now proposes officially designating this decade of the 1960s as the United Nations Decade of Development. Under the framework of that Resolution, the United Nations' existing efforts in promoting economic growth can be expanded and coordinated. Regional surveys and training institutes can now pool the talents of many. New research, technical assistance and pilot projects can unlock the wealth of less developed lands and untapped waters. And development can become a cooperative and not a competitive enterprise-- to enable all nations, however diverse in their systems and beliefs, to become in fact as well as in law free and equal nations.

VIII

My country favors a world of free and equal states. We agree with those who say that colonialism is a key issue in this Assembly. But let the full facts of that issue be discussed in full.

On the one hand is the fact that, since the close of World War II, a worldwide declaration of independence has transformed nearly 1 billion people and 9 million square miles into 42 free and independent states. Less than 2 percent of the world's population now lives in "dependent" territories.



I do not ignore the remaining problems of traditional colonialism which still confront this body. Those problems will be solved, with patience, good will, and determination. Within

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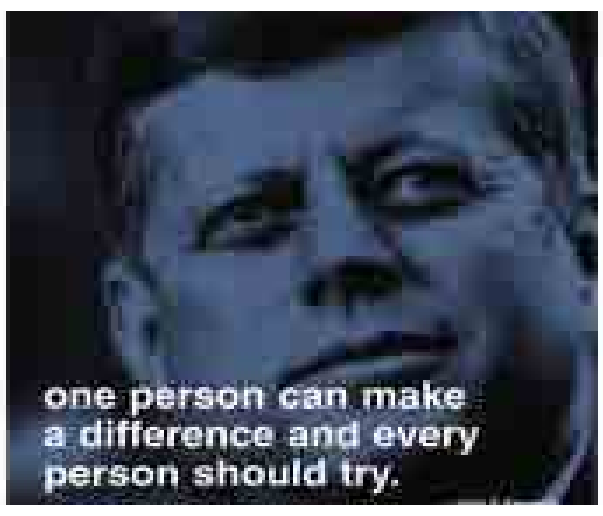
the limits of our responsibility in such matters, my Country intends to be a participant and not merely an observer, in the peaceful, expeditious movement of nations from the status of colonies to the partnership of equals. That continuing tide of self-determination, which runs so strong, has our sympathy and our support.

But colonialism in its harshest forms is not only the exploitation of new nations by old, of dark skins by light, or the subjugation of the poor by the rich. My Nation was once a colony, and we know what colonialism means; the exploitation and subjugation of the weak by the powerful, of the many by the few, of the governed who have given no consent to be governed, whatever their continent, their class, their color.



And that is why there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of selfdetermination has not reached the Communist empire where a population far larger than that officially termed "dependent" lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions-- under a system which knows only one party and one belief--which suppresses free debate, and free elections, and free newspapers, and free books, and free trade unions--and which builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners. Let us debate colonialism in full--and apply the principle of free choice and the practice of free plebiscites in every corner of the globe.

IX

Finally, as President of the United States, I consider it my duty to report to this Assembly on two threats to the peace which are not on your crowded agenda, but which causes us and most of you, the deepest concern.

The first threat on which I wish to report is widely misunderstood: the smoldering coals of war in Southeast Asia. South Viet-Nam is already under attack--sometimes by a single assassin, sometimes by a band of guerrillas, recently by full battalions. The peaceful borders of Burma, Cambodia, and India have been repeatedly violated. And the peaceful people of Laos are in danger of losing the independence they gained not so long ago.

No one can call these "wars of liberation." For these are free countries living under their own governments. Nor are these aggressions any less real because men are knifed in their homes and not shot in the fields of battle.

The very simple question confronting the world community is whether measures can be devised to protect the small and the weak from such tactics. For if they are successful in Laos and South Viet-Nam, the gates will be opened wide.

The United States seeks for itself, no base, no territory, no special position in this area of any kind. We support a truly neutral and independent Laos, its people free from outside interference, living at peace with themselves and their neighbors, assured that their territory will not be used for attacks on others, and under a government comparable (as Mr. Khrushchev and I agreed at Vienna) to Cambodia and Burma.

But now the negotiations over Laos are reaching a crucial stage. The cease-fire is at best precarious. The rainy season is coming to an end. Laotian territory is being used to infiltrate South Viet-Nam. The world community must recognize--and all those who are involved--that this potent threat to Laotian peace and freedom is indivisible from all other threats to their own.

Secondly, I wish to report to you on the crisis over Germany and Berlin. This is not the time or the place for immoderate tones, but the world community is entitled to know the very simple issues as we see them. If there is a crisis it is because an existing peace is under threat, because an existing island of free people is under pressure, because solemn agreements are being treated with indifference. Established international rights are being threatened with unilateral usurpation. Peaceful circulation has been interrupted by barbed wire and concrete blocks.

One recalls the order of the Czar in Pushkin's "Boris Godunov:" "Take steps at this very hour that our frontiers be fenced in by barriers. . . . That not a single soul pass o'er the border, that not a hare be able to run or a crow to fly."

It is absurd to allege that we are threatening a war merely to prevent the Soviet Union and East Germany from signing a so-called "treaty" of peace. The Western Allies are not concerned with any paper arrangement the Soviets may wish to make with a regime of their own creation, on territory occupied by their own troops and governed by their own agents. No such action can affect either our rights or our responsibilities.

If there is a dangerous crisis in Berlin--and there is--it is because of threats against the vital interests and the deep commitments of the Western Powers, and the freedom of West Berlin. We cannot yield these interests. We cannot fail these commitments. We cannot surrender the freedom of these people for whom we are responsible. A "peace-treaty" which carried with it the provisions which destroy the peace would be a fraud. A "free city" which was not genuinely free would suffocate freedom and would be an infamy.

For a city or a people to be truly free they must have the secure right, without economic, political or police pressure, to make their own choice and to live their own lives. And as I have often said before, if anyone doubts the extent to which our presence is desired by the people of West Berlin, we are ready to have that question submitted to a free vote in all Berlin and, if possible, among all the German people.

The elementary fact about this crisis is that it is unnecessary. The elementary tools for a peaceful settlement are to be found in the charter. Under its law, agreements are to be kept, unless changed by all those who made them. Established rights are to be respected. The political disposition of peoples should rest upon their own wishes, freely expressed in plebiscites or free elections. If there are legal problems, they can be solved by legal means. If there is a threat of force, it must be rejected. If there is desire for change, it must be a subject for negotiation, and if there is negotiation, it must be rooted in mutual respect and concern for the rights of others.

The Western Powers have calmly resolved to defend, by whatever means are forced upon them, their obligations and their access to the free citizens of West Berlin and the self-determination of those citizens. This generation learned from

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bitter experience that either brandishing or yielding to threats can only lead to war. But firmness and reason can lead to the kind of peaceful solution in which my country profoundly believes.

We are committed to no rigid formula. We see no perfect solution. We recognize that troops and tanks can, for a time, keep a nation divided against its will, however unwise that policy may seem to us. But we believe a peaceful agreement is possible which protects the freedom of West Berlin and allied presence and access, while recognizing the historic and legitimate interests of others in insuring European security.

The possibilities of negotiation are now being explored; it is too early to report what the prospects may be. For our part, we would be glad to report at the appropriate time that a solution has been found. For there is no need for a crisis over Berlin, threatening the peace-- and if those who created this crisis desire peace, there will be peace and freedom in Berlin.

X

The events and decisions of the next ten months may well decide the fate of man for the next ten thousand years. There will be no avoiding those events. There will be no appeal from these decisions. And we in this hall shall be remembered either as part of the generation that turned this planet into a flaming funeral pyre or the generation that met its vow "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

In the endeavor to meet that vow, I pledge you every effort this Nation possesses. I pledge you that we will neither commit nor provoke aggression, that we shall neither flee nor invoke the threat of force, that we shall never negotiate out of fear, we shall never fear to negotiate.

Terror is not a new weapon. Throughout history it has been used by those who could not prevail, either by persuasion or example. But inevitably they fail, either because men are not afraid to die for a life worth living, or because the terrorists themselves came to realize that free men cannot be frightened by threats, and that aggression would meet its own response. And it is in the light of that history that every nation today should know, be he friend or foe, that the United States has both the will and the weapons to join free men in standing up to their responsibilities.

But I come here today to look across this world of threats to a world of peace. In that search we cannot expect any final triumph--for new problems will always arise. We cannot expect that all nations will adopt like systems--for conformity is the jailor of freedom, and the enemy of growth. Nor can we expect to reach our goal by contrivance, by fiat or even by the wishes of all.

But however close we sometimes seem to that dark and final abyss, let no man of peace and freedom despair. For he does not stand alone. If we all can persevere, if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

Ladies and gentlemen of this Assembly, the decision is ours. Never have the nations of the world had so much to lose, or so much to gain. Together we shall save our planet, or together we shall perish in its flames. Save it we can--and save it we must--and then shall we earn the eternal thanks of mankind and, as peacemakers, the eternal blessing of God.

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John F Kennedy 'Secret Society' Speech - (Video and Text)

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PRESIDENT Kennedy speaks at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City before the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Kennedy asks the press for their cooperation in fighting Communism by applying the same standards for publishing sensitive materials in the current Cold War that they would apply in an officially declared war (April 27th, 1961).

TEXT OF SPEECH:

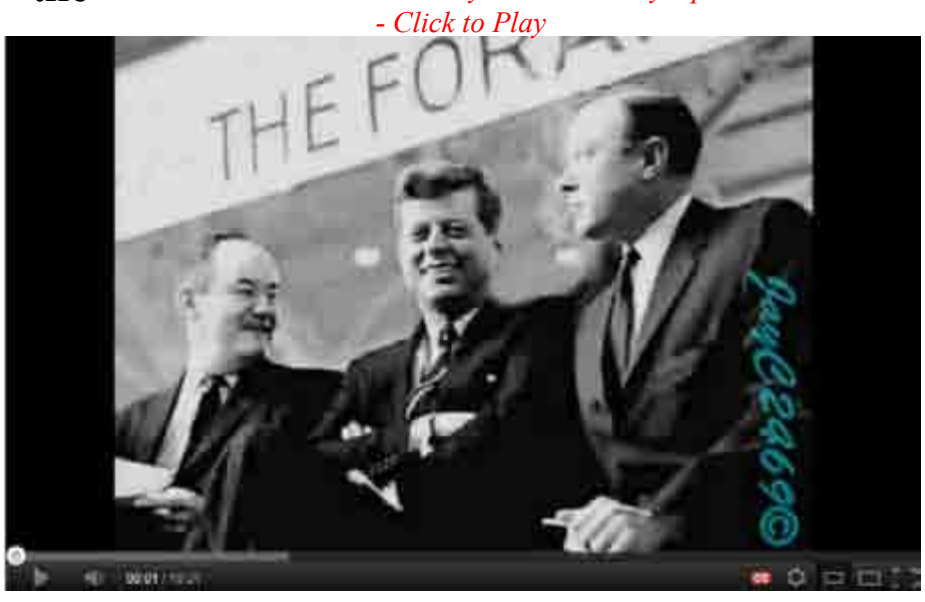
Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

I appreciate very much your generous invitation to be here tonight.

You bear heavy responsibilities these days and an article I read some time ago reminded me of how particularly heavily the burdens of present day events bear upon your profession.

You may remember that in 1851 the New York Herald Tribune under the sponsorship and publishing of Horace Greeley, employed as its London correspondent an obscure journalist by the name of Karl Marx.

The Entire John F Kennedy 'Secret Society' Speech - Click to Play



We are told that foreign correspondent Marx, stone broke, and with a family ill and undernourished, constantly appealed to Greeley and managing editor Charles Dana for an increase in his munificent salary of $5 per installment, a salary which he and Engels ungratefully labeled as the "lousiest petty bourgeois cheating."

But when all his financial appeals were refused, Marx looked around for other means of livelihood and fame, eventually terminating his relationship with the Tribune and devoting his talents full time to the cause that would bequeath to the world the seeds of Leninism, Stalinism, revolution and the cold war.

If only this capitalistic New York newspaper had treated him more kindly; if only Marx had remained a foreign correspondent, history might have been different. And I hope all publishers will bear this lesson in mind the next time they receive a poverty-stricken appeal for a small increase in the expense account from an obscure newspaper man.

I have selected as the title of my remarks tonight "The President and the Press." Some may suggest that this would be more naturally worded "The President Versus the Press." But those are not my sentiments tonight.

It is true, however, that when a well-known diplomat from another country demanded recently that our State Department repudiate certain newspaper attacks on his colleague it was unnecessary for us to reply that this Administration was not responsible for the press, for the press had already made it clear that it was not responsible for this Administration.

Nevertheless, my purpose here tonight is not to deliver the usual assault on the so-called one party press. On the contrary, in recent months I have rarely heard any complaints about political bias in the press except from a few Republicans. Nor is it my purpose tonight to discuss or defend the televising of Presidential press conferences. I think it is highly beneficial to have some 20,000,000 Americans regularly sit in on these conferences to observe, if I may say so, the incisive, the intelligent and the courteous qualities displayed by your Washington correspondents.

Nor, finally, are these remarks intended to examine the proper degree of privacy which the press should allow to any President and his family.

If in the last few months your White House reporters and photographers have been attending church services with regularity, that has surely done them no harm.

On the other hand, I realize that your staff and wire service photographers may be complaining that they do not enjoy the same green privileges at the local golf courses which they once did.

It is true that my predecessor did not object as I do to pictures of one's golfing skill in action. But neither on the other hand did he ever bean a Secret Service man.

My topic tonight is a more sober one of concern to publishers as well as editors.

I want to talk about our common responsibilities in the face of a common danger. The events of recent weeks may have helped to illuminate that challenge for some; but the dimensions of its threat have loomed large on the horizon for many years. Whatever our hopes may be for the future--for reducing this threat or living with it--there is no escaping either the gravity or the totality of its challenge to our survival and to our security--a challenge that confronts us in unaccustomed ways in every sphere of human activity.

This deadly challenge imposes upon our society two requirements of direct concern both to the press and to the President--two requirements that may seem almost contradictory in tone, but which must be reconciled and fulfilled if we are to meet this national peril. I refer, first, to the need for far greater public information; and, second, to the need for far greater official secrecy.

The very word "secrecy" is repugnant in a free and open society; and we are as a people inherently and historically opposed to secret societies, to secret oaths and to secret proceedings. We decided long ago that the dangers of excessive and unwarranted concealment of pertinent facts far outweighed the dangers which are cited to justify it. Even today, there is little value in opposing the threat of a closed society by imitating its arbitrary restrictions. Even today, there is little value in insuring the survival of our nation if our traditions do not survive with it. And there

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is very grave danger that an announced need for increased security will be seized upon by those anxious to expand its meaning to the very limits of official censorship and concealment. That I do not intend to permit to the extent that it's in my control. And no official of my Administration, whether his rank is high or low, civilian or military, should interpret my words here tonight as an excuse to censor the news, to stifle dissent, to cover up our mistakes or to withhold from the press and the public the facts they deserve to know.

But I do ask every publisher, every editor, and every newsman in the nation to reexamine his own standards, and to recognize the nature of our country's peril. In time of war, the government and the press have customarily joined in an effort based largely on self-discipline, to prevent unauthorized disclosures to the enemy. In times of "clear and present danger," the courts have held that even the privileged rights of the First Amendment must yield to the public's need for national security.

Today no war has been declared and however fierce the struggle may be, it may never be declared in the traditional fashion. Our way of life is under attack. Those who make themselves our enemy are advancing around the globe. The survival of our friends is in danger. And yet no war has been declared, no borders have been crossed by marching troops, no missiles have been fired.

If the press is awaiting a declaration of war before it imposes the self-discipline of combat conditions, then I can only say that no war ever posed a greater threat to our security. If you are awaiting a finding of "clear and present danger," then I can only say that the danger has never been more clear and its presence has never been more imminent.

It requires a change in outlook, a change in tactics, a change in missions--by the government, by the people, by every businessman or labor leader, and by every newspaper. For we are opposed around the world by a monolithic and ruthless conspiracy that relies primarily on covert means for expanding its sphere of influence--on infiltration instead of invasion, on subversion instead of elections, on intimidation instead of free choice, on guerrillas by night instead of armies by day. It is a system which has conscripted vast human and material resources into the building of a tightly knit, highly efficient machine that combines military, diplomatic, intelligence, economic, scientific and political operations.

Its preparations are concealed, not published. Its mistakes are buried, not headlined. Its dissenters are silenced, not praised. No expenditure is questioned, no rumor is printed, no secret is revealed. It conducts the Cold War, in short, with a war-time discipline no democracy would ever hope or wish to match.

Nevertheless, every democracy recognizes the necessary restraints of national security--and the question remains whether those restraints need to be more strictly observed if we are to oppose this kind of attack as well as outright invasion.

For the facts of the matter are that this nation's foes have openly boasted of acquiring through our newspapers information they would otherwise hire agents to acquire through theft, bribery or espionage; that details of this nation's covert preparations to counter the enemy's covert operations have been available to every newspaper reader, friend and foe alike; that the size, the strength, the location and the nature of our forces and weapons, and our plans and strategy for their use, have all been pinpointed in the press and other news media to a degree sufficient to satisfy any foreign power; and that, in at least in one case, the publication of details concerning a secret mechanism whereby satellites were followed required its alteration at the expense of considerable time and money.

The newspapers which printed these stories were loyal, patriotic, responsible and well-meaning. Had we been engaged in open warfare, they undoubtedly would not have published such items. But in the absence of open warfare, they recognized only the tests of journalism and not the tests of national security. And my question tonight is whether additional tests should not now be adopted.

That question is for you alone to answer. No public official should answer it for you. No governmental plan should impose its restraints against your will. But I would be failing in my duty to the nation, in considering all of the responsibilities that we now bear and all of the means at hand to meet those responsibilities, if I did not commend this problem to your attention, and urge its thoughtful consideration.

On many earlier occasions, I have said--and your newspapers have constantly said--that these are times that appeal to every citizen's sense of sacrifice and self-discipline. They call out to every citizen to weigh his rights and comforts against his obligations to the common good. I cannot now believe that those citizens who serve in the newspaper business consider themselves exempt from that appeal.

I have no intention of establishing a new Office of War Information to govern the flow of news. I am not suggesting any new forms of censorship or new types of security classifications. I have no easy answer to the dilemma that I have posed, and would not seek to impose it if I had one. But I am asking the members of the newspaper profession and the industry in this country to reexamine their own responsibilities, to consider the degree and the nature of the present danger, and to heed the duty of self-restraint which that danger imposes upon us all.

Every newspaper now asks itself, with respect to every story: "Is it news?" All I suggest is that you add the question: "Is it in the interest of the national security?" And I hope that every group in America--unions and businessmen and public officials at every level will ask the same question of their endeavors, and subject their actions to the same exacting tests.

And should the press of America consider and recommend the voluntary assumption of specific new steps or machinery, I can assure you that we will cooperate whole-heartedly with those recommendations.

Perhaps there will be no recommendations. Perhaps there is no answer to the dilemma faced by

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a free and open society in a cold and secret war. In times of peace, any discussion of this subject, and any action that results, are both painful and without precedent. But this is a time of peace and peril which knows no precedent in history.

It is the unprecedented nature of this challenge that also gives rise to your second obligation--an obligation which I share and that is our obligation to inform and alert the American people to make certain that they possess all the facts that they need, and understand them as well--the perils, the prospects, the purposes of our program and the choices that we face.

No President should fear public scrutiny of his program. For from that scrutiny comes understanding; and from that understanding comes support or opposition and both are necessary. I am not asking your newspapers to support the Administration, but I am asking your help in the tremendous task of informing and alerting the American people. For I have complete confidence in the response and dedication of our citizens whenever they are fully informed.

I not only could not stifle controversy among your readers--I welcome it. This Administration intends to be candid about its errors; for as a wise man once said: "An error does not become a mistake until you refuse to correct it." We intend to accept full responsibility for our errors and we expect you to point them out when we miss them.

Without debate, without criticism, no Administration and no country can succeed and no republic can survive. That is why the Athenian lawmaker Solon decreed it a crime for any citizen to shrink from controversy. And that is why our press was protected by the First Amendment-- the only business in America specifically protected by the Constitution--not primarily to amuse and entertain, not to emphasize the trivial and the sentimental, not to simply "give the public what it wants"--but to inform, to arouse, to reflect, to state our dangers and our opportunities, to indicate our crises and our choices, to lead, mold, educate and sometimes even anger public opinion.

This means greater coverage and analysis of international news--for it is no longer far away and foreign but close at hand and local. It means greater attention to improved understanding of the news as well as improved transmission. And it means, finally, that government at all levels, must meet its obligation to provide you with the fullest possible information outside the narrowest limits of national security--and we intend to do it.

It was early in the Seventeenth Century that Francis Bacon remarked on three recent inventions already transforming the world: the compass, gunpowder and the printing press. Now the links between the nations first forged by the compass have made us all citizens of the world, the hopes and threats of one becoming the hopes and threats of us all. In that one world's efforts to live together, the evolution of gunpowder to its ultimate limit has warned mankind of the terrible consequences of failure.

And so it is to the printing press--to the recorder of man's deeds, the keeper of his conscience, the courier of his news--that we look for strength and assistance, confident that with your help man will be what he was born to be: free and independent.

END OF TRANSCRIPT

Here are some quotes from John F. Kennedy:

~A nation that is afraid to let its people judge the truth and falsehood in an open market is a nation that is afraid of its people.

~Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind.

~We are not afraid to entrust the American people with unpleasant facts, foreign ideas, alien philosophies, and competitive values.

~Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.

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Eisenhower's Farewell Address - Video and Text of Eisenhower's Final Speech as President

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EISENHOWER'S farewell address (sometimes referred to as "Eisenhower's farewell address to the nation") was the final public speech of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President of the United States, delivered in a television broadcast on January 17, 1961. Although the speech is best-known for its warning about the growing military-industrial complex, it also contained warnings about planning for the future and the dangers of massive spending, especially deficit spending. This speech and Eisenhower's Chance for Peace speech have been called the "bookends" of his administration.

THE SPEECH:

Good evening, my fellow Americans.

First, I should like to express my gratitude to the radio and television networks for the opportunities they have given me over the years to bring reports and messages to our nation. My special thanks go to them for the opportunity of addressing you this evening.

Eisenhower's Farewell Address - Clcik to Play:

Three days from now, after a half century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional and solemn ceremony, the authority of the Presidency is vested in my successor.

This evening I come to you with a message of leave-taking and farewell, and to share a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen. Like every other citizen, I wish the new President, and all who will labor with him, Godspeed. I pray that the coming years will be blessed with peace and prosperity for all.

Our people expect their President and the Congress to find essential agreement on issues of great moment, the wise resolution of which will better shape the future of the nation. My own relations with the Congress, which began on a remote and tenuous basis when, long ago, a member of the Senate appointed me to West Point, have since ranged to the intimate during the war and immediate post-war period, and finally to the mutually interdependent during these past eight years. In this final relationship, the Congress and the Administration have, on most vital issues, cooperated well, to serve the nation good, rather than mere partisanship, and so have assured that the business of the nation should go forward. So, my official relationship with Congress ends in a feeling -- on my part -- of gratitude that we have been able to do so much together.

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of these involved our own country. Despite these holocausts, America is today the strongest, the most influential, and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this pre-eminence, we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace, to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among peoples and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt, both at home and abroad.

Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily, the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle with liberty the stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment.

Crises there will continue to be. In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defenses; development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture; a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research -- these and many other possibilities, each possibly promising in itself, may be suggested as the only way to the road we wish to travel.

But each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national programs, balance between the private and the public economy, balance between the cost and hoped for advantages, balance between the clearly necessary and the comfortably desirable, balance between our essential requirements as a nation and the duties imposed by the nation upon the individual, balance between actions of the moment and the national welfare of the future. Good judgment seeks balance and progress. Lack of it eventually finds imbalance and frustration. The record of many decades stands as proof that our people and their Government have, in the main, understood these truths and have responded to them well, in the face of threat and stress.

But threats, new in kind or degree, constantly arise. Of these, I mention two only.

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction. Our military organization today bears little

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relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or, indeed, by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense. We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security alone more than the net income of all United States corporations.

Now this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence -- economic, political, even spiritual --is felt in every city, every Statehouse, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources, and livelihood are all involved. So is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades. In this revolution, research has become central, it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal government.

Today, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers. The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present -- and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system – ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

Another factor in maintaining balance involves the element of time. As we peer into society's future, we -- you and I, and our government -- must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering for our own ease and convenience the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

During the long lane of the history yet to be written, America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect. Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose differences, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent, I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war, as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years, I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road.

So, in this my last good night to you as your President, I thank you for the many opportunities you have given me for public service in war and in peace. I trust that in that service you find some things worthy. As for the rest of it, I know you will find ways to improve performance in the future.

You and I, my fellow citizens, need to be strong in our faith that all nations, under God, will reach the goal of peace with justice. May we be ever unswerving in devotion to principle, confident but humble with power, diligent in pursuit of the Nations' great goals.

To all the peoples of the world, I once more give expression to America's prayerful and continuing aspiration: We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings. Those who have freedom will understand, also, its heavy responsibilities; that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity; and that the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth; and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

Now, on Friday noon, I am to become a private citizen. I am proud to do so. I look forward to it. Thank you, and good night.

Information provided by YouTube, Wikipedia, and Wikisource

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Refusing to Serve in Iraq - The Story of Lt. Ehren Watada

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EHREN K. Watada (born 1978) was a First Lieutenant of the United States Army. He was the first commissioned officer in the US armed forces to refuse to deploy to Iraq, in June, 2006. Watada refused to deploy for his unit's assigned rotation to Operation Iraqi Freedom, saying he believed the war to be illegal and that, under the doctrine of command responsibility, it would make him party to war crimes. At the time, he was assigned to duty with the 5th Battalion, 20th Infantry Regiment, part of the 3rd Brigade, 2nd Infantry Division, as a Fire Support Officer. He was brought before a court-martial in 2007 which ended in a mistrial, and was discharged in 2009.

Lt. Ehren Watada speaking at the Veterans for Peace 2006 National Convention August 12, 2006 in Seattle about refusing to serve in Iraq:

Click to play:

Charges and proposed court-martial

In response to Watada's refusal to deploy, the Army initially preferred seven specifications of various offenses under the UCMJ. Since the initial preferral, all but three specifications were dropped; the remaining ones sent to the court-martial follow:

2 specifications Conduct Unbecoming an Officer and a Gentleman (for statements made in speeches and interviews) (Article 133) 1 specification Missing Movement (for refusing to deploy to Iraq on June 22) (Article 87)

When the initial charges were preferred, Watada faced the possibility of a General court-martial and up to seven years in prison, as well as dismissal from the service. ("Dismissal" is the only class of punitive discharge for U.S. commissioned officers; it is the equivalent of a dishonorable discharge, to which enlisted personnel may be sentenced.) Even faced with these consequences, Watada has said that he does not regret his decision, stating that he believes it to have been his moral responsibility:

When you are looking your children in the eye in the future, or when you are at the end of your life, you want to look back on your life and know that at a very important moment, when I had the opportunity to make the right decisions, I did so, even knowing there were negative consequence.

Information courtesy of YouTube and Wikipedia

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Duty to Resist
By Adam Kokesh

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INTRO for Adam Kokesh:

Adam Kokesh joined the Marine Corps Reserves in 1999 at 17 years of age because he wanted to be part of the national defense and have his life on the line for this country. He attended Claremont McKenna College and graduated with a degree in psychology.

Having opposed the invasion of Iraq, he volunteered to transfer to a civil affairs unit in order to deploy in support of rebuilding, and ended up in Fallujah from February to September of 2004. He was honorably discharged in November 2006 and moved to Washington, D.C. to get a Master's in Political Management at George Washington University, then later given a general discharge while listed in the inactive reserve (politics). Soon thereafter, he joined Iraq Veterans Against the War and has since been a vocal critic of the occupation of Iraq. He participated in the first two iterations of Operation First Casualty, the German Expeditionary Team, and the Dirty South Bus Tour. He testified at "Winter Soldier: Iraq & Afghanistan, Eyewitness Accounts of the Occupations" and before Congress at "Winter Soldier on the Hill." He helped get rid of Alberto Gonzales, called out David Horowitz as a racist, and took on the Marine Corps when it came after him, earning himself the title, "The Pentagon's Worst Public Relations Nightmare."

Saturday, July 12, 2008 Duty to Resist
Text of speech delivered 080712 at the west lawn of the capitol:

When I joined the Marines at a little strip mall in Santa Fe, and when I was in boot camp in San Diego, and when I was dodging mortars in Fallujah, I could not have imagined that I would one day share a stage with such renowned speakers. However, to march shoulder to shoulder, and to stand in solidarity with you, is a far greater honor.

Adam Kokesh's speech (Revolution March) - Click to Play

It has been said that when in the course of human events, an oppression so revolts its subjects, it becomes necessary to alter or abolish the means of that tyranny. Is it that time when our Bill of Rights is defiled every day? When our adventures abroad threaten our security at home? When the Federal Reserve keeps our free nation enslaved by debt? When the people of the world tremble under the thumb of corporate imperialism? And now our nation is drifting dangerously from freedom to fascism. So I have to ask, is it time? The time is now, the threat is clear, the bands of tyranny are tightening around America, and it is our duty to resist!

As empowered patriots, let us take stock of our commitment to the ideals upon which this country is founded. America without her freedoms is like a body without a soul. The challenge before the Freedom Movement is no less, than to bring about a revolution of values, inspire a renaissance of American politics, and breathe new life into the tortured body of our nation. We will meet that challenge with courage and love, and as always, we the people, will prevail!

To rally the troops of the Revolutionary Army in the winter of 1776, Thomas Paine said, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot, will in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands by it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered."

As Iraq Veterans Against the War, we are resisting an occupation that we once risked our lives for. We swore to support and defend the Constitution of the United States of America, but we found out the hard way that the greatest enemies of the Constitution are not to be found in the sands of some far off land, but rather right here at home! We are your new winter soldiers and we are still defending America.

We bring the values, skills, and commitment that make us warriors to the fight before us today. We are working to end the war by strategically withdrawing our material support and inspiring others to do the same. By advocating for veterans, we honor those who served, and empower soldiers to become successful civilians. With Truth In Recruiting, we are inspiring a generation of young Americans to find a better way to serve this country than dying for empire. By supporting those who are actively resisting, we inspire further resistance, and ensure that soldiers still have the right, as is their duty, to disobey illegal orders.

During the siege of Fallujah, a young Lance Corporal was shot through the side of his flak jacket in a firefight to the west of the city. The bullet hit an artery near his spine. My team was called to help get him to the field hospital at Camp Taqadum. He was on a stretcher in the humvee in front of me, and I watched the Corpsman treating the external wound in a frightened, hurried panic, as the dust from the hot road swirled around us. When we got there, I carried him in as he moaned and writhed in pain, barely conscious. He flailed his arm off the stretcher, and as I put it back by his side I told him, "Don't worry. You made it. You're gonna be OK." But he died only minutes later from the internal bleeding.

I have to live with that memory every day, but I have learned from it. I will not tell you that the band-aids applied by Republicans and Democrats will heal us. I will not pretend that everything is just going to be ok while we are bled dry by tyrants. And if it takes the last full measure of devotion, I will not allow the same fate to befall this country!

This young movement, is getting past the external wounds to the greater evils plaguing this nation. We know, that the greatest threat to American security is the current corruption of our government! No politician has ever ended a war. Civil rights were won in this country not by any legislator, but by a movement. I have great hope for America, but not because of an election. No, my hope comes from you!

Continues on Page 75#

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Our tragic love affair with the state, has led us to put far too much trust in a government that we hoped could improve our lives, but has instead come to run our lives for us. We have become, as a people, like a frightened, battered, beat down victim of an abusive relationship. A servile, unquestioning, obedient people, will always produce tyrants. We must, as a nation, once again, embrace defiance, rebellion, and resistance!

Every day more and more Americans are avoiding unenforceable taxes, leaving government jobs out of disgust, and sending their kids to college instead of combat. But our efforts as a movement must become unified and deliberate to fully withdraw our compliance and support. Be it with your lives, labor, or tax dollars, stop investing in your own oppression! Guard your communities from the police state! Do not waste a single vote, or a single dollar, on the two-party system! Do not be content merely to grumble and to march while they are using fear, force, and violence as weapons of oppression. We must embrace the opportunity to resist civilly while we still can!

We are compelled to be here for many different reasons, and there is strength in our diversity. As within Iraq Veterans Against the War and Veterans For Peace, we do not need to be uniform to be unified. Take a look at the thoughtful, passionate people around you on this field, and throughout this country. Do not leave here without meeting a new brother or sister in the struggle. Take with you the inspiration to share your passion with someone who does not know they are yet part of our movement. Seek out where you can be most effective in the cause of liberty.

Challenge our force fed culture of unquestioning conformity and compliance. Embrace a world that is not defined by the politics of fear, our obedience producing schools, or the false prophets of the corporate media. As we have been awakened, we must stir the sleeping masses. As the forces of oppression are diligent, so must we toil. As they are committed, we must surpass them. As they step up their efforts, we must rise up to defeat them as a unified movement!

We have been labeled rebels, traitors, enemies of the state. All terms King George would have used to vilify our founders. I, for one, will always rebel against oppression, a traitor only to tyranny, and I would be remiss to not be the enemy of a state, that so blatantly tramples our freedoms.

American values have been nearly vanquished by consumerism, militarism, and authoritarianism. Yellow ribbons and lapel pins will not save this country. When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes duty. The utmost manifestation of love and devotion to America, is today as it always has been, resistance of tyranny! Resist we must, and resist we will! We will not be silent! We will not obey! We will not let our government destroy our humanity! We will not wait another moment in fear to stand up for what we know to be right! It is time the government starts fearing the people again! It is time that we meet oppression with resistance!

They cannot stop us! Humanity marches on. You can fight it, or fight for it. When we say revolution, we say it with love. As we march onward from this place where we have pledged to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, let us embrace the struggle, cherish the fight, and live in that love. The passion of our hearts will be raised with our fists!

===

THE BACK STORY:
The Revolution March's selection of speakers had to pass through a committee of people that did their best to balance all of the requirements of everyone involved and produce the most successful event possible that forwarded their mission to produce the most successful demonstration to date that would send a very clear message about as many issues of concern as could be accommodated, with the strongest clear voice that could be mustered to service. They did a great job. And the people showed their enthusiasm for the message for well over 6 hours waiting for Ron Paul to speak (the list of speakers kept growing :)

It is good to note that Adam's speech was very well received by a very enthusiastic crowd (other videos of this speech show more of what was happening in the crowd) Adam was the last speaker before Chuck Baldwin followed by Ron Paul,… even though some were passing out from heat exhaustion, the crowd was up and animated).

One of those voices was from Veterans of the Iraq War. Other veterans of that conflict must weigh in if they are to validate (or not) what Adam Kokesh represents. We don't know.

I found his comments clear and reasoned, and I strive to be as certain about my actions.

Adam joined the reserve to further his education while serving a country that could provide such a service to the coming generation. He opposed the war but wanted to give the best representation of what America is about. He taught himself the Arabic language before leaving for his mission so that his Marine unit could provide the

Continues on Page 76

Continued from Page 75 - Duty to Resist

service that they were assigned. He volunteered for Civilian Services (I'm not sure of the exact name, but this was the intent). They would offer to go out with Army units that expected contact with Iraqi people so that they could talk to them and do their best to accomplish the mission of rebuilding Iraq,... or at least work to allow it to be rebuilt.

After coming back he understood just how much he had been lied to and by whom. Other soldiers,... and even a summer intern, stood behind Adam to represent their support of his words.

My wife Donna was working with several r3VOLution/Ron Paul supporters,… (the government had the participants in fear of ever saying it was a RON PAUL REVOLUTION {campaign finance laws},... so it wasn't). It was the r3VOLution March. While there were many there to represent a particular interest, I suspect that there was well over half that were just hard core Ron Paul fans. And I think well over 90%, at least, stuck it out until they heard Dr. Paul, heal the crowd, with a good dose of truth.

It is very satisfying to watch the effect the truth has on people that are seeking it. And to have it come from such a credible and long time respected (and very quietly feared by those that know his influence to oppose them) is very satisfying to experience.

But there are even deeper truths that can only be expressed by those closer to issues that we often don't have enough information about to base an opinion.

While volunteers were placing the 200 signs all over Washington, D.C. and distributing 20,000 pieces of printed material,… my wife Donna was able to spend time with Adam and an intern named Catherine, while I was working on the Opening Skit with Gary Franchi (RestoretheRepublic.com and my Co-MC for the Revolution March) that he and I were going to perform at the opening of events of the RevolutionMarch on the West Lawn of the Capitol.

I had talked to Adam on the phone briefly before to schedule his helping with signs, but I had not interviewed him. Donna returned eager to tell me that Adam had practiced his speech for her and she knew I would enjoy it very much. We arranged to meet Adam and his friends for a quick bite to eat. The local Meetup had a party at Mr. Smith's bar in Georgetown on Friday night (8 miles or less from downtown D.C.). Ron Paul came to say hello to an adoring crowd. But the place was wall to wall people. I mean, like 2-4 people in a phone booth at all times,… everywhere (there should be a law :) So Charles Goyette (one of the speakers and a libertarian talk show host from Phoenix www.CharlesGoyette.com) and his wife Ali joined Donna and I for dinner at a Johnny Rocket burger shop across the street. Adam was joined by a few friends and other members of the IVAW.

He was very fit and well groomed. He was obviously educated, well read, quick witted, and certain that what he had to say needed to be said. He was very precise about the words that he used and spent 3 weeks refining the presentation. I was allowed to read his speech to help me introduce him to the crowd the following day as part of my MC duties. (I had requested to provide the intro of an Iraq War Veteran wanting to say something against the War). I knew how important his words would be.

I asked him many questions (you may ask yours here in the comment section at the bottom, and I'll do my best encouraging him to answer).

Chuck Baldwin gave up some of his very precious time so that Adam could speak and Ron Paul could catch his plane (thank you Chuck Baldwin, it was very kind of you not to show any disappointment, assuming that you had any). Your generosity allowed for Adam to give this powerful message.

- Ernest Hancock, Publisher FreedomsPhoenix.Com

Adam Kokesh is a memer of IVAW (Iraq Veterans Against the War) and publishes a webpage, AdamVsTheMan.Com

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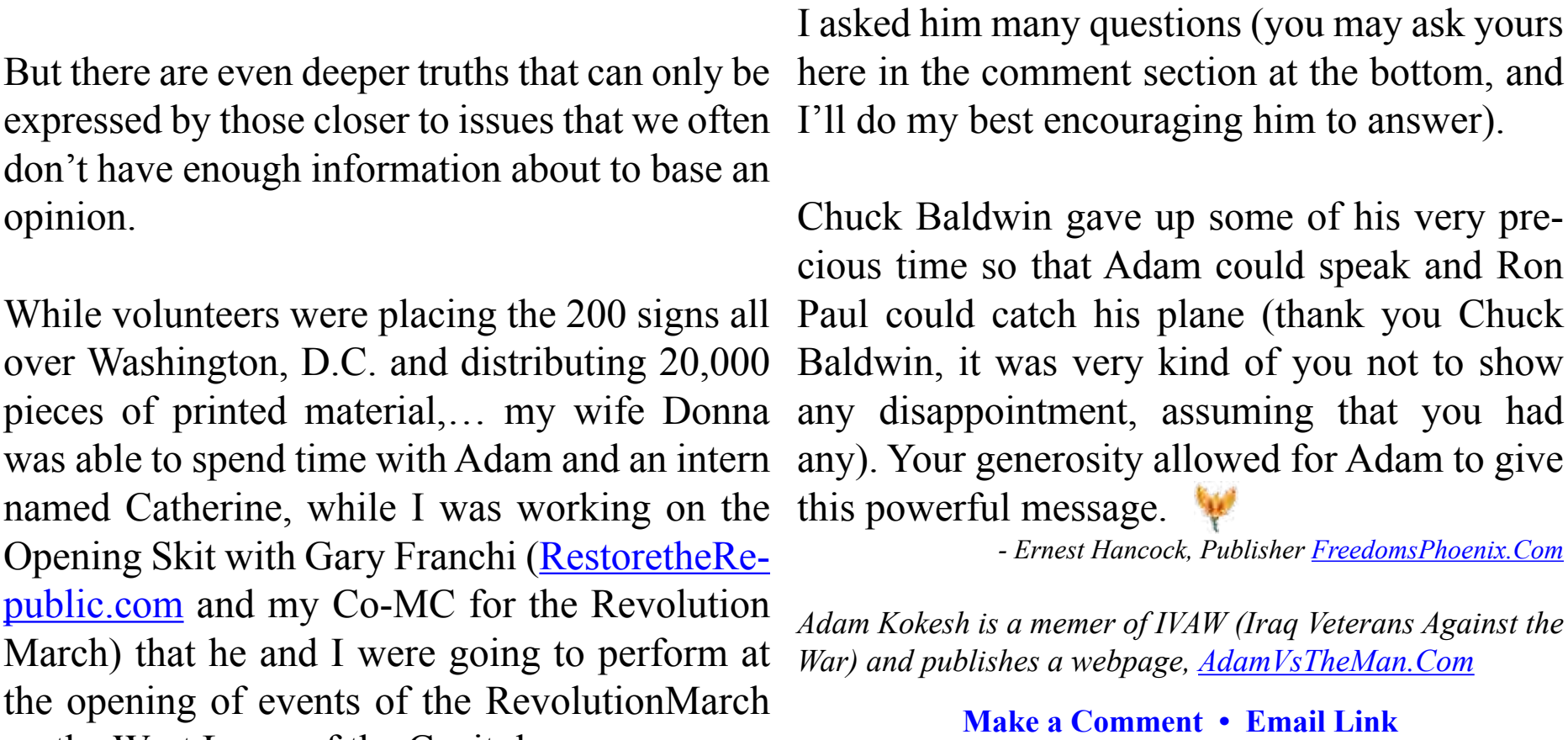

Music by Jordan Page

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JORDAN Page is a young Singer/Songwriter and itinerant musician seeking to mobilize a new generation to stand up for their country and the rights of the individual. Jordan uses his talents to promote a message of peace while educating and mobilizing resistance to tyranny and the erosion of American civil rights.

Jordan Page "Liberty" (Acoustic Version):

A mix of acoustic rock, hard rock, and folk, Jordan puts forth a powerful lyrical message with equally impactful music to educate and entertain simultaneously. He embodies the protesting spirit of Woody Guthrie, Bob Dylan, Steve Earle and Eddie Vedder before him, which is so rare in music today. Speaking truth to power in song, Jordan has raised his voice against Corporate Fraud and misguided Government policies with the hopes of activating a new generation to social conscience and peaceful political protest. Like his forebears, Jordan seeks to change society and the world for the better through his words and his music. He empowers his audience by letting them know that the real revolution begins with the individual.

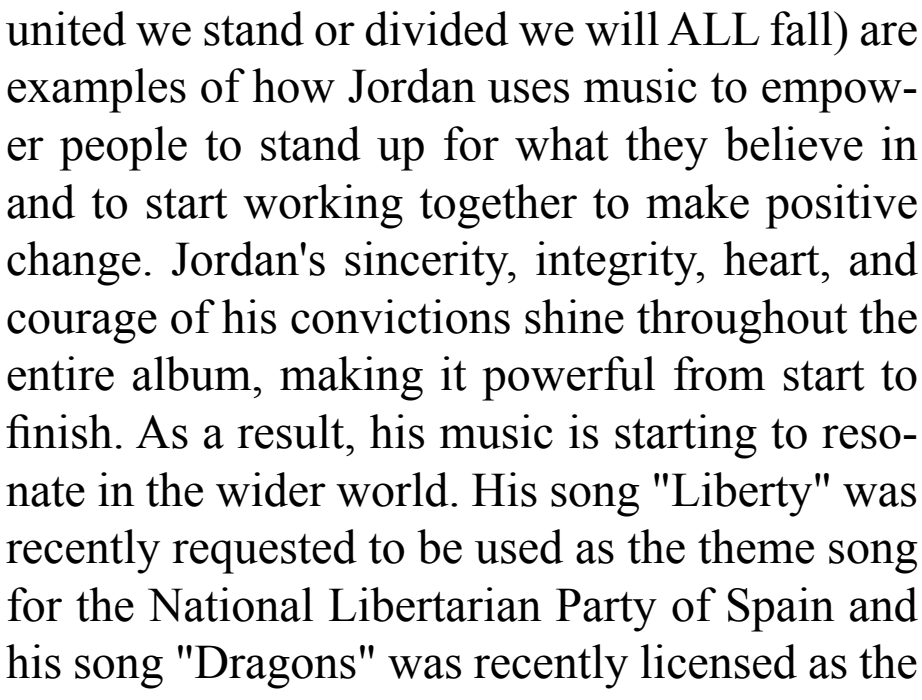
Jordan Page Pendulum Music Video:

Over the past few years, Jordan has honed his songwriting and musicianship and is now selling out clubs throughout the Mid-Atlantic region, on the East Coast from Maine to Florida, and in the Mid-West. He has been a headlining performer at over 50 political and protest events all over the country, performing alongside Congressman Dr. Ron Paul and Judge Andrew Napolitano, and has been a featured guest on numerous news and talk show programs including Fox News – The Strategy Room and Freedom Watch Live.

Jordan Page - "The War Machine"- Live at Revolution March:

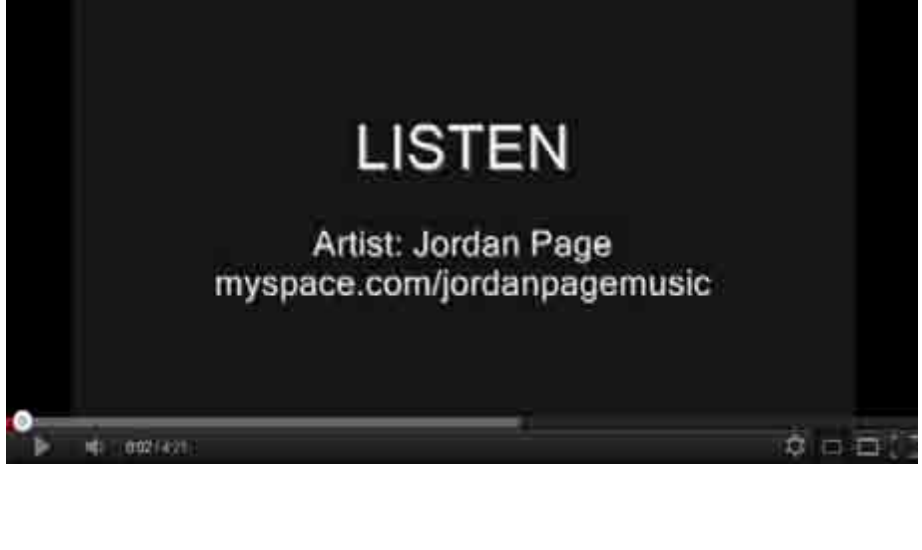
Jordan's new album release "Liberty" contains his most impactful work to date as he takes on hard subjects. The track "Frontlines" (including topics such as overcrowded, and under-funded schools); the title cut "Liberty" (discussing the too cozy relationship between Corporate America and Government Regulators and how we should be taking a stand against it), and "Victory Song" (how its not about Democrats or Republicans, but about WE THE PEOPLE and how united we stand or divided we will ALL fall) are examples of how Jordan uses music to empower people to stand up for what they believe in and to start working together to make positive change. Jordan's sincerity, integrity, heart, and courage of his convictions shine throughout the entire album, making it powerful from start to finish. As a result, his music is starting to resonate in the wider world. His song "Liberty" was recently requested to be used as the theme song for the National Libertarian Party of Spain and his song "Dragons" was recently licensed as the Main Title theme music for the new hard hitting political talk show "Adam VS the Man" on RT TV America.

LISTEN by Jordan Page:

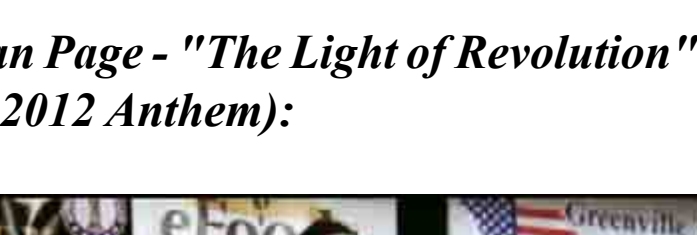


As long as there is a cause worth fighting for, Jordan Page will be speaking out for the rights of the people and singing a call to action.

Jordan Page - "The Light of Revolution" (Ron Paul 2012 Anthem):



Videos courtesy of YouTube and JordanPage-Music.Com



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Sir! No Sir! - This Movie is About the GI Movement Against the War in Vietnam

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This is the story of one of the most vibrant and widespread upheavals of the 1960's–one that had profound impact on American society, yet has been virtually obliterated from the collective memory of that time.

Synopsis

In the 1960's an anti-war movement emerged that altered the course of history. This movement didn't take place on college campuses, but in barracks and on aircraft carriers. It flourished in army stockades, navy brigs and in the dingy towns that surround military bases. It penetrated elite military colleges like West Point. And it spread throughout the battlefields of Vietnam. It was a movement no one expected, least of all those in it. Hundreds went to prison and thousands into exile. And by 1971 it had, in the words of one colonel, infested the entire armed services. Yet today few people know about the GI movement against the war in Vietnam.

The Vietnam War has been the subject of hundreds of films, both fiction and non-fiction, but *this* story–the story of the rebellion of thousands of American soldiers against the war–has never been told in film.This is certainly not for lack of evidence. By the Pentagon's own figures, 503,926 "incidents of desertion" occurred between 1966 and 1971; officers were being "fragged"(killed with fragmentation grenades by their own troops) at an alarming rate; and by 1971 entire units were refusing to go into battle in unprecedented numbers. In the course of a few short years, over 100 underground newspapers were published by soldiers around the world; local and national antiwar GI organizations were joined by thousands; thousands more demonstrated against the war at every major base in the world in 1970 and 1971, *including* in Vietnam itself; stockades and federal prisons were filling up with soldiers jailed for their opposition to the war and the military.

Yet few today know of these history-changing events.

Sir! No Sir! will change all that. The film does four things: 1) Brings to life the history of the GI movement through the stories of those who were part of it; 2) Reveals the explosion of defiance that the movement gave birth to with never-before-seen archival material; 3) Explores the profound impact that movement had on the military and the war itself; and 4) The feature, 90 minute version, also tells the story of how and why the GI Movement has been erased from the public memory.

I was part of that movement during the 60's, and have an intimate connection with it. For two years I worked as a civilian at the Oleo Strut in Killeen, Texas–one of dozens of coffeehouses that were opened near military bases to support the efforts of antiwar soldiers. I helped organize demonstrations of over 1,000 soldiers against the war and the military; I worked with guys from small towns and urban ghettos who had joined the military and gone to Vietnam out of a deep sense of duty and now risked their lives and futures to end the war; and I helped defend them when they were jailed for their antiwar activities. My deep connection with the GI movement has given me unprecedented access to those involved, along with a tremendous amount of archival material including photographs, underground papers, local news coverage and personal 8mm footage.

Sir! No Sir! reveals how, thirty years later, the poem by Bertolt Brecht that became an anthem of the GI Movement still resonates:

> General, man is very useful.
> He can fly and he can kill.
> But he has one defect: He can think.

Produced, Directed and Written by David Zeiger.

Click to view the 12 minute trailer:

The story is told with the rising intensity characterized by each chapter–the vivid, heart-wrenching stories of participants in the movement are, fitting the times, surrounded by and infused with the growing swirl of events of which they became a part.

One thing that is startling about the GI Movement, given how thoroughly it has been erased from memory, is how widely it was covered by the media at the time it happened. There are literally thousands of news reports, both from local and national television and newspaper and magazine articles about the movement–several of which appear in the film. We have obtained thousands of editions of GI Underground papers from archives around the country. With this material, we have created a vivid picture of the development of the movement.

In addition, we have obtained exclusive rights to the handful of documentary films that dealt with the GI Movement at the time, along with: *FTA*, the feature film about Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland's antiwar review that traveled to military bases around the world (and we have included an exclusive interview with Jane Fonda about her role in the GI and veterans' antiwar movements); moving footage of Vietnam veterans hurling their medals onto the capitol steps in 1971; an audio recording made by Richard Boyle, journalist and author of *The Flower of the Dragon* and the Oliver Stone film *Salvador*, of the combat refusal by troops at Firebase Pace in 1971 that sped up the final withdrawal of U.S. ground forces; and never-before-seen Super-8 and 16mm film footage of events in the GI Movement shot by GIs and civilian activists.

Courtesy of SirNoSir.Com

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Coming Through the Fog of War
By Zak Carter

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I used to be Sgt Carter. I am just Zak Carter now

I served 7 years in the Army, and I truly miss it. Being a soldier was much more than just a job for me. It was love of country. Being a part of something bigger than myself, it provided purpose in my life. I took great pride in wearing the uniform, and I was even married wearing it. There is nothing like the brotherhood I had in the Army, and I'll never have it again.

After learning that our nation's borders are vastly under defended and contrasting that with my experiences defending two other nations' borders overseas, I started educating myself on what was going on in the world and could no longer pretend I supported Nation Building overseas while America fell apart. So in 2008, I looked for a way out and made a video that would ensure the end of my service.

I stand by every word today I said back then.

Our nation's borders still remain under-defended while we continue Nation Building, all while we're going broke and borrowing money from China and the Saudis to do it. With our 15 trillion dollars of debt, our weak dollar is no longer tied to gold but rather empty promises from a bygone era when we had a strong manufacturing base that hadn't yet been shipped off to Asia,

And all of this while our Constitution is seen as an inconvenient bump in the road to go around instead of the road map it was intended to be. The oath I took when I raised my hand and joined the Army was to defend the Constitution. Its greatest enemies today are not in Iran, North Korea, Venezuela, or Cuba, but rather in Washington DC. They are right here, and they are the bureaucratic establishment. Combine that with our national debt currently being our biggest national security risk, and it's really time we start taking care of America again and let the rest of the world pay its own way for a while. Returning to the Constitution will show us the way.

I'm a conservative. I believe in limited government and an exceptional and strong America. But I've seen first- hand the waste we're engaging in overseas, and I believe we'll never have a limited government here at home if we support big government solutions overseas.

My biggest fear is we'll face an economic collapse and leave all of our troops stranded overseas, with us unable to send them the supplies they need to function as an effective fighting force. Our men and women in uniform would never deserve that kind of indignity, and that's another reason we need to rethink our foreign policy.

All of this leads me to why I support Ron Paul for President. Ron Paul's non-interventionism is the only foreign policy we can realistically afford right now, and it was also the policy that George Washington and many of the other founding fathers promoted, and one we would be much safer with today. Ron Paul's across-the-board limited government consistency has something behind it that all of the other candidates lack – a rational philosophy.

I am not the only veteran that thinks this way. All of those I served with that I am still in touch with feel the same way, and some eye opening proof of this can be seen in the campaign contributions to Ron Paul from those who are still active duty military. Ron Paul has raised more money from our men and women in uniform than all the other Republican candidates combined. Ron Paul is the choice of the troops, and because they can't speak out without breaking UCMJ (Uniform Code of Military Justice), I and a whole bunch of my friends are planning something pretty spectacular.

Veterans for Ron Paul are going to march on the White House on Presidents Day, February 20th, and if you are a veteran and you support Ron Paul, I hope you will join us. We will have a rally at the Washington Monument at noon, and start marching at 2 p.m. Dress smart and bring your family as family members are invited to walk behind our formation. Supporters are encouraged to line our route from the Washington Monument to the White House.

I believe in a brighter tomorrow, a respected Constitution, a restored Republic, and I believe Ron Paul is the wise man to get us there. I hope you do, too. I hope to see you on Presidents' Day - Thank you and God Bless.

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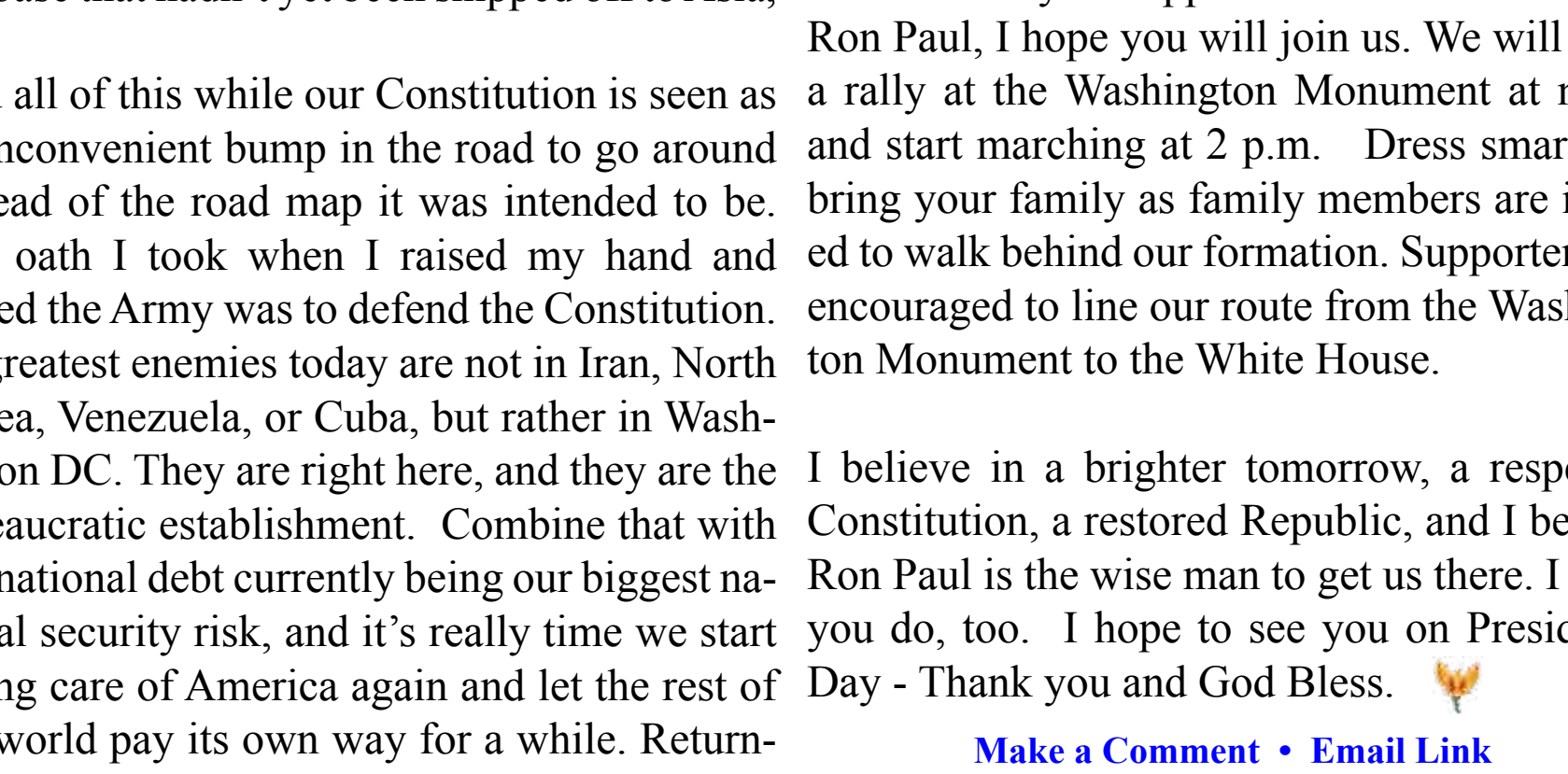

The U.S. vs. John Lennon

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THE U.S. vs. John Lennon is a 2006 documentary film about English musician John Lennon's transformation from a member of The Beatles to a rallying anti-war activist striving for world peace during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The film also details the attempts by the United States government under President Richard Nixon to silence him. The film had its world premiere at the Venice Film Festival and its North American premiere at the Toronto Film Festival. It was released in New York City and Los Angeles, California on 15 September 2006, and had a nationwide release on 29 September. A soundtrack composed of John Lennon tracks was released by Capitol Records and EMI on 26 September 2006.

The U.S. vs. JohnLennon - Click to Play

The film makes extensive use of archival footage of John and Yoko Ono, and includes a famously hard-hitting interview conducted by anti-war reporter Gloria Emerson.
The U.K. release was on December 8, 2006, 26 years to the day after the death of John Lennon. The DVD was released on February 13, 2007 in the United States. The film made its cable television debut in the U.S. on August 18, 2007 on VH1 Classic

The film explores the political activism that Lennon became strongly involved in with the Beatles and after the band ended.

John Lennon is established as being a potential political threat to the American government, and therefore much of the film covers the theme of 'silencing' him and other popular figures that became involved in anti-war activism. Throughout the film the audience can see both sides of the situation: the audience sees the protests and events Lennon and Yoko Ono organised, such as the famous "Give Peace A Chance" rally and concepts such as bagism and bed peace.

We also see the increasing fear experienced by the US government and CIA. This build-up of paranoia and fear for control led to the eventual deportation notice sent to John Lennon's house, informing him that 'his temporary stay in the USA was now over'. The film debunks and exposes the somewhat bizarre behaviour of the CIA and police department over John Lennon and other contemporary figures' behaviour, referring also to different modern issues like drug abuse.

The film features a montage of various mediums. There are videos of performances of songs and interviews of Lennon at the time, recordings of Yoko Ono both present and from the late 1960s and 1970s, as well as a basic story structure of retelling the story of John Lennon's attempts to spread a message of peace amongst the USA and, on a wider scale, the entire Western world during the Vietnam War.

Information courtesy of Wikipedia and Google Video

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