

Advocating
Agitating
Educating
for PEACE

The War Crimes Times

WarCrimesTimes.org

A publication of



Vol. III No. 4

Fall 2011

Donations Welcome

THE FIGHT RAGES ON

War In Afghanistan

Round after round.
Punch after punch.
Bullet after bullet.
Day after day.
Year after year.
Air strike after air strike.
Suicide bomber after suicide bomber.
Explosion after explosion.
IED after IED.
President after president.
Cabinet member after cabinet member.
General after general.
War profiteering after war profiteering.
Oil barrel after oil barrel.
Killing after killing.
Civilian after civilian.
Torture after torture.
Lie after lie.
American idol after American idol.
Lemming after lemming.
Foreclosure after foreclosure.
School cuts after school cuts.
Job loss after job loss.
Divorce after divorce.
Drink after drink.
Drug after drug.
Dover after Dover.
Funeral after funeral.
Taps after taps.
Tour after tour.
Suicide after suicide.
Round after round.
after round.
after round.
after round.
Punch after punch.
after punch.
after punch.
Knock down after knock down.
Memory loss after memory loss,
until America knocks itself out.
War in Afghanistan.
The bell is getting ready to ring for year 11.



—Mike Hastie
U.S. Army Medic
Viet Nam 1970-71



10th Mountain Division soldiers in Afghanistan (U.S. Army photo); Boxers (Mike Hastie); Flag-draped coffins (U.S. Army); Bush and Obama (Pete Souza).

**Surge, bribe and run? Or surge, bribe and stay?
How U.S. military bases and the energy war play out
in Afghanistan.**

Why the U.S. won't leave Afghanistan

by Pepe Escobar

Among multiple layers of deception and newspeak, the official Washington spin on the strategic quagmire in Afghanistan simply does not hold.

No more than "50-75 'al-Qaeda types' in Afghanistan," according to the CIA, have been responsible for draining the U.S. government by no less than \$10 billion a month, or \$120 billion a year.

At the same time, outgoing U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates has been adamant that withdrawing troops from Afghanistan is "premature." The Pentagon wants the White House to "hold off on ending the Afghanistan troop surge until the fall of 2012."

That of course shadows the fact that even if there were a full draw down, the final result would be the same number of U.S. troops before the Obama administration-ordered AfPak [Afghanistan-Pakistan] surge.

And even if there is some sort of draw down, it will mostly impact troops in supporting roles—which can be easily replaced by "private contractors" (euphemism for mercenaries). There are already over 100,000 "private contractors" in Afghanistan.

It's raining trillions

A recent, detailed study by the Eisenhower Research Project at Brown University revealed that the war on terror has cost the U.S. economy, so far, from \$3.7 trillion (the most conservative estimate) to \$4.4 trillion (the moderate estimate). Then there are interest payments on these costs—another \$1 trillion.

That makes the total cost of the war on terror to be, at least, a staggering \$5.4 trillion. And that does not include, as the report mentions, "additional macroeconomic consequences of war spending," or a promised (and undelivered) \$5.3 billion reconstruction aid for Afghanistan.

(Continued on page 2)

INSIDE

Libya & NATO massacre pp.3-4
Military-Entertainment Complex, p.7
9/11, pp. 8-9
Peace museums, p. 11
Military intelligence, p.15
Militarism & extinction, p.17
Civilian PTSD, p.19
War economy, p.21



The Combat Paper Project
pp. 12-13
& 2, 6, 10, 19



The Iraqi Children's Art Exchange
p. 24

Paul Chappell Interview
p. 5



and more...

Why the U.S. won't leave Afghanistan

(Continued from page 1)

Who's profiting from this bonanza? That's easy—U.S. military contractors and a global banking/financial elite.

The notion that the U.S. government would spend \$10 billion a month just to chase a few “al-Qaeda types” in the Hindu Kush is nonsense.

The Pentagon itself has dismissed the notion—insisting that just capturing and killing Osama bin Laden does not change the equation; the Taliban are still a threat.

Who's profiting from this bonanza? That's easy—U.S. military contractors and a global banking/financial elite.

In numerous occasions Taliban leader Mullah Omar himself has characterized his struggle as a “nationalist movement.” Apart from the historical record showing that Washington always fears and fights nationalist movements, Omar's comment also shows that the Taliban strategy has nothing to do with al-Qaeda's aim of establishing a Caliphate via global jihad.

So al-Qaeda is not the major enemy—not anymore, nor has it been for quite some time now. This is a war between a superpower and a fierce, nationalist, predominantly Pashtun movement—of which the Taliban are a major strand; regardless of their medieval ways, they are fighting a foreign occupation and doing what they can to undermine a puppet regime (Hamid Karzai's).



Improvised Explosive Device
Drew Cameron, 2010
Combat Paper Project

Look at my bankruptcy model

In the famous November 1, 2004 video that played a crucial part in assuring the reelection of George W. Bush, Osama bin Laden—once again expanded on how the “mujahedeen bled Russia for 10 years until it went bankrupt and was forced to withdraw in defeat.”

That's the exact same strategy al-Qaeda has deployed against the U.S.; according to Bin Laden at the time, “all that we have to do is to send two mujahedeen to the farthest point East to raise a piece of cloth on which is written al-Qaeda in order to make the generals race there to cause America to suffer human, economic, and political losses without their achieving for it anything of note, other than some benefits to their private companies.”

The record since 9/11 shows that's exactly what's happening. The war on terror has totally depleted the U.S. treasury—to the point that the White House and Congress are now immersed in a titanic battle over a \$4 trillion debt ceiling.

What is never mentioned is that these trillions of dollars were ruthlessly subtracted from the wellbeing of average Americans—smashing the carefully constructed myth of the American dream.

So what's the endgame for these trillions of dollars?

The Pentagon's Full Spectrum Dominance doctrine implies a global network of military bases—with particular importance to those surrounding, bordering and keeping in check key competitors Russia and China.

This superpower projection—of which Afghanistan was, and remains, a key node, in the intersection of South and Central Asia—led, and may still lead, to other wars in Iraq, Iran, and Syria.

The network of U.S. military bases in the Pentagon-coined “arc of instability” that stretches from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and South/Central Asia is a key reason for remaining in Afghanistan forever.

But it's not the only reason.

Surge, bribe and stay

It all comes back, once again, to Pipeline-istan—and one of its outstanding chimeras; the Turkmenistan/Afghanistan/Pakistan (TAP) gas pipeline, also known once as the Trans-Afghan

Pipeline, which might one day become TAPI if India decides to be on board.

The U.S. corporate media simply refuse to cover what is one of the most important stories of the early 21st century.

Washington has badly wanted TAP since the mid-1990s, when the Clinton administration was negotiating with the Taliban; the talks broke down because of transit fees, even before 9/11, when the Bush administration decided to change the rhetoric from “a carpet of gold” to “a carpet of bombs.”

TAP is a classic Pipeline-istan gambit; the U.S. supporting the flow of gas from Central Asia to global markets, bypassing both Iran and Russia. If it ever gets built, it will cost over \$10 billion.

It needs a totally pacified Afghanistan—still another chimera—and a Pakistani government totally implicated in Afghanistan's security, still a no-no as long as Islamabad's policy is to have Afghanistan as its “strategic depth,” a vassal state, in a long-term confrontation mindset against India.

It's no surprise the Pentagon and the Pakistani Army enjoy such a close working relationship. Both Washington and Islamabad regard Pashtun nationalism as an existential threat.

The 2,500-kilometer-long, porous, disputed border with Afghanistan is at the core of Pakistan's interference in its neighbor's affairs.

Washington is getting desperate because it knows the Pakistani military will always support the Taliban as much as they support hardcore Islamist groups fighting India. Washington also knows Pakistan's Afghan policy implies containing India's influence in Afghanistan at all costs.

Just ask General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, Pakistan's army chief—and a Pentagon darling to boot; he always says his army is India-centric, and, therefore, entitled to “strategic depth” in Afghanistan.

It's mind-boggling that 10 years and \$5.4 trillion dollars later, the situation is exactly the same. Washington still badly wants “its” pipeline—which will in fact be a winning game mostly for commodity traders, global finance majors, and Western energy giants.

From the standpoint of these elites, the ideal endgame scenario is global Robocop NATO—helped by hundreds of thousands of mercenaries—“protecting” TAP (or TAPI) while taking a 24/7 peek on what's going on in neighbors Russia and China.

Sharp wits in India have described Washington's tortuous moves in Afghanistan as “surge,

bribe, and run.” It's rather “surge, bribe and stay.” This whole saga might have been accomplished without a superpower bankrupting itself, and without immense, atrocious, sustained loss of life, but hey—nobody's perfect.

Pepe Escobar is the roving correspondent for the Asia Times. His latest book is Obama Does Globalistan. He may be reached at pepeasia@yahoo.com.

RESPONSIBILITY

Each night I ask myself
what did I do today
to end the wars?

If I answer back with
“Nothing”
then the dead that day
are mine.

I beg of them forgiveness.

—Fred Norman,
VFP Chapter 162
USMC, USAF 1955-65

The War Crimes Times
is a project of



(www.VeteransForPeace.org)

a nonprofit, national organization of veterans working together for peace and justice through nonviolence.

War Crimes Times provides information on war crimes and war criminals, the need to hold war criminals accountable, the many costs of war, and the effects of our war culture on our national character. Our contributors include journalists, legal experts, poets, artists, and veterans speaking from experience. While their views may not always be entirely consistent with the mission of Veterans For Peace, their topics address the concerns of *War Crimes Times*.

War Crimes Times is published quarterly by VFP Chapter 099 (Western North Carolina).

For subscriptions or bundle orders, contact:
orders@WarCrimesTimes.org

Donate online at WarCrimesTimes.org; or send a check to VFP Chapter 099 (memo “WCT”):

WCT c/o VFP Chapter 099
PO Box 356
Mars Hill, NC 28754

We welcome submissions of original articles, poetry, cartoons, news items, and letters to the editor. Please submit by the 1st of the month that the issue is printed: March, June, September, December.

Contact: editor@WarCrimesTimes.org

WCT volunteer staff: Mia Austin-Scoggins, Kim Carlyle, Susan Carlyle, Mike Ferner, Clare Hanrahan, Tarak Kauff, Susan Oehler, Lyle Petersen, Mark Runge, and Nadya Williams

Libya's forced collapse: What does it portend for Africa?

by Amengeo Amengeo

By the time this article is published, the sovereign government of Libya would have been overthrown in a blatant Western armed, sponsored and supported coup by the striking arm of the new imperialism—NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization.]

Some six months ago, the French and British governments frantically sponsored a United Nations resolution to “protect the civilians of Libya from its own government.”



Never mind that this sovereign government was facing an armed revolt by a dissident region of the country; never mind that these “rebels” had no legitimacy whatsoever; never mind that the so-called “democratic protesters” were responsible for the deaths of hundreds of black Africans in xenophobic racist pogroms in the year 2000.

None of this mattered. What mattered was that in the turmoil of the so-called “Arab Spring,” a heaven-sent opportunity presented itself to the West to get rid of a political thorn in its side, one that was leading the African continent dangerously close to realizing a greater deal of autonomy than had been afforded under the presence of Western “aid,” economic advice, and structural development.

Gaddafi, his personal flamboyance notwithstanding, has consistently sought to involve his country in unity with first the Arabs, and then the Africans. When Gaddafi proposed pan-Arab unity, he was scoffed at, ridiculed as an ambitious madman and insulted and ignored by the Arabs. He finally and sensibly gave up and turned his eyes to Africa, believing that Africa held out more hope for unity.

While under sanctions by the West, the Africans unswervingly supported Gaddafi. Nelson Mandela, upon his release from apartheid's prisons, defied

Western sanctions and went overland to visit and thank Colonel Gaddafi for his moral and financial support during the long struggle against apartheid. Other African leaders followed and regular visits with Gaddafi made the sanctions totally irrelevant.

After the Iraqi war of aggression by the Bush administration broke out, Gaddafi cut a deal with the West, relinquishing his weapons programs, which included nuclear weapons, for re-inclusion in the global economic system. Still Gaddafi sought to develop African unity, and to this end relieved Africa of the burden of paying for satellite usage \$500 million annually to Europe.

At his encouragement Africa bought its own satellites and now the continent communicates without relying on Europe. Gaddafi also proposed a single African currency backed by gold which would have sounded the death-knell for the CFA [French African franc] and removed much of France's influence and power in Africa.

An African Monetary Fund was also in the works, which would have further set Africa on the road to true economic and political independence. Then there was the Libyan leader's mooting of a million-man African army. This was the red line where the West decided to checkmate Libya.

Events surrounding the so-called “Arab Spring” seemed tailor-made for Western plans. Overnight, armed groups showed up in Benghazi and an organized pattern emerged for the overthrow of Gaddafi. First there was the “concern” for civilian life, always a good tear-jerker [never mind that in Syria Bashar el Assad was openly killing his own citizens], then the French and British stepped in forcing a UN Security Council vote.

Despite senior officials in the U.S. administration dismissing Libya's strategic importance to U.S. interests, the Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton, pushed her hawkish agenda and dragged the U.S. president on board for this war of blatant aggression.

The coup was underway. The “rebels,” a motley band of weekend thugs, were no match for the Libyan army which legally was bound to defend itself against armed insurrection, so NATO [the new nailed fist of 21st century neo-imperialism] unleashed its aerial might, special forces [French Foreign Legion commandos, British SAS, and U.S. SEALs] against the legitimate government of Libya. It was inevitable that sooner or later this lopsided

military power would take its toll as NATO bombed Tripoli and other parts of Libya on a daily basis.

When this conflict was forced on the Libyan people, the African Union insisted that there must not be any military intervention, but was soon sidelined and completely ignored by the coup-makers and a compliant Western press. While a sovereign nation, a member of the AU was being attacked, African efforts to find a mediated solution were completely ignored and ridiculed.

The leaders of Africa who should have denounced with one voice the aggression against an African country cravenly acquiesced with the NATO war, making lame, token protests.

What happens in Libya is a harbinger of what the West has in store for Africa. True independence and African unity will not be tolerated. Africa is too rich in resources that the world needs to be allowed to control its own destiny. This war is not just about Gaddafi. It is an opening salvo in a war to reclaim the continent for foreign interests, just as it was in 1896 in the Scramble for Africa.

Events surrounding the so-called “Arab Spring” seemed tailor-made for Western plans—this war is not just about Gaddafi. It is an opening salvo in a war to reclaim the continent for foreign interests.

African leaders lack faith in their own abilities and in the power of their people. Libya could have been saved, had Africans united and spoken resoundingly to the world, voicing their opposition to this war of aggression. The AU could have called for the expulsion of diplomats from the NATO countries taking part in the war, they could have urged their citizens into the streets to demonstrate for “hands off Libya.” The oil-producing countries could have slowed down their oil taps, driving up the price of gasoline, they could have protested more loudly.

The same forces which broke Sudan in half are continuing the process of fragmenting Africa into even more manageable, weaker pieces. What will happen after Gaddafi is overthrown? All progressive programs that he had initiated will be dismantled and the idea of African unity repudiated as the dreams of madman.



Foreign economic interests will come in to carve up the pie, instability will take root as in Iraq under the guise of multi-party democracy [which should be anathema to Africans since it has brought more chaos than comfort in its wake], the West will set up permanent military bases to control the Mediterranean Sea, and a bridgehead for the re-conquest of Africa will have been established.

This is no fantasy. The West is not prepared to relinquish its hegemony and go quietly into the night. The neo-colonializing of Africa had begun immediately after “independence” with aid programs that created dependencies, French military bases that never closed, structural adjustments, missionaries dividing and spiritually confusing the people, dumping of toxic waste, and the signing and enforcement of economic agreements that were never in the interests of the African peoples.

Many African leaders for selfish, mostly pecuniary reasons collaborated with this plunder of Africa, ignoring the will of its peoples. Gaddafi's removal from power should not be anything to celebrate for Africans, but to mourn, for we are being thrown back into eras when we were truly without freedom. As this neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism intensifies, it would be ironic if twenty years from now Africans would have to fight all over again the bitter revolutionary wars that ostensibly brought them freedom.

Amengeo Amengeo is a specialist in Spanish, Latin American, Caribbean, as well as African History. This article has been reprinted from The Citizen of Tanzania (www.thecitizen.co.tz/) for non-profit, educational purposes.

Residents Say NATO's Air Strikes Killed 85 People, Including 33 Children, 32 Women and 20 Men

NATO's Massacre at Majer, Libya

by Franklin Lamb

August 13, 2011

TRIPOLI—Located about 20 miles east of the ancient Roman city of Leptis Magna, six miles south of Zliten, and off Libya's southern coast across the Mediterranean from Rome, Majer was a picturesque village known for the fine quality of its dates and is claimed by locals to produce the best tarbuni (date juice) in Libya.

Family members, eyewitnesses and Libyan government officials claim that NATO's airstrikes at Majer killed 85 people, including 33 children, 32 women, and 20 men. Reporters and visitors were shown 30 of the bodies in a local morgue, including a mother and two children. Officials and residents explained that approximately 50 bodies were taken to other locations for family burial and most of the injured were rushed to hospitals at Tripoli.



Libyan mourners gather around coffins during a funeral after the August 8 massacre in the village of Majer. As in Qana, Lebanon, this bombing attack claimed the lives of 33 children.

Photo credit: Imed Lamoum, AFP

At Majer, NATO chose to bomb three neighboring compounds and visitors examined a total of five bombed-out houses. There was no evidence of weapons at the farmhouses, but rather mattresses, clothes and books littered the area. One badly injured 15-year old young lady, Salwa Ageil Al Jaoud, had earlier written her name inside one notebook found amidst the rubble. She was later visited in hospital and attested, like the witnesses at Qana had, that there was no military presence in the homes that were bombed.

NATO used the same tactic that Israel used during the two Qana massacres. After the first three bombs dropped at around 11 p.m. (2100 GMT) on Monday, August 8, many residents of the area ran to the bombed houses to try to save their loved ones. NATO then instantly struck with more bombs, slaughtering 85 Libyans.

The badly burned and mangled bodies of two boys named Adil Moayed Gafes and Aynan Gafees were pulled from the rubble by family members deeply in shock. One anguished gentleman repeated the words, "There is no God but Allah, and a martyr is loved by Allah," and soon others joined in.

Standing on a pile of rubble, Libyan government spokesman, Moussa Ibrahim, declared, "This is a crime beyond imagination. Everything about this place is civilian!"

According to Libyan officials interviewed at the Rixos Hotel here in Tripoli last night, NATO attacked Majer "to try to help rebel fighters enter the government-held city from the south as it deepens its involvement and military command and control of one side in

what has become a civil war hoping for billions of dollars in reconstruction contracts and special oil deals from its chosen team set up in eastern Libya."

Seemingly borrowing a page from the Israeli army media office, NATO's Carmen Romero, the NATO Deputy Spokesperson and Colonel Roland Lavoie, Operation "Unified Protector" military spokesperson on August 9 told a joint Brussels-Naples news conference that "the village bombed contained a military assembly area and that NATO to date had no evidence of any civilian casualties but that NATO always takes extraordinary measures to assure the safety of civilians."

It is predictable that as the evidence of the massacre at Majer becomes public and NATO is pressed to explain the killing of yet more Libya civilians, NATO, probably within the next 48 hours, will announce "an internal investigation" into the events at Majer while asserting in advance, as the Israelis regularly do, that their bombing was only directed at "legitimate military targets."

Every Muslim and Christian Palestinian refugee in Lebanon, and every Lebanese citizen whose family members or loved ones were slaughtered during Israel's two massacres at Qana, Lebanon, is reminded today of the indescribable loss suffered yesterday by their Libyan sisters and brothers at Majer, Libya.

The Majer massacre was perpetrated yet again with American weapons once more gifted by American taxpayers without their knowledge or consent and against every American humanitarian value shared by all people of good will.

As at Qana, the inventory of American weapons that has been provided to NATO and available for use here in Libya since March 29, sometimes indiscriminately, in order "to protect civilians" includes, but is not limited to, the following:

- B-2 stealth bombers from the 509th Bomb Wing at Whiteman Air Force Base, Missouri
- F-15Es currently based at the 492nd Fighter Squadron and 494th Fighter Squadron at RAF Lakenheath, Britain
- F-16CJ "defense-suppression" aircraft based at the 480th Fighter Squadron at Spangdahlem Air Base, Germany
- EC-130 Commando Solo psychological operations aircraft from the 193rd Special Operations Wing, Pennsylvania Air National Guard, Middletown, PA
- KC-135s from the 100th Air Refueling Wing



Media record August 8 NATO bombing destruction of civilian homes in farming village of Majer, Libya

Photo credit: Matthew-Ozanon



Operation Unified Protector

On March 27, NATO Allies decided to take on the whole military operation in Libya under United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973. The purpose of Operation Unified Protector is to protect civilians and civilian-populated areas under threat of attack. NATO is implementing all military aspects of the UN Resolution.

(from NATO website)

currently based at Mildenhall, Britain and the 92nd, Air Refueling Wing, Fairchild AFB, WA

- C-130Js recently based at the 37th Airlift Squadron at Ramstein Air Base, Germany
- A-10 attack fighters
- AC-130 gunships.
- The NATO attacks on Libya began with the bombing of claimed Libyan air-defense equipment using 110 American Tomahawk and Tactical Tomahawk cruise missiles. Tomahawks were also fired from British ships in the area.
- Also launched were bombing attacks using three American B-2 Spirit Bombers delivering 45 Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs) against Libyan air bases.

U.S. Navy ships being used by NATO "to protect Libyan civilians" include:

- The Arleigh Burke-class guided-missile destroyers USS Stout (DDG 55) and USS Barry (DDG 52)
- Submarines USS Providence (SSN 719), USS Scranton (SSN 756) and USS Florida (SSGN 728)
- Marine amphibious ships USS Kearsarge (LHD 3) and USS Ponce (LPD 15)
- Command ship USS Mount Whitney (LCC/JCC 20)
- Support ships Lewis and Clark, Robert E. Peary and Kanawha
- AV-8B Harrier fighters, CH-53 Super Stallion helicopters and MV-22 Osprey tilt-rotor aircraft aboard the Kearsarge and Ponce
- KC-130J tanker aircraft flying from Sigonella Air Base, Italy
- EA-18G Growler electronic attack aircraft of VAQ-132, based at Whidbey Island, WA and flying from Aviano Air Base, Italy (the above listed aircraft were diverted from Iraq at NATO's request "to help protect Libyan civilians")
- P-3 Orion sub-hunters
- EP-3 Aries electronic attack aircraft.

(See MASSACRE on page 9)

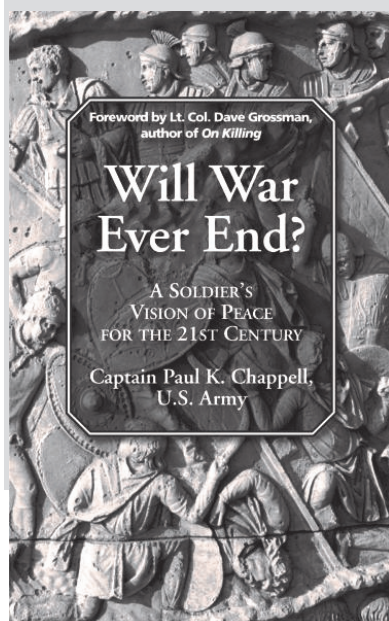
FIGHTING WITH ANOTHER PURPOSE

Leslee Goodman interviews veteran Paul Chappell on the need to end war

(part one of two parts)

Paul Chappell was born in 1980 and raised in Alabama, the son of a Korean mother and a half-white, half-African American father who'd served in Korea and Vietnam. Though Chappell had seen how his father was troubled by his war experiences, he chose to pursue a military career himself, graduating from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 2002 and serving in Iraq as an army captain in 2006 and 2007. But even as he signed up for a tour of duty, Chappell was starting to doubt that war was ever going to bring peace in the Middle East, or anywhere else.

A year later, while still an active-duty officer, he published his first book, *Will War Ever End? A Soldier's Vision of Peace for the 21st Century*. "I am twenty-eight years old," he writes, "and I have been obsessed with the problem of war for most of my life." He went on to write *The End of War: How Waging Peace Can Save Humanity, Our Planet, and Our Future*. Both books are written in a direct, accessible style that avoids blaming the Left or the Right, and his arguments for peace have appealed to people of all political persuasions.



Chappell now works at the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and travels the country talking about the necessity of ending war and "waging peace." He has a website (www.paulkchappell.com) and is involved with the American Unity Project (www.americanunityproject.com), which features a free online series of documentaries about waging peace. He also trains peace activists—a pursuit he believes should be undertaken with at least as much forethought and strategy as training soldiers for war. He emphasizes that activists must learn to be persuasive, to control their emotions, and to empathize with their opponents. Finally they must take their calling seriously—as seriously as soldiers going into battle. In *The End of War*, Chappell quotes civil-rights activist Bernard Lafayette: "Nonviolence means fighting back, but you are fighting back with another purpose and other weapons. Number one, your fight is to win that person over."

Chappell teaches through example. I met him at a weekly peace vigil on a downtown Santa Barbara, California, street corner, where he demonstrated how to engage even strident opponents with empathy and respect. I had lost patience with one such person after ten minutes of unproductive dialogue. Then Chappell showed up. He respectfully engaged my critic for a full forty-five minutes. Their conversation ended with the man thanking Chappell for listening to him and accepting a copy of *The End of War*. A few weeks later Chappell ran into the man and learned that he had read the book and had changed his mind about war as a means of ending terrorism.



Goodman: Your father was traumatized by his experiences in the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

Given that knowledge, why did you pursue a career in the military?

Chappell: Growing up, I was taught that you must wage war to end war. Comic books, action movies, video games, politicians—all said that if you wanted to make the world safe, you needed to use violence to defeat the bad guys. War was presented to me as the price you had to pay for peace, and I thought that peace was a goal worth fighting for. My father didn't talk much about his wartime experiences, but I do remember him telling me about the suffering children he saw during the Korean War. The message I got was that if soldiers had to be traumatized to save children in Korea, or to save the Jews in Europe, or to protect innocents elsewhere, that's a sacrifice they were prepared to make. I saw soldiers as people who are willing to give their lives in order to protect others. I think a lot of people join the military believing they're going to make the world safer. In the abstract the idea makes sense, because if you had a murderer in your home, of course you'd want an armed police officer there to protect you. But war is a completely different matter. It creates massive casualties—mostly civilian. It wasn't until I got to West Point that I learned war isn't the best way to make the world safe.

Goodman: This is something they taught you at West Point?

Chappell: Yes, West Point teaches that war is so dangerous, it should be used only as a last resort. I learned that the United States needs to rely more on diplomacy; that politicians don't understand war and are

too quick to use it as a means of conflict resolution. West Point also teaches that if you want to understand war, you have to understand its limitations and unpredictability. World War I and World War II both started out as limited conflicts and grew into global blood baths. War is like a natural disaster. You can't control it. Propaganda has made the word war synonymous with security, but in fact peace is synonymous with security. In the twenty-first century war actually makes us less secure.

The United States has military bases in about 150 countries; we spend more on war than the rest of the world combined; we have the most powerful military in human history; and we're some of the most terrified people on the planet. War and military occupation haven't made us more secure. They've made us more hated in many parts of the world.

Goodman: Some say we're hated because we're free.

Chappell: If that's the case, then how come the terrorists aren't attacking the many other free countries around the world that don't have soldiers deployed in the Middle East? How come they're focusing so much on us and, to some extent, our NATO allies? Look who Osama bin Laden was fighting before he fought us: the Soviets. They weren't free. Moreover, when bin Laden was our ally, he apparently didn't care that we were free. Another factor to consider is that wars are now fought on CNN, Fox News, Al Jazeera, and the Internet as much as they're fought on the battlefield. Admiral Michael Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said recently that the future of war is about perception, and that how we

are perceived in the Middle East is vital to American security. It's just common sense that the more we are in the news for invading Muslim countries, the less safe we are, because terrorism is not a government we can overthrow or a country we can occupy. Terrorism is an idea, a way of thinking. A terrorist can plan an attack from New York or San Francisco or Miami. Terrorism is a transnational criminal organization, and you cannot defeat it by invading a country. In fact, when you invade countries, you make the problem worse, because you kill civilians and create more resentment, more hatred, more enemies. I am increasingly of the mind that there are always preferable alternatives to war. Even if war could be justified, it's just not effective.

Goodman: Why do politicians miss this point?

Chappell: When you have the strongest military in history, you want to use it. That's our country's strength, and people tend to rely on their strengths. Diplomacy puts us on more of an equal footing with other countries, and we don't want to give up our advantage. Another reason is that there's so much money to be made from war. In wartime the few make huge profits at the expense of the many. Major General Smedley Butler, a veteran of World War I, said, "War is a racket. It always has been. . . . It is conducted for the benefit of the very few, at the expense of the very many."

Goodman: But don't we all benefit from our military securing the world's resources?

Chappell: I'm not sure that the Iraq War is just about oil, but I think most people will agree that if there were not a single drop of oil in the Middle East, we would not be over there. It's a strategic economic interest, but only a very small group of people benefit from

(See PAUL CHAPPELL on page 6)

Terrorism is a transnational criminal organization, and you cannot defeat it by invading a country.

Paul Chappell

(Continued from page 5)

it. It's not about Americans having access to oil. The primary reason we want to control the oil tap in Iraq is because we know that China, Russia, India, and other emerging industrialized nations need oil, and we want to be the ones who sell it to them. The problem is how much these wars cost. Consider what President Eisenhower said about all the other things we could invest in—schools, hospitals, highways, houses, food—if we weren't spending so much money on the war machine, and you realize that the majority of the population is hurt by war. General Douglas MacArthur said that if humanity abolished war, the money could be used to wipe poverty from the face of the earth and produce a wave of economic prosperity around the world. It's not just the ones who go into battle who are harmed. We're all hurt by mounting national debt and lack of funding for social programs and infrastructure, while most of the people who benefit from military buildups are already rich. You and I are not getting rich off the war in Iraq.

Goodman: You've said that the military is a "socialist" organization. How so?

Chappell: The military gives you three meals a day, pays for your healthcare and your college, and even pays for your housing. On an army field exercise, the highest-ranking soldiers eat last, and the lowest-ranking soldiers eat first. Leaders are supposed to sacrifice for their subordinates. In civilian society we're told that the only thing that makes people work hard is the profit motive. The army's philosophy is that you can get people to work hard based on the ideals of selflessness, sacrifice, and service. It demonstrates that people will even sacrifice their lives for the sake of others. The military also has a motto: "Never leave a fallen comrade." If I said to most Americans that we should have a society that gives everyone three meals a day, shelter, healthcare, and a college education, and that it should be based on selflessness, sacrifice, and service rather than greed, they'd say, "That's socialism." But that's the U.S. military. A lot of conservative Republicans who think socialism is the ultimate evil admire the military.

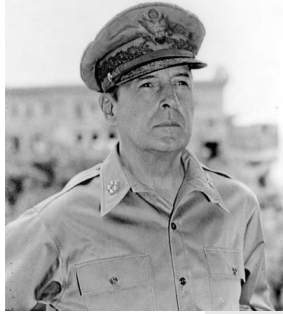
Goodman: What do they say when you point out to them that the military is socialist?

Chappell: I don't usually use the word socialist with them. When I try to persuade people that America should have universal healthcare, I say, "You

know, in the military we have universal healthcare, and the military believes that you should never leave a fallen comrade behind. You take care of everyone." They usually agree that this makes sense.

Goodman: When did this idea first occur to you?

Chappell: When I was at West Point. I don't think I really knew what socialism was at that point, but I knew



General Douglas MacArthur said that if humanity abolished war, the money could be used to wipe poverty from the face of the earth and produce a wave of economic prosperity around the world.

that West Point was different from how I'd grown up. You have a sense in America that you're all alone. It's survival of the fittest. But at West Point they have a saying: "Cooperate and graduate." Your classmates will tutor you in chemistry, physics, calculus—whatever you need. If anyone fails a class because of not understanding the material, his or her fellow students are partly responsible, because they didn't aid a classmate who needed help. Every professor has to give you his or her home phone number and allot two hours a day to additional instruction for any students who need it. So you feel as if people care about you. There's a sense of camaraderie and solidarity. Your classmates aren't trying to get a better grade than everyone else; they'll actually help you excel and graduate. I am not saying that the military is a utopia—far from it. The military as an institution has a lot of things wrong with it, but it also has some admirable characteristics.

Goodman: After you graduated from West Point, were you initially happy to be sent to Iraq? When did you really start to change your mind about the war?

Chappell: A lot of my friends at West Point were reading Noam Chomsky's and Howard Zinn's critiques of American foreign policy, and that's what started to change my mind. In 2006, while I was stationed in Iraq, West Point invited Chomsky to give a lecture about whether the war in Iraq was a "just war." I'd never believed that the war in Iraq was just. It violated international law, the United Nations Charter, and the Nuremberg Principles. It also violated the U.S. Constitution,

which says that treaties are the supreme law of the land. I did see the war in Afghanistan as a necessary evil—at least, initially. As I studied Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., however, I learned that waging peace is similar to preventive medicine: a more effective healing method than the drastic step of war.

Goodman: It's surprising to me that West Point has students critically analyze current military conflicts. How can soldiers risk their lives or kill people if they think the conflict they're engaged in is wrong?

Chappell: Soldiers are always supposed to be thinking. That's what West Point teaches its cadets, who are officers in training. You're supposed to question the orders you're given, to see whether they conform to the Geneva Conventions and the laws of war. Nevertheless it can be difficult to go against your fellow soldiers. Take the example of Hugh Thompson Jr., the U.S. helicopter pilot who tried to rescue Vietnamese civilians during the My Lai Massacre, in which hundreds of unarmed women, children, and elderly men were killed by U.S. soldiers. He told his machine-gunner to open fire on the Americans if they shot at the people he was trying to save. He was given the Soldier's Medal and brought to West Point to lecture, as a way of saying, "Do the right thing." But that was about thirty years after the fact. For the first twenty years or so he was an outcast. He received death threats from people in the military. So really the message was "Do the right thing, and in twenty or thirty years people might appreciate it."

Goodman: You actually volunteered to deploy in Iraq in 2006.

Chappell: Yes, the mission I volunteered for was to install a new system called "Counter Rocket, Artillery, and Mortar." A mortar is a projectile bomb launched from an upright tube. The radar system would detect incoming rockets or mortars, and machine guns would shoot the explosives down in midflight. So it was a defensive role. If I did my job properly, fewer people would be killed. The way I rationalized my choice was that Gandhi had volunteered as a medic in the Boer War and the Zulu War. He didn't believe in violence, but if these wars were going to happen, he thought he should do what he could to minimize the loss of life. I don't know if I made the right decision, but

that was the way I thought about it at the time.

Goodman: Were you ever in a situation where you felt that your values were compromised?

Chappell: No, the biggest dangers I faced were mortar attacks, IEDs [improvised explosive devices] while we were traveling from base to base, and sniper fire while we were installing the radar on the perimeter of the bases. I worked closely with a small team of soldiers, and unfortunately one of them was killed by a sniper not long after I left Iraq. I have a good friend who changed his job in the army from being a shooter to explosive-ordnance disposal—disarming bombs, like the soldiers in the movie *The Hurt Locker*. He wanted a role that was more defensive; he didn't want to kill anybody. You might ask why he didn't leave the military if he was opposed to fighting, but in his position is he any more culpable than the rest of us who are paying taxes that support the war? Not many Americans are willing to risk going to prison to voice their opposition.

Goodman: You said you originally thought the war in Afghanistan was justified.

Chappell: At the time I thought some wars might be necessary, and I thought that the Taliban were training terrorists. I didn't understand the nature of terrorism then as well as I do now. Terrorism is an ideology, a way of thinking. To fight it, we need to change U.S. foreign policy. Eisenhower, the first president to identify Middle Eastern unrest as a threat to the United States, said that the reason people in the Middle East hate us is that we suppress freedom there. We support dictatorships. We prevent democratic progress, which is the opposite of what we say we're doing. We have to practice what we preach, which means we can't talk about human rights and also support dictators. The seed of terrorism grows in the soil of hopelessness, depression, and fear; of poverty, hunger, and injustice. Killing civilians and occupying countries only exacerbate terrorism.

(See PAUL CHAPPELL on page 14)



Self Portrait in Iraq, Matt Lunn, 2011 (Combat Paper Project)

The Military-Entertainment Complex—rising pressure on filmmakers to please the military

The Pentagon's strengthening grip on Hollywood

by David Sirota

Yesterday [August 28], I had a big article in the Sunday *Washington Post* looking at the long-term legacy of *Top Gun*—a film that turned 25 years old this summer. This is part of my unofficial beat reporting on the Military-Entertainment Complex—reporting I first started a few years back as part of the research for my book *Back to Our Future*.

For too long, the media have ignored the relationship between Hollywood and the Pentagon. Knowing this, I figured my *Washington Post* piece would vanish into the ether. However, to my surprise, it came out in the same week that the *Los Angeles Times* and *Wall Street Journal* provided stunning new details about how the shadowy relationship between Hollywood and the Pentagon is setting new standards for government-subsidized propaganda.

Hollywood As Complicit As Ever

First and foremost, both the *Times* and *Journal* tells us that collusion between the military and Hollywood—including allowing Pentagon officials to line edit scripts—is once again on the rise, with new television programs and movies slated to celebrate the Navy SEALs. They also give us up-to-date proof that major Hollywood directors remain more than happy to ideologically slant their films in precisely the pro-war, pro-militarist direction that the Pentagon demands in exchange for taxpayer-subsidized access to military hardware.

The *Journal*, for instance, quotes director Peter Berg saying that his upcoming cinematic tribute to the SEALs was approved by Pentagon-compliant studio execs specifically because the project avoids any nuanced take on the politics of war. “The idea of a good old-fashioned combat yarn, in which the politics are very clear—we support these men—was more appealing to them,” he said, noting that his film will be “an unabashed tribute to the courage of (the SEALs).”

Likewise, the *Times* reports that after facing questions about inappropriate Hollywood-government collusion on a film to glorify the mission to kill Osama

bin Laden, director Kathryn Bigelow issued a defensive statement reiterating that her film will not dare raise any thorny questions the Pentagon doesn't want raised—questions such as whether the mission was “kill only” and whether bin Laden could have been captured. “(The mission) was an American triumph, both heroic and nonpartisan, and there is no basis to suggest that our film will represent this enormous victory otherwise,” she said, no doubt deliberately reassuring the Pentagon officials that she plans to produce exactly what they want.

This, of course, is the *Top Gun* Effect in action. With taxpayer-subsidized access to Pentagon hardware so crucial for filmmakers, and with the Pentagon so aggressively permitting and denying such access on the basis of a filmmakers' loyalty to a pro-militarist message, directors like Berg, Bigelow and others know that they still must “get the cooperation of the [military] or forget about making the picture,” as one director described it during the *Top Gun* era. “Getting cooperation,” means being willing to make seemingly apolitical entertainment products into highly ideological vehicles for pro-war, pro-militarist propaganda.

Pentagon Now Soliciting Movies On Its Own

Of course, this *Top Gun* Effect has been the norm for a long time, and word that it is stronger than ever is not nearly as big a revelation as the other part of the *Journal* dispatch—the news that the Pentagon is now reverse engineering the propaganda process. That's right, instead of simply waiting for Hollywood studios to pitch collaboration projects as they have in the past, military brass are now actively soliciting bids for studios to make recruitment ads camouflaged as apolitical feature films. In order to do this, the Pentagon is now using active-duty, taxpayer-funded, special forces soldiers as actors. As the *Journal* reports:

In 2008, Navy Special Warfare invited a handful of production companies to submit proposals for a film project (that) would flesh out the role of the SEALs. **The goals: bolster recruiting efforts...**The project offered filmmakers access to SEALs as well as military assets...

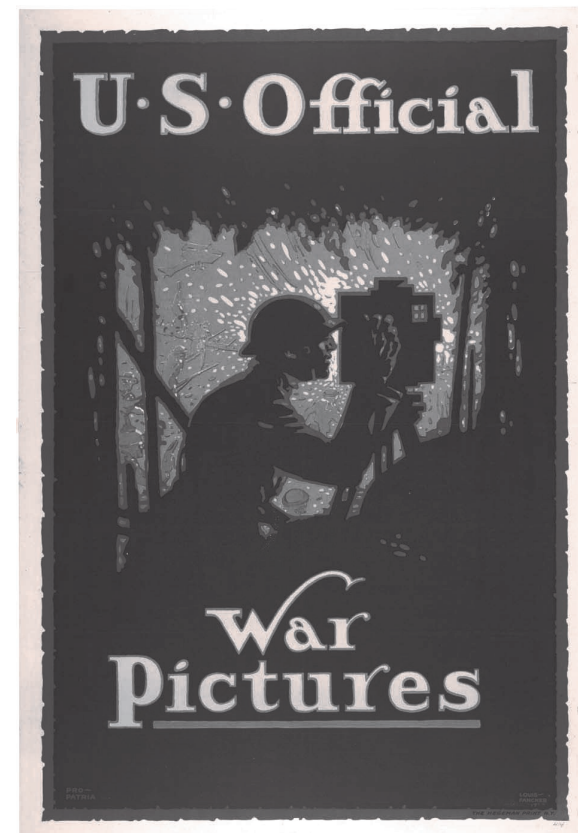
The Los Angeles-based Bandito Brothers began shuttling back and forth to Coronado, Calif., the SEALs training base near San Diego, to conduct on-camera interviews. They initially planned to work the research into a script, then hire actors to play the lead SEALs...(But) as the SEALs' stories unfolded on camera and over beers, the filmmakers began to question the idea of casting actors to play the sailors.

After they made a group decision to participate, deciding the project served the SEALs' greater good, **the Navy made the film a formal task for the sailors...**

So not only are compliant filmmakers getting taxpayer-subsidized access to military hardware, they are now getting an additional subsidy in the form of taxpayer-paid, real-life soldiers ordered to also be actors. And again, we can infer that Hollywood filmmakers only get this subsidy as long as they are willing to produce films that serve the goal of “bolstering recruiting efforts”—and do not question war or militarism.

Military Calls War a "Product" to Be Sold

The intensifying Military-Entertainment Complex, as described by the *Times* and *Journal*, raise again the



U.S. Official War Pictures, 1917 propaganda poster by Louis D. Fanche

big question: Why is the Pentagon so focused on using Hollywood as a propaganda machine? The answer is simple: At a time when more and more Americans are questioning the fundamental tenets of militarism (ie. budget-busting defense expenditures, never-ending wars/occupations, etc.), military officials are desperate to turn the public opinion tide back in a pro-militarist direction—and they know pop culture is the most effective tool to achieve that goal. Why pop culture? Because audiences don't see movies and TV shows as ideological at all. That means movie and TV audience's psychological filter guarding against propaganda is turned off—making the militarist propaganda in these mediums that much more persuasive.

This is why (as I previously reported) the Pentagon sponsored the new *X-Men* movie and then used it to produce recruitment ads that portray the soldier's life as just as fun, exciting, and safe as being an superhero. As the *Journal* notes, it is incredibly effective:

The spots played in cinemas, and exit polls of 17- to 24-year-olds leaving the movie theater found that **those who saw the ad were 25% more likely to say they would consider joining the Army than those who didn't**, according to U.S. Army Accessions Command Chief Marketing Officer Bruce Jasurda.

“We get asked all the time, ‘Why do you market?’” said Jasurda. “We're a nation at war going on 11 years, which is ... the longest period of consistent conflict that the U.S. Army's ever been involved in, that the nation's ever been involved in, longer than any war we've been in...That's why we market. **We want to make sure people understand the full nature of this product.** The Army is the ultimate considered purchase.”

This is exactly how the Pentagon sees militarism—it's a “product” to be sold via pop culture products that

(See *HOLLYWOOD* on page 10)



Sea Air Land (SEAL) team members (U.S. Navy photo)

10 painful lessons of 9/11

By Ralph Nader

The commemorative ceremonies that are planned for the 10th anniversary of the 9/11 massacre are those of pathos for the victims and their families, of praise for both the pursuit of the supporters of the attackers and the performance of first responders and our soldiers abroad.

Flags and martial music will punctuate the combined atmosphere of sorrow and aggressive defiance to those terrorists who would threaten us. These events will be moments of respectful silence and some expressions of rage and ferocity.

But many Americans might also want to pause to recognize—or unlearn—those reactions and overreactions to 9/11 that have harmed our country. How, in this forward-looking manner, can we respect the day of 9/11?

Here are some suggestions:

1. Do not exaggerate our adversaries' strength in order to produce a climate of hysteria that results in repression of civil liberties, embodied in the overwrought USA Patriot Act, and immense long-term damage to our economy. Consider the massive diversion of trillions of dollars from domestic civilian needs because of the huge expansion and misspending in military and security budgets.

2. Do not allow our leaders to lie and exaggerate as when they told us there were funded, suicidal, and hateful al-Qaeda cells all over our country. They were never here. Actually, the wholesale invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan became recruiting grounds for more al-Qaeda branches there and in other countries—a fact acknowledged by both then-Army Chief of Staff George Casey and then-CIA Director Porter Goss.



NYC, September 19, 2001—Rescue workers administer fluids to hydrate one of the most important members of the rescue team, a search dog. The dogs are capable of digging into small areas inaccessible to the workers, and have an acute sense of smell to lead them to survivors. Photo by Andrea Booher/ FEMA News Photo

All empires eventually eat away at their own and devour themselves.

3. Do not create a climate of fear or monopolize a partisan definition of patriotism in order to silence dissent from other political parties, the citizenry or the unfairly arrested or harassed.

4. Do not tolerate presidents who violate our Constitution and start wars without congressional deliberation and a declaration of war (Article 1,

Section 8, Clause 11). Do not let them disobey federal statutes and international treaties in pursuing unlawful, misdirected quicksand wars, as in Iraq, that produce deaths, destruction, and debts that undermine our country's national interests.

5. Do not have Congress write a blank check, outside the normal Appropriations Committee hearing process, for the huge budgetary demands from the executive branch for funding of the Iraq, Afghanistan, and other undeclared wars.

6. Do not allow the executive branch to engage in unconstitutional and illegal recurrent practices such as wiretapping and other methods of surveillance of Americans without judicial approval, in addition to arrests without charges, indefinite imprisonment, torture, and denial of habeas corpus and other due process rights established by our Founding Fathers. Congress has passed no reforms to check the continuing exercise of unchecked dictatorial presidential power.

7. Do not let the government hide the horrors of war from the people by prohibiting photographs of U.S. casualties; operating cruel, secret prisons; harassing reporters; and refusing to count civilian casualties in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. There is too much intimidation of returning soldiers—so many harmed for life—from telling the people what they experienced and think about these wars and their heavy outsourcing to profiteering corporations.

8. Do not allow leaders to violate American principles with torture or other war crimes prohibited by the Geneva Conventions. Nor should top military brass or members of the executive branch be above our laws and escape accountability.

9. Do not allow your Congress to abdicate or transfer its own constitutional authorities to the president. We the people have not exercised our civic duties enough to make our representatives in Congress fulfill their obligations under the Constitution to decide whether we go to war and act as a watchdog of the president's conduct. The Libyan war was decided and funded by President Obama without congressional approval.

10. Call out those in the news media who become a mouthpiece of the president and his departments involved in these hostilities. What more is the military really doing in Libya, Somali, and Yemen as compared with the official line? Under what legal authority?

In addition, demand that news media outlets seek the inconvenient facts, wherever they might lead, unlike the pre-Iraq invasion period.

The celebrated American theologian-philosopher Reinhold Niebuhr aptly wrote decades ago that “to the end of history, social orders will probably destroy themselves in the effort to prove that they are indestructible.”

All empires eventually eat away at their own and devour themselves.

Ralph Nader is a consumer advocate, lawyer and author of Only the Super-Rich Can Save Us. He has encouraged people around the country to discuss ways to avoid overreactions to threats.

Veteran and Military Spouse Dragged from Rumsfeld Book Signing

Press Release from Coffee Strong

On August 26, military spouse Ashley Joppa-Hagemann and anti-war veteran Jorge Gonzalez went on Joint Base Lewis-McChord to meet with Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. Rumsfeld, most infamous for his part in leading the United States into the bloody wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, was at JBL-M to promote his *New York Times* bestselling book *Known and Unknown: A Memoir*.



Mrs. Joppa-Hagemann introduced herself by handing a copy of her husband's funeral program to Rumsfeld, and telling him that her husband had joined the military because he believed the lies told by Rumsfeld during his tenure with the Bush Administration. She then recounted her husband's painful story of eight deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan, his battle with PTSD, and eventual suicide, for which she blamed the military and Rumsfeld himself whose only response was to callously quip, “Oh yeah, I heard about that.” Despite the reply, Mrs. Joppa-Hagemann continued to lay the blame directly at the feet of Rumsfeld and the military for not providing enough care for soldiers and veterans returning from deployments in combat zones. However, within moments Ashley and Jorge were dragged from the Post Exchange by a group of security agents and military police officers, and told not to return.

Former Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld's uncaring response is demonstrative of the attitude taken by many at the top-levels of the U.S. government. While they seize any opportunity to participate at a photo-op in front of expensive new barracks facilities or publicly praise the sacrifice of service members, they rarely take even a moment to honestly listen to those whose lives are overturned by their failed policies and poor planning. If politicians and top-level officials truly care about Joint Base Lewis-McChord and other military communities they'll begin to listen to the folks—like Ashley Joppa-Hagemann—who are most affected by the negative consequences of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Coffee Strong is a veteran-owned, veteran-operated GI coffeehouse. Veterans provide a safe place for soldiers to share the effects of disastrous wars, within 300 meters of the gates at Ft. Lewis, Washington.



9/11 After A Decade: Have We Learned Anything?

by Dr. Paul Craig Roberts

We recently observed the tenth anniversary of September 11, 2001. How well has the U.S. government's official account of the event held up over the decade?

Not very well. The chairman, vice chairman, and senior legal counsel of the 9/11 Commission wrote books partially disassociating themselves from the commission's report. They said that the Bush administration put obstacles in their path, that information was withheld from them, that President Bush agreed to testify only if he was chaperoned by Vice President

The U.S. government's account of 9/11 is the foundation of the open-ended wars that are exhausting America's resources and destroying its reputation, and of the domestic police state that ultimately will shut down all opposition to the wars.... One would think that how this came about would be worthy of public debate and congressional hearings.

Cheney and neither were put under oath, that Pentagon and FAA officials lied to the commission and that the commission considered referring the false testimony for investigation for obstruction of justice. In their book, the chairman and vice chairman, Thomas Kean and Lee Hamilton, wrote that the 9/11 Commission was "set up to fail." Senior counsel John Farmer, Jr., wrote that the U.S. government made "a decision not to tell the truth about what happened," and that the NORAD [North American Aerospace Defense Command] "tapes told a radically different story from what had been told to us and the public." Kean said, "We to this day don't know why NORAD told us what they told us, it was just so far from the truth."

Most of the questions from the 9/11 families were not answered. Important witnesses were not called.

The commission only heard from those who supported the government's account. The commission was a controlled political operation, not an investigation of events and evidence. Its membership consisted of former politicians. No knowledgeable experts were appointed to the commission.

One member of the 9/11 Commission, former Senator Max Cleland, responded to the constraints placed on the commission by the White House: "If this decision stands, I, as a member of the commission, cannot look any American in the eye, especially family members of victims, and say the commission had full access. This investigation is now compromised." Cleland resigned rather than have his integrity compromised.

To be clear, neither Cleland nor members of the commission suggested that 9/11 was an inside job to advance a war agenda. Nevertheless, neither Congress nor the media wondered, at least not out loud, why President Bush was unwilling to appear before the commission under oath or without Cheney, why Pentagon and FAA officials lied to the commission or, if the officials did not lie, why the commission believed they lied, or why the White House resisted for so long any kind of commission being formed, even one under its control.

One would think that if a handful of Arabs managed to outwit not merely the CIA and FBI but all 16 U.S. intelligence agencies, all intelligence agencies of our allies including Mossad, the National Security Council, the State Department, NORAD, airport security four times on one morning, air traffic control, etc., the President, Congress, and the media would be demanding to know how such an improbable event could occur. Instead, the White House put up a wall of resistance to finding out, and Congress and the media showed little interest.

During the decade that has passed, numerous 9/11 Truth organizations have formed. There are Architects and Engineers for 9/11 Truth, Firefighters for 9/11 Truth, Pilots for 9/11 Truth, Scholars for 9/11 Truth, Remember Building 7.org, and a New York group which includes 9/11 families. These groups call for a real investigation.



NYFD paramedic team (FEMA photo by Andrea Booher)

A recent study of more than 27,000 rescue workers involved in 9/11 aid work found that 28% had asthma, 42% had sinusitis, and 39% had gastroesophageal reflux disease. Dr. Philip Landrigan, senior author of the study, said, "These people swallowed that very, very caustic dust which . . . was extremely alkaline. It was described as inhaling Drano in powdered form."

David Ray Griffin has written 10 carefully researched books documenting problems in the government's account. Scientists have pointed out that the government has no explanation for the molten steel. NIST [the National Institute of Standards and Technology] has been forced to admit that WTC 7 was in free fall for part of its descent, and a scientific team led by a professor of nano-chemistry at the University of Copenhagen has reported finding nano-thermite in the dust from the buildings.

Larry Silverstein, who had the lease on the World Trade Center buildings, said in a PBS broadcast that the decision was made "to pull" Building 7 late in the afternoon of 9/11. Chief fire marshals have said that no forensic investigation was made of the buildings' destruction and that the absence of investigation was a violation of law.

Some efforts have been made to explain away some of the evidence that is contrary to the official account, but most of the contrary evidence is simply ignored. The fact remains that the skepticism of a large number of knowledgeable experts has had no effect on the government's position other than a member of the

(See 9/11 on page 10)

Massacre

(Continued from page 4)

In addition to the above listed weapons, more than 50 types of American bombs and missiles are stockpiled for NATO use "to protect civilians in Libya" and their use to date is illegal under both American and

The Majer massacre was perpetrated with American weapons gifted by American taxpayers without their knowledge or consent and against every humanitarian value shared by all people of good will.

International law because it has resulted in the killing, maiming, or wounding of approximately 7,800 Libyan civilians between March 29 and August 9, 2011.

A survey of NATO bombing sites, ground inspections, cataloged serial numbers from unexploded ordnance, examination of bomb

and missile fragments at civilian sites in Western Libya, and consultation with Libyan military sources confirm what two U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee staffers and international lawyers have postulated. NATO, like their Israeli allies at Qana, Lebanon, committed war crimes and crimes against humanity at Majer, Libya on August 8, 2011.

Specifically, NATO stands accused of committing the following crimes against the people of Libya according to a consensus from meetings with an increasing number of visiting international lawyers and human rights advocates who have come here from Europe, Asia and South and North America.

Applicable international law includes but is not limited to Article 3 of the Statute of The Hague International Penal Court, which clearly states that one criterion for indictment for war crimes is: "Attack or bombardment, by whatever means, against undefended cities, towns, villages, buildings or houses." NATO's continuous use of civilian targets for military purposes, a scenario which NATO wantonly and callously calls "collateral damage," fits this clause exactly and would

be a cornerstone of a case accusing this organization of being guilty of war crimes.

Violation of the Geneva Convention IV, Article 3 (a): "To this end the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons: violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds."

These are similar causes of action that were filed against Israeli officials by American lawyers at the New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights in *Ali Saadallah BELHAS, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Moshe YA'ALON, Defendant* (466 F.Supp.2d 127 (2006)), a case that educated the international legal community and the public about the necessity to strip sovereign immunity from international outlaws and allow lawsuits in domestic as well as international courts.

The NATO massacre at Majer requires international law suits that achieve nothing less.

Reprinted with permission of Franklin Lamb who is doing research in Lebanon and can be reached at fplamb@gmail.com.

Hollywood

(Continued from page 7)

sanitize war and, in the process, boost recruitment numbers.

The Military-Entertainment Complex's Threat to the First Amendment

No doubt, the Pentagon and its apologists would have us believe that military officials have every right to use publicly owned hardware as a means of suffusing our pop culture with militarist propaganda. As the argument goes, it's in the Pentagon's institutional prerogative to defend its image, mission and "product." And this line of logic might work if the Pentagon was a private corporation. But (all jokes about Halliburton and private security contractors aside) the Defense Department is not a private corporation.

Indeed, as taboo as it might be to say it out loud, as often as you will get called an unpatriotic traitor for even mentioning it, it remains an indisputable fact that all those military planes and tanks and warships are funded by your and my taxpayer dollars. That makes them not the private assets of some military spinmeister—it makes them all of our property. Thus, when the government decides to grant and deny the public access to that property on the basis of a citizen's particular political/ideological bent, it is inherently abridging that citizen's First Amendment rights.

Journalist David Robb, author of *Operation Hollywood*, explained this very real First Amendment issue succinctly in a previous interview with *Mother Jones*:

The First Amendment doesn't just give people the right to free speech; fundamentally, it prevents the government from favoring one form of speech over another. There's a great 1995 Supreme Court case called *Rosenberger v. University of Virginia* that says, "Discrimination

against speech because of its message is presumed to be unconstitutional. It is axiomatic that the government may not regulate speech based on the substantive content of the message it conveys. In the realm of private speech or expression, government regulation may not favor one speaker over another." And yet that's what (the Pentagon) is doing every day.

The way to really understand why this is so unacceptable is to consider comparable examples. Imagine if, say, the Obama administration didn't let a reporter from Fox News attend a White House press briefing. Or imagine if, say, the Bush administration didn't let a reporter from MSNBC be part of the press pool on Air Force One. In both cases, the outrage would be obvious, and those being persecuted would rightly insist that the government has no right to grant or deny access to public property on the basis of a citizen's particular political principles.

This isn't to say the Pentagon can't or shouldn't be involved in filmmaking. But it is to echo what New York University's J. Hoberman told the *Boston Globe* in 2004: "If the Pentagon wants to go into business of leasing to the movies it should be open to whomever wants to lease and can afford to. It's our Army. If you can afford the rates you should be able to rent" regardless of your political ideology or partisan affiliation.

Because this isn't the standard—because the military so aggressively uses our public property to preference



Amani / My Culture by Donna Perdue, 2009
Pulp printing on Combat Paper

saber-rattling propaganda—entertainment industry economics are unduly tilted toward projects that glorify militarism. That, in turn, tilts our entire culture toward war. Only when we fundamentally change this Military-Entertainment Complex and recognize the deep connections between pop culture and militarism can we hope to have a more pragmatic, less bellicose national security politics and posture.

David Sirota is a best-selling author of the new book Back to Our Future: How the 1980s Explain the World We Live In Now. He hosts the morning show on AM760 in Colorado. E-mail him at ds@davidsirota.com, follow him on Twitter @davidsirota or visit his website at www.davidsirota.com.

9/11

(Continued from page 9)

Obama administration suggesting that the government infiltrate the 9/11 truth organizations in order to discredit them.

The practice has been to brand experts not convinced by the government's case "conspiracy theorists." But of course the government's own theory is a conspiracy theory, an even less likely one once a person realizes its full implication of intelligence and operational failures. The implied failures are extraordinarily large; yet, no one was ever held accountable.

Moreover, what do 1,500 architects and engineers have to gain from being ridiculed as conspiracy theorists? They certainly will never receive another government contract, and many surely lost business as a result of their "anti-American" stance. Their competitors must have made hay out of their "unpatriotic doubts." Indeed, my reward for reporting on how matters stand a decade after the event will be mail telling me that as I hate America so much I should move to Cuba.

Scientists have even less incentive to express any doubts, which probably explains why there are not 1,500 Physicists for 9/11 Truth. Few physicists have careers independent of government grants or

contracts. It was a high school physics teacher who forced NIST to abandon its account of Building 7's demise. Physicist Stephen Jones, who first reported finding evidence of explosives, had his tenure bought out by Brigham Young University, which no doubt found itself under government pressure.

We can explain away contrary evidence as coincidences and mistakes and conclude that only the government got it all correct, the same government that got everything else wrong.

In fact, the government has not explained anything. The NIST report is merely a simulation of what might have caused the towers to fail if NIST's assumptions programmed into the computer model are correct. But NIST supplies no evidence that its assumptions are correct.

Building 7 was not mentioned in the 9/11 Commission Report, and many Americans are still unaware that three buildings came down on 9/11.

Let me be clear about my point. I am not saying that some black op group in the neoconservative Bush administration blew up the buildings in order to advance the neoconservative agenda of war in the Middle East. If there is evidence of a cover-up, it could be the government covering up its incompetence and not its complicity in the event. Even if there

were definite proof of government complicity, it is uncertain that Americans could accept it. Architects, engineers, and scientists live in a fact-based community, but for most people facts are no match for emotions.

My point is how uninquisitive the executive branch including the security agencies, Congress, the media, and much of the population are about the defining event of our time.

There is no doubt that 9/11 is the determinant event. It has led to a decade of ever expanding wars, to the shredding of the Constitution, and to a police state. On August 22, Justin Raimondo reported that he and his website, Antiwar.com, are being monitored by the FBI's Electronic Communication Analysis Unit to determine if Antiwar.com is "a threat to National Security" working "on behalf of a foreign power."

Francis A. Boyle, an internationally known professor and attorney of international law, has reported that when he refused a joint FBI-CIA request to violate the attorney/client privilege and become an informant on his Arab-American clients, he was placed on the U.S. government's terrorist watch list.

Boyle has been critical of the U.S. government's approach to the Muslim world, but Raimondo has never raised, nor permitted any contributor to raise,

any suspicion about U.S. government complicity in 9/11. Raimondo merely opposes war, and that is enough for the FBI to conclude that he needs watching as a possible threat to national security.

The U.S. government's account of 9/11 is the foundation of the open-ended wars that are exhausting America's resources and destroying its reputation, and it is the foundation of the domestic police state that ultimately will shut down all opposition to the wars. Americans are bound to the story of the 9/11 Muslim terrorist attack, because it is what justifies the slaughter of civilian populations in several Muslim countries, and it justifies a domestic police state as the only means of securing safety from terrorists, who already have morphed into "domestic extremists" such as environmentalists, animal rights groups, and antiwar activists.

Today Americans are unsafe, not because of terrorists and domestic extremists, but because they have lost their civil liberties and have no protection from unaccountable government power. One would think that how this came about would be worthy of public debate and congressional hearings.

Paul Craig Roberts is a frequent contributor to Global Research where this article first appeared.

Giving Peace Space to Grow

by Steve Fryburg

The world is full of museums that tell the stories of war and violence. We live in cultures that often pay homage and respect to the violent and ridicule the non-violent as weak or ineffective. Peace museums give peace a space in the world, and their numbers are increasing.

Peace museums validate the concepts of peace, justice, and human rights for all, while removing many of the stigmas and myths that many people hold about peace and our world today.

What is in a peace museum? Exhibits about our world's rich and often overlooked history of peace and nonviolence, peace heroines and heroes, peace societies, interfaith peace, nonviolent solutions, peace art, peace organizations and their activities, and often exhibits that remove the glory from war and replace it with the stark realities of the costs in human suffering and its futility. Each peace museum has a character of its own because there is no blueprint for such an institution and the history of the countries they reside in often influences their content.

The International Network of Museums for Peace (www.MuseumsforPeace.org), a United Nations NGO, with member peace museums spanning the globe, provides a nexus for these organizations.

There are peace museums in Iran, Pakistan, India, South Korea, Uzbekistan, Cambodia, Iraq, Kenya, Japan, Costa Rica, Peru, South Africa, most countries of Europe and more—all of them giving peace a place in the communities they serve.

In the U.S. Midwest, the city of Dayton, Ohio is fast earning a reputation as a "City of Peace." In 1995, agreements were reached in Dayton that put an end to the three

year war in Bosnia. Since then the term a "Dayton Process" has become synonymous with the style of diplomacy used to reach the agreement in Dayton.

People of the greater Dayton region have given peace spaces for growth, education, and consideration:

- The Dayton International Peace Museum (www.DaytonPeaceMuseum.org) started in a small rented office in 2003 the museum is now housed in a three story mansion in downtown Dayton, Ohio USA, not far from the largest air force museum in the world;
- The Dayton Literary Peace Prize (www.daytonliterarypeaceprize.org);
- Dayton Peace Accords 5k Run/Walk;
- The International Cities of Peace initiative (www.internationalcitiesofpeace.org) and Peace Corridor;
- University of Dayton was the first college in U.S. to offer a degree in Human Rights studies;
- The Missing Peace Art Space (www.MissingPeaceArt.org), a nonprofit art gallery dedicated to providing a tolerant, noncommercial environment for the contemplation of violence and peace through the various mediums of art.

Dayton is an example of the peace revolution that is happening globally. It may not seem like this is true based on the news we are exposed to on a daily basis, but it is. People around the world, from remote villages to major metropolitan regions, are questioning the violent policies of the past and looking for better ways to solve our problems.

The "Me" generation is losing ground to the "We"



generation and our differences are being seen less as barriers and more as what makes our world such a beautiful place to live in.

Conflict is being envisioned as an opportunity for positive change and the roles of people in our societies are being seen from the perspective of peace.

The peace evolution/revolution has been occurring for years, but the internet has increased the momentum recently. Google "peace" and you get 829 million responses in 0.18 of a second. I sit at my computer and connect with peace advocates on a daily basis from all parts of the world. We network and connect so that our peace voices get strength from our common beliefs.

As Yusuf Islam (formerly Cat Stevens) put it many years ago in his famous song "Peace Train": "...out on the edge of darkness, there rides a peace train." The train is getting closer; it just needs us to keep working on the station.

"Peace is not something you wish for; it's something you make, something you do, something you are, and something you give away." —Robert Fulghum

If we want to live in a peaceful world we will need to make a space for peace in it. Future generations deserve no less.



Steve Fryburg on a peace visit to the General Education Academy in Mumbai, India 2008. During that trip he did peace programs with over 3,000 students in Pakistan and India at the time of the November 26th Mumbai terrorist attack. He says, "If you look at the beautiful faces that surround me, you can see why I do what I do."

Egypt. While on a peace mission to Iran, he met with the director of the Society for Chemical Weapons Victims Support, an Iranian non-governmental organization. Steve gave assistance and encouragement, which helped evolve that fledgling peace organization into what is now a thriving Peace Museum in Tehran.

He writes: "On International Peace Day, Sept. 21, 2006, I had the honor to be a member of a Peace delegation from the U.S. Federation of Middle East Peace, a United Nations registered NGO, which traveled to Egypt. During that trip I had the opportunity to speak at the Arab League Headquarters, Cairo, about the concept of the culture of peace and peace museums."

"In my travels I have found that the people of peace far outnumber those who are violent in the world, but we listen more to the violent because they are louder. The time has come for peace to be heard. It is time to give peace a space in our world."

Email: bewildered@humanclub.org

Peace Person Profile

Steve Fryburg is former director of the Dayton International Peace Museum. He is active with the International Network of Museums for Peace; the Unitarian Fellowship for World Peace; the Interfaith League Against Poverty; serves on the Advisory Board NYC Peace Museum and is current director of Missing Peace Art Space (www.missingpeaceart.org).

In the 1970s, Steve served in the U.S. Army as a military police officer, evidence technician, and tank crewman. He later served as a deputy sheriff and officer in the Bellbrook, Ohio area until he retired from law enforcement in the 1990s.

Steve has traveled extensively and taught peace to thousands of young people in such troubled countries as Iran, Pakistan, India, Palestine, and

Haddock of Mass Destruction

Brain bored and arse numb
Finally the blades spun and we lifted
Skimmed the palm trees and popped flares above the Euphrates
We swooped low over the target truck
Then landed in its path

We charged in our Storm Trooper costumes
Blinding faceless shapes through dirty glass
With rifle mounted lasers
We were jumpy
We were ready

I dragged the driver from his seat
Slammed his face into hot tarmac
Held it there with my suede boot
Steadied my hands long enough to cuff his

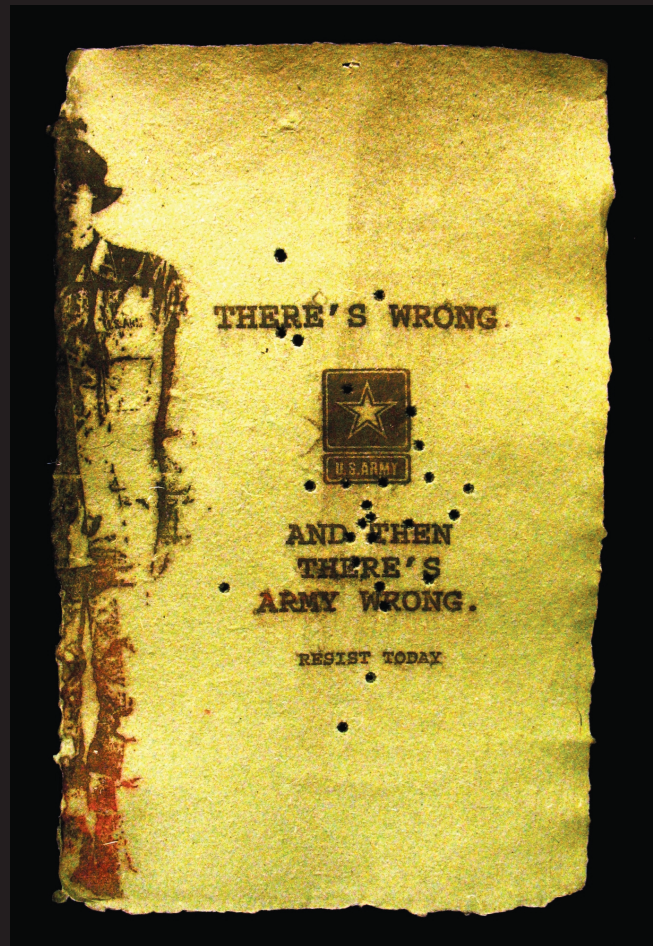
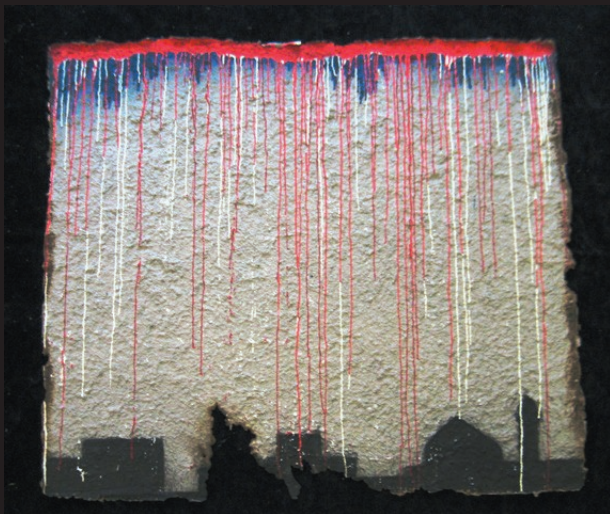
We searched his packed pick-up
Boxes stacked four deep five wide
Emptied in the dust on the roadside
The first box revealed ice and fish, and the next
And the next, and the last

Intelligence had said he was armed and dangerous
Armed with melting ice and defrosting cod
No match for our guns, our bombs,
Our good intentions, our morals
Our God

We cut his cuffs, and his wife's
And left them to their ruined stock
I should demand commission
From the Taliban
For every recruit I've converted to their flock.

Danny Martin

THE COMBAT PAPER PROJECT



Left: *Peace Birds* by Jesse Albrecht (Army), 2010, pulp printing on handmade paper.

Above: *These Colors Run Everywhere* by Eli Wright, 2008, spray paint on Combat Paper.

Right: *Army Wrong* by Drew Cameron, 2008, pulp printing on bullet distressed Combat Paper.

Below right: *In God We Trust* by Drew Matott, Dick Iacovello, James Oneill, & Christopher Arendt, 2010, relief, screen & mono-printing on handmade paper.

The Combat Paper Project utilizes art making workshops to assist veterans in reconciling and sharing their personal experiences as well as broadening the traditional narrative surrounding service and the military culture.



Through papermaking workshops veterans use their uniforms worn in combat to create cathartic works of art. The uniforms are cut up, beaten into a pulp and formed into sheets of paper. Veterans use the transformative process of papermaking to reclaim their uniform as art and begin to embrace their experiences in the military.

**COMBAT
PAPER**



and society. The work reflects both the anger of the past and hope for the future. Through this collaboration between civilians and veterans, a much-needed conversation is generated regarding our responsibilities to the returned veteran and an understanding of the dehumanizing effects of warfare.



The Combat Paper Project is a collaboration initiated by Drew Matott and Drew Cameron, involving war veterans, activists, and artists. Learn more about the project, purchase art, and donate at <http://www.combatpaper.org>.



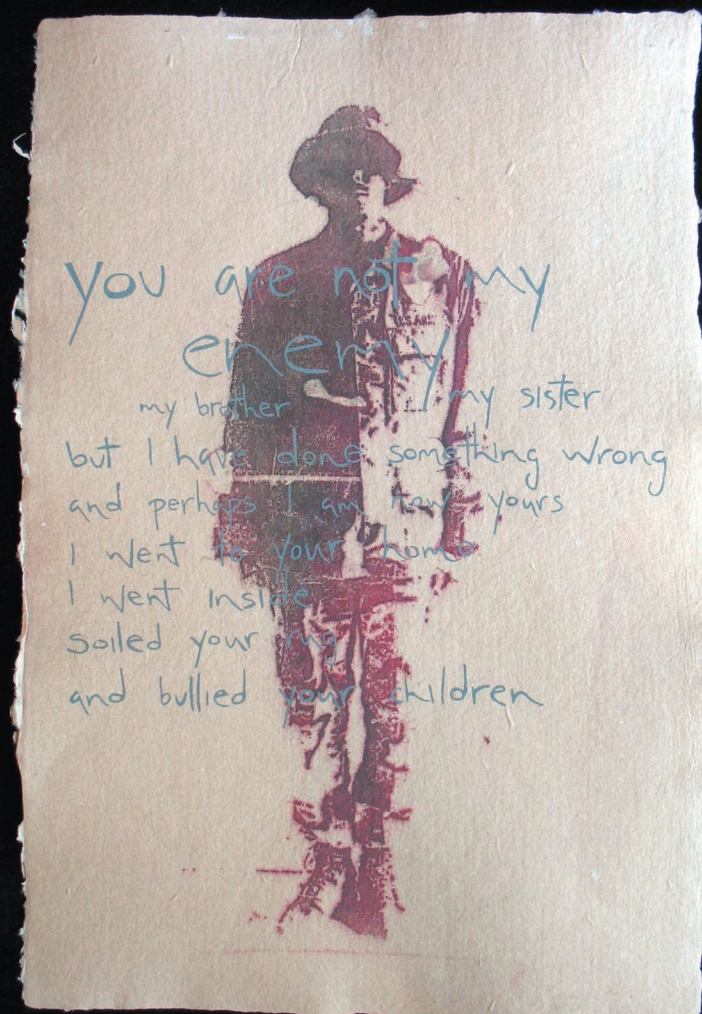
Combat papermakers are attempting to progress from creating works specific to their military experiences to expressing a broader vision on militarism





The story of the fiber, the blood, sweat and tears, the months of hardship and brutal violence are held within those old uniforms. The uniforms often become inhabitants of closets or boxes in the attic. Reshaping that association of subordination, of warfare and service, into something collective and beautiful is our inspiration.

—Drew Cameron



Clockwise from top left (all are pulp printing on handmade paper):

Heaven's Ascent by Drew Matott, 2010 .

You Are Not My Enemy, Combat Paper Portfolio Volume IV-Page 1 by Drew Matott & Drew Cameron, 2009.

Under Siege by Drew Matott & John LaFalce, 2010.

Stolen Youth by Drew Matott & Drew Cameron, 2009.

Paul Chappell

(Continued from page 6)

Even the middle-class or affluent terrorists feel oppressed and estranged from their native culture. We need to fight terrorism the way we go after the Mafia: break up their networks, attack their funding, arrest the leaders, put them on trial, and send them to prison. Imagine if America's reputation around the world were strictly for providing humanitarian aid and disaster relief; if, whenever there was a disaster, the Americans came, helped, and left. Then, if terrorists attacked the U.S., world opinion would be on our side. We wouldn't have to defend ourselves against terrorists; the rest of the world would do it for us. Another big problem with the war in Afghanistan is that the Karzai government is corrupt, because any government that cooperates with an occupying foreign power is always going to be corrupt. Think of the Indians who cooperated with the British. Think of the French who cooperated with the Germans. The Karzai government is notoriously full of warlords and drug lords. Many Afghans prefer the Taliban—that's how bad it is. Marine lieutenant colonel Christian Cabaniss, interviewed on *60 Minutes* last year, said that if you kill a thousand Taliban and two civilians, it's a loss. General Stanley McChrystal, former commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, has said the same. That was the whole point of the counterinsurgency doctrine: to avoid killing civilians, because it creates more insurgents. But when you realize that most of the people killed in modern war are civilians, you see that we're fighting a losing battle. One thing I learned at West Point is that in order to think strategically, you must be able to see the world from your opponent's point of view. And from the point of view of the average Afghan, the U.S. military is there to keep a corrupt government in power. Many don't see us as peacekeepers.

Goodman: *What about in the capital, Kabul? The nongovernmental aid organizations there seem to value our presence.*

Chappell: We are providing some security in the cities, but Afghanistan is predominantly a rural country. If you don't win the hearts and minds of the rural population, you can't win over the Afghan people. The Taliban have a lot of influence in the vast rural areas, which are more difficult for American forces to occupy and control.

Goodman: *What will happen to the rights of Afghan women if we leave the country to the Taliban?*

Chappell: I think we have to look at why the Taliban came to power in the first place. After the Soviets left, the warlords took over, and many of them were raping women and pillaging

villages. The Taliban gained support by stopping the rapes. The leader of the Taliban, Mullah Omar, reportedly led his soldiers in the rescue of two girls who had been kidnapped and raped by a warlord. So if you're a villager, and you have to choose between your daughter not being able to go to school and your daughter being raped by a warlord, which is the better alternative? It's not that the people want the Taliban. They just fear the warlords more.

Now the Karzai government is treating segments of the population so badly that it is making the Taliban look like a better alternative. Moreover, the Karzai government is no champion of women's rights. Greg Mortenson, the author of *Three Cups of Tea* and *Stones into Schools*, went to Afghanistan in the

Arabian government, which oppresses women? Other countries notice that when governments cooperate with us and give us access to their oil, we couldn't care less about their human-rights records, and that makes us look like hypocrites. Saddam Hussein was executed for crimes he committed while he was our ally. We actually increased our support for him after he committed those crimes. The only way our actions appear consistent is if you

assume our foreign policy is about protecting our own economic interests.

Goodman: *Do you have a suggested solution in Afghanistan?*

Chappell: There are a lot of them. It's like Howard Zinn said: "Between war and passivity there are a thousand possibilities." We don't have to occupy a

country militarily for it to achieve democratic progress. We could support democratic institutions within the coun-



War propaganda hides the fact that we're killing other human beings. If we were naturally violent, our leaders could just say, "I'm going to give you a chance to kill people. I'll even pay you!" I've never seen a military-recruiting commercial that even mentions killing people.

1990s and asked the people what they wanted, and their reply was schools, especially for their daughters. He says that if you educate Afghan girls to fifth grade, three things will happen: birth-rates and infant-mortality rates will drop; the quality of village life will improve; and mothers will say no when their sons ask for permission to make jihad, or holy war. Americans have a difficult time imagining ways of solving problems that don't involve bombing. That is why many countries question whether our intentions are truly to promote liberty, human rights, and women's rights, or whether our motivations are imperialistic in nature. If we are occupying Afghanistan to liberate women, for example, how do we explain our close alliance with the Saudi

try. There are people within Afghanistan who want democracy, who want women's rights. We could provide support to those people—not in the form of guns and bombs and weaponry, but through constructive aid. Human beings aren't naturally violent. We're told that human nature is the reason for war, but the way I see it, military history shows how nonviolent we are.

Goodman: *What do you mean?*

Chappell: If you want to know whether our instincts are geared more toward love or toward hatred, you just have to look at war propaganda. In every culture the warmongers tell us that we have to protect our families, our freedom, and our way of life from evil people in some foreign land who

want to take all of that away. War propaganda manipulates our most powerful instincts: love of family, love of freedom, and the desire to help others—even our enemies. The Roman emperor said he was liberating the poor barbarians, who didn't have Roman civilization or wisdom. Mao Tse-tung said he was liberating the Tibetans from the dictator known as the Dalai Lama. The colonial powers in Europe were trying to liberate Africans, who were living in "darkness," and bring them civilization and Christianity. We're trying to liberate the Iraqi people and Afghan women. Wars are always about liberating people and self-defense. There has never been a war in history where the invaders openly said, "We're going to war for the money." Also, war propaganda never portrays the soldiers on the other side as human. It hides the fact that we're killing other human beings. We're killing monsters; we're killing cockroaches; we're killing subhumans—"gooks," "Japs," "Krauts," and "Commies." If we were naturally violent, our leaders could just say, "I'm going to give you a chance to kill people. I'll even pay you!" I've never seen a military-recruiting commercial that even mentions killing people. They say, "Join the army and go to college," "Serve your country," "Be all that you can be." Join the navy and "accelerate your life," or the air force and "aim high." You never see a commercial that says, "Join the army and kill people just like you."

Goodman: *Will we ever stop getting fooled by the propaganda?*

Chappell: I think so. Look at Europe. For five hundred years Europe was the bloodiest place on earth. That's why Europeans were able to conquer almost every continent: the Americas, Africa, Asia, Australia. The Europeans waged so much war among themselves, they made warfare into a science. When they went abroad, other cultures couldn't compete with European armies, who'd been practicing for five hundred years. But now look at Western Europe. Can you even imagine the Germans fighting the British, or the British fighting the Italians? If the leader of Germany said, "We have to attack France," Germans would say, "Wait a minute. We've heard this before." Even in America people have learned. Which politicians most wanted to abolish the draft? It was the warmongers. They knew that as long as we had a draft, it would be difficult to get Americans to go to war. Do you think we would have gone to war in Iraq if they were taking middle-class kids out of college to topple Saddam Hussein? There would have been more massive protests. So Americans did learn after Vietnam, but the warmongers learned too. They got rid of the draft. They

(See PAUL CHAPPELL on page 16)

A former Army intelligence analyst in Iraq talks about Bradley Manning, the weight of conscience, and the witness of St. Paul

Stranger in a Strange Land

By Evan Knappenberger

In April 2011, producers at PBS' documentary news show *Frontline* requested an interview with me in my capacity as a former U.S. Army intelligence analyst. They were filming a special called "WikiSecrets" about alleged whistleblower Bradley Manning, Army intelligence culture, and WikiLeaks. At more than one point in the process, PBS producers asked if I was absolutely sure I was ready to share information that the Pentagon had repeatedly warned me not to talk about. Was I ready to risk jail for appearing to violate the Army nondisclosure agreement that all soldiers sign?

There are very few analysts—current or former—who are willing to speak openly about their experiences in Iraq, according to the *Frontline* representatives. To defend Manning and tell the truth about the military culture of corruption, I had to dig pretty deep and be willing to risk a charge of violating the nondisclosure agreement. But this is something I did deliberately, out of conscience. According to my lawyer, I could get 10 years in federal prison just for talking about my experiences.

To the news media, those who are privileged insiders in military intelligence are valuable resources; to those in political power, the threat of transparency makes us a liability. Translators and military intelligence specialists are traumatized in unique way. While doing some of the dirtiest work in the "Global War on Terror," we are coerced into morally and ethically dangerous situations and intimidated into silence.

The untold story is that the U.S. military intelligence community is rife with trauma that few outsiders understand, a suffering kept secret by the authorities in part because of its fundamentally transformative power.

I was 17 when I joined the Army in 2003. I had barely graduated from high school, but had high aptitude scores—something the Army was looking for. Novelist and pop philosopher Ayn Rand had me convinced that I was justified in my choice to make a violent living using guns and computers. I was excited to mete out justice like a John Wayne cowboy or a Jack Bauer operative.

During my first week in basic training, I watched a man nearly die of pneumonia and heat stroke in the Missouri sun at Fort Leonard Wood. The drill sergeants ridiculed him as a "faker" when he collapsed following a strenuous forced march. He fell face first on the



pavement and lay there, twitching. The drill sergeants screamed and spat in my face when I helped drag him into the shade. I remember pouring water on the man and loading him into the back of a truck. After a leisurely drive by a drill sergeant to the base hospital, I carried the man inside on my back. "It's really bad this time," said the doctor.

Later I asked the drill sergeant how I could trust her with my life when she almost let him die. "Private," she told me, "If you died tonight, we'd go right on without you in the morning."

The Army taught us well that human lives were of little consequence, that humanity itself was a concept of the weak and the broken.

By the time I was 20, I had a rifle and a top-secret security clearance. My mission in Iraq? "Win the war on terror."

My first night at Camp Taji, north of Baghdad, I watched grizzled soldiers kick in the door to an Iraqi home and drag out a teenage boy in his underwear. I watched as they questioned him for hours, allowing him to be smacked around by an Iraqi interpreter who was probably a former neighbor of the boy. Soon I was leading my own interrogation sessions to provide fresh intelligence to my unit. I helped the command staff plan operations for bringing in more Iraqis for questioning.

I also worked as a targeting analyst compiling intelligence data for "preparation of the battlefield." In this, I weighed the lives of my fellow human beings—military and civilian, American and Iraqi—and decided



Bradley Manning in civvies flanked by photos of Fort Leavenworth protest May 28, 2011 by Roger Cuthbertson.



fates with the stroke of a pen. By my 21st birthday I was responsible for many deaths. In Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. military kills innocent civilians as well as armed combatants. Like the military, I never kept count of the lives I helped to end.

The Army, supported by the voting public, was happy to pack me off to play God with a gun and a laptop, inadequate training, and little guidance. I was a stranger in a strange land, unprepared for the terrible weight of moral ambiguity that my country hung around my neck and unprepared for its corrosive effect on my soul.

Another Army intelligence analyst—23-year-old Bradley Manning of Crescent, Oklahoma—was arrested in Iraq in May 2010 on suspicion of releasing restricted military documents to the WikiLeaks website. For

outing war crimes and causing a year-long public-affairs crisis for the State and Defense departments, Manning spent nearly 10 months in maximum-security, solitary confinement at the Quantico Marine Corps base in Virginia. Stripped naked at night and forcibly sleep-deprived, his conditions were so severe that Amnesty International and the ACLU decried them as torture. In April, after international outcry, he was finally moved to Leavenworth prison where he is being held under more humane conditions.

Though several years apart, Manning and I went through the same training course at Fort Leonard Wood and the same intelligence analysis school at Fort Huachuca. We both struggled with the arbitrary and reckless military discipline. I have taken action against military abuses for reasons of conscience, and Bradley is alleged to have done so as well. I suspect that we are both riddled through with the guilty realization that we were forced to kill our fellow beings in support of indefensible policies.

By delegating to our children the power of life and death—whether directly or through the intelligence apparatus—we make them proxy agents whom we can then praise as heroes or write off as "bad apples," depending on the direction of the political wind at any given moment.

According to news reports, Manning had a transformative conscientious awakening when he found himself responsible for the unjust imprisonment of 15 Iraqi activists. When he determined that the pamphlets they were distributing were not "terrorist tracts," but instead highlighted corruption in the al-Maliki government, Manning took the information directly to his commanding officer. "He didn't want to hear any of it," he reportedly wrote. "He told me to shut up and explain how we could assist the [Iraqi Federal Police] in finding more detainees."

Manning also allegedly discovered classified footage taken from Army Apache helicopters during a 2007 air-to-ground attack near Baghdad that killed two Reuters correspondents and at least 10 others, and wounded two children. Manning's arrest came after he allegedly took responsibility for the 2010 release of what came to be called the "Collateral Murder" video.

If the government's claims about Manning's actions are true, then I believe he acted in disobedience against what he perceived to be an unjust and immoral authority. It's also clear that his pre-trial punishment was intentionally symbolic, as well as inhumane; it was a warning to the many other would-be whistleblowers and abused soldiers.

The U.S. military classifies virtually everything in war as an official state secret. All soldiers must sign nondisclosure agreements upon return from overseas duties. In effect, this outlaws any dialogue about the wars. It silences the most direct criticisms from the participants of the wars themselves. It also creates a despondent and dehumanizing loneliness in veterans, who are unable to share their experiences.



Iraq war veteran, conscientious objector speaks out: 'I will not go to war again'

My name is Daniel Birmingham. I am a specialist in the United States Army and I am a conscientious objector. A lot of you may not know what that is. Neither did I six months ago. It is something the military does not want you to know about, something they will never tell you about, so I will. This may save your life and save you a lot of trouble and finally let you be proud of something you are doing.

A conscientious objector as stated in AR 600-43 is a person with firm, fixed, and sincere objection to participation in war in any form or the bearing of arms, because of religious training or beliefs.

I began to question my role in the military while I was in Iraq in 2009-10. I was raised in a low income family, but never had witnessed living conditions like I saw in Iraq. I joined the military thinking I was doing a great thing that I would be proud of and that quickly changed.

We are told that we are helping people and fighting for our freedom. Instead, innocent people are being killed, I have lost most of my freedom, and we have done nothing but generate more hatred in the world. The people I have waved rifles at have never done anything to me or you. Some do choose to fight back, but you have to put yourself in their position. If another country invaded the U.S., we would do the same. They beg for water, wash their bodies in water filled with chemicals, and live in destroyed villages. They are far from a threat to the people of our country and need actual help, not war.

When I returned from Iraq I was not the same person I was when I first joined the military. I began to look at situations from a different perspective. All my motivation for being a soldier was gone and I knew I could not do it any longer. As I tried to find my way out, I felt trapped as I contemplated going AWOL. I felt trapped just like a lot of others have before and still do.

Eventually I refused to work; I did not show up and when I was called, I told my chain of command I was done working for the Army. I did agree to go and talk to my first sergeant later that day. I was very surprised that he listened and understood. However I was still not told about the option of being a conscientious objector. I then met with counselors and a psychiatrist, but still was not told. Then when I was explaining my beliefs to one of my NCOs from Iraq he asked why I had not applied to be a CO. After speaking to him and a chaplain, I did my research on it and finally found what I had been looking for the entire time.

My beliefs are not based on religion; they are based on personal morals. I cannot kill a person who has a harder life than I do, who has never done anything to



Birmingham in Iraq in 2009. He's now on active duty at Ft. Lewis, WA. Sign a petition to help him and learn more at www.MarchForward.org

MARCH FORWARD!

VETERANS AND SERVICE MEMBERS STAND UP AGAINST WAR AND RACISM

affect me or my family. I cannot be morally happy with myself being a part of this organization. I had a conscience long before religion was ever introduced to me. I never had to read a Bible or Quran to know that killing another human being was wrong—especially in wars that we know the politicians are lying about, wars that the majority of the American people oppose. That is psychologically embedded into us from the beginning as we all have emotions.

I worked on my CO paper for over a month before I was ready to submit my application. I was told not to tell people about what I was doing, but I could not follow that order. I explained my situation to anyone who was willing to listen because one day soon they could have views like mine. I want to let as many people know that they do have power and do not have to fight in these unethical wars if

they do not want to. I want these new soldiers to ask themselves if their life is worth \$35,000 of deployment money and if they have any idea why we are in these other countries—because there is not a good answer to that question.

Many people go AWOL, do drugs, or, even worse, choose to take their own lives because they cannot deal with what they have seen or done and they know they cannot do it again. You do not have to resort to any of these drastic options, you just have to have the courage to stand up and say no. You can stand up for your beliefs and make a true impact, and that is your right. You still have a voice.

Paul Chappell

(Continued from page 14)

changed the rules for the media so that reporters have to be “embedded” with a military unit, which lets the military control the information. They also launched a propaganda campaign about “supporting the troops,” so if you’re against the war, it looks like you’re against the troops. Still, it took an extraordinary incident like 9/11 to get the populace behind the plan to invade Iraq. So we do learn; but they learn too.

Goodman: *The case could be made that we are now killing more people than ever, and we’re even less aware of it.*

Chappell: But there is progress if you look at the fact that there are entire regions and even continents now—South America, Western Europe, North America—where there are no armed conflicts between countries. Costa Rica doesn’t even have an army. It feels secure without one because, although there have been civil wars, there hasn’t been much warfare between nations in Central or South America. Think how ridiculous it would be for us to go to war with Canada or Mexico. But that’s not how neighboring countries used to think. It’s true, though, that in some ways things seem to have gotten worse.

Goodman: *Yes, we’ve outsourced the fighting to mercenaries and military contractors.*

Chappell: Good point. Many people believe that shrinking the military is the key to ending war, but as the military decreases in size, the numbers of contractors and corporate armies increase. There are corporations that want the military to become privatized. Today we have more contractors than soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan. Unlike the American military, which is subservient to civilian authority, corporate armies are answerable only to their shareholders. Also, while the nation suffers from prolonged wars, the corporate armies profit.

In the next issue of WCT, Paul Chappell talks about human nature, the American culture of violence, and the myths that support the culture of war, and how we can free ourselves from the grasp of the military-industrial complex.

Leslee Goodman is a freelance writer, an artist, and a consultant to nonprofits. She divides her time between Washington State’s Methow Valley and Santa Barbara, California.

Strange Land

(Continued from page 15)

Many of my friends who went to Iraq in an intelligence capacity are now dead, disabled, imprisoned like Manning, or AWOL and fleeing imprisonment. I acted on my conscience only later, after leaving the Army, and more cautiously. As one of the few intelligence veterans bearing public witness to conscience, I feel it’s now my turn to speak out on behalf of truth and justice. To be honest, I’m scared. The prospect of absolute idleness and gradual emotional rot in prison terrifies me. But I cannot “stand idly by” (Leviticus 19:16) while my friends suffer for their acts of conscience.

St. Paul is perhaps the greatest of all ex-intelligence professionals. Having spent years as “Saul” hunting down and eliminating Christians, he was called by Christ, quite literally, to quit his violence. The most unlikely of apostles, Saul became the greatest proponent of Christ’s peace. Beaten by scourges, bloodied and shackled, facing certain death, Paul gazed out at the world with compassion, secure in the knowledge and faith of the living God of justice.

Through the conversion of Saul, Christ sends us a clear and relevant message: It is precisely those soldiers with dark and heavy hearts, whose consciences have turned, who will lay down their weapons and take up the cross. Christ is also telling us that the real moral authorities are not political or military leaders but

rather the formerly dejected and the radically transformed. Though nations wantonly continue to send their precious sons and daughters off to kill—and then ignore, jail, and often destroy those sons and daughters who finally object to the violence—Christ’s peace also rises in the hearts of these weary ones.

To discover the peace of God inside us is within the power of all, believers or not. This is something that we can witness in the Bradley Mannings, the AWOL soldiers, the conscientious objectors, and the Sauls of the world—those agents of mindless death who are put on the path to redemption by simple acts of conscience.

In my congregation we pray the Lenten prayer, like Peter at the Last Supper: “Humbly allow that we may follow [Christ] to the cross.” But, also like Peter, it is a rare and bitterly noteworthy moment when we finally comprehend the enormity of this request.

In the meantime, I wonder, is it possible to stand with Christ the condemned, Christ the tortured, Christ the detainee, Christ the inmate, and Christ the traitor? The only answer I’ve found is to stand with all the accused, tortured, and detained. How else can we be worthy of our salvation?

Evan Knappenberger is a member of VFP Chapter 111 in Bellingham, Washington. This article was printed with his permission and originally appeared in Sojourners Magazine, 7/2011.

Militarism and the “Economics of Extinction”

by Clare Hanrahan

War is an all out assault on life. Every living being is in peril. The interrelated systems that sustain life are approaching total collapse from resource depletion, wanton killing, and the environmental degradation of centuries of senseless war. The single most egregious and unrelenting source of ecocide is the Pentagon, an agency that consumes nearly 50 percent of each U.S. tax dollar extorted from the workers in the name of national defense.

More than fifty years ago U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned that “the problem in defense is how far you can go without destroying from within what you are trying to defend from without.”

We have gone way too far—beyond the limits of law, morality, and of sane self interest.

With the Pentagon’s practices of obfuscation and denial, it is a daunting task to uncover and document the staggering facts of just how severe—and in some instances irreversible—is the ecological damage brought on by militarism. What is known of the grim statistics is a stunning indictment of the woefully misnamed Department of Defense. How did this happen? What is the extent of the poisoning? Who will clean up the mess? Is it too late to turn this around?

Warfare has never been easy on the earth, yet throughout thousands of years of recorded military history, this living planet has managed to recover and adjust to a succession of trampling armies encroaching with roads, leveling forests, damming rivers, polluting the air, the soil and water, digging entrenchments, bombarding and poisoning the lands, destroying habitat and crops, raping, pillaging, and eliminating uncounted species of plants and animals.

In almost every U.S. community where the Department of Defense and its corporate military contractors employ millions in the production, maintenance, and storage of “conventional,” chemical, and nuclear weapons, the health of the workers and the natural environment is sacrificed. According to a 1989 U.S. General Accounting Office report, the U.S. Military produces more than 400,000 tons of hazardous waste each year. That figure is most certainly a low estimate.

With astounding obedience, *We the People* have been willing to relinquish our lives, our children’s lives, our values, and the very survival of the earth in the name of national security.

In 1942, the 3,000 residents of five rural Tennessee mountain communities were given just a few weeks’ notice to vacate their homes and ancestral farms. Thus was the “secret city” of Oak Ridge established, and the 60,000 acres of Tennessee valleys and ridges expropriated for the war effort. The Manhattan Project was developed

The human cost in war has also been high but in past centuries was limited mostly to combatants. That is no longer the reality. The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) estimated in the 1990s that civilian deaths constituted 90 percent of all deaths in war. In recent decades **more children have been killed than soldiers** and more deaths occur after the battlefield is abandoned than during combat. —CH

to enrich the uranium used for the Hiroshima bomb.

In subsequent decades, and in the name of national security, officials knowingly subjected atomic industry workers, soldiers and nearby residents to deadly doses of radiation at nuclear sites throughout the country. “Some 300,000 people, or half of those who ever worked in the U.S. nuclear weapons complex, are believed to have been affected by exposure to radiation,” asserts Michael Renner, of the World Watch Institute writing in the 1997 book *War and Public Health*. Every step of the nuclear bomb-making process involves severe environmental contamination that lingers for generations.

“Of all the different ways in which military operations have an impact on human health and the environment, nuclear weapons production and testing is the most severe and enduring,” Renner says. As a result of naval accidents there are at least 50 nuclear warheads and 11 nuclear reactors littering the ocean floor. Some researchers estimate that the radioactive fallout from atmospheric nuclear tests have already caused as many as 86,000 birth defects and 150,000 premature deaths. Two million more cancer deaths may yet ensue from the now-banned above ground explosions.

Despite the horrific consequences of nuclear energy, in Oak Ridge today, the Obama administration has approved an additional 7.5 billion dollars for refurbishing the next generation of thermonuclear weapons, assuring a stockpile of death for generations to come.

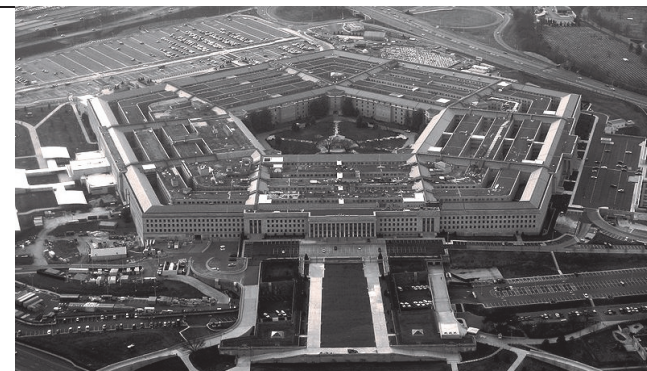
The unprecedented atomic devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, murdering hundreds of thousands, pales in comparison to the impact of modern weapons of mass destruction. Militarism in this atomic age has developed and used weapons so heinous as to extend the murderous reach to all future generations.

After more than 60 years producing atomic weapons and nuclear energy, the Department of Defense and Department of Energy have accumulated over 500,000 tons of so-called depleted uranium, which it offers free of charge to weapons makers throughout the world.

In Jonesborough, Tennessee, down a quiet country lane in the heart of the Southern Appalachian Mountains, Aerojet Ordnance employs a small workforce to produce weaponized uranium armaments. Bullets are coated with the radioactive waste from enriching U-235 to produce fuel for nuclear reactors and atomic bombs.

According to investigative reporter Bob Nichols, writing in 2010 for the *San Francisco Bay View*, Iraq and virtually all the rest of the Middle East and Central Asia has been continually dosed for almost 20 years with thousands of tons of weaponized ceramic uranium oxide gas, also known as depleted uranium.” These bullets, shells and bombs, when exploded, reach temperatures over 3,000 degrees centigrade and become a lethal uranium aerosol that “never stops indiscriminately maiming and killing.” The contamination persists for billions of years, both on the battlefield and at U.S. manufacturing and storage sites. Research has confirmed that uranium oxide (UO) particles, when inhaled, migrate up the olfactory nerve to the brain. They are so small they can even enter the body through the skin destroying cells in the brains, bones, and testicles or ovaries of anyone contaminated with the radioactive particles—friend, foe, or noncombatant.

In addition to the horrific crimes of authorizing, producing and deploying weaponized uranium, the U.S. military’s lethal footprint around the globe includes toxins from heavy metals, dioxins, PCB’s, asbestos, mustard, sarin, and nerve gas, as well as other chemical



Above: The Pentagon—the U.S. Military produces more than 400,000 tons of hazardous waste each year.

Below: The Y12 Nuclear Weapons Complex at Oak Ridge, TN—part of the “secret city” carved out of 30,000 acres of ridges and valleys to build atomic weapons—whose website claims they are “dedicated to making our nation and the world a safer place.”



and biological weapons. And scattered on battlefields throughout the world are as many as 100 million unexploded antipersonnel land mines. Eighty percent of landmine victims have been noncombatants.

In Viet Nam, from 1962 to 1970, the U.S. military engaged in chemical warfare dousing the country with 19 million gallons of herbicides, mostly *Agent Orange* produced by Monsanto, Dow Chemical, and other U.S. manufacturers. The dioxin-rich chemicals contaminated about five million acres of farmland, forest, and waters. At least one million Vietnamese people and more than 100,000 Americans and allied troops were poisoned with deadly effects that have continued into the third generation.

The human and environmental devastation in Central American during the U.S. proxy wars of the 1980s is yet another horrific chapter in the tragedy of U.S. militarism.

In the United States alone, the Pentagon is responsible for at least 25,000 contaminated properties in all 50 states, according to a 2008 *Washington Post* report. Nine hundred abandoned military bases, weapons manufacturing and testing sites, and other military-related industries are listed on the Environmental Protection Agency’s list of 1,300 sites most hazardous to human and ecological health, and that is only a portion of the polluted sites. As many as 20 million Americans in 43 states drink water contaminated by cancer-causing perchlorate, a carcinogen found in missile and rocket fuel.

According to a 1991 edition of *Rachel’s hazardous Waste news* (#224), “... the military has exposed thousands (perhaps millions) of innocent Americans to deadly amounts of radioactivity and to a witch’s brew of potent chemical toxins, has covered up these facts, has lied to the victims and their families, has lied to the press, has lied to Congress. It is a scandal and an outrage on such a scale that it takes your breath away.” In 2011 it is still hard to catch one’s breath in the face of this ongoing and intentional assault on the earth.

(See *EXTINCTION* on page 18)

Extinction

(Continued from page 17)

And of course, it is not just the Pentagon with its lethal global reach, but the insidious corporate/government alliance that Dwight D. Eisenhower warned of over fifty years ago—a crime syndicate that colludes to profit from and deny responsibility for planetary ecocide.

Gaia isn't bound by national borders, nor is this distressed planet protected by the false distinctions militarists make between combat zones and the lands they claim to defend. The militarists and the scientists in their employ have reached into the very heavens to harness the energies of the ionosphere in the service of war.

Dr. Rosalie Bertell, a scientist and Roman Catholic nun, confirms that “U.S. military scientists are working on weather systems as a potential weapon. The methods include the enhancing of storms and the diverting of vapor rivers in the Earth's atmosphere to produce targeted droughts or floods.”

The U.S. military practiced this so-called “geophysical warfare” in Viet Nam with Project Skyfire and Project Stormfury. Now the Pentagon is arrogantly pursuing what it calls “full spectrum” U.S. military domination. Dr. Bertell has written of military experiments that may have played a part in earthquakes and unusual weather conditions and even accelerated global warming. Current military projects such as HAARP (High-frequency Active Auroral Research Program) are part of a “growing chain of astonishingly powerful, and potentially interactive, military installations, using varied types of electromagnetic fields or wavelengths, each with a different ability to affect the earth or its atmosphere,” according to Dr. Bertell.

Is there no end to the arrogance? We must intervene. We must put a stop to the militarism characterized by Academy of Natural Sciences writer Roland Wall as “a direct and relentless assault on human and natural ecosystems.”

The Department of Defense uses 360,000 barrels of oil each day. This amount makes the DoD the single largest oil consumer in the world. According to Sharon E. Burke, the Pentagon's director of operational energy plans and programs, the Defense Logistics Agency delivers more than 170,000 barrels of oil each day to the war theaters, at a cost of \$9.6 billion in 2010.

Climate change activists, rightly concerned about the continued use of fossil fuels to power our insatiable energy demands, have taken to the streets of Washington, DC, to call for a halt to the tar sands oil pipeline; other resisters march in the hundreds to the

sites of mountaintop removal coal mining, or stand in resistance at the nuclear weapons and nuclear power complexes throughout the nation. Arrests, fines, jail, and imprisonment is the lot of many who take a bold stand to call an end to the U.S. military-industrial choke hold on the planet.

But a strategically disastrous divide persists between activists in the environmental sustainability movements and war resisters who challenge more directly the militarism that is the largest single cause of the Earth's imminent collapse.

Have we blindly accepted the paradigm that war is inevitable, that violence is intrinsic to our nature, and that our security depends on a strong military? It is a lie—repeated again and again—but it is still a lie.

“Challenging the destruction and damage to the environment and the massive exploitation of oil and metal resources for the military-industrial war machine must become paramount in the work for peace,” scientist and author H. Patricia Hynes writes in a recent series of articles on the environmental impact of U.S. militarism. Indeed, as the United Nations asserts, “there can be no durable peace if the natural resources that sustain livelihoods and ecosystems are destroyed.”

“We don't know how to extricate ourselves from our complicity very surely or very soon,” Poet and social critic Wendell Berry asserts. “How could we live without the war economy and the holocaust of the fossil fuels?”

We must find the answer to our deadly dilemma and put an end to our complicity in the desecration of the world and destruction of all creation.

“To the offer of more abundant life,” Berry writes, “we have chosen to respond with the economics of extinction.” We cannot let this be the end.

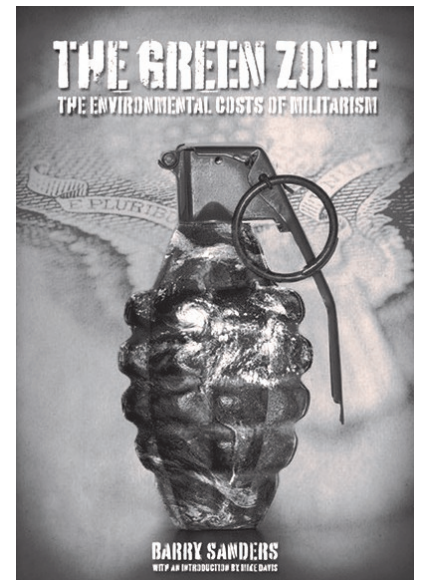
For further reading:

- Wendell Berry. *The Way of Ignorance*. Shoemaker & Hoard, 2005.
- Rosalie Bertell. *Planet Earth the Latest Weapon of War – A Critical Study into the Military and the Environment*. The Women's Press, London, 2000.
- H. Patricia Hynes. “War and the Tragedy of the Commons,” August, 2011 Truthout series. www.truthout.org.
- Barry S. Levy et al. “The environmental consequences of war,” in Barry S. Levy and Victor W. Sidel. *War and Public Health*. American Public Health Association. 2000.
- Michael Renner. “Environmental health effects of weapons production, testing, and maintenance,” in Barry S. Levy and Victor W. Sidel. *War and Public Health*. American Public Health Association. 2000.
- Barry Sanders. *The Green Zone: The Environmental Costs of Militarism*. AK Press.

The Green Zone: The Environmental Costs of Militarism

By Barry Sanders, with a Foreword by Mike Davis, AK Press, 2009. \$14.95

Reviewed by Clare Hanrahan



From the worker-run collective AK Press—a business without bosses—comes this comprehensive investigative essay by Fulbright scholar and professor Barry Sanders. *The Green Zone* is packed with horrific statistics of the U.S. military's voracious oil consumption worldwide and the genocidal use of weaponized uranium, particularly in Iraq where it resulted in “the willful eradication of a civilization.” Sanders warns in his Introduction, “The earth can no longer absorb the punishment of war.” After reading this essay, it will be hard to argue otherwise. The U.S. military, Sanders asserts, is “the largest single polluter of any single agency or organization in the world.”

With the caveat of the near-impossibility of fully discovering the extent of the U.S. Armed Forces' intense and pernicious assault on the environment, Sanders offers a head-reeling account of the “wise-like grip” of the military on the fate of the Earth, and attempts to answer the urgent question: “How much does the military contribute to that most dire and most imminent of crises, global warming?”

The book borrows its title from the U.S. military compound in Iraq. Its cover illustration depicts the earth, compressed into the shape of a hand grenade and resting on the green background of a U.S. Treasury Note, hinting at Sanders' conclusion that we each hold the power to “shut the military down” by grabbing war “where it lives, and dies...at the level of money.”

“The cost, in money or in lives or in pollution, simply does not seem to matter to those in authority,” Sanders warns. “Killing is paramount. The means, no matter how brutal, always justify that one end.”

Sanders has excavated information from military manuals, government and anti-government websites, in reference books, exposes, and in an increasing number of leaked memos.” Now we have it—or at least a scholarly synopsis of the military assault on the earth. We can't say we didn't know. Are we to remain, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. aptly described us as “a society gone mad on war,” or shall we each find the courage to withdraw our support? “Resistance may offer the only course—a resistance to the machine that is killing the environment abroad and in this country as well.”

Hanrahan is a contributing editor of the War Crimes Times, an organizer with the New South Network of War Resisters, and longtime member of the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee. Contact Hanrahan at: newsouthnetwork@gmail.com.

Excerpt from the introduction to *The Green Zone*

We've all seen those well-intentioned pamphlets at the checkout counters of bookstores and grocery stores: Fifty Ways to Save the Planet; Going Totally Green; Making a Difference; and so on. While they may pale these days considering the enormity of the environmental crisis, we nonetheless still take the advice to heart, choosing low-energy light bulbs, installing low-flush toilets, turning down the thermostat, refusing to warm up the car's engine for extended periods, and on and on. Every little bit helps, as the experts tell us, and, besides, we need to feel that we are doing something. But no list in any of those books addresses the largest single source of pollution in this country and in the world: the United States military—in particular, the military in its most ferocious and stepped-up mode—namely, the military at war.

In a nation like ours, where military might trumps diplomatic finesse, the supreme irony may be that the planet, and not human beings, will provide the most stringent corrective to political overreaching. The earth can no longer absorb the punishment of war, especially on a scale and with a ferocity that only the wealthiest, most powerful country in the world—no, in history—knows how to deliver. While the United States military directed its “Operation Iraqi Freedom” solely against the Iraqis, no one—not a single citizen in any part of the globe—has escaped its fallout. When we declare war on a foreign nation, we now also declare war on the Earth, on the soil and plants and animals, the water and wind and people, in the most far-reaching and deeply infecting ways. A bomb dropped on Iraq explodes around the world. We have no way of containing the fallout. Technology fails miserably here. War insinuates itself, like an aberrant gene and, left unchecked, has the capacity for destroying the Earth's complex and sometimes fragile system.

Deep Costs of War Trauma

by Susan Galleymore

Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is a serious problem for America and its war veterans—and that does not bode well for a society that supports war and militarism as a means to generate capital. The high prevalence of civilian assault, rape, child abuse, disaster, and violent incidents also makes PTSD a public health problem—as borne out by the 1995 national study that estimates at least five percent of men and ten percent of women experience PTSD at some point in their lives; and roughly thirty percent develop a chronic form that persists for life.

War trauma is not new: “soldier’s heart” was the term used to describe it during the American Civil War; “shell shock” during World War I; “battle fatigue” or “war neurosis” during World War II; and “Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome” during Vietnam. Then a “syndrome”—a group of signs and symptoms that collectively characterize or indicate a particular disease or abnormal condition—evolved into a “disorder,” that is, an “illness.” Post Traumatic Stress Disorder formally entered the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM III) in 1980.

DSM IV describes PTSD as a psychological condition experienced by people who face traumatic events that cause “catastrophic stressors outside the range of usual human experience” (such as war, torture, rape, or natural disaster). This is different from “ordinary stressors” (such as divorce, failure, rejection, and financial problems) characterized as Adjustment Disorders.

Civilian victims of PTSD suffer without treatment

Embraced by scientific and clinical communities (if not wholehearted by the U.S. military), PTSD today is among the panoply of acceptable modern ailments for which treatment exists.

Whether they seek treatment or not American military personnel and their families have access to mental health services. Yes, it may be difficult within the “suck-it-up” military culture to admit the need for psychological care; yes, it may be difficult to receive high quality, ongoing care from an overburden VA; and, yes, perhaps military mental health care relies too heavily on prescription medications...but systematic care is available.

But PTSD is not confined to America. It is prevalent in countries experiencing natural disasters and the social upheaval war brings: loss of home, family, and cultural identity; constant threat of sudden and extreme violence; and impoverishment, scarcity, and displacement. UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] 2011's refugee statistics indicate almost 44 million people worldwide are forcibly displaced.

An insidious legacy develops for families in countries too war-torn to offer systematic mental health treatment: PTSD is handed down to future generations.

Iraqi psychiatrist Dr. Ali Hameed explains, “Parents who are victims of war trauma themselves are often incapable of addressing their children’s trauma since no one addressed their trauma.”

Iraq. Before the 2003 invasion, Dr. Ali Hameed researched PTSD in children at the University of Baghdad. He found it difficult to measure Iraqi children’s psychological health since Iraq has experienced decades of conflict: the Iran-Iraq war, Gulf War I, a dozen years of U.N. sanctions followed by the invasion and almost a dozen years of violent occupation, and millions of internally and externally displaced people.

“While Americans and adult Iraqis were jubilant at Saddam’s demise, children witnessed a mythical figure disappear, someone who loomed larger than life, for whom songs were sung and holidays celebrated. They saw statues topple, mass graves exhumed, families huddled in bombed-out buildings, and mothers and fathers humiliated by terrifying invaders. No child should witness such events.”

Palestine/Occupied Territories. East Jerusalem’s Palestinian Counseling Center works with Palestinian families whose symptoms of acute and chronic trauma include withdrawal, academic regression, aggression, affect dysregulation, hopelessness, helplessness, mania, depression, and suicide.

Former counselor Rashid says, “It has to do with seeing people wounded on the streets, violence at military checkpoints and during curfews, tear gassing, overcrowded living conditions, and growing up in refugee camps. With Israel’s increasing use of high-tech weaponry and home demolitions we see increasing incidences of selective mutism among children. Not surprising since a home is not just a collection of bricks stuck together but a place of safety and security that a child relates to: my books, my toys, my birth certificate, my pictures, and so on.”

Unrelenting shock stuns children into silence; unrelenting violence and deprivation may keep them there.

Lebanon. Mrs. Fadiyah Jobeily is principal of a girls school in Sidon with programs geared to socialize children of different backgrounds.

“We want our country to be united and what we do at school is a reflection of what we want in the greater society around us.”

Yet a constant state of warfare or anticipated warfare destroys infrastructure and “also destroys personalities.”

“Girls are not growing normally; they’re more aggressive and unable to see a future worth struggling for. Why study when another war will start?”

Teachers once engaged in civic and school activities are depressed and withdrawn too.

“They tell me, ‘I feel everything is bad.’ This is a recurring theme throughout the country. People are losing the will to live. Or they flee their homeland for safer places.

We fight against the disastrous sense that even as we fix things another war can begin any time and destroy our lives again. This has been our situation for the last 25 years.”



Bomb damaged home in south Lebanon with graffiti, “Made in USA.” (Photo by Susan Galleymore)

Afghanistan. Rahima Haya promotes literacy and cultural understanding in the U.S.

“Today Afghanistan has close to two million widows—70,000 in Kabul alone—many of whom are illiterate and mothers to five or more children. It’s shocking to see children and women—young, old, beautiful—all begging on the streets.”

With three million refugees, one out of three of the world total, Afghanistan continues to be the prime country with the most refugees under UNHCR. Growing up in refugee camps inflicts privations; the seeds for ultra-conservative, black-and-white thinking of the Taliban, for example, began in refugee camps.

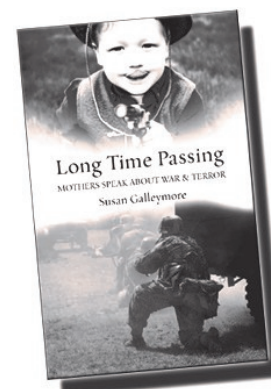
The financial cost of war is appallingly high but it is relatively easy to tally. It is not easy to tally the complex cost of evolving psychological traumas generating every minute around our distressed world.

Perhaps PTSD diagnoses will become more nuanced and, in the future, another DSM term and theory will be published. But what harvest will we reap tomorrow from seeds of unresolved trauma sown in increasingly deadly wars on increasingly fragile human beings? And, can our world afford it?

Susan Galleymore is a former “military mom” and a radio host, writer, and author of *Long Time Passing: Mothers Speak of War and Terror*. Contact her at susan@raisingsandradio.org and purchase the book at www.mothersspeak.org.



Living with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, Relief on Handmade Paper, 12" x 18", Drew Matott, 2009.



Why You Won't See Veterans For Peace on the Cover of TIME Magazine

by Leah Bolger



The cover of the August 29, 2011 issue of *Time* magazine features five members of Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America (IAVA), with the caption “The New Greatest Generation.” The point of author Joe Klein’s article is that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have created a new kind of veteran who is “bringing skills that seem to be on the wane in American society, qualities we really need now: crisp decision making, rigor, optimism, entrepreneurial creativity, a larger sense of purpose and real patriotism.”

Klein profiles a small number of veterans (including a Harvard valedictorian, a Rhodes scholar,

and a Dartmouth grad) who have done well since returning to civilian life and credits their military service as the reason, then goes on to make a sweeping generalization that the Iraq and Afghanistan wars have created a whole new generation of hard-working, disciplined young citizens who have something “more” to offer than their civilian counterparts.

It is articles like this that perpetuate the meme that anyone who ever wore a military uniform is a “hero.”

Time magazine is part of the biggest media conglomerate in the world, and corporate media are the lubricant that keeps the well-oiled military machine humming

along so smoothly. By glorifying this “new generation” of veterans, they are adding to the layers of positive messaging about war and militarism, which the

The media produce superficial “feel good” messages which form an unimpugnable depiction of our military, wars, and militarism... anyone who questions the wars risks being decried as unpatriotic.

American public seems eager to absorb. We don’t want to ask ourselves the hard questions because we might not like the answers. The media conflate the military members with the wars themselves and produce layers upon layers of nothing but superficial “feel good” messages which

eventually form a fairly unimpugnable depiction of our military, wars, and militarism; and anyone who questions the wars risks being decried as unpatriotic. Congressmen fund wars they don’t agree with because they can’t afford the political cost of not “supporting the troops.”

Klein briefly mentions the high rates of suicide, domestic violence, joblessness and homelessness amongst Iraq and Afghanistan vets, but then dismisses it all by saying that that’s all we ever hear about—he wants to tell us the untold story of a handful of vets who came out of their military experience and moved forward in a positive way. But the real untold story is the truth of war, and we will never read about that in the likes of magazines like *Time*.

The mission of IAVA is “to improve the lives of Iraq and Afghanistan veterans and their families,” and they are very good at that. They have a multi-million dollar budget, have ready access to the top Congressional leaders and have even met with the President on more than one occasion. The Executive Director of IAVA, Paul Rieckoff, has appeared hundreds of times on all the major media outlets.

Why is it that IAVA is given so much media exposure, so much access, and so much money? The answer is that they do not question the legality or morality of war. They are not critical of the complicity of the corporate media in fostering and supporting militarism. They want only to support our troops, and who doesn’t want that?

The mission of Veterans For Peace is to end war as an instrument of national policy by educating the public about its true costs and consequences. Veterans For Peace has been around since 1985 telling the ugly truth of war. Our members understand the devastating effects of war on both sides of the conflict. We seek justice for the victims of war—not just ensuring care and benefits for our soldiers, but also reparations for innocent civilian victims. We know that wars of aggression are the most egregious crime there is, and we point an accusing finger at our government, the military-industrial complex, and the corporate media who collude to keep the United States in a perpetual state of war. We try to use the power of our first-hand experiences and stories to prevent wars from happening and to end them once begun. We don’t sugarcoat the experiences of war and the militarism. We believe that if the American people saw the real truth of war, they would end it. Think we’ll be on the cover of *Time* magazine anytime soon? Don’t hold your breath.

Leah Bolger spent 20 years on active duty in the U.S. Navy and retired in 2000 at the rank of Commander. She is currently a full-time peace activist and serves as the National Vice-President of Veterans For Peace.

Letters

Bombing List Addition

William Blum’s “The Bombing List” (*WCT* Summer 2011) overlooked one of the most important incidents of aerial bombing in U.S. History—the 1921 Battle of Blair Mountain in West Virginia. Ten thousand armed coal miners, many WWI veterans, fighting for their 1st Amendment rights, freedom of assembly, and rights to organize the coal fields, marched out of Marmet, WV, and headed to Mingo County to free their imprisoned union organizer friends. After 50 miles, they were met at Blair Mountain by the coal companies’ private army and the local sheriff and the largest battle since the Civil War occurred. It involved high powered rifles, machine guns, and aerial bombardment. During the battle, private planes organized by the coal companies and local militia, on order of Logan County sheriff Don Chafin (whose salary was heavily subsidized by coal companies), dropped homemade chlorine bleach and shrapnel bombs on the miners. U.S. President Harding dispatched eleven Army Air Corps pilots, led by General Billy Mitchell. Accounts differ as to whether the military aircraft performed only reconnaissance flights, or actually participated in the bombing of the striking coal miners, although other Federal ground troops did fire on the miners. The ripple effect of these actions propelled workers of the coal fields of Southern Appalachia to become organized by 1933.

Coleman Smith
Asheville, NC

Bombing Memories

The articles stirred some memories. Most people can’t begin to imagine the terror of an “air war.”

I was at a military air show at the Toledo airport years ago, protesting with VFP signs, when the jets went over our heads, nearly a mile from the center of the show. It almost made me sick to my stomach. The decibel count was—I didn’t want to know. I could feel the sound wave hit my body. I felt it in my teeth.

That reminded me of when I was on the carrier and we were out to sea doing “air ops,” I wanted to see what was happening and went to an “unauthorized” spot to get the best view, a small sponson protruding from the side of the carrier. Just so happened that I was standing, completely unprotected like a civilian would be, in a spot where the A-4s fighters screamed by closely. I didn’t have long to wait until one streaked past, slamming me up against the bulkhead hard enough that I was glad I didn’t eat breakfast that day.

Getting back to the air war...

The military and the news media call them “strikes.” Sometimes their language approaches reality and they report that we’ve “bombed” somewhere. A more accurate description would be that we incinerate, shred, burn, fry, scald, roast, eviscerate—people. And we don’t have to drop a single bomb in order to terrorize the living hell out of people.

Imagine a “flyover” at 2 a.m., above some hamlet that hasn’t heard anything louder in the last 10 generations than the bleat of a sheep? What do you think that does to the kids fast asleep and to their parents who might have just then gotten their warning that they’re living in a war zone?

I’ve often thought we should build a “war experience” trailer, to be hauled about the land like the army’s dog and pony recruiting show. Here’s how it would work:

Joe and Jane Citizen see the catchy adverts and stop by the trailer in the parking lot of their favorite supermarket for an initial exposure to one of the “true costs of war.”

With enough money we could produce digital F-18s coming in for a strafing run and coming back to drop a 1,000-lb. bomb; cruise missiles being launched and landing—all the sounds, sights, smells, feelings and tastes from a bombing...all of it.

Then, step right this way, ladies and gentlemen, to the simulation burn unit trailer with all the moans, sights, smells and tastes of our young men and women fried in an IED explosion, laying in beds alongside civilians caught under our bombs...all of it.

Let’s “expose the true costs of war” for real!

Mike Ferner
Toledo, OH

Up the Brain Circuits

Sorry I’m a little late in ordering...am overly busy at 79 but I want to do my part in informing the general public as to what is true and right.

I found the *WCT* to be such an informative publication that no one should miss reading. We have a lot of dumbheads in our society now attached to their electronic toys but their heads are empty. What good targets they make for misinformation and brainwashing.

So here goes—try to up the brain circuits of some of the public.

Evelyn Tonra
St. Louis Park, MN

P.S. You have great contributors in your articles!

THE UNITED LOONY BIN OF AMERICA

By Sherwood Ross

“Have we as a nation gone mad, waging war in the Persian Gulf while society crumbles?” Seymour Melman asked rhetorically when I interviewed him for *The Progressive* 19 years ago.

Even though Melman, a professor emeritus at Columbia University’s school of industrial engineering, departed this life in 2004, his question still haunts our society, as the American War Machine since then has only gained in momentum, immensity, universality and cruelty.

To answer Melman: “Yes, we have gone mad.” That’s because presidents and Pentagon chiefs start new wars even before they finish fighting the old ones! Who can recall a time in our history when the U.S. initiated aggressive wars against five nations (Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Libya, Yemen)?

Between 1947 and 1989, Melman said, the U.S. spent \$8.2 trillion (in 1982 dollars) on the military. When I said I couldn’t grasp a figure that large, Melman replied, “Think of it this way: In 1982, the total money value of all America’s manufacturing, industry and its infrastructure amounted to \$7.3 trillion. You could have replicated the largest part of everything made by people in this country with what the military got.” (Everything made by everybody? All the houses? All the highways? All the schools? All the hospitals? A new America? Everything?)

Melman went on to say, “Half of every dollar you pay in Federal taxes goes into the military account. Pentagon

contractors are awash in billions while the infrastructure that underpins our economy collapse around us and human misery spreads everywhere.”

Fast-forward: Today, the Pentagon still gets roughly half of every tax dollar. The War Resisters League estimates 54% of the pie goes to the military compared with 30% for all human resources, 11 percent for general government and 5% for physical resources.

Defense contractors are awash in profits while lines lengthen at soup

Defense contractors are awash in profits while lines lengthen at soup kitchens, foreclosed families sleep in shelters, 20 million are jobless or underemployed, food stamp use sets records, summer jobs for teens have vanished, and President Obama appears willing to rat out the elderly on Social Security and Medicare as too costly while he authorizes new CIA drone attacks on Pakistan.

kitchens, foreclosed families sleep in shelters, 20 million are jobless or underemployed, food stamp use sets records, summer jobs for teens have vanished, and President Obama appears willing to rat out the elderly on Social Security and Medicare as too costly while he authorizes new CIA drone attacks on Pakistan.

The Pentagon budget does more than absorb tax dollars. It punishes the civilian sector in many ways. For instance, it has siphoned off so much scientific talent that the U.S. has long since fallen behind Japan and Germany in innovative technologies. “We’re paying the price for building colossal military power,” Melman said. “It’s set in

motion a process of technical, industrial and human deterioration. We’re losing millions of productive jobs because U.S. firms with U.S. factories can’t even hold our home markets against foreign competition.”

“While the Pentagon turns out B-2 bombers at \$865 million a copy, foreign creators are flooding our markets with cars, bikes, tape recorders, shoes, machine tools, movie cameras, calculators, TV sets, and integrated microcircuits.” Melman said that 19 years ago and it holds true today.

One reason the U.S. fell behind, Melman explained, is that “about 30 percent of the nation’s engineers, scientists and technicians work directly or indirectly for the military. The loss to the civilian economy is incalculable.” Consumer electronics, he said, “declined dramatically while the Government employs thousands of electronic engineers in its military labs.”

That was true when Melman spoke and it is true today. We have an army of death scientists toiling away in germ warfare labs (\$50 billion wasted on this nauseating research alone since 9/11), in space warfare labs, in nuclear warfare labs, in electronic warfare labs, as well as in labs specializing in conventional ways to kill people.

Melman said one reason for the continuing dominance of the military-industrial complex is that the U.S. “is now a military form of state capitalism in which top managers of the military forces and their economy have dominant power—economic, political and military.” Translation: the Pentagon rules!

Today, Melman might add the Pentagon spends more for war than all 50 states spend for all peaceful purposes; that the Pentagon’s armed forces are bigger than the next dozen countries combined; that the Pentagon leads the world in arms sales; and that the Pentagon operates 800 overseas bases for “defense” when, in fact, they are used, like Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, for aggression.

As of January 1 of this year, the National Priorities Project of Northampton, MA, says, the Pentagon has spent \$445 billion to wage war in Afghanistan and \$815 billion for Iraq, for a total of \$1.26 trillion. This at a time when the American Society of Civil Engineers reckons \$2.2 trillion is needed to restore our infrastructure. Example: 33% of all roads are in poor or mediocre condition. Does the Pentagon need to spend \$19.3-billion on atomic energy when the same sum could pay 295,000 elementary school teachers?

Cutting the Pentagon down to size and converting to civilian economy will require “a new coalition of working people, professionals, trade associations, mayors—all suffering from the prosperity of the military-industrial complex, all needing a turn away from militarism.” “What we need,” Melman

concluded, “is a political opposition that would take down the entire military system.”

We saw the faintest stirrings of hope for change in June when the U.S. Conference of Mayors passed a resolution to spend at home the \$125 billion the Pentagon is wasting this year waging wars in the Middle East. In depressed Detroit, the unemployment level is 38% and Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) blames the White House’s lack of leadership for the lack of job creation. Given our infrastructure needs alone, why isn’t there a job or job-training for every person who is willing to work?

To support President Obama’s medieval war-making is what Professor Melman would rightly have called “mad.” It fits the dictionary definition of insanity as “utterly senseless” and “irrational.” It also fits the view of insanity which observes that the insane repeat their mistakes over and over. That’s today’s war machine, bigger and deadlier than ever. If the U.S. was an individual that displayed aggressive tendencies, starting fights and killing innocent people based on a tissue of lies, what would we call this person? Welcome to the United Loony Bin of America.

Sherwood Ross runs a public relations firm for good causes and contributes articles regularly from his Anti-War News Service. All donations cheerfully accepted. Reach him at sherwoodross10@gmail.com.

Your War Tax Dollars at Work

On August 31, the Associated Press reported that the Commission on Wartime Contracting estimated that as much as **\$60 billion** in U. S. funds has been lost to waste and fraud in Iraq and Afghanistan over the past decade through lax oversight of contractors, poor planning, and payoffs to warlords and insurgents.

The *Business Insider* reported on July 15 that two Navy ships that cost **\$300 million** are headed to the scrapyard without having seen a day of service.



LATUFF 2006

Blood on the Tracks: The Life And Times of S. Brian Willson

Foreword by Daniel Ellsberg
by Nadya Williams

He's most known for the horrific 1987 train assault during a peaceful, ongoing protest on the tracks of a California weapons base that cut off both his legs just below the knees. But Viet Nam war veteran S. Brian Willson logged many, many years of anti-war activism both before and after that infamous incident. Thus the title of his new book *Blood on the Tracks: The Life and Times of S. Brian Willson*, plus its shocking cover photo taken seconds after the amputation and attempted murder, sets the focus for his gripping life's story.

It must be a very long journey indeed to come from a family background from upstate New York of conservative, blindly patriotic Christian Republicans to become an absolutely unstoppable "upright human being in a world of violence and lies," as one reviewer called him. Perhaps the review by William Blum, author of *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*, sums it up best, "The 1960s to the 1980s...for progressive activists in the United States there perhaps was never a period quite like it—Viet Nam to Nicaragua to El Salvador, one long protest against the barbarity of American imperialism. S. Brian Willson was there, here, and everywhere, devoting his life, sacrificing his legs to a munitions train. A marvelous 'journey,' he calls it, for the boy who was 'convinced that the United States could do no wrong,' a loyal anti-communist, who served in Viet Nam, then travelled the length of Latin America to oppose U.S. foreign policy and support the numerous victims of that policy. Sadly, that policy continues, but Willson's memoir can well serve as a guide and inspiration to a new generation of progressive activists. We've learned a lot."

Every time Willson has spoken publicly, since his brief Air Force stint in Viet Nam during the spring and summer of 1969, he describes an assignment where he had to walk through a tiny destroyed village to assess the effectiveness of a recent aerial bombardment by the air force of South Viet Nam, America's allies—all part of the "Vietnamization" of the war. He came across the body of a young mother clutching her three small children, all burnt and



Activists rip up tracks at the spot where Willson lost his legs to a Navy munitions train five days earlier. (Oakland Tribune photo)

"Some parts of my journey are burdened with shame and denial, others with disbelief, and I feared becoming vulnerable as I dredged up details that I did not want to remember or discuss. Plus, the writing process itself can be very challenging. But the therapeutic benefits of telling my story spurred me on."

Wanting to put Viet Nam behind him after returning home, he was not active in VVAW (Viet Nam Veterans Against the War), which he later regretted. He finished

dead. Her eyes were open and seemed to be looking into his soul. This, he always says, was the final turning point for him.

About writing his memoir decades later, he says,

law school and started a career. More awareness came (the Pentagon Papers, the true nature of the U.S. criminal justice system, etc.) but ultimately he and his wife at the time decided to quit the "rat race" of the city and homestead in western New York state, near where he grew up. A few years later, however, flashbacks from the war, a failed marriage, depression and the need for therapy caused him to leave the farm they'd built and re-engage on many levels: progressive politics and work at a Vets' Center. But above all, he became deeply committed to opposing the Reagan administration's policies in Central America of funding the "civil" wars of the oligarchies against the impoverished peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, and to opposing the "Contra Campaign" aimed against the 1979 Nicaraguan people's victory that overthrew a long-standing American-backed dictatorship. Many demonstrations and events later, this commitment led to a water-only Veterans Fast for Life in October, 1986, with three other vets on the steps of the Capitol. A year later, at the Concord Naval Weapons Station, an hour away from San Francisco, he was run over by the munitions train in broad daylight on September 1, 1987, during a small, peaceful, on-going, and well-publicized demonstration to block the tracks. Following massive non-violent demonstrations, five days later those tracks were ripped up.

Incredibly, Brian Willson not only survived, but made a miraculous recovery and has since been unstoppable in his continued dedication to peace with justice—from Palestine to Iraq, Afghanistan, and many, many causes. At the August 2011 Veterans For Peace annual convention in his now-hometown of Portland, Oregon, Willson was everywhere—addressing the convention, conducting workshops, biking around on his custom-made "wheels," and socializing with his close friend Jack Ryan, a former career FBI agent who lost his job for refusing, in the mid-1980s, to investigate Brian Willson as "a terrorist."

Nadya Williams is a WCT contributing editor.

Order Blood on the Tracks at www.pmpress.org.

Working Lucre

How's that war economy working out for you, has it trickled down to your base fears?
A bowl of rice, little hootchie coo while stripping your drivin' gears.
Words are too twisted to trust as true, I'm wrung out by pity's tears.
Am I pouting my furtive cry and hue to fall on blood encrusted ears?

How's that war economy going for you, has it sucked up your last thin dime?
Patriotism, jingoism, red, white & blue; what goes 'round comes around in time.
Steadily the wolf is stalking me & you & blind shepherds chant, "It's just fine."
Justice can't just break on thru till you can clearly name the crime.

How's that war economy treating you, has it fattened your polutacrat?
Will your children's children make it thru the coming corporate spat?
The brother in heated debate with his smart phone
can't leave the party too late or he'll be left alone.

How's that for a war economy that bleeds the pointedly unheard
swirling just below the greedosphere like a stampede herd.
The banksters snatched your nest egg & gave you the bird:
so foxy it takes my breathe away; can't hardly say a word.

Why ain't that war economy even a bone of contention?
Are we so damned broken we can't even pay attention?
Public coffers throttled, can't give succor to the poor.
Whence comes that filthy lucre to start another war?

—Ronald Harayda
VFP Chapter 099
USAF medic 1965-69

Stuck Between Iraq and a Hard Place?

Active Duty, Guard, Reserves?
We can help with **discharges** such as:

- Hardship
- Conscientious Objection
- Don't Ask, Don't Tell and Homosexual Conduct
- Entry Level Separation
- Medical
- Psychological

AWOL or UA?

Experiencing hazing, harassment, discrimination or sexual assault?
We can help.

You can get out of the **Delayed Enlistment Program!**

We are a network of **nonprofit**, non-governmental counseling agencies that provides information to members of the military about discharges, grievance and complaint procedures, and other civil rights.

The service is free. The call is confidential.

The GI Rights Hotline

877-447-4487
919-663-7122

WCT could use help with editorial tasks, proofreading, & record-keeping. Contact editor@WarCrimesTimes.org

Doing the math...accounting for efficacy of U.S. remote attacks on Pakistan

Drones: The fallout

by Dr. Irfan Zafar

The United States has been conducting covert operations to target and kill Al-Qaeda and Taliban commanders hiding in the volatile northwest province of Pakistan since 2004. Much of the reaction against

Innocent civilians killed as collateral damage are not simply individuals vanishing from the screen—they leave behind family members having all the conviction to fight against the Americans for whatever the cost may be.

these killings has emerged after the supposed killing of Osama Bin Laden through an operation which was carried out without taking the government of Pakistan in confidence. This action was subsequently followed by more drone strikes despite

hollow “cosmetic” outcries by the country’s leadership and establishment.

Putting aside for a while the question of whatever sovereignty we are left with, the bigger issue relates to the effectiveness of these drone strikes, which in



Predator drone firing Hellfire missile

essence are creating more targets to deal with instead of limiting them. What the American government fails to comprehend is the fact that the faith of any individual is not something physical which can be eliminated through the drone strikes and in reality requires intellectual wisdom—an attribute most of the American policy makers seem to be devoid of.

There have been 254 strikes in total to date since the program began in 2004. Interestingly, 248 of those strikes have taken place since January 2008. During this period, the drone attacks have killed 2,462 individuals, out of which around 1,979 were described as militants. Thus, the true non-militant fatality rate since 2004 is approximately 19%. From 2004-2007, 112 individuals lost their lives to the drone strikes compared to 314 in 2008, 725 in 2009, 993 in 2010, and 318 as of today [July 20] in 2011.

The majority of the attacks have taken place in the tribal areas administered by four powerful Taliban groups: the Mehsuds, Mullah Nazir, Hafiz Gul Bahadar, and the Haqqanis. In 2010, there was a dramatic shift in strikes to tribal areas administered by Hafiz Gul Bahadar which is based in North Waziristan.

Three high profile leaders were killed from 2004-2007; eleven in 2008; seven in 2009; twelve in 2010 and two [so far] in 2011.

Thus in total, 35 high profile leaders have been eliminated in 254 strikes which killed 2,462 individuals giving a drone accuracy rate of only 1.4% in terms of high value targets.

In essence, what the United States is trying to achieve through its “efforts” to catch high value targets has an “inaccuracy” rate of 98.6%. Similarly the innocent civilians killed and labeled conveniently as collateral damage number 483 as per the U.S.’s own doubtable statistics. These are not simply 483 individuals vanishing from the screen—they are leaving behind an average of four members per family, each one having all the conviction to fight against the Americans for whatever the cost may be. So what the drone strikes are achieving is creating 1,932 (4 family members x 483 innocent victims) new targets against killing 1,979 terrorists thus giving a success rate of only 2.4%. The inaccuracy rate of 98.6% coupled with success rate of only 2.4% is playing the role of a catalyst to further aggravate the situation.

The solution to all this lies not in killing people; for the only thing which can turnaround this hysterical wave of terror is the mindset change which comes through long term sustainable efforts towards working on minds—and not on mindless endeavors. Historically, wars have created more disasters than achieved solutions, a fact reinforced by looking at the plight of people in Iraq and Afghanistan. Let’s act before everything is lost forever.

Irfan Zafar is a social activist. This article reprinted with the permission of the Pakistan Observer.

Killing the Children

The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, a London-based not-for-profit organization, reported on August 11 that they have “identified credible reports of 168 children killed in seven years of CIA drone strikes in Pakistan’s tribal areas.” Their report includes this account:

Pakistani father Din Mohammad had the misfortune to live next door to militants in Danda Darpakhel, North Waziristan. His neighbors were reportedly part of the Haqqani Network, a group fighting U.S. forces in nearby Afghanistan.

On September 8, 2010, the CIA’s Reaper drones paid a visit. Hellfire missiles tore into the compound killing six alleged militants. One of the Hellfires missed its target, and Din Mohammad’s house was hit. He survived. But his son, his two daughters, and his nephew all died. His eldest boy had been a student at a Waziristan military cadet college. The other three children were all below school age.

Although the Bureau’s field researchers have verified the details of this strike, the U.S. continues to deny civilians are being killed in Pakistan strikes.

9/11 Terror Attack

Pakistan Today reported: A U.S. drone strike killed at least four militants in North Waziristan Agency on Sunday, September 11, 2011, security officials said. The unmanned aircraft fired two missiles, hitting a vehicle and a house in Hisokhel village of the agency, security officials told AFP. “A U.S. drone fired two missiles on a vehicle in Hisokhel village and at least four militants were killed,” a senior security official said.

More drone math

According to reports on this page, drone attacks in Pakistan kill five innocent children for every “high value target.”

Remembering P.T. Barnum

It was too good to be true that slogan about change we could believe in. We’re suckers all.

Doing the right thing meant bonuses to bankers to buy more bling. We’re suckers all.

A Nobel Peace Prize to ignore peace options as drones are deployed. We’re suckers all.

Our political mode sustains two parties obsequious to military/industrial demands. We’re suckers all.

Hail to the Chief because the bigger the crime the less the time? We’re suckers all.

—Philip “Phil” Reiss
VFP Thomas Paine Chapter 152
in Pennsylvania’s Lehigh Valley

OCTOBER 2011 STOP THE MACHINE. Starting on October 6, 2011—the tenth anniversary of the invasion of Afghanistan—thousands of concerned Americans will assemble in Freedom Plaza, in Washington, DC, to take control of our country and our lives. They will occupy the plaza and engage in creative acts of civil resistance and demand that our inherent rights and freedoms be protected...learn how you can participate at <http://october2011.org/>

War Crimes Times order form

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, ST, Zip: _____

Phone, Email: _____

Donations cover postage & printing costs; additional donations help us reach others

Suggested donations: bundle \$25; subscription \$12/year
(80 copies to a bundle; subscription starts with next issue)

Fall issue bundles (while they last): _____ x\$25 = _____

Winter (December) issue bundles: _____ x\$25 = _____

Individual subscription: _____ x\$12 = _____

International subscription: _____ x\$20 = _____

Additional donation (thank you): _____

Total: \$ _____

Bundle subscription (pay as you receive)

Make checks payable to VFP Chapter 099 (memo “WCT”)

Send to: **WCT c/o VFP Chapter 099, PO Box 356,
Mars Hill, NC 28754**

Or pay online at WarCrimesTimes.org

THE IRAQI CHILDREN'S ART EXCHANGE

IRAQI CHILDREN'S ART EXCHANGE



The Iraqi Children's Art Exchange invites children and youth to participate in art-inspired projects. Feeling the urgency of the situation created by wars, sanctions, and the ongoing occupation in Iraq, we reach out to children and youth on both sides of the conflict using art as a vehicle to engage them in the universal struggle to

create a better, more sustainable, and just world. Transcending barriers of language, culture, and politics, projects are defined and guided by an alternative view, one of international cooperation, understanding, and goodwill between people and institutions in the U.S., Iraq, and Jordan.



ICAE encourages and supports drawing, painting and sculpting for the sheer pleasure of it. Beyond that we recognize art as an important language of childhood and youth, one that offers them an opportunity to speak—to each other and to the wider community—and to have their views taken seriously.

The Iraqi Children's Art Exchange creates exhibits. All of the art and photographs from our projects is available for writers and teachers as well as for community, national, and international forums and events. Our goal is to bring the ideas, views, concerns, hopes, and dreams of children and youth into the critical discussions and decisions of our day.

I began working on behalf of Iraqi children in the mid-1990s when I became aware of the humanitarian crisis unfolding in Iraq. At that time UNICEF and other NGOs were estimating that as many as 5,000-7,000 children in Iraq were dying every month as a consequence of the stringent UN economic sanctions on the country. What could one do in the face of this deepening crisis? In an important, but symbolic gesture, I traveled in 2001 with a delegation taking desperately needed medicines to hospitals in Baghdad.

This was the beginning of the Art Exchange and the beginning of my personal and professional journey to expand my work, using human rights—especially the rights of children as expressed in the Convention on the Rights of the Child—as an important organizing tool. While the ICAE focuses primarily on Iraqi children, it is clear to all of us working in this field that children face desperation in every corner of the globe. The political will to meet children's needs, to make them a priority in good times and bad, is not there. This makes it even more important to engage children and youth in the Art

Exchange, which enables them to raise their voices on their own behalf.

—Claudia Lefko,
ICAE Founding
Director



The mural above, painted in March 2008 by Iraqi children/youth living in Amman Jordan with collaborating artist Thamer Dawood, is one of the most significant of the Iraqi murals. At a recent panel discussion, John Malcolm Russell, archeologist and professor at Mass College of Art & Design, with a specialty in the art of ancient Iraq, talked about the iconic images in this mural, including the fanciful figures that appear in the water in the forefront, comparing them to decorative elements that one might find adorning certain Iraqi antiquities. The mural below, created in the five high schools in Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina, seems very significant in terms of what youth in the U.S. might be thinking, having grown up in the shadow of the Iraq conflict/wars. It's mix of peace, patriotic and military images gives it a certain peace through strength aspect.



Learn more about The Iraqi Children's Art Exchange and donate at <http://www.iraqichildrenart.org/>

Mirror Image

An American child looks at a picture of a Vietnamese child leaned up against the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Thousands of Vietnamese children like this child, were killed during the Vietnam War.

Or,
as the Vietnamese people would say:
The American War.

Thousands of Iraqi children have been killed in the two Iraq Wars.

Or,
as the Iraqi people would say:
The American Wars.

Then,
there is the Afghanistan War.

Or,
as the Afghanistan people would say:
The American War.

Millions of children all across America are living in poverty as a result of the billions of dollars that the U.S. Government is spending on war after war after war. It is right in front of us.

Or,
as some American people would say:
The American Wars.



Photograph by Mike Hastie

Mike Hastie
U.S. Army Medic
Vietnam 1970-71
May 19, 2011