

# AFGHANISTAN ESCALATES

## Civilian Casualties Mount



### McChrystal tries to calm Afghans after air strike

by Mohammad Hamed

YAQOUBI, Afghanistan, Sept. 5, 2009 (Reuters): The commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan flew on Saturday to the scene of a deadly air strike by his forces, trying to cool anger that threatens his strategy of winning hearts and minds.

Afghan officials say scores of people were killed, many of them civilians, when a U.S. F-15 fighter jet called in by German troops struck two hijacked fuel trucks before dawn on Friday.

The incident was the first in which Western forces are accused of killing large numbers of civilians since U.S. Army General Stanley McChrystal took command in June, announcing that protecting Afghans was the centerpiece of a new strategy.

In an unprecedented televised address to the Afghan people, the general said his forces had launched the air strike against what they thought was a Taliban target. He promised to make the outcome of an investigation public.

"As Commander of the International Security Assistance Force, nothing is more important than the safety and protection of the Afghan people," he said in the taped address, released in versions dubbed into the two official languages, Dari and Pashtu.

"I take this possible loss of life or injury to innocent Afghans very seriously."

He later made a brief personal tour of the site in Kunduz, a once-safe northern province where fighters have stepped up attacks and seized control of remote areas, part of

### Girl killed by NATO missile

by Saboor Mangal

KHOST CITY, Sept. 2, 2009 (Pajhwok Afghan News): A missile fired by NATO troops hit on a house, killing one girl and injuring another in the restive southeastern Khost province, bordering Pakistan.

The incident happened in Narizi village of Tani district Tuesday night, resident Mir Hakim told Pajhwok Afghan News on Wednesday. The victims were sisters.

One of the girls was killed on the spot and another shifted to a nearby hospital. No information about her health condition was immediately available.

NATO's media office in Khost City verified the incident and voiced deep regrets over it. It said they were in a bid to contact the affected family and to help it.

an insurgency that is now at its fiercest stage in the 8-year-old war.

NATO says its targets in the raid were Taliban fighters who had hijacked the fuel trucks, but has acknowledged that some of the victims being treated in hospital are civilians.

In the village of Yaqoubi, a scattering of mud-brick homes near the blast site, residents wept and prayed beside dozens of graves of victims on Saturday, while Taliban fighters with rifles looked on. The militants' presence was proof of their increasing domination of an area recently under government control.

"We will take revenge. A lot of innocent people were killed here," one of the Taliban fighters, only his eyes left uncovered by a thick scarf, said at the funeral.

### Outrage as US Forces Attack Afghan Hospital No Explanation Given as Troops Force Their Way in, Tie Up Staff

by Jason Ditz

Sept. 6, 2009 (Antiwar.com): The charity group Swedish Committee for Afghanistan expressed outrage today in reporting a U.S. attack on a remote hospital being operated by the group. The troops burst in to the hospital without explanation and conducted a full and rather violent search of the facility.

The troops reportedly tied up several employees and the family of some of the patients, ordered the bed-ridden patients out of their rooms and smashed down several doors, including the door to the malnutrition ward. They did not arrest anybody, but upon leaving ordered the staff to report anybody coming to the hospital to seek treatment before the treatment was provided.

NATO spokesmen confirmed the raid, but said they had no information about why it was done and refused to speculate. The United Nations cautioned that the raid was a potential violation of the Geneva Conventions, which insist that military personnel avoid operating inside medical facilities.

The charity says that the same hospital was involved in an incident in July, when private contractors escorting a supply convoy forced their way in and used the hospital to hide from insurgents. A U.S. helicopter also attacked a small medical clinic in Paktika Province last week on the basis of a report that a wounded insurgent might be inside.

## Citizen Groups Continue to Call for Prosecution, Action

### 50 Top U.S. War Criminals

by David Swanson

Compiled below, in hopes that it may be of some assistance to Eric Holder, John Conyers, Patrick Leahy, active citizens, foreign courts, the International Criminal Court, law firms preparing civil suits, and local or state prosecutors with decency and nerve is a list of 50 top living U.S. war criminals. These are men and women who helped to launch wars of aggression or who have been complicit in lesser war crimes. These are not the lowest-ranking employees or troops who managed to stray from official criminal policies. These are the makers of those policies.

The occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan have seen the United States target civilians, journalists, hospitals, and

(See TOP 50 on page 6)

### War Criminals Watched!

by Sharon Pavlovich

*News Flash: Attorney General Eric Holder appoints a Special Prosecutor to investigate whether Bush and major figures in his administration should be prosecuted for war crimes under U.S. and international laws.*

Unfortunately, this was not the message crawling beneath the well-groomed heads of mainstream media communicators. Holder did appoint a federal prosecutor to examine about a dozen prisoner abuse cases in which detainees were held by the Central Intelligence Agency. This is clearly a limited task and far from full exposure of the issue of war crimes: it avoids prosecution of the formulators of an illegal aggressive war in Iraq and it does not follow the path of torture of detainees to the top of the chain of

(See CRIMINAL WATCH on page 6)

**Inside** War crimes past and present: *USS Liberty* (Joel Kovel), Vietnam (Deborah Nelson), Afghanistan (Francis A. Boyle, Jay Janson); Torture (Dave Lindorff); Army Experience Center (Pat Elder); Readers and veterans speak out; poetry; and more.

# Death by Ally: 1967 Attack on U.S. by Israel

by Joel Kovel

Not all crimes of war are committed against helpless civilian populations.

The rising sun of June 8, 1967 shone upon an unusual ship in international waters off the corner of the Mediterranean defined by Gaza to the East and the Nile Delta to the South. It was the USS Liberty, the largest and best equipped of the seven-vessel fleet launched by the National Security Agency, the top surveillance faculty of the United States. Loaded with state-of-the-art equipment, the Liberty had arrived to monitor the Six Day war of 1967 between Israel and the adjacent Arab states, at this moment entering its fifth day. The Liberty felt safe. After all, Israel was the great friend and client of the United States; and so when the Israeli jets appeared in the sky at dawn to circle the communications ship, the seamen and technicians may have mused about the fact that the fighter-bombers were made in America, indeed, were gifts from United States, and that the Israelis had sovereignty of the sky thanks to daring strikes that had destroyed the Egyptian air force on June 4. But surely, on this cloudless day, the planes would see the large American flags prominently placed on the Liberty. Nothing, therefore, to worry about.

But then, around noon, the planes returned and began bombing and strafing the defenseless Liberty, killing US sailors sunning themselves on the deck and opening holes in the hulls. They did this again and again—and then the torpedo boats appeared and

launched their missiles. It was fortunate that only one torpedo struck its target, tearing an enormous hole in the hull, else the ship would have sunk utterly, all lives lost, as was obviously the Israeli intention. But even so, 34 sailors and technicians died while 174 were wounded and the ship was for all intents destroyed. It was the worst disaster to be suffered by the United States Navy since the World War II and it was the work of our greatest ally, America's "strategic asset." Most remarkable and distressing, the dreadful end of the Liberty has become, officially speaking, a non-event, virtually unrecorded in our news media of record and basically ignored by our government.

I was keenly attentive to the Six Day War as it unfolded, and though I recall seeing news stories about the destruction of the Liberty, the notion that the mayhem might have been deliberate barely entered my mind. It was just too "cognitively dissonant." Instead, I found the strenuous Israeli insistence that a "tragic accident" had occurred persuasive by default. This had nothing to do with its merits, everything to do with the fact that neither a compelling alternative explanation nor any criticism of Israel's behavior was ever publicly advanced by the U.S. Israel's version filled the vacuum, and our pro-Zionist media, as usual, accommodated it.

How were we to know that the Israeli investigations of the event were inadequate, and indeed, bogus? Or that a furious debate was raging at the highest levels of the United States government. This was not about whether Israel had deliberately attacked the ship,

but whether to let them get away with it or not. On one side were officials like Secretary of State Rusk and high mili-

tary officials; on the other Defense Secretary McNamara and President Johnson, who were willing to let bygones be bygones to preserve the Special Relationship. And the relationship, once again, prevailed.

There is no Statute of Limitations for war crimes. Now, forty-two years later, thanks to an unrelenting effort by survivors and their families, along with permanently outraged military and intelligence cadre and a small but fiercely dedicated band of sleuths and activists,\* the truth is coming closer and closer to the surface, and we can begin developing the answers to some very pressing questions:

Was the attack on the Liberty, as Israel has claimed, a "tragic" case of mistaken identity? The answer, flatly, is NO. We have the records of Israeli pilots telling their base in some anguish that the target was a United States ship and being ordered to take it out. Oliver Kirby, Deputy Director of the NSA, has stated: "I can tell you for an absolute certainty [from intercepted communications] that the Israelis knew they were attacking an American ship." Or Dean Rusk: "I was never satisfied with the Israeli explanation.... Through diplomatic channels we refused to accept their explanations. I didn't believe them then, and I don't believe them to this day. The attack was outrageous."

Why would Israel have done such a thing? It stands to reason that the Israelis must have thought it necessary to destroy the Liberty to prevent disclosure of something they felt had to be kept hidden. Here a degree of speculation is necessary. James Bamford, definitive historian of the NSA, is probably closest to the mark when he wrote that as the Liberty was setting up its work on June 8, "a scant dozen or so miles away, Israeli soldiers were butchering [Egyptian] civilians and bound



USS Liberty before attack (above) and after (below).



prisoners by the hundreds, a fact that the entire Israeli army leadership knew about and condoned, according to the army's own historian." In other words, one war crime was used to conceal another.

Why did the United States let Israel get away with this? In the narrow, immediate sense, there is no mystery. According to an admiral quoted by Bamford, "President Lyndon Johnson came on with a comment that he didn't care if the ship sunk, he would not embarrass his allies." That's how it had to happen: a command from the top overruling even the views of the Secretary of State, and explicitly forbidding acknowledgement and investigation; even the surviving sailors were threatened with court-martial if they spoke out.

We may safely infer two levels of motivation. First, LBJ and the U.S. High Command had already decided that Israel was to be a prime "strategic asset" in the pursuit of imperial aims, in the Middle East and elsewhere. And second, it is impossible to overestimate the political threat posed by the Israel Lobby to whoever challenges the Zionist

state. Mere massacre of American seamen, mere humiliation of the Superpower: none of this can stand in the balance against the power of Israel in the United States.

The impunity given to Israel for its destruction of the Liberty is scarcely an isolated event. It may be the grossest episode to have affected America directly, but it is only one in an unending series of human rights violations extending from the founding of the Jewish State right up to the latest atrocity in Gaza. Everywhere we look in this line of criminality we see it enabled by impunity conferred by the United States and anchored at multiple places in our society, from the Congress to academia and the media. But the attack on the Liberty and its cover-up were exceptionally outrageous, even within the grim litany of human rights violations. Its exposure, therefore, can play a vital role in breaking the chain of impunity and bringing about justice in the Middle East. We need to force Congress to begin the investigation that has been postponed for 42 years. This is a story that cannot be allowed to fade away.



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Contact: editor@WarCrimesTimes.org  
WCT Editorial Team: Kim Carlyle, Susan Carlyle, Mike Ferner,  
Clare Hanrahan, Stack Kenny, and Tarak Kauff

# Getting Away With Torture

by Dave Lindorff

When you hear about the sick, twisted things that America's torturers have been doing, courtesy of President George W. Bush and Vice President Darth Cheney, you have to remember that the U.S. military and the CIA were not really all that reliable when it came to picking up the real terrorists. In fact, their batting average was pretty lousy.

According to even the Pentagon's own reckoning, for example, probably 85 per cent of the captives being held at Guantanamo over the past eight years were not terrorists at all, and a fair number—probably the majority—weren't even fighting anyone when they were captured. I'm sure that the averages at Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan, or at the secret prison in Iraq are no better.

The military was offering bounties in Iraq and Afghanistan for alleged terrorists, you see, and probably still is, but in both of those lawless, tribal countries, many people have used the offer to settle old feuds, turning in people they wanted to punish or dispose of, and many others just turned in random people to get the reward money.

Remember this when you hear about torture tactics that we are learning were used by our side—things that make waterboarding sound like a walk in the park. We're

now getting confirmation of things that we journalists were hearing rumors of earlier: faked executions using blanks, faked executions in neighboring rooms, followed by threats of the same to a person who had just heard the screams and a shot in the cell next to him, threats with an electric drill, and now perhaps the worst yet—the threat to kill a captive's children. And of course there is the already disclosed case of a captive who had his genitals cut with a razor, and generous use of tasers in places on the body designed to cause maximum pain. That,

Obama says he does not want to look back—  
This is the voice of political gutlessness and  
of big power exceptionalism.

and of course there are a lot raped captives (including young boys), and a lot of bodies yet to be dug up of captives who were simply killed during torture.

We've got a litany of horror and abuse here that sounds like the worst kind of stories that used to come out of Saddam Hussein's Iraq, or the Argentine Junta or Idi Amin's Uganda. About the only thing missing is word that the military and CIA torturers were eating their victims, or feeding them their own genitals, but who knows? Maybe we'll get there yet. It's hard at this point to rule anything out.

What has become of the U.S.? We started out the victims of an attack in 2001, with the whole world rallying to our side, and within a matter of weeks, our government, acting in our name, had secretly embarked on a wholly unnecessary and totally criminal descent into barbarism.

And now? The new administration has claimed to have put a stop to

the atrocities, but it remains adamant that it is not going to root out the evil that was already done to hundreds, perhaps thousands of people.

President Barack Obama says he does not want to look back at any crimes that were committed. He wants to go "forward." This is not the voice of justice, though. This is the voice of political gutlessness and of big power exceptionalism. The same America that demands the prosecution of war criminals in little countries like Cambodia or Serbia or Sudan, considers itself exempt from criminal liability for its

own crimes.

Attorney General Eric Holder is appointing a special prosecutor, John Durham, to investigate cases where CIA or private contract torturers "overstepped" the rules set by the White House and Justice Department, but he has said he will not allow the investigation to go beyond that to pursue the people who enabled those acts of torture—people like Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld who personally instructed torturers in Afghanistan to "take the gloves off" in one case, or Assistant Attorney Generals John Yoo and

Jay Bybee (now a federal judge), who ruled that anything short of the destruction of bodily organs or of a pain level equivalent to death was okay. Nor will he allow any investigation to look at acts of torture that were authorized, like waterboarding, if they had the sanction of the Bush/Cheney White House.

This position taken by the new administration should sicken us all. Worse, it should be broadly condemned, because if the descent into barbarity which occurred with the highest White House sanction is not investigated thoroughly, and punished fully, there is no way we can say it will not happen again. In fact, it's safe to say that it will happen again, the next time another charlatan gets into office and uses fear to blind the American people to all that is right and decent, and to the importance of maintaining the rule of law.

I know there are terrible things happening right now which demand our attention and action—an escalating, endless war in Afghanistan that increasingly resembles Vietnam in 1966 or 1967, a presidential cave-on on health care reform, but this particular crime—the crime of failing to act to punish violations of the Geneva Conventions on treatment of prisoners of war, which is being committed today by the Obama administration—is so obscene, so directly in our faces, and is such a stain on the



whole nation, that it demands action.

We will probably never know how many innocent lives have been destroyed by America's eight years of officially sanctioned torture, but we can at least see to it that the people who sanctioned it, and not just those who engaged in it (and that goes right up through the chain of command to the Commander in Chief and to the real power behind the throne, Dick Cheney), are put in the dock like the criminals at Nuremberg, to face the charge of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

As the citizens of what we call a democracy, we can demand nothing less.

*Dave Lindorff, a journalist for 36 years, has written for CounterPunch, Salon, BusinessWeek, The Nation, Rolling Stone, Mother Jones, Village Voice, Forbes, The London Observer and the Australian National Times. His website is [thiscantbehappening.net](http://thiscantbehappening.net).*

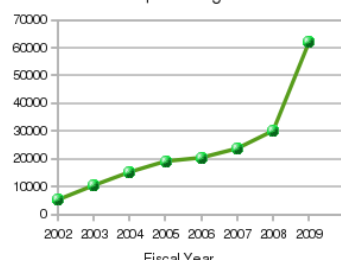


## Think Again!

A September CNN/Opinion

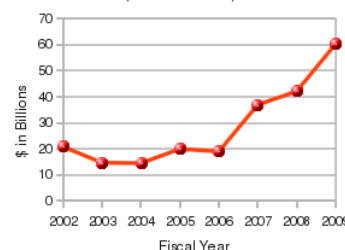
Research Corp. survey showed that 58 percent of Americans oppose the war in Afghanistan.

U.S. Troops in Afghanistan

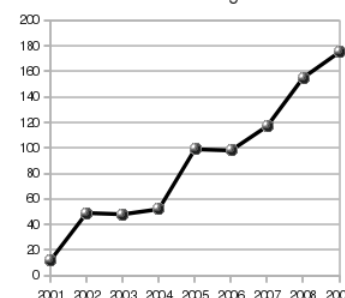


**ACTION:** Show the powerful, 48-minute film, *Rethink Afghanistan*; invite your congressperson for the discussion. Info at [rethinkafghanistan.com](http://rethinkafghanistan.com).

Annual Funding For Afghanistan (\$ in Billions)



U.S. Fatalities in Afghanistan



## Collateral Damage

Smart bombs  
surgical strike  
pinpoint precision.

Whoops!

Orphaned  
bleeding  
blinded  
permanently disfigured  
starving  
limbless  
shoeless  
homeless  
half-naked  
refugees.

Stuff happens.

—Mack Reilly

# The *Army Experience Center* and the Development of a Warrior Caste

By Pat Elder

Teaching 13-year-old children military tactics through the use of video games at the local shopping mall may sound like a completely novel idea, but the concept of training and indoctrinating 13-year-olds to join a warrior caste has been around since very early times. The ancient Chinese, Indians, and Japanese began indoctrinating youth at 13. We know from the Greek historian Thucydides, who lived 2,500

## U.S. Army's Soldier's Creed.

THEN: "...I will never do anything...which will disgrace my uniform, my unit, or my country. I will use every means...to restrain my Army comrades from actions disgraceful to themselves and to the uniform."

NOW: "...I am a Warrior...I will always place the mission first. I will never accept defeat. I will never quit...I stand ready to deploy, engage, and destroy the enemies of the United States..."

years ago, that boys in Sparta were cultivated and supervised by military officials like the modern-day military recruiters and educational specialists.

The children of Sparta were drilled in battle using knives and swords. At the Army Experience Center in Philadelphia the same kind of training for warfare is taking place, except children use simulated M-16 automatic rifles and M-240B light machine guns. The training in

each scenario is appropriate for different kinds of battle—facing the dreaded Athenians in hand-to-hand combat during the Peloponnesian War or launching Hellfire missiles to "suspected terrorist targets" in Afghanistan by robotic drones controlled from digital war rooms in suburban Maryland and California.

The Spartans realized the importance of developing the ethos of a warrior caste and we're seeing that same phenomena today in America.

This isn't a far-fetched notion. The Pentagon is intent on militarizing American youth at the earliest ages to cultivate this new breed of soldier, based on an ancient model.

Consider the changes made to the U.S. Army's Soldier's Creed. The old creed, discarded in 2003, had soldiers recite, "No matter what the situation I am in, I will never do any-

thing, for pleasure, profit, or personal safety, which will disgrace my uniform, my unit, or my country. I will use every means I have, even beyond the line of duty, to restrain my Army comrades from actions disgraceful to themselves and to the uniform."

These words were scrapped for: "I am an American Soldier. I am a Warrior and a member of a team. I will always place the mission first. I will never accept defeat. I

will never quit. I will never leave a fallen comrade. I am disciplined, physically and mentally tough, trained and proficient in my warrior tasks and drills. I stand ready to deploy, engage, and destroy the enemies of the United States of America in close combat."

In 2005, when Army Chief of Staff Peter Schoomaker ordered Army recruiters in the nation's public schools to wear combat uniforms, it signaled a philosophical sea change in the tenor of military recruiting throughout the nation. It was disturbing to many recruiters, used to wearing Class A or Class B uniforms. It squarely placed the subject of polarizing, unpopular wars on the table of national discourse, reflective of President Bush's "us vs. them" mindset.

Career recruiters recognized the change. Recruiter manuals were purged of references of "contracts" or references to selling. Instead, a new creature, a new animal was to be cultivated—the warrior. Articles in the U.S. Army's Recruiting Command's Recruiter Journal became bellicose overnight. There was no overall strategy in the shift, according to two recruiting insiders, except that a strident, jingoistic tone was adopted in communications from the command to recruiters. The August-September 2009 edition of the Recruiter Journal calls on recruiters to "Take Back the Schools" and is filled with combat-related analogies to recruiting in high school hallways.

Another phenomenon has shaped the drift toward the goal of recruiting lifelong warriors rather than "citizen soldiers." As the wars in Iraq and

From Pat Elder's call to "Shut Down the Army Experience Center" at [shutdowntheaec.net](http://shutdowntheaec.net):

"This is so cool!" This is so cool!" The enthralled 13-year-old kept repeating as he squeezed rounds from his M-16, picking off "enemy combatants" while perched on a real Army Humvee. The young teen, who doesn't look older than eleven, was obviously impressed with the Army's killing machines. "I just came to the mall to skateboard in the skate park across the hall but everyone said this was pretty cool. I just had to try it and its great!"

Video games offer the perfect segue between childhood innocence and institutionalized killing. That's why the Army opened the Army Experience Center, a one-of-a-kind, 14,500-square-foot "virtual educational facility" in August of 2008. Although the Army says it's not about recruiting, all 20 soldiers stationed at the mall are active duty recruiters.

The virtual shooting ranges and video games are an abomination that cheapen life and blur the lines between virtual killing and the real thing. We are outraged by this development. We see it as a dangerous escalation in the militarization of American society and we vow to shut it down.

Afghanistan raged, recruiting company commands faced a diminished pool of talented, educated officers with some semblance of an educated, world view. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have placed a tremendous strain on the Army officer corps and systemic shortages exist in many key ranks and specialties. Consequently, this shortage of Captains and Majors has necessitated the assignment of many lower quality officers to recruiting command.

For many, war is preferable to the hassle of recruiting. "Rolling a donut"—coming up with no recruits for a month—can be tortuous. Consider the five Houston battalion recruiters who've killed themselves in a relatively short period of time. Recruiters work 12- to 14-hour days, six or seven days a week. If they don't fill

monthly quotas, they're criticized as failures, punished with even longer hours, and threatened with losing rank or receiving poor evaluations, according to media sources. It's all about producing "bodies on the floor," that is, recruits at MEPS, the local Military Entrance Processing Command. These changes are evidence of a fundamental paradigm shift.

This shift is also characterized by a drift toward a more cloistered existence for recruiters, as evidenced by the successful unveiling of the Army Experience Center in Philadelphia. Increasingly, recruiters are persona-nongrata in thousands of communities across the nation. Their calls are anathema to parents and teens in millions of households. To counter this trend, the military is micro-targeting

potential recruits. At Franklin Mills Mall, the Pentagon is going after teens "who don't have X-boxes at home," according to an active recruiter in the battalion.

These trends will continue nationally. Since the AEC opened, five area recruiting stations have closed. Recruiters

(Continued on page 5)



The simulated experience: Youth and adults enjoy the killing games at the Army Experience Center at Franklin Mills Mall in Philadelphia.



The actual experience: Afghan orphans.

# Winning their hearts & minds

## Is showing children how to kill a war crime?

### Worth 1,000 Words

adapted from <http://mikeferner.org/>

A number of Veterans For Peace members saw this picture in the *Juneau Empire* and made these comments.

Dear Editor:

On Sunday morning (May 24, the day before Memorial Day), the Empire did a great service to our community by publishing a photograph of a National Guardsman, a Humvee, an M249 machine gun, and a group of children, converging at the so-called "Outdoor Safety Expo" sponsored by the Juneau Rotary on Saturday, May 23.

A cynical attempt to manipulate and militarize children is the only conceivable purpose for the National Guard to show up to display fancy killing machines, and to encourage little kids to play with them. The M249 is a "light" machine gun; its only purpose is to maim and kill human beings. What in God's name did that display have to do with outdoor safety?

Shame on the National Guard, and shame on the Juneau Rotary for sponsoring this dishonorable atrocity.

*Phil Smith, President  
Veterans for Peace, Chapter 100  
Juneau, Alaska*

Sadly though, it probably doesn't occur to Staff Sgt. Manson that he might well be grooming potential poster kids for the back door draft and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, if they're lucky enough to come home.

*Gene Marx  
Naval Flight Officer 1969-76  
Gulf of Tonkin 1971-72*



Alaska Army National Guard Staff Sergeant Michael Manson helps kids climb on a HumVee and handle a M249 Saw gun. *Juneau Empire* 5-24-09

The disconnect of that National Guard guy from the fundamentals of simple humanity is apparent. That a grown man would expose what appear to be four and five-year-olds to the workings of a lethal weapon and think it fun and cute is sad. It speaks to the pervasive militarism that produced that young man and his distorted notions of what is and is not appropriate play for very young children.

*Woody Powell  
USAF Korea 1952-53, K9 Corps.*

What an amazing photograph! Those kids are now marked by some infantile fantasy that shooting this gun would be fun and that if they join the Army they will get to do that. They have no concept of death, or that this gun deals death, or that they and their victims will pay a terrible price for their desires.

*Paul Cox  
USMC Infantry 1968-1972,  
Vietnam 1969-70*

I'd like to see Sergeant Michael Manson sitting behind the machine gun instead of helping children sit there... and then I'd like to shoot a few hundred rounds from another machine gun at his bullet screen, while the kids watch safely from someplace nearby.

Maybe then he would think twice before glorifying the act of sitting behind a machine gun to kids, without teaching the true ramifications of being an army gunner. The children wouldn't EVER want to be there again. Shame on the National Guard for allowing this activity with our children.

And this was at a "Safety Expo"?

*Ward Reilly  
U.S. Army Infantry  
and ex-gunner 1971-74*

That a national guardsman would attempt to "seduce" children this young is symptomatic of a society in deterioration.

*Robert Poteat  
USN, 1950-53*

I have worked in schools for the last 27 years, and have witnessed an ever-increasing military presence, and acceptance of it by public school officials.

"The thorns that I have reap'd  
Are of the tree I planted,  
They have torn me, and I bleed.  
I should have known what fruit  
would spring from such a seed."

—Lord Byron

Budda said something to the effect: The world is made up of our thoughts.

What thoughts will the children leave with after seeing, touching, and being told about this article of death—except not being told of its true purpose?

*Jerry Steele  
Army, Vietnam 1971-72  
101st Airborne and 1st Cav. Division.*

These young children look at most to be four-year-olds, the NG's are doing what their bosses told them just like in Abu Ghraib, Bagram and Guantanamo.

*George McAnanama  
US Army (MPC) 1966-68 Korea*

Training for U.S. military imperialists of the 21st century starts early.

*John C. Reiger  
U.S. Army Security Agency 1959-62*

Kids this age still play with their friends, sometimes with toy guns, but seeing children look in awe at the real thing... makes something designed only to kill appear common, almost friendly, like a favorite toy.

*Joe Attamante  
USMC 1966-68 (drafted)*

So many opportunities for "personal growth." Like a job in a depression — now, that's a great opportunity. Can't get work, hey, join the imperial centurions and go hunt down and kill kids out there on the fringes of empire in some place like Afghanistan where kids just like you can't find a job either and have the opportunity for "personal growth" offered to them by some mullah & madrassa that does the work of our Army Experience Center or your local festival featuring cool Humvees and SAWs. Seems the world is full of opportunities for personal growth these days. Kurt Vonnegut summed it up best: And so it goes.

*John Grant  
Army Security Agency 1965-69  
Vietnam 1966-67*

Some actions, which can occur even during times of peace, could easily be considered war crimes. Perpetuating the culture of war is one of them. War is a sickness of our society that will not be cured until we stop glorifying it, until we stop sanitizing it, until we stop pretending it's a game, and until we stop indoctrinating impressionable young people.

*Kim Carlyle, President  
Veterans For Peace, Chapter 099  
Western North Carolina*

(Continued from page 4)

will no longer be coming into contact with the mainstream and that's just fine with the Pentagon. Developing a Warrior Caste isn't dependent on popular support. With the AEC, the Army is exposing/indoctrinating teens to a very narrow slice of what the Army does—"killing bad guys." There are nearly 200 occupational specialties in the Army. Even those serving in the infantry are called on to do a whole lot more than shoot people. The Pentagon's agenda is very clear—present a narrow view of the Army experience and hope that those indoctrinated will enlist; and volunteer for a combat categorization on their own accord.

Throughout world history, warrior castes have been built from particular

regions or ethnicities within the territorial confines of an empire. We're no exception today. Our warrior caste is being built disproportionately from recruits who hail from the Old South. We are witnessing the development of a military radically unmoored from the intellectual and popular center of American socio-political thought, further contributing to the refinement and further development of a new caste in American society—the warrior caste.

That brings us back to the two 13-year-olds giving each other high-fives in a suburban shopping mall in Philadelphia for "wiping out ragheads" with automatic machine gun fire. The Army has plans to extend these "Experience Centers" across the country. We'd better wake up before it's too late.





## Criminal Watch

(Continued from page 1)

command. Among other statements, Holder has made clear that the Bar Association rather than the courts should deal with the Bush lawyers in the Office of Legal Counsel that legitimated torture.

Accountability is apparently “off the table” for the Obama administration. Obama says we must “move forward.” This appears, however, to be more like moving on with a “lite” or, more correctly, legitimated version of the same policies. The administration refused to release the torture photos from Iraq and Afghanistan, called for continuing the policies of “preventative detention” and rendition, refused to abandon claims of “national security” as the government defense for detainees seeking redress in the courts, and on and on and on.

The truth is the country cannot go forward without accountability for the crimes of the past. World Can't Wait

has initiated a project called War Criminals Watch: [www.WarCriminalsWatch.org](http://www.WarCriminalsWatch.org). The project organizes and reports on actions around the country to hold war criminals responsible for their illegal acts. War Criminals Watch can be visited on Facebook as well.

War Criminals Watch identifies and tracks accused war criminals as they move back into civil society from their roles in the Bush administration. The website provides detailed factual research about major actors who created the torture policies and committed other war crimes. It traces those people to their new roles in universities, foundations, “think tanks,” courts, boards of directors of corporations, etc.

In addition to providing information, the site has other important functions: primarily encouraging and building actions against war criminals wherever they are and provid-

ing support to individuals and groups with organizing tools, such as articles, flyers, posters, etc. The site is interactive and has a single purpose—to build a local and national base of support for prosecution.

Neither torture nor other war crimes have gone away—nor has the call for prosecution.

The campaign to fire John Yoo has been valuable in itself and as a model for the kind of actions that need to be launched around the country, especially on college campuses. Yoo's return to UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall School of Law from a semester's exile at Chapman Law School was met by protesters from groups like World Can't Wait dressed in orange prisoner suits similar to ones seen in infamous photos of Iraq's Abu Ghraib

prison. They carried signs that read, “Shame on Yoo” and “Say No To Torture.” (See [www.firejohnyoo.org](http://www.firejohnyoo.org)).

Protesters also rallied for the impeachment of Judge Jay Bybee in front of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. World Can't Wait set up a “Bush and Bybee Torture museum” featuring photos of tortured prisoners and signs that detailed approved torture techniques.

At Texas Tech, where Alberto Gonzalez was recently hired at a reported salary of \$100,000 to teach one 15-student seminar on contemporary issues in the executive branch, at least 38 professors signed a petition protesting the appointment.

Other developments have brought the issue of Bush regime illegalities to the fore. On September 4th, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit ruled that former Attorney General John Ashcroft can be

held personally responsible for the illegal detention of Abdullah al-Kidd who, along with many others, was rounded up after 9/11. This could open a floodgate of civil lawsuits.

Neither torture nor other war crimes have gone away—nor has the call for prosecution. Check out the Calendar on the site for a myriad of events taking place around the country.

War Criminals Watch is a collaborative project. To build a movement requires partnerships—with groups, organizations and individuals. Our board of advisors includes outspoken critics of war crimes: William Blum, H. Candace Gorman, Ray McGovern, David Swanson, Lawrence Velvel, Andy Worthington, and Ann Wright. We are endorsed by Veterans for Peace and AfterDowningStreet.org.

Get involved!

Contact:

[warcriminallywatch](http://warcriminallywatch.org)  
[@worldcantwait.net](mailto:@worldcantwait.net)

## Top 50 criminals

(Continued from page 1)

ambulances, use antipersonnel weapons including cluster bombs in densely settled urban areas, use white phosphorus as a weapon, use depleted uranium weapons, employ a new version of napalm found in Mark 77 firebombs, engage in collective punishment of Iraqi civilian populations—including by blocking roads, cutting electricity and water, destroying fuel stations, planting bombs in farm fields, demolishing houses, and plowing down orchards—detain people without charge or legal process without the rights of prisoners of war, imprison children, torture, and murder.

The list below does not include those responsible for war crimes prior to 2001. Nor does it include those currently in power who are making themselves complicit by failing to

prosecute or cease commission of these crimes. The list could be greatly expanded. It could also be narrowed. I would argue, however, that it presents a more reasonable starting place than Holder's reported proposal to investigate only CIA employees who failed to comply with criminal torture policies, of whom there are no doubt more than 50.

Because each of the people on this list should be non-violently protested everywhere they go, I have organized them by location.

### CALIFORNIA

**1. John Yoo:** Professor of Law at Boalt Hall School of Law in Berkeley, California, (but a lawyer with the Pennsylvania bar from which he should be disbarred and would be if enough people demanded it) counseled the White House on how to get away with war crimes; wrote the famous

memo promoting presidential power to launch aggressive war; and claimed the power to decree that the federal statutes against torture, assault, maiming, and stalking do not apply to the military in the conduct of the war, and to announce a new definition of torture limiting it to acts causing intense pain or suffering equivalent to pain associated with serious physical injury so severe that death, organ failure or permanent damage resulting in loss of significant body functions will likely result. Yoo claimed in 2005 that a president has the right to enhance an interrogation by crushing the testicles of someone's child.

**2. Robert J. Delahunty:** Along with John Yoo, authored an infamous memo (1/9/02) for the U.S. Justice Department which advised that the Geneva Conventions do not apply to the war against al Qaeda, the Taliban, and terrorism. The “legal” advice

of this memo helped the Bush administration to legitimize harsh methods of interrogation, which are widely understood to be torture. He should be disbarred in NY, is now a tenured professor at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, MN. Ironically, he teaches constitutional law and legal ethics. He briefly and with considerable protest taught at the University of Minnesota Law School.

**3. Patrick F. Philbin:** Yoo colleague, Deputy, should be disbarred in D.C. and MA.

**4. Jay Bybee:** Federal judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, headquartered in San Francisco, California (but Bybee is based in Las Vegas), counseled the White House on how to get away with war crimes, including by helping Yoo draft the memo described above. He signed not only torture memos but also a memo purporting to legalize illegal and unconstitutional

wars. BYBEE SHOULD BE IMPEACHED.

**5. William J. "Jim" Haynes, II:** Was General Counsel to the Department of War ("Defense"). He is now Chief Corporate Counsel at the Chevron Corporate Office in San Ramon, California. He counseled the White House on how to get away with war crimes, including by drafting memos for Yoo. Member of bar in GA, NC, DC.

**6. Major General (Ret.) Michael E. Dunlavey:** Judge, Erie County Court, Common Pleas, Erie, PA.

**7. Diane Beaver:** Top military lawyer at Gitmo.

**8. Jack Landman Goldsmith, III:** DoD General Counsel's Office at Pentagon.

**9. Ms. Eliana Davidson:** International Law Division, Office of the General Counsel, Office of the Secretary of "Defense"

(Continued on page 7)

(TOP 50 from page 6)

**10. Colin Powell<sup>7</sup>:** Strategic limited partner with Kleiner, Perkins, Caufield & Byers, a Silicon Valley venture capital firm, appears as a speaker in a series of motivational events called *Get Motivated*, board member of Revolution Health and of the Council on Foreign Relations, lied to the United Nations about the grounds for war in a failed attempt to legalize a war of aggression, and was in fact a leading liar in making the false case for an illegal war of aggression.

#### NEW YORK

**11. Henry Kissinger:** Had a resume envied by other war criminals long before he advised George W. Bush to commit war crimes.

**12. Nicholas E. Calio<sup>8</sup>:** Citigroup's Executive Vice-President for Global Government Affairs.

**13. Michael Mukasey<sup>1</sup>:** Former U.S. Attorney General.

#### TEXAS

**14. George W. Bush<sup>1,2,3</sup>:** Lives in Dallas, Texas.

**15. Karen Hughes<sup>8</sup>:** Lives in Austin, Texas.

**16. Paul Bremmer<sup>3</sup>:** Former head of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq now lives in Chester, Vermont, and also works in Austin, Texas.

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**17. Dick Cheney<sup>4,5</sup>:** The former vice president lives next door to CIA headquarters in McLean, VA.

**18. John Rizzo<sup>4</sup>:** The General Counsel for the CIA (then and now) works next door to Dick Cheney's house.

**19. Robert Eatinger:** CIA lawyer.

**20. Steven Hermes:** CIA's National Clandestine Service.

**21. Paul Kelbaugh:** Deputy Legal Counsel, CTC, CIA

**22. Steven Bradbury<sup>1,4,6</sup>:** Former head of the Office of Legal Counsel.

**23. David Addington:** Chief of staff to Dick Cheney; counseled the White House on how to get away with war crimes, including by helping Yoo draft the memo described above; and drafted signing statements for Bush declaring the right to violate laws redundantly banning war crimes including torture and the construction of permanent bases in Iraq and efforts to control Iraq's oil.

**24. Condoleezza Rice<sup>7,8</sup>:** served as Secretary of State in Washington,

D.C., lied about mushroom clouds, and was in fact a leading liar in making the false case for an illegal war of aggression. In March 2009, Rice returned to Stanford University as a political science professor and the Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow on Public Policy at the Hoover Institution.

**25. Donald Rumsfeld<sup>7,9</sup>:** Was a leading liar in making the false case for an illegal war of aggression

**26. George Tenet<sup>7</sup>:** Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, oversaw the Central Intelligence Agency as it engaged in illegal renditions, detentions, torture, murder, and coverups of crimes, as well as helping to build a false case for an illegal war of aggression.

**27. John Ashcroft<sup>7</sup>:** Has his own lobbying company through which to profit from his government connections: The Ashcroft Group, LLC.

**28. Alberto Gonzales:** Has hired a criminal-defense lawyer while others have created a trust fund to help pay for his legal expenses. Has been unable to find work as a lawyer himself, so his income comes from speaking engagements. When White House counsel, wrote a memo on January 25, 2002. It explained that under the 1996 War Crimes Act, U.S. officials might be prosecuted for violating the Geneva Conventions for actions in Afghanistan (and future parts of the "War on Terror"), with penalties up to and including death. He suggested that Bush declare that the Taliban and Al Qaeda weren't covered by Geneva, to be on the safe side. Bush did so. Gonzo now has a job at Texas Tech, but not teaching law. Remember that we drove him out of office by almost impeaching him.

**29. Paul Wolfowitz<sup>9</sup>:** Lives in Chevy Chase, MD, and is a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute; advocated illegal war of aggression.

**30. Doug Feith:** On the faculty of the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University as a Professor and Distinguished Practitioner in National Security Policy. Manufactured, cherry-picked, and distorted information, and pressured others to do the same, to help build a false case for an illegal war of aggression, and advocated early and

openly for an illegal war of aggression against a "non-al Qaeda target."

**31. Elliot Abrams<sup>9</sup>:** Served as Deputy National Security Advisor for Global Democracy Strategy in Washington, D.C., and wherever he can do the most damage around the world, was a well-established war criminal even before he helped to build a false case for attacking Iraq and supported a failed coup attempt in Venezuela.

**32. Karl Rove<sup>8,10</sup>:** Owns million dollar houses in Washington, D.C., and Florida, and works for Fox News, *Newsweek*, and the *Wall Street Journal* when not testifying to congressional committees or federal prosecutors about his numerous unindicted non-war crimes. (Citizens' arrests of Rove have been attempted in Iowa, California, New York.)

**33. I. Lewis Libby<sup>8,9,10</sup>:** Lives in McLean, VA; has been disbarred in Washington, D.C., and PA; and has already been convicted of obstruction of justice for interfering with investigation.

**34. Mary Matalin<sup>8</sup>:** Married to James Carville, both of them addicted to Washington, D.C.

**35. Stephen Hadley<sup>8,10</sup>:** Served as National Security Advisor to the President.

**36. James R. Wilkinson<sup>8</sup>:** Worked for Bush as Deputy National Security Advisor for Communications.

**37. John Bolton<sup>9</sup>:** Lives in Bethesda, MD; associated with the American Enterprise Institute, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, Institute of East-West Dynamics, National Rifle Association, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, and the Council for National Policy; helped to launch an illegal war of aggression by disseminating false claims through the State Department while he was under-secretary of state for arms control.

**38. Michael Chertoff<sup>1</sup>:** Former Secretary of Homeland Security and co-author of the USA PATRIOT Act.

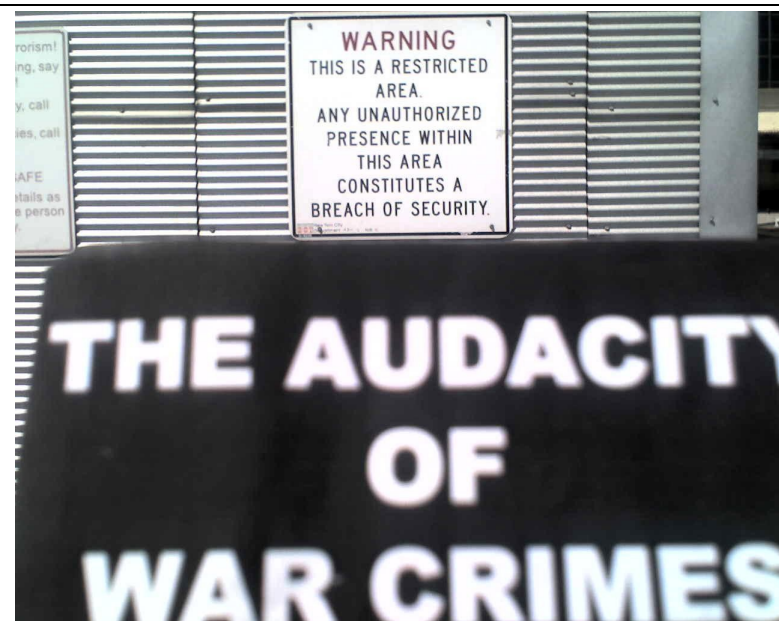
**39. Timothy Flanigan<sup>1</sup>:** Works in Washington, D.C.

**40. Alice Fisher<sup>1</sup>:** Works in Washington, D.C.

**41. John Bellinger<sup>3</sup>:** Works in Washington, D.C.

**42. John Negroponte<sup>3</sup>:** Works in Washington, D.C.

**43. Jonathan Fredman:** Was a top torture lawyer under John Rizzo at the CIA.



NYC: a pier at the end of Wall Street, the financial district. It is a public location where boats take off for Brooklyn and New Jersey. The unknown photographer passes by there and the "Warning" sign every day on his way to work. Police give menacing glances when he takes pictures but don't do anything.

**44. Scott Muller:** Was general counsel at the CIA.

**45. Kyle D. "Dusty" Foggo:** Was instrumental in setting up illegal secret prisons.

#### NEBRASKA

**46. Andrew Card<sup>3</sup>:** Former Bush Chief of Staff and head of WHIG.

#### AFGHANISTAN

**47. Stanley McChrystal:** Has been promoted as reward for his war crimes.

#### UNKNOWN LOCATION

**48. James Mitchell:** According to "The 13 People Who Made Torture Possible" (note 4): Even while Addington, Gonzales and the lawyers were beginning to build the legal framework for torture, two military psychologists were laying out the techniques the military would use. James Mitchell, a retired military psychologist, had been a leading expert in the military's SERE program. In December 2001, with his partner, Bruce Jessen, Mitchell reverse-engineered SERE techniques to be used to interrogate detainees. In the spring

of 2002, before OLC gave official legal approval to torture, Mitchell oversaw Abu Zubaydah's interrogation. An FBI agent on the scene describes Mitchell overseeing the use of "borderline torture." And after OLC approved waterboarding, Mitchell oversaw its use in ways that exceeded the guidelines in the OLC memo. Under Mitchell's guidance, interrogators used the waterboard with "far greater frequency than initially indicated"—a total of 183 times in a month for Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and 83 times in a month for Abu Zubaydah.

**49. Tommy Franks<sup>3</sup>:** Former Commander of the U.S. Central Command.

**50. Michael Hayden<sup>3</sup>:** Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

*David Swanson is co-founder of AfterDowningStreet.org and author of Daybreak: Undoing the Imperial Presidency and Forming a More Perfect Union.*

<sup>1</sup>Crimes detailed at DisbarTortureLawyers.com.

<sup>2</sup>Crimes are described at AfterDowningStreet.org/bush

<sup>3</sup>Crimes described at WarCriminalsWatch.org

<sup>4</sup>See "The 13 people who made torture possible" at salon.com.

<sup>5</sup>Crimes are documented at ImpeachCheney.org

<sup>6</sup>Crimes described at SourceWatch.org.

<sup>7</sup>Took part in White House meetings personally overseeing and approving torture by authorizing the use of specific torture techniques including waterboarding on specific people.

<sup>8</sup>Served as a member of the White House Iraq Group (WHIG) which planned the marketing of an illegal war of aggression on the basis of lies.

<sup>9</sup>Pushed for wars of aggression for years as a participant in the Project for the New American Century.

<sup>10</sup>Took part in exposing an undercover agent as retribution for exposing one of WHIG's lies.

# The Illegalities of the Bush Jr. War Against Afghanistan

by Francis A. Boyle

*Editor's note: This is the text of a speech delivered at a conference sponsored by the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyer's Guild held at DePaul Law School in the summer of 2002. Still, and sadly, the information here remains very relevant today. One notable update is that Bush Jr.'s war has become Obama's war. The new president's decision to escalate U.S. involvement and deploy drone bombers has resulted in increased casualty rates of both coalition forces and civilians.*

## The "Blowhard Zone"

On September 13, I got a call from FOX News asking me to go on the *O'Reilly Factor* program that night, two days after the tragic events of September 11, to debate O'Reilly on War v. Peace. It is pretty clear where I stood and where he stood. I had been on this program before. I knew what I was getting in to. But I felt it would be important for one lawyer to get up there in front of a national audience and argue against a war and for the application of domestic and international law enforcement, international procedures, and constitutional protections, which I did.

Unfortunately, O'Reilly has the highest ranked TV news program in the country. I thought someone should be on there on September 13. I think most people agree that I beat O'Reilly. By the end of the show he was agreeing with me. But the next night he was saying that we should bomb five different Arab countries and kill all their people. But let me review for you briefly some of the international law arguments that I have been making almost full time since September 13. They are set forth in the introduction in my new book, *The Criminality of Nuclear Deterrence*.

## Terrorism v. War

First, right after September 11 President Bush called these attacks an act of terrorism, which they were under the United States domestic law defini-

tion at that time. However, there is no generally accepted definition of an act of terrorism under international law, for reasons I explain in my book. Soon thereafter however, and apparently after consultations with Secretary of State Powell, he proceeded to call these an act of war, ratcheting up the rhetoric and the legal and constitutional issues at stake here. They were not an act of war as traditionally defined. An act of war is a military attack by one state

The critical point is that this war has never been approved by the U.N. Security Council so technically it is illegal.

against another state. There is so far no evidence produced that the state of Afghanistan, at the time, either attacked the United States or authorized or approved such an attack. Indeed, just recently FBI Director Mueller and the deputy director of the CIA publicly admitted that they have found no evidence in Afghanistan linked to the September 11 attacks. If you believe the government's account of what happened, which I think is highly questionable, 15 of these 19 people alleged to have committed these attacks were from Saudi Arabia and yet we went to war against Afghanistan. It does not really add up in my opinion.

But in any event this was not an act of war. Clearly these were acts of terrorism as defined by United States domestic law at the time, but not an act of war. Normally terrorism is dealt with as a matter of international and domestic law enforcement. Indeed there was a treaty directly on point at that time, the Montreal Sabotage Convention to which both the United States and Afghanistan were parties. It has an

entire regime to deal with all issues in dispute here, including access to the International Court of Justice to resolve international disputes arising under the Treaty—such as the extradition of Bin Laden. The Bush administration completely ignored this treaty, jettisoned it, set it aside, never even mentioned it. They paid no attention to this treaty or any of the other 12 international treaties dealing with acts of terrorism that could have been applied to handle this manner in a peaceful, lawful way.

## War of Aggression Against Afghanistan

Bush, Jr. instead went to the United Nations Security Council to get a resolution authorizing the use of military force against Afghanistan and Al Qaeda. He failed. You have to re-

member that. This war has never been authorized by the United Nations Security Council. If you read the two resolutions that he got, it is very clear that what Bush, Jr. tried to do was to get the exact same type of language that Bush, Sr. got from the U.N. Security Council in the late fall of 1990 to authorize a war against Iraq to produce its expulsion from Kuwait. It is very clear if you read these resolutions, Bush, Jr. tried to get the exact same language twice and they failed. Indeed the first Security Council resolution refused to call what happened on September 11 an "armed attack"—that is by one state against another state. Rather they called it "terrorist attacks." But the critical point here is that this war has never been approved by the U.N. Security Council so technically it is illegal under international law. It constitutes an act and a war of aggression by the United States against Afghanistan.

## No Declaration of War

Now in addition Bush, Jr. then went to Congress to get authorization to go to war. It appears that Bush, Jr. tried to get a formal declaration of war along the lines of December 8, 1941 after the Day of Infamy like FDR got on Pearl Harbor. Bush then began to use the rhetoric of Pearl Harbor. If he



*Francis Anthony Boyle is a professor of international law at the University of Illinois College of Law. Professor Boyle received a J.D. degree magna cum laude and A.M. and Ph.D. degrees in political science from Harvard University. He has written and lectured extensively in the United States and abroad on the relationship between international law and politics.*

had gotten this declaration of war, Bush and his lawyers knew full well he would have been a Constitutional Dictator. And I refer you here to the book by my late friend Professor Miller of George Washington University Law School, *Presidential Power*; that with a formal declaration of war the president becomes a Constitutional Dictator. He failed to get a declaration of war. Despite all the rhetoric we have heard by the Bush, Jr. administration, Congress never declared war against Afghanistan or against anyone. There is technically no state of war today against anyone as a matter of constitutional law as formally declared.

## Bush, Sr. v. Bush, Jr.

Now what Bush, Jr. did get was a War Powers Resolution authorization, very similar to what Bush, Sr. got. Again the game plan was the same here. Follow the path already pioneered by Bush, Sr. in his war against Iraq. So he did get from Congress a War Powers Resolution authorization. This is what law professors call an imperfect declaration of war. It does not have the constitutional significance of a formal declaration of war. It authorizes the use of military force in specified, limited circumstances.

That is what Bush, Sr. got in 1991. It was to carry out the Security Council

*(Continued on next page)*





resolution that he had gotten a month and one-half before to expel Iraq from Kuwait. But that is all the authority he had—either from the Security Council or from Congress. And that is what he did. I am not here to approve of what Bush, Sr. did. I do not and I did not at the time. But just to compare Bush, Jr. with Bush, Sr. So Bush, Jr. got a War Powers Resolution, which is not a declaration of war.

Indeed, Senator Byrd, the Dean of the Senate, clearly said this is only a War Powers authorization and we will give authority to the president to use military force subject to the requirements of the War Powers Resolution, which means they must inform us; there is Congressional oversight, in theory, (I do not think they are doing much of it); controlled funding; and ultimately we decide—not the Executive branch of the government—we are the ones who gave the authorization to use force.

Again very similar to what Bush, Sr. got except the Bush, Jr. War Powers Resolution is far more dangerous because it basically gives him a blank check to use military force against any state that he says was somehow involved in the attack on September 11. And as you know that list has now gone up to 60 states. So it is quite dangerous, which led me to say in interviews I gave at the time this is worse than the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. Better from our perspective than a formal Declaration of War, but worse constitutionally and politically than the Tonkin Gulf resolution. But still subject to the control of Congress and the terms of the War Powers Resolution. Indeed you might be able to use that War Powers Resolution and the authorization in litigation that might come up. Keep that in mind.

#### No War Against Iraq!

For example, on Iraq. Right now they cannot use that War Powers Resolution to justify a war against Iraq. There is no evidence that Iraq was involved in the events on September 11. So they are fishing around for some other justification to go to war with Iraq. They have come up now with this doctrine of preemptive attack. Quite interesting that argument, doctrine was rejected by the Nuremberg Tribunal when the lawyers for the Nazi defendants made it at Nuremberg. They rejected any doctrine of preemptive attack.

#### Nazi Self-Defense

Then what happened after failing to get any formal authorization from the Security Council, the U.S. Ambassador Negroponte—who has the blood

of about 35,000 people in Nicaragua on his hands when he was U.S. Ambassador down in Honduras—sent a letter to the Security Council asserting Article 51 of the U.N. Charter to justify the war against Afghanistan. And basically saying that we reserve the right to use force in self-defense against any state we say is somehow involved in the events of September 11.

Well, the *San Francisco Chronicle* interviewed me on that and asked what is the precedent for this? I said that the precedent again goes back to the Nuremberg Judgment of 1946 when the lawyers for the Nazi defendants argued that we, the Nazi government, had a right to go to war in self-defense as we saw it, and no one could tell us any differently. Of course that preposterous argument was rejected by Nuremberg. It is very distressing to see some of the highest level of officials of our country making legal arguments that were rejected by the Nuremberg Tribunal.

It is very distressing to see some of the highest level of officials of our country making legal arguments that were rejected by the Nuremberg Tribunal.

#### Kangaroo Courts

Now let me say a few words about the so-called military commissions. I have a little handout out there called "Kangaroo Courts." It would take me a whole law review article to go through all the problems with military commissions. I have been interviewed quite extensively. I have some comments on it in my book. Professor Jordan Paust, a friend and colleague of mine at the University of Houston, just published an article in the *Michigan Journal of International Law* which I would encourage you to read. It goes through the major problems. But basically there are two treaties on point here that are being violated at a minimum.

First, the Third Geneva Convention of 1949. I will not go through all of the arguments here but it is clear that just about everyone down in Guantanamo (not counting the guys who were picked up in Bosnia and basically kidnapped) but all those apprehended over in Afghanistan and Pakistan would qualify as prisoners of war within the meaning of the Third Geneva Convention of 1949, and therefore have all the rights of prisoners of war within the meaning of that convention. Right now however, as you know, all those rights are being denied. This is a serious war crime. And

unfortunately President Bush, Jr. himself has incriminated himself under the Third Geneva Convention by signing the order setting up these military commissions. Not only has he incriminated himself under the Third Geneva Convention, but he has incriminated himself under the U.S. War Crimes Act of 1996 or so, signed into law by President Clinton and making it a serious felony for any United States citizen either to violate or order the violation of the Four Geneva Conventions of 1949.

#### The Federalist Society Cabal

I am not personally criticizing President Bush. He is not a lawyer. He was terribly advised, criminally misadvised, by the cabal of Federalist Society lawyers that the Bush administration has assembled at the White House and the Department of Justice under Ashcroft. President Bush, Jr., by signing this order, has opened himself up to prosecution anywhere in the world for violat-

ing the Third Geneva Convention, and certainly if there is evidence to believe that any of these individuals have been tortured, which is grave breach, let alone at the end of the day executed. So this is a very serious matter.

I did not vote for President Bush, Jr. But I certainly think it is a tragedy that these Federalist Society lawyers got the President of the United States of America, who is not a lawyer, to sign the order that would incriminate him under the Geneva Conventions and United States Domestic Criminal Law. This is what happened.

#### Jeopardizing U.S. Armed Forces

Moreover, by us stating we will not apply the Third Geneva Convention to these people we opened up United

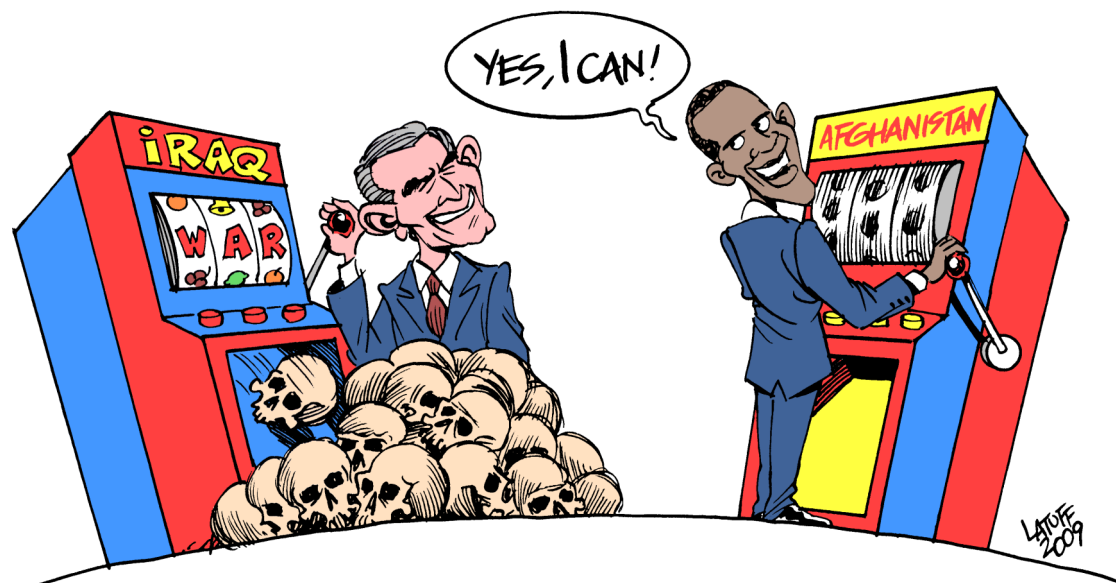


States armed forces to be denied protection under the Third Geneva Convention. And as you know, we now have U.S. armed forces in operation in Afghanistan, Georgia, the Philippines, in Yemen, and perhaps in Iraq. Basically Bush's position will be jeopardizing their ability to claim prisoner of war status. All that has to happen is our adversaries say they are unlawful combatants and we will not give you prisoner of war status. The Third Geneva Convention is one of the few protections U.S. armed forces have when they go into battle. Bush, Jr. and his Federalist Society lawyers just pulled the rug out from under them.

#### U.S. Police State

In addition the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights clearly applies down in Guantanamo. It applies any time individuals are under the jurisdiction of the United States of America. Guantanamo is a colonial enclave, I will not go through its status any further. But clearly those individuals are subject to our jurisdiction and have the rights set forth therein—which are currently being denied.

If and when many of these Bush, Ashcroft, Gonzalez police state practices make their way to the U.S. Supreme Court, we have to consider that a five to four majority of the Supreme Court gave the presidency to Bush, Jr. What is going to stop that same five to four majority from giving Bush, Jr. a police state? The only thing that is going to stop it is the people in this room.



## Exposing Vietnam War Crimes May Help Change Today's Practices

by Deborah Nelson

On Feb. 8, 1968, a month before My Lai, U.S. troops massacred 19 Vietnamese civilians in a hamlet near Hoi An. Soldiers had been given orders to “kill anything that moves,” and they did—children, women, babies, and an elderly man. Jamie Henry, a medic, witnessed the atrocity. When he reported it to the Army’s Criminal Investigation Command (CID), the agent accused him of lying. He went public with his account in February 1970 at a Vietnam Veterans Against the War news conference in Los Angeles. That got the Army’s attention. CID investigators contacted him the same day. After a couple follow-up conversations, they stopped calling. He figured they’d dropped the case.

Robert B. Stemme Jr. had a similar experience. In the spring of 1969, he and a dozen others at Landing Zone English wrote letters alerting the inspector general that interrogators were torturing detainees with field phones and water rag. Their superiors knew, they wrote, but hadn’t stopped the abuse. The inspector general sent a major, who threatened to court martial the men

who reported the atrocities. Stemme went public in April 1970 at a Los Angeles press conference of the Citizens Commission of Inquiry into War Crimes in Indochina. CID investigators interviewed him twice—and then just disappeared. He figured they’d dropped the case.

Neither Henry nor Stemme knew that CID had investigated and substantiated their allegations until Nick Turse and I contacted them three years ago for a series of articles for the Los Angeles Times. Their cases were part of a little-noticed collection of declassified documents on U.S. war crimes in Vietnam at the National Archives and Records Administration. The files included 246 case files with roughly 300 confirmed allegations and 500 reports that CID couldn’t prove or didn’t try. They were compiled by Army Staff in the 1970s and then covered up by an administration that wanted the public to believe atrocities were “isolated incidents”—attributable to rogue soldiers rather than systemic problems and policies.

In fact, the files include a memo from the White House requesting an inventory of war crime reports in 1971, shortly after John Kerry testified in the Senate that atrocities were “day-to-day” occurrences. The Army Staff quickly responded with a 25-page list. Yet in the weeks that followed, Nixon aides worked closely with a rival veterans group

bent on discrediting Kerry and the Winter Soldier Investigation, a forum on war crimes.

Beyond the individual cases, the records implicated specific military policies and practices in atrocities—such as body count, free-fire zones and search-and-destroy missions. Yet there is no indication that anyone at the Pentagon or the

Until the build up to the Iraq War, Gen. Johns thought the military had learned the lessons of Vietnam.

White House went through the records looking for such patterns. I asked Ret. Col. Jared B. Schopper, the officer responsible for maintaining the files, what they did with the information.

“Generally no action was taken,” he told me. “What happened to the files then? I suppose they ended up in the reservoir of official documents that no longer have viability.”

The tragedy in what the military did with this exceptional compilation of war-crime accounts is that it hid not only the truth about the Vietnam War from Americans, but also the truth about war.

That realization came to one of the officers who helped compile the records in the 1970s, Ret. Brig. Gen. John Johns, as the Bush Administration began the build up to the Iraq War, “one of the great blunders of history.” Until that point, Johns thought the military had learned the lessons of Vietnam, that no purpose would be served by publicly airing the war crime files. Now he believes otherwise.

“I don’t think the American people should be led blindly without knowing what’s happening,” he said. “We can’t change current practices unless we acknowledge the past. If we rationalize it as isolated acts as we did in Vietnam and as we’re doing with Abu Ghraib and similar atrocities, we’ll never correct the problem.”

*Deborah Nelson was Washington investigative editor for the Los Angeles Times before joining the University of Maryland faculty as the Carnegie Visiting Professor at Merrill College of Journalism.*



My Lai, 1968

## National Archives Restores Public Access to Vietnam War Crime Reports

COLLEGE PARK, MD. The National Archives and Records Administration in September released declassified reports on hundreds of U.S. war crime allegations from the Vietnam War, many of them confirmed by Army investigators.

The reports are part of a 9,000-page war-crime cache compiled during the war by the Army Staff for Nixon administration officials. The entire collection was originally declassified around 1990. However, the National Archives cut off public access to the documents in 2004, soon after researchers and journalists began examining the records, and around the time Democratic presidential nominee John Kerry was being attacked by the Swift Boat Veterans for testifying in the 1970s that atrocities by U.S. troops were commonplace. A spokeswoman for the National Archives said the collection was

(Continued on page 11)

## Obama Is Responsible For Slaughtered Afghanis

No Afghani Attacked U.S.

by Jay Janson

The first president of the National Security State had that famous sign on his desk: “The buck stops here!”

President Harry Truman accepted responsibility for even his vilest acts, including the fire bombing of residential Tokyo, the needless atom bombing of the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the U.S. invasion of the Korean peninsula.

The present National Security State president, Barack Obama, favors the first person pronoun plural, “we” (as in “we Americans” or simply “America”), when rationalizing his intensifying the bloody occupation of Afghanistan as a “war of necessity,” and dictating foreign policies that emphasize the use of overwhelmingly and terrifying lethal military action such as the Predator drones which hang in the air over the Pashtun population of two

One doesn't hear anyone crying “Obama mass-murderer!”—yet.

countries ready to fire deadly Hellfire missiles.

In their *Mail & Guardian* article, “At Least 90 Killed in U.S. Attack” (09/04/2009), Ameen Salarzai and Angor Bagh wrote: “The stench of burnt flesh hung over the banks of the Kunduz river in the early hours of Friday, the ground scattered with the body parts of villagers...”

“Bush mass-murderer!” shouted the U.S. peace movement, which imperialist media have now successfully anesthetized by selling America a top Harvard graduate black man-of-the-people as savior.

One doesn't hear anyone crying “Obama mass-murderer!”—yet. But what is the difference between the orders of the present Commander-in-Chief and those of his predecessor? The same Secretary of Defense (read Secretary of War) ostensibly carries out presidential orders—or tells his president what orders to give. More

gung-ho generals prosecute a war of senseless occupation in a country not one of whose citizens ever attacked America.

If not Obama's fault, whose fault was this ongoing massacre? The U.S. airmen? The German NATO officer who called in the American strike? The targeted Afghanis fighting their country's invaders as they have always done? Jimmy Carter, who sought to provoke the Soviets and began this whole 30-year sordid homicidal story by secretly funding, arming and training fundamentalist hill tribes who did not want their women liberated? Ronald Reagan who gave support to the Taliban and al Qaeda? Bush II who invaded an entire country because its leaders would not accede to U.S. demands to arrest and extradite one man, Osama bin-Laden? Or Barack

Obama, who has sent more troops into Afghanistan and orders drone attacks on Pakistani

Taliban and on Pashtun tribes who don't accept Pakistan government suzerainty over their traditionally free tribal areas?

For all the imperialist media build up of this new Commander-in-Chief, we are unable to castigate America's first black president by blaming him for yet another large massacre. But can we at least call him stupid? For he is following the immoral deeds of his predecessor, and even upping the ante. Can we call him a betrayer of the public trust of a nation tired of war? Can we suspect him of being less than truthful about why the West wants to permanently occupy or control both Afghanistan and Iraq?

And are we allowed to hate? Is it okay for us to hate this continual slaughter of people in nations of the Third World by the world's single superpower bully? Wouldn't a solid amount of hate have some use?

(Continued on page 11)



New York, September 11, 2001

This article was originally published on TruthDig ([www.truthdig.com](http://www.truthdig.com)).

What if eight years ago the World Trade Center had been leveled by a small nuclear bomb that took out most of lower Manhattan as well? How many millions of innocent civilians would we have killed in retaliation? Would we still be a free society, or would Dick Cheney have attained the power of a demented king, having moved on from snooping on our phone calls and outing honest CIA agents to destroying the last vestiges of the rule of law?

As assaults on a society go, the 9/11 attacks, which left 3,000 dead and are sure to be described on each September anniversary as being among the greatest of historical outrages, were something less than that, given the world's experience with the ravages of war. The countless Russians and the 6 million Jews killed by those so finely educated Germans come to mind. The 3.4 million Vietnamese,

## A 9/11 Reality Check

by Robert Scheer

mostly rice farmers, whom Robert McNamara admitted to having helped kill with his carpet-bombing of their country, are a forgotten footnote. Yet we who have never experienced such carnage on our home front all too easily poke out tens of thousands of eyes for each lost one of our own.

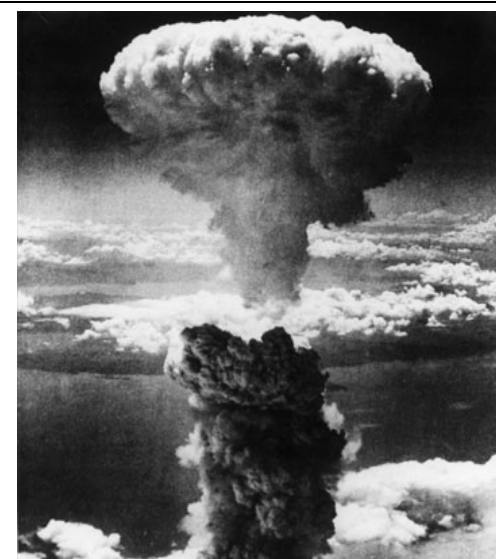
Surely two planes crashing into office buildings and another hitting the Pentagon doesn't compare to the leveling of every major city in Japan with conventional bombing, capped off by the mass murder of hundreds of thousands more at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Speaking of eyes lost, mark the words of Hiroshima's mayor two years ago: "That fateful summer, 8:15 AM. The roar of a B-29 breaks the morning calm. A parachute opens in the blue sky. Then suddenly, a flash, an enormous blast—silence—hell on Earth. The eyes of young girls watching the parachute were melted."

We assumed that the Japanese people would readily forgive us and, having been raised in the spirit of total obedience to their emperor, they

accommodated our occupation quite well, even injecting industrial-grade silicon into their women's breasts to satisfy the erotic appetites of our soldiers.

Americans who blithely claim the moral high ground with every pledge of allegiance to a flag that, because it is American, is assumed to have never been sullied by imperial greed or moral contradiction expect no less than instant and full forgiveness for our "mistakes." Only this past August, four decades after he led the massacre of 500 villagers in My Lai, Vietnam, did

has never suffered a long and widespread occupation, easily gave vent to our most barbaric impulses, assuming the absolute right to arrest and torture anyone anywhere in the world without revealing his identity, let alone respecting a single one of those God-given rights that we claim for ourselves alone. And even when we identify the few we hold responsible for the attacks on our soil, we refuse them public



Nagasaki, August 9, 1945

In blind and wrathful retaliation we wreaked havoc on Iraq, a nation that had not attacked us, and we continue to slaughter peasants in Afghanistan who aren't able to find Manhattan on a map.

former Army Lt. William Calley express "regret" for his crimes. He served no time in prison for the point-blank shooting of toddlers, thanks to the commutation of his sentence by Richard Nixon, who might have been anticipating his own need for a presidential pardon.

In blind and wrathful retaliation for 9/11 we wreaked havoc on Iraq, a nation that our then-president knew had not attacked us, and we continue to slaughter peasants in Afghanistan who aren't able to find Manhattan on a map.

We, a people whose nation

and fair trials even after years of torturing them.

But we do have a saving grace for our experiment in democracy—although unfortunately it did not exist in the Supreme Court or Congress as a barrier to an imperial vice presidency. It is the power of the lone whistle-blower of conscience, occasionally given voice in what remains of our free press and which can influence presidential elections, as happened quite dramatically this last time around. There are those like Joe Wilson, who exposed presidential fraud masquerading as national se-

curity concern over bogus Iraqi purchases of uranium from Niger, and more recently the truth-telling of Ali H. Soufan, a former FBI agent and lead interrogator of terrorists.

In his September 5 New York Times article, "What Torture Never Told Us," Soufan, who was involved in obtaining much reliable information from prisoners before they were tortured, observed that the recently released memos cited by Cheney to back his argument that torture was efficient actually "fail to show that the techniques stopped even a single imminent threat of terrorism."

So, Cheney is again proved wrong, but if there had been a larger attack on 9/11, I doubt whether many free souls would be around now to tell him so.

*ROBERT SCHEER, a journalist for more than 30 years, was a Viet Nam correspondent (1964-69) and is editor-in-chief of TruthDig.*

(OBAMA from page 10)

"We hate all Americans. We hate you from the bottom of our souls," said a well known Pakistani journalist to the face an Obama-appointed, foreign public relations officer.

When are Americans going to stop listening to fatuous praise from the war-promoting, conglomerate-owned, everywhere-intrusive, entertainment/news media cartel? When are Americans going to start counting up the millions, perhaps billions, of earthlings who tremble, are mentally distressed, or are angry at the sight of the Stars and Stripes?

*Jay Janson is musician and writer who has lived and worked on all the continents. His articles on media have been published in China, Italy, England and the U.S. A member of the Manhattan VFP chapter, he resides in New York City.*

This article was originally published in OpEdNews on September 7, 2009.

(NATIONAL ARCHIVES from page 10)

withdrawn after staff raised privacy concerns.

This release involved 246 status reports on Army war-crime investigations into allegations of murder, massacre, torture, rape, assault, and mutilation. While not a full accounting, the reports represent the most extensive compilation to surface so far. They show war crimes were a systemic problem in Vietnam, and not isolated incidents committed by a few rogue units, as the military has long maintained. In fact, every major division that served in Vietnam is represented in the files.

The reports were released in response to a Freedom of Information Act request filed by Deborah Nelson, a Pulitzer Prize

-winning journalist and author of *The War Behind Me: Vietnam Veterans Confront the Truth about U.S. War Crimes* (Basic Books 2008). Social Security numbers and some names were redacted from the documents. Nelson also requested release of the full case files, which include sworn witness statements, investigator notes and findings. Several have been processed and restored to public access. One describes the massacre of 19 civilians on Feb. 8, 1968, a month before the My Lai massacre. Another follows the Army's efforts to stifle allegations that hundreds of civilians were being killed in the Mekong Delta to meet pressure by commanders for high enemy body counts.

*The War Behind Me* ([thewarbehindme.com](http://thewarbehindme.com))

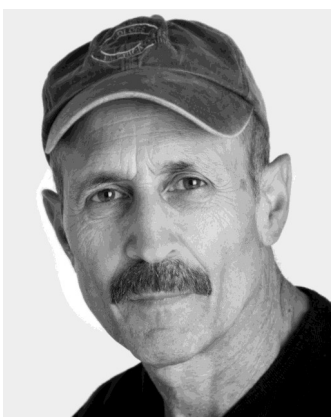
is based on the declassified files and interviews with combat veterans and former Pentagon officials named in them. The records also were the focus of a 2006 Los Angeles Times series co-authored by Nelson and Nick Turse, who obtained copies for his dissertation while at Columbia University and prior to their withdrawal.

Beginning in 2006, Nelson had fought for release of the records to make them available to veterans, researchers and the general public. The collection, "Records of the Vietnam War Crimes Working Group," is located in Records Group 319, National Archives II, College Park, MD.

When the rich wage war, it's the poor who die. —Jean-Paul Sartre

**RADICAL RANT**

by Tarak Kauff



America is in bad shape.

I'm not talking about the economy, although that's bad, and I'm not talking

about what's happening to the environment, although that's bad, and I'm not talking about the corruption in government, although that is almost always bad. What I am talking about is the deep rot at the very roots of our collective soul.

One thinks of Germany during the Hitler years, how at first they tolerated him and then later as the massive state brainwashing continued, not only looked aside when the atrocities against the Jews and communists began but later rationalized them, accepting the ghettos, the prison concentration camps, the attacks on Poland, Holland and Hungary and they came to glorify Hitler as the Führer. Many became Nazis or Nazi supporters. Most became "good Germans."

Are we any better? In his September 1, 2009 *Boston Globe* article "Cheney's Dark Side—And Ours," Derrick Jackson writes, "The rot in our national morality is evident . . . a June poll by the Associated Press, found that 52 percent of Americans said torture was sometimes or often justified to obtain information from terror suspects. An April CNN poll found that even though 60 percent of Americans thought harsh techniques, including waterboarding constituted torture, 50 percent approved of them. A *Washington Post/ABC News* Poll was almost evenly split between Americans who say we should never use torture (49 percent) and those who say we should use torture in some cases (48 percent)."

# Remember Magic

Thus the national discussion revolves around whether or not torture is an effective tool to gather information—not is it right or wrong, but simply is it utilitarian? Forget that torture is an international crime, forget that it is cruel and inhumane, forget that it debases the soul of both the tortured and the torturer; forget all that—Dick Cheney says it protects us. Not only do people listen to this irrational and immoral madness, many come to believe and accept it as a solid, even patriotic justification.

Many Americans have been remarkably dumbed down by the mass media, a situation which can be forgiven. But what of those who have become abject moral cowards as well, willing to sell their collective souls for a measure of illusory security?

As a young boy I was so proud, so grateful to be an American. I believed that this was the land of the free, the home of the brave. But the free and the brave do not wage war against civilians, do not torture, and do not imprison indefinitely. America's arrogance, ignorance and greed are second only to its massive and calculated brutality inflicted on a suffering world.

Oh yes, someday history will judge us harshly but it is our children and our children's children who will remember us with the deepest scorn. They will not be able to understand how we groveled and abased ourselves in ignorance, fear and cowardice. How, in the world, they will wonder, did a supposedly free and

democratic people allow a bunch of power-hungry, egotistical and cowardly wretches like Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld and the like rule for as long as they did and get away with war crimes as they have?

And what will they think of the moral cowardice and hypocrisy of Obama, a president who claims to despise torture, yet has continued and even expanded most of the Bush agenda?

Chris Hedges, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*, and former *NY Times* foreign correspondent, writes, "The

The free and the brave do not wage war against civilians, do not torture... America's arrogance, ignorance and greed are second only to its massive and calculated brutality inflicted on a suffering world.

right-wing accusations against Barack Obama are true. He is a socialist, although he practices socialism for corporations. He is squandering the country's future with deficits that can never be repaid. He has retained and even bolstered our surveillance state to spy on Americans. He is forcing us to buy into a health care system that will enrich corporations and expand the abuse of our for-profit medical care. He will not stanch unemployment. He will not end our wars. He will not rebuild the nation. He is a tool of the corporate state."

I'm not proud of America, I'm not proud of our current or recently past Presidents, and I'm not proud to be an American. Neither have I any pride that I was once a U.S. Army paratrooper. I can do without all that nationalistic pride. I am filled with a sense of shame and regret for this country, my home for longer than I care to mention. What is

happening today is part of a continuous American history of war, racism, slavery, genocides, worker exploitation, corporatism, and what Pope John Paul II called, "savage, unbridled, capitalism"—the list is virtually endless. How can I wave the flag proudly?

During my years in the service, I was ready to fight, maybe die, even kill, for this country. I'm thankful I was not sent overseas. I don't have the haunting memories that burden many other veterans. Yet, I remain grateful and proud to be a brother in Veterans For Peace. These veterans have seen through the narrow and separatist idea of national patriotism to a much larger earth-embracing vision of a world without the scourge of war.

Today my allegiance is to the children, to the world at large, not to any country circumscribed by artificial man-made boundaries.

"There is always a bright side," my good friend and fellow Veteran For Peace Doug Zachary, reminds us. I don't want to forget that. Michael Morford helps me remember:

"Stop thinking this is all there is.... Realize that for every ongoing war and religious outrage and environmental devastation and bogus Iraq attack plan, there are a thousand counter-balancing acts of staggering generosity and humanity and art and beauty happening all over the world, right now, on a breathtaking scale, from flowerbox to cathedral.... Resist the temptation to drown in fatalism, to shake your head and sigh and just throw in the karmic towel.... Realize that this is the perfect moment to change the energy of the world, to step right up and crank your personal volume; right when it all seems dark and bitter and offensive and acrimonious and conflicted and bilious... there's your opening. Remember magic. And finally, believe you are part of a groundswell, a resistance, a seemingly small but actually very, very large impending karmic overhaul, a great shift, the beginning of something important and potent and unstoppable."

## Letters

### Corporate Death Grip

Although most liberals are still in a state of denial, the sad truth is that Obama has consistently failed to produce any change, much less change we can "believe in."

Whether it is the wars in the Middle East, true healthcare reform, Wall Street bailouts, spying on Americans, closing down illegal prisons abroad, or stopping torture, he has not only failed us, but failed us miserably.

But then, he never had a chance. America is in the death grip of the banks, the insurance industry, the weapons makers, big pharma, and big oil. These huge corporate entities have strangled our democracy and replaced it with lobbyists, campaign contributions, and media ownership. We the people never had a prayer of getting change at the ballot box. The system is fixed, and has been for some time.

According to Franklin Roosevelt, "The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it

becomes stronger than their democratic state itself. That, in its essence, is Fascism—ownership of Government by an individual, by a group, or by any other controlling private power."

Roosevelt was the last president to consistently warn the American public about corporate power, although President Eisenhower's Farewell Address pointed to the same danger. Since then, we have had leaders like Obama, who promised change but delivered only more of the same. Charlatans serving the plutocracy.

Fred Nagel  
Rhinebeck, NY

### Constructive Criticism

It seems to me when you can get people such as Noam Chomsky to OK publication of articles, you should want to announce yourselves and such articles to the world.

I have had it up to here with peacenik groups preaching to the choir and no one else. If you are not e-mailing *WCT* to government organizations at all levels, leading news gathering and dissemination organizations and education institutions worldwide, you are failing to take advantage of a cheap and easy way

to make yourselves and the ideas of your writers known to the general public. Otherwise, what's the point?

Will Shapira  
Roseville MN

*Editor responds: Our small unpaid staff is, to say the least, stretched to the limit just to produce the WCT and send it out in bundles (\$20 per 100 postpaid, thank you) across the country. We would certainly welcome help at any level, especially PR and distribution. Contact: editor@WarCrimesTimes.org.*

# What Americans don't know *can* hurt us

by Kim Carlyle

*Where ignorance is our master, there is no possibility of real peace.*  
—Dalai Lama

My sister recently was explaining to her 13-year-old granddaughter, Sabina, about "big lies." As the conversation turned to the events of September 11, 2001, Sabina said, "Really? Most of them were from Saudi Arabia?"\*

This reaction was from a very intelligent young lady—sadly a victim of our contemporary American culture. More sadly, many, if not most, Americans remain ignorant on important issues.

Now, there is nothing wrong with ignorance. It is simply a lack of knowledge of a particular subject. I claim ignorance of popular culture—until recently I thought that Paris Hilton was a hotel in Europe. But on some topics, Americans should be well-informed. For example, when our country commits to military adventures costing (so far) almost a trillion—yes, a *trillion*—dollars, bringing death and devastation to millions of people, and which will shape history for the next hundred years (should history last that long), I believe U.S. citizens should know some basic facts.

It's not easy in contemporary American culture. Our educational system—kindergarten through graduate school—does not turn out critical thinkers; instead, it trains worker bees. The

.....  
\* None of the alleged perpetrators of the events of September 11, 2001 were from Iraq, Afghanistan, or even Pakistan. Fifteen were from our ally, Saudi Arabia, two from United Arab Emirates, one from Egypt, and one from Lebanon.

corporate mass media do not inform and enlighten the citizenry; they entertain, distract, and misinform a nation of consumers.

In fact the media—a term which wrongly suggests "intermediaries"—are so closely aligned with the military-industrial-congressional complex that objectivity is impossible. We don't have journalists for the people; we have toadies for the rich and powerful.

All media have biases and agendas. The *War Crimes Times*

Americans need to know: A war of aggression is the "supreme international crime"; the U.S. invasions of both Iraq and Afghanistan were wars of aggression.

is biased toward nonviolent resolution of international differences—a position shared by Tolstoy, Einstein, Gandhi, King, the Dalai Lama, Aung San Suu Kyi, Kathy Kelly, and Jesus. Our agenda is to help bring war criminals to justice as a deterrent to future war crimes and wars. Other media have different biases and agendas and a different cast of characters who share their positions.

It's important to be aware of tactics used by government officials and their media to promote their agendas. Sabina fell victim to deceptive conflation or "associating the dots"—a trick by which concepts are repeatedly

used together until the subject mistakenly "connects" the dots. For example, repeat the strings "9/11, terrorists, al Qaeda, Saddam, Iraq" and "9/11, terrorists, bin Laden, al Qaeda, Afghanistan" frequently enough and folks will "learn" that Afghans and Iraqis are our enemies and deserve to be punished with our military might. Other tactics include spin, innuendo, exaggeration, embellishment, suppression, and direct bold lies.

*WCT* readers, an atypically well-informed demographic, have a duty to resuscitate our democracy by educating the less fortunate. Here's a suggestion: use the *WCT* as a teaching tool. Engage your colleague, neighbor, or family member and say, "You'll find an interesting article on page..." or (pointing to an item), "Did you know that?"

Above all, make sure they know this: the U.S. campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan violated international law and were wars of aggression. A war of aggression, according to Nuremberg, is the "supreme international crime, differing only from other war crimes in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole." That said, here are some dots that can actually be connected: war of aggression, torture, targeting civilians, destruction of civilian infrastructure, Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Rice, Wolfowitz...ad nauseum.

I know of no safe repository of the ultimate power of society but people. And if we think them not enlightened enough, the remedy is not to take the power from them, but to inform them by education.  
—Thomas Jefferson

*Alfred-Maurice de Zayas:*

## BEATITUDES

Can you tell me who is good and who is bad ?  
The ancient "we and they" divides us artificially.  
Yet for the children of New York and Baghdad,  
only one equation counts: their shared humanity.

Woe upon the men who have unleashed a war  
through brazen lies, in breach of every law !  
Alas, the many nations that such crimes abhor  
have failed to stop the programmed "Shock and Awe".

But silence now would make us guilty too.  
Protest we must: Condemn colonial wars !  
Who are the victims, who the victimizers? Who ?  
Ourselves, our leaders! To the White House: Mirrors !

Blest are the peacemakers, children of our God.\* Deplore  
the wielders of the sword: they must one day account.  
Our Chief is seen in church, but does he grasp the core ?  
It is the Sermon on the Mount.

\* **Matthew V, 9**

## PANEM ET CIRCENSES\*

No need for gladiators, chariot races,  
for we watch much better shows:  
"Afghanistan in flames"  
or how to stomp the Taliban,  
then follows "Bombs over Baghdad".  
For CNN and Fox can always entertain us :  
'twas the Showdown with bin Laden  
'twas the Showdown with Saddam,  
with our smart bombs and explosions  
compliments of Uncle Sam.  
Now, who should care about the damage,  
whether willed or just collateral,  
when our science is aesthetic  
and we test such clever weapons ?  
Let's be patriotic, not pathetic --  
Pathos is for adolescents.  
War should always be primetime,  
with few or no commercials.  
Yes, we love our *panem et circenses* :  
it's the modern "lions versus Muslims" show ! \*\*

\* *Bread and circus games (Juvenal, Satires, X, 81)*  
\*\* *Christianos ad leones ! Tertullius, Apologeticum 40, 2*  
*then the Christians as the scapegoats, now the Muslims .*

*Alfred-Maurice de Zayas is an American lawyer, writer, historian, a leading expert in the field of human rights. Currently a professor of international law at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations, De Zayas has written and lectured extensively on human rights.*

Since an informed citizenry is the basis for a healthy democracy, independent, non-corporate media are more crucial today than ever before.  
—Dahr Jamail

## Putting Iraqi suffering in perspective: Dead American civilians

Veterans For Peace president Mike Ferner recently wrote that if the impact of the war in Iraq was proportionately felt in the United States: "every person in Baltimore, Boston, Dallas, Philadelphia, San Diego, San Francisco and Seattle would be dead....Everyone in Delaware, Idaho, Nebraska, Nevada, New York and Oregon: wounded....The entire populations of Ohio and New Jersey: homeless. Everyone in Michigan, Indiana and Kentucky: refugees in Canada or Mexico." The dead are depicted in the graphic; for the wounded, homeless, and refugees, use your imagination.



# We Should Focus on the *Ongoing* War Crimes!

by Susan Oehler

[Editor's note: While the attack on Bala Baluk occurred in May, such war crimes continue—see page 1.]

This summer, media attention was directed—briefly—toward a war crime that happened in 2001 in Afghanistan. Our allies had picked up a bunch of Taliban and put them into shipping containers, where many of them died. They were buried in mass graves. This crime had been ignored or dismissed by American officials and the U.S. corporate media until recently.

But I am much more concerned about the war crimes being committed today than those of prior years.

From Wikipedia the definition of war crimes: “War crimes are ‘violations of the laws or customs of war’; including but not limited to ‘murder, the ill-treatment or deportation of civilian residents of an occupied territory to slave labor camps,’ ‘the murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war,’ the killing of hostages, ‘the wanton destruction of cities, towns and villages, and any devastation not justified by military, or civilian necessity.’”

International law provides for the protection of civilian persons. The bombing of civilian structures is a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and I think that is exactly what happened in Afghanistan in early May 2009.

“Afghan villagers slain as they took cover,” from *Times On Line (UK)* describes the events:

“Tears streaming down her face, the Afghan woman sat in a corner of a room

with no roof and broken windows, mourning 19 of her closest and dearest relatives. ‘They were parts of my heart,’ she said.

“Six weeks after American warplanes bombed her village in Farah province, on Afghanistan’s remote western border, mistakenly killing dozens of innocent women and children, the terror of the moment when the bombs fell and the ground erupted, turning one mud-walled house after another into rubble, still lives in her mind. ‘I lost them all at a glance. Why am I still alive?’ the 62-year-old woman asked.

## Almost no corporate media attention is being paid to war crimes going on right now.

“The dead men, women, and children, many of them her relatives, now lie in graves. The survivors still wonder why their families were wiped out by American airmen with whom they had no quarrel.”

More recently, the people in the two villages in Afghanistan have been given fliers that are very threatening indeed. These fliers from the U.S. military say that their villages will be targeted if a recently captured U.S. soldier is not set free. (Please note that they call this soldier “kidnapped” when in fact only civilians can be “kidnapped”—he was CAPTURED by the enemy.) Here is a quote from the CBS news blog:

“At least two Afghan villages have

been blanketed with leaflets warning that if an American soldier kidnapped by the Taliban two weeks ago isn’t freed, ‘you will be targeted.’

“Villagers near the border of two volatile provinces, Ghazni and Paktika, tell CBS News’ Sami Yousafzai that aircraft dropped

the leaflets during the past several days.

“Military spokeswoman Capt. Elizabeth Mathias confirmed that the leaflets were produced at Bagram Air Base, the primary U.S. installation in Afghanistan, and distributed in the region. She told CBS News correspondent Mandy Clark, however, that they were distributed by hand, not aircraft.”

Yes, they “will be targeted” even though the vast majority of them know nothing about this captured soldier and had nothing to do with it. If they proceed with targeting the civilian population, it will be YET ANOTHER in a very long series of war crimes. (Threatening them might also qualify as a war crime.)

And, talking about Bagram, it is being EXPANDED under the Obama administration, and there is NO talk about giving those people any legal rights. In addition, some of the people imprisoned there actually were KIDNAPPED—since they are civilians. Hell, some of them are probably children! And I have really serious doubts that torture has stopped inside Bagram, even though Obama directed it to stop. It not getting any better at Guantanamo, either. It is getting worse—according to news reports from earlier this year.



Child injured in U.S. air strike on Bala Baluk, Afghanistan

I find it peculiar that so much attention is being directed at war crimes from years ago under the Bush administration, committed by allies, while almost no corporate media attention is being paid to war crimes going on right now, and being done by the U.S. military!

Those who support the continued occupation of Iraq or Afghanistan, or the bombing of Pakistan, support what war brings: ongoing war crimes.

*Susan Oehler is a pediatric audiologist and peace activist in Asheville, NC.*

“We need to decide that we will not go to war, whatever reason is conjured up by the politicians or the media, because war in our time is always indiscriminate, a war against innocents, a war against children.”

—Howard Zinn

## RAWA\* Statement on Massacre of over 150 Civilians in Bala Baluk of Farah Province by the U.S.

As the U.S. occupiers continue killing our innocent and sorrowed people without regret, this time they committed yet another horrible crime in Bala Baluk village of Farah Province. On 5th May 2009, the U.S. air strikes targeted people’s homes, killing more than 150, mostly women and children. This is another war crime but Pentagon shamelessly includes Taliban as the perpetrators too and announces the civilian deaths being only 12!

The so-called “new” strategy of Obama’s administration and the surge of troops in Afghanistan have already dragged our ill-fated people in the danger zone and his 100-day old government proved itself as much more war-mongering than Bush and his only gifts to our people is hiking killings and ever-horrifying oppression. This administration is bombarding our country and tearing our women and children into pieces and from the other side, is lending a friendly hand towards the terrorist Gulbuddin and Taliban—the dirty, bloody enemies of our people—and holding secret negotiations and talks with such brutal groups.

While our grieved people are burying the torn bodies of their loved ones in mass graves....The only way our people can escape the occupant forces and their obedient servants is to rise against them under the slogans of: “**Neither the occupiers! Nor the bestial Taliban and the criminal Northern Alliance; long live a free and democratic Afghanistan!**”

\*RAWA is the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan

Faiz Ahmed Faiz of Pakistan (1911-1984) is regarded as the 20th century's greatest Urdu poet. His poem "Bol" (Speak!) is widely used and recited in marches and demonstrations by Pakistani civil society against the depredations of the Pakistani state.

“Bol”

*bol ke lab aazad hain tere  
bol zaban ab tak teri hai  
tera sutawaan jism hai tera  
bol ke jaan ab tak teri hai.  
dekh ke aahangar ki dukaan mein  
tund hain shole surkh hai aahan  
khulane lage quffalon ke dahane.  
phaila har ek zanjir kaa daaman.  
bol ye thoda waqt bahot hai.  
jism-o-zabaan ki maut se pahale.  
bol ke sach zinda hai ab tak.  
bol jo kuchh kahane hai kah le*

“Speak”

Speak. Your lips are free.  
Speak. Your tongue is still yours.  
This magnificent body is still yours.  
Speak. Your life is still yours.  
Look inside the smithy, leaping flames, red hot iron.  
Padlocks open wide their jaws, chains disintegrate.  
Speak. There is little time.  
But little though it is, it is enough time,  
Enough before the body perishes,  
before the tongue atrophies.  
Speak. The truth still lives.  
Say what you have to say.  
Speak. Your lips are free.

Submitted by David Barsamian, Director *Alternative Radio* [alternativeradio.org](http://alternativeradio.org).

# What if the laws were enforced? Readers respond

by Tarak Kauff

The case for prosecution of the Bush Era war crimes has been adequately presented to the public. Torture, a heinous crime by all international standards, has been openly admitted and then defended with great arrogance by Dick Cheney and others. This publication and others have presented numerous and compelling articles on the subject. Yet the law and justice remain unimplemented. So I asked readers of the *War Crimes Times*:

**1. What would America and the world would be like if the laws on war crimes were actually enforced? If those responsible for torture and other war crimes were held accountable, prosecuted, and convicted in an international court of law?**

**2. What do think the consequences will be if we continue to follow Obama's prescription, "that generally speaking, I'm more interested in looking forward than I am in looking backwards" ?**

These thoughtful responses are worth sharing.

**Donna Goodman—New Paltz, NY:** I think the two questions should be answered together. The current revelations about torture are part of the U.S.'s long history of torture, and both present and past practice need to be confronted.

To "look forward" without regarding the past is to deny the place torture occupies in our country's history, from its founding on slavery and the genocide of native peoples to its wars of aggression and occupation of the 20th century, such as the Philippines and Vietnam, that relied on acts of terror and torture, to the practices of our

We should indeed look "backwards"—opening up our history could pave the way for a more legitimate leadership to emerge.

country's domestic prison system, including solitary confinement and the death penalty. This history challenges America's claims to being a democracy. Torture is a constant in our history, under the surface and ready to be used when necessary to subdue those who would challenge U.S. dominance.

The revelations of recent acts and policies of torture should be expanded. Their suppression protects the guilty, including those in the current administration. The revelations should lead to criminal prosecutions in both national and international courts of law, and the procedures should be public. A public and honest legal prosecution would expose the hypocrisy that underlies American democracy but would also give heart to the real democratic forces in our country to continue to fight for a legitimate democracy.

Along with these prosecutions, we should indeed look "backwards," in all history curricula in all schools and in all media. Opening up our history could pave the way for a more legitimate leadership to emerge in this country, as well as for a more participatory democracy.

However, we can't have it both ways. We can't be both an imperialist hegemon and a truly democratic nation that treats its citizens and those of the rest of the world with dignity, humanity and equality.

*Donna Goodman is a long-time activist and organizer in the anti-imperialist and peace movements. She is also a member and elected delegate of United University Professions, the faculty union of the State University of New York and a member organization of U.S. Labor against the War.*



**John Harter—Vienna, Austria:** It would send the correct message to American politicians about their actions, including actions of their advisors that accountability has no expiration date. It would send a message to the American public that they must be ever vigilant, and that their vigilance can bring results. It would send a message to the Iraqi and Afghan and other peoples about our

It would send the correct message—that accountability has no expiration date.

crimes (past and on-going) against their countries, that America is capable of recognizing its mistakes and attempting to correct them. It would send a message to other nations and their leaders that Americans are willing make great sacrifices in the name of justice and morality. But if those responsible are not held accountable, all of the above can be forgotten. Obviously Obama's argument for not pursuing this has much weight, but is certainly out-weighted by the above arguments.

*John Harter is a former monk, a furniture maker, and a resident of Austria since 1990. He is currently teaching English.*



**Joe Glickman—Brooklyn, NY:** I understand why Obama doesn't want to "look back"—that's 100% political—but the decision NOT to prosecute the mucky mucks is morally indefensible.

**Bill Sumner—Bennington, VT:** We would take a huge step forward in healing ourselves and our relationship with the world, not to mention a huge evolutionary step forward.



**Judith Karpova—NY:** If those held responsible for these international crimes were tried in an international court, the global atmosphere would shift. A standard would be set that holds every nation as a member of a community. This community would be shown to stand on a foundation that protects all people's rights. It is most important that the U.S., as a self-styled "leader" and judge of others, comply with international standards. Its hypocrisy sets an example for all other countries. Its compliance would do so as well. Within our own country, it would relieve an atmosphere of fear, which deranges all societies; fragmenting them and setting group against group and ideology against ideology. Free of this fear, we have an opportunity to cooperate in looking towards our future together. If it is to be a positive future, such cooperation has to happen.

U.S. hypocrisy sets an example for all other countries; its compliance would do so as well.

The U.S. continues to posture, really, as the world's model of enlightened civil society, on the basis of its size, economic engine, military, and political stability. However, each administration continues to build on the transgressions of the previous ones against civil protections, transparency and accountability. As this one utilizes the crimes of its predecessor for its own convenience, our international status erodes. We model hypocrisy instead of values and violence instead of diplomacy. Our good name, temporarily given a lift by Obama's election, sinks even lower than under Bush, as the man demonstrates disregard for his own professed values. He becomes Barack "McCain" Obama. The consequences are, for all governments, "anything goes." Civil society, instead of being able to steer towards a positive future, becomes exhausted in fighting the crimes of its own corporations and colluding governments. More of the same is not an option—we have too many unyielding conditions that can destroy us if not correctly addressed: the end of oil, global warming, population, plagues. So what Obama is looking forward to is apparently a kind of dystopia, a hell of our own creation.



*Judith Karpova grew up in Newark, New Jersey. She attended the University of Wisconsin during the Vietnam War era, and became an activist in response to it. She was a member of the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union and SDS, and staffed the Oleo Strut GI coffee shop in Fort Hood, Texas when the Fort Hood Three were organizing their fellow GI's on the base. In the 80's, she initiated a Nuclear Free Zone campaign in New Jersey which resulted in Hoboken becoming a Nuclear Free Zone and Jersey City and Union County following suit. She participated in the WTO demonstrations in Seattle and worked with the Direct Action Network to organize other anti-corporate globalization demonstrations.*

*In February 2003, unable to sit on the sidelines while yet another war was contrived which would result in hundreds of thousand of deaths and the destruction of a country, if not an entire region, Judith went to Iraq as a Human Shield, joining over 400 people from 32 countries. They lived on UN designated civilian infrastructure sites, like water treatment plants, to hopefully prevent them from being bombed as they were in the first Gulf War, with catastrophic results for the civilian population.*

**WHEN MORRIS SPED...**

When Morris sped down  
 Ducksberry Hill and  
 Spilt his youthful brains  
 Upon the undelivered milk, the  
 Children of Honshu were not yet  
 Vaporized; and while he pledged  
 Allegiance many times before that  
 Lethal ride, he never got to lose his  
 Shattered limbs in Chosen's freeze  
 Or watch an infant's face dissolve in the  
 Embrace of a grenade at Hue or shred  
 By homeboys' hollowpoints, or even  
 Glimpse the swollen bellies of the dead  
 In distant places of diverted aid.  
 He never smoked a toke...  
 Or maxed a clutch of credit cards...  
 Or heard impassioned public  
 Praise of greed and sodomy.  
 He never got to wear a silver  
 Rivet in his tongue, or fill his  
 Nose with cheering dust,  
 Or genuflect to costly  
 Mindlessness upon the  
 Psychiatric couch, or breathe  
 Moronic flatus from the tube,  
 Or binge on beer, or sire  
 Expansively on carnal cue.  
 Because of his demise, he'd not  
 Contemporize.  
 And yet, for all he missed,  
 It still remains a shame: it's  
 Tragic that he left so soon,  
 So much the same  
 As when he came.

--vox clamantis

"vox" is A.J. Burnes, a doctor, an attorney,  
 Director General of The Alliance for Social Justice,  
 International, a member of Veterans for Peace,  
 a resigned U.S. Marine Corps infantry and flight combat officer (after 9 years), a writer/poet, and an outspoken,  
 spiritually-oriented war dissident.



"Failure to gain the initiative and reverse insurgent momentum in the near term...risks an outcome where defeating the insurgency is no longer possible."

—Gen. Stanley McChrystal



"War is organised murder, and nothing else. At the end, the peace was settled round a table, so why the hell couldn't they do that at the start without losing millions of men?"

—Harry Patch (1898-2009) the last "Tommy"—the last surviving soldier who fought in the trenches of WWI.

## Statement of Iraqi journalist Muntadhar al-Zaidi who was released to a hero's welcome after serving nine months in prison for throwing a shoe at former President George W. Bush

I am free. But my country is still a prisoner of war. There has been a lot of talk about the action and about the person who took it, and about the hero and the heroic act, and the symbol and the symbolic act. But, simply, I answer: what compelled me to act is the injustice that befell my people, and how the occupation wanted to humiliate my homeland by putting it under its boot.

Over recent years, more than a million martyrs have fallen by the bullets of the occupation and Iraq is now filled with more than five million orphans, a million widows and hundreds of thousands of maimed. Many millions are homeless inside and outside the country.

We used to be a nation in which the Arab would share with the Turkman and the Kurd and the Assyrian and the Sabeen and the Yazid his daily bread. And the Shia would pray with the Sunni in one line. And the Muslim would celebrate with the Christian the birthday of Christ. This despite the fact that we shared hunger under sanctions for more than a decade.

Our patience and our solidarity did not make us forget the oppression. But the invasion divided brother from brother, neighbour from neighbour. It turned our homes into funeral tents.

I am not a hero. But I have a point of view. I have a stance. It humiliated me to see my country humiliated; and to see my Baghdad burned, my people killed. Thousands of tragic pictures remained in my head, pushing me towards the path of confrontation. The scandal of Abu Ghraib. The massacre of Falluja, Najaf, Haditha, Sadr City, Basra, Diyala, Mosul, Tal Afar, and every inch of our wounded land. I travelled through my burning land and saw with my own eyes the pain of the victims, and heard with my own ears the screams of the orphans and the bereaved. And a feeling of shame haunted me like an ugly name because I was powerless.

As soon as I finished my professional duties in reporting the daily

"Every piece of this is a man's bullshit. They call this war a cloud over the land, but they made the weather. Then they stand in the rain and say: 'Shit! It's raining!'"

—Renee Zellweger, as Ruby Thewes in the film *Cold Mountain*.



Al-Zaidi with his sister upon release.

tragedies, while I washed away the remains of the debris of the ruined Iraqi houses, or the blood that stained my clothes, I would clench my teeth and make a pledge to our victims, a pledge of vengeance.

The opportunity came, and I took it.

I took it out of loyalty to every drop of innocent blood that has been shed through the occupation or because of it, every scream of a bereaved mother, every moan of an orphan, the sorrow of a rape victim, the teardrop of an orphan.

I say to those who reproach me: do you know how many broken homes that shoe which I threw had entered? How many times it had trodden over the blood of innocent victims? Maybe that shoe was the appropriate response when all values were violated.

When I threw the shoe in the face of the criminal, George Bush, I wanted to express my rejection of his lies, his occupation of my country, my rejection of his killing my people. My rejection of his plundering the wealth of my country, and destroying its infrastructure. And casting out its sons into a diaspora.

If I have wronged journalism without intention, because of the professional embarrassment I caused the establishment, I apologise. All that I meant to do was express with a living conscience the feelings of a citizen who sees his homeland desecrated every day. The professionalism mourned by some under the auspices of the occupation should not have a voice louder than the voice of patriotism. And if patriotism needs to speak out, then professionalism should be allied with it.

I didn't do this so my name would enter history or for material gains. All I wanted was to defend my country.



Do us two favors:

1. Check out  
[WarCrimesTimes.org](http://WarCrimesTimes.org).

2. Deliver a copy of the  
*War Crimes Times*  
 to your senators  
 and congressperson.

**While America Sleeps**

While America sleeps  
 the world spins madly  
 out of control  
 out of sync  
 with the laws of nature  
 with the nature of man:  
 to simply exist  
 to coexist  
 in fragile  
 tender  
 survival  
 searching for joy  
 laced with tears  
 lost  
 for now  
 in a time  
 of violent despair  
 While America sleeps  
 a nineteen year old boy  
 pretending to be a man  
 trained by the Super Mario Brothers  
 watches in horror  
 as his new best friend  
 is blown away by a roadside bomb  
 somewhere on the bloody road  
 from Baghdad to the airport  
 the road still insecure  
 after years of war  
 after years of insanity  
 While America sleeps  
 four thousand dead  
 roam silently in the night  
 while those who return  
 are scattered to the streets  
 tortured by the truth  
 digging deep  
 but trapped inside  
 and alone  
 And as America sleeps  
 and gets fatter  
 and uglier  
 and more tired  
 and heavy  
 and cumbersome  
 like some old champion fighter  
 long past his prime  
 too old to go on  
 the seeds of discontent  
 blossom  
 and the truth  
 strangles America in its sleep  
 and screams  
 for the return to our beloved earth  
 sewn together again  
 with goodness  
 with clean air  
 and water and dirt  
 like a massive vine  
 with grapes and berries  
 hanging  
 from the sky  
 to the ground  
 a gift  
 to the poor  
 to the good  
 to the simple  
 While America sleeps  
 another revolution is brewing  
 and I make myself believe.

Stack Kenny  
 Asheville, NC