

BCA Dispatch

"The issue is not issues; the issue is the system"
—Ronnie Dugger

Newsletter of the **July-August**
Boston-Cambridge Alliance for Democracy 2010

The external costs of drilling in deep waters exceeds the net worth of the oil industry.

—Paul Craig Roberts

COMMUNITY NOTES

Don't be left out! Join the BCA/NorthBridge planning group—call Barbara Clancy for time of next meeting: 781-894-1179.

Ethno-sociologist and peace activist Elise Boulding died peacefully on June 24th, twelve days short of her 90th birthday. Sharing her knowledge and energy in many workshops on non-violent strategy, she was an inspiration for the many activists she loved and taught, and a long-time reader of the *Dispatch*. She will remain our inspiration. (Continued on Page 16 >>)

The Fall of the US Empire and the Birth of a New US Republic

by Johan Galtung, *DemocracyNow.org*, 7, 15 June 2010

Born in Norway 79 years ago, Johan Galtung as a boy witnessed his father being imprisoned by the Nazis. He went on to be a sociologist / mathematician, prolific peace and conflict researcher, explicator of nonviolence, world-wide mediator, Transcend International network founder, and teacher in many countries including the US. His latest book is The Fall of the US Empire—and Then What?: Successors, Regionalization or Globalization? US Fascism or US Blossoming? (2009).

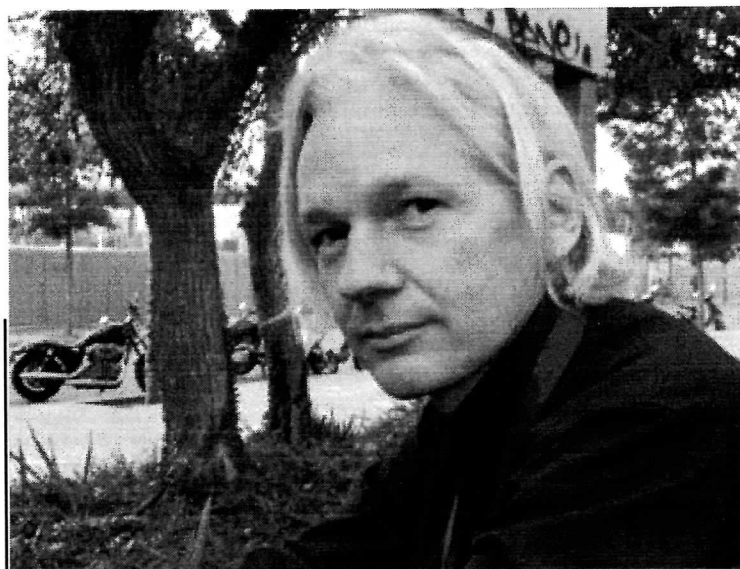
The following is a transcript of Galtung's remarks in interview with Amy Goodman, broadcast on Democracy Now! 7 and 15 June, 2010. For brevity's sake, Amy's questions are dropped in favor of subheads.

Geopolitical U.S.

IT'S AN EMPIRE AGAINST A WALL; an empire in despair; an empire, I would say, in its last phase. My prediction in the book that is here, that you mentioned, *The Fall of the US Empire—And Then What?*, is that it cannot last longer than 'til about 2020. In 1980, I predicted for the Soviet empire that it will crack at its weakest point, the wall of Berlin, within ten years, and it happened in November 1989, and the Soviet empire followed. So my prediction is a similar one for the US empire. And that could lead to the blossoming of the US.

Empire to Collapse by 2020

Within ten years—well, the prediction was made in year 2000, and I actually said twenty-five years. But then Bush was elected president, and his narrow vision, his fundamentalism, made me cut it by five years, because I saw him as an accelerator, which he certainly did, launching three wars—war on terrorism, war on Afghanistan and war on Iraq. Now, this comes after the US did not win 1953 in Korea and lost 30 April, 1975, in Vietnam. In other words, we are now in war number five of major significance. That is typical for the decline (Continued on Page 12 >>)



Julian Assange, founder of WikiLeaks

Julian Assange, Truth Hero WikiLeaks Broadcasts Empire's Secrets

by Ian Traynor, *guardian.co.uk*, 21 June 2010

JULIAN ASSANGE OF WIKILEAKS SPOKE TO *THE GUARDIAN* in Brussels after emerging from a month in hiding. The elusive founder of WikiLeaks, who is at the center of a potential US national security sensation, has surfaced from almost a month in hiding to tell the *Guardian* he does not fear for his safety but is on permanent alert.

Julian Assange, a renowned Australian hacker who founded the electronic whistleblowers' platform WikiLeaks, vanished when a young US intelligence analyst in Baghdad was arrested. The analyst, US Army Spc. Bradley Manning, 22, had bragged he had sent 260,000 incendiary US state department cables on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to WikiLeaks.

The prospect of the cache of classified intelligence on the US conduct of the two wars being put online is a nightmare for Washington. The sensitivity of the information has generated media reports that Assange is the target of a US manhunt.

"[US] public statements have all been reasonable. But some statements made in private are a bit more questionable," Assange told the *Guardian* in Brussels. "Politically it would be a great error for them to act [to arrest me]. I feel perfectly safe ... but I have been advised by my lawyers not to travel to the US during this period."

Assange appeared in public in Brussels for the first time in almost a month to speak at a seminar on freedom of information at the European parliament. He said: "We [WikiLeaks] need support and protection. We have that. More is always helpful. But we believe that the situation is stable and under control. There's no need to be worried. There's a need always to be on the alert."

Manning is being held incommunicado by the US military in Kuwait after "confessing" to a Californian hacker on a chatline, declaring he wanted "people to see the truth". He said he had collected 260,000 top secret US cables in Baghdad and sent them to WikiLeaks, whose server operates out of Sweden. Adrian Lamo, the California hacker he spoke to, handed the transcripts of the exchanges to the FBI.

Manning was promptly arrested in (Continued on next page >>)

Baghdad at the end of last month and transferred to a US military detention unit in Kuwait. He has been held for more than three weeks without charge.

Assange said WikiLeaks had hired three US criminal lawyers to defend Manning but that they had been granted no access to him. Manning has instead been assigned US military counsel.

While WikiLeaks declined to confirm receipt of the material from Manning, it has already released a film of a US Apache helicopter attack on civilians in Baghdad [see *BCA Dispatch*, May-June 2010, p.9].

It has also posted a confidential state department cable on negotiations in Reykjavik over Iceland's financial collapse and is preparing to disclose much more material, including film of a US attack that left scores of civilians dead in Afghanistan.

The material is believed to derive from Manning, although WikiLeaks does not reveal its sources and its operations are designed to mask the source of the files it receives.

Prominent US whistleblowers and lawyers have advised Assange to stay out of the US and to be ultra-careful about his travel and public appearances. "Pentagon investigators are trying to determine the whereabouts of [Assange] for fear that he may be about to publish a huge cache of classified state department cables that, if made public, could do serious damage to national security," US web paper the *Daily Beast* reported 10 days ago. "We'd like to know where he is—we'd like his co-operation in this," a US official was quoted as saying.

Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the Pentagon Papers—a top secret study about the Vietnam war—in 1973, spoke to the *Daily Beast*. He said: "I would think that [Assange] is in some danger. Granted, I would think that his notoriety now would provide him some degree of protection."

Assange said: "Some fear for my life. I'm not one of them. We have to avoid some countries, avoid travel, until we know where the political arrow is pointing." He added that WikiLeaks had been trying, "unsuccessfully so far", to contact Manning in Kuwait. "Clearly, a young man is detained in very difficult circumstances with the allegation he is the whistleblower. We must do our best to obtain freedom for him."

Regarding his own predicament, Assange said the US state department had signaled it was not seeking any WikiLeaks people because the Pentagon's criminal investigations command had assumed the lead role in the case.

Apart from preparing much more material for release, WikiLeaks is planning to publicize a secret US military video of one of its deadliest air strikes in Afghanistan in which scores of children are believed to have been killed in May last year. The Afghan government said about 140 civilians were killed in Garani, including 92 children. The US military initially said that up to 95 died, of whom about 65 were insurgents. US officials have since wavered on that claim. A subsequent investigation admitted mistakes were made.

In April WikiLeaks released the Baghdad video, prompting considerable criticism of the Pentagon. The film was edited and produced in Iceland where Assange spends a lot of his time and which last week prepared the most radical and liberal freedom of information legislation anywhere in the world.

Birgitta Jonsdottir, an Iceland member of parliament and anti-war activist who led the drive for the new laws, co-produced the WikiLeaks version of the Baghdad video. "I worked on it 18 hours a day through the Easter holidays," she said. Jonsdottir, a close associate of Assange, said the WikiLeaks founder "went into hiding when the story of Manning's arrest was published".

Ed. Note: On June 7 The New Yorker magazine online published a lengthy and highly readable story called "No Secrets: Julian Assange's mission for total transparency", by investigative reporter Raffi Khatchadourian. Its accompanying photo bore the caption "Assange, the founder of WikiLeaks, oversees a populist intelligence network. Digitally altered photograph by Phillip Toledano." The alteration seems to be in an electronic overlay, perhaps to make its transmission difficult for hostile folks and authorities seeking to arrest him.

The story—an up-close account of the transparency activist at work in Iceland [officially, with Assange's help, a truth haven for journalists—see *BCA Dispatch*, May-June 2010, p.5-6], as well as his background—reveals the man's cool and intelligent risk-assessing. He not only knows his electronic systems, but his political shrewdness calculates the risk of failure and embarrassment of those who would sue him (mostly corporations) or arrest him (agents of the military/state). He takes evasive action accordingly.

We consider him a hero because of his great cause—exposing the truth of the Empire's secrets—and his courage, with the support of a few trusted colleagues and a large audience of concerned citizens. You can access the New Yorker story at http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/06/07/100607fa_fact_khatchadourian#ixzz0sZQh16wZ, or just google New Yorker Assange.

Further, we commend Spc. Manning for his insight and his courage as a whistleblower within an authoritarian system, without this which WikiLeaks could not function. ■

Trekking against Corp Privilege Geezers Promote Constitution Amendment

by David Keeler, WarIsACrime.org, 26 June 2010

TWO BROTHERS FROM MINNESOTA, Laird and Robin Monahan, share an abiding interest in our nation's heritage, especially Constitutional rights. Laird had spent much time, writing legislators, signing petitions, advocating for the society he and his brother had served, when called upon, those many years before in their youth. Yet, for all his time and actions, it seemed to have no effect.

Rights of the People—the responsibilities of government granted by the People and other freedoms expressed in our founding documents—continued to be eroded by self-interested politicians. They saw a politically serving judiciary and corporate money buying legislator loyalty to corporations rather than the people to whom they are supposed to represent. With financial resources far beyond that of the People, this lobbying transformed our society and government from serving people to serving business.

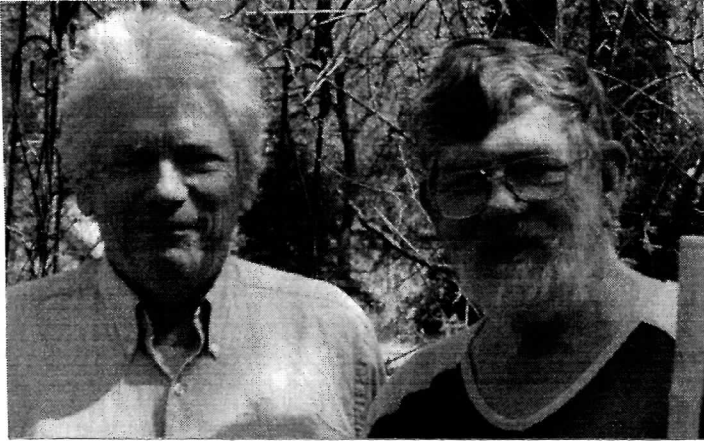
The January Supreme Court ruling in *Citizens United v FEC*, which established the right of corporations to spend unlimited amounts of money on campaign advertising, further enraged Laird. It was the last straw—corporations are not people. With added zeal and much "dinner table grumbling," he continued with his letter writing and petition signing, as he grappled with the question of what could be done to save our democracy.

After the death of Granny D Laird hit upon an idea. He would combine his political activism with his passion for hiking, and follow the example of Granny D, who hiked cross-country to advocate for campaign finance reform (directly challenging corporate influence) in 1999-2000, with his own hike to advocate for abolishing corporate 'personhood' with a Consti-

tutional amendment. His wife Nina, who had been expecting perhaps a little more yard work, from her retired husband, was surprised. Still she grew as excited as Laird, with his new 'project' and assisted in the planning.

Coast-to-Coast

Hiking cross-country appeared to be a daunting task, yet the example of Granny D who began her trek at the age of 88 continued to inspire Laird. Robin, a fellow veteran and his slightly younger brother, recognized Laird's determination and the magnitude of a solo trek. Robin decided to join Laird in this effort to raise awareness and Abolish Corporate Personhood.



How do two guys from Minnesota get their message out? They came upon a newly formed coalition of activist organizations in Move To Amend and quickly found a number of like-minded citizens who were also concerned with the erosion of our democracy, and the need for a fundamental clarification in our Constitution restoring the supremacy of living persons—the People—over non-living business entities.

Today - Laird and Robin are hiking across Nevada, about to enter Utah, they are basically following US Highway 50 to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. They will be passing through Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia and Virginia before reaching their destination in perhaps mid-October.

In a recent blogpost by Joe Blundo, who met them along Highway 50: "I reached Minnesota brothers Robin and Laird Monahan as they made their way east across Nevada on the berm of Rt. 50. Laird, 69, said the walk expresses his rage over the Supreme Court's Citizens United ruling. 'I said I just can't write letters anymore and sign petitions that have no effect,' he said. 'I have to do something physical.'"

He and Robin, 67, are doing a tag-team walk from San Francisco to Washington. One walks while the other drives; then they switch places. (See their blog www.lairdandrobin.org.) They expect to pass through southern Ohio on Rt. 50 in late July or early August."

Progressive Democrats of America (PDA) is on the steering committee of the Move To Amend coalition and fully supports the Monahan Brothers March across the US and abolishing corporate personhood through Constitutional amendment. [Alliance for Democracy is also on the Move to Amend steering committee. See video & c at www.theAllianceforDemocracy.org —Ed.]

PDA [and AfD & WILPF] Activists! Help support Laird and Robin in this courageous and historic walk. Check on their trek lairdandrobin.org and if you're along or near the route, plan on meeting them as they pass through your community—form a

welcoming committee to cheer them on! A little friendly lawn space (or more?) to pitch their tent at the conclusion of a day's hike would certainly be welcome.

Do your part to save our democracy and offer Laird and Robin some encouragement! For any supporters that may have a friendly space or wish to join them in any portion of their walk, your fellowship will be most appreciated. Riley Gardam a student activist and member of WILPF (Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, a member organization of the MTA coalition) is coordinating on the ground activities and appointments for the Monahan Brothers tour. Riley can be reached at riley-gardam@uiowa.edu or contact your PDA MTA liaison, Dave Keeler at dave@pdamerica.org with any questions or for additional information.

Ed. Note: Last we checked the map on their blog (1 July), Laird and Robin are approaching Cimarron CO on US Rte 50.

EDITORIAL

Arizona Blues

Rethinking Bars to Immigration

"A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law." —Martin Luther King, Jr.

READERS OF ALTERNATIVE MAGAZINES, web sites, and emails have been amazed at the public outcry against Arizona's new anti-immigration laws, especially as mainstream editorial content has not been very critical. I thank one of our readers for sending me newspaper clippings and the text of the Arizona anti-immigrant law, SB1070, reprinted in the *Arizona Republic* of 23 May.

Perhaps her view is representative of most Arizonans outside of liberal Tucson: "The country seems so angry at AZ. They should not be. If people came to our country legally, then none of this would be needed, or brought to the limelight." In a phone conversation, her husband was noncommittal—he wants people to abide by laws, and takes a wait-and-see attitude toward the present controversy. Neither referred to any personal relationship with a migrant or lawmaker.

No Way, José

A 2006 article at the web site of Washington University in St. Louis says that U.S. laws simply do not give immigrants many options. It quotes international law professor Stephen Legomsky, who was commissioner of President G. H. W. Bush's Immigration & Naturalization Service: "To immigrate to the United States, it's not enough that you have led an exemplary life... Under current law, you can't be admitted unless you affirmatively fit into one of a few statutory pigeonholes such as family relationships in the U.S., specially needed professional or work skills, refugees, or winning the lottery. Most undocumented immigrants have no category to apply under."

Undocumented Latino migrants crossing the border into Arizona are valued and exploited by employers in agriculture, home health care, and other low-paying, arduous and dangerous jobs not usually sought by Anglo residents. Nevertheless, it is often that case that Anglo residents not only perceive migrants as competitors for jobs and as tax-avoiding free-loaders, but that porous borders bring crime, disease, and terrorism.

Kris Kobach, a lawyer and political scientist who worked for George W. Bush's attorney general John Ashcroft, helped draft the Arizona law. The law details tough enforcement of restric-

tions on undocumented aliens, or on anyone on the street or in a car whom a police or other officer suspects might be such a person, or helper of such a person. As I read the clipping about Kobach's work, along with his bill's text, I had the creepy feeling of being locked into a mechanism without a purpose. Here was an expert on means whose ends one can only guess at, given his exclusive Harvard, Yale, and Oxford education and his affiliation with the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)—often characterized as “conservative”, “extremist”, even “hate group”—as well as with the recent Bush administration. Much of FAIR's funding comes from the far-right Pioneer Fund. FAIR advocates a moratorium on immigration.

So Really, What Is It You Want?

The ends I dislike and think counterproductive for a livable world are concentrated power, social exclusion, narrow and rigid rules of conduct, communication fakery and taboos, controlled access to information, widespread use of physical coercion, exploitation of nature, and so on—in short, an authoritarian regime. The Arizona immigration law serves many such ends.

The ends I think of for a proper immigration policy include respect for humans in need (both foreign and domestic), migrant contributions to a healthy economy (which makes productive work, not war), turning away from our neoliberal trade strategy to a cooperative regional and world system, good health and education for all (migrants as well as domestic), safety and justice for all, and an end to prejudice, hatred, ignorance, and selfishness—in short, mindful humanity. These will not be achieved overnight.

So, if the Arizona law is biased against migrants, what considerations might nudge lawmakers to liberalize immigration policy?

1. Christian ethics. Matthew, Mark, and Luke focused on the word and deed of Jesus, not the concerns of dictatorial deity, church order, or “end-time” alarmists in later years. Their Jesus taught compassion, welcomed strangers, and challenged settled law. Today's anti-immigrant demagogues, their lawyers and publicists, are far from these Christian models.

2. Right to stolen territory. Ever since their victory over the Spanish crown in 1821 Mexicans moderately populated and controlled California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. In what was to be named Arizona they were living at that time in small settlements more or less peacefully with the indigenous people of the region. A generation later US President Polk ordered troops into Mexican territory as part of his “manifest destiny” for the Anglo (English-speaking) people, and in 1848 took half of Mexico, including most of Arizona. Do Mexicans have a “right of return”?

3. NAFTA. Until the twentieth century Anglos were few in Arizona—except briefly in transit during the California gold rush. Now Mexican peasants, dispossessed by the predictable consequences of the US-driven North American Free Trade Agreement of 1994, are turning or returning north to find work. Ancestrally the land is theirs as well as of the Navajo, Hopi, Apache, and Tohono O'odham and dishonestly taken from them, yet mainly Anglo legislators are humiliating and barring the Mexicans, having already isolated the tribal Indians.

4. Economics. According to Alberta Charney of the University of Arizona, “each day on average [in 2007-08] more than 65,000 Mexican residents come to Arizona to work, visit friends and relatives, recreate and shop. Each day, they spend over

\$7,350,000 in Arizona's stores, restaurants, hotels and other businesses, and thus contribute substantially to Arizona's export trade with Mexico.” With the domestically-caused current business downturn these numbers may be down, but Arizona business managers are not going to support a choking off of such revenue. And they cannot like the costs of border patrolling and screening. There's the cost in increased taxation, and there's also the cost of eroding American freedom of movement, as anyone can be challenged under the new Arizona law. All this in addition to migrants' essential contribution to crop harvesting, health care, meat production, and so on.

5. Safety. Are border patrols targeting possible terrorists? The “danger from the stranger” is far more likely to be from US citizens, as with the Oklahoma City bombers and the anthrax letter man, and not from the foiled “shoe bomber”, “underwear bomber”, and “Times Square” bomber—all amateurish and surpassed in deadliness by native post-office and school-yard shooters. Post-9/11 hysteria has been funneled into compliance with Homeland Security dictates, despite the abundance of evidence that the Saudi highjackers were patsies of a domestic, possibly neocon, conspiracy. As for the Mexican drug war, victims seem to be Mexicans, not Anglo Arizonans.

6. Southwest bio-region. Arizona and the Sonora desert are one. If anything, Mexicans seem to live “more lightly on the land” than Anglos. The 300,000 Phoenix-area swimming pools are not owned by Mexicans, nor do Mexicans favor green lawns. As internal (Anglo) migration to Arizona grows, water resources are being used up. As water goes, so goes the environment and business-as-usual. Mexicans may regain Arizona by Anglo attrition, unless they assimilate the US code of comfort and consumption and tag along with emigrating Anglos to live that way of life farther north—way north, if global heating continues.

7. Law abiding. The *Arizona Republic* published a letter promoting a “guest worker” regime. Perhaps that will be the legislature's next step, or Congress's. The plan would be to license each migrant as a contractor with an employer, and bar any from bringing family to the US or rights to housing, medical care, free education, etc., but would require taxes. And then have to return to Mexico after 2 or 3 or 5 years. It is a form of legalization of migrants, but is unlikely to succeed if for no other reason than that it would restrict the supply of low-paid farm and home workers (field brownies and house brownies?) in the face of continuing exploitive employer demand. It might result in more Anglos on the farms, in nursing homes and slaughterhouses, but only if border enforcement became total, and employers were willing to pay substantially more in wages and benefits. Battered in their fragile environment by the economic, political, and ecological crises America now faces, and egged on by mainstream media demagogues, folks are willing to dip into old prejudices to scapegoat Latinos.

Our reader and her husband want migrants to be law-abiding like themselves. Trouble is, they indeed may abide by tax, property, and traffic laws, but don't have to face citizenship or guest-worker laws. It is harder to be law-abiding when certain laws you must abide by are severe barriers to survival. Some folks, like the *Arizona Republic* letter writer, who pride themselves as “entrepreneurial” and “rugged individuals”, forget that the land they covet was in the first place stolen and the system biased toward themselves.

—Dave Lewit

US Social Forum in Detroit

Move the Money, Starve the Empire

by Christine Ahn, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 2 July 2010

JUNE 26 MAY HAVE BEEN THE LAST DAY of the U.S. Social Forum (USSF) in Detroit, but it might very well be the emergence of a more powerful antiwar movement in this country.

The U.S. Social Forum is a meeting place for progressive social justice organizations to discuss issues, strategies, and ideas for building a social movement in this country. The sessions on the antiwar and anti-militarism track made several linkages: between the domestic economic crisis and the bloated military budget, the expansion of U.S. bases and the displacement of farmers and indigenous peoples from their land and livelihoods, and the rise of militarism and violence against women.

We can't address the economic crisis blighting neighborhoods throughout the United States without moving money away from war. That's the only part of the national budget not being cut. Organizers at the USSF united two disparate sectors. One is comprised of grassroots base-building organizations with multicultural constituencies working to secure jobs, education, and services. The other includes national peace organizations with mostly white, middle-class membership.

These two groups largely organize separately. But they came together at the USSF because working poor people clearly can't get the jobs and services they need without challenging military spending. Likewise, peace groups can't end wars without a broad movement challenging the military-industrial complex.

25 Percent Cut

Mike Prokosch* is among the organizers of the 25% Solution campaign in Massachusetts, which aims to cut a quarter, or about \$250 billion, from the Pentagon and other military agencies and institutions. The campaign wants to redirect this money to social services, education, and job creation, all of which have been slashed in this era of joblessness and foreclosures.

"The military industrial complex is shaping peoples' choices and lives," Prokosch says, referring to the cycle of dependency that military bases and institutions generate in towns in which it dominates the local economy. He points to how Dorchester's high unemployment (which doubled in the last year), cuts in job training for youth job training programs, and surging dropout rates have fueled the military enlistment rates for the city's youth. And the only sector of the economy that hasn't been slashed is the military.

"The more the military base grows the more the cycle of dependency grows," says Prokosch, who has spent his entire life in the cause of peace. He remains clear-eyed about the odds. After all, he reminds us, the U.S. Empire has been growing for over a century and the defense budget for over 60 years. But he remains hopeful of the potential of a broad base of diverse communities across the country working together to take on the military-industrial complex: "If we want to do this, we're going to have to build something larger and more powerful than the military industrial complex that can scare Congress more."

Barbara Lott-Holland, an organizer with the Bus Riders Union of the Labor Community Strategy Center, describes the tremendous militarization of low-income neighborhoods in Los Angeles. "Our neighborhoods are militarized zones in this country,"

Lott-Holland says, "terrorized in the name of the war on drugs, the war on gangs, the war on poverty." She describes how the United States has the largest prison population in the world, with over 2.2 million in prison, of which one million are black men. "There are more black men in prison than there were during slavery." Many inner cities today require students to go through metal detectors as they enter the school and have police patrolling the hallways and grounds. "More high schools now look like prisons," says Lott-Holland, and many classrooms in elementary schools in Los Angeles don't even have windows. Lott-Holland believes that "this country systematically treats youth as criminals," monitoring every move of brown and black youth from their schools to their neighborhoods.

U.S. Military Abroad

Just as money for jobs, health care, education, and housing is going from taxpayer pockets to feed the military-industrial complex, so is the money for foreign military operations being used to displace farmers and indigenous people in every region of the world. Members of the No U.S. Bases movement described how the over 700 U.S. bases around the world have become sites of conflict between American soldiers and the local population. Meanwhile, the United States continues to expropriate land from farmers and indigenous people to expand or build new bases.

One site of resistance is Guam, also known by its indigenous name, Guahan. An incorporated U.S. territory, Guam is the intended relocation site of 8,000 Marines from Okinawa. Unsurprisingly, the U.S. government didn't consult the people of the island, a disturbing parallel with the eras of Spanish and Japanese colonialism.

Lisa Natividad of the Guahan Coalition for Peace and Justice explains that the island is very small, only 212 square miles. From top to bottom, the island is 32 miles, and the widest point is eight miles wide. Despite Guam's small land mass, the United States is still planning to transfer the troops, which will include their families, other military personnel, and the construction of massive infrastructure to accommodate nearly 80,000 people that will occupy nearly 40 percent of the land. According to Natividad, the Department of Defense drafted an environmental impact statement that outlined plans to dredge 72 acres of the reef surrounding the island and reclaiming 2,200 acres of land. "Looking at the legacy of militarism," Natividad said, "the build-up of the bases will mean worsening health outcomes and shorter lives." Natividad says there are over 100 Superfund sites on Guam.

Since 2006, Natividad and other women have been informing their community about the impact of this expanded base and drafting comments to be included in the environmental impact assessments. They are also looking to strengthen ties with neighboring islands in Micronesia and in the north, which are also being assessed for occupation and militarization.

U.S. military aid has also been having an impact on the militarization of Colombia and fueling of guerrilla and paramilitary wars. "The history of the Colombian conflict is not separate from U.S. complicity," says Claudia Castellanos, a human rights lawyer from Colombia. Last year, the Colombian government signed an accord with the United States that will permit seven additional U.S. military bases. "The presence of U.S. cooperation signifies the increase militarization," says Castellanos, "which supports the paramilitaries against the population." Plan Colombia, the U.S. bilateral aid package that includes military assistance, has coincided with the death and disappearance of

thousands of people. Castellanos is working with women's organizations to establish leadership development schools for their children "because they will decide if they will participate in these wars or not."

Transnational Feminists Unite

Another potentially strong linkage that emerged was the connection between feminists here in the United States and those working to confront patriarchy and militarism abroad. At a workshop entitled "Transnational Feminist Organizing to Resist Militarism and Empire," women discussed how militarism is used to rape women, inflict violence on people, contaminate the environment, and strip farmers and peasants of their land and sovereignty. Brazilian feminist Alessandra Ceregetti from the World March of Women, an international feminist grassroots movement, talked about how they promote peace and demilitarization.

Graciela Sanchez of the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center in San Antonio, Texas—home to five U.S. military bases—offers some wisdom on how women might be at the center of organizing against militarism. "We have to learn to do the work as mujeres (women) to change the culture of violence, of war, of hate, of greed toward that of our abuelitas (grandmothers) of love, sharing, compassion, respect, honesty, and truth."

She also gives a stinging critique of how organizing in this country has been centered and defined by men and by identity politics. "I can't separate my queer self, my woman self, my working-class-background self, my immigrant-family-from-Mexico self, or my curly-headed self," says Sanchez. "We can't separate our identities; we must look at issues holistically and make the connections."

Toward Ending Empire

On the last day of the USSF, several dozens of major antiwar and social justice groups gathered to discuss how to build a powerful movement to counter the military industrial complex. Organized by Peace Action, War Times, and the Beyond Empire Working Group of Grassroots Global Justice, the morning caucus attracted a multicultural, multi-generational, and multi-issue audience representing a broad swath of the U.S. population to continue conversation on how to move the money from war.

"There's one imperial strategy," says Gwyn Kirk of Women for Genuine Security, "And people here and around the world are brought in to support empire." Veterans from Iraq Veterans Against the War also pointed to the need to bring in veterans, soldiers, and their families as they are the ones also directly impacted by unending wars. A resolution submitted to the National Movement Assembly of the USSF to oppose U.S. wars and militarism urged a focus on October 2010 as a month of solidarity actions.

As we took a group photo, we started with the chant, "End the War," and then realized that our motto was off. We adjusted it to, "End the Empire."

Christine Ahn is a policy and research analyst with the Global Fund for Women and a Foreign Policy In Focus columnist.

*Mike Prokosch is a BCA member. Thanks for your great work Mike! Ed. Comment: *Although war and peace are of the essence, the locale of the USSF has special significance. Local Detroit people have started an urban agriculture movement, part of a city renaissance. If Havana citizens can raise half their food, why not Detroit, with winter help of greenhouses? See www.detroitfoodpolicycouncil.net.* ■

GAZA

What Is Not Allowed

*No tinned meat is allowed, no tomato paste,
no clothing, no shoes, no notebooks.
These will be stored in our warehouses at Kerem Shalom
until further notice.*

*Bananas, apples, and persimmons are allowed into Gaza,
peaches and dates, and now macaroni
(after the American Senator's visit).
These are vital for daily sustenance.*

*But no apricots, no plums, no grapes, no avocados, no jam.
These are luxuries and are not allowed.*

*Paper for textbooks is not allowed.
The terrorists could use it to print seditious material.
And why do you need textbooks
now that your schools are rubble?*

*No steel is allowed, no building supplies, no plastic pipe.
These the terrorists could use to launch rockets
against us.*

*Pumpkins and carrots you may have,
but no delicacies,
no cherries, no pomegranates, no watermelon, no onions,
no chocolate.*

*We have a list of three dozen items that are allowed,
but we are not obliged to disclose its contents.*

*This is the decision arrived at
by Colonel Levi, Colonel Rosenzweig, and Colonel Segal.
Our motto:*

'No prosperity, no development, no humanitarian crisis.'

*You may fish in the Mediterranean,
but only as far as three km from shore.
Beyond that and we open fire.*

*It is a great pity the waters are polluted -
twenty million gallons of raw sewage dumped into the sea
every day
is the figure given.*

*Our rockets struck the sewage treatments plants,
and at this point spare parts to repair them are not allowed.*

*As long as Hamas threatens us,
no cement is allowed, no glass, no medical equipment.*

*We are watching you from our pilotless drones
as you cook your sparse meals over open fires
and bed down
in the ruins of houses destroyed by tank shells.*

*And if your children can't sleep,
missing the ones who were killed in our incursion,
or cry out in the night, or wet their beds
in your makeshift refugee tents,
or scream, feeling pain in their amputated limbs -
that's the price you pay for harbouring terrorists.*

*God gave us this land.
A land without a people for a people without a land.*

—Richard Tillinghast

(Published in *The Irish Times*, 5 June 2010. Special thanks: Ty dePass)

On Coming Oil Disasters

Scenarios Get Worse until We Go Green

by Michael Klare, TomDispatch.com, 22 June 2010 (excerpts)

BP'S DEEPWATER HORIZON EXPLOSION [in the Gulf of Mexico] was the inevitable result of a relentless effort to extract oil from ever deeper and more hazardous locations. In fact, as long as the industry continues its relentless, reckless pursuit of "extreme energy"—oil, natural gas, coal, and uranium obtained from geologically, environmentally, and politically unsafe areas—more such calamities are destined to occur...

What will the next Deepwater Horizon disaster look like (other than another Deepwater Horizon disaster)? The choices are many, but here are four possible scenarios for future Gulf-scale energy calamities. None of these is inevitable, but each has a plausible basis in fact. [*The BCA Dispatch presents two of Klare's four cases here. Those not copied are at the Niger Delta involving an armed rebellion, and off Brazil involving a cyclone, both plausible events. See complete article at <http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175264/>*]

Scenario 1: Newfoundland -- Hibernia Platform Destroyed by Iceberg

Approximately 190 miles off the coast of Newfoundland in what locals call "Iceberg Alley" sits the Hibernia oil platform, the world's largest offshore drilling facility. Built at a cost of some \$5 billion, Hibernia consists of a 37,000-ton "topsides" facility mounted on a 600,000-ton steel-and-concrete gravity base structure (GBS) resting on the ocean floor, some 260 feet below the surface. This mammoth facility, normally manned by 185 crew members, produces about 135,000 barrels of oil per day. Four companies (ExxonMobil, Chevron, Murphy Oil, and Statoil) plus the government of Canada participate in the joint venture established to operate the platform.

The Hibernia platform is reinforced to withstand a direct impact by one of the icebergs that regularly sail through this stretch of water, located just a few hundred miles from where the Titanic famously hit an iceberg and sank in 1912. Sixteen giant steel ribs protrude from the GBS, positioned in such a way as to absorb the blow of an iceberg and distribute it over the entire structure. However, the GBS itself is hollow, and contains a storage container for 1.3 million barrels of crude oil—about five times the amount released in the 1989 Exxon Valdez spill.

The owners of the Hibernia platform insist that the design will withstand a blow from even the largest iceberg. As global warming advances and the Greenland glaciers melt, however, massive chunks of ice will be sent floating into the North Atlantic on a path past Hibernia. Add increased storm activity (another effect of global warming) to an increase in iceberg frequency and you have a formula for overwhelming the Hibernia's defenses.

Here's the scenario: It's the stormy winter of 2018, not an uncommon situation in the North Atlantic at that time of year. Winds exceed 80 miles per hour, visibility is zilch, and iceberg-spotter planes are grounded. Towering waves rise to heights of 50 feet or more, leaving harbor-bound the giant tugs the Hibernia's owners use to nudge icebergs from the platform's path. Evacuation of the crew by ship or helicopter is impossible.

Without warning, a gigantic, storm-propelled iceberg strikes the Hibernia, rupturing the GBS and spilling more than one

million barrels of oil into rough waters. The topside facility is severed from the base structure and plunges into the ocean, killing all 185 crew members. Every connection to the undersea wells is ruptured, and 135,000 barrels of oil start flowing into the Atlantic every day (approximately twice the amount now coming from the BP leak in the Gulf of Mexico). The area is impossible to reach by plane or ship in the constant bad weather, meaning emergency repairs can't be undertaken for weeks -- not until at least five million additional barrels of oil have poured into the ocean. As a result, one of the world's most prolific fishing grounds—the Grand Banks off Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Cod—is thoroughly poisoned.

Does this sound extreme? Think again. On February 15, 1982, a giant drillship, the Ocean Ranger (the "Ocean Danger" to its habitués), was operating in the very spot Hibernia now occupies when it was struck by 50-foot waves in a storm and sank, taking the lives of 84 crew members. Because no drilling was under way at the time, there were no environmental consequences, but the loss of the Ocean Ranger -- a vessel very much like the Deepwater Horizon -- should be a reminder of just how vulnerable otherwise strong structures can be to the North Atlantic's winter fury.

Scenario 4: East China Sea -- A Clash Over Subsea Gas [by Nationalism]

At one time, most wars between states were fought over disputed borders or contested pieces of land. Today, most boundaries are fixed by international treaty and few wars are fought over territory. But a new type of conflict is arising: contests over disputed maritime boundaries in areas that harbor valuable subsea resources, particularly oil and natural gas deposits. Such disputes have already occurred in the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea, the East and South China Seas, and other circumscribed bodies of water. In each case, the surrounding states claim vast offshore tracts that overlap, producing—in a world that may be increasingly starved for energy—potentially explosive disputes.

One of them is between China and Japan over their mutual boundary in the East China Sea. Under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which both countries have signed, each is allowed to exercise control over an "exclusive economic zone" (EEZ) extending 200 nautical miles (about 230 standard miles) from its coastline. But the East China Sea is only about 360 miles across at its widest point between the two countries. You see the problem.

In addition, the U.N. convention allows mainland states to claim an extended EEZ stretching to their outer continental shelf (OCS). In China's case, that means nearly all the way to Japan -- or so say the Chinese. Japan insists that the offshore boundary between the two countries should fall midway between them, or about 180 miles from either shore. This means that there are now two competing boundaries in the East China Sea. As fate would have it, in the gray area between them houses a promising natural gas field called Chunxiao by the Chinese and Shirakaba by the Japanese. Both countries claim that the field lies within their EEZ, and is theirs alone to exploit.

For years, Chinese and Japanese officials have been meeting to resolve this dispute -- to no avail. In the meantime, each side has taken steps to begin the exploitation of the undersea gas field. China has installed drilling rigs right up to the median line claimed by Japan as the boundary between them and is now drilling for gas there; Japan has conducted seismic surveys in the gray area between the two lines. China claims that

Japan's actions represent an illegal infringement; Japan says that the Chinese rigs are sucking up gas from the Japanese side of the median line, and so stealing their property. Each side sees this dispute through a highly nationalistic prism and appears unwilling to back down. Both sides have deployed military forces in the contested area, seeking to demonstrate their resolve to prevail in the dispute.

Here, then, is Scenario #4:

It's 2022. Successive attempts to resolve the boundary dispute through negotiations have failed. China has installed a string of drilling platforms along the median line claimed by Japan and, according to Japanese officials, has extended undersea drill pipes deep into Japanese territory. An ultra-nationalistic, right-wing government has taken power in Japan, vowing finally to assert control over Japanese sovereign territory. Japanese drill ships, accompanied by naval escorts and fighter planes, are sent into the area claimed by China. The Chinese respond with their warships and order the Japanese to withdraw. The two fleets converge and begin to target each other with guns, missiles, and torpedoes.

At this point, the "fog of war" (in strategic theorist Carl von Clausewitz's famous phrase) takes over. As a Chinese vessel steams perilously close to a Japanese ship in an attempt to drive it off, the captain of that vessel panics, and orders his crew to open fire; other Japanese crews, disobeying orders from superior officers, do the same. Before long, a full-scale naval battle ensues, with several sunken ships and hundreds of casualties. Japanese aircraft then attack the nearby Chinese drill rigs, producing hundreds of additional casualties and yet another deep-sea environmental disaster. At this point, with both sides bringing in reinforcements and girding for full-scale war, the U.S. president makes an emergency visit to the region in a desperate effort to negotiate a cease-fire.

Such a scenario is hardly implausible. Since September 2005, China has deployed a naval squadron in the East China Sea, sending its ships right up to the median line—a boundary that exists in Japanese documents, but is not, of course, visible to the naked eye (and so can be easily overstepped). On one occasion, Japanese naval aircraft flew close to a Chinese ship in what must have seemed a menacing fashion, leading the crew to train its antiaircraft guns on the approaching plane. Fortunately, no shots were fired. But what would have happened if the Japanese plane had come a little bit closer, or the Chinese captain was a bit more worried? One of these days, as those gas supplies become even more valuable and the hair-trigger quality of the situation increases, the outcome may not be so benign.

* * *

These are, of course, only a few examples of why, in a world ever more reliant on energy supplies acquired from remote and hazardous locations, BP-like catastrophes are sure to occur. While none of these specific calamities are guaranteed to happen, something like them surely will—unless we take dramatic steps now to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels and speed the transition to a post-carbon world. In such a world, most of our energy would come from renewable wind, solar, and geothermal sources that are commonplace and don't have to be tracked down a mile or more under the water or in the icebound north. Such resources generally would not be linked to the sort of disputed boundaries or borderlands that can produce future resource wars.

Until then, prepare yourselves. The disaster in the Gulf is no

anomaly. It's an arrow pointing toward future nightmares.

Michael T. Klare is professor of peace and world security studies at Hampshire College, TomDispatch.com regular, and the author, most recently, of Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet.

China and Taiwan Embrace Trade Pact Deflates US Military Rationale

by Robert Scheer, TruthDig.com, 30 June 2010

ON TUESDAY, THE COLD WAR FINALLY ENDED with a historic trade agreement between China and Taiwan that will dramatically integrate the mainland's economy with that of its claimed breakaway province. Peace has descended on the most contentious point of conflict between East and West for the past six decades—but don't expect the folks at the Pentagon or their military contractors to celebrate. The remaining *raison d'être* for much of their \$700 billion budget has suddenly collapsed, and with it the claim on huge profits and high-flying careers.

The bulk of that money, higher in constant dollars than at any other time since World War II, is spent on weapons systems to fight a sophisticated Cold War enemy that went out of business with the breakdown of the Soviet Union. And the so-called "war on terror" does not cut it as a substitute excuse for feeding the immense maw of the military-industrial complex. It is laughable to suggest that the ever more complex and costly high-tech weaponry we continue to build is needed to defeat an opponent armed with the box cutters used by the 9/11 hijackers or a primitive roadside bomb set off by an Iraqi insurgent.

When Sen. Joe Lieberman makes his annual case for those \$2.5 billion submarines produced in his home state of Connecticut, his central argument has been that the Chinese are building equally sophisticated weapons that threaten us. "If we do not move to produce two submarines a year as soon as possible, we are in serious danger of falling behind China," he thundered during one Senate debate. Obviously, it's harder to make the case that submarines are needed to capture al-Qaida terrorists holed up in some landlocked nation's mountain caves. So too with the ever more advanced arsenal designed to penetrate enemy defenses not even built when those Cold War adversaries still operated.

"The Chinese are coming" became the last refuge of war-profiteering scoundrels once the Russians started cutting back dramatically, but this alarm was never plausible. The authoritative quadrennial Defense Department reports have always made clear that China has at most threatened to become a regional power with Taiwan as its focus. Yet that pathetic excuse for the U.S. spending as much on its military as do the rest of the world nations combined seemed plausible to most in Congress who voted for massive military appropriations even as our government had to borrow money from the Chinese to cover our deficits.

Then those treacherous Chinese, both the mainland Communists and their feuding Taiwan-based cousins, had to go and ruin a good thing by going way beyond kissing and making up. Even when they were verbally warring they were still doing business together during this past decade. Trade between the two is already a hefty \$110 billion, 41 percent of Taiwan's exports, but the new agreement will much expand that by ending tariffs on key products while opening up the financial services industry to investors from what was once an impenetrable cross-strait divide. Taiwanese business investment on the

mainland is already massive, but now it will enter the realm of the mainland's high finance with the world economy as its playground.

The prospect of war between the two, already vastly diminished from Cold War highs, will soon not be possible without hitting their own investment assets on the other side. Which is exactly the peace of the new world order that some U.S. leaders, most prominently the first President Bush, had once welcomed. The question is whether Americans truly believe they can be winners in a world built on expanding trade rather than on military tension.

One has to wonder about our priorities when Congress cannot find the \$34 billion needed to continue unemployment payments for six months to 1.7 million workers thrown out of jobs but never questions that sort of spending on military hardware with no logical purpose. The proud promise of American capitalism, often in conflict with a drearier reality, was that our economy did not need military conquest to succeed. Now it is the Chinese, of varying ideological disposition, the heirs of Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-shek, who will test our commitment to that principle. Clearly those former enemies have concluded that power, in the modern world economy, does not grow out of the barrel of a gun, even from a very big and enormously expensive one.

The China-Taiwan agreement and its implications also raise some questions for Americans: How does a modern nation obtain national security? Are we more secure with our permanent war economy, or is the pursuit of peace through trade and diplomacy, as the formerly most bitter of Chinese enemies are demonstrating, a better way?

Robert Scheer is editor of Truthdig.com and a regular columnist for the San Francisco Chronicle.

Ed. Comment. Good. Now let's set new import barriers and stimulate the rebirth of American civil manufacturing—especially for domestic use.

Geology of Our Tragic Lives Global Warming Causing Volcanic Eruptions

by Terry J. Allen, In These Times, 29 April 2010

VOLCANOES CAN RADICALLY ALTER CLIMATES. We know that. But we are now learning that the reverse also holds: Climate change is causing volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and tsunamis.

Evidence that volcanoes can heat or cool the climate dates back millennia. In recent geological time, particles from the 1815 Mount Tambora eruption in Indonesia circled the globe, blocking out significant sunshine for months and contributing to "the year without summer." In 1816 the northern hemisphere was hit by unprecedented frosts every month, which caused massive crop failure and hundreds of thousands of deaths. Volcanoes can also promote warming through CO2 emissions, although at far lower levels than human activity.

Scientists are now warning that global warming will likely accelerate volcanic activity, which will in turn intensify climate change. Many of the world's volcanoes are topped by glaciers, which can be hundreds of meters thick, with each cubic meter of ice weighing nearly a ton. As this massive layer of ice melts, built-up pressure on the rock below is released, shifting the earth. Magma can leak through cracks, and when it contacts

the remaining ice, the molten rock explodes into globe-circling ash clouds.

Also vulnerable to climate change are the more than 60 percent of the world's active volcanoes that reside on continental margins and island chains. As the planet warms, the weight of rising sea levels will warp faults, stimulating eruptions and quakes.

"Not every volcanic eruption and earthquake in the years to come will have a climate-change link," Bill McGuire, professor of Geophysical Hazards at University College (UK), told *New Scientist*. "Yet as the century progresses, we should not be surprised by more geological disasters as a direct and indirect result of dramatic changes to our environment."

University of Iceland volcanologist Freysteinn Sigmundsson doubted a climate link to the April eruption of Eyjafjallajökull, describing its capping glacier as too light and small.

But what the eruption did show was how the interaction of glaciers and volcanic fires not only produces massive ash clouds, but melts great hunks of the glacier itself. After the eruption, flash floods ruined surrounding farmland.

Glacial Lake Outburst Flood

Even without volcanic activity, glacial melting is linked to flooding through glacial lake outburst flood (GLOF). The unlovely acronym describes a phenomenon that is increasing around the world: runoff from melting glaciers gathers in newly formed or greatly expanded lakes retained by unstable banks. Some have already burst; one roiling flood was recorded moving at 15,000 cubic meters per second—more than five times the volume of Niagara Falls.

In the 1950s the area below Nepal's Trakarding glacier, for example, was a small pond. Now, as the glacier shrinks, Tsho Rolpa Lake is more than 2 miles long and 500 feet deep. If the bank breaks, as many scientists warn it will, 2 billion cubic feet of water would sweep away villages, threatening some 10,000 lives.

Norbu Sherpa survived a GLOF that raged for hours through the Nepali village of Ghat in 1985. "My family and I were all in our house when we heard a big explosion [and saw] a big black stream of mud, including rocks and trees, rushing down the mountain," he told the World Wildlife Federation. The GLOF destroyed crops and an almost completed \$1.5 million hydro-power plant.

The Himalayan glaciers are rapidly disappearing. Nepal alone now has almost 9,000 glacial lakes, and the International Center for Integrated Mountain Development warns that 204 are at risk of GLOF.

Less sudden but more catastrophic is what happens next, after the Himalayan glaciers and much of the high snows are gone. The meltwater now feeds 12 rivers that supply more than two billion people—nearly one-third of humanity—with water. The loss of this water source not only threatens economies, culture and community—it imperils national and global security. Water shortages, droughts, floods, crop failures and famine will follow and the ripples of disaster will spread around the world, driving up food and commodity prices, fueling tribal and national conflicts and water wars, and creating waves of climate refugees.

At the same time, if researchers are right about the impact of glacier melt and rising seas, volcanic and earthquake activity will accelerate. We are in for a hell of a ride.



Greed to Green

Solving Climate Change & Remaking the Economy

by Charles Derber, *Paradigm Publishers, 2010. 268 pp., paper*

IF WE HAD MORE SPACE, we would start this review by reprinting Charlie Derber's charming but ominous "Green Greek Theater" (pp. 100-103)—a drama in ancient form featuring Greed Rulers (CEOs), Oracle (scientist), Green Activists (who would create a new green regime), and Chorus (the put-upon American public). The content is thoroughly present-day: malls, SUV, mortgage, free-market, oil-drilling, corporate bailouts, subsidies, etc. The oracle presents the facts and consequences of global warming; the greed rulers try to reassure the chorus about the American Way ("house"); the activists emphasize throwing out the giant corporations and understanding that green is beautiful and durable; the oracle has the last word—"time is running out!"

This eminently readable book is what weary Americans need for arousal and encouragement to take part in the urgently needed system-change for the continuation of civilization and of a supportive earth. Charlie Derber is not only a renowned scholar (and friend of the Alliance for Democracy), but social scientist, philosopher, raconteur, activist, and teacher rolled into one. His writing style is personal and informal like his manner with students, managers, public gatherings, and talk show hosts—the book ends with stories about his own life and activism, the constructive activism of a Plymouth man, Peter Crawley, and of Bill McKibben the environmentalist. His presentation is engaging and fact-filled in a well-structured argument beginning with the reality of global warming and short-term thinking, running through corporate and governmental actions and conflict with public needs and opinion, and climaxing with movement action in relation to presidential authority—all to result in a shift from the destructive regime initiated by Ronald Reagan to a constructive Green Regime.

Some contextual examples:

—Climate change is real and already has serious social consequences: "Climate change largely created by rich nations kills more than 315,000 people per year, mostly in poor countries, and creates economic losses of more than \$125 billion, also mostly in poor nations." (p. 175)

—Urgency. We are nearing a "tipping-point" in global climate change where abrupt geological changes occur through positive feedback loops as when the largest ice masses (e.g., Greenland) melt, irreversibly affecting marine life and hence human life.

[Note, page 9 this issue: Climate change is partially causing volcanic eruptions, which in turn promote more climate change.]

—The Millennial generation—young people who appreciate whole-system dynamics but may believe too simplistically in technological salvation.

—Cleverness of corporate resistance, e.g., BP's "Beyond Petroleum" greenwashing. [Note: the book was published before BP's undersea gusher in the Gulf of Mexico.] Former vice president Cheney purged government scientists who averred global warming; McDonald's and Exxon sponsor Earth Day; Carbon-spewing jet planes fly folks on "eco-tourist" vacations...

To transform the system Derber cites ten needed shifts:

- * from short-term profit maximization to sustainable long-term enterprise
- * from externalizing environmental and social costs to internalizing them
- * from monopoly corporations to smaller and midsize businesses
- * from financialized Wall Street capitalism to a sustainable Main Street economy
- * from corporate-controlled government to popular sovereignty

- * from shareholder-owned businesses to stakeholder, labor, and community businesses
- * from the invisible hand to the preservation of the commons
- * from poverty and low worker wages to living wages for all
- * from consumerism to quality of life
- * from growth to sufficiency

A key operational goal for creating this paradigm shift will be reducing carbon emissions by 90% by 2050. Here Derber places great faith in President Barack Obama's vision, his emergency powers, and his ability to "trick time" (use a burning immediate issue to engage long-term change programs), provided that he is pushed by a massive popular green movement. He would order all federal departments to plan and to proceed in doing their part. Derber writes two sample speeches for the president to inform and encourage the public and to insist on action from the Congress.

Subsequently, in a populist vein, he details seven corporate changes: (1) A new democratic wall between corporations and government, (2) an end to corporate personhood, (3) protection of the commons, (4) federalization of corporate charters, (5) democratization of corporate governance, (6) rebalancing of equity-to-debt financing, and (7) a trading in of the big for the small.

We cannot convey here the sophistication and detail of Derber's analysis and recommendations, except to point to 28 pages of footnotes. The last sections of his book deal with the nature of social movements and the problem of coalescing the many more or less independent movements which must act together to bring about the green system change. Because time is short they will remain largely a network of networks, though some power center will be needed to coordinate internally and internationally (e.g., China), and to deal with massive corporate resistance. To win popular support the movements must develop a balance between anger and confrontation, on the one hand, and generosity and love on the other.

—Dave Lewit

US Backs Honduras Coup

Murders Rise, Broad Resistance

by Joseph Huff-Hannon, *Guardian (UK), 28 June 2010*

RIGHT NOW THERE ARE A BUNCH OF MILITARY TRUCKS driving around the city, full of soldiers, surrounding most of the important buildings downtown," Karla Lara tells me over the phone from the capital of Honduras, on the eve of the one-year anniversary of last year's coup d'etat. "It's pretty clear they're trying to scare people."

The renowned singer and human rights activist was speaking to me from her recording studio in Tegucigalpa, where she was rehearsing for a big public concert, organised by the National Front of Popular Resistance, to mark the anniversary. "The 28th [June] isn't about commemorating the coup, it's about repudiating it. We want to celebrate the day as a year of being in resistance. I have the coverage of being a public person, but it's been very, very intense. You get physically exhausted, but also emotionally exhausted."

The National Front of Popular Resistance, a coalition of hundreds of diverse civil society groups, was born out of last year's coup d'etat—when the military kidnapped then president José Manuel Zelaya Rosales, and forcibly exiled him and his family from the country. The rupture of the constitutional order in Honduras, Latin America's first and only 21st century coup,

unleashed a violent campaign of repression across the country under the coup government of Roberto Micheletti. That wave of violence and generalised impunity, largely directed against opponents of the coup regime, continues to this day under the government of president Porfirio Lobo, elected last November while the country was under a state of siege, in an election to which the UN and the OAS didn't even bother to send observers, and which a plurality of Latin American governments have refused to acknowledge.

"In Honduras right now there is a military-business regime, with a little bit of democratic makeup," Gerardo Torres, a Honduran activist visiting the United States Social Forum last week, told me. "But what people need to know is that more assassinations are happening now during the 'democratic' rule of President Lobo than during the era of Micheletti. When Micheletti ran the coup government, killings of students or resistance members were at least controversial, they made the international news. But the international news media has moved on—which is sad since now they're killing journalists."

Indeed, in 2010 at least eight journalists have been killed in mysterious circumstances in Honduras, all of them critics of the coup and/or of powerful business interests in the country. None of those murders have been solved, and Reporters Without Borders has called Honduras the world's most dangerous country for journalists in the first half of 2010. Dozens of anti-coup activists, members of the National Resistance Front, and union activists have also been murdered in the last year, often in broad daylight by men wearing masks or dressed in fatigues. The era of the death squad, that ignominious feature of Latin American state terrorism of the '70s and the '80s, appears to have made a come back in Honduras.

And sadly, but predictably, the US appears to have sided with the death squads. "Now it's time for the hemisphere as a whole to move forward and welcome Honduras back into the inter-American community," the US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton, said earlier this month, imploring other members of the Organisation of American States to re-admit Honduras to the organisation. A majority bloc of Latin American nations, led by Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Ecuador, disagreed, citing the horrendous human rights record in the country, and a lack of accountability for those behind the coup. And while hypocrisy in foreign policy is hardly news, it's worth noting here that the US state department released a harshly worded statement earlier this month chastising the Venezuelan government's "continuing assault on the freedom of the press" following that country's issuance of an arrest warrant for a media tycoon. A week later, with no fanfare and not a word about press freedoms, the US resumed military aid to the pariah government of Honduras.

A year after the coup the polarising figure of deposed president Zelaya, who elicited the ire of the Honduran ruling class by, among other things, raising the minimum wage, still dominates much of the media coverage. But the broad-based democracy movement born in the bloody aftermath of the coup continues to organise inside and outside of the country, at great personal risk, and makes great pains to express that the long-term fight in Honduras is much bigger than who sits in the presidential palace.

"A lot of people can't quite understand a movement that doesn't revolve around a caudillo," Gerardo tells me. "This resistance movement is wide and complex. We have feminists working with Christian activists, who are working with labour activists. Zelaya is important, but the popular movement more so. And we think the repression has built up because those who

have always run the country are scared, and this is their desperate response. Them with their arms, us with our ideas."

Ed. Note: Writing from exile in the Dominican Republic, ousted President Zelaya cites pre-coup liaisons to aver US complicity in the coup a year ago. ■

Whales Headed for Extinction

All Oceans Contaminated, Humans Beware

by Arthur Max, Associated Press, 24 June 2010

SPERM WHALES FEEDING even in the most remote reaches of Earth's oceans have built up stunningly high levels of toxic and heavy metals, according to American scientists who say the findings spell danger not only for marine life but for the millions of humans who depend on seafood.

A report released Thursday noted high levels of cadmium, aluminum, chromium, lead, silver, mercury and titanium in tissue samples taken by dart gun from nearly 1,000 whales over five years. From polar areas to equatorial waters, the whales ingested pollutants that may have been produced by humans thousands of miles away, the researchers said.

"These contaminants, I think, are threatening the human food supply. They certainly are threatening the whales and the other animals that live in the ocean," said biologist Roger Payne, founder and president of Ocean Alliance, the research and conservation group that produced the report. The researchers found mercury as high as 16 parts per million in the whales. Fish high in mercury such as shark and swordfish—the types health experts warn children and pregnant women to avoid—typically have levels of about 1 part per million. The whales studied averaged 2.4 parts of mercury per million, but the report's authors said their internal organs probably had much higher levels than the skin samples contained.

"The entire ocean life is just loaded with a series of contaminants, most of which have been released by human beings," Payne said in an interview on the sidelines of the International Whaling Commission's annual meeting, this year in Agadir, Morocco. He said sperm whales, which occupy the top of the food chain, absorb the contaminants and pass them on to the next generation when a female nurses her calf. "What she's actually doing is dumping her lifetime accumulation of that fat-soluble stuff into her baby," he said, and each generation passes on more to the next.

Ultimately, he said, the contaminants could jeopardize seafood, a primary source of animal protein for 1 billion people. "You could make a fairly tight argument to say that it is the single



greatest health threat that has ever faced the human species. I suspect this will shorten lives, if it turns out that this is what's going on," he said.

Payne called his group's \$5 million project the most comprehensive report ever done on ocean pollutants. Payne, 75, is best known for his 1968 discovery and recordings of songs by humpback whales, and for finding that some whale species can communicate with each other over thousands of miles. The 93-foot *Odyssey*, a sail-and-motor ketch, set out in March 2000 from San Diego to document the oceans' health, collecting pencil-eraser-sized samples using a dart gun that barely made the whales flinch. After more than five years and 87,000 miles, samples had been taken from 955 whales. The samples were sent for analysis to marine toxicologist John Wise at the University of Southern Maine. DNA was compared to ensure the animals were not tested more than once...

Though it was impossible to know where the whales had been, Payne said the contamination was embedded in the blubber of males formed in the frigid polar regions, indicating that the animals had ingested the metals far from where they were emitted. "When you're working with a synthetic chemical which never existed in nature before and you find it in a whale which came from the Arctic or Antarctic, it tells you that was made by people and it got into the whale," he said. How that happened is unclear, but the contaminants likely were carried by wind or ocean currents, or were eaten by the sperm whales' prey.

Sperm whales are toothed whales that eat all kinds of fish, even sharks. Dozens have been taken by whaling ships in the past decade. Most of the whales hunted by the whaling countries of Japan, Norway and Iceland are minke whales, which are baleen whales that feed largely on tiny krill...

The consequences of the metals could be horrific for both whale and man, he said. "I don't see any future for whale species except extinction."...

Turkey Rising

Measured Action as World System Declines

by Conn Hallinan, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 25 June 2010

WHEN U.S. FORCES FOUND THEMSELVES BESET by a growing insurgency in Iraq following their lightning overthrow of Saddam Hussein, the most obvious parallel that came to mind was Vietnam: an occupying army, far from home, besieged by a shadowy foe. But Patrick Cockburn, the *Independent's* (UK) ace Middle East reporter, suggested that the escalating chaos was more like the Boer War than the conflict in Southeast Asia.

It was a parallel that was lost on most Americans, very few of whom know anything about the short, savage, turn-of-the-century war between Dutch settlers and the British Empire in South Africa. But the analogy explains a great deal about the growing influence of a country like Turkey, and why Washington, despite its military power and economic clout, can no longer dominate regional and global politics.

Turkey Takes Lead Absent New Global Order

The most common U.S. interpretation of the joint Turkish-Brazilian peace plan for Iran, as well as Ankara's falling out with Israel over the latter's assault on the Gaza flotilla, is that Turkey is "looking East." Rationales run the gamut from rising Islamism to U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates' explanation that the West alienated Turkey when it blocked Ankara from joining the European Union (EU).

While Turkey's rise does indeed reflect internal developments in that country, its growing influence mirrors the ebb of American power, a consequence of the catastrophic policies Washington has followed in the Middle East and Central Asia.

From Ankara's point of view, it is picking up the tab for the chaos in Iraq, the aggressive policies of the Israeli government, and the growing tensions around the Iranian nuclear program. As Sedat Laciner, director of the International Strategic Resource Center in Ankara, told *The New York Times*, "The Western countries do things and Turkey pays the bill."

While the Cold War is over, argues Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, "a new global" order has yet to emerge. Until those "mechanisms" are in place, "It will therefore fall largely to nation-states to meet and create solutions for the global political, cultural, and economic turmoil."

Davutoglu's observation about "a new global" order is an implicit critique of a UN Security Council dominated by the veto power of the "Big Five": the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China. Increasingly countries like Turkey, Brazil, and India are unhappy with the current setup. They either want a place at the table or a reduction of the Council's power. The latest Iran sanctions passed 12 to 2 (with one abstention) in the Council. The sanctions would have failed a vote in the General Assembly.

Internal Stability

Internally, Turkey is putting its house in order. It has returned the once all-powerful army—four coups in as many decades—to the barracks, shifted power away from Istanbul elites to central and eastern Turkey, eased up on domestic repression, and even begun coming to terms with its large Kurdish minority. Legislation before the parliament would establish a commission to fight discrimination.

Externally, Turkey is following what Davutoglu calls a "zero problems with neighbors" foreign policy. It has buried the hatchet with Syria and reached out to Iraq's Kurds. Of the 1,200 companies working in Iraq's Kurdistan, half are Turkish, and cross-border trade is projected to reach \$20 billion this year. And the Kurds have something Ankara wants: 45 billion barrels in oil reserves and plentiful natural gas.

Turkey has expanded ties with Iran and worked closely with Russia on energy and trade. It has even tried to thaw relations with Armenia. It has mediated between Damascus and Tel Aviv, brokered peace talks between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq, and Serbians and Bosnians in the Balkans, and tried to reduce tension in the Caucasus. It has also opened 15 embassies in Africa and two in Latin America.

Its foreign policy is "multi-dimensional," says Davutoglu, which "means that good relations with Russia are not an alternative to relations with the EU," an explicit repudiation of the zero-sum game diplomacy that characterized the Cold War...

Working with Brazil

Turkey has begun working closely with other nations who would also benefit from a reduction in international tension. Ankara's partnership with Brazil is no accident. Like Turkey, Brazil's economy is humming and it has been key in knitting together Mercosur, the third-largest trade organization in the world. It has also played no small part in helping South America to become one of the most peaceful regions in the world.

The United States, on the other hand, has drawn widespread anger for its support of the Honduran government, expanding its military bases in Colombia, and its increasingly unpopular war on drugs. No wonder that much of the world concludes that regional

powers like Turkey and Brazil are centers of stability while the United States has become increasingly ham-fisted or ineffectual.

THE BRITISH EVENTUALLY TRIUMPHED in the 1899-1902 Boer War. But what was predicted to be a cakewalk for the most powerful military in the world turned into the longest and most expensive of Britain's colonial wars. In the end, the British won only by herding Boer women and children into concentration camps, where 28,000 of them died of starvation and disease.

All over the colonial world people took notice: a ragtag guerrilla force had fought the mighty British army to a stalemate. The Boer War exposed the underlying weakness of the British Empire, just as Iraq and Afghanistan have signaled the end of an era in which powerful countries could use force to dominate a region or the globe.

"The world is not going to take the diktats of the powers that have run it for the past two or three hundred years," political scientist Soli Ozel of Bilgi University in Istanbul told the *Financial Times*.

FALL OF US EMPIRE (Continued from Page 1)

of the empire that it goes like that. When you ask me why did I have that time horizon, well, I made a comparative study of quite a lot of declines of empires. I'm a little bit of an expert on that, actually. And there are certain factors that are similar. They rise and decline more quickly now. Of course, the two Roman empires, the Western and the Eastern, lasted longer. Now it's quicker. The US started, I would say, in 1898, walking into the shoes of the dying or dead Spanish empire. And we are now dealing with a phenomenon which is about 110, 112 years old. And as I told you, I put the upper limit at 2020.

U.S. to Blossom

What we see right now is an intensification spreading, special forces increasing, let us say, from thirty to forty-five countries. And that's exactly what you would expect. It's an effort to try to externalize, to say that there are enemies abroad that are trying to get at us, instead of saying the obvious, namely that we have made a construction, and that construction is dying itself. If you try to dominate the world economically, militarily, politically and culturally at the same time, and then having these four support each other, it cannot last for a long time. And that's the phase we are in now. Now, in that period, there will be fascist reactions. It's not impossible that it could be a military coup in the US from the right, not impossible within this period. But, you see, I am much more optimistic than that: I think that the US is in for a blossoming period. Look at what happened to England when it got rid of its empire from 1965 on. Russia got rid of its empire from 1991. They took some time. There was a bad Yeltsin period. Right now Russia is rising. You see the same in France. You see it in Italy.

Washington's Blindness

Now let's look at it from a Washington point of view: pursuing a victory which will never happen. I'll say why: 1.56 billion Muslims are dedicated to the idea of defending Islam when trampled upon. Some of them are traveling to Afghanistan. Some of them are doing it somewhere else in other ways. Those ways can become quite disagreeable, as you know.

Point two, there is no capitulation in Islam to infidels. It doesn't exist. To fight against Christians and Jews—you take the mini-empire of Israel, the regional empire—is not an invitation to a violent confrontation that will end with a capitulation. In other words, the time perspective of the Muslim community is unlimited. I don't think the time perspective of Washington is

unlimited. So you can say, of course, who has the longer time perspective will win. There may be some local capitulation, a white flag somewhere, but by and large the usual scenario of a tent, maybe, with a camping table, somebody diligently typing a couple of copies of a capitulation document and "please sign on the dotted line," forget about it. Forget about it. That's not the way it happens these days.

So, having said that, victory is out. Of course, the US will not be available for defeat, as, in a sense, it was in Vietnam in April 1975. So withdrawal is the likeliest thing, hoping desperately that the Afghan national army and the Afghan national police will take over the job, which they will, with my knowledge of the situation, not do. They will be aligning themselves with the next stage in Afghan history.



But having mentioned this, there is of course a fourth possibility: United States participating in conflict resolution. So what we have been discussing here, Amy, in Washington in these sessions, have been the details of these five points and other points. And here I would like to enter with a basic point about mediation, we who mediate. I'm an NGO mediator. I've done this more than 120 times around the world, sometimes with some success, sometimes not, or to put it more optimistically, not yet success. OK, what we are trying to find out are the goals of the parties. What do they want? I mentioned the Taliban are dead against secularization. I find that legitimate. The US goal of a base, I find it illegitimate. The US goal of an oil pipeline and controlling it, I find it illegitimate, by means of war. But the US goal that no attack should come from Afghanistan, I find completely legitimate.

I don't think that's what happened 9/11. I don't think the attack came from Afghanistan, nor do I think Osama bin Laden's role was very much important. I think it was essentially Saudi Arabian. It was a revenge for the oil treaty of March 1945, because it was totally against Wahhab perspectives on reality, that a good life is the life as lived at the time of the Prophet and, as the Prophet said when he expired in 632, "In this country there shall be no two religions." I'm, of course, in no way saying that all Saudi Arabians are of this opinion, but many are, even the royal house are divided down the middle. And if you then add to this, from 1990 onwards, staging US wars in the region, be it against the Saddam Hussein invading Kuwait, or be it against the Saddam Hussein—that was in 1991, February—the Saddam Hussein of 2003, 20 March, by Iraqi reckoning, staging it from Saudi Arabia, from the sacred land of the chosen people. Now, the US should know something about sacred land and chosen people, the metaphor that I took from Judaism, because at the time in 1620,

at the time of the Mayflower, there was not much Zion on the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

So, having said that, conflict resolution is the way. But that can only happen if you understand what the people want, legitimate goals in Afghanistan, and taking into consideration what, to my mind, is an absolutely legitimate goal from Washington—no attack shall emerge from Afghanistan. Even if it didn't do so, and to best of my knowledge, in 2001, it could do it today, because the US has produced quite a lot of people who have reasons for hating the country. Now, having said that, I am not sure that the US is going to do this. And the reason for it is a limited US ability to see a conflict from the outside or from above, to take your intellectual helicopter and getting up above the conflict, see your own legitimacy and illegitimacy and the other side's legitimacy and illegitimacy, starting thinking that maybe he has a point and then trying to see if there's some reality that could accommodate all of it. Well, 243 military or political interventions since Thomas Jefferson—we are now perhaps at 245—this is not a US foreign policy talent, in spite of the fact that there are so many wonderful Americans in this fantastic country, where I have lived much of my life, that have a fabulous ability to handle conflicts well.

So, having said that, we come to alternative five for the US: to become irrelevant. Neither victory nor defeat, nor withdrawal, nor conflict resolution—becoming irrelevant. And that, of course, leads us to the question, who then is relevant? Countries in the region, Turkey. Turkey is led today by three people—the President, the Foreign Minister, and of course the Prime Minister—Davutoglu, Erdogan, Gül—of an exceptional quality, I will call a team more in tune with what happens in the world than the people leading the United States of America at present. I'm not talking badly about Obama and Hillary Clinton; I'm just saying that those three, it's very hard to come up to that level. Now, they are not becoming a regional power. They are now very high up on world diplomacy. They are not, as *Washington Post* is saying, turning against the West; they're turning against the United States and Israel, turning against the US empire and the Israeli mini-empire after 1967, forty-three years ago, after the occupation, after the June War. You see, all over the region you find people saying that we can tolerate, we can live with—I mean, I talk with Hamas people, and I ask them, "Is there an Israel you can acknowledge, you can recognize?" And they say, by and large, 4 June, 1967, with some revisions. Well, Turkey is on that side, and they are making contacts now with Iran, with Afghanistan, Iran with Afghanistan, Iran with Turkey. So there you have a quite interesting triad coming up. Add to that Russia and China, not India. India is outside this game; it's an unimportant country for the time being, in spite of its size, also now involved in a very deadly war and unable to find good solutions for the Naxalites—should learn from Nepal, although Nepal is also in difficulty of another kind. You can look at this, and then you can draw the conclusion: increasing US irrelevance. Well, you see, that's how empires die. They die with a whimper, and usually not with a bang, as T.S. Eliot said.

Obama Speech (excerpt)

Now, the people of Afghanistan have endured violence for decades. They have been confronted with occupation by the Soviet Union and then by foreign al-Qaeda fighters who used Afghan land for their own purposes. So tonight, I want the Afghan people to understand: America seeks an end to this era of war and suffering. We have no interest in occupying your country. We will support efforts by the Afghan government to open the door to those Taliban who abandon violence and respect the human

rights of their fellow citizens. And we will seek a partnership with Afghanistan grounded in mutual respect, to isolate those who destroy, to strengthen those who build, to hasten the day when our troops will leave, and to forge a lasting friendship in which America is your partner and never your patron.

—Pres. Barack Obama, West Point Military Academy, 1 Dec 2009

Galtung Response

Totally unrealistic and extremely badly informed, and that from such an intelligent, such a charming man with such a brilliant rhetoric. Look, to be realistic here, one has to understand that almost all Afghans, after having been invaded five times in recent history—three times by the English, once by the Soviets, Russians, and once by the Americans—are sick and tired, absolutely, of being invaded. The idea that the Taliban should lay down their arms before the Americans withdraw is outside reality. The idea of a partnership in a country fundamentally, and to some extent fundamentalist, Muslim, that you can have a partnership and you can come with technical assistance projects, development projects that have not been blessed by Allah, is a great misunderstanding. You will cater to a small group of Westernized people in Kabul and a couple of other places. That's the only thing you will reach.

Now, where is the Obama plan for canceling the Bagram base? Where is the plan for giving the pipeline back to the people it should belong to? And that is not Unocal. I hear nothing of the kind. Now, this is just a part of imperial politics.

What I do hear, with sympathy, is the idea of parity. But, you see, parity, with so-and-so-many soldiers in one of the lands, with no soldiers from that land in your own land, is not parity. I find—when I talk with Afghans, I find three motives, and I mentioned them already: number one, anti-secularization; number two, anti-Kabul, in favor of a much more decentralized country; number three, and very importantly, anti-being-invaded. So we have so-and-so-many million Afghans, and you have three motivations. You have very many of them with plus-three. I think you have very few with zero motivation.

Dear Obama, out of touch with reality.

Afghanistan War to End Like Vietnam

John F. Kennedy sent the first US military specialists in 1961, and it ended 30 April, '75. If you take fourteen years and multiply by twelve, you get a little bit higher figure, but let's leave that outside.

I think it will end, by and large, the same way as Vietnam. That means United States becoming irrelevant. That means that others will, behind the scene, play important roles. There will be negotiations. We are probably coming into a period where Taliban, at some point, will meet Americans. They will not go to a place—the Taliban—where they can easily be captured. To find that place where they can meet will not be so easy. There will be something similar to the talks between North Vietnam and the Americans. And to quote one important exchange of words in that remark, one of the last commanders in Vietnam on the American side said to the top person in North Vietnam, "You were never able to beat us in any open battle." And the North Vietnamese response was "Correct, but it is irrelevant." You can be a superpower as much as you want. You're up against a force, incidentally, which has enormous amounts of world support. That simply is superior. So, instead of playing it with a ladder up to a helicopter on top of the embassy, I would guess that the Obama double plan—on the one hand, 30,000 more in; on the other hand, withdrawal, an invitation for the Taliban to

look at their watch and wait, of course—will play itself out in a way very similar to Vietnam.

And in the meantime, others will be working. There were lots of non-governmental people working—Pugwash, for instance. I was a member of that one. I know a little bit about what happened. France played a certain role, no doubt about it. Russia played a role. China played a role. And what happened then, when the 30 April, 1975, was all over, was that the two Vietnams came together like that, and the thing handled itself. Afghanistan will handle itself. United States will have to receive a relatively high number of people who, after this is over, will find themselves on the wrong side of the divide. Many of them will, like good chameleons, change color in the meantime.

I think much of the key to the solution is in a conference for the security and cooperation of Central Asia, modeled, if you will, on the Helsinki Conference that led to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. United States played a role in that one, but also sabotaged it by deploying its, I would say, ridiculous missiles back starting in the mid-'70s, and by the mid-'80s they had been deployed, thereby postponing the end of the Cold War, by the insight of most of the people that I know, by at least ten years. Well, there could still be sabotage actions from the US side. Could be. But this is more or less the scenario I would have. Vietnam is the model.

Media Coverage

I would wish that Al Jazeera could be visible in the USA in a more prominent way than as channel 275 on Comcast. You see, what Al Jazeera does is the following: It is not left-wing, not at all. I've been interviewed a couple of times, three times. I know how they operate. It's multi-angular. You don't present anything unless you have that Afghan position, that Afghan position, that US position, that Iranian position, or that Turkish position. You present that. And it comes, and all the people who are being interviewed are grilled by very talented people—that also happens in other channels—and it is then left to the viewers to draw their conclusion.

So what I find is that the discourse, as it's cut by the US, is almost infantile. For instance, the figure terrorist. Look, I'm approaching eighty. The Germans came and occupied our country in 1940. I was nine. I still remember how our resistance movement was referred to as terrorist, Goebbels. Terrorist, terrorist, terrorist. [*The Norwegians?* —AG]

Yes, it was people not in uniform attacking him. That is true. It was our resistance. It's very hard to see it otherwise.

[*The Norwegians referred to as terrorists by the Nazis?* —AG]

Precisely. And, of course, it was true that some used tactics—it's a tactic, terrorism is a tactic—that sometimes was unnecessarily violent. It's also true that some of them were extremist communists. Very, very true. And they were hoping for the reward after the war that the people enthusiastically would vote them into government. No, they didn't get that. But at the same time, they were respected for what they had done. So, that is one, if you will, stupidity that should stop.

The other one is this inability to see the other side. Let us just look for a second into what happened on 9/11. I'll give you in one sentence what about 100 dialogues around the world have led me to believe, including of course in countries very central to this. It was an extrajudicial execution of two buildings, probably heading for a third one—Langley, Virginia, CIA. Probably. Why? For having insulted Saudi Arabia, insulted economically by a pattern totally contrary to Wahhab visions of what is a valid economy, by having insulted the country militarily by the pre-

sence of nationals of totally different religions, infidels, and in the same time using the country for attacking another country, also Arab, also Muslim, a country that one can critique and criticize, but still a part of the ummah, the Muslim community.

Now, if you look at this, look at it that way, then you suddenly start understanding why Osama bin Laden said in one of his famous speeches in October, after 9/11, said, "You are now suffering the humiliation we suffered more than eighty years ago." You take 2001, you subtract eighty, you come to 1921. But he said "more than," so let us subtract five more, as a maximum—1916, '17, '18. Sykes-Picot; 1917, Balfour Declaration; 1918, the occupation of Istanbul. I remember I was eating in my apartment in Manassas, close to Washington, where my wife and I live in much pleasure much of our lives. I was hitting—Googling to find out how many US media had picked up what happened more than eighty years ago. Amy, I found zero.

Now, the US is not very good at history. So that ridiculous formula, that we were attacked because people are envious and they're envious our democracy and so on, was the one that went all over in the media and has been intoxicating and, I would say, making for the highly unintelligent analysis.

Now, what do you do? Imagine that what I say now is correct. Imagine that is more or less what happened and that it is consistent with what we have been told, that fifteen out of the nineteen hijackers were Saudi Arabians. Let's imagine that's correct. What do you do then? Maybe you go back to March 1945, and you look at the treaty. Maybe you have an Arabian-US commission to discuss it. Maybe at some point you don't apologize. That is a tradition, which I don't think so important. But maybe you say, for instance, that I wish it could be undone. Maybe you say that this was not the wisest thing we could have done on-board the aircraft carrier in the Suez Canal, with Ibn Saud, on the one hand, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on the other—one of the last things before he expired on the 12th of April, 1945. Amy, you will now ask how can I remember that. That was the day my father was released from concentration camp, so it was a day with one shiny light and a very sad day. We admired and we loved Roosevelt, like most of the world loves America, but not US imperialism, you see.

And since you asked me about the US media, look, this is a country with so many universities, so many educated people, brilliant people, charming people, wonderful people. I don't understand why the mainstream media have to market that much stupidity.

How to Get Along and Thrive

I mean every word of it. I can even tell you that when I give talks about this, many places in the US, I put hand on heart and say, "I love the US republic, and I hate the US empire." You see, to many people, this doesn't make sense. It's called anti-American. No, no, no. I've had, I'll tell you, people coming up to me saying that that remark relieved them of an enormous problem, namely, "I have so much difficulties with our foreign policy, our economic penetration, our cultural arrogance, our political maneuvering and arms twisting, and yet I love my country." And what I try to say is that these are two different things, and the albatross is around your neck. Get rid of it. Give it up. Do the following four things. Very quickly.

Economically, *trade for mutual benefit*, fine, but equal benefit. And that means to examine the impact of your economic deals down to the last bottom, not only in a third world country, but maybe also in your own. Maybe you need some retraining of your economists to do that.

Militarily, pull your bases back. Eight hundred in 150 countries is madness. And instead of all that, *conflict resolution*, conflict resolution, conflict resolution. There are so many places in the US now where the young generation is being trained in it. They're doing brilliant steps forward. A Department of Peace was suggested by Dennis Kucinich, and I think about sixty-four congressmen and women are behind it, something like that. A brilliant conception. And I'll tell you one thing. If the US had that one and even permitted it to shine, as the famous castle up on the hill, all the love for the US around the world would return. It would be just fabulous.

Now, third thing, politically, no more arms twisting. *Negotiation with the cards on the table*, no threats, no nothing. No secret call by the US ambassador to UN, or whatever it is, to call in somebody and tell them that "if you do this and that, if you insist on this as your bargaining position, we will do something," and so on. I know so many such stories.

Point four, get down from the idea of having a separate mandate from God, even a mandate to kill. The word is *dialogue*. The word is simply to say we have something that we can contribute—and do you have from this marvelous, generous country. But others also have something. For instance, it seems that the Muslims have some good ideas about banking, like not lending more than 30 percent of your capital. Well, if your upper limit is 2,400 or something like that, then you're a little bit high. And if that limit is considered too high and is abolished in 2004, and the sky is the limit, down it came. And it'll come down again. The US is today probably heading for a rather important crash and, in all probability, for a major devaluation of its currency.

Well, let us leave that aside. Let us just say a new economic relations to other countries; conflict resolution instead of bases and invasions and interventions and Special Forces all around the world; negotiations with open cards, without tricks; and dialogue. Dialogue, dialogue, dialogue. All of the Americans I know very well, and many of them Jewish Americans, have extremely good talents for this. Why couldn't that be more the tone and the tenor of US policy?

Americans: Make Yourself a Wonderful, Normal Country
 We're making the distinction between the empire and the republic and that the republic could do beautifully without the empire, like so many others have done before them. I can give you general public opinion studies around the world, let us say, in Muslim countries. About 85 percent love the United States of America, like I and my Japanese wife do. About 85 percent hate US foreign policy. You see, take that seriously. Just have a look at your military, economic, political and cultural foreign policy. They can be changed. It's even relatively easy. Make yourself a normal country. No exceptionalism, please. A normal, wonderful country. Maybe you will find it in your interest to make North America a region, a Mex-US-Can, a Mexico, United States, Canada. That could also be a shiny light, with Mexico as a bridge to a Latin America which is now finding its own ways outside the Organization of American States—a Latin American region. Well, put your fingers in the earth, find out where you are, and you will find marvelous roads forward for an ever-better American republic. ~~~~~

COMMUNITY NOTES (Continued from Page 1)

Several members of the national council of the Alliance for Democracy manned a literature table at the recent US Social Forum in Detroit (see p.5 above). A coalition for "Human Rights, Not Corporate Rights" appears in the offing, with People's Movement Assemblies (PMA) as a major vehicle (www.pma2010.org).

The PMA "presented their analyses to the floor with many stories of real problems, real communities; they presented declarations and days of action for the country." They agree about bottom up planning, with guidance from a national logistics group. AfD and PMA are on the same page with empire, racism, corporate personhood, etc., and with co-ops, currency, education, agriculture. Looking to movement "synthesis", we are all on board with the Move to Amend project to amend the US Constitution.

Among Boston people attending the USSF was **Maggie Zhou** who will also participate in Common Good's workshop on moral roots of local progressive movements, at Boston College, 10 July, along with **Charlie Derber**, moderated by **Dave Lewit**.

LETTERS

Sovereign Arizona

Yeah, we joke about seceding as "Baja Arizona". I think Mexico should just rescind the Gadsden purchase and buy back the AZ territory and then who would be illegal? Actually, Baja Arizona wouldn't include Maricopa County (home of Phoenix) where the state 'gummint' is located, and that would suit most Tucsonans just fine.

My daughter-in-law is Mexican (just became a US citizen but doesn't want her fam back in Mexico to know.) Her skin definitely falls in the dark region of the paint chip chart, so without papers she would be shipped back in the blink of an eye if she happened to be stopped for some infraction like "driving while brown."

But hey, look on the bright side...This issue's getting lots of attention!

—Susan Willis, Tucson AZ

Ed. Comment: Maricopa County would be the hole in the Baja Arizona doughnut. Archduke Joe Arpaio would have to show his visa whenever leaving the Principality of Phoenix.

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