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China's Offshore Claims

By Dale Allen Pfeiffer

[The American Secretary of State is now completing the Chinese finale to her first Asian tour, during which the expected theater of cautious mutual warnings over North Korea has been somewhat sidelined by cautious mutual warnings over Taiwan. These don't feel quite so theatrical. Perhaps the last time the U.S. seemed this genuinely concerned about the Taiwan issue was in 1960, when the tiny islands of Kimoy and Matsu in the Formosa Strait were seen as potential dominoes in the Communist game. Now it's no longer about the Cold War's territorial obsessions. It's no longer about the fact, explained by Peter Dale Scott in Drugs, Oil, and War, that Taiwan has served for 60 years as the nerve center for right-wing parties and players all over Southeast Asia. It isn't the money, either: though Taiwan has become the 14th largest trading entity in the world, that wealth only means anything in the context of a stable international economy with consumers and producers safely interdependent on one another. But if mainland China were to find itself in a global scramble for the remaining scraps of hydrocarbon energy, it could be that Taiwan's huge manufacturing capacity and per-capita energy consumption might not be very appealing. Instead, Dale Allen Pfeiffer explains, the current contest over Taiwan has everything to do with oil and natural gas exploration in the coastal waters of China's continental shelf. If these waters are reckoned to include Taiwan, they will also include several key groups of islands known to have unexploited fossil fuel resources. - JAH]

March 21, 2005 1200 PST (FTW) — Have you ever wondered why China is willing to go to war with the United States over an island located a little over 100 miles off the coast, perched between the South China Sea and the East China Sea? Certainly, Taiwan has been a thorn in China's side since the remaining nationalists fled there following the rise of the People's Army. But China has tolerated the island's de facto independence - with a certain amount of saber rattling - until recently. Now China's demands for the return of Taiwan to the People's Republic are becoming more strident, and the world's most populous country appears prepared to back up its threats with force.

Why is this? Is it because of Taiwan's strategic position, so close to mainland China? But China tolerates other US protectorates within its vicinity (including Japan and South Korea). Is it because of Taiwan's industrial might? Mainland China no longer has any reason to envy Taiwan's industrial riches. Is China suddenly ready to go to war over principles, following Taiwan's refusal to join with the mainland and its insistence (backed by the US) upon sovereignty? Is this really worth risking a war which might very well go nuclear?

Or is there a more vital reason for China's bellicose insistence that Taiwan give up its claims of sovereignty? Could the answer lie in China's growing energy demands and the dwindling hydrocarbon reserves which once powered the mainland without imports?

(Cont'd on page 3)

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Renewables

PART 1 The problems of centralized power systems

By Michael Kane

- Can Wind Replace Hydrocarbon Consumption?
- Military & Intel Publicly Back Renewable Energy
- Proximity & Money

[The ironies of the Bush-Cheney energy policy are too many to count, but Mike Kane's research on renewable energy has found a few big ones. For instance, domestic energy demand is growing fast. So are the energy alternatives, but unlike natural gas, coal, and oil, the sun and the wind are not always available. Dependence on renewables will require a back-up system running on the old hydrocarbons, or it will face frequent voltage drops and outages. If demand were to remain static, the old hydrocarbon capacity could serve as the backup; but because demand is surging, wind and solar are just supplements, not replacements. And since the existing hydrocarbon capacity is already in use, new renewable capacity is going to need new hydrocarbon capacity to back it up on windless, cloudy days.

This problem could be solved by a massive decentralization program to replace our national power grid with a multi-centered system that would be much more efficient and therefore less vulnerable to voltage drops (it would allow local consumers to use renewable energy for the actual replacement of hydrocarbon-driven electrical capacity, rather as a mere supplement). And here's another big ugly irony: whereas national rural electrification was achieved through a massive federally funded program comparable to Eisenhower's National Highway System, there is no government left to implement the opposite program which we desperately need for its replacement. As real wages collapse and viable jobs are lost by the millions, a grand-scale public works project would be an ideal way to slow the economic decline before it reaches the point of no return. Such a flicker of rational planning might even restore a shred of confidence in the dollar before that, too, becomes irretrievable. But that, says the devil on the screen, would be Big Government. -JAH]

March 18, 2005 1200 PST (FTW) – **W**ind turbines are being built at an accelerated rate across the globe, in Europe, North America, China and other Asian nations.

(Cont'd on page 5)

(China's Offshore Claims - cont'd from page 1)

In the past few years, China has suffered a series of brownouts and blackouts caused by increased energy demand and diminishing supplies. Mainland China has been thoroughly probed for previously undiscovered deposits of hydrocarbons. Those which have been found are either small or too distant to be of practical importance. In particular, China is making plans to drill the large deposits found in the Tarim Basin, but it will take many years before this oil brings relief to the industrialized east. And the output of the Tarim Basin will always be limited by the capacity of the pipeline that will bring this oil to market. Finally, the cost of oil from the Tarim Basin will be a stiff price for Chinese industry to pay.

So China must look elsewhere for deposits which can be developed quickly, and more economically. And the areas where it would like to concentrate its search are the East China Sea and the South China Sea, where it is believed that there are several smaller but still worthwhile deposits which could quickly be brought online.

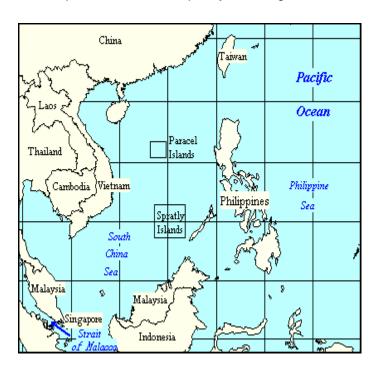


Image from EIA-South China Sea Region http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/schina.html

According to the EIA, the South China Sea has proven oil reserves of around 7.0 billion barrels. China claims the potential for oil discovery in the South China Sea could be as high as 213 billion barrels. Most of this undiscovered oil is expected to lie in the regions of the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands, both of which are the subject of contention between China and neighboring countries. But this geological optimism is not shared by non-Chinese analysts. In 1993-1994, the

USGS estimated the total sum of proven and undiscovered reserves in the South China Sea to be around 28 billion barrels. The situation for natural gas reserves is similar.¹



Image from EIA-China Country Analysis Brief http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/china.html

In the Bohai Sea, east of Beijing, oil has been found in several locations. When added up, the newly discovered reserves will probably total around 3.5 to 4 billion barrels, certainly no more than 5 billion barrels.² Natural gas deposits in the Xihu Trough of the East China Sea present another area of contention. The Xihu Trough lies about 250 miles east of Shanghai and about 250 miles northwest of Okinawa, somewhere on the border between the two nations. China and Japan have not agreed upon the exact location of their maritime border. Japan fears that Chinese natural gas production will siphon gas from areas which Japan considers to be within its territory.³

A longstanding geopolitical convention gives each nation a zone of exclusive economic control extended for 100 miles from its coast. As the sea floor was accurately mapped out, the US took the lead in extending this zone to the average length of the continental shelf as it extends from the shoreline to the outer edge of the continental margin. As a general rule, the exclusive economic zone has been extended to a distance of 200 miles from the coast. However, where the continental shelf extends farther than 200 miles, convention has allowed nations to extend their claim as far as 350 miles from the baseline.⁴

As a part of the worldwide move to extend sovereignty over the entire continental shelf, in 1998 the Ninth National People's Congress of China adopted the Exclusive Economic Zone and Continental Shelf Act.⁵ In this act, China claimed sovereignty over the entire adjoining continental shelf, and proclaimed that this territory was to be held for the exclusive economic use of China. Article 4 of this act proclaimed the People's Republic of China's ex-

clusive right to authorize and regulate drilling on the continental shelf for all purposes. Incidentally, Taiwan also claims an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles.⁶

The following image helps us to locate Taiwan (black) in relation to mainland China. Remember, Taiwan lies only a little over 100 miles off the coast of mainland China.

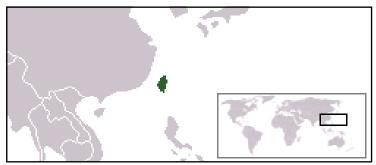


Image from Wikapedia-the free encyclopedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic of China

Now let's look at an image of the continental shelf in the region of China and Taiwan.

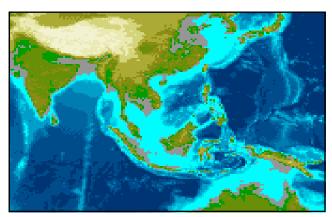


Image from Rice University UNIX site http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~feeqi/coastal2.html

Clearly there is a conflict between the territorial claims of The People's Republic of China and Taiwan. If Taiwan is recognized as sovereign and its claim to a 200 mile exclusive economic zone is granted, then it will cut out a significant chunk of China's exclusive economic zone.

While the disputed zone does not appear to be a likely area for oil exploration, it would set a dangerous precedent with regard to China's other territorial claims if it ceded to Taiwan on this issue. Specifically, it would damage China's position with regard to the Spratly and Paracel Islands in the South China Sea, and with regard to the Xihu Trough in the East China Sea. China cannot afford to lose these resources, and for this reason it might be prepared to use force if Taiwan insists on sovereignty.

¹ EIA-**South China Sea Region**; http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/schina.html

² EIA-China Country Analysis Brief; http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/china.html

³ Bloomberg.com. Nakagawa Wants to Avoid Empty Japan-China Talks on Gas Dispute; http://quote.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=10000080&sid=aPclqC7p5LOI

⁴ UN: Oceans and the Law of the Sea; http://www.un.org/Depts/los/index.htm

⁵ Exclusive Economic Zone and Continental Shelf Act. http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/chn_1998_eez_act.pdf

⁶ The CIA World Factbook; http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tw.html

(Renewables, Part One - cont'd from page 2)

Hydrocarbon depletion will be felt sooner rather than later <u>largely due to politics</u>, and the planning elites are well aware of this.

Many wind farms are currently in operation with plenty more planned to come online within the next three years. Renewable energy is certainly important for sustainable energy systems, but no one - including the environmentalist community - seems to be scrutinizing the social facts surrounding this fairly recent boom in renewable energy projects.

Can Wind Replace Hydrocarbon Consumption?

The answer is no. Not even close.

In fact, renewable energy is not being looked upon as a means to replace or even move away from hydrocarbon consumption. Rather it is being utilized to supplement growing demand. This will ultimately result in the burning of *more* hydrocarbons than we currently consume. Why is that?

Germany is further along in utilizing wind energy than any other nation. A report from E.ON Netz - Germany's second largest private energy provider - on the country's total wind capacity recently concluded 60% to 80% of Germany's energy must come from traditional sources (oil, gas, coal, nuclear, and hydroelectric) to ensure there is enough supply to meet demand. Windmills don't always spin, which leads to voltage fluctuation, and that will make any centralized grid unreliable. ¹

To keep a centralized grid running, a constant and ever expanding stream of hydrocarbon and nuclear energy is required no matter how many windmills come online.

Centralized grids waste energy.

Sending energy over long distances consumes energy in the process just to keep the grid functioning. This is called 'reactive power.' Additionally, the gigantic grid system that connects all of America - with one sub-national grid for the West, one for the East, and, remarkably, one for Texas - often experiences congestion and bottlenecking resulting in energy loss. According to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC), transmission bottlenecks cost consumers more than \$1 billion in the summers of 2000 and 2001 alone. ²

Let's analyze one American state leading the renewable energy wave, New York. Governor Pataki has set a goal for 25% of New York's energy to be renewable by 2013. 19% of the state's energy already comes from renewable hydroelectric power, much of which will be included in New York's RPS (Renewable Portfolio Standards). ³

There is limited additional capacity to increase energy production in that area, so wind turbines are hoped to fill the bulk of the 6% gap. They currently produce a total of 49 megawatts in all of New York, while NYC alone requires a constant stream of 5,000 to 10,000 MW of energy.

Regardless of the Governor's fairly realistic goal, as more wind turbines come online an increase in hydrocarbon consumption will be required to ensure the reliability of our inefficient centralized grid as demand grows. As wind turbines approach 30% of New York's energy supply, more hydrocarbon resources will be needed to avoid voltage fluctuation. That is why both an LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) storage facility and new wind farms are currently being considered as projects for Long Island Sound. New York needs both of them to continue its massive, and increasing, over-consumption. As these projects are completed, the grid will need upgrades starting with new, expensive, transmission lines.

The perverse and unfortunate reality is that, provided that overall energy demand rises as it is projected to do, additional wind turbines will require the burning of *more* hydrocarbons and the production of more nuclear power over time to ensure the grid continues to run efficiently. Most likely, within the context of hydrocarbon depletion, this will lead to the eventual downfall of centralized power systems.

Since 1970 America's energy consumption has grown 30% in little over 30 years. Now our consumption is expected to grow a whopping 20% in only 7 years - between 2003 and 2010. ⁴Our grid is not equipped to handle this, and has led many individuals in the wind energy boom to say an overhaul of the grid needs to happen simultaneously with new turbines coming online.

The only solution that will be sustainable and palatable for everyone is to reduce consumption in a coordinated national program before the effects of hydrocarbon depletion worsen. There is no "renewable fix" to our energy problems without massive conservation efforts. Such a program should have begun long ago. But with Dick Cheney stating, "The American way of life is not negotiable," it is clear that over-consumption will remain America's national energy policy. As George W. Bush has plainly stated: "We need an energy bill that encourages consumption."

Meanwhile George W. has a PV solar system on his Texas ranch whose rain run-off is used to water the surrounding garden. Think about that for a minute.

It's up to individuals to learn and teach about renewable power systems that can be sustained. Renewable energy sources offer solutions in small cooperative settings, but not within a big centralized grid of over consumption. Decentralized power structures - in every facet of human life - are crucial for a sustainable, survivable future, and no one is going to do it for you. While there have been government funded grants for the study of decentralized micro-grids, there's little evidence of the political will to build them. And given the current administration's will-to-disaster, that particular snowball in hell has just about melted.

Perhaps America's "solution" will be the continued exchange of our youth's blood for the blood of mother Earth, as we are unsuccessfully attempting to do in Iraq. That game can't last. But it won't stop anytime soon, because the military-intelligence complex regard renewables as a way to cope with surging demand while avoiding conservation efforts - and peace.

Military, Intel Publicly Back Renewable Energy



R. JAMES WOOLSEY - ACORE Advisory Board photo originally published at http://www.acore.org/gov_advisory.html

Small cooperatives aren't on the minds of renewable energy's newest public supporters. On December 6th and 7th, 2004, in Washington, D.C., the American Council On Renewable Energy (ACORE) held a conference where the American Military and Intelligence community came out in unprecedented support of renewable energy sources. Only a few renewable energy press wires reported the event, and the mainstream media has thus far remained completely (and eerily) silent about this high profile conference. A summary of the event can be read here:

http://www.fromthewilderness.com/free/ww3/010305 energy deployment.shtml

Speakers included Frank Gaffney and Bud MacFarlane-both former NSA Advisors to President Reagan, as well as Admiral Dennis McGinn and James Woolsey. Woolsey is a former CIA Director under Bill Clinton and VP of the military industrial giant Booz Allen Hamilton. Woolsey is chairman of the advisory board for both the Clean Fuels Foundation and the New Uses Council; he is a member of the National Commission on Energy Policy; and he sits on the advisory board of ACORE.

At the conference, Woolsey stated that a major component in the war on terror is oil.

"I fear we're going to be at war for decades, not years," Woolsey said. "It will last a long time and it will have a major ideological component. Ultimately we will win it but one major component of that war is oil." ⁵

Woolsey drives a hybrid-electric Toyota Prius and has a PV solar system on his home. In his speech, he stayed away from the cruel myth that hydrogen technologies *create* energy and instead focused on ethanol and biodeisel. According to Woolsey, if a new generation of electric cars could plug in, they would be able to take advantage of solar and wind energies on the grid.

But plug-in cars will further drain our already over-used grid requiring not only more renewable, but more *non*-renewable consumption as well. Within the reality of a centralized power system this will cause an increase in hydrocarbon consumption for every windmill and electric plug-in car brought on line. Not to mention the fact that windmills and cars are made with two main ingredients - steel and oil.

Woolsey is also an advisor to "Changing World Technologies," a company that can make anything into oil in a process called thermal depolymerization. If you put something in one end of this machine, it comes out the other as oil. For example, if you were to put a 175 lb man in, he would come out the other end as 38 lbs of oil, 7 pounds of gas, 7 lbs of minerals, and 123 lbs of sterilized water. ⁶

The Military and Intel "coming out party" for renewable energy is designed to stimulate Wall Street to invest in this direction. While this has the appearance of being a good initiative, the question we need to be asking is who is going to pay for the energy, and who is going to benefit from it?

Proximity and Money

Electricity travels the path of least resistance, which means it flows to the closest and easiest destination possible.

Our grid has no storage capacity. It is designed only to transport and consume energy. This is relevant to individuals with PV solar systems on their homes that are hooked up to the grid. When their PV systems produce more energy than they consume it is not stored for a rainy day when the sun doesn't shine. By sold off through the grid, and because less travel distance means less energy loss, the additional energy sold will go to the nearest users - likely a neighbor.

In other words, whoever is closest to the electricity, gets it.

In Cape Cod the nation's largest off shore wind farm is being planned. The wind rating in the Cape and Islands area is among the highest in the nation that can be commercially utilized. The proposed project by Cape Wind Associates would consist of 130 wind turbines with a total maximum output of 420 MW - enough to provide 75% of the Cape and Islands power needs. This includes one of the Clintons' favorite vacation spots, Martha's Vineyard.

Jim Gordon, president of Cape Wind Associates, told *FTW* that the energy produced by Cape Wind would flow only to the Cape and Islands. When asked if it was possible in case of an emergency to divert the energy elsewhere, Gordon responded, "No, there would have to be some type of transmission trick to do that, and I just don't see that happening."

So it will be the residents of this predominantly rich area who will have renewable wind energy running into their homes. The Cape project is unique in that it sits entirely on federal land, so State oversight has been minimal. The Army Corp of Engineers is in charge of the project.

Cape Wind Associates is taking advantage of a tax credit offered by the federal government to encourage renewable energy projects. Federal funds come from all tax-payers, but only those close to the projects will consume renewable energy. In a natural gas and/or oil crisis, proximity to renewable energy sources would make the difference between having power and getting blacked out.

Another source of funding for these projects are green credits, or REC's (Renewable Energy Credits). These are purchased by consumers and represent nothing more than your support for the concept of renewable energy. On the energy bill of those who participate, a charge is placed for the REC purchased, and is given to the renewable energy provider of your choice. This does not mean you are purchasing renewable energy - not at all. The only way that can happen is if you are located close to renewable energy sources, being fed by a substation collecting that energy.

So these green credits equate to paying for other people's energy.

There are those who argue if enough REC's were purchased, every home would be consuming renewable energy within a decade. That has been proven false by the recent report out of Germany cited earlier showing the more renewable energy utilized, the more non-renewable fuel is required for a centralized grid to function properly.

The REC concept is billed as a socially responsible one. You can become the "proud owner" of green credits. "Offset up to 100% of the emissions from your home by buying REC's."

This is claimed to be a way of increasing the demand for renewable energy. But in reality, your home never sees one single watt of renewable energy, unless it is near a substation supplied by renewable sources. But what if we hit the natural gas cliff and oil prices spike? Will that "green credit" keep your home warm? No. That green credit will have already gone to a renewable producer - likely far away from your home producing energy for other people.

Is this yet another form of economic warfare?

ACORE purchased enough green credits to cover the amount of hydrocarbon emissions produced by their D.C. conference, including hotel accommodations for guest speakers. This was an obvious PR stunt, intended to portray green credits as the way responsible citizens counterbalance the carbon emissions produced by their oil and gas consumption.

But REC advocates never address the fact that increasing renewable energy sources will require more coal, oil, gas and nuclear consumption to sustain a centralized grid as demand escalates. Until a policy of *decentralized energy cooperatives* is implemented, renewable energy will only increase the consumption of, and reliance on, finite resources. In some remote corners of the globe decentralized cooperatives are already the norm, and these are the models *FTW* will be looking at as this series continues.

Meanwhile, those who can afford to build renewable energy projects are doing so, as close to their own living space as possible.

"Wind Report 2004," published by E.ON Netz GmbH http://www.eon-netz.com/frameset_reloader_homepage.phtml?top=Ressources/

<u>frame_head_eng.jsp&bottom=frameset_english/energy_eng/ene_windenergy_eng</u>

<u>/ene_windenergy_eng.jsp</u> FTW was able to obtain an English translation of this report.

²"Energy Infrastructure: Electricity Transmission Lines," Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth, March 2003 http://www.yourenergyfuture.org/docs/sheet-infrastructure.pdf

³"New York says Yes to Hydropower," press release from the National Hydropower Association (NHA) http://renewableenergyaccess.com/rea/market/business/viewstory;;jsessionid=al-MtbnNoTQa?id=22706

⁴Ibid: citing the Energy Information Administration (EIA), *Annual Energy Outlook 2003*, DOE/EIA-0383 (2003), January 2003.

⁵"National Security to Lead Renewable Energy Deployment," RenewableEnergyAccess.com, Jesse Broehl, December 14, 2004 http://renewableenergyaccess.com/rea/news/story?id=19841

6"Anything Into Oil," by Brad Lemley, *Discover* Vol. 24 No. 5, May 2003 http://www.discover.com/issues/may-03/features/featoil

⁷ The fact that centralized grids are designed only to transport and consume energy leads renewable energy sources feeding the grid to cause voltage fluctuations. The amount of energy consumed by the grid must equal that which is being provided to it at any and every moment in time; otherwise blackouts can result. Renewable energy sources produce energy at inconsistent rates, depending upon variables such as sunlight and wind velocity. This is why 60% to 80% of energy fed into the grid must come from traditional sources, which do not cause voltage fluctuations.

There is an evolving computational method called "grid computing" that is speculated to be a possible solution to voltage fluctuation problems caused by renewable energy sources feeding a centralized grid. Such a system is currently being worked on, funded by the European commission and led by the Italian academic institution INFN and other organizations such as IBM Israel. Researchers say they may have a product ready for demonstration in two years. *FTW* will be watching developments in this area.

http://news.zdnet.co.uk/hardware/emergingtech/0.39020357.39184512.00.htm

⁸ Battery systems can be installed in homes to store solar energy instead of selling (all of) the excess energy off to the grid.

In response to the recent publication of Mike Kane's "Renewables" (Part 1), Jim Gordon, president of Cape Wind Associates, has requested a correction.

[Cape Wind Associates and Jim Gordon do wonderful work in developing renewable electrical capacity. Decentralized renewable energy is the only alternative to America's monolithic national power grid (comprising East, West, and Texas). As energy becomes more scarce its distribution will change dramatically, so the locations of wind and solar projects are critical, as are their numbers.

If too few renewable power stations are built, those locations could become isolated oases, both coveted and resented. But if enough are built, they will have the electrical capacity to share overflow and backup on a decentralized grid. That bespeaks a level of social complexity and hope which I don't see in the other scenario -- a few totally isolated wind projects and solar projects, each totally dependent on good weather, the virtue of their own security forces, and the mercy of their blackout-dwelling neighbors. -JAH]

Jim Gordon wrote the following to *FTW*:

It is true that Cape Wind's power will flow first into the homes, schools and businesses on the Cape and Islands but if Cape Wind is producing more power than the Cape demands in a given hour then that additional increment of power will flow off the Cape to other users.

I would appreciate a correction.

Thanks, Jim Gordon

In response to this, our reporter wrote back:

The scenario in which I was pointing to the Cape & Islands receiving the totality of energy produced by Cape Wind was that of a natural gas/oil crisis. In such a case, my understanding is that the energy from Cape Wind would be consumed entirely by the Cape and Islands, as there would be no surplus in such conditions.

Do you have any further comment on this?

Jim Gordon responded with the following:

As far as an oil or natural gas crisis is concerned

If you are referring to the crisis of JAN 14-16, 2004 Cape Wind would have been producing an average of about 400mw around the clock. Since the Cape and Islands winter peak is well below that, we would have not only supplied all of Cape Cod's electricity but would have supplied vitally needed power to other areas as well.

This fact is confirmed in a DOE report to the NE-ISO Fuel Diversification Task Force.

The other important benefit is that Cape Wind's power would have freed up natural gas for the heating markets helping out with critically needed gas supply and shaving some of the skyrocketing scarcity pricing that the market experienced during those brutally freezing days.

Jim Gordon

The Cape and Islands would utilize more electricity within the context of the unprecedented fossil fuels crisis that we see coming. The crisis of January 2004, where the New England area was diverting natural gas to deal with bitter cold temperatures and decreasing supply, is minimal compared to the crash-and-crawl ahead.

When natural gas and oil prices get high enough, Cape Cod residents will likely take advantage of the local renewable electricity and use electric heaters. Thus their winter peak will be much higher.

Renewable energy projects benefit those closest to them. Even the surplus that Mr. Gordon says would benefit "other areas" would likely benefit areas of fairly close proximity, as energy travels the path of least resistance - whoever is closest to it, gets it.

Perhaps Cape Wind would have surplus energy to

sell off to the grid if the project were up and running now, but in the context of a massive gas & oil crisis, Cape Wind's proximity dictates it will primarily (if not entirely) benefit the Cape and Islands. As hydrocarbon depletion worsens, prices will increase, making renewable energy sources cheaper, and more reliable, than their hydrocarbon counterparts.

Inevitably, this will lead to the use of <u>electric heating systems</u> that are already widely used throughout Europe.

FTW

FAYETTEVILLE: An Assessment Of Military Resistance

By Stan Goff

[What can end the war in Iraq? Certainly not some decisive U.S. "victory." And without a miraculous change in the geopolitical landscape, Iraqis will have little reason to tolerate the American occupation for the foreseeable future. The Iraqi Shia majority may have deep wounds left from the Iran-Iraq War of twenty years ago, but if the boots of the infidel are causing even more pain, a Muslim neighbor is a better provisional ally than the latest American puppet. Until the oil gushes (and donkeys fly), the Pentagon will insist upon "staying the course." What can end the war in Iraq? - JAH]

March 29, 2005 1200 PST (FTW) This past weekend marked the second anniversary of the Anglo-American ground offensive into Iraq as the first phase of an attempt to re-concentrate the post-Cold War United States military into permanent bases throughout strategic Southwest Asia. On this occasion, the alternative media are crucial - because instead of informing the public about the Iraq War's real purpose, the capitalist media has helped the executive to construct phony alternative stories about democracy-building, intelligence failures, a predominance of "foreign" fighters resisting the occupation, yada yada yada. The corporate media have also eagerly served as amplifiers for every distraction that was needed in the recurring temporal crises of this quagmire: milestones in casualty figures, anniversaries, elections...

It's hard not to note how Terri Schiavo, the permanently and irreparably brain-dead woman who is a victim of medical malpractice, is a resident of Florida, presided over by the brother of George W. Bush... and how Jeb-the-passed-over and now the Republican Congress manage to initiate media-magnet challenges to the Constitution on this unfortunate woman's "behalf" just as the war is about to embarrass George W. Bush, first on the eve of either an election, and again on the second anniversary of the invasion. It's also hard not to notice the latest Michael Jackson trial-shenanigans, or at least notice how this gets about five times the ink of an actual war.

Both these stories are really two-fers: the Schiavo case may have precedential value in future challenges to reproductive freedom and the Jackson trial makes a public spectacle of a mentally ill black man accused of being a sexual predator. Nothing charges up white reaction better than a black male sexual predator, and this case even has an element of homosexual-pedophilia to it. Two stereotypes for the price of one.

We continue to get the media softball stuff on Iraq, too. Wolf Blitzer or whichever news model interviews a military spokesperson.

"General, do you think the military has solved the problem of inadequate armor on the Humvees?"

"Yes, Wolf. Thank you for asking."

"General, is anyone above the rank of Staff Sergeant going to be implicated in war crimes, prisoner abuse, illegal detentions, murder of detainees, rape, etc.?"

"Well, Wolf, we have conducted our own internal investigation of ourselves, and we have been exonerated."

"Heck, General, that's all I need. That pretty much establishes that all of you are innocent, so there's no reason for us to question a single premise here, is there?"

Or...

"Mr. Vice President, there are a few ne'er-do-wells who are claiming that this war was planned before 9-11, that you all used it as a pretext, and that it is part of a bigger plan to militarily stitch up the global oil patch."

"Well, Wolf, those people can go fuck themselves... uh, strike that. Saddam had weapons of mass destruction."

"Thank you, Mr. Vice President. No further questions. And please allow me to kiss your ass out of my deep gratitude for this interview. The American people, for whom we both speak, appreciate this very much."

Okay, so I paraphrased a bit...

There were things that happened this last weekend related to the war, significant things. One significant thing was a mammoth anti-war demonstration in Turkey, where even the (formerly) pro-US rightwing military is having issues with continuing advances made toward Kurdish independence in US-occupied Iraq. There were also large demonstrations against the war in major cities around the world. In the United States, there were demonstrations in the usual places, New York, DC, and San Francisco.

But I participated in one that was a bit more off the beaten track.

We were in Fayetteville, North Carolina, adjacent to Fort Bragg, home of the 82nd Airborne Division, the army's only full infantry division of paratroops, the army's Special Operations Command, and the army's Special Forces Command and Special Forces school (the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center).

Around 3,500 protesters showed up, making it one of the biggest demonstrations in the nation to mark the second anniversary of the invasion.

Between 50 and 75 counter-demonstrators showed up, the vast majority a weird, reactionary, heavy-on-the-black-leather motorcycle club from Fayetteville called *Rolling Thunder*. This was one time the counter-

demonstrators had more body parts pierced than the protesters. Mixed in with them were a handful of military family members, who were interviewed by the press. The "mainstream" press gave them equal ink with the protesters, the relative numbers be damned, and even fixed the pictures to make it appear more equal. The claim of these two or three military family members, along with the bitter geriatric road warriors of *Rolling Thunder* (whom the press gave a pass), was that the protesters were there to disrespect the soldiers stationed at Fort Bragg and blame them for the invasion.

The irony - if that's what it is - was that the protesters not only appeared more socially inconspicuous in their overall everyday appearance, but that the crowd was very significantly composed of... military family members. It was also fleshed out with a LOT of veterans, ranging from *Vietnam Veterans Against the War* to *Iraq Veterans Against the War*, and even Raleigh's Cyrus King, a World War II veteran with *Veterans for Peace*.

Of course, this was intentional.

Had it had been reported accurately, which I am trying to do now, it would make horse's asses out of the so-called counter-demonstrators, among whom were also the tiny internet McCarthy-cult called *Free Republic*, that was boasting to one another before the action that they would turn out 50,000 counter-protestors. Some things cannot be satirized. Anyone who wants some comic relief should check in with this "Freeper" list sometime to read the most hyperventilated rightwing apologetics available anywhere in the world.

In Fayetteville, the speaker lineup was maybe the best I have seen at any anti-war march (and NOT because I was a speaker), with Lou Plummer, Military Families Speak Out, a native of Fayetteville, a veteran and the father of Navy resister Andrew Plummer; Rev Nelson Johnson, a survivor of the Greensboro massacre, still living in Greensboro, and a veteran of the Air Force; Kelly Dougherty, a co-founder of Iraq Veterans Against the War (she is from Colorado), an eight-year veteran of the Colorado National Guard, who was an MP sergeant in Nazariah; Thomas Barton, the tireless producer of GI Special and Traveling Soldier, Jorge Torres, Students Against War, from Seattle; Cindy Sheehan, a co-founder of Gold Star Families for Peace, from California. GSFP is composed of people who have lost family members in the war. Cindy's son Casey was killed in Iraq on April 4, 2004; Khalilah Sabra represented the Muslim-American Public Affairs Council of North Carolina; Ajamu Dillahunt of Raleigh represented Black Solidarity Against War, Luci Murphy, from the Community Coalition for Justice and Peace in Washington, DC; Nancy Lessin and Charley Richardson, the couple who co-founded Military Families Speak Out, came from Massachusetts; Shawn Cunningham, from Durham, NC, is a voting rights organizer

among historically black colleges and universities; Maribel Permuy Lopez, the mother of José Couso, the Spanish TV cameraman killed without provocation by US forces in Baghdad on April 8, 2003 in the attack on the Palestine Hotel; Michael Hoffman, the former Marine who co-founded of Iraq Veterans Against the War, from Pennsylvania; a member of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers from Florida; Rann Bar-On, the Israeli anti-occupation activist in Durham was scheduled, but arrested when he refused to submit to the police search at the Rowan Park perimeter; Michael McPhearson, the Executive Director for Veterans for Peace, a Desert Storm vet; Daniel Berg, the father of slain contractor Nick Berg; Lee Zaslofsky, who coordinates the War Resisters Support Campaign in Canada (Lee bailed during the Vietnam invasion after his CO application was rejected); Mendy Knott, an Asheville, NC poet; Kara Hollingsworth, who lives on Fort Bragg and whose husband is in Iraq now; Camillo Mejia, the staff sergeant who became a Conscientious Objector after his first tour in Iraq, and who was recently jailed and given a bad conduct discharge; Kevin and Joyce Lucey, whose son committed suicide after returning from Iraq; Dennis Kyne, a veteran and depleted uranium gadfly; Appalachian musician Emily Waszak, from Bynum, NC; Rev. Ralph Baldwin, a Vietnam veteran from Greensboro, NC, who plays antiwar folk music; Jane Bright, whose son Evan was killed in Iraq; Diedra Cobb, a veteran and Conscientious Objector from Virginia; Hany Khalil, of United for Peace and Justice in New York; Catherine Lutz, formerly of Chapel Hill, NC, and author of a book about Favetteville (highly recommended - web search "lutz homefront"); Andy Hanson, of Cuntry Kings, a drag-king group from Durham (she is also a former Air Force officer); David Potorti, of September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows, from Cary, NC, whose brother was killed in the 9-11 attacks; Jibril Hough, of the *Islamic* Political Party of America, from Charlotte, NC; Congresswoman Lynn Woolsey of California who just introduced a resolution to Congress for immediate unilateral withdrawal of US forces from Iraq; Wade Fulmer, a South Carolina Vietnam veteran and activist; Cynthia Brown, a former Durham city councilwoman and US Senate candidate; Jimmy Massey, an Iraq Marine vet who is writing a book documenting orders received to fire on known civilians; Patricia Roberts, a veterans assistance activist whose son Jamaal was killed in Iraq; and Chuck Fager, the director of Quaker House, in Favetteville.

I include this list not only to give credit to those who were on the platform, but to give an idea of how military-community-heavy the lineup was. This, combined with the substantial turnout and enfeebled counter-protests, indicates several things.

The most notable in my mind is the failure of the opposition to mobilize any real numbers in the most emblematic military city in the Untied States. That's important to start with, because it means we are winning in a sense, that we are well in front of our opposition on this. On the other

hand, we have to recognize that we are in front in the very early stages of this struggle which has not achieved either the conditions or the maturity it will need to transform this polarization into a full-fledged political crisis, which we should see as the goal.

When the invasion began, the scope of polarization around the issue of invading Iraq shrank. Pro-war people had gotten their way, and a too-ample segment of the war-opponents - never oriented against the imperial agenda that underwrote it in the first place - fell away in a kind of disarray and retreat, the latest reprehensible example of which is the Moveon.org campaign's tacit support of the war.

Over time, however, those who supported the war have been faced with one setback after another - setbacks that were difficult even for the cheerleader media to conceal. Not only were there none of the ballyhooed WMD, the Americans were forced to stage their own Iraqi liberation celebrations (the statue stunt, for example), and Bush gaffed with his victory speech on the USS Abraham Lincoln and the brain-dead remark about "bring 'em on." And not only did the political situation crash like Humpty Dumpty with its serial Quislings and serial US proconsuls, but the military situation degenerated into one where the US quickly lost any semblance of the battlefield initiative. Left with a half-baked doctrine foisted on them by Donald Rumsfeld, a doctrine like its predecessor that was designed to defeat a state, they had created a stateless battlefield milieu that rendered the entire doctrine moot. Cracks were appearing in the official cover faster than they could be repaired, with soldiers speaking out of turn, prison photographs leaking, and a handful of independent journalists who managed to avoid being killed by the American military carrying out stories that made the US occupation look positively Wehrmacht... which it is. Ask Jimmy Massey.

There is a big fraction of people out there who will never be convinced to oppose the war, because:

- (1) They sit in their living rooms, where the public can't hear them, and constantly dehumanize everyone who is not white. They use terms like "nigger" and "raghead" and they mean them, because they are rock-ribbed white supremacist bigots who are mostly beyond redemption, and who will only be cured through the eventual failure of their hospital respirators. They don't care whether Iraq had nothing to do with 9/11 and they would support using nuclear weapons to turn various nations into glassy parking lots. These people are more numerous than we would like to admit. They are not only dumber than dog shit, they revel in their ignorance and are as addicted as crack smokers to their own venom. They weren't born that way, but they will die that way.
- (2) There is a huge population that believes this war is

the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. There is no way to argue with this, because - ditto - they cleave to their own stupidity, in this case because they fear to abandon it would endanger their immortal souls. This will not be resolved except by the long, hard slog through a social revolution, because there is little reason for people to give up hope in the hereafter as long as capitalist patriarchy continues to make secular life such a painful, atomized, deracinated, and meaningless gerbil-wheel.

(3) There is another fraction that just doesn't know how to admit they were wrong. This is also an outgrowth of how society is currently organized, but I won't belabor that here. These folks will continue to defend their original position no matter how untenable, even when it begins to look like a Peewee Herman skit - "is too, is too, is too, infinity!"

On the other hand, there is a sizable number of people out there who supported the war because they didn't get alternative interpretations and often don't know they exist, because they are steeped in the dominant culture with all its unquestioned assumptions (of which they've never been exposed to any critique), and because they are reluctant to stand out where they might be censured. They are generally resistant to change, but could be swayed with the right approach and a lot of patience.

Then there are those who opposed the war before the March 2003 invasion. Lest we get confused, we need to understand that a lot of these people believed that the solution to the Bush crimes was an election - even if it meant electing an equally perfidious and distasteful candidate who supported the war. There were three (that I can identify) lines of thought behind this business:

- (1) Kerry was just pretending he supported the war, and he'd change his mind once he was in office. Anyone that thinks I made this up didn't talk to many folks before the election. I heard this bullshit everywhere. This is faith on the same order as that described for the zealots above who see Iraq as the collision of Gog and Magog.
- (2) Kerry sucked, but he was marginally better on some issues related to women and other oppressed categories because of whom he might appoint to the Supreme Court. A corollary to this is that what Black political power does exist in the US right now is still dependent for its survival on the Democratic Party. I find this a tougher argument, and my counter to it (too long for this) is not one that I will summarize in a dismissive or disrespectful way.
- (3) Kerry sucked, but since there was little difference between the two candidates, at least his election would be a way to politically punish the Bush administration. While I was mildly sympathetic to this argument, I never supported it; it ignored the question of how a left alternative

to the Democrats can exercise real political power in terms of producing outcomes. To my mind, the way to do that - still - is to use that swing power to destroy the Democratic Party as a painful (even dangerous) but necessary step toward developing an independent political capacity for leftists, women, queer folk, workers, and oppressed nationalities.

Another section of the pre-invasion anti-war population was just plain Democrat imperialist. They are constantly engaged in the apotheosis of imperialist leaders like FDR, JFK, and Jimmy Carter. They voted for Kerry because they agreed with him. Their objection to the war was not an objection to attacking a sovereign nation, but to doing it in such a way that it jeopardized the international legal architecture built under imperialist power since World War II, commonly referred to as multilateralism... a kind of honor among thieves deal, with the US as a chief thief. These were useful in coalition to mount a resistance to the invasion, but are now thoroughly unreliable.

These folks were included in the bunch that fought with us (meaning Military Families Speak Out and Veterans for Peace) about our campaign slogan of "Bring Them Home Now." They didn't want the word "now." The argument was that if "we" brought the troops home (which automatically implies that we leave the Iraqis in charge of their own futures) unilaterally and immediately, then everything would be a mess, civil war, the works.

Not only does this smack of plain, garden-variety, whiteman's-burden chauvinism in a huge way, it became as moot as US military doctrine within a few months, when it became undeniable that the occupation itself was making about as big a mess of things as anyone could possibly imagine. Shias in the South of Iraq who despised Saddam were saying that they had been better off with him than with the Americans.

Another angle on this attempt to isolate the left (That's what it was! Just read some of the screeds that came from liberal organs like *Nation* magazine that actually red-baited.) was the idea that it was not politically feasible, not "realistic." I have learned over the last few years to be very afraid when I hear this word. Translated, it means subordinate all your efforts to lobbying and kill off the most energetic and militant sectors of your movement. That's what the leaders mean, anyway. The people who follow this reasoning are the sea of people still bewildered enough by the system and ignorant enough of history to believe that majoritarian electoral and legislative strategies change society. They believe this in the face of the absolute absence of a single shred of historical evidence to support it.

Believe it or not, some of those cautioning realism were also saying that the US should stay to rebuild Iraq and

pay war reparations. Now if we (the antiwar side) don't have the power yet to even stop the invasion of the imperialists, how does it become realistic that we make reparations a demand but not unilateral withdrawal?

At any rate, those in this column have either accepted the reality that the US has fucked up Iraq about as badly as anyone could imagine (and that the US is losing the war) and joined the "now" group, or they have stood down, or they have become Moveon.org supporters circulating yet another internet petition to rebut the slanders against Hillary Clinton (or whatever it is they do now).

These are, of course, generalizations, and there are people who take positions for reasons other than those described here. I only want to describe trends.

With the overall shrinkage in the *mobilized* polarization over the war, what remains is a far stronger antiwar base than a pro-war one... even in Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

There's another point though. Since the invasion and the US elections have shaken out the chaff, we are seeing an extremely significant portion of that war resistance leadership being developed from out of the military itself in three forms: family members, veterans, and active resistance from those in uniform.

This may be a very appropriate time to take stock of this military resistance and of the antiwar movement, and to conduct an assessment of our current organizing strategies.

The experience of Vietnam is instructive for this assessment if we don't fall into the trap of trying to make Vietnam our analog-strategy.

I'll take up the issue of GI resistance first, and refer to the essay-cum-book-chapter called "GI Resistance During the Vietnam War," by David Cortright, from *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, edited by William D. Hoover and Melvin Small (Syracuse University Press 1999).

Cortright's research shows, first of all, that there were two forms of resistance, which he labels dissent and disobedience. Dissent is actual participation in some form of organized, collective, and politically conscious activity against the institution of the military or against the war. Disobedience is just that, people failing to comply with orders, breaking rules, fighting with or attacking superiors, malingering, all those issues called "disciplinary" in the military. These activities do not have conscious political content as a rule, and they are almost always (except in the case of rebellion or mutiny) individual. The interesting thing about Cortright's research and his (and others') conclusions is that in Vietnam, the U.S. military had become an institutionally compromised, ineffective fighting

force by 1969 not through organized dissent, but through disobedience.

There were also pervasive acts of cultural resistance by African American soldiers that often fell just short of the legal definition of indiscipline. This ranged from intentionally playing their music loudly in public places, forcing supervisors to give actual directives to lower the volume, testing the limits of uniform policy and hair regulations, self-segregating during breaks and meals, giving up dap (this drove officers crazy!), to pretending not to understand directives.

African Americans were also the most organized and militant segment of the actual dissent resistance inside the military. This was an anomaly in one sense, because looking at white soldiers and at soldiers as an undifferentiated whole, there was a sharp class distinction between dissenters and disobeyers. The draft created a mixed demographic among enlisted people. Young people with high school and often some college (even with degrees) were not unusual, and these soldiers with a greater degree of socioeconomic privilege tended to constitute the majority of dissenters. They often identified with the social movements that were roiling in the society around them, and at some point around one out of four soldiers (mostly from this group, and mostly non-draftees) participated in some form of political activity against the military and the war in Vietnam. Among African Americans, this class distinction was not sharp at all, and the specific movement that captured the imaginations of Black soldiers as the war ground on was the Black Power movement, which had powerful working class appeal for African American youth, especially those who were suffering from discrimination in the military, and who had been confronted with the social and political contradictions of the war in Vietnam. Interestingly, however, the most organized activities were happening on US installations in places like Germany and England.

Combat conditions in Vietnam were not ideal for much political work.

The other interesting aspect of this distinction between dissenters and disobeyers is that military officers and senior NCOs seldom confronted dissent directly, much of which was carried on underground or on the sly. They overwhelmingly reported that the greatest institutional damage to the military as a fighting force (which directly contributed to the US withdrawal) were the disciplinary problems of the poor and working class soldiers.

Before we are tempted to idealize this situation, it needs to be pointed out that one component of this effective but unconscious resistance was drug addiction, which became epidemic toward the end of the war. The institution was broken, but so were many thousands of the troops. The age demographics, then and today, are an important referent in understanding the "gateway" reasons for dissent. These soldiers seldom embraced a revolutionary politics, and never in the first phase of their resistance. Asked their reasons for dissent in 1971, 58% cited opposition to the war (for a plethora of reasons, mostly articulated by the social movements around them), but 38% initially complained about institutional limitations on their personal freedom and dignity, from harassment by superiors to haircut policies. Given the methodology used to get these numbers, I would speculate that many who now claim antiwar analysis as their reason may have in fact begun their personal journeys to dissent for many of these more personal (and age appropriate) reasons.

It is also important to point out that while most dissenters were not draftees, many would not have volunteered had it not been for draft pressure.

The draft itself during the Vietnam era was not only required to feed the massive escalation of the occupation there, but to ensure adequate troop numbers in the United States, where there was a tangible fear among ruling circles of rebellions in US cities.

Disaffection of soldiers was fed by the general degradation of military capabilities. As the operational tempo went up in Vietnam, and the induction of new soldiers speeded up, a general slippage occurred in the quality of individuals and units, causing more foul-ups and disorganization, lowering the overall quality of life, and creating escalating resentment among troops who were sometimes paying for mistakes with life and limb.

The combination of combat escalation and institutional degradation in Vietnam, and the corresponding generalization of GI resentment led to a new practice of resistance: Fragging. Based on the GI shorthand for fragmentation grenade, "frag," the practice began with the anonymous and untraceable assassination of officers and senior enlisted men who were deemed disrespectful or incompetent or both - sometimes out of revenge, sometimes out of self-preservation. It was not restricted only to frags, however. Non-accidental friendly fire, claymore mines that discharged when a captain was checking a perimeter, and any number of assassination techniques were employed, many about which we will never learn.

In some cases, fixed installation military police were sent into combat against field infantry on stand down whose parties often turned into armed, post-traumatic, opiumfueled bacchanalias.

By 1971, collective rebellions began to break out on US installations. Vietnam came home. In May 1971, sparked by a confrontation between MPs and African American soldiers, Travis Air Force Base in California, a ship-out point for Vietnam, erupted in a full-fledged African Ameri-

can rebellion. Many were hurt, an officers club went up in flames, and 135 (mostly Black) troops were placed under arrest to quell it. By then, almost every base in the US had some version of an underground newspaper that fanned the flames of dissent.

Political sabotage was being practiced, and an aircraft carrier was even sidelined, by a rebel GI who monkeywrenched it.

The final pullout in 1973 was in many ways a direct reaction to the utter institutional devastation wrought from the *inside* of the military. This resistance did not become widely apparent until as late as 1968, and didn't result in an institutional crisis for another two years. Most significantly, the resistance erupted in the context of a more wide scale social rebellion in the United States itself.

Turning now to Iraq, the first point that has to be made is that this is not the context within which resistance is now developing in the military. The United States is politically stable, and will probably remain so until some form of economic crisis reaches into the outer ring of the American suburbs, where the popular basis of political support for and legitimation of the current political regime resides.

This time we do not have militant and disobedient social upheavals serving as a sort of historical vanguard (not to be understood in the vanguard-party sense) pulling along a generation of soldiers beset with a baby-boom ennui, sharply polarized and mobilized by a successful struggle against American Apartheid, and subject to massive, class-based conscription.

We have, instead, a state of social disequilibrium and a generalizing sense of economic insecurity that has not yet evolved a generalizable political character. For the time being, that insecurity has been directed outward to real (albeit provoked) and imaginary foreign enemies, but only with partial success. Slowly, anti-imperialism is gaining strength within the anti-war movement, which paradoxically enough is now consolidating around the organized but still orderly resistance coming out of military communities.

This is not to say that the bring-them-home-now organizing is in a vanguard role (again, as a social force), nor to say that it predominates in numbers within the organized (but still strictly legal) resistance to the war. What it has done, however, has provided the basis for a form of mass-line organizing in a key institutional sector that a wide array of left formations and lefty independents can agree to focus on. It has provided us a clear strategic direction for actual political practice, which is a good antidote for the sectarianism that plagues the left when they don't have anything to do but think and talk.

So it becomes extremely important for those on the in-

side and outside of this strategic concentration to have realizable expectations around which to construct campaigns and tactics.

There are three considerations to take into account regarding GI resistance: The larger social context of the resistance, the institutional and situational pressures to resist, and establishment of political relationships with those outside the military.

In a sense, we want to produce the same result that transpired from the invasion and occupation of Vietnam, but we know we cannot take the same route to get there.

With regard to "social context," I am thinking about the individual GI him or herself. It is a very big, and very risky step to engage in any form of resistance to the military for those who are in it. People who are taking risks, especially risks that will have a profound and probably negative impact on one's prospects, are in need of support. They need to feel validated in their decision, and they will need that revalidation frequently in the face of the negative institutional and peer pressures they will endure. They will experience deep insecurities about their future, and any offer of financial or transitional support with housing, etc., if necessary, reassures them of a soft landing. Having legal assistance is key. And having an actual social network that is available and predictable is often essential. But the single biggest form of validation comes from a visible, active, and aggressive movement. The antiwar movement that has established relations with dissident GIs in this war invites them to every event, asks them to join organizations, and puts their skills to good use. When those who haven't taken the plunge, so to speak, see these former and active military not only gaining negative notoriety from the military, but gaining wide social recognition and the accolades of thousands of people, it encourages them to join the resistance in the face of the negative pressures from the institution itself.

Many young people join the military with vaguely perceived goals of both participating in history and gaining social recognition. We can answer those motivations by building a vibrant and combative movement, and inviting them to become a visible part of it.

The Bush administration, ably assisted by McNamara II Rumsfeld, is already doing a great job of establishing the institutional and situational pressures that will alienate and anger service members. They have overstretched them and overused them, and the dissonance between what they claim to have done in Iraq and the reality faced by soldiers on the ground there are the basis of resistance. What the movement can do is amplify their complaints and concerns, because they are censored. But we need to go one step further. We also have to develop their concerns by providing them with additional information that moves them from consciousness of their individ-

ual experience of their problems to consciousness of first the institution, then the system, as the origin of those concerns.

These concerns and complaints are not consistent, but sectoral, so there is no one-size-fits-all approach to troops. I am particularly interested in the experience of women in the military right now. While they only constitute 15% of the overall numbers, in an overstretched military any fraction that begins to become a problem for the institution can be decisive in disrupting its war-making capacity. Immigrant soldiers, and Black soldiers, and the soldiers who joined for idealistic reasons, are all potential dissenters, but for different reasons, and the approaches must be as diverse as the experiences of the troops themselves.

This has been one reason that organizing military families, who have similar concerns about the safety of their very diverse loved ones in the military - and therefore are a more homogeneous constituency - has been so effective in reaching out to troops. The organizers are not college students peopling coffee houses and initiating cold-call conversations with Gls. The *organizers* are the family members. For this reason, the leadership development activities of *Military Families Speak Out*, and the networking of those family-organizers with supporting legal and veterans' organizations has been so crucial.

It is also one reason that this network was the quickest in the antiwar movement to recover from the electoral malaise of 2004. Their commitment was more than ideological. It was extremely personal.

Organize the families.

The other strength of this organizing has been the predominance of women. Good organizers will tell anyone that the basis of effective organizing is building relationships, attention to detail, and follow-up. Women are socialized with these strengths (and men are often socialized to do the "vision-thing" and take credit).

The addition of veterans to the movement outreach is also essential. Gls need to be able to work with people to whom they can explain themselves in the vernacular and culture to which they have been adapted. Combat veterans need to be able to speak with other combat veterans. There is a lot that gets said and understood that defies reduction into actual words.

I can't overemphasize how important it is to study the forms of resistance that are currently developing within the military.

Let's review, very quickly, what are some of these forms of resistance. And here I want to abandon the clean line of demarcation between disobedience and dissent, partly because it was never clear in the first place (though useful as an analytical category), and partly because it is even less clear now.

In the age of politics as spectacle and the internet, individual acts of disobedience can quickly be amplified and widely disseminated, transforming these acts into a cause celebre for some and a media nightmare for others. The media aspect of our period is particularly significant because the conduct and progress of the war in Iraq itself has become just such a serial embarrassment, requiring a massive full time public relations staff for the administration to put out the spot fires that burst out almost daily.

In a real sense, this mirrors the tactical situation in Iraq, where overstretch is a brutally material category that has driven US troops continuously back behind their concertina wire - coming out only to engage in actions that have unpredictability and atrocity written all over them - and the concomitant need of the administration to fend off assaults on their crafted image of the war here in the US. On March 20th, Rumsfeld, in one of his fits of pique, shot from the lip again, blaming NATO ally Turkey and former CENTCOM commander Tommy Franks for the disastrous state of his war.

One of the most interesting forms of individual disobedience and dissent is plain refusal. Even more interesting is how this has become a form of inside resistance in both the occupying military of the US and the occupying Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), where "refuseniks" has entered the popular lexicon, and these Israeli refusers number around 1,400 now.

Stephen Funk, a Marine reservist who was called up in 2003, started to have second thoughts during bayonet training. This, by the way, is not at all unusual. Bayonet training is consistently the form of training that causes new recruits the most moral discomfort. Funk asked for conscientious objector status, and the Marine Corps rejected his application. So Funk left and refused to report in. Though he never fled, and the military dithered in its response (probably wanting to avoid any controversial publicity), 47 days later he was charged with desertion and jailed. There was an immediate public outcry accompanied by a Free Stephen Funk campaign. The military reduced his charge to AWOL, and he was released from the brig this year. Funk, who also came out as a gay man, communicated as much as the military allowed him with the antiwar movement, and is now a spokesperson for both the anti-imperial movement and the LGBT community.

Private David Bunt of the 82nd Airborne Division told his chain of command, after returning from Afghanistan, that he could no longer in good conscience pull the trigger against another human being. Instead of granting him

conscientious objector (CO) status, the Army court martialed him for missing a parachute jump and jailed him in a nearby Marine base. His sentence was 45 days, and he was quietly eased out of the military. The Stephen Funk experience had turned the military gun shy.

The Department of Defense was now faced with a dilemma. They could grant CO status to refusers and open the floodgates - even as the retention crisis created by Iraq was already forcing DoD to implement Stop Loss orders on tens of thousands of troops scheduled for discharge. Or they could prosecute refusers harshly, as a deterrent to potential new refusers - and drive them into the waiting arms of antiwar organizations that would give them a public bullhorn for their critique of the war.

As the DoD struggled with this dilemma, the first wave of Iraq combat veterans began to refuse.

On May 21, 2004, an Army sergeant named Camilo Mejia returned from Iraq on leave. He had witnessed the abuse and murder of Iraqis first hand by occupation forces. This experience led him to both question and study the run-up to the war, which he decided was illegal. He then applied for CO status and refused to return to Iraq. He was sentenced to a year in jail, and released early with a bad conduct discharge on February 15th this year. He was a speaker at Fayetteville this past weekend. In his statement upon release in February, he said:

"When I turned myself in, with all my fears and doubts, it did it not only for myself. I did it for the people of Iraq, even for those who fired upon me - they were just on the other side of a battleground where war itself was the only enemy. I did it for the Iraqi children, who are victims of mines and depleted uranium. I did it for the thousands of unknown civilians killed in war. My time in prison is a small price compared to the price Iraqis and Americans have paid with their lives. Mine is a small price compared to the price Humanity has paid for war."

This is not the message that the Bush administration or its Pentagon wants the public to hear from soldiers returning from Iraq. It is a perfect example of why these refusers' voices, amplified most vigorously by the antiempire pole of the anitwar movement, are a force magnification of the ideological fight back against the administration. No administration spokesperson will publicly debate Mejia. They have to ignore him, and while they do, this voice from inside the occupation grows and gets disseminated through alternative media and the Wild West Web of the blogosphere.

Along came others. Sergeant First Class Abdullah Webster, who sacrificed his retirement only months before he was eligible. Sergeant Kevin Benderman. Then more veterans who picked up the resistance after they were discharged. Jimmy Massey, a former Marine staff sergeant

who may be the most dangerous man in America for this administration, because he has written a book naming names. Marine Lance Corporal Abdul Henderson, who appeared in uniform on Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 911* to lambaste the administration and the war.

Some soldiers in Iraq, who have access to the internet, have started to <u>blog</u>. While many of these blogs are apologetics for the war, and even right-wing screed machines, there are military dissenters who are serving as the eyes and ears of the movement from the front lines. One called "The Heretic" was a combat sniper sending detailed and graphic descriptions of combat actions that included serial accounts of war crimes. Yet another form of resistance.

Flight is another strategy that has erased the difference between disobedience and dissent.

Army Specialist Jeremy Hinzman, an Afghanistan veteran of the 82nd Airborne, and Brandon Hughey, who fled then 1st Cavalry Division before they shipped, are both in Canada with scores of others, where they have challenged US requests for extradition. Both these men have web sites: Hinzman's is at http://www.jeremyhinzman.net/, and Hughey's is at http://www.brandonhughey.org/.

Canada was signatory to the U.S.-Canadian "Smart Border Declaration" (SBD) that could be interpreted to extradite American military-political refugees, but in December 2004 Prime Minister Paul Martin announced that Canada would not forcibly repatriate American service members who fled the armed service. That assurance turned out to be hollow on March 24th, when the Canadian government ruled that Hinzman would not be granted refugee status after all.

Canadians have launched the War Resisters Support Campaign for these military-political refugees, whose web site is at http://www.resisters.ca/, and which shows yet another way of establishing working international solidarity.

A good list of refusers has been complied at http://www.tomjoad.org/WarHeroes.htm for those who want to read more about them individually.

When Georg-Andreas Pogany, an interrogator assigned to 10th Special Forces Group in Iraq reported severe symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) after viewing the grotesquely mangled corpse of an Iraqi civilian killed by American troops, the Army charged him with cowardice, a potentially *capital* offense in the military, and shipped him to the United States. Pogany sought out legal assistance, which was available through resistance networks that include the *National Lawyers Guild* and the *GI Rights Hotline*. He was instantly plugged into the poli-

tics of this network, which transformed his fight for selfpreservation into a new front in the struggle against the institution that has taken center stage in the Bush admini stration's imperial agenda.

Other soldiers and veterans suffering from PTSD quickly rallied to Pogany and themselves became spokespersons against the "chilling effect" that this preposterous charge created for all troops who suffered from PTSD, discouraging them from seeking professional help. In a tragic footnote, on March 16, 2004, another member of 10th Special Forces back from Iraq, 36-year-old William Howell chased his wife around with a handgun, which he then aimed at his own head and fired when confronted by police.

Suicides, which have risen steadily in the military since the Iraq invasion, are a grisly canary-statistic that indicate a more general breakdown of morale, if not yet a breakdown of "good order."

There are no good statistics right now on suicide or self-inflicted wounds, which the military has lumped into the category "non hostile wounds." Before this euphemism took hold, there were already 110 reported self-inflicted wounds in Iraq by October, 2003, indicating a conservative average of over 20 a month. There is no good data either on the number of self-inflicted wounds in the United States to avoid serving in Iraq. Likewise, we cannot know how many troops are deliberately smoking a joint to test positive on their urinalysis as a way to bypass Stop Loss and terminate their service.

These may or may not - on an individual basis - represent some form of political opposition to the war. That many are actions taken out of a sense of psychic fatigue or self-preservation do not change the fact that they contribute to the overall degradation of the military. Remember that the leaders during Vietnam reported that indiscipline was by far a worse problem than organized political resistance. And while I and others do not advocate self-inflicted wounds or drug use, if given a choice, I personally would smoke the joint before I'd shoot myself in the foot. Same result - termination of service - but one gets you a case of the Peanut M&M munchies and another loses your toes. Think about it.

For anyone considering suicide, I would call intentional drug use to gain a discharge a better alternative.

In February, the Army admitted that suicides had increased by 20% since the Iraq invasion.

This is not a very good prognosis for the future of military discipline in Iraq. While there are not yet any cases of fragging reported, most psychological studies of those who commit murder have found that a majority reported having considered suicide at some point before they

killed. Having already overcome the cultural killing-taboo during operations, it is only a matter of time before this begins in Iraq, if it hasn't happened already. I have to make a very clear note here that I am not endorsing fragging, but describing it as one violent indicator of a more general institutional breakdown of the military when it is committed to an un-winnable and morally indefensible war.

Obviously, those of us involved in the organizing of military communities are focused in our practice on the recruitment and development of movement leaders and activists among soldiers, military families, and veterans with an agenda that will outlive the war. If breaking the power of whatever administration is there when we see the end of the Anglo-American occupation is the immediate strategic goal - one that centralizes the role of military dissent - then the intermediate strategic goal that follows closely behind it (but which will shift away from the simple question of war), is opposition to American imperial power. So we have to see the military activists of today as part of the anti-empire movement of tomorrow and develop now for their continuity in the movement and the continuity of the movement itself.

One of the other powerful motivations for the Nixon administration's withdrawal from Vietnam, aside from the institutional breakdown of the US military, was the profound economic crisis that was created by that war, which by 1972 - as many youth radicalized by the 60s entered the labor force - resulted in an outbreak of labor struggle: individual, as when disgruntled workers were telling bosses to commit anatomical impossibilities, and collective, as in a spate of wildcat strikes.

If our immediate strategic objective is the withdrawal of occupation forces from Iraq, we have to identify what the next, intermediate objective is in order to gain some clarity about where we go from here. I think that is to break American imperial hegemony as a first step to breaking the actual financial half-nelson of US power.

In order to assure the continuity of our struggle against the malignant power that created this war, and not just its current horrors in Iraq, we have to think now about how to continue to bring people from military communities into the current struggle. With their dedication, their talent, and their unique capacity to take this fight to the administration, they should be cultivated as potential leaders and activists who won't always be center-stage, but whose experience and skills developed now can be incorporated into the next period of struggle against hegemony.

Transcript of Representative Cynthia McKinney's Exchange with Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Richard Myers, and Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) Tina Jonas, March 11th, 2005

Sec. of Defense Rumsfeld in House Hearing on FY06 Dept. of Defense Budget

Chairman Representative Duncan Hunter (R-CA) and witnesses Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and JCS Chairman General Richard Myers hold a House Hearing on the FY 2006 Budget for the Department of Defense and Military Services.

3/11/2005: WASHINGTON, DC: 2 hr. 5 min.

CMK: Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney (D-GA)

DR: Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld

RM: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Richard Myers TJ: Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) Tina Jonas DH: Chairman Representative Duncan Hunter (R-CA)

25:20

CMK: Thank you Mr. Chairman. Mr. Secretary, I watched President Bush deliver a moving speech at the United Nations in September 2003, in which he mentioned the crisis of the sex trade. The President called for the punishment of those involved in this horrible business. But at the very moment of that speech, DynCorp was exposed for having been involved in the buying and selling of young women and children. While all of this was going on, DynCorp kept the Pentagon contract to administer the smallpox and anthrax vaccines, and is now working on a plague vaccine

through the Joint Vaccine Acquisition Program. Mr. Secretary, is it [the] policy of the U.S. Government to reward companies that traffic in women and little girls?

That's my first question. My second question, Mr. Secretary: according to the Comptroller General of the United States, there are serious financial management problems at the Pentagon, to which Mr. Cooper alluded.

Fiscal Year 1999: \$2.3 trillion missing.

Fiscal Year 2000, \$1.1 trillion missing.

And DoD is the number one reason why the government can't balance its checkbook. The Pentagon has claimed year after year that the reason it can't account for the money is because its computers don't communicate with each other.

My second question, Mr. Secretary, is who has the contracts today, to make those systems communicate with each other? How long have they had those contracts, and how much have the taxpayers paid for them?

Finally Mr. Secretary, after the last Hearing, I thought that my office was promised a written response to my question regarding the four wargames on September 11th. I have not yet received that response, but would like for you to respond to the questions that I've put to you today. And then I do expect the written response to my previous question - hopefully by the end of the week.

27:26

DR: Thank you, Representative. First, the answer to your first question is, is, no, absolutely not, the policy of the United States Government is clear, unambiguous, and opposed to the activities that you described. The second question -

CMK: Well how do you explain the fact that DynCorp and its successor companies have received and continue to receive government contracts?

DR: I would have to go and find the facts, but there are laws and rules and regulations with respect to government contracts, and there are times that corporations do things they should not do, in which case they tend to be suspended for some period; there are times then that the - under the laws and the rules and regulations for the - passed by the Congress and implemented by the Executive branch - that corporations can get off of - out of the penalty box if you will, and be permitted to engage in contracts with the government. They're generally not barred in perpetuity -

CMK: This contract - this company - was never in the penalty box. If you could proceed to my second question, please.

DR: The second question - I've forgotten what the second question was.

CMK: I think Ms. Jonas knows it.

DR: Okay.

29:00

TJ: Thank you Ms. McKinney. I appreciate the question and I appreciate your interest in our Department's financial condition. We are working very hard on that program. I've just come back, recently -

CMK: I understand that you're working hard on it, but my question was who has the contract? How long have they had that contract, and how much money have we spent on it?

TJ: There are - In general we spend about \$20 billion dollars in the Department on information technology systems. The accounting systems are part of that. I can get you the exact number for the record, of what we spend on our current, what we call "legacy systems," and those that we're moving toward.

CMK: And who has the contract?

TJ: That would be a multitude of individuals that have -

CMK: Could you name some, please?

TJ: Well, I think of the top of the, off the top of my head, well, I would rather not; I'd rather provide that for the record.

CMK: That's not privileged information, is it?

TJ: I'm sure it's not.

CMK: Well, please. We still have time, so, please.

TJ: I would be glad to provide for the record; I don't want to talk from the top of my head and be incorrect.

DR: On your first question, I'm advised by DR. Chu that it was not the corporation that was engaged in the activities you characterized but I'm told it was an employee of the corporation, and it was some years ago in the Balkans that that took place.

CMK: It's my understanding that it continues to take place, and that -

DR: Is that right?

CMK: Yes.

DR: Well if you can give me information to that effect, we will -

CMK: I'm sure you are interested in all of the information that I have and I'll be more than happy to provide it to you.

DR: Good. Thank you.

CMK: But I would also like to get information from you, for example, the information that I just requested about who has those contracts.

DH: Let me assure the gentlelady that we'll make sure that this exchange of information takes place and that, Mr. Secretary if you can get back with us on the DynCorp

DR: We will -

DH: - story, we'll get that to the gentlelady.

CMK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

DR: We'll get back on both of the first two questions but the Congresswoman has raised the other question twice now, and I'd like to have general Myers respond, because you mentioned it in the last Hearing and I think it'd be helpful to get the answer even though we're on red, if you don't mind, Mr. Chairman?

DH: General Myers, go right ahead.

CMK: But I would like to have the answer in writing as well, as I thought my office was promised.

RM: Okay I don't know about the promise, Congresswoman, but could you repeat the question to make sure I'm answering the right question; this is a 9/11 question.

31:25

CMK: The question was, we had four wargames going on on September 11th, and the question that I tried to pose before the Secretary had to go to lunch was whether or not the activities of the four wargames going on on September 11th actually impaired our ability to respond to the attacks.

RM: The answer to the question is no, it did not impair our response, in fact General Eberhart who was in the command of the North American Aerospace Defense Command as he testified in front of the 9/11 Commission I believe - I believe he told them that it enhanced our ability to respond, given that NORAD didn't have the overall responsibility for responding to the attacks that day. That was an FAA responsibility. But they were two CPXs; there was one Department of Justice exercise that didn't

have anything to do with the other three; and there was an actual operation ongoing because there was some Russian bomber activity up near Alaska. So we -

CMK: Let me ask you this, then: who was in charge of managing those wargames?

DH: General, why don't you give the best answer that you can here in a short a period of time and we'll - the gentlelady wants to get a written answer anyway, and then we can move on to other folks.

RM: The important thing to realize is that North American Aerospace Defense Command was responsible. These are command post exercises; what that means is that all the battle positions that are normally not filled are indeed filled; so it was an easy transition from an exercise into a real world situation. It actually enhanced the response; otherwise, it would take somewhere between 30 minutes and a couple of hours to fill those positions, those battle stations, with the right staff officers.

CMK: Mr. Chairman, begging your indulgence, was September Eleventh declared a National Security Special Event day?

RM: I have to look back; I do not know. Do you mean after the fact, or

CMK: No. Because of the activities going on that had been scheduled at the United Nations that day.

RM: I'd have to go back and check. I don't know.

Publisher's Note: FTW is proudly hosting the Cynthia McKinney segment in Real Media format. Please follow this link below to view it:

http://www.fromthewilderness.com/free/ww3/031505_mckinney_transcript.shtml

The video may take a minute to download to you, please be patient.

FTW COMMENTS ON KEY STORIES FROM AROUND THE WORLD

Superspike report raises questions

by Adam Porter in Perpignan, France

Saturday 02 April 2005 12:31 PM GMT

http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/A5E81195-6515-4254-81FE-36481117C916.htm

[Another excellent report from Adam Porter. Goldman Sach's is articulating peak oil in everything but the word. They talk about superspikes and the rising costs of aging oil fields, but they refuse to accept the validity of peak oil. Could this be because to do so would herald the end of their own business? –DAP]

The Writing is on the Wall (Goldman sees oil spiking to \$105)

Says lower prices will only return when consumption is meaningfully reduced.

March 31, 2005: 4:15 PM EST

http://monev.cnn.com/2005/03/31/news/international/goldman_oil.reut/

[Goldman Sachs has reported that oil is likely to hit \$105 per barrel and would not come down unless consumption was meaningfully reduced. They called the forecast "conservative."

In both markets and politics timing is everything.

In December of 2004 the military and intelligence community came out in <u>unprecedented support of renewable energy</u>. While the mainstream press remained silent, Goldman Sachs was certainly not surprised.

Three months later Goldman acquired Zilkha, a sizeable wind energy developer. They already had interests in wind farms in Wyoming, Oregon and California. Goldman showed interest in renewable energy quite early; it began dedicated coverage of the alternative energy market in late 1998, setting up a power technology team covering the entire range of alternative energy stocks.

Now, over six years later, they show the world they have concluded wind energy is a financial winner, and they are correct. Wind is one of the few renewable energy technologies that can pump out hundreds of megawatts of energy (though nowhere near what hydrocarbons provide).

Shortly after 9/11 the <u>Energy Future Coalition</u> was formed. Members of their advisory board and steering committee include R. James Woolsey, former CIA director, and Chansoo Joung, managing director of Goldman Sachs. This coalition has the same goal as the <u>Apollo Alliance</u> - energy independence for the United States.

The problem is these programs have begun too late. Apollo is calling for a one-third reduction in US oil consumption within the next 25 years. Had such a plan been supported and implemented in 1980, perhaps we would be in a somewhat stable position.

Now we are anything but stable.

This is human nature. Rarely do we see individuals stop eating fast foods, stop smoking, stop drinking, and instead start eating well, start exercising, and start drinking water regularly until they get cancer, diabetes, heart problems, or some other debilitating disease. It isn't until crisis is burning down the door that we look for an alternative way out.

The truth is most people continue their deadly practices till the end.

Dick Cheney was dead serious when he said, "The American way of life is not negotiable," but the American way of life is mass suicide - from McDonalds to Wal-Mart to Hummers. The Bush administration's energy bill has just thrown out a \$2,000 tax credit for owning a hybrid car that conserves gas use at upwards of 50 miles per gallon, but kept a \$25,000 tax write-off for purchasing a gas-guzzling Hummer!

The prediction of \$105 oil drove the oil market to a record high of \$57.25 per barrel. That's sure to help Goldman's growing investments in renewable energy. They've seen this coming since at least 1998, at which time they were already monitoring both the technology and the markets for the best moment to start moving: first, to hedge against hydrocarbon depletion by investing in renewables, and then, to help provoke an inevitable spike in oil prices.

Their timing may have been perfect. What better moment to be invested in both renewable energy projects and oil? Goldman Sachs has the best of both worlds.

As Mike Ruppert stated on September 9, 2004, at the first 9/11 Citizens Commission in NYC: "Whether or not Peak Oil is happening, the world is behaving as if it is."

The signs are clear. The military hawks are saying it, the big banks are saying it. Peak Oil is now the barometer by which the pressure within the economic atmosphere will be forecast. The actions and statements of Goldman Sachs are pushing the inevitable ever closer.

Meanwhile the International Energy Agency (IEA) has called for police-enforced driving bans to curb oil consumption and is urging oil-importing nations to adopt emergency oil-saving policies in case world supply dips significantly. One way or another, conservation is a must. It would be nice if we (the people) had some say in that process.

Nevertheless, the suicide pact between the Bush administration and the American people has been signed in blood - the blood of American troops and civilian casualties wherever the last drops of Mother Earth's blood can be found.- MK]

The state of the world? It is on the brink of disaster

An authoritative study of the biological relationships vital to maintaining life has found disturbing evidence of man-made degradation.

By Steve Connor The Independent (UK) 30 March 2005

http://news.independent.co.uk/world/science_technology/story.jsp?story=624667

[Reading this article is a somewhat chilling experience. If you've ever read any of the annual <u>State of The World</u> books, you know what it's like. It's important to remember, as you read such articles, that their purpose is to specify what's wrong, not offer <u>avenues of hope</u>, <u>planning</u>, or <u>insight</u>. This grim report on ecosystems should be read, because it's true. But remember - it is a picture of the problem; there are fragments of the solution floating just outside the frame. -JAH]

From Adam Porter at Al Jazeera-- International Energy Agency Proposes Ban-Rationing-Enforced Quotas on Oil Consumption -- Measures Would Apply in US

Energy body wants brakes on fuel consumption

by Adam Porter in Perpignan, France Thursday 24 March 2005 1:51 PM GMT

http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/655B03B0-32C2-4BF7-A3E8-F7EFD8144333.htm

[I had to read this story twice to understand its import for all of us. This should have been the number one story on every network and on the front page of every paper. Even as the hubris of the mind-numbing mass media is telling us there's only a slight problem with oil, the International Energy Agency is preparing measures that could result in police-enforced driving bans, rationing and quotas here in the US. It is clear that the IEA admits that some kind of immediate and drastic reduction in consumption is necessary to avoid a breakdown. This is the same IEA that has been saying for years, "Don't worry, There's plenty of oil." -MCR]



Mike Ruppert On Gold

Global Economy is a subject near and dear to Mr. Ruppert's heart. Spend a short time listening to what Mike told a captive radio audience on Goldline's American Advisor recently. Hear what Mike has to say about the current 2005 state of affairs, especially as it concerns the ever rising gold market.

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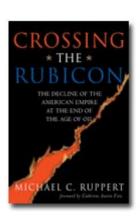
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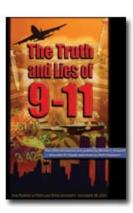
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Draft Extradition Update

As r	egular FT	W readers	know, four	months ago we be	egan contac	cting the embassi	es and cons	sulates of	75 counties
and	asking th	e following	question: "	Under existing trea	aties, is	obligated	to extradit	e fugitives	(back) to
the	United Sta	ates for dra	Ift evasion?	II					

Replies have come slowly, but since this chart was first published in the Feb '04 issue of this newsletter, we have received additional replies from the following countries: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, and South Africa). Last updated April 22, 2004, this chart will be continually updated until all 75 countries on our list have responded. Updates can be viewed online, in Mike Ruppert's article, "Nowhere to Run, Nowhere to hide."

	Extradite Yes/No?	FBI LEGAT	NORTH- COM	NATO	ANZUS	CONDITIONS
Argentina	No*	Yes				* "Requested State may refuse extradition for offenses under military law that are not offenses under ordinary criminal law (article 4, military offenses-paragraph 4"
Australia	Yes	Yes			Yes	
Brazil	Yes	Yes				
Canada	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Colombia	Yes	Yes				Case by case basis
Germany	Yes	Yes		Yes		
Italy	Yes	Yes		Yes		
Mexico	Yes	Yes	Yes			
New Guinea	No					Will not extradite
New Zealand	No				Yes	Will not extradite if violation of military law
Nigeria	No	Yes				"No treaty exists between US and Nigeria to mandate repatriation of draft dodgers"
Norway	No			Yes		Discretion of Foreign Ministry
Panama	Yes	Yes				
Peru	Yes					Case by case basis
Philippines	Yes	Yes				
Poland	No	Yes		Yes		"Extradition can also be denied if military offense does not constitute a felony under existing national penal code (Art 5, subsection 4)"
Portugal	No			Yes		
Russia	No	Yes				"No agreement for extradition exists"
South Africa	No*	Yes				"The Executive Authority of the Requested State shall refuse extradition for offenses under ordinary criminal law."
Spain	Yes	Yes		Yes		
Sweden	No					No, if only crime is against military law
Switzerland	No	Yes				No, if only crime is against military law
Thailand	Yes	Yes				