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Pat Buchanan

<<http://www.antiwar.com/pat/?articleid=2350>>

SCUM

## Like the SS

Ted Rall

New York--Now it's official: American troops occupying Iraq have become virtually indistinguishable from the SS. Like the Germans during World War II, they cordon off and bomb civilian villages to retaliate for guerilla attacks on their convoys. Like the blackshirts who terrorized Europe, America's victims disappear into hellish prisons ruled by sadists and murderers. **The U.S. military is short just one item to achieve moral parity with the Nazis: gas chambers. [But what if the gas chambers are bogus ? ]**

"Numerous incidents of sadistic, blatant and wanton criminal abuses were inflicted on several detainees" by soldiers, freelance mercenaries and professional torturers under the command of CIA intelligence officers at Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison, according to an internal government report. The detainees, about 60 percent of them assumed to be innocent by the Americans themselves, were routinely beaten, sodomized "with a chemical light or broomstick," urinated upon, tied to electrified wires and threatened with death, stripped and forced to perform homosexual sex acts on each other and U.S. troops. Don't be fooled by military apologists who insist that these American SS are nothing more than a few bad apples. Seymour Hersh, who has read the army's internal report, quotes Major General Antonio Taguba as saying that U.S.-committed atrocities are "systemic, endemic throughout

the command structure...[The soldier-torturers] were being told what to do and told it was OK."

True, most soldiers probably don't condone torture. But all soldiers have been tarnished by it. George W. Bush's new gulag archipelago, a string of concentration camps, military and INS prisons that span the globe from North Carolina to Iraq to Afghanistan to Guantánamo Bay to New York City, has been **designed to give torturers the veil of secrecy they require** to carry out their hideous acts as well as the tacit understanding that they won't be held accountable. The Red Cross, defense lawyers and relatives of the victims, few of whom are charged with a crime, are denied access to the detainees or even the simple confirmation that they're being held by our government.

Some soldiers, like Sergeant Ivan Frederick II, "questioned some of the things I saw," such as "leaving inmates in their cell with no clothes or in female underpants, handcuffing them to the door." But when he discussed these abuses with his superiors, he says they brushed him off: "This is how military intelligence wants it done."

As proven by the classic psychological experiments of the '50s, people put in a position of total power over another human being find it hard to resist abusing their charges. Prison guards mistreat inmates for a simple reason: they can. Wherever one controls another, sadism is inevitable. However, this tragic truism can be mitigated by creating mechanisms to ensure transparency behind bars. Granting prisoners access to attorneys, journalists and other members of the outside world, unannounced inspections by human rights agencies, recognizing their rights under the Geneva Conventions and rigorous prosecutions of criminal guards can never entirely eliminate abuse, but they're essential to prisons run by democratic societies.

We know about Abu Ghraib only because the inbred psychos who forced nude Iraqi men to pile up in pyramids were dumb enough to snap photographs as mementos of their time liberating the nation from Saddam. It's like the Rodney King video: cops beat up blacks every day, but there usually isn't a camera around.

Abu Ghraib, you can bet your bottom dollar, is merely the tip of the iceberg. Our military is structurally corrupt. Beginning in Afghanistan during the weeks after 9/11, civilian command yielded to the amoral gangster mentality of the arrogant intelligence officers of Army Special Forces and the CIA, who stand accused of massacring thousands of captured Taliban prisoners yet have never faced a real investigation. The new tone of lawlessness comes all the way from the White House, directed by a commander-in-chief who starts illegal wars without justification, strips captured prisoners of their rights under the Geneva Convention and whose smirky fingers-crossed response to the prisoner abuse scandal--"I shared a deep disgust that those prisoners were treated the way they were treated...Their treatment does not reflect the nature of the American people"--sends a wink and a nudge to our uniformed torturers. Keep it up, boys. Keep those broomsticks busy.

Even our coalition partners are getting the message. British soldiers running a coalition gulag in Basra reported smashing the jaw and teeth of an Iraqi accused of stealing, then dumping the broken body of the accused thief off the back of a moving truck. "They did not know whether he survived," writes *The New York Times*.

One more Iraqi, it seems, who won't be tossing roses at his liberators.

Ted Rall is the author of *Wake Up, You're Liberal: How We Can Take America Back From the Right*, out this week. Ordering information is available at [amazon.com](http://amazon.com).

<[http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&cid=127&ncid=742&e=7&u=%2Fuclicktext%2F20040504%2Fcm\\_ucru%2Fanarmyofscum](http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&cid=127&ncid=742&e=7&u=%2Fuclicktext%2F20040504%2Fcm_ucru%2Fanarmyofscum)>

OLD SINS

## **Twisting the Past to Justify Present** by Paul Kramer

During his eight-hour visit to Manila on Saturday, President Bush drew a striking connection between Iraq and the Philippines in a speech before the Philippine Congress. The current U.S. occupation of Iraq, he held, should be modeled on the earlier U.S. occupation of

the Philippines, which lasted from 1898 to 1946. "Some say the culture of the Middle East will not sustain the institutions of democracy," he stated. "The same doubts were once expressed about the culture of Asia. Those doubts were proven wrong nearly six decades ago."

Mr. Bush's statement greatly distorts and sanitizes a **painful and violent history**. The United States did not bring democracy to the Philippines a century ago but crushed a constitutional republic being established there. During the occupation that followed, the "optimism" expressed by U.S. colonial officials about the "culture of Asia," similar to Mr. Bush's, enabled a decades-long denial of actual political power.

Abuse and exploitation by Spanish colonizers in the Philippines led to the outbreak of a revolution in 1896. It was defeated in 1897 and its leaders exiled. But when the administration of President William McKinley sent the U.S. Pacific Squadron to Manila Bay in the Spanish-American War, Filipino leaders were able to return to the islands with U.S. naval assistance and defeat Spanish forces. By June 1898, Filipino revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo declared an independent Philippine Republic, the first in Asia.

U.S. representatives made explicit, and deceptive, promises that the new state would be recognized by the United States, which was crucial to its survival. At the same time, U.S. military commanders were ordered to deny the republic's army entry into Manila. In Paris, the United States and Spain also shut the republic's diplomatic representatives out of negotiations over a treaty that eventually transferred Philippine sovereignty from Spain to the United States for \$20 million.

Contrary to Mr. Bush's claim, Filipino leaders had been most assertive that their culture could "sustain the institutions of democracy." Combining indigenous Filipino political ideas and conventions with Euro-American ones, the republic embraced constitutional government with an elected legislature. It was an elitist republic dominated by the wealthy; so too was the United States.

Far from undermining doubts about the culture of Asia, U.S. politicians, military commanders and imperial-minded journalists aggressively argued against Filipino self-government. They instead described the islands' population as "primitive," divided into innumerable "tribes" and oppressed by dictatorial and corrupt leaders from whom they must be "liberated."

These depictions became even more pronounced during the U.S. invasion that followed and the resulting war between Philippine and U.S. armies. The campaign was bloody and protracted, involving the looting of civilian property, the torching of villages and the torture and killing of prisoners by U.S. troops. Historians estimate that possibly 250,000 Filipinos died during the war and its aftermath.

U.S. officials declared the war over long before resistance had ended. As a postwar occupation began, U.S. observers continued to deny Filipino capacities for self-government.

Over the next 50 years, U.S. control over the Philippines would be justified with malleable explanations based on Filipinos' alleged incapacities for reason, discipline, order, hard work and other moral features believed necessary for self-government. Filipino assertions that they could meet American standards led to constant readjustments of those standards.

At the same time, those who denied Filipinos political power remained optimistic about Filipinos. Currently unable to rule themselves, they said, Filipinos would be able to do so after some indefinite period of education.

**The United States was far from successful in democratic nation-building in the Philippines, having never attempted it.** The U.S. occupation government instead installed Filipino elites in power through the instruments of a one-party police state, initially with strict and repressive censorship laws.

Filipino democracy would take constricted shape under U.S. imperialism both during formal occupation and, after 1946, as a Cold War battleground. **Energetic U.S. support for the brutal dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos says much about the U.S. commitment to Filipino democracy.** Present conditions of extreme economic inequality and political corruption are in many ways legacies of this earlier history. So too is the ongoing struggle in the southern Philippines between Philippine forces and Muslim rebels, in which U.S. troops are involved.

Mr. Bush's statement reflects the willingness of the administration to manipulate the history of an earlier imperial occupation to justify a newer one. Critics of the Iraq war should be cautious not to commit the same error by drawing strict parallels between occupations that

are, in many ways, quite different. But in both cases, "optimism" about the political prospects of colonial subjects begins from the assumption that the United States has an imperial mandate to declare which cultures can "sustain the institutions of democracy" and which cannot.

Under any administration, such claims would be arrogant; under the present one, which has demonstrated a persistent disrespect for democratic procedures, they are also absurd. The right to determine the shape of Iraq's politics belongs to the Iraqi people, as it did to the Filipino people a century ago.

Paul Kramer, an assistant history professor at the Johns Hopkins University, is writing a book on the U.S. occupation of the Philippines. Published on Friday, October 24, 2003 by the Baltimore Sun  
<<http://www.commondreams.org/scriptfiles/views03/1024-09.htm>>

## STATED GOALS

The United States intended to occupy Iraq and move on to other campaigns -- but failures in planning, underestimation of the enemy and command failures have turned strategic victory into a tactical nightmare. That tactical nightmare is now threatening to undermine not only the Iraqi theater of operations, but also the entire American war effort. It is threatening to reverse a series of al Qaeda defeats. If the current trend continues, the tactical situation will undermine U.S. strategy in Iraq, and the collapse of U.S. strategy in Iraq could unravel the entire U.S. strategy against al Qaeda and the Islamists. The question is whether the United States has the honesty to face the fact that it is a crisis, the imagination to craft a solution to the problems in Iraq and the luck that the enemy will give it the time it needs to regroup."

*The Stratfor Weekly*, 11 May 2004  
<<http://www.stratfor.com>>

## BONS PAS BONS

### **The "Good Guys" Who Can Do No Wrong**

**Robert Fisk**

Why are we surprised at their racism, their brutality, their sheer callousness towards Arabs? Those American soldiers in Saddam's old prison at Abu Ghraib, those young British squaddies in Basra came -- as soldiers often come -- from towns and cities where race hatred has a home: Tennessee and Lancashire.

How many of "our" lads are ex-jailbirds themselves? How many support the British National Party? Muslims, Arabs, "cloth heads", "rag heads", "terrorists", "evil". You can see how the semantics break down.

Add to that the poisonous, racial dribble of a hundred Hollywood movies that depict Arabs as dirty, lecherous, untrustworthy and violent people -- and soldiers are addicted to movies -- and it's not difficult to see how some British scumbag will urinate into the face of a hooded man, how some American sadist will stand a hooded Iraqi on a box with wires tied to his hands.

The sexual sadism -- the bobby--sox girl soldier who points at a man's genitals, the mock orgy in Abu Ghraib prison, the British rifle in the prisoner's mouth -- might be a crazed attempt to balance all those lies about the Arab world, about the desert warrior's potency, the harem, polygamy.

Even today, we still show the revolting Ashanti on our television stations, a feature film about the kidnapping of the wife of an English doctor by Arab slave--traders, which depicts Arabs as almost exclusively child--molesters, rapists, murderers, liars and thieves. It stars -- heaven spare us -- Michael Caine, Omar Sharif and Peter Ustinov and was made partly in Israel.

Indeed, we now depict Arabs in our films as the Nazis once depicted Jews. But Arabs are fair game. Potential terrorists to a man -- and a woman -- they must be softened up, "prepared", humiliated, beaten, tortured. The Israelis use torture in the Russian Compound in Jerusalem. Now we torture in Saddam's old jail outside Baghdad and -- for this is where British soldiers beat a young Iraqi to death last summer -- in the former office of Saddam's most murderous chemical warfare fascist, the awful "Chemical" Ali.

And the officers? Didn't the British lieutenants and captains and majors in the Queen's Lancashire Regiment know that their lads were kicking to death a young Iraqi hotel worker last summer?

That man's fate -- and the documentary evidence proving that he was murdered -- was first revealed by The Independent on Sunday in January. Didn't the CIA boys at Abu Ghraib know that Ivan "Chip" Frederick and Lynddie England, two of the American soldiers in the photographs published last week, were obscenely humiliating their prisoners?

Of course they did. The last time I saw Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, commander of the 800th Military Police Brigade in Iraq, she told me she had visited Camp X-Ray in Guantanamo and found nothing wrong with it. I should have guessed then that something had gone terribly wrong in Iraq.

I remember how in Basra, on the eve of a visit by Tony Blair, I visited the British Army's press office in the city to ask about the death of 26-year-old Baha Mousa. The dead man's family had given me British documents proving that he had been beaten to death in custody, that the British Army had itself tried to pay off the family if they would give up any legal claim against the soldiers who so cruelly killed their son.

I was met with yawns and a total inability to furnish information about the event. I was told to call the Ministry of Defence in London. The officer I spoke to appeared weary, even impatient about my inquiry. There was not a single word of compassion for the dead man.

Back in September last year, General Karpinski was with a small group of journalists in Abu Ghraib -- the same ghastly prison in which thousands were put to death by Saddam, the same jail in which Frederick and England and their American buddies were standing their hooded Iraqi prisoner on a box with supposed electrodes on his hands -- and General Karpinski took some delight in escorting us to the old Saddam execution chamber.

She led the way into the concrete room with its raised dais and gallows, and -- in front of us all -- triumphantly pulled the gallows lever so that the trap door clanged down. She urged us to read the last messages scrawled on the walls of the neighbouring death row by Iraqis awaiting Saddam's vengeance. But there was something wrong about her prison tour.

There was no clear judicial process for the prisoners and there was no mention -- until I brought it up -- of the mortar attack on the American-held jail which killed six of the inmates in their tents in August, when General Karpinski was already in command of Iraq's 8,000 prisoners. They had been given "counselling", she told us. "They seemed to think we had been using them as some kind of sand-bag." Abu Ghraib was then being attacked by insurgents four out of every seven nights. Now it is attacked twice every night.

Oddly, she claimed in answer to a question of mine that there were "six prisoners claiming to be American and two claiming to be from the UK". But when General Ricardo Sanchez, the senior Iraqi officer in Iraq, later denied this, no one asked how the confusion had arisen. Was General Karpinski making it up? Or was General Sanchez not telling us the truth? Prisoners' names were often confused, Arabic script was mis-transliterated, men went "missing" from the files. It spoke of a whole culture in which Iraqis -- especially Iraqi prisoners -- were somehow not worthy of the same rights as us Westerners; which is why, I suppose, the occupying powers in Iraq always give us the statistics of Westerners' deaths but care not the slightest to discover the statistics of the deaths of Iraqis, the very people they are mandated to protect and care for.

A few weeks ago, I was chatting to a young American soldier off Saadoun Street in the centre of Baghdad. He was giving sweets to street kids and mimicking the Arabic for "thank you": sukran. Did he know Arabic, I innocently asked. He grinned at me. "I know how to shout at them," he said. And there you have it.

We are all victims of our high-flown morality. "They" -- the Arabs, Muslims, "cloth heads", "rag heads", "terrorists" -- are of a lesser breed, of lower moral standards. They are people to be shouted at. They have to be "liberated" and given "democracy". But we little band of brothers, we dress ourselves up in the uniforms of righteousness. We are marines or

military police or a Queen's regiment and we are on the side of good. "They" are on the side of "evil". So we can do no wrong.

Or so it appeared until those shameful pictures last week tore apart the whole bandwagon and proved that race hatred and prejudice is an old historical inheritance of ours. We used to call Saddam the Hitler of Iraq. But wasn't Hitler one of "us", a Westerner, a citizen of "our" culture? If he could kill six million Jews, which he did, why should we be surprised that "we" can treat Iraqis like animals? Last week came the photographs to prove we can.

*The Independent*, 2 May 2004.

BAD LINKS

## Build a Web site, go to jail

Jacob Sullum

During their opening statement in Sami Al-Hussayen's trial at the federal courthouse in Boise, Idaho, prosecutors put a new spin on the slippery concept of "links to terrorism." The Idaho Statesman reports that they "displayed a chart" showing how a Web site that Al-Hussayen had helped maintain "could eventually access 20 other sites with ties to radical organizations."

Talk about guilt by association. Given the interconnected nature of the World Wide Web (they don't call it a "web" for nothing), just about any site with hyperlinks "could eventually access" something sinister.

That does not mean Al-Hussayen, a 34-year-old Saudi whom the government accuses of supporting terrorism by creating and maintaining Web sites for various Islamic organizations, is the man he claims to be: a peaceful computer science student who rejects terrorism and was simply trying to promote Islamic outreach and education through volunteer work. But judging from the evidence the government has presented so far, he could be.

Al-Hussayen's trial, which is expected to conclude by June, illustrates the difficulty of deciding when "links to terrorism" should be treated as a crime. It also shows the importance of maintaining an open, adversarial process for judging whether someone is guilty of siding with terrorists—a timely reminder as the U.S. Supreme Court considers whether the Bush administration has the authority to make such determinations secretly and unilaterally.

Al-Hussayen, who was arrested in February 2003 while working toward a Ph.D. in computer science at the University of Idaho, is charged with providing "material support" to terrorists, a crime that was broadened by the PATRIOT Act to include "expert guidance or assistance." As Attorney General John Ashcroft summed it up, "Al-Hussayen knew and intended that his computer services and expertise would be used to recruit and raise funds for violent jihad around the world."

Since what Al-Hussayen did is not really in dispute, his guilt hinges on what he "knew and intended." But the government's evidence that he deliberately aided terrorism consists almost entirely of online statements by others that he says he neither created nor endorsed.

"The core of the case," the prosecutors say, is four fatwas (religious decrees) that were posted at [www.alasr.net](http://www.alasr.net), a site that Al-Hussayen helped maintain. The fatwas, which appeared in 2001, defend suicide attacks on "the enemy" as consistent with Islam.

But Al-Hussayen—who as a local Muslim leader released a statement after the September 11 attacks condemning "vicious acts of terrorism against innocent civilians"—insists he does not agree with those fatwas. They were among thousands of postings that he handled for various sites, which also included articles arguing that terrorism is contrary to Islam. Prosecutors concede that "much of the content of the Web sites was seemingly benign."

Likewise, the government holds Al-Hussayen responsible for incendiary comments by participants in a Yahoo! e-mail group devoted to Chechnya. Although Al-Hussayen was listed as one of several moderators for the list, he served that function only 17 times over

three years and deleted just one message during that time, a pattern that seems to indicate inattention rather than agreement.

In any event, as with the fatwas, the government is prosecuting Al-Hussayen based on his presumed approval of statements that, however reprehensible, would be protected by the First Amendment if he had written them himself. Similarly, his alleged support for terrorism includes his donations to the Michigan-based Islamic Assembly of North America, which has not been classified as a terrorist group and continues to operate as a legally recognized charity.

Prosecutors say Al-Hussayen's personal views are irrelevant. All that matters is that he knowingly provided "expert guidance or assistance" that aided terrorist recruitment and fund raising.

But given the broad meaning of "expert guidance or assistance" and the difficulty of getting inside people's heads, the same charge could be leveled against anyone who performed professional services for a group that the government believes has terrorist ties. Under the Justice Department's reading of the law, Georgetown University law professor David Cole told *The New York Times*, "Somebody who fixes a fax machine that is owned by a group that may advocate terrorism could be liable."

Al-Hussayen may face a formidable task in convincing a jury that he did not know and intend what the government says he did. But given the way the Bush administration treats terrorism suspects it designates as "enemy combatants," he is lucky to have the opportunity.

Jacob Sullum is a senior editor at *Reason* and the author of *Saying Yes: In Defense of Drug Use* (Tarcher/Putnam). 30 April 2004.  
<<http://www.reason.com/sullum/043004.shtml>>

## NOT ABOUT JEWS

"Anti-Semitic talk is not about Jews at all; it is the dominant ideology of Pax Americana. A Cuban who talks about anti-Semitism paves the road for the triumphal return of Meyer Lansky's heirs to his island" – Israel Shamir answers to Lisandro Otero.

# Dogs & Foxes

(Letter to Lisandro Otero)

by Israel Shamir

## I

When the red-jacketed British gentlemen ride after fox upon green hills of Surrey, they call "yoicks" to encourage their dogs; the Jews cry "anti-Semitism" to encourage theirs. "Yoicks" terrifies the fox; "anti-Semitism" is the means to terrify opposition to the New World Order. It is their equivalent of a Papal bull proclaiming the crusade against heretics.

Like a contagious disease, their hate spreads farther and farther a field. Iraqis supported Palestinians, and their country was invaded. The Zionists' latest enemy is France, for the French dared to object to their plans of taking over Iraq. On the tree-lined street I live on, a big parked Chevrolet carries the sticker "After Iraq, Chirac". Israeli newspapers are full to the brim with dozens of anti-French reports and features. And whenever the Jews do not get what they want, they raise the spectre of their adversaries' "anti-Semitism".

Now the riders received an unexpected support from a noted Cuban intellectual Lisandro Otero. One would expect that a writer from the Island of Freedom will call for solidarity with the people of Palestine, Iraq, and France. He could understand that the talk about French anti-Semitism is orchestrated by the same forces that just a few months ago led their anti-Cuban campaign.

But Otero preferred to pursue with the dogs, rather than run with the foxes. In an article disseminated by Cuban media, the ex-dissident writer repeats the standard accusations of Zionists against France. After paying standard left-Zionist lip service to "the

policy of extermination of the Palestinians practiced by bloodthirsty Ariel Sharon", he writes: "The attacks against the Jews have increased in an alarming way in France. Many of these acts of aggression are carried out by Muslims, of which there are in France between four and five million." This is not very politically-correct, rather outright racist generalisation. Indeed, Noam Chomsky correctly stated that "Anti-Arab racism is so widespread as to be unnoticeable; it is perhaps the only remaining form of racism to be regarded as legitimate." So legitimate that Otero uses it without noticing.

Just in case the Cuban writer Otero is a sincere man who was misled by the Zionist media, we shall briefly refer to his charge. No Jew was killed or severely wounded in France over the past ten years, though in the same period of time Zionist paramilitary gangs of Beitar established by Mussolini-worshipping Jewish fascist Jabotinsky attacked and wounded dozens of anti-Zionists and Muslims on the streets of Paris and Marseille. In France, hundreds of Muslims were wounded and killed in racist attacks often led by the Zionists' fascist allies.

In the Jewish state, Muslim Palestinians are prevented from worshipping in the holy site of al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem; Christian Palestinians were prevented from coming to the Holy Sepulchre this Easter by the Jewish army. But in France, not only Jewish worship is protected; the French Jews even celebrated the bloody "achievements" of the Israeli army.

The mosques in France and elsewhere in Europe are frequently raided by police and 'anti-terrorist' squads; it would be a bloody miracle if the synagogues would provide total immunity for the Zionists. It could happen if the synagogues would stick to their religious practice and avoid political involvement, but the Jewish community centres and synagogues in France are used by Zionists as their recruiting grounds. There they collect moneys to build the Wall, and there they mobilise the French Jews to fight for the Jewish state and to support the US intervention in Iraq.

Lisandro Otero may read a revealing article *A Happy Compromise* [1] by the Jewish Canadian philosopher, Professor Michael Neumann, who compares media coverage of attacks on Jewish property and attacks on non-Jews:

"When Jewish homes were spray-painted with slogans, the *Globe and Mail* (March 17th) put the story on about a third of page one, with a photo taking up over half the space above the fold. The story continued on page 8. As a Jew who has found that anti-Semitism is often manipulated for political purposes, I wondered why the story deserved such prominence. When a Pickering Islamic centre was spray-painted with slogans and set on fire - arson is a more serious crime than spray-painting - the story (March 26th) made the bottom of page 12. It got little more space than the page 8 continuation of the March 17th anti-Semitism story".

Neumann concluded: the reports on hate crimes against Jews and other ethnic groups imply that the Jews are important, the rest are not.

In other words, the hullabaloo of "French anti-Semitism" is made with mirrors, with the magnifying and distorting mirrors of the heavily Jewish media. Nothing new about that: a hundred years ago, amidst a storm of "Russian anti-Semitism" reports, a Russian writer Alexander Kuprin, a friend of Jews, wrote in a letter [2] to his fellow-writer:

"A ten-thousand-strong native tribe in the Far North cut their own throats for their deer died. Peasants of Samara eat earth out of starvation. Poland has been devoured, charming Crimea turned into a whorehouse, the ancient agriculture of Central Asia ruthlessly devastated, but amid this ocean of evil, injustice, violence and sorrow we, the Russian writers, scream about limitations imposed on Jewish dentists".

Lisandro Otero ventures to sum up two thousand years of Jewish-Christian relations according to the Zionist gospel:

"With accent of Christianity, Emperor Constantine prohibited Judaic practices under penalty of death. Justinian prohibited the construction of synagogues. The triumph of Christianity in Europe institutionalised the racial segregation of the Jews".

Be reasonable, Lisandro! The Church squashed in blood Albigensian and Arian heresies, destroyed Druids and other non-Christian cults in Europe, baptised Slavs and Balts by fire and sword; do you think it wouldn't have been able to eliminate the Jews if it would wish so? The concept of "racial segregation" was totally foreign to Christianity, and many Jewish converts became bishops and saints of the Church, from Torquemada to St John of God.

On the other hand, racial segregation is a precept of Jewish faith, which forbids its adepts to mingle with non-Jews. We see it in the Jewish state, where non-Jews are walled up beyond Sharon's Wall and intermarriage is not permitted.

The Zionist idea of "endless persecutions of Jews" was invented in order to subdue the descendents of the medieval Jewish caste and to mobilise them for the goals of the Jewish elites. It caused paranoid tendencies among Jews. If you are a friend of Jews, do not encourage this paranoia. Anti-Semitism does not exist, Lisandro. The Jews are safe everywhere, as safe as anybody else on this unsafe planet; as safe as you are in blockaded Cuba, much more safe than Palestinians in Palestine, Iraqis in Iraq and Arabs in the US or France.

The Jewish fate does not worry me, for it is safe. Cuba's future worries me much more. Your letter is a scary sign of the Cuban intelligentsia's readiness to submit to the New World Order. I saw this in Gorbachov's USSR, where the dismantling of socialism began with talk about "anti-Semitism". Promoters of this paradigm had built relations with Israel, with the Jewish establishment in the US, and eventually brought Yeltsin to power. Western journalists based in Moscow had barraged their readers with reports of "growing anti-Semitism" and of forthcoming pogroms. The Soviets could not even understand the accusation, for the USSR never knew racism of any sort. But the Soviet Jews were scared by the baseless but constantly repeated reports. Over a million of them formed beeline in front of the Israeli embassy; now they build the wall to imprison the children of Bethany. Their flight facilitated the collapse of the Soviet Union, and gave the national wealth of the Soviet people to the gang of predominantly Jewish Mafiosi in full liaison with their American kin and kith.

The same phenomenon was observed in other East European socialist countries. A Mossad agent of influence, media lord Robert Maxwell, supported their cultural elites. At first, they talked about anti-Semitism, then about the holocaust; in the end their privatised national assets were bought by George Soros, Marc Rich and Vladimir Gusinsky, while their soldiers were sent to kill Iraqis in Faluja.

Anti-Semitism talk is not about Jews at all: it is the dominant ideology of Pax Americana. A Cuban who speaks about anti-Semitism paves the road for the triumphal return of Meyer Lansky's heirs to his island. You, Lisandro, left Cuba for a while as a political émigré and later came back, for you understood the misleading sophistry of Western media campaigns and said: "from afar, one sees better how things really are: the small things are small, and the big ones are big".

Have you changed your mind again? Do you wish your country to become another Haiti or Guatemala, a floating bordello off the shores of Miami? Visit the former Soviet republics, and you will find the end of the road that begins with talk of anti-Semitism. Even if you do not care much for the fate of workers and peasants and care only about intellectuals, you will learn that in these impoverished countries, writers and filmmakers can't survive unless they obtain a grant from the Soros Corporation.

Life of intellectuals in the socialist states is much better than that of their brethren in the "privatised" Third World. A good hairdresser, masseur, car repair mechanic or indeed a whore may look forward with hope towards post-Castro Cuba. For a writer, scientist, thinker there is no hope – in the Pax Americana, you will queue for American visa or sell bootlegged cigars. Instead of being called a dissident you will be called "a terrorist". Your misplaced concern for the Meyer Lansky and Mort Zuckerman, Bernard-Henri Levy and the Cuban Zionist Jacobo Machover, for friends of Ariel Sharon and Shimon Peres will bring a new Batista to your island, unless stopped by some latter-day Barbudos.

The time will come, rather sooner than later, when the American Empire will be defeated and dismantled, and with it, the paranoid talk of anti-Semitism will be gone for good. Then the descendents of Jews will live in peace and harmony with descendents of Spanish hidalgo, American rednecks and Palestinian fellahin. Your task, and the task of the Cuban intelligentsia is to bring the good ship of independent socialist Cuba into the safe harbour of future. For this purpose steer clear of Zionist rocks.

[1] <http://www.counterpunch.org/neumann04152004.html>

[2] <http://www.pyckie.com/word/kuprin.htm>

<<http://www.israelshamir.net/shamirImages/Shamir/Lisandro.htm>>

See the complete exchange between Shamir and Lisandro Otero in the June 04 issue of *El Paso del Ébro*, n. 4, in Spanish, of course: <<http://uhuru.ds4a.com>>

## MAYBE ABOUT JEWS

In Berlin, the high and mighty including U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, German President Johannes Rau and Israel's president, Moshe Katsav gathered for a Conference of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) dedicated to the struggle against anti-Semitism. They proclaimed that "the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is serving as a cover for worldwide anti-Semitic sentiment" as Haaretz reported today. I was not invited to this gathering, but if I were, I would present them with the following talk.

## Children of a Lesser God

By Israel Shamir

Your Excellencies, this conference is indeed an extremely important, historic event, to be compared with Constantine's Edict of Milan or with crucial Councils of the Church. I am not sure that all of you fully understand what you did, what is the meaning of the code-words "Struggle against antisemitism". Let us say first what it is NOT. "Struggle against antisemitism" is not defencing of a small persecuted nation; if it would, you were to defend the besieged Palestinians. It is not struggle against racism, for you defend racist apartheid in Palestine. It is not struggle against anti-Jewish discrimination, for there is none, and from Moscow to Paris to New York Jews occupy the very pinnacle of power. It is not defence of Jewish life, for the only Jew wounded in Europe cut himself with his kitchen knife while trying to incriminate a Muslim. It is not defence of Jewish property, for Jews are the only people on earth who regained every piece of property their ancestors ever owned from Berlin to Baghdad. It has nothing to do with long-dead historic antisemitism, anti-Jewish racial theory, for there are Semites and descendants of Jews on both sides of the battle.

"Struggle against antisemitism" is a theological concept, related to the centuries-old question: "Are all people equal, equally important and equally close to God; or are the Jews a cut above, while the rest are children of a lesser God?" The first proposition was affirmed by St Paul, the second was the banner of Caiaphas. Today you gave your answer to the question, and, like Pontius Pilate in his time, you preferred Caiaphas. Today you proclaimed that the Judaic ideas and values are the foundation stone of the New World Order you are committed to uphold.

It does not matter that the Palestinians are being immured alive behind the 25-foot concrete wall; that the olive groves are erased and wells demolished; what is important that "Israel or its leaders should not be demonized or villainized" in words of your colleague Colin Powell. It is not a question of policy anymore, but of theology, for belief in Jewish superiority is the official faith of Pax Americana, like Christianity was that of the Roman Empire in the days of Constantine the Great. To stress the point, you forbade using Nazi symbols in conjecture with Israeli policies, but allowed superimposing Swastika of Hitler onto the Cross of Christ.

Probably you consider yourselves 'realists and pragmatists' who care little for this religious mumbo-jumbo. If you were realists and pragmatists, you would consider what this acceptance of Jewish superiority means for YOU, if you do not care for Palestinians or Iraqis. I open the *Jerusalem Post* of 22.04.04, and read the words of your new superiors:

"My problem is not only with Germany. It is with everything German, anywhere. I neither argue nor get upset. I have simply wiped Germany and its people off my globe", - writes Matti Golan, the former editor-in-chief of the leading Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* and of the *Globes*, the paper for the Jewish economic elites. Matti Golan is not a firebrand; he is not one of Jewish religious fanatics who deny *goyim* even descent from Adam. Indeed, I could fill hundreds of pages with similar - and worse - quotes from Khabbad books or Cabbala wizards. But Golan is not a Cabbalist and extremist but one of the sane, non-religious mainstream influential Jewish intellectuals. When this article was discussed on <IsraelForum.com> in the internet, a typical Jewish response was this: "Matti Golan is a prominent journalist and columnist. He represents ideas held by the vast majority of Israeli Jews in this subject. My opinion included." If I were a German, I would have second thoughts

before providing Matti Golan's country with nuclear-capable submarines lest he will "simply wipe Germany and its people off our globe".

In my view, Golan sounded a call for racist hatred and genocide. You could discuss it; but you would rather condemn Mahathir, or a peace activist who fights for equality in Palestine. Your colleague German President Johannes Rau said: "Everyone knows that massive anti-Semitism is behind criticism of the Israeli government's politics over the last decades". He said it a week after a four-year-old Asma suffocated of Israeli tear gas inside her room in Gaza on 23.04.04, a year after Rachel Corrie was crushed by Israeli bulldozer. Thus, whoever says 'antisemitism' agrees with murder of Asma and Rachel.

You cause contempt, and it is dangerous for you. In a mass-circulation Israeli daily Maariv (24.04.04), Dan Margalit, a superstar of Israeli journalism, writes of the man who tried to warn you of the grave danger of Israeli nuclear potential:

"Vanunu posed himself as suffering Mel Gibson, a new Jesus, who suffers in jail for his conversion to Christianity. I must admit he was discriminated on the religious grounds, but positively discriminated. Vanunu remained alive for his treason, spying and baptism notwithstanding, Israel treated him as a Jew. Everyone knows what the Israeli Mossad would do to him if he were a German nuclear technician on a service of an Arab state - The names of those sorts are carved on gravestones in the cemeteries of Europe." (Do not look for this sentence on the Maariv English-language website: it is sanitised.)

Its message is clear: blood of a goy, especially of a German goy, is of less value than blood of a Jew. And you brought it upon yourselves.

Israel boasted that her assassins murdered German technicians and scientists – but Germany never complained. A brave and noble American Jew, **John Sack**, published a book on Jewish atrocities committed against innocent ethnic Germans in late 1940s – but Germany did not investigate the grave accusations, did not demand the trial of the criminals; even the book of Sack was not published in Germany. [*The book was in fact published. ed.*] Jews admitted mass poisoning of German POWs and an attempt to murder millions of German civilians – Germany did not investigate it, but transferred more money and military hardware to Israel.

You accepted your second-class status of children of lesser god. Not today – when you elevated Auschwitz and disdained the fiery holocaust of Dresden. When you bewept deportations of Jews and ignored deportations of ethnic Germans by Zionist-ridden governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia. When you pushed for disarmament of Iraq and supplied nuclear equipment to Dimona. When you locked up and extradited Palestinian fighters and did not demand extradition of an Israeli citizen Solomon Morel who tortured and killed thousands of Germans. When you tried publishers of Norman Finkelstein's Holocaust Industry and allowed agents of ADL to march streets of Berlin with Israeli flags and portraits of Bomber Harris. You agreed that your blood is cheap. Do not be surprised if it will flow after the supply of Palestinians will dry up.

Personally, I am rather grateful for what you did. Until now, the struggle for equality in Palestine was hindered by well-meaning women and men who did not question the Jewish supremacy in Europe and the US but were horrified by the genocide of Palestinians. While fighting against the Wall, or against devastation of Gaza, they were worried by accusation of 'antisemitism'. They thought the argument against Israeli apartheid is legitimate in the New World Order. Now you have removed this obstacle by proving that whatever happens in Palestine is not a local aberration but the foundation stone of Pax Americana.

Let them both fall together: the local and the global scheme of Judaic supremacy, so Jews and Gentiles will be able once again live like equals in Palestine and elsewhere.

FALLUJA

## Lessons from a strategic defeat

The Americans submitted to the insistence of the representatives of the city and the tribal leaders to appoint al-Jannabi, just as they submitted to other demands placed upon them in an effort to extricate themselves from al-Fallujah. They were compelled to accept the refusal of al-Fallujah to hand over those who killed and mangled the bodies of four US

mercenaries, and they had to accept al-Fallujah's refusal also to turn over those members of the puppet police force who had gone over to the side of the Resistance.

<<http://www.freearabvoice.org/Iraq/Report/report86.htm>>

A CAREER MASS KILLER

## **John Negroponte's Iraq Nomination Being Rushed Through Senate Committee**

Career diplomat John Negroponte has been nominated by President Bush to be U.S. Ambassador to Iraq. He would head the largest U.S. embassy after what is now admitted to be "limited sovereignty" is turned over to Iraq on June 30. Negroponte's record makes him **uniquely unqualified** for this important posting.

\*Negroponte was political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Vietnam from 1964-1968, the height of the war, and during a period of extrajudicial executions and gross human rights abuses, including massacres by the infamous "Tiger Force" of the Army's 101st Airborne Division.

\*Negroponte was ambassador to Honduras from 1981-1985 during which he oversaw a ten-fold increase in staff and an embassy that housed one of the largest CIA deployments in all of Latin America. He lied to Congress about his knowledge of the infamous Battalion 316 death squad, and managed illegal aid to the Contras fighting the Nicaraguan government in direct contravention of Congress' ban.

\*Negroponte was ambassador to Mexico 1989-1993 where he shepherded the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to its conclusion. NAFTA has caused one million Mexican farmers to lose their land and livelihoods and undermined labor and environmental protections in Mexico, the U.S., and Canada.

\*Negroponte has served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations since September 2001 during the run-up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq. He is guilty of lying to the UN about justifications for the war and successfully pressured Mexico and Chile to fire their UN ambassadors after they clashed with him over the war.

For a good background piece just released by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, visit:  
<[http://www.coha.org/NEW\\_PRESS\\_RELEASES/New\\_Press\\_Releases\\_2004/04.20\\_Negroponte.htm](http://www.coha.org/NEW_PRESS_RELEASES/New_Press_Releases_2004/04.20_Negroponte.htm)>  
As additional background, here is a personal account, written in July 2001 by Sr. Laetitia Bordes, s.h.:

## **New Ripples in an Evil Story**

John D. Negroponte, President Bush's nominee as the next ambassador to the United Nations? My ears perked up. I turned up the volume on the radio. I began listening more attentively. Yes, I had heard correctly. Bush was nominating Negroponte, the man who gave the CIA backed Honduran death squads open field when he was ambassador to Honduras from 1981 to 1985. My mind went back to May 1982 and I saw myself facing Negroponte in his office at the U.S. Embassy in Tegucigalpa. I had gone to Honduras on a fact-finding delegation. We were looking for answers. Thirty-two women had fled the death squads of El Salvador after the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980 to take refuge in Honduras. One of them had been Romero's secretary. Some months after their arrival, these women were forcibly taken from their living quarters in Tegucigalpa, pushed into a van and disappeared. Our delegation was in Honduras to find out what had happened to these women.

John Negroponte listened to us as we exposed the facts. There had been eyewitnesses to the capture and we were well read on the documentation that previous delegations had gathered. Negroponte denied any knowledge of the whereabouts of these women. He insisted that the U.S. Embassy did not interfere in the affairs of the Honduran government and it

would be to our advantage to discuss the matter with the latter. Facts, however, reveal quite the contrary. During Negroponte's tenure, U.S. military aid to Honduras grew from \$4 million to \$77.4 million; the U.S. launched a covert war against Nicaragua and mined its harbors, and the U.S. trained Honduran military to support the Contras.

John Negroponte worked closely with General Alvarez, Chief of the Armed Forces in Honduras, to enable the training of Honduran soldiers in psychological warfare, sabotage, and many types of human rights violations, including torture and kidnapping. Honduran and Salvadoran military were sent to the School of the Americas to receive training in counter-insurgency directed against people of their own country. The CIA created the infamous Honduran Intelligence Battalion 3-16 that was responsible for the murder of many Sandinistas. General Luis Alonso Discua Elvir, a graduate of the School of the Americas, was a founder and commander of Battalion 3-16. In 1982, the U.S. negotiated access to airfields in Honduras and established a regional military training center for Central American forces, principally directed at improving fighting forces of the Salvadoran military.

In 1994, the Honduran Rights Commission outlined the torture and disappearance of at least 184 political opponents.

It also specifically accused John Negroponte of a number of human rights violations. Yet, back in his office that day in 1982, John Negroponte assured us that he had no idea what had happened to the women we were looking for. I had to wait 13 years to find out. In an interview with the *Baltimore Sun* in 1996 Jack Binns, Negroponte's predecessor as U.S. ambassador in Honduras, told how a group of Salvadorans, among whom were the women we had been looking for, were captured on April 22, 1981 and savagely tortured by the DNI, the Honduran Secret Police, before being placed in helicopters of the Salvadoran military. After take off from the airport in Tegucigalpa, the victims were thrown out of the helicopters. Binns told the *Baltimore Sun* that the North American authorities were well aware of what had happened and that it was a grave violation of human rights. But it was seen as part of Ronald Reagan's counterinsurgency policy.

Now in 2001, I'm seeing new ripples in this story.

Since President Bush made it known that he intended to nominate John Negroponte, other people have suddenly been "disappearing", so to speak. In an article published in the *Los Angeles Times* on March 25 Maggie Farley and Norman Kempster reported on the sudden deportation of several former Honduran death squad members from the United States. These men could have provided shattering testimony against Negroponte in the forthcoming Senate hearings. One of these recent deportees just happens to be General Luis Alonso Discua, founder of Battalion 3-16. In February, Washington revoked the visa of Discua who was Deputy Ambassador to the UN. Since then, Discua has gone public with details of U.S. support of Battalion 3-16.

Given the history of John Negroponte in Central America, it is indeed horrifying to think that he should be chosen to represent our country at the United Nations, an organization founded to ensure that the human rights of all people receive the highest respect. How many of our Senators, I wonder, let alone the U.S. public, know who John Negroponte really is?

Email circulated by A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition, Act Now to Stop War & End Racism  
<<http://www.internationalanswer.org/>>

## IRAKI RESISTANCE

*We were till now unaware of the existence of this interview, which, with a vantage point of view on the last months, gives an interesting view by a man presented as the coordinator of the résistance in the so-called Sunni Triangle :*

### **Turkish Weekly Interviews 'Resistance Commander' on Situation in Iraq**

Istanbul, Turkey: *Aydinlik* in Turkish 26 Oct 03 pp 4, 5 [Interview With Abdulrezzak Al-Hashemi, so-called "guerilla commander", who is said to be coordinating resistance in an

area known as the Sunnite Triangle in Iraq, by **Teoman Alili** on 19 October via satellite phone; the interview is entitled:

## **"We Interviewed Hashemi, Saddam's Resistance Commander"**

--all ellipses as published

by **Teoman Alili**

I called Adel Subahi, former Undersecretary of the Iraqi Foreign Ministry, who was in Istanbul at the invitation of the Turkish-Iraqi Friendship Association, by satellite phone on 14 October. I told him that we wanted to interview the commander of one of the Iraqi guerilla organizations. Subahi responded that Abdulrezzak Al-Hashemi, whom we had met in the meeting held in Istanbul, was actually a guerilla commander responsible for the area known as the Sunnite Triangle. He hung up after promising that he would make efforts in order to arrange a meeting with him. In the meantime, we sent the text of an interview we had conducted with some American soldiers, who had gone AWOL, to the Iraqi resistance fighters. The interview with the US troops was published in *Aydinlik*.

Al-Hashemi, a former Iraqi minister and adviser to Saddam Husayn, called us by mobile phone on 17 October and informed us that he would speak to us through his satellite phone on 19 October. He actually called *Aydinlik* by his satellite phone on the said day. Some parts of the interview with Hashemi were interrupted because the line was occasionally disconnected. Hashemi, the commander of the area known as the Sunnite Triangle in Iraq and defended by guerillas loyal to Saddam Husayn, made the following remarks during the interview:

[Alili] Hello Mr. Hashemi. We wanted to speak with you, because an interview *Aydinlik* conducted with a US soldier, who had deserted from his unit, reflected the desperate situation of the invaders. Mr. Zubahi said that you were responsible for coordination of the guerilla organizations. Which area has been placed under your command?

[Hashemi] You are the fat boy, who spent three days with us in Istanbul, are not you?

[Alili] Yes sir.

[Hashemi] I am now coordinating the resistance groups in the region comprising Tikrit, Al-Fallujah and Baghdad [the satellite link was disconnected and it was restored again after a while. The line was frequently disconnected during the conversation]. What we are doing is very clear: we are waging a struggle in order to defend our country. We have a large number of armed men mostly consisting of trained soldiers. Of course, there are civilians among our ranks... [line disconnected]. We are determined to put an end to the unjustifiable attack launched against us. The whole Iraqi nation, who hate the collaborators, have joined our resistance... [line disconnected]. We have lost our property as a result of plundering. There is chaos and in fact nobody is actually the owner of any property. The Sunnites in Salah Al-Din, Ad Tamim, Baghdad, Baghdad, Al-Ambar and Diyala, the Shiites in Maysan and Najaf and the Sunnites and Sh....[line disconnected] in Vasit and Karbala.

[Alili] We cannot hear you.

[Hashemi] I can hear you. The Americans go to great pains to conceal their casualties. As far as I know, more than 1,000 soldiers have died in Iraq before and after 1 May. Some of them committed suicide or died in accidents, but 80 percent of those casualties was inflicted by the resistance movement. In a morgue in Kuwait...[his voice was interrupted and we could only heard him saying in English: "one thousand fo... die...," implying that there were more than 1,000 corpses]. It is true that we have financial problems. There is, however, another fact: we are a great nation and we arm ourselves by using our own financial resources. The Martyrdom Commandos...[line disconnected] the public gets more angry after each raid on their homes. Some shady operations have been launched against us, but we successfully resisted them. We have, however, not carried out all those attacks accredited to us. Some of them were actually carried out by the enemy against itself. We have learned that the Amer... [line disconnected]. The expression on their faces change when they see an armed man and open fire at random. They have found themselves in an infernal situation. We are pleased with the support lent to us by Europe. We had already gained that impression in the meeting held in Istanbul. I send my greetings to my friends there, but I am not going to give you their names.

[Alili] Which ethnic groups are putting up resistance?

[Hashemi] In the Mesopotamian culture, ethnicity disappears when people come under an attack. The whole nation is putting up a strong resistance. Some of the Kurdish groups and tribes have joined our resistance movement. There is full cooperation between the Sunnites and the Shiites. This cooperation...[line disconnected]. It will be difficult to break the morale of this nation, who are ready to die. This is very clear. We have sharpshooters, Martyrdom Commandos and bombers...[line disconnected].

[Alili] What is your ultimate goal?

[Hashemi] I could not hear you.

[Alili] What is your ultimate goal?

[Hashemi] The Vietnam syndrome is over. We are now witnessing a civilization syndrome. Rich but uncivilized beasts learn the civilization the hardest way possible. The nature's...[line disconnected]. Mercenaries, who have come to die in a new region, are now being purged thanks to our people's strong determination. The Ba'th Party and all of us, including those who once opposed it, are now fighting for the liberation of our country. We aim to kill at least seven or eight thousand American troops. They must pull out of our country if they do not want to suffer such a high casualty. The more...[line disconnected] They will not be able to do that, because they will feel ashamed.

[Alili] Where is Saddam Husayn? Is he alive?

[Hashemi] You should not expect me to tell you this, especially on phone. The only thing I can tell you is that he is alive. He has made a mistake about his sons. He trusted them to a relative and his sons were eventually denounced to the coalition forces. Our leader, however, is in safe hands. He is doing very exceptional things together with us. There is no difference between liberation of Iraq and Jerusalem.

[Alili] The Turkish National Assembly has passed a motion on sending troops to Iraq. What could happen if Turkish soldiers are eventually deployed in Iraq?

[Hashemi] The War of Liberation...[line disconnected]

## BRUTALITIES

### ICRC REPORT EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In its "Report on the Treatment by the Coalition Forces of Prisoners of War and other protected persons in Iraq", the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) draws the attention of the Coalition Forces (hereafter called "the CF") to a number of serious violations of International Humanitarian Law.

These violations have been documented and sometimes observed while visiting prisoners of war, civilian internees and other protected persons by the Geneva Conventions (hereafter called persons deprived of their liberty when their status is not specifically mentioned) in Iraq between March and November 2003.

During its visits to places of internment of the CF, the ICRC collected allegations during private interviews with persons deprived of their liberty relating to the treatment by the CF of protected persons during their capture, arrest, transfer, internment and interrogation.

The main violations, which are described in the ICRC report and presented confidentially to the CF, induce:

- \* Brutality against protected persons upon capture and initial custody sometimes causing death or serious injury

- \* Absence of notification of arrest of persons deprived of their liberty to their families causing distress among persons deprived of their liberty and their families

- \* Physical or psychological coercion during interrogation to secure information

- \* Prolonged solitary confinement in cells devoid of daylight

- \* Excessive and disproportionate use of force against persons deprived of their liberty resulting in death or injury during their period of internment

Serious problems of conduct by the CF affecting persons deprived of their liberty are also presented in the report:

- \* Seizure and confiscation of private belongings of persons deprived of their liberty
- \* Exposure of persons deprived of their liberty to dangerous tasks
- \* Holding persons deprived of their liberty in dangerous places where they are not

protected from shelling

According to allegations collected by ICRC delegates during private interviews with persons deprived of their liberty, ill-treatment during capture was frequent.

While certain circumstances might require defensive precautions and the use of force on the part of battle group units, the ICRC collected allegations of ill-treatment following capture which took place in Baghdad, Basra, Ramadi and Tikrit, indicating a consistent pattern with respect to times and places of brutal behavior during arrest.

The repetition of such behavior by CF appeared to go beyond the reasonable, legitimate and proportional use of force required to apprehend suspects or restrain persons resisting arrest or capture, and seemed to reflect a usual *modus operandi* by certain CF battle group units.

According to the allegations collected by the ICRC, ill-treatment during interrogation was not systematic, except with regard to persons arrested in connection with suspected security offences or deemed to have an "intelligence" value, in these cases, persons deprived of their liberty under Supervision of the Military Intelligence were at high risk of being subjected to a variety of harsh treatments ranging from.

Insults, threats and humiliations to both physical and psychological coercion, which in some cases was tantamount to torture, in order to force co-operation with their interrogators.

The ICRC also started to document what appeared to be widespread abuse of power and ill-treatment by the Iraqi police which is under the responsibility of the Occupying Powers, including threats to hand over persons in their custody to the CF so as to extort money from them, effective hand over of such persons to the custody of the CF on allegedly fake accusations, or invoking CF orders or instructions to mistreat persons deprived of that liberty during interrogation.

In the case of the "High Value Detainees" held in Baghdad International Airport, their continued internment, several months after their arrest, in strict solitary confinement in cells devoid of sunlight for nearly 23 hours a day constituted a serious violation of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions.

The ICRC was also concerned about the excessive and disproportionate use of force by some detaining authorities against persons deprived of their liberty involved during their internment during periods of unrest or escape attempts that caused death and serious injuries.

The use of firearms against persons deprived of their liberty in circumstances where methods without using firearms could have yielded the same result could amount to a serious violation of International Humanitarian law.

The ICRC reviewed a number of incidents of shootings of persons deprived of their liberty with live bullets, which have resulted in deaths or injuries during periods of unrest related to conditions at internment or escape attempts, Investigations initiated by the CF into these incidents concluded that the use of firearms against persons deprived of their liberty was legitimate.

However, non-lethal measures could have been used to obtain the same results and quell the demonstrations or neutralize persons deprived of their liberty trying to escape.

Since the beginning of the conflict, the ICRC has regularly brought its concerns to the attention of the CF. The observations in the present report are consistent with those made earlier on several occasions orally and in writing to the CF throughout 2003.

In spite of some improvements in the material conditions of internment, allegations of ill-treatment perpetrated by members of the CF against persons deprived of their liberty continued to be collected by the ICRC and thus suggested that the use of ill-treatment against persons deprived of their liberty went beyond exceptional cases and might be considered as a practice tolerated by the CF.

The ICRC report does not aim to be exhaustive with regard to breaches of International Humanitarian Law by the CF in Iraq. Rather, it illustrates priority areas that warrant attention and corrective action on the part of CF, in compliance with their International Humanitarian Law obligations.

Consequently the ICRC asks the authorities of the CF in Iraq;

- to respect at all times the human dignity, physical integrity and cultural sensitivity of the persons deprived of their liberty held under their control
- to set up a system of notifications of arrest to ensure quick and accurate transmission of information to the families of persons deprived of their liberty
- to prevent all forms of ill-treatment, moral or physical coercion of persons deprived of their liberty in relation to interrogation
- to set up an internment regime which ensures the respect of the psychological integrity and human dignity of the persons deprived of their liberty
- to ensure that all persons deprived of their liberty are allowed sufficient time every day outside in the sunlight, and that they are allowed to move and exercise in the outside yard
- to define and apply regulations and sanctions compatible with International Humanitarian Law and to ensure that persons deprived of their liberty are fully informed upon arrival about such regulations and sanctions
- to thoroughly investigate violations of International Humanitarian Law in order to determine responsibilities and Prosecute those found responsible for violations of International Humanitarian Law
- to ensure that battle group units arresting individuals and staff in charge of internment facilities receive adequate training enabling them to operate in a proper manner and fulfill their responsibilities as arresting authority without resorting to ill-treatment or making excessive use of force.

Full text: Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on the treatment by the Coalition Forces of prisoners of war and other protected persons by the Geneva Conventions in Iraq during arrest, internment and interrogation

February 2004 [As published by Gulf News (Dubai), 14 May 2004]  
<http://cobalt.carebridge.org/>

COPPER GREEN

## The Gray Zone

**How a secret Pentagon program came to Abu Ghraib**

by Seymour M. Hersh

The roots of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal lie not in the criminal inclinations of a few Army reservists but in a decision, approved last year by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, to expand a highly secret operation, which had been focussed on the hunt for Al Qaeda, to the interrogation of prisoners in Iraq. Rumsfeld's decision embittered the American intelligence community, damaged the effectiveness of elite combat units, and hurt America's prospects in the war on terror.

According to interviews with several past and present American intelligence officials, the Pentagon's operation, known inside the intelligence community by several code words, including Copper Green, encouraged physical coercion and sexual humiliation of Iraqi prisoners in an effort to generate more intelligence about the growing insurgency in Iraq. A senior C.I.A. official, in confirming the details of this account last week, said that the operation stemmed from Rumsfeld's long-standing desire to wrest control of America's clandestine and paramilitary operations from the C.I.A.

Rumsfeld, during appearances last week before Congress to testify about Abu Ghraib, was precluded by law from explicitly mentioning highly secret matters in an unclassified session. But he conveyed the message that he was telling the public all that he knew about the story. He said, "Any suggestion that there is not a full, deep awareness of what has happened, and the damage it has done, I think, would be a misunderstanding." The senior

C.I.A. official, asked about Rumsfeld's testimony and that of Stephen Cambone, his Under-Secretary for Intelligence, said, "Some people think you can bullshit anyone."

The Abu Ghraib story began, in a sense, just weeks after the September 11, 2001, attacks, with the American bombing of Afghanistan. Almost from the start, the Administration's search for Al Qaeda members in the war zone, and its worldwide search for terrorists, came up against major command-and-control problems. For example, combat forces that had Al Qaeda targets in sight had to obtain legal clearance before firing on them. On October 7th, the night the bombing began, an unmanned Predator aircraft tracked an automobile convoy that, American intelligence believed, contained Mullah Muhammad Omar, the Taliban leader. **A lawyer on duty at the United States Central Command headquarters, in Tampa, Florida, refused to authorize a strike.** By the time an attack was approved, the target was out of reach. Rumsfeld was apoplectic over what he saw as a self-defeating hesitation to attack that was due to political correctness. One officer described him to me that fall as "kicking a lot of glass and breaking doors." In November, the *Washington Post* reported that, as many as ten times since early October, Air Force pilots believed they'd had senior Al Qaeda and Taliban members in their sights but had been unable to act in time because of legalistic hurdles. There were similar problems throughout the world, as American Special Forces units seeking to move quickly against suspected terrorist cells were compelled to get prior approval from local American ambassadors and brief their superiors in the chain of command.

Rumsfeld reacted in his usual direct fashion: he authorized the establishment of a highly secret program that was given blanket advance approval to kill or capture and, if possible, interrogate "high value" targets in the Bush Administration's war on terror. A special-access program, or sap—subject to the Defense Department's most stringent level of security—was set up, with an office in a secure area of the Pentagon. The program would recruit operatives and acquire the necessary equipment, including aircraft, and would keep its activities under wraps. America's most successful intelligence operations during the Cold War had been saps, including the Navy's submarine penetration of underwater cables used by the Soviet high command and construction of the Air Force's stealth bomber. All the so-called "black" programs had one element in common: the Secretary of Defense, or his deputy, had to conclude that the normal military classification restraints did not provide enough security.

"Rumsfeld's goal was to get a capability in place to take on a high-value target—a standup group to hit quickly," a former high-level intelligence official told me. "He got all the agencies together—the C.I.A. and the N.S.A.—to get pre-approval in place. Just say the code word and go." The operation had across-the-board approval from Rumsfeld and from Condoleezza Rice, the national-security adviser. President Bush was informed of the existence of the program, the former intelligence official said.

The people assigned to the program worked by the book, the former intelligence official told me. They created code words, and recruited, after careful screening, highly trained commandos and operatives from America's elite forces—Navy seals, the Army's Delta Force, and the C.I.A.'s paramilitary experts. They also asked some basic questions: "Do the people working the problem have to use aliases? Yes. Do we need dead drops for the mail? Yes. No traceability and no budget. And some special-access programs are never fully briefed to Congress."

In theory, the operation enabled the Bush Administration to respond immediately to time-sensitive intelligence: commandos crossed borders without visas and could interrogate terrorism suspects deemed too important for transfer to the military's facilities at Guantánamo, Cuba. They carried out instant interrogations—using force if necessary—at secret C.I.A. detention centers scattered around the world. The intelligence would be relayed to the sap command center in the Pentagon in real time, and sifted for those pieces of information critical to the "white," or overt, world.

Fewer than two hundred operatives and officials, including Rumsfeld and General Richard Myers, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, were "completely read into the program," the former intelligence official said. The goal was to keep the operation protected. "We're not going to read more people than necessary into our heart of darkness," he said. "The rules are 'Grab whom you must. Do what you want.'"

One Pentagon official who was deeply involved in the program was Stephen Cambone, who was named Under-Secretary of Defense for Intelligence in March, 2003. The office was new; it was created as part of Rumsfeld's reorganization of the Pentagon. Cambone was

unpopular among military and civilian intelligence bureaucrats in the Pentagon, essentially because he had little experience in running intelligence programs, though in 1998 he had served as staff director for a committee, headed by Rumsfeld, that warned of an emerging ballistic-missile threat to the United States. He was known instead for his closeness to Rumsfeld. "Remember Henry II—'Who will rid me of this meddling priest?'" the senior C.I.A. official said to me, with a laugh, last week. "Whatever Rumsfeld whimsically says, Cambone will do ten times that much."

Cambone was a strong advocate for war against Iraq. He shared Rumsfeld's disdain for the analysis and assessments proffered by the C.I.A., viewing them as too cautious, and chafed, as did Rumsfeld, at the C.I.A.'s inability, before the Iraq war, to state conclusively that Saddam Hussein harbored weapons of mass destruction. Cambone's military assistant, Army Lieutenant General William G. (Jerry) Boykin, was also controversial. Last fall, he generated unwanted headlines after it was reported that, in a speech at an Oregon church, he equated the Muslim world with Satan.

Early in his tenure, Cambone provoked a bureaucratic battle within the Pentagon by insisting that he be given control of all special-access programs that were relevant to the war on terror. Those programs, which had been viewed by many in the Pentagon as sacrosanct, were monitored by Kenneth deGraffenreid, who had experience in counter-intelligence programs. Cambone got control, and deGraffenreid subsequently left the Pentagon. Asked for comment on this story, a Pentagon spokesman said, "I will not discuss any covert programs; however, Dr. Cambone did not assume his position as the Under-Secretary of Defense for Intelligence until March 7, 2003, and had no involvement in the decision-making process regarding interrogation procedures in Iraq or anywhere else."

In mid-2003, the special-access program was regarded in the Pentagon as one of the success stories of the war on terror. "It was an active program, the former intelligence official told me. "It's been the most important capability we have for dealing with an imminent threat. If we discover where Osama bin Laden is, we can get him. And we can remove an existing threat with a real capability to hit the United States—and do so without visibility." Some of its methods were troubling and could not bear close scrutiny, however.

By then, the war in Iraq had begun. The sap was involved in some assignments in Iraq, the former official said. C.I.A. and other American Special Forces operatives secretly teamed up to hunt for Saddam Hussein and—without success—for Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. But they weren't able to stop the evolving insurgency.

In the first months after the fall of Baghdad, Rumsfeld and his aides still had a limited view of the insurgency, seeing it as little more than the work of Baathist "dead-enders," criminal gangs, and foreign terrorists who were Al Qaeda followers. The Administration measured its success in the war by how many of those on its list of the fifty-five most wanted members of the old regime—reproduced on playing cards—had been captured. Then, in August, 2003, terror bombings in Baghdad hit the Jordanian Embassy, killing nineteen people, and the United Nations headquarters, killing twenty-three people, including Sergio Vieira de Mello, the head of the U.N. mission. On August 25th, less than a week after the U.N. bombing, Rumsfeld acknowledged, in a talk before the Veterans of Foreign Wars, that "the dead-enders are still with us." He went on, "There are some today who are surprised that there are still pockets of resistance in Iraq, and they suggest that this represents some sort of failure on the part of the Coalition. But this is not the case." Rumsfeld compared the insurgents with those true believers who "fought on during and after the defeat of the Nazi regime in Germany." A few weeks later—and five months after the fall of Baghdad—the Defense Secretary declared, "It is, in my view, better to be dealing with terrorists in Iraq than in the United States."

Inside the Pentagon, there was a growing realization that the war was going badly. The increasingly beleaguered and baffled Army leadership was telling reporters that the insurgents consisted of five thousand Baathists loyal to Saddam Hussein. "When you understand that they're organized in a cellular structure," General John Abizaid, the head of the Central Command, declared, "that ... they have access to a lot of money and a lot of ammunition, you'll understand how dangerous they are."

The American military and intelligence communities were having **little success in penetrating the insurgency**. One internal report prepared for the U.S. military, made

available to me, concluded that the insurgents'"strategic and operational intelligence has proven to be quite good." According to the study:

Their ability to attack convoys, other vulnerable targets and particular individuals has been the result of painstaking surveillance and reconnaissance. Inside information has been passed on to insurgent cells about convoy/troop movements and daily habits of Iraqis working with coalition from within the Iraqi security services, primarily the **Iraqi Police force which is rife with sympathy for the insurgents**, Iraqi ministries and from within pro-insurgent individuals working with the CPA's so-called Green Zone.

The study concluded, "Politically, the U.S. has failed to date. Insurgencies can be fixed or ameliorated by dealing with what caused them in the first place. The disaster that is the reconstruction of Iraq has been the key cause of the insurgency. There is no legitimate government, and it behooves the Coalition Provisional Authority to absorb the sad but unvarnished fact that most Iraqis do not see the Governing Council"—the Iraqi body appointed by the C.P.A.—"as the legitimate authority. Indeed, they know that the true power is the CPA."

**By the fall**, a military analyst told me, **the extent of the Pentagon's political and military misjudgments was clear**. Donald Rumsfeld's "dead-enders" now included not only Baathists but many marginal figures as well—thugs and criminals who were among the tens of thousands of prisoners freed the previous fall by Saddam as part of a prewar general amnesty. Their desperation was not driving the insurgency; it simply made them easy recruits for those who were. The analyst said, "We'd killed and captured guys who had been given two or three hundred dollars to 'pray and spray'"—that is, shoot randomly and hope for the best. "They weren't really insurgents but down-and-outers who were paid by wealthy individuals sympathetic to the insurgency." In many cases, the paymasters were Sunnis who had been members of the Baath Party. The analyst said that the insurgents "spent three or four months figuring out how we operated and developing their own countermeasures. If that meant putting up a hapless guy to go and attack a convoy and see how the American troops responded, they'd do it." Then, the analyst said, "the clever ones began to get in on the action."

By contrast, according to the military report, the American and **Coalition forces knew little about the insurgency**: "Human intelligence is poor or lacking ... due to the dearth of competence and expertise... The intelligence effort is not coordinated since either too many groups are involved in gathering intelligence or the final product does not get to the troops in the field in a timely manner." The success of the war was at risk; something had to be done to change the dynamic.

The solution, endorsed by Rumsfeld and carried out by Stephen Cambone, was to get tough with those Iraqis in the Army prison system who were suspected of being insurgents. A key player was Major General Geoffrey Miller, the commander of the detention and interrogation center at Guantánamo, who had been summoned to Baghdad in late August to review prison interrogation procedures. The internal Army report on the abuse charges, written by Major General Antonio Taguba in February, revealed that Miller urged that the commanders in Baghdad change policy and place military intelligence in charge of the prison. The report quoted Miller as recommending that "detention operations must act as an enabler for interrogation."

Miller's concept, as it emerged in recent Senate hearings, was to "Gitmoize" the prison system in Iraq—to make it more focussed on interrogation. He also briefed military commanders in Iraq on the interrogation methods used in Cuba—methods that could, with special approval, include sleep deprivation, exposure to extremes of cold and heat, and placing prisoners in "stress positions" for agonizing lengths of time. (The Bush Administration had unilaterally declared Al Qaeda and other captured members of international terrorist networks to be illegal combatants, and not eligible for the protection of the Geneva Conventions.)

Rumsfeld and Cambone went a step further, however: they expanded the scope of the sap, bringing its unconventional methods to Abu Ghraib. The commandos were to operate in Iraq as they had in Afghanistan. The male prisoners could be treated roughly, and exposed to sexual humiliation.

"They weren't getting anything substantive from the detainees in Iraq," the former intelligence official told me. **"No names. Nothing that they could hang their hat on.** Cambone says, I've got to crack this thing and I'm tired of working through the normal chain of command. I've got this apparatus set up—the black special-access program—and **I'm going in hot.** So he pulls the switch, and the electricity begins flowing last summer. And it's working. We're getting a picture of the insurgency in Iraq and the intelligence is flowing into the white world. We're getting good stuff. But we've got more targets"—prisoners in Iraqi jails—"than people who can handle them."

Cambone then made another crucial decision, the former intelligence official told me: not only would he bring the sap's rules into the prisons; he would bring some of the Army military-intelligence officers working inside the Iraqi prisons under the sap's auspices. "So here are fundamentally good soldiers—military-intelligence guys—being told that no rules apply," the former official, who has extensive knowledge of the special-access programs, added. "And, as far as they're concerned, this is a covert operation, and it's to be kept within Defense Department channels."

The military-police prison guards, the former official said, included "recycled hillbillies from Cumberland, Maryland." He was referring to members of the 372nd Military Police Company. Seven members of the company are now facing charges for their role in the abuse at Abu Ghraib. "How are these guys from Cumberland going to know anything? The Army Reserve doesn't know what it's doing."

Who was in charge of Abu Ghraib—whether military police or military intelligence—was no longer the only question that mattered. Hard-core special operatives, some of them with aliases, were working in the prison. The military police assigned to guard the prisoners wore uniforms, but many others—military intelligence officers, contract interpreters, C.I.A. officers, and the men from the special-access program—wore civilian clothes. It was not clear who was who, even to Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, then the commander of the 800th Military Police Brigade, and the officer ostensibly in charge. "I thought most of the civilians there were interpreters, but there were some civilians that I didn't know," Karpinski told me. "I called them the disappearing ghosts. I'd seen them once in a while at Abu Ghraib and then I'd see them months later. They were nice—they'd always call out to me and say, 'Hey, remember me? How are you doing?'" The mysterious civilians, she said, were "always bringing in somebody for interrogation or waiting to collect somebody going out." Karpinski added that she had no idea who was operating in her prison system. (General Taguba found that Karpinski's leadership failures contributed to the abuses.)

By fall, according to the former intelligence official, the senior leadership of the C.I.A. had had enough. "They said, 'No way. We signed up for the core program in Afghanistan—pre-approved for operations against high-value terrorist targets—and now you want to use it for cabdrivers, brothers-in-law, and people pulled off the streets'"—the sort of prisoners who populate the Iraqi jails. "The C.I.A.'s legal people objected," and the agency ended its sap involvement in Abu Ghraib, the former official said.

The C.I.A.'s complaints were echoed throughout the intelligence community. There was fear that the situation at Abu Ghraib would lead to the exposure of the secret sap, and thereby bring an end to what had been, before Iraq, a valuable cover operation. "This was stupidity," a government consultant told me. "You're taking a program that was operating in the chaos of Afghanistan against Al Qaeda, a stateless terror group, and bringing it into a structured, traditional war zone. Sooner or later, the commandos would bump into the legal and moral procedures of a conventional war with an Army of a hundred and thirty-five thousand soldiers."

The former senior intelligence official blamed hubris for the Abu Ghraib disaster. "There's nothing more exhilarating for a pissant Pentagon civilian than dealing with an important national security issue without dealing with military planners, who are always worried about risk," he told me. "What could be more boring than needing the cooperation of logistical planners?" The only difficulty, the former official added, is that, "as soon as you enlarge the secret program beyond the oversight capability of experienced people, you lose control. We've never had a case where a special-access program went sour—and this goes back to the Cold War."

In a separate interview, a Pentagon consultant, who spent much of his career directly involved with special-access programs, spread the blame. "The White House subcontracted

this to the Pentagon, and the Pentagon subcontracted it to Cambone," he said. "This is Cambone's deal, but Rumsfeld and Myers approved the program." When it came to the interrogation operation at Abu Ghraib, he said, Rumsfeld left the details to Cambone. Rumsfeld may not be personally culpable, the consultant added, "but he's responsible for the checks and balances. The issue is that, since 9/11, we've changed the rules on how we deal with terrorism, and created conditions where the ends justify the means."

Last week, statements made by one of the seven accused M.P.s, Specialist Jeremy Sivits, who is expected to plead guilty, were released. In them, he claimed that senior commanders in his unit would have stopped the abuse had they witnessed it. One of the questions that will be explored at any trial, however, is why a group of Army Reserve military policemen, most of them from small towns, tormented their prisoners as they did, in a manner that was especially humiliating for Iraqi men.

The notion that Arabs are particularly vulnerable to sexual humiliation became a talking point among pro-war Washington conservatives in the months before the March, 2003, invasion of Iraq. One book that was frequently cited was *The Arab Mind*, a study of Arab culture and psychology, first published in 1973, by Raphael Patai, a cultural anthropologist who taught at, among other universities, Columbia and Princeton, and who died in 1996. The book includes a twenty-five-page chapter on Arabs and sex, depicting sex as a taboo vested with shame and repression. "The segregation of the sexes, the veiling of the women ... and all the other minute rules that govern and restrict contact between men and women, have the effect of making sex a prime mental preoccupation in the Arab world," Patai wrote. Homosexual activity, "or any indication of homosexual leanings, as with all other expressions of sexuality, is never given any publicity. These are private affairs and remain in private." The Patai book, an academic told me, was "the bible of the neocons on Arab behavior." In their discussions, he said, two themes emerged—"one, that Arabs only understand force and, two, that the biggest weakness of Arabs is shame and humiliation."

The government consultant said that there may have been a serious goal, in the beginning, behind the sexual humiliation and the posed photographs. It was thought that some prisoners would do anything—including spying on their associates—to avoid dissemination of the shameful photos to family and friends. The government consultant said, "I was told that the purpose of the photographs was to create an army of informants, people you could insert back in the population." The idea was that they would be motivated by fear of exposure, and gather information about pending insurgency action, the consultant said. If so, it wasn't effective; the insurgency continued to grow.

"This shit has been brewing for months," the Pentagon consultant who has dealt with saps told me. "You don't keep prisoners naked in their cell and then let them get bitten by dogs. This is sick." The consultant explained that he and his colleagues, all of whom had served for years on active duty in the military, had been appalled by the misuse of Army guard dogs inside Abu Ghraib. "We don't raise kids to do things like that. When you go after Mullah Omar, that's one thing. But when you give the authority to kids who don't know the rules, that's another."

In 2003, Rumsfeld's apparent disregard for the requirements of the Geneva Conventions while carrying out the war on terror had led a group of senior military legal officers from the Judge Advocate General's (jag) Corps to pay two surprise visits within five months to Scott Horton, who was then chairman of the New York City Bar Association's Committee on International Human Rights. "They wanted us to challenge the Bush Administration about its standards for detentions and interrogation," Horton told me. "They were urging us to get involved and speak in a very loud voice. It came pretty much out of the blue. The message was that conditions are ripe for abuse, and it's going to occur." The military officials were most alarmed about the growing use of civilian contractors in the interrogation process, Horton recalled. "They said there was an atmosphere of legal ambiguity being created as a result of a policy decision at the highest levels in the Pentagon. The jag officers were being cut out of the policy formulation process." They told him that, with the war on terror, a fifty-year history of exemplary application of the Geneva Conventions had come to an end. **[Of course, this "exemplary application" is a myth, that was contradicted by Vietnam and other military adventures, Panama, and so on. ]**

The abuses at Abu Ghraib were exposed on January 13th, when Joseph Darby, a young military policeman assigned to Abu Ghraib, reported the wrongdoing to the Army's Criminal

Investigations Division. He also turned over a CD full of photographs. Within three days, a report made its way to Donald Rumsfeld, who informed President Bush.

The inquiry presented a dilemma for the Pentagon. The C.I.D. had to be allowed to continue, the former intelligence official said. "You can't cover it up. You have to prosecute these guys for being off the reservation. But how do you prosecute them when they were covered by the special-access program? So you hope that maybe it'll go away." The Pentagon's attitude last January, he said, was "Somebody got caught with some photos. What's the big deal? Take care of it." Rumsfeld's explanation to the White House, the official added, was reassuring: "'We've got a glitch in the program. We'll prosecute it.' The cover story was that some kids got out of control."

In their testimony before Congress last week, Rumsfeld and Cambone struggled to convince the legislators that Miller's visit to Baghdad in late August had nothing to do with the subsequent abuse. Cambone sought to assure the Senate Armed Services Committee that the interplay between Miller and Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez, the top U.S. commander in Iraq, had only a casual connection to his office. Miller's recommendations, Cambone said, were made to Sanchez. His own role, he said, was mainly to insure that the "flow of intelligence back to the commands" was "efficient and effective." He added that Miller's goal was "to provide a safe, secure and humane environment that supports the expeditious collection of intelligence."

It was a hard sell. Senator Hillary Clinton, Democrat of New York, posed the essential question facing the senators:

If, indeed, General Miller was sent from Guantánamo to Iraq for the purpose of acquiring more actionable intelligence from detainees, then it is fair to conclude that the actions that are at point here in your report [on abuses at Abu Ghraib] are in some way connected to General Miller's arrival and his specific orders, however they were interpreted, by those MPs and the military intelligence that were involved....Therefore, I for one don't believe I yet have adequate information from Mr. Cambone and the Defense Department as to exactly what General Miller's orders were ... how he carried out those orders, and the connection between his arrival in the fall of '03 and the intensity of the abuses that occurred afterward.

Sometime before the Abu Ghraib abuses became public, the former intelligence official told me, Miller was "read in"—that is, briefed—on the special-access operation. In April, Miller returned to Baghdad to assume control of the Iraqi prisons; once the scandal hit, with its glaring headlines, General Sanchez presented him to the American and international media as the general who would clean up the Iraqi prison system and instill respect for the Geneva Conventions. "His job is to save what he can," the former official said. "He's there to protect the program while limiting any loss of core capability." As for Antonio Taguba, the former intelligence official added, "He goes into it not knowing shit. And then: 'Holy cow! What's going on?'"

If General Miller had been summoned by Congress to testify, he, like Rumsfeld and Cambone, would not have been able to mention the special-access program. **"If you give away the fact that a special-access program exists," the former intelligence official told me, "you blow the whole quick-reaction program."**

One puzzling aspect of Rumsfeld's account of his initial reaction to news of the Abu Ghraib investigation was his lack of alarm and lack of curiosity. One factor may have been recent history: there had been many previous complaints of prisoner abuse from organization like Human Rights Watch and the International Red Cross, and the Pentagon had weathered them with ease. Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee that he had not been provided with details of alleged abuses until late March, when he read the specific charges. "You read it, as I say, it's one thing. You see these photographs and it's just unbelievable... It wasn't three-dimensional. It wasn't video. It wasn't color. It was quite a different thing." The former intelligence official said that, in his view, Rumsfeld and other senior Pentagon officials had not studied the photographs because "they thought what was in there was permitted under the rules of engagement," as applied to the sap. "The photos," he added, "turned out to be the result of the program run amok."

The former intelligence official made it clear that he was not alleging that Rumsfeld or General Myers knew that atrocities were committed. But, he said, "it was their permission granted to do the sap, generically, and there was enough ambiguity, which permitted the abuses."

This official went on, "The black guys"—those in the Pentagon's secret program—"say we've got to accept the prosecution. They're vaccinated from the reality." The sap is still active, and "the United States is picking up guys for interrogation. The question is, how do they protect the quick-reaction force without blowing its cover?" The program was protected by the fact that no one on the outside was allowed to know of its existence. "If you even give a hint that you're aware of a black program that you're not read into, you lose your clearances," the former official said. "Nobody will talk. So the only people left to prosecute are those who are undefended—the poor kids at the end of the food chain."

The most vulnerable senior official is Cambone. "The Pentagon is trying now to protect Cambone, and doesn't know how to do it," the former intelligence official said.

Last week, the government consultant, who has close ties to many conservatives, defended the Administration's continued secrecy about the special-access program in Abu Ghraib. "Why keep it black?" the consultant asked. "Because the process is unpleasant. It's like making sausage—you like the result but you don't want to know how it was made. Also, you don't want the Iraqi public, and the Arab world, to know. Remember, we went to Iraq to democratize the Middle East. The last thing you want to do is let the Arab world know how you treat Arab males in prison."

The former intelligence official told me he feared that one of the disastrous effects of the prison-abuse scandal would be the undermining of legitimate operations in the war on terror, which had already suffered from the draining of resources into Iraq. He portrayed Abu Ghraib as "a tumor" on the war on terror. He said, "As long as it's benign and contained, the Pentagon can deal with the photo crisis without jeopardizing the secret program. As soon as it begins to grow, with nobody to diagnose it—it becomes a malignant tumor."

The Pentagon consultant made a similar point. Cambone and his superiors, the consultant said, "created the conditions that allowed transgressions to take place. And now we're going to end up with another Church Commission"—the 1975 Senate committee on intelligence, headed by Senator Frank Church, of Idaho, which investigated C.I.A. abuses during the previous two decades. Abu Ghraib had sent the message that the Pentagon leadership was unable to handle its discretionary power. "When the shit hits the fan, as it did on 9/11, how do you push the pedal?" the consultant asked. "You do it selectively and with intelligence."

"Congress is going to get to the bottom of this," the Pentagon consultant said. "You have to demonstrate that there are checks and balances in the system." He added, "When you live in a world of gray zones, you have to have very clear red lines."

Senator John McCain, of Arizona, said, "If this is true, it certainly increases the dimension of this issue and deserves significant scrutiny. I will do all possible to get to the bottom of this, and all other allegations."

"In an odd way," Kenneth Roth, the executive director of Human Rights Watch, said, "the sexual abuses at Abu Ghraib have become a diversion for the prisoner abuse and the violation of the Geneva Conventions that is authorized." Since September 11th, Roth added, the military has systematically used third-degree techniques around the world on detainees. "Some jags hate this and are horrified that the tolerance of mistreatment will come back and haunt us in the next war," Roth told me. "We're giving the world a ready-made excuse to ignore the Geneva Conventions. Rumsfeld has lowered the bar."

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SPEECH

## Al-Zarqawi's April 2004 Audio Message to the Islamic Nation

From Abu Mus'ab Al-Zarqawi to the Islamic Nation  
In the name of God the most merciful

From Abu Mus'ab Al-Zarqawi  
To my dear nation, the best nation in the world  
God's peace and blessings to you  
I thank God for sending his prophet to bring truth.

We bring you lots of great news about the great damage and strength shown by The Heroes Al-Mujahidin against your enemy and theirs.

Thanks to God, we are attacking them like they are attacking us and we are hitting them like they are hitting us. We are not equals to them. They fight to go to hell; we fight to go to heaven. We do not have much support or capabilities but God is on our side, they have no one on their side. God has blessed us; we have cut off their head and ripped their bodies in many areas; the United Nations in Baghdad, coalition forces in Karbala, the Italians in Nasiriyyah, the American forces on the Khalidiyyah Bridge, American intelligence in Al-Shaheen Hotel, the CIA in Al-Rashid Hotel and the Polish forces in Al-Hillah.

An unprecedented media block-out surrounded all of these blessed attacks in Iraq.

The wicked media showed that these attacks were against civilians only. They did not mention that 4 helicopters landed in the site to pick up dirty bodies from the crusaders coalition. The number of their dead exceeded 200. Last but not least, **the Israeli Mossad in Jabal Lubnan Hotel**. Others and others, the list is long. What is coming is going to be harder with the help of God.

We challenge the lying US media to show the truth about the destruction and losses that their forces have suffered. Their Hollywood Rambo does not come close to anyone of the lions and the heroes of Islam. We have many battles to come.

If John Abuzaid has escaped our swords this time, we are going to get him, Bremer, their generals, soldiers and all their supporters.

We will hunt them like birds; we will interrupt their plans and will make them lose their way. We say to them as the Shaykh of Islam, Ibn Taymiyyah said to the King of Cyprus: "The Muslims have people that can assassinate king while they are on their horses [or] in their beds and people know that."

My beloved nation, you will see the way. You will reach the wisdom.

You will discover the full truth that is hiding behind the darkness, lying dust and the smoke of deceit, which is released by the enemies of God to disappoint you.

They do not want you to jump like heroes do. They do not want you to rise like men do.

They know that if the Muslim Giant is awakened, it will not stay away from Rome, Washington, Paris and London. They tried before to cover the truth about the battle, they tried to damage the pure banner of Jihad. They made people believe that the resistance is the work of reminiscence of the fallen regime and element of the atheist Ba'th Party to prevent the nation from becoming engaged in the battle and not join the war. This is a lie, forgery.

Whatever you heard about heroism and courage and damage to the enemy is a gift from God and the heroes of the nation. Some are locals and some are newcomers that are united by the Koran in spite of the differences in languages and colors.

We deliver to you great news; we have killed many of them and shed their blood, we deprived them from sleep, they cried like women and orphans.

Nation of Islam- Let us clarify and talk to you about the nature of the battle and the reality of deceit, and the unknowns of the conflict.

America came with its war ships and fools and landed in the land and with all its might came to the Moslems for the following reasons:

1- They want the treasures and the natural resources of the land, they are bloodsuckers; they are drooling. They are capitalists who are inspired by greed. They do everything to achieve their goals. They do not hesitate to do dirty and bad things to anyone, not children, old men, men or women. They operate by the rule of the jungle.

2- America came because it is afraid of the rise of Islam, they are afraid of Jihad which the whole world has come to know it and it has shaken the world. It came to change the fundamentals of our nation, change curriculums, and to destroy the good the subconsciousness of the Muslims and cut off the way of revival. They want to spread wickedness, their low ideologies and cultures in the name of freedom and democracy. They hope to reshape the political, religious and cultural map of the area according to their best interest.

3- They came as the barbarians of this age. They are carrying hatred, historical animosity and religious prejudices that are fed by the prophecies of the bible against the

Muslims, in general, and Iraq, in particular. The fundamentalist evangelists that rule Washington and London believe Iraq is a country of evil and adultery and the first enemy of the Sons of Israel. They order the killing of their men, molesting of their women, smashing the heads of their children and throwing stones of fire on them. This is exactly what they are doing now step by step.

4- America came to provide security for its lover Israel and destroy every danger that can threaten her. Whoever watches the situation knows that the Israeli octopus is in Iraq's politics, intelligence and economy. If it was not for God who raised the banner of jihad, the Iraqi people would have found themselves slaves to the politicians and the managers of the Jewish companies and the army of Jewish experts and consultants. Ask Jalal Al-Talibani (the Zionist/American collaborator) about the assassination team that belongs to the Mossad, which is based at the Al-Adnaniyyah Street in the middle of Kirkuk. It is trying hard to assassinate the symbols and activists of the Sunni people. They are also present in Baghdad, the Mujahidin are determined to kill them in spite of the security procedures, which the collaborator, Kurdish intelligence, is helping them with.

5- America came to cut off the continuity of the large Arab countries; to make them into little weak countries, with no power. It wants to build loyal little countries segregated by religious groups who carry hatred towards Muslims and remain an obstacle in the way of Muslim unity. America realized that Sunni Islam is the real enemy. These sub-entities are the weak points. They are the only point, which the enemies can attack and take control of Muslims. They became the Greek hours that they use to penetrate the defense lines of the nation. It is worthwhile to point to the words of Ben Gurion in 1954, when he said: "We live in a Sunni environment, Israel has to use and enlist ethnic minorities in the area to serve the interest of Israel"

Muslim nation, you should know that separation is far from Islam. The Christians and the Jews have united to change parts of the Koran; harassing the friends of the prophet and the mothers of the believers, legitimizing the blood of the Muslims and spreading misleading superstitions and myths.

When we see the experience in history and the current situation and the live experience, which we are living in, we will know what God meant when He Said "They are the enemy, fight then until they stop."

Collaborators have been throughout history a bone in the throats of the Muslims and a knife stabbing them in the back and a bridge, which the enemy of Islam uses.

The Muslim Shaykh (Ibn Taymiyyah) was right when he said: "They were the main reason that the infidels where able to attack the Muslims"

They have so much hatred towards the Muslims; there is nothing that they love more than hating the Muslims. They want to separate the Muslims.

They love the foreigners and their countries because they get what they do not get among the Muslims. It pleases them to see the Muslims defeated.

Ariel Sharon wrote in his diary: "we have expanded our talks with the Christians and other minorities like the Shi'ah and Druz. Personally, I asked them to come to a closer relationship with them; I even suggested giving them weapons as a symbol. They had problems with the PLO and I did not see any potential problem between us and the Shi'ah".

Also listen to what Leslie Gelb, the president of the counsel of American Foreign Relations said in article in the New York Times: "the only strategy for the future of Iraq is correcting the historical mistakes and taking slow steps toward a three states solution, The Kurds in the North, Sunni in the center and the Shi'ah in the south"

He also says: "The general idea is to strengthen the Shi'ah and the Kurds then wait and see if autonomy is sufficient or if statehood is the solution. The first step needs to be making the north and the south autonomies in accordance with the ethnic rights to territories. Give the millions that were approved by the Congress for the rebuild of Iraq to the Kurds and Shi'ah".

He believes that the USA should give weapons and train the Kurds in case it is asked to.

Isn't that what the collaborators did when the infidel occupiers, it is true when someone said that if it was not for those we would have been in Europe today reading the Koran the way Algerian Barbarians are reading it.

Yes, the Ottoman troops reached Vienna then stopped and went back to Baghdad. The Safawis attacked the mosques and killed Sunnis for no reason other than loving the prophet.

These people were refused by the Imams of the past, Albukhari said: "The only reason people do not call them infidels is because they do not know them."

He also said: "Do not pray with Christians, Jews or Rafidah and do not attend their funerals or visit their sick."

Imam Malik said: "Those that harass the prophet's friends have no share in Islam, whoever criticizes the prophet's friends is an atheist"

Imam Ahmid said: "Sinful are those that harass the prophet and his friends."

These snakes started moving again; they want to redraw the map of the area with their American partner. Through their secret army and organizations, they took control of the sensitive positions; they control the police and the army. Those people that came for revenge now have the police and army uniform on in order to kill the Sunnis in the name of the state and the law and the protection of the population. They are getting ready to take over and control the country, to create a country of collaborators that extends from Iran through Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and the puppet governments of the Gulf.

In spite of everything, let the world know that we are not the side that started the fight, they killed Al-Mujahidin and assassinated the foreign immigrants. They were the eyes and ears for the Americans. Many of the Mujahidin were killed with the bullet of betrayal by the hands of those people. They took over the mosques and made it into temples to worship statues. They are moving relentlessly to kill and liquidate preachers and experienced people among the Sunni.

All of this is happening and the Sunni people are asleep because they believe those that claim to have wisdom. They have disappointed the nation time after time. They became a bridge that enemies will cross over to kill the nation. Every time this nation tries to rise up to avenge its harassed faith and raped dignity, they say to her, sleep and do not wake up. The rope of deceit continues and the war plan still moving.

They remain active in injecting the nation with a slow death. What is amazing is that they slam the Muslims and praise the infidels. One of them criticized the Mujahid Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. He accuses him of being made by the Americans and he continues on to praise The Imam of the infidels (Al-Sistani), he describes him as a Muslim scholar!

We know that Muslim scholars throughout history were leading the troops and confronting the threat with the sword to protect the nation and to safeguard Islam and the Muslims.

They are pretending to struggle. Their Jihad is to please the occupying infidels. They are carrying the certificates of wrong teachings, which they claim to be part of, and on the other side they carry the robe of stolen glory. They beg for a title and for recognition in their right to represent the Sunni people. It seems that they did not read the Koran and they did not listen to the testimony of history that rights are not given, they are gained by fighting. Land will not be freed without the sword.

Have you forgotten that our leader is Mohammad (peace be upon him.) The infidels offered him to be their leader and make him the decision maker, He refused and his choice was jihad. Why did you refuse his guidance and his ways and be interred under the shadow of the occupiers?

You gave the occupiers legitimacy and disappointed the nation with backing from the prophet's jihad, why do you lie to people? You'll never gain by your political conspiracies and peaceful initiatives. You know that you have no control over the seat that you sit on.

You are dreaming when you believe that your kisses and smiles to Bremer will make you win his heart and gain his trust and give you land and the people because he loves you!

Muslim Nation, you know that America does not wish us well. Your screaming and warnings against the Mujahidin's plan does not protect the blood and the interest of the Muslims. They are scared of the Mujahidin plan of getting rid of the masks of deceit and uncovering the truth about the battles. They know that the Sunni are brave heroes and lions. They have risen from their sleep and have gone to battle to fight the Americans, Jews, and collaborators. The world will not be able to stop them. They warn against religious war. They continue to lie!!!!!!

Here is America going back to its basis and letting those people to the front lines to represent her in the war on the Mujahidin. Out enemy and the great danger are these

collaborators. They are finding the weaknesses and they know the ins and outs. They are pointing their arrows to the hearts of the Mujahidin. How can we let them keep uprooting the Jihad because we are afraid of a war?

They are warning against religious war and appear concerned about Iraqi blood and land. Where was their concern when their forces were fighting next to the enemies against their own people? They were the soldiers of Saddam the tyrant. You forget so fast!!!

It is strange that America made a secret agreement with Mohammad al-Baqir who made Iran (America's enemy) his base when he was against the Iraqi regime and all his weapons are from Iran. He also holds the ideologies Shi'ah Iran. The French paper Luknar said about this agreement, which was reached in Geneva: "the scenario of the return of Al-Hakim to Iraq was organized by America". His death was a blow to America. The deputy secretary of defense Wolfowitz (Pentagon's Hawk) described him as patriotic and said that he is in pain for his death, they praise him for calling jihad "terror." God had blessed us with his death because he was an enemy of Islam.

He unleashed his troops to kill the Muslims and rape their women and take control of their mosques and kill Mujahidin. Because of them, American gained control. None of the Shi'ah were taken prisoner while the prisons are full of Sunnis. Let the world know that we will continue to kill their Imams in revenge for the prophets friends and for the blood of the Muslims.

We will never leave you alone, you snakes, until you stay away from our mosques. Stop killing the Sunni people and stop supporting the enemies: the crusaders and the Jews.

Muslim Nation, my nation, we are in pain because of this silence that you are showing toward this historical war. Where are the troops of heroes and brave lions and the youth of Mohammad and the Muslim Scholars?

The enemies of God know that this war is the turning point in this world. It is the cross-roads between complete control of the infidel west and its culture and way of living and the Islamic way. Bush said in a speech that if democracy fails in Iraq it will encourage terrorism in the world. Tony Blair has emphasized that what is happening today in Iraq is going to determine the relationship between the Muslim World and the west. He named it the basic battle of the 21st century. He added "We are in a situation where failure in Iraq will be catastrophic for the West."

Muslim Nation, reach for jihad before the infidels gather against Mujahidin. If jihad fails in Iraq, the nation will never rise again. And the nation will be strangled, we will be hit with humiliation and sanctions will be imposed on us forever. Our situation will be as Ibn Kathir said: "In the beginning and the end, when people walked away from jihad and did not see the enemy until they were in their houses; they go and tell them do not move and they go and get a knife and kill them one by one." Muslims have to repent and go back to their religion and to jihad.

Arab leaders, you have accepted to be the shoes for the wrong and a base for the planes of death and destruction. You are the suppliers of all the enemies needs. We tell you, Saddam is gone by the Americans and you will too but we ask God to make it by our hands and swords soon and not by the Americans.

Mujahidin, you are heroes, I send you my greetings, and God has blessed you and humiliated the greatest power in history with your hands. Get your swords ready and burn the ground under the feet of the occupiers. The war has started and its fire is burning. Kill the Americans and the Shi'ah and the collaborators.

Muslim nation, we are your sons and your faithful soldiers, we promise to stay like this until the last drop of our blood. We will stay like sweet water and a cool breeze and the light that guides people.

Thanks to God

Abu Mus'ab Al-Zarqawi

Real Media: Duration 33:25; The original audio can be accessed at  
<<http://tides.carebridge.org/Audio/resalah1.ram>>

Al-Zarqawi's April 6, 2004 Audio Message to the Islamic Nation appearing Tuesday, April 6, on a Web site known as a clearinghouse for militant Islamic messages. The speaker introduces himself as Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian also known as Ahmed al-Khalayleh who is thought to be a close associate of Osama bin Laden. It was the first tape of any kind attributed to him to be made public.

This translation is by the National Virtual Translation Center (NVTTC) and made possible by DARPA's eTIRR ("enhanced TIDES Iraq Reconstruction Report") research effort. [DARPA is part of the

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To him has been attributed the decapitation of Nicholas Berg but we consider the video as very spurious and the whole thing is probably a hoax.  
On Abu Taymiyyah (1268-1328): see hagiography in:  
<<http://www.jannah.org/articles/taymiyyah.html>>

## VISIT NAJAF

[Murtada] How is the situation now in Al-Najaf?

[Al-Umari] The situation is currently relatively calm. The problem is that the clashes are disturbing the peace in the city. The clashes erupt for 10, 15 minutes and then the US forces withdraw. The US forces sometimes advance in various directions, exchange gunfire with Al-Mahdi army elements, withdraw, and then advance from different directions. The US forces are not centered in any specific area. The front in Al-Najaf is open. That is why the US forces choose certain areas through which they advance, strike, and then withdraw. No one knows what the US forces' intentions are. They are sometimes inside the city, they withdraw, group 200 meters away from the "red" lines; and I do not think that there are red lines for the US forces since they are very close to Imam Ali's shrine. Afterwards they withdraw to other distances and target some Al-Mahdi Army fighters, to which Al-Mahdi Army fighters respond. So, the situation is alternating between attack and retreat.

Dubai: Al-Arabiyah Television in Arabic 0710 GMT 16 May 04

## REVISIONISM : A SHORT INTRO

### **Did six million really die?**

"Despite thousands of detailed documents on the crematoria built to dispose of the bodies of typhus victims, not a single piece of documentary evidence has ever been produced to substantiate the existence of even one gas chamber; not an order for construction, a plan, an invoice, or a photograph. During the hundreds of 'war crimes' trials, nothing could be produced. There were no gas chambers at Auschwitz or anywhere else in wartime Europe. On that I state my reputation and career."  
Professor Robert Faurisson. *Le Monde*

### **An American officer speaks out**

"I was in Dachau for 17 months after the war, as a U.S War Department Attorney, and can state that there were no gas chambers at Dachau. What was shown to visitors and sightseers there and erroneously described as a gas chamber was a crematory. Nor was there a gas chamber in any other the other concentration camps in Germany. We were told that there was a gas chamber at Auschwitz, but since this was in the Russian zone of occupation, we were not permitted to investigate since the Russians would not allow it. From what I was able to determine in six years of post-war Germany and Austria, there were a number of Jews killed, but the figure of a million was certainly never reached. I interviewed thousands of Jews, former inmates of concentration camps in Germany and Austria, and consider myself as well qualified on the subject as any man." Stephen F.Pinter, *Sunday Visitor*, June 14th 1959.

"Although millions of gassings are said to have occurred, 'no one has ever been charged with murder by gassing. That is, no one has ever been charged with operating the alleged gas chambers.'" John Bennett, Secretary, Victoria Council for Civil Liberties.

### **Why the confusion?**

After all, we are familiar with pictures of mounds of emaciated bodies piled high at some - not all - German internment camps. Yet equally undeniably there are countless photographs available even on display at Dachau today that show well clad inmates in obviously good health up to release. Even pictures taken at Belsen clearly show healthy inmates among the emaciated dead. How then does this explain a Nazi program of genocidal intention being so patchy in its application? There can be only one explanation. These deaths were caused not by deliberate intent but by typhus and cholera. Such photographs as those taken at Bergen-Belsen could have been taken anywhere in Central Europe devastated by nightly 1,000 bomber raids and total war, when millions of civilians of many nations, Germany included, died through starvation and disease resulting in similar mounds of emaciated corpses.

### **Germany**

"By reason of heavy bombing road communications had been destroyed and no supplies had reached the camp (Belsen); typhoid fever ensued and hundreds of prisoners (Eastern European POWs) had died as a consequence. The allies arrived on the scene and found a terrible situation." *The Golden Horizon*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London.

"The German Army at Bergen had forewarned the British that a full-blown epidemic of typhus had broken out among the prisoners in the camp." *In The Ruins of the Reich*, George Allen & Unwin. London, 1985.

"Disease of all kinds was rife and in a vast number of cases it was difficult to tell which disease predominated - whether it was typhus, starvation, tubercle or a combination of all three, which was responsible for the shattered wrecks of human beings who formed the majority of the inmates....there had been no water for about a week owing to damage by (allied) shell fire to the electrical pumping equipment on which the system depended." Appendix 'O' Chapter. V11, *Second Army History*.

### **Independent Czechoslovakia**

"A typhus epidemic now rages amongst them, (German civilian prisoners) and they are said to be dying at the rate of 100 a day." *London Daily Mail*, August, 6th, 1945.

### **Free France**

"There is a typhoid epidemic in the camp (German POWs) which has already spread to the neighbouring village." *The Progressive*, January, 14th, 1946.

"The only difference I can see between these men (German POWs) and those corpses is that here they are still breathing." Henry Griffin, AP photographer who had taken Buchenwald and Dachau pictures.

### **And in British POW camps in Belgium**

Conditions "not much better than Belsen" (German POWs) according to British Army officers.

### **Watch out for propoganda linkage**

Invariably when such pictures are shown they are propoganda linked 'as proof' that the Germans had a policy of extermination. If we separate reality from the propoganda of the victors the fraud becomes clear. The propogandists have been in retreat since 1945 when all camps were said to be extermination camps but in the light of scientific and objective analysis shown to be nothing of the kind. You may have noticed that much of the VE jamboree 'concentration camp' news coverage quietly dropped all reference to gas chambers. Typically in 1946, a memorial plaque was unveiled at Dachau by Philip Auerbach, the Jewish State Secretary of the Bavarian Government. The plaque read: 'This area is being retained as a shrine to the 238,000 individuals who were cremated here.' Since then, this figure has consistently been revised downwards to its present total of 20,600, who it appears died from

typhus and starvation at the end of the war. (Note: Auerbach has since been convicted for embezzling money which he claimed for non-existent Jews).

### **How convenient**

It is now claimed that all the actual extermination camps coincidentally happen to be situated in those parts of Germany and Poland occupied by the Soviets. Dr. Martin Broszat, the anti-Nazi Director of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich who can lay claim to being a major influence on the genocide issue, admitted in *Die Zeit*, (August, 19th, 1960) 'that there were no extermination camps on German soil.', and that instead, one had to look 'above all to Auschwitz.' How convenient then that this last redoubt of the propagandists was occupied by the Red Army, a bit of a dab hand at extermination itself, which never allowed outside inspection until 10 years after the war's end. Gita Sereny, the Jewish holocaust historian admits: "Auschwitz, despite its emblematic name, was NOT primarily an extermination camp for the Jews and is not the central case through which to study extermination." *The New Statesman*, November, 2nd, 1979.

### **The truth is "irrelevant"**

"A report that an Auschwitz building could not have been designed as a gas chamber is true but irrelevant." Dr. Raul Hilberg, *Los Angeles Times*, February, 23rd, 1989.

"Our detailed research (into the holocaust) however mostly establishes only how shaky is the ground we're on: the consensus of research data often turns out only to be the result of everybody having uncritically copied what everybody else was writing; the actual documentary basis on many matters is frighteningly narrow and is in consequence easily shattered by some find or other. In all too many matters we are still groping in total darkness. If we are to avert being shown up, in the next few years historical research is going to have to do all it can not only to establish better documentary defences but broader-based ones as well." Dr. Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, University of Riga, 1988.

"A large number of testimonials on file here were later proved to be inaccurate when locations and dates could not pass an expert historian's appraisal." Shmuel Krakowski, Director Archives, Yad Vashem, Israel.

### **The testimony of the tortured**

Because 'Survivor' evidence has consistently been shown to be fraudulent the propagandists fall back on the 'evidence' of two prominent German administrators to support their claims. Rudolf Hoess, Commandant of Auschwitz from 1940 until his arrest by the British Army in 1945. Subjected to torture and brain-washing, 'his testimony at Nuremberg was delivered in a mindless monotone as he stared blankly into space.' Even Reitlinger regarded his testimony as hopelessly untrustworthy; a catalogue of wild exaggerations. These included his declaration that 16,000 Jews a day were disposed of - which would have meant 13 million in total. (Just short of the world's total Jewish population of 15 million!) Tortured, his statement appears in American-English idiom yet there is no evidence that Rudolf Hoess could speak any English at all. Tried at Nuremberg and handed over to the Polish Communists in 1947, he was ordered to write the story of his life which was published as *Wspomnienia* in the Polish language. It is said that the hand-written original exists, but no one has ever seen it. The other major player being Oswald Pohl of the Economy and Administration Office: "Pohl had signed some incriminating statements after being subjected to severe torture including a bogus admission that he had seen a gas chamber at Auschwitz in the Summer of 1944." Senator McCarthy. Professor Paul Rassinier, a French Marxist and committed anti-National Socialist was arrested by the Germans during the war and interned at Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps between 1943 and 1945. He has always been at the forefront in disproving the allegations of genocide. "I was in Auschwitz from January, 1944 until December, 1944. After the war I heard about the mass murders supposedly perpetrated by the S.S against the Jewish prisoners and I was perfectly astonished. There were no secrets at Auschwitz".

### **No business like Shoah business**

Why? "Why then are they, the Israelis, obstructing all honest research into the six million question? All statistics will so long be controversial until world Jewry and Zionism will be willing to present to the public exact official statistics of the losses. The roadblock to research is due to the fact that from six million dead one can extract far more reparations than from say 6,000." Joseph Ginsburg, Jewish survivor/researcher. Munich.

"A very disturbing thing has happened to journalism, to the writing of history, and even to justice. In anything to do with the Nazis any attempt at detachment is considered suspect, any degree of objectivity reprehensible." Gite Sereny, April, 21st, 1988.

"Are the truths on which the Holocaust relies so flimsy that they need smears to protect them, coupled with prison sentences like those now imposed in Germany, Austria, and France...?" Auberon Waugh.

"Truth seeks the light, it doesn't shun it." Horace Mann, American Educationalist.

"I hope my fellow Old Brentwoodian Jack Straw does introduce legislation to make it a criminal offence subject to a two-year jail sentence to question the Holocaust. That will bring everything out into the open. I shall claim the honour of being the first prosecuted by repeating the words for which I was fined £13,300 in Munich, banned from German territory and Second World War archives, namely ; 'The gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz is a fake built after the war by the Polish communists.' I assume a British court will permit us to call witnesses and evidence which the German courts denied us. (The Polish authorities have since admitted that the structure in question was built in 1948." David Irving, Historian. Sunday Times, 20th, October, 1996.

### **Wise words from Britain's most admired poet, Robbie Burns**

Here's freedom to him who would speak, Here's freedom to him who would write, For there's none ever feared that the truth should be heard, Except he who the truth would indict.

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WAR ON ANYBODY ?

## **It's a War on Amalek, Not a War on Terror**

by Michael A. Hoffman II

The pundits are at their grist-mills grinding out dozens of different angles on the story of US abuse, torture and now we learn, even murder, of Iraqi POWs, all the while skirting the core reality behind these crimes. To my knowledge, not one of the columnists and commentators has hit on what makes these horrors possible and why no captive Israeli or Judaic could be treated this way by any army of the West.

It's more than just American contempt for the Third World or dark-skinned people. We're dealing with what the US considers the dregs of that world and what no one will mention is that there is a religious dogma behind it. Condoleeza Rice chose the convention of the Anti Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith to vent her contrived outrage at the crimes against the Iraqi prisoners, but that's a mockery. The ADL knows more than it is saying about what is really behind the dehumanization of these Arabs.

As a student of the religion of Orthodox Judaism this writer has long known what many Israeli and American Zionists have known. It is an in-your-face reality if you live in an ultra-

Orthodox Judaic neighborhood or read the ultra-Orthodox press, either in Yiddish or English. I have even seen it in advertisements in these newspapers for furniture stores in New York! One ad carried a blurb for "new Italian arrivals" and displayed pictures of dinettes and china cabinets accompanied by the following statement: "Let's not be complacent. Let's not wait until scuds, with chemical warheads on them start falling...don't be silent while your enemies all gather together...Fill their faces with shame, wipe them out...Let this be Hashem's final revenge against Amalek." (Hamodia newspaper, Feb. 14, 2003, p. 84). But few are going to touch this theocratic call to genocide anywhere on the anti-Zionist Left or the paleo-Right because, being so powerful a truth and given that truth seems to hurt rabbis a great deal more than anyone else (or perhaps they holler louder), no one goes near it.

What am I talking about and what is it "they" won't go near? I am the author of a book, *Judaism's Strange Gods* which argues that the source of Israeli mass murder and racism is found in Orthodox Judaism.

Before me, as far as I know, only Israel Shahak had dedicated a full-length book to this subject ("Jewish History, Jewish Religion") and Shahak's only failing was that he did not specifically quote or name tractates and verses from the Mishnah, Gemara, Midrash, Mishneh Torah, Shulchan Aruch, Zohar and Tanya in support of the charges he made. My book does so, and though it has been tightly suppressed even by the anti-Zionist Left and the paleo-Right it is an underground classic, making deep inroads among radicals and researchers who dedicate themselves to considering fringe works. The ADL has been compelled to publish a pamphlet seeking to refute it and several Zionist websites have arisen dedicated to overturning it; quite an accomplishment for a book that has sold only 20,000 copies thus far.

How is it that American officers (it is folly to put the main onus on the US prison guards, enlisted men and women, only recently toiling as Wal-Mart checkers and assistant managers at pizzerias) would allow ritual sexual humiliation of Iraqis, including having them disrobe and forcing them to simulate sex acts, including sodomy, and then photographing these despicable scenes?

For that matter, how could Falluja, a city of some 300,000, be subjected to a US bombardment of civilian neighborhoods last April that killed hundreds of Iraqi women and children? Even American-appointed Iraqi Governing Council members such as Adnan Pachachi noted that the attacks on the city appeared to be "collective punishment" for the actions of a minority who attacked four US "contractors."

Can anyone imagine four L.A.P.D. officers being killed by a Black mob in Los Angeles and the retaliation consisting of the bombardment of the mostly Black city of Compton by F-16 jets and A-130 gunships?

What if a Jewish mob had hanged four American agents and then fled into a Jewish ghetto? No Jewish city anywhere on earth could be bombarded for a moment, whether or not some of the residents therein had been responsible for the death of four "contractors" --or forty.

But crowded Arab cities, from Beirut to Baghdad, are fair game for Israeli and American bombardment. The solution to the riddle may be found in one six letter word, A-m-a-l-e-k. Much like Muslim clerics issuing a fatwa (religious edict), the rabbis of New York and the Israeli state have formally ruled that today's Arabs are "Amalek," a fact that neither the Establishment media or your favorite Christian Conservative or radical Left columnist is willing to confront, and yet until they boldly do so, Arab civilians will continue to lose their lives, or at the very least their souls and dignity, and hatred for America will increase exponentially.

The neo-conservative movement is rife with the sentiment that Arabs are little more than "barbarians." Dr. Stephen Rittenberg, writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, declared that Palestinians are a "barbaric occupied people..." (Jan. 27, 2003, p. A17). Michael B. Oren in the *Wall Street Journal* went even further: "The Palestinians are different...there is something else at work in the... Palestinians...something sick and perhaps even evil." (Aug. 6, 2002, p. A20).

Israeli professor Benny Morris, a supposed liberal Zionist, states, "A Jewish state would not have come into being without the uprooting of 700,000 Palestinians. Therefore it was necessary to uproot them. There was no choice but to expel that population....Palestinian society...is a very sick society. It should be treated the way we treat individuals who are serial killers...The Arab world as it is today is barbarian..."("Survival of the fittest: An

Interview with Benny Morris" by Ari Shavit, Jan. 8, 2004). Prof. Morris told the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, "he now believed that 'without the uprooting of the Palestinians, a Jewish state would not have arisen here.' He also said, stunningly, that 'there are circumstances in history that justify ethnic cleansing.'" (*NY Times*, Feb. 20, 2004).

The entire Palestinian nation is so debased that among them President Bush has declared he can find no "partner for peace." In a similar vein, US officials in Iraq have declared that the Iraqi people as a whole are not ready for sovereignty.

Rabbi Dov Begon is chief rabbi of the yeshiva (Talmud school) at Machon Meir in Jerusalem. In his column for *The Jewish Press*, a major Zionist newspaper published in Brooklyn, Rabbi Begon teaches:

"Rashi explains that the Canaanites who lived in the Negev were not real Canaanites. Rather, they were Amalekites ... and the reason they waged war against Israel was not land, but Jew hatred ... Today the Arab-Israeli conflict is presented by the Arabs as if they are fighting over control of land, a 'territorial conflict,' so to speak. They present us as a nation of conquerors who are taking their land by force, and with that they justify their warfare. They look like Canaanites, but truthfully, the reason they are fighting and attacking us with intent on exterminating us is Jew hatred." ("Canaanites and Amalekites: As Then, So Today," *Jewish Press*, June 21, 2002, p. 47).

Actually this rabbinic ruling goes back to at least March of 1986 when the head chaplain for all Israeli armed forces in the West Bank and Gaza, Rabbi Shmuel Derlich, issued a 1,000 word edict to the Israeli army on the West bank, commanding them to exterminate the "Amalekites" to the last man, woman and child.

The injunction to exterminate the Arab people as a whole, thinly veiled under the code words Amalek and Amalekite, is not merely the province of wild-eyed religious fanatics. It has been outlined and acknowledged by academic stars in the Zionist intellectual firmament. Hannah Kasher is Professor of Philosophy at the Israeli Bar-Ilan University. She writes: "...the commandment to blot out Amalek has not essentially been nullified...any person descended of Amalek has a death sentence over his head from the moment of birth, even if he himself has committed no sin. His culpability is innate...It should also be noted that...Amalek also includes those 'who act as Amalek'... (this is) a war of annihilation against a contemporary foe, in which one does not refrain from killing women and children." (Hannah Kasher, "Rationales Justifying Collective Punishment of Amalek," Parashat Hashavua Study Center, Sept. 2000).

It seems that sadistic abuse and wanton destruction of Arabs by Israeli and American forces is less a case of unintentional or "collateral damage" and more a matter of conscious direction, so long as a cover story about "targeting terrorists" is fronted to the public.

After massacring Arab children in Gaza, Israeli Air Force Major General Dan Halutz told Haaretz newspaper that he "sleeps soundly at night" after the Gaza bombing. 'Is there a situation in which it is legitimate to hit a terrorist when you know it will carry the price of harming civilians?' he asked. 'The answer is affirmative.' ("Deaths of Arab Civilians Prompt Israeli Inquiry, *NY Times*, Sept. 2, 2002).

Many Europeans, some Americans and almost all Arabs and Muslims regard Ariel Sharon as a merciless killer and state terrorist. Based on General Halutz's reasoning, it would be morally permissible for Arabs to bomb a facility where Sharon was staying, even if it meant harming Israeli civilians.

Of course that's not true. The Western world would be horrified. Why, what is the fundamental difference between General Halutz's example and the one I have given concerning Sharon? There is only one difference between the two: in the case of the scenario posited by Halutz, the civilians being harmed would be Arabs, i.e. Amalek, a nation slated for extermination anyway, a nation defined by rabbis as culpable just by being born Arab and having personally "committed no sin."

Here is the key to the business-as-usual, ho-hum massacres of Arab civilians and here too is the reason why, when Israeli civilians are harmed, it is a cause for outrage and alarm all over the Western world. Israeli civilians are of the blood royal. No matter how many state terrorists may be sheltering among Israeli civilians, if one were to harm those civilians in order to liquidate Sharon or Israeli Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz, the butcher of Jenin, such an act would be widely recognized as an unpardonable crime, on the basis of the racial

and religious superiority of Israeli civilians. Human morality applies to Israelis, not to the Amalekite children of the Arabs. Prof. Kasher:

"...a religious command should not be challenged in terms of human morality...a moral explanation of collective punishment, justifying it on the grounds that the great benefit resulting from such punishment outweighs the suffering it causes...the death penalty applies by law to each and every descendant of Amalek...The argument that one should take care and not harm descendants of Amalek has on occasion been taken as perverting justice..."

We will now quote from the supreme rabbinic authority, Rabbi Moses Maimonides. Let us see if the policy that he advocates toward Amalek is not the same one implemented by the Israelis against the Palestinians and the Lebanese, and by American neo-con hawks against Iraqis:

"To wipe out the 'seed of Amalek' -- for just as the individual would be punished, so one ought to punish the entire tribe or nation, in order to deter all tribes from being party to evil." (Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:54). Rabbi Abraham Boorstein casts some additional light on who Amalek is in his treatise, "Avnei Nezer," which decrees that Amalek may be identified as those who are "in no way willing to subjugate themselves to Israel."

This failure to be willing to be subjugated by "Israel" is considered a symptom of anti-Semitism. Rabbi Zalman Melamed in "Wipe Out Amalek," states: "The mitzvah, then of wiping out Amalek...is an ongoing one, and valid even today...Today there are those driven by a deep-seeded anti-Semitism...These are the people whom the Torah commanded us to obliterate..."

All the chatter about the "unAmerican abuse of Iraqi prisoners," "collateral damage" and "pinpoint, precision bombings" of Arab cities are smokescreens for the implementation of the rabbinic injunction to exterminate the Arab Amalek (and all those "who act like Amalek").

Paul Wolfowitz and the rest of the Zionist crew in the Pentagon and the White House are steeped in this doctrine, not simply through a nodding acquaintance with the religious commands of the rabbis (among whom the Chabad Lubavitch are particularly virulent and politically active in the US, claiming former press secretary Ari Fleischer as their acolyte), but with a Zionist culture that views "the Arab" as a collective "cancer."

The ignorance of this subject in the West is mostly due to massive suppression of analysis and discussion of the defects of the religion of Judaism itself. In America we are free to promote and read the DaVinci Code with its preposterous pseudo-history of Christianity and its scurrilous argument that Jesus married the reformed harlot Mary Magdalene. We are free to produce, broadcast and watch ABC News/Peter Jennings specials that attack the orthodox Christian Scriptures as riddled with errors, fantasies and hatred, but for some reason not even the dissidents on the Right or the Left who are supposedly opposed to the suffocating conformity of the Establishment media, can bring themselves to consistently expose the racism, hatred and advocacy of extermination in Judaism, or to review or in anyway take notice of my book, *Judaism's Strange Gods*.

Until this situation is altered, tens of thousands of Arab civilians will continue to die due to "unavoidable mistakes" that happen "in battle" and for which American commanders will proffer their sorrow and apologies. The United States government is the hammer of Amalek. This is the true meaning of the phrase "clash of civilizations" and the Arabs had better prepare themselves for months or years of slow-motion genocide until such time as Al Qaeda or some other shadowy "Muslim" group can take credit for another spectacular act of terrorism on U.S. shores, after which the gloves will come off and the U.S. together with its Israeli mentor, can destroy Amalek at will, according to Talmudic principles, without needing to scruple about apologies or making cynical reference to unintentional "collateral damage."

The war on terror is just another name for a race war, since the arch-terrorist Israeli state, founded in terror by terrorists, is not the subject of the war. Instead, the American people perceive the enemy to be a barbarian nation, not fully human, led by interchangeable Amalekite monsters named Saddam or Osama.

The junk food kids in US army uniforms shown gleefully posing for X-rated porn pics atop piles of naked Arab men at Abu Ghraib prison camp, are not the anomalies that Bush pretends they are. They have in fact been quite astute in picking up the clear signals

transmitted by American culture and media -- that the Arabs are not human beings like Israelis and Americans, and that atrocities inflicted on them will never be the subject of international war crimes trials.

In that sense, the teenage troops recently arrived in Iraq from the corridors of KFC, Wal-Mart and your local Pizza Hut, are far more with it than the Bush buffoons trying to explain to the Arab world how the horrors at Abu Ghraib could have happened.

Bush would never have bothered to seek to explain or offer "regrets" were it not for the worldwide circulation of the photos of the Iraqi prisoners. Since the U.S. media were never forced by similar circumstances to circulate atrocity photos of what the Marines did to the city of Falluja, there have been no apologies for the loss of civilian life in that city of Amalek.

What Bush is offering regarding the ritual degradation of Iraqis--a rite of degradation similar to ones undertaken at "The Tomb" in New Haven, Connecticut in which Mr. Bush participated as part of his Skull and Bones initiation -- are not sincere regrets, but rather public relations stunts in an on-going propaganda war, nothing more.

Iraqis may be under US occupation troops, but those troops are being directed not by the principles of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, but by the psychotic haters who comprise the religion of Orthodox Judaism, the only major religion on earth decreeing the merciless extermination of an entire race of people.

That the Zionist objective of race war with the Arabs is disguised as America's "war on terrorism" has ominous consequences for the world.

Hoffman's books are available through Amazon.com or directly from his website at <http://www.revisionisthistory.org/bookstore.html>

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## The Berlin Conference

All in all, this conference with high-ranking participants like the representatives of governments Colin Powell (USA) and Moshe Katsav (Israel) was a provocation for many observers, because a hard to define group of people was singled out and was given special rights, in immediate context with the human rights violations of Israel which have escalated in the weeks and months before the conference. In this way, the Israeli president used the forum to promote international solidarity with (the current, official) Israel. Mister Katsav provokes the West (more than the East who is used to such calls) with the words: "Our hands are clean. Our morals are very high. (...) And indeed, we try all that we possibly can to bring about a relaxation and peace with the Palestinians." Quote from the FAZ interview.

Anis Hamadeh

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/shamireaders/message/285>

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