

MANIFEST

essays by bart gerald
drawings by julie maas



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Preface

This gathering of my recent essays sets out to understand a portion of our lives which is so deeply horrifying we again and again put it to the side. Earlier essays trying to cope with an awareness of genocide appear in my *Arguments with the Thought Police - essays*, as the millennium turned and I began to realize that the nightmares of a generation's childhood woven into post World War II daily life as entertainment in love stories of suffering and holocaust, were not just a phenomenon intended for the brown eyed Jewish and Roma and Communist populations of Europe but a factor of human existence. Where there are societies of great greed there will be genocide. Aware then that genocide was a factor of the U.S. war against Iraq in 1990-91 and that it became a unifying bias of the Coalition basically of NATO countries that partook in the crime, I began to understand where and how this crime had found its way so close to my own life - to become part of my experience.

I've been able to do this partly because at a young age I found myself as a minority white in 1960 Africa as it found its independence from colonial rulers. I was able to bond strongly with the Africans who protected me and without having to betray anyone or sacrifice my own group or identity, sense of self. But the experience placed me outside of the programming of my white tribe, no longer psychologically protected (or supported) by its bias and in North America and Europe, its racism. It is a racism innate to the perpetuation of an ongoing genocide of the darker peoples by lighter peoples which we recognize socially as the caste system that has established itself even within the English language. Consider the double meaning of a word like "fair".

I think the problem of dealing with this area of perception is that the controls are deeply imbedded in our intellectual environment, our turns of logic, words, by history and conquests. It is extremely difficult to build any intellectual structure, series of understandings, which can withstand the norm our society has constructed, which obliterate their opposition - intellectually, but also ethnically or

eventually racially and religiously. So within Western civilization very little is said of the genocide committed by our own.

What can stand against brainwashing and mind controls by the mass media? The intellectual norm is insisted-on. Minority positions become extreme to protect their differences. But minority positions are necessary to provide a perspective on the society as a whole. While those immersed in a society may have some difficulty understanding its parameters, minority positions allow perception, and in some cases control, exactly because they are apart. In times of extreme and unjustly acquired wealth minorities are used to control the masses - the majorities.

The majority is intentionally deprived of the information it needs to make adequate decisions necessary to democracy. Majorities are 'dumbed down'. Mass culture intends this, and so is a control. Vulnerable, minorities prey on the majorities out of fear of them, which increases with the human misuses of one group by another .

I've entered this territory of the powerful simply to underscore society's need for artists. By "art" I mean here, all fields of creation which consciously aspire to help/ease humanity or individuals, beyond the functional need for the creation.

Art, making art, the world each creation of art makes or sustains, provides a place of wholeness or insight which offers a perspective on the rest of life. The insight comes from caring even when insight results in radical change. From this vantage, this place apart, sometimes an exile, art can provide alternatives to programs of mind control and indoctrination of the masses.

Psychological warfare controls on American society, and I believe these essentially apply to all NATO countries and were intentionally placed, have gone to great effort to separate art from political thought. Joining was effectively prohibited. Abstract expressionism as an example of an accepted or government-furthered art is a functioning metaphor for replacing facts of perception with how one sees the fact - which allows the fact itself to be lost. The worry about true artists/poets/dancers is that these might say the obvious about human needs

which includes the need for love, while the system of capitalism is based on greed and hatred.

I am against any minority group control of the arts since any minority group will attempt to bend the majorities to its own survival needs. To some extent even its art will be manipulative, and even if the minority is group oriented its art will be self-serving, particularly within capitalism / corporate societies. So it's not likely to heal or improve the condition of the majority. That healing or adjustment of society may be the social usefulness of art.

Majority groups, to heal themselves which is the wisest course when possible, need art to provide a structured ie. strong vantage or place to assess society as a whole. It is from evolving, non-conformist (or non-conforming) art structures (and these are sometimes "movements", supporting within, gatherings of understandings about existence and creation) that the majorities society, can find ways to heal.

For that reason these short essays are about both genocide and art as a way to understand what has happened to our peoples, as a way to stand back and assess what in many ways is unacceptable, as a way to strengthen some common ground so that we might begin to progress and move our societies out of crime toward peace with justice.

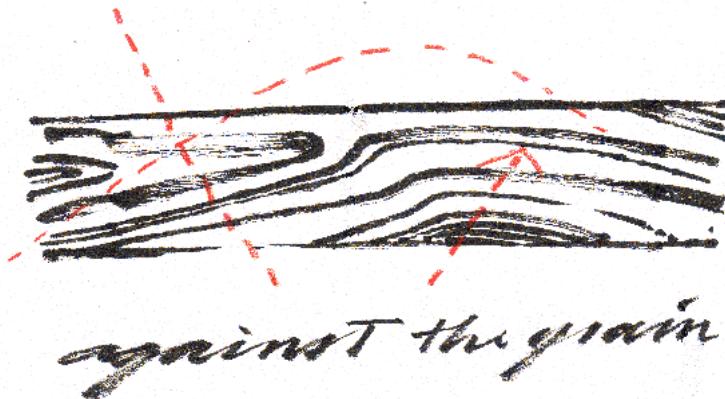
There are three essays at the centre of the work about Africa, in an area of the land where I don't know the smell of the dust when the first rain hits. I use the area of Eastern Africa because it is, seemingly, at the time of these essays so far removed from life of North America that it would be more obvious in its revelations. Increasingly it seems that the genocides of Rwanda and Burundi, the Congo and of peoples in the Sudan, are not the result of extremes in tribal warfare - phenomena strange to native Africa but programs of genocide engineered from outside of Africa with the intention of acquiring native resources.

This is what the essays discover as I enter a strange territory and explore the givens which are so carefully hidden by mass media. One aspect of huge corporate acquisitions of the resources of sovereign countries where the resources are essentially...owned by the people, is that illegal acquisitions, ie. naked

conquest, economic warfare, the carpetbag of colonialist tricks, are eventually understood as crimes. If understood quickly enough, the criminals could be punished. What is happening in Sudan now and is happening, has happened, throughout Africa, and in Chile, in Guatemala, in Yugoslavia, in Afghanistan, and more violently still in Iraq, is the acquisition of peoples' cultures, lives, societies, for the corporate profits and to the power of a relatively few very ill people and those who would serve them in the machinery of greed.

In this gathering are clarifications of a problem and tools to understand it and the next which will be like it, so that we might understand and bind what is of value and prepare for change.

John Bart Gerald, Ottawa, March 8, 2007



Art and Politics

This essay originally appeared as the introduction to the *War Resisters League Calendar of 2004*

Every time someone makes a rule about art, an artist breaks it. So in summary it's hard enough to figure out what works for me.

Serious artists in any field suspect no one will ever understand them and so tend not to fight physically to be understood.

I think the choice of making art is a choice of personal non-violence. Or searching for it. After the struggle over physical violence is won within self, there is still all the psychological violence of harming others within how society works. Even a calendar has its structural violence in noting years with a progression based on the birth of Christ. If nonviolence which I confuse with art itself, takes a lifetime of training self, it is also a contemplation, amid...well for my generation of Americans it is a contemplation amid mayhem.

Propaganda isn't art. It's a military tactic. Artists in all fields who serve the gods of propaganda are on mayhem's side. There is sometimes good reason to lie for the State, especially if the State can cut your fragile string to life. But you will begin to wonder if those are not artists, but technicians. Sometimes the State is the people. Revolutionary artists celebrate.

Politics then is how we deal with the mayhem. 9/11 or no 9/11, terror is always there if you are aware. Increasingly we learn the mayhem of things is an industry which forms the cornerstone of the global economy.

To deal with this mayhem then, most people go to sleep. I think American history is the history of great sleeps. Of the people. While our rights are taken away. When some of our families came to North America, there weren't many bossy people. Then generations of 'patriot acts' (on occasion these came in the form of civil wars) kept assuring control to a relatively small group of wealthy people from Europe.

An early American lawyer, Washington Irving, realized difficulties of sleeping through change, in "Rip Van Winkle" (- in his "Legend of Sleepy Hollow," as well). Amid a nation of rip-van-winkles, the work of the artist in all fields was/is to be awake. To wake up others.

One difficulty with searching for truth is that sometimes you find what was intended to be hidden. Entering a millennium where the powerful intend to shape everything we know about politics, history, and the world, truth still asserts itself. It survives just because it is.

People need to know truth to find our ways into the future. It's best to know the truth even when the facts don't serve our interests. For instance: war crimes. There are recognitions yet to be made of the crimes which are built into western civilization, crimes many of us refuse, which are outside of our human code of what is allowable. Like wars which resolve dispute through violence. When artists provide these insights and recognitions, then politicians will call it politics but it will just be artists doing what artists are supposed to. Otherwise our civilization becomes controlled simply to sustain crimes which are of benefit to a very few.

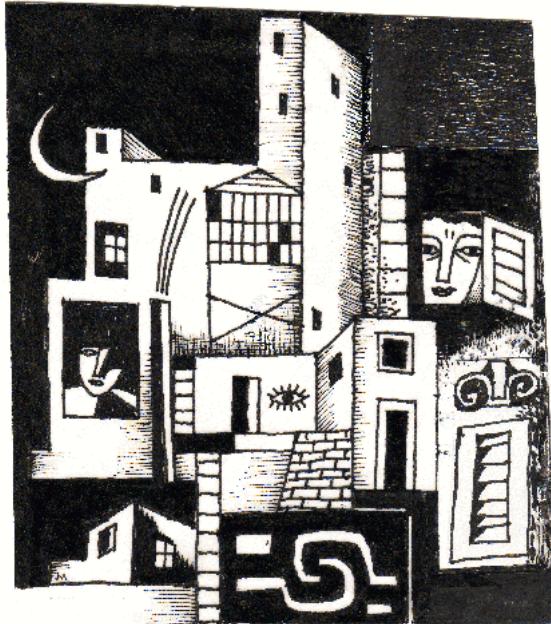
"The Movement," as I think of everything decent in American history of the last forty years, is sketchy about the arts and artists for several reasons.

1. Media and the arts have been controlled by covert Psychological Warfare programs since the end of WW II.
2. The CIA has funded particular kinds of arts, initially for cold war advantage, which has created a mass culture with little resistance to fascism.
3. If everyone in the arts actively resisted, society couldn't pursue war. The establishment's art usually neutralizes the creative people who might otherwise create a more just society.

Universities are interwoven with military industries and economic policies, and so produce little political art, much right wing propaganda, and some art that puts people to sleep. Most of the artists you will have heard of have avoided

political art because it doesn't get grants or a chance. Which is why the death penalty still exists in America. And the people have no universal health care programs. And the poor are being rubbed out. And the politicians are all rich. And the armies break known international laws to wage recent wars of aggression. Americans remain primitive in these respects.

A culture may be judged by the effectiveness of its resistance to aggression and genocide. For about fifty years America's art consisted of hiding its crimes, of ignoring them, of blaming them on others. Better to work with art as a mirror !



Responding to a Criminal War 2003

We're moving toward a resistance situation in all the countries of the world now because one powerful country has claimed global domain. Irrespective of treaties, Conventions, Covenants, international agreements, laws, an elite claims supremacy over all laws and all of us and the aggression continues.

So it's unrealistic to expect peace when the powerful have broken the laws that protect humanity. Those without formal knowledge of law know the laws are broken when civilian wounded fill hospitals that have no medicines. Brutalized populations do not submit. And after this US/UK invasion of Iraq there is evidence of their militaries' cluster bombs, of depleted uranium weapons, of targeted civilians and journalists. Looting of museums provides a metaphor for the war's corporate policy.

Usually unchecked war crimes become more extreme in an effort to destroy the evidence or memory or entire society of victims. While the first Gulf war was a Coalition attempt to commit legally sanctioned genocide, the recent bombings and invasion continued with a clear aggression.

Collaborators assure us this aggression against a once sovereign nation was a preemptive strike to protect the US. Justification was based on the threat of weapons of mass destruction. However weapons of mass destruction weren't used by Iraq and weren't found. Other collaborators will say how unjust even illegal this current attempt to destroy a national group - is, as they proceed with business as usual, which has allowed this crime and may allow the next.

The US wars against Iraq have forced people everywhere to reassess their lives. Those with a moral sense can be deeply damaged by psychological warfare programs which persuade them to accept war crimes as normal or inevitable. Lack of wholeness leads to illness, so objecting to national crimes becomes a survival mechanism.

In this instance “resistance” requires an active rejection of the status quo. For some, the resistance will conserve human rights. For some the resistance will attempt the changes necessary for social justice.

When the purpose of resistance is to protect and further life it becomes more than a “political” choice. In the past century leaders like Gandhi, and Schweitzer, and Dr. King, prepared themselves through nonviolence and religious self awareness. Perhaps a first step of resistance was/is to say no and resign from complicity in the ongoing aggression and genocides so that one can understand one’s life apart from what damages others. One tries to reinforce one’s identity and purpose, apart from the criminal group.

Sometimes entire groups can stand aside for a moment, apart from larger or national groups. A dockworkers union refusing to load ships bearing armaments is a clean example. Soldiers refusing to serve in specific criminal wars is another. Ministers of State who refuse to implement illegal policies, is another. But most people want to avoid the intrusion of a resistance ethic into their lives. It risks too much when you think you can survive without risking. Until not doing anything becomes the choice of cooperation.

The best known professionals in history or literature or international law often hedge their bets on wars by protesting one criminal war or another. Their protests fail but their salaries don't, and many of them build careers on this curious equivocation. In a resistance situation you may find them on the side of the oppressors.

The odd separation between working for the war industry, which involves accepting its crimes against humanity as a way of life, while objecting to the crimes with words, seems normal to elites. It frightens anyone else because the situation is an obvious lie and so relies on oppression.

This duality of American intellectual life leads the society into thinking war crimes are permissible.

It is this national schizophrenia that lets the U.S. convince itself that it's the judge of its own crimes. In a kind of psychological warfare operation its mass media attempt to shape the global reality, intellectual life and ethics, into accepting policies that leave so many in bombed out global villages, without food, in hospitals without medicines, and always without justice. The value of contemporary American culture should be judged by the effectiveness of its resistance to crimes of State.

So I think we're entering a world where complicity in crimes of an entire society may one day be judged, as war crimes will be, either through courts of justice or through ongoing low intensity conflicts. American political leaders don't seem to understand that friends can't protect them from accountability, from the truth, from the judgement of humanity however it is expressed.

As for the US peace movement, it isn't and never was enough to be on the side of the angels. The current Pope made clear the invasion of Iraq was not justifiable under Catholic teaching, yet he was so strongly anti-communist the resulting imbalance helped create a continuum of capitalist aggressions. Other voices of decency available to a controlled media seem to be covering complicity in what history may call atrocities. A US Attorney General enforces laws which draft blacks and poor whites to die in Vietnam (with millions of Vietnamese), while the School of the Americas is training its death squads in civilian murder. He then becomes a champion of the left preempting all its positions in defense of new victims. Or during a long period of intense defense department funding at MIT, one of its professors becomes the leading American left wing intellectual assuming all the alternative press space for his views. So many claim to care for the workers, to love the oppressed, to further the peace, and are left wing or anti-war, while they scramble to the top of academies and economies that require wars of aggression, death squad controls of civilian populations, media that lie, armies of ordinary people who are paid wages to persecute their own.

If forced to analyze why the resistance to terrible crimes isn't there in

modern America, realize that someone went to a lot of trouble to see that it isn't. Those who have attempted resistance, and their families, have been persecuted, forced into crimes and imprisoned, forced out, impoverished and ignored, or simply killed. Possibly a few were hired by law enforcement and covert agencies to be ineffective when it counts.

Like comprehension, resistance is always changing until it becomes a way of life.



Notes on Sudan 2004 to 2007

June 16, 2004, Summary

Sudan: Genocide warnings Sudan, Ethiopia. U.N. attention is currently focussed on Darfur in western Sudan, where a hundred and fifty thousand people have sought refuge in neighboring Chad, and terrorization by raiders identified as government militias has displaced over a million people.¹ The U.S. has previously declared in Congress the Islamic Government of Sudan guilty of genocide: "The Sudan Peace Act," H.R.5531 of 2002, which also specifically encourages the U.S. to provide aid entirely outside of the United Nations. Local de-stabilization in Darfur may be one link in a tactical encirclement of an Islamic government, by U.S. and Colonial interests. Because the magnitude of crimes against humanity are previously unknown to these regions, and because these crimes are often without explanation, or apparent economic motivation, and because the U.S. has established grounds for unilateral intervention, a tragedy might be interpreted as precipitated to encourage U.S. intervention in order to control headwaters of the Nile.

Amid continuing senseless massacres of indigenous peoples, often within conflicts of groups that have co-existed for centuries, this particular displacement of 150,000 local tribes people from Darfur in western Sudan, doesn't yield any satisfactory answer or motive for the crime.

The United Nations is concerned because 150,000 tribes people have fled across the border to neighboring Chad. The UN Special rapporteur conveys reports that the Sudanese government and its militia have massacred civilians in the Malaki region to the south and of killings in Darfur.² Canada's Ambassador Allan Rock chides the Security Council for its response time.³ Jan Egeland for the U.N.,⁴ warns of possible genocide due to lack of adequate aid.

Western Press and United Nations reports blame government supported Arab militias - currently called "Janjaweed militias". A pattern of Western powers de-stabilization in this region of Africa might be recognized in Sudan's contemporary history. Once a colony of Great Britain (Independence 1956), and continually subject to civil war and military coups, the Constitution of Sudan was most recently effected on June 30th 1998. Less than two months later, August 20, 1998, U.S. President Clinton bombed a Sudanese pharmaceutical plant in what was purveyed as retaliation against Islamic "terrorism" (It was also an act of war against a sovereign nation, and a crime at international law).

With increased internal dissension, Sudan's Constitution ceded to national emergency laws in December of 1999.⁵ Although Sudan may have both oil and gas reserves of value, neither is large enough to easily explain the crimes against humanity as criminal corporate expansions using de-stabilization and massacres for field tools. What seems to be happening in areas such as East Timor or western Sudan, or Guatemala, in situations enduring a quarter of a century or more, is the attempted gradual extermination of entire peoples who have previously maintained coherent and effective cultures for centuries if not millennia (consider as well the peoples of Afghanistan, Iraq, the Balkan States, the Congo and the longevity of their cultures).

In Sudan, territorial disputes with Ethiopia, Egypt, and Kenya, as well as heavy tribal overlapping with Uganda and Chad, remain scars from colonial impositions of European boundaries on a continent shared by tribes. There is some suggestion in this tragedy that modern colonization is maintained by de-stabilization leading to genocide, and the world has already seen the effect of this in Rwanda. The effects in Uganda, which harbored and launched the current ruler of Rwanda, trained by the U.S. military, have essentially been hidden from the world. De-stabilization of all areas surrounding Sudan are yielding massacres without explanation.⁶ With reference to attacks on civilians in Darfur by the government and its militias, these seem less like the acts of a dictatorship and

more like directed anarchy in classic de-stabilization, because the extreme suffering caused is of no benefit to anyone. It may be simply an engineered destruction of indigenous people, as in the Americas, as in Palestine/Israel, as in the Iraq/Iran war, people who should find protection under the U.N.'s Convention on Genocide.

The U.S. "Sudan Peace Act" (Bill H.R.5531) of 2002, warns any other country interested in Sudan's oil reserves, of U.S. Sanctions and reprisal, and the Act has claimed Sudan's government responsible for Genocide. The Canadian company, Talisman, sold its holdings in Sudan. The Act encourages U.S. humanitarian intentions outside of the U.N., which turns assistance into a weapon. Couched in the language of anti-genocide and anti-slavery, it places anyone attempting to affirm rights of a legitimate government which might disagree with the U.S. in the position of defending war crimes. The morality of the U.S. position in this case is somewhat undercut by claiming the right to a sovereign country's resources, as it has in effect, by disregarding both Sudan's law and International law (Sudan's law is based on U.K. law, International Court Law, and Islamic Law). The U.S. has again disregarded Sudan's sovereignty as a nation. As with the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, the results may be economically happy for the World Bank, but tragic for the people.

July 15, 2004

New Vision "U.S. General Meets Brig. Banya in Gulu," reports from Kampala, Uganda, the visit of U.S. General Wald, referred to as the "deputy chief of the US command for the European Union based in Germany." Also present were the "director of intelligence at the US Command in Germany, Brig. Gen Richard Zahner," and two American operatives not formally identified to the African journalists. A civil war is currently in progress in northern Uganda, abutting Sudan. Regionally, Wald is also to visit Rwanda.⁷ On July 12th he met with Nigerian officials.⁸ Several African journalists note U.S. military interest in African oil resources as a result of the failure of Middle East policies.

July 19, 2004

The Genocide warning in Darfur, western Sudan, continues. Estimates show over 1,050,000 people displaced and 200,000 who have fled to Chad. The two rebel groups (whose positions coincide with the U.S. position) have impeded negotiations; lack of negotiation may lead to more ethnic cleansing.⁹

The U.S. *Boston Globe* calls the current tragedy in Sudan, a "genocide" by the National Islamic Front, rulers of Sudan, and encourages a U.N. Security council resolution for "humanitarian military intervention."¹⁰ *The Boston Globe* of July 16, 2004 ("US Presidential Nominee, Kerry says U.S. ignores Sudan 'genocide' threat"), quotes John Kerry calling the situation in Sudan a "genocide." In tactics reminiscent of U.S. military policy in South Vietnam from 1965 to 1970, the regional militia and government troops are reported destroying villages thought to support rebel groups, as described by Human Rights Watch¹¹ (These seem to be standard counterinsurgency tactics in an effort to deprive rebel groups of a popular base and provisions; these counterinsurgency tactics are no less criminal when used by Arabic and Muslim authorities).

Most of the victim tribes are also Muslim. Atrocities against them include destruction of religious symbols. For example, the Islamic government and militias stand accused of burning at least 65 mosques¹². This might suggest the use of mercenaries rather than tribesmen as fighters. To put aside classification of the tragedy, causes of the crisis in Darfur remain difficult for me to understand. As in early problems in Rwanda, media portrayal of the crisis suggests perception management in editorials and news stories portraying atrocities so that any sensitive reader will want them to stop, but the same stories and reporters make no efforts to provide background, depth, balance. Essential portions of the news are ignored as they are with corporate media reporting of the Congo, northern Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, where there are ongoing conflicts.

Sept. 22, 2004

A majority of the Security Council has suggested an "international commission of inquiry in order immediately to investigate reports of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law in Darfur by all parties, to determine also whether or not acts of genocide have occurred, and to identify the perpetrators of such violations with a view to ensuring that those responsible are held accountable...." ("Text of U.N. Security Council Resolution on Sudan," UN, Sept. 19, 2004).

Jan. 15, 2005

My understanding of the reasons for the tragedy in Darfur hasn't progressed past my essay of September 19th, 2004 ("The Third Force in Rwanda and Sudan,"), and notes (above). U.S. policy makers may have made war in Sudan for corporate self interest. Brian Smith's article "Mounting evidence of US destabilisation of Sudan," (19 Nov. 2004, *World Socialist Web Site*), substantiates this and presents what U.S. Corporate interests have gained. With respect for the suffering of the displaced population of Darfur, Western human rights organizations carefully ignore the U.S. tactical victory. Mean-while International media are downplaying World Health Organization programs which seem to progress smoothly whether a portion of the country's people is starving or not: the first program is the inoculation of six million Sudanese children with polio vaccine by at least 40,000 volunteers,¹³ as well as a supplementary inoculations program against meningitis for 150,000 Darfur refugees.¹⁴ These actions coincide with the peace treaty between the Sudanese government and U.S. backed rebels in the South.

Feb. 1, 2005

A U.N. Report, not yet made public, as reported in the *Los Angeles Times*, finds the Government of Sudan not engaged in a policy to exterminate, and the

tragedy of Darfur not a "genocide."¹⁵ The U.S. has declared the situation in Sudan a "genocide." The report is said to suggest the matter be turned over to the International Criminal Court. The U.S. does not currently adhere to this court.

Feb. 18, 2005

The "Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General" of January 25, 2005, finds crimes against humanity have been committed by all parties but does not place itself as judge; specific people are not named; evidence is held in a sealed file ready for the judicial process; the report specifically suggests (paragraph 573) the inadvisability of using any court mechanism other than the International Criminal Court; the report strengthens universal jurisdiction (paragraph 612); the report suggests reparations to the victims (paragraph 591) and setting up a Compensation Board.¹⁶ "The Commission, in my view, eloquently and powerfully argues that referral to the ICC is the best means by which to halt ongoing violations and prevent future ones." - The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbour.¹⁷ U.S. difficulties in acceding to ICC jurisdiction may affect the recovery of the population.

March 24, 2005

Jan Egeland of the U.N. has estimated a death toll from "illness and malnutrition" at 180,000. Amnesty International has estimated 50,000 deaths by violence. The BBC report blames pro-government militia.¹⁸ The U.S. continues to refuse a U.N. recommendation of adjudication for accountability at the International Criminal Court.¹⁹ The government of Sudan continues to maintain that the rebels started the war which has caused substantial displacement of peoples.²⁰

April 16, 2005

As reported by UPI in *World Peace Herald* (April 16, 2005), a major source of oil has just been discovered beneath Darfur (according to the government of Sudan); working oil fields in the south of Sudan produce oil revenue to be split fifty-fifty between the government and rebel forces.²¹ In summary, the western area of Sudan has been inexplicably destabilized with war crimes resulting in the deaths of many innocents and movements of the surface population; the U.S. declared the government of Sudan guilty of genocide ("Sudan Peace Act of 2002"); similar insight into the workings of this region's loss of peoples is suggested by the fifty-fifty split of oil revenue between the Sudanese government and forces sustained by unnamed foreign countries, as required to settle civil war in the south of Sudan.

April 21, 2005

The first of 10,000 UN troops have arrived in Sudan to "keep the peace", essentially in the south where the oil contracts have been negotiated. The key remaining point of dissension seems to be a contract between Total, France's fourth largest corporation which negotiated an agreement with the Sudanese government in Khartoum, and White Nile, a new British company which began negotiating its agreement two years ago with the rebel government amid a civil dissension that has cost two million lives.²² As for Darfur, the UN Human Rights Commission, continuously under attack for not serving the agendas of major powers, has approved as requested by the European powers a resolution condemning war crimes, but without specifically condemning the government of Sudan.²³ The U.S. has requested NATO troops for "peacekeeping" in Sudan, while France, preferring incursions by the European Union, is relying on the African Union.²⁴

Aug. 10, 2005

John Garang, leader of the southern insurgency and with recent "peace" made VP of Sudan, is dead, having fallen out of the sky in a helicopter returning from Uganda. Facts that did not find their way into media reports of the "civil war" which took the lives of at least two million people: Garang attended Grinnell College in Iowa,²⁵ received a Masters and Phd from Iowa State University,²⁶ and attended U.S. command school at Fort Benning Georgia. He shared with the current leader of Rwanda (who remains implicated in the airplane tragedy which sparked the Rwandan genocide), a reliance on Uganda's Museveni, amply funded by the U.S., as well as U.S. military command school training. Pres. Kagame received training at Fort Leavenworth (ref. "H.E. Paul Kagame, Personal Profile," current 10 Aug. 2005). This may cast an American shadow on the losses of millions on millions of Africans and the uses of tactical genocide in the five lakes region. Covert DIA/CIA programs for the region should be exposed by necessity of the Convention against Genocide, and subjected to review by U.S. courts, or International Criminal Court with or without U.S. approval.

Jan. 6, 2006

With dismay the U.N. Secretary General notes the increase in "large scale" violence against civilians in Darfur.²⁷ The *Financial Times* reveals a U.N. report's conclusion that the principle obstacle to negotiations seems to be dissension within the rebel army.²⁸ The Western press usually faults government backed militia for the violence.

Feb. 19, 2006

The Bush administration is pressing for NATO forces and UN troops;²⁹ the U.S. government first declared a "genocide" in Sudan in the Sudan Peace Act of 2002, before the war in Darfur began.

May 16, 2006

Darfur update: under international pressure, the major rebel group in Darfur signed a peace agreement with the Government of Sudan. Two other rebel groups refused to sign and may be brought in line by United Nations pressure. A current report finds rebels still recruiting in the refugee camps of Chad.³⁰ The African Union peacekeeping mission ran out of funding when opposed by a U.S. agenda to send in NATO or United Nations troops. Although the Government of Sudan preferred the African Union, the United Nations Security Council has decided to intercede. Once African Union authority was ceded to the UN, Japan funded African Union activities to the amount of 8.7 million dollars. The Government of Sudan is at risk of losing portions of its country. Secession of the South and portions of Darfur may be encouraged by western corporate interests. All major European and North American media have apparently agreed not to ask or reveal the rebels' funding sources and arms support groups, although an alternative media interview (*Democracy Now!*) has at least established the presence of two rebel representatives in Washington D.C. on May 15. The rebels' reluctance to make peace has prolonged a tragedy which invites secrecy and unreason to cover its shame. The modest success of the peace process coincides with the halving of aid from the U.N. World Food Program. The suffering is to be balanced with emergency aid by Bush of the U.S.. Harper of Canada. New Democratic Party leader Jack Layton, would consider committing more Canadian forces to Darfur where there are already a hundred Canadian troops. Canada's previous African missions were not successful.³¹

June 21, 2006

The current President of Sudan, Omar Bashir, affirms that he will lead his nation in resistance to a military invasion of Darfur by U.N. forces. Preferring the assistance of the continent's African Union forces which were increasingly deprived of adequate funding, the Sudanese government finds the U.N. representing Euro-

American colonial interests in this instance.³² English and American interests, including some of our notable human rights agencies and groups, have supported UN intervention as an alternative to the horrible suffering presented by media agendas. Neither the U.S. nor U.N. has offered compensation for the U.S. 1998 bombing of a Sudanese pharmaceutical company servicing half the Sudanese population.

Aug. 11, 2006

Despite extravagant human rights concern of North Americans among others, Darfur continues to suffer; the group that might reasonably and legally maintain peace and recovery, the African Union with 7000 still on the ground, is not receiving adequate assistance, if any, from former and current colonial powers who seem limited in understanding by ethnocentricity.³³

Nov. 10, 2006

China is supporting the Government of Sudan's position by blocking a U.S. move for UN forces in Sudan. China's current investment in Sudan is over six billion U.S. dollars.³⁴ Some U.S. and Canadian groups have called for divestment and/or labelled the situation in Darfur a "genocide," pressing UN military intervention rather than demanding disarmament of rebel groups refusing negotiated settlement. At the China-Africa summit, China pledged by 2009 to double its aid to Africa. China also pledged debt forgiveness to the poorest African nations, training for 15000 Africans, building of 60 hospitals/malaria clinics and 100 schools, and other humanitarian investments toward international equity.

Nov. 15, 2006

As U.S. propagandists use the terrible suffering of villagers in Darfur to build anger at the Government of Sudan (propaganda for war), UN Commissioner of Human Rights, Louise Arbour, has asked the Government of Sudan to intervene

and disarm militias in west Darfur, to end the harming of civilians and refugees;³⁵ on her return from a visit to Darfur last May, the Commissioner encouraged the International Criminal Court to prosecute suspects of Darfur's war crimes; the UN Security Council (with US abstention) has given the ICC authority over regional war crimes there.³⁶ By excusing itself from the ICC and legal responsibility for war crimes, the US administrations involved forfeit a chance to prove their innocence of causative crimes. U.S. policy has supported rebel groups in the south of Sudan, now in the west, at a terrible price to the Sudanese people. Why hasn't the world insisted on disarmament in Sudan? And why hasn't the U.N. heavily funded and strengthened the African Union?

Nov. 21, 2006

Moammar Gadhafi has encouraged the government of Sudan to reject foreign intervention: "Western countries and America are not busying themselves out of sympathy for the Sudanese people or for Africa but for oil and for the return of colonialism to the African continent."³⁷ The presidents of Egypt, Sudan, Chad, Eritrea, and Central Africa (expected) are to meet with Gadhafi in Tripoli to deal with Darfur.³⁸ Andrew Natsios, President Bush's special envoy on Darfur, has threatened "Plan B" if Sudan doesn't resolve the crisis by the time the African Union's funds run out at the end of December.³⁹

Dec. 26, 2006

International Criminal Court prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo, has told the UN Security council that the ICC is ready to proceed with prosecution of cases against alleged war criminals in Sudan. The U.S. has abstained from the ICC effort.⁴⁰

Jan. 9, 2007

U.N. troops in southern Sudan stand accused of crimes against the humanity of children; a story in the *Daily Telegraph* of London accuses United Nations personnel - both civilian staff and peacekeepers, of war crimes against young children; some parallels are drawn between such allegations and Government of Sudan reluctance to accept United Nations intervention in Darfur;⁴¹ *Agence France Press* reports crimes against NGO workers, including rape, at Gereida in Darfur. *Oxfam* workers and *Action contre la faim* workers have evacuated leaving 12 Red Cross workers with 100 area employees; the *AFP* article claims the area is controlled by "the rebel Sudan Liberation Army."⁴²

In Somalia, Canada's *Globe and Mail* concedes Washington's covert management of Ethiopia's invasion victory of Somalia; while this may bring a momentary stability to a region which has troubled North American militaries, it is more simply understood as a US effort to occupy and further destabilize a region to corporate uses.⁴³

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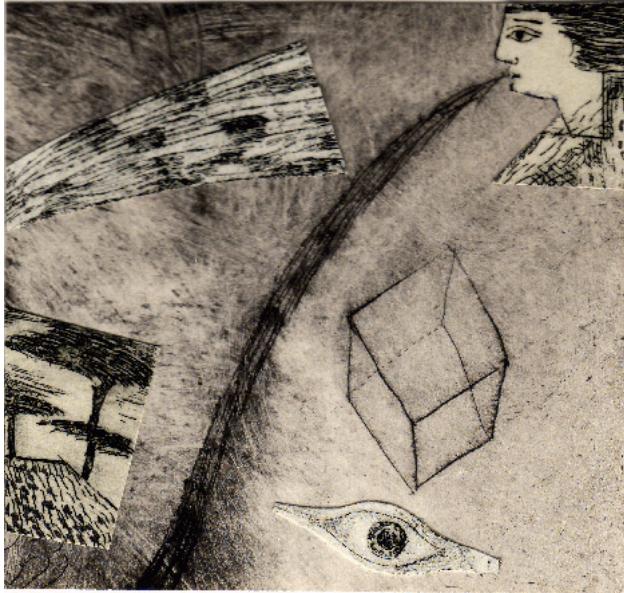
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The 'Third Force' in Rwanda and Sudan

After reading General Dallaire's *Shake Hands with the Devil*, his account of commanding U.N. forces in Rwanda during the 1994 slaughters, I'm puzzled at how much horror human nature is capable of, or how much it has to forget. Dallaire left several things unsaid. He mentioned his U.S. military training, but didn't mention Paul Kagame, a colonel in the army of Uganda who was plucked from U.S. training at Fort Leavenworth to lead the Tutsi invasion of Rwanda. And Dallaire didn't reveal the arms sources for the sometimes sophisticated weaponry enjoyed by Kagame's forces. Dallaire does mention that Hutu massacres of civilian Tutsis were caused by Kagame's invasion, but doesn't identify the mysterious "third force" relentlessly driving Rwanda toward tragedy.

As the next tragedy unfolds in Sudan, we need to know more about what the "third force" is, this force that drives entire nations into condemning its civilian population to massacres or starvation.

Kagame's invasion of Rwanda was covertly paid for by United States funding to Uganda. Ugandan President Museveni, favored by the International Monetary Fund, allowed Uganda to be the launching base for military actions against surrounding countries. Remigius Kintu as President of the Uganda Democratic Coalition claimed in 1997 that Museveni received 1.8 billion US dollars in loans from the World Bank to train rebel movements for return to Rwanda and Sudan among other African countries. The independent Casoliva and Carrera report from Spain lists 183 million dollars US. aid to Uganda from 1989 -1992.

In accounts of the Rwandan slaughter, the peoples' choice of weapon, the machete, is consistent with their poverty. The invading Tutsi army killed with machine gun, rifle and artillery. Dallaire notes that Kagame's artillery shells would leave the outline of a victim's body like a red shadow on a stucco wall. According to several heavily suppressed sources, the surface-to-air missiles which brought down the Rwandan President's plane and sparked the mass murder, were sophisticated,

of U.S. Iraq war ordinance, and traced to Kagame's command. The Tutsi invasion with its propriety and functioning supply lines was appropriate to a first world nation's army, while most Rwandans remained in poverty.

Killing by wealthy armies is less personal and less likely to be called genocide. Killing by economics is the least personal of all. In Rwanda, lists were made of Tutsi and Hutu, similar to what the CIA in Indonesia and Chile for example, called its "shooting lists" as it turned them over to armies for extermination. French and Belgian army advisors worked for Rwanda's government at the time. When the slaughters were encouraged if not directed by the country's radio, the powerful nations refused to jam its signals. Was this genocide by the list necessary for Rwandans who were already sensitive to tribal identification ?

The Rwandan 'genocide', as it is called, occurred about six months after the Tutsi had similarly massacred several hundred thousand Hutu in the Tutsi takeover of Burundi to the south, and swelled the number of Hutu fleeing to Rwanda who were pushed beyond the acceptable. The regional shift of power suggests an international effort, as the Tutsi became once again the rulers of Rwanda, and Burundi, with strong influence in Uganda.

Responsibility for any 'genocide', may rest with any outside force destabilizing the governments of the five lakes region of Africa and replacing them with governments friendly to the U.S. and World Bank development. What seems to be an expanding military-political operation of duration and magnitude is requiring genocide as a facet of its toolkit. Sudan supported Iraq during the first U.S. and Coalition war. In 1996 U.S. President Clinton released 20 million dollars of aid to the countries around Sudan to contain it. U.S. involvement with Sudan tangled with public consciousness in 1998, when the US bombed a pharmaceutical company in the capital. The Sudanese claimed the company made half the country's medicines.

This act of war destroyed a new government struggling with democracy, which then reverted to martial law. In 2004 we read reports of mass killings by

Arabic peoples, in media synchronicity with the neglect of human rights for Arab ethnic groups in the United States and Canada. To the south of Sudan a long civil war between Christian forces and the Islamic government has calmed due to international pressure. It is likely that the Christians would be funded through Uganda, by the U.S. Another front was opened against Sudan's government in the Darfur region, by African groups, under the wing of rebels to the south. So the government of Sudan asked Arab militia help to contain the rebel movement. Supposed bases of insurgence were attacked to discourage cooperation with the rebels.

That is what the U.S. did in Vietnam for a decade. In Darfur over a million local people fled their homes and filled refugee camps, usually in neighboring Chad. In negotiations the U.S. backed rebels haven't cooperated, causing more massacres and displacement. Killings, burning of mosques, rape and enslavement, are blamed on government supported militia, though tactically work against the government's interest. These are terrible crimes and are much more personal and of better use to the media than death by cluster bomb. The actual victims are as guiltless as the people of Iraq.

The point of rebel tactics seems to be to trip the U.S. and European militaries into intervention in what is being called a 'genocide' because so many people are dying or will die. Once a situation is recognized as a 'genocide,' nations who have signed the U.N.'s Convention on Genocide are supposed to do something about it. The US officially declared genocide in Sudan under the Sudan Peace Act of 2002; which would allow under U.S. law, unilateral military intervention. The U.S. did nothing overt about it; so one guesses the Act's purposes were covert, and suspects U.S. control of the rebels in Darfur.

The U.S. has usually avoided any mention of 'genocide' as a factor of its wars or its allies' wars, but in the case of Sudan international law rests firmly in defense of non-aggressor nations, so some pretext would be needed to allow outside intervention. A 'genocide' factor is now of tactical use and we may

recognize a pattern of intentional regional de-stabilization resulting in tragedies for the populations.

What the Sudan and Rwandan tragedies have in common is that the mass killings in both instances rose from a legitimate government's response to military attack. The military attack is illegal, but doesn't justify war crimes in response. It is likely that a military planner could foresee mass civilian killings and displacement, as a result of opening a war. So the responsibility for resulting war crimes becomes complex. It seems arbitrary to assign guilt entirely to the defending country when there is evidence of provocative aggression by another.

It is possible that we are slow to understand the 'third force' in such situations because of its continuing presence in global news. As a military tactic, mass killings are war on the people by the powerful, and are increasingly the function of militaries. There are elements of genocide in the mix, much as in Vietnam, whenever the killers and victims are of different ethnic or religious or racial and I would add, "political" groups. What first world citizens are reluctant to admit is that in military actions by powerful nations against third world countries, there are few first world casualties and so many military and civilian casualties in the third world, that these are not wars but slaughters. Does the U.S. wish to consider one or two of these tragedies a 'genocide,' for tactical reasons ?

Increasingly, third world countries seem set up for slaughter, particularly if their peoples are prone to disease and poverty. War efforts divert any available funding from necessary social services. To force impoverished nations to war is a professional crime of arms merchants.

In Sudan the government has publicly condemned the killings and claims to be trying to stop the crimes, but it hasn't helped. Sudan remains under military threat from the U.S., which makes it difficult for the government of Sudan to save its people from renegades and starvation. Either as victims of armed attack or of starvation and sickness, huge numbers of the civilian population are lost.

In both Rwanda and Sudan, the killings which become genocide or mass slaughters and displacements began in response to a military threat from groups linked to the U.S.. There are no legal or moral justifications for aggression or genocide. We need to learn surer ways to call crimes of power to account.



The Tactical Use of Genocide in Sudan and the Five Lakes Region

When food production is disrupted by war there are few defenses to natural disaster. Interrelated wars of varying intensity continue in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Chad, Uganda, Rwanda, Congo. Much of East Africa is starving.

Amidst the terrible suffering we find the United States and its principle humanitarian organizations insisting that the Government of Sudan is committing genocide. This was officially decided in 2002 with the Sudan Peace Act,¹ and the position is dutifully echoed by U.S. officials, many government funded NGO's, and the U.S. news media.

If nations of the world agreed that a verifiable genocide were occurring, it would allow the U.S. to occupy Sudan and gain its assets. There is profit for the U.S. in deciding that Sudan's Government has committed genocide. The nations of the world did not agree. The Director of the World Health Organization stated last summer it was not a genocide.² *Medecins sans Frontières* workers have reported it is not a genocide.³ And finally the U.N. decided it wasn't a genocide.⁴ Yet something terrible has happened there.

Over four million Sudanese became displaced, according to a 1999 estimate,⁵ and the subsequent diminished figures suggest the accounts are juggled. In the south of Sudan alone, two million have died from war and starvation brought about by a rebellion and guerilla war. When peace was finally made between the Government of Sudan and the rebel forces in the south (SPLM/A), Jan. 9, 2005,⁶ the rebels were able to claim the land they won, to negotiate and sell its substantial oil concessions. So the war and rebellion was something other than tribal differences or raids for slaves.

The leader of the Southern rebellion, John Garang, went to Grinnell College in the U.S. and was trained at the U.S. Army command school.⁷ He bears some

similarity to Paul Kagame, the current President of Rwanda, who also trained at the U.S. Army command school. In 1990 Paul Kagame began attacking Rwanda from Uganda, and in 1994 invaded with well armed troops, a modern weapons army, and land forces, precipitating a program of mass slaughters. Was it a fluke of tribal war that became genocide? Or was it a carefully planned NATO operation that discounted African population loss ?

The same Paul Kagame remains under suspicion of having triggered the bloodshed by shooting down the plane of the former president of Rwanda, using a team under his command. After long police investigation, French courts are calling him to account, since there were several French nationals on that plane.⁸ In turn Paul Kagame has accused the French of genocide, since there were French advisors in Rwanda's defending army. Paul Kagame remains a strong ally of the U.S. and I recommend Michel Chossudovsky's material on their mutuality.⁹ The death toll of casualties resulting from the U.S. backed invasion, the French trained defense, and the massacres of the population, settled at 3,150,000 or 40% of the population, by 1997, according to a Rwandan ex-minister of Defense.¹⁰ The more one learns of the Tutsi-Hutu war in Rwanda and Burundi the harder it is to avoid the awareness of a program which brought about the mass murder.

Aside from the lucrative crime of Sudan, there is a pattern of heavy population loss throughout what may be a larger theater of operations. The Tutsi invasion of Rwanda seemed carefully planned. Kagame's army ordered foreigners out of Rwanda. Then it murdered several bishops who stayed with their congregations, and foreigners who couldn't leave. There were supposed to be no witnesses. Amid the reports of fifth column Tutsis who were hunted down are reports of massacres of all and any civilians. A Belgian with family who couldn't get out and was rescued, reported that in his area, the massacres of Tutsi were committed by mercenaries serving Kagame's army;¹¹ "the majority of the massacres were carried out with the arrival of those mercenaries who killed

whomever they met without any ethnic discrimination, in a clear operation of whole-territory cleansing."¹² The Rwandan "genocide" may have been a military tactic.

Henry Kissinger, whose hand can be seen in the mayhem of the Vietnam conflict, in East Timor, in Pinochet's takeover of Chile, in the Iran-Iraq war, was responsible for long-range planning which produced the U.S. "National Security Memorandum 200 (NSSM 200)" of April 24, 1974. This "identifies population growth in the less developed countries (LDC's) of the world as a threat to American security".¹³ To quote again Prof. David Lutz's essay, "The Ethics of American Military Policy in Africa," "One of the specific ways in which population growth is seen as a potential threat to American strategic interests is its impact on the availability of minerals."¹⁴

In southern Sudan the war that John Garang provoked and fought killed more people than the Rwandan 'genocide,' but more slowly. Since 1983, most of the two million confirmed casualties died from starvation. The regional population was displaced. As peace was made in the South under pressure from the international community, a new war began to open in the west of Sudan, February 2003, in Darfur.

A U.N. report verifies that rebel groups in Darfur were trained by rebels from the South.¹⁵ And according to a report from the International Crisis Group (ICG) the rebel group of Southern Sudan, the SPLA, "trained 1,500 Darfurians near Raja, southwest Sudan, in March 2002."¹⁶ The article also finds Darfur rebels supplied by (U.S. backed) southern Sudan rebels with arms through Uganda, Eritrea and Chad.

In adapting the war on civilians to Darfur, small groups of guerillas attacked the Government of Sudan troops, which provoked reprisals against entire towns. Areas outside the Government of Sudan's control would then become eligible for U.S. funding made available by the *Sudan Peace Act of 2002*.¹⁷ Reprisals came at the hands of paid marauders (the Janjaweed) often followed by the Government of

Sudan's army. War crimes were widely reported. The war in Darfur and outrageousness of the reprisals seemed to have little purpose but to elicit "humanitarian" aid and outside intervention. The fighting serves to drive people off the oil lands. People of each 'side' have committed war crimes, but for no reason that serves the people. And while surrounded by representatives from European-U.S. human rights organizations. Civilians are always the victims. In Islamic areas mosques were burned, supposedly by forces working for an Islamic government. Sudanese villages were bombed or burned that stood for centuries.

Christian Aid reports that when an oil field is developed, for example the Thar Jath in 1999,¹⁸ the [Islamic] government burns the villages of the people and murders the inhabitants. If true, is the government of Sudan attempting a kind of corporate "favor"? Should the Swedish Landon Oil Company be charged with war crimes? Is it expedient for the mining and drilling corporations to murder all the local people who might one day claim what is in the earth? Is that the hard deal of selling concessions to what belongs to the people? If so, it is a genocide but we should be more critical of our own societies when looking for guilt. So there is something new at work. Yet it is entirely familiar.

In Darfur, a current (2006) U.N. report concedes 1.8 million internal refugees and 200,000 refugees over the border in Chad.¹⁹ The war in Darfur prolongs an economic mechanism which worked effectively in the South for over twenty years. Between 1989 and 1998 the U.S. supplied over 700 million dollars to Sudan, calling the amount "humanitarian assistance." By a press conference in February 2006, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Jendayi Frazer, said "The United States has spent over a billion dollars on 'humanitarian assistance.'" The USAID web site lists humanitarian assistance amounting to \$509,532,362 spent for the Darfur emergency in 2005 alone.²⁰

Catastrophe is business. As Sanctions were applied by the U.S. against Sudan, initially by designating Sudan a sponsor of terrorism in 1993, with increased economic sanctions in 1997, then diplomatically applied through the U.N.

in 1996²¹ (the *Sudan Peace Act of 2002* is also a mechanism for applying more Sanctions), a war ravaged people was made to rely on imported foods rather than their own produce. But without terrible suffering there would be no humanitarian assistance. So the war continued requiring more assistance.²² Non-African countries have made themselves necessary to the survival of the Sudanese people who had no need of them.

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To quote the U.S.'s 2002 *Sudan Peace Act*: "The President is authorized to provide assistance to the areas of Sudan that are not controlled by the Government of Sudan to prepare the population for peace and democratic governance..."²³

The *Sudan Peace Act of 2002* also provides a mechanism to deny Sudan access to payment from its own oil resources. It was recently discovered that Sudan has more oil than Saudi Arabia and Iran together.²⁴ And the White Nile and Blue Nile conjoin as the water source for nations in a dry region²⁵. Early warning of water-wars for these headwaters of the Nile was noted by Enver Masud of *The Wisdom Fund*²⁶ as early as 1996, and by Ms. Muriel Mirak of the Schiller Institute.

As desirable as Sudan was, the U.S. could not invade without provocation, and Sudan seems careful not to provoke the United States. In 1998 President Clinton's missiles destroyed half of Sudan's pharmaceutical industry: the El Shifa pharmaceutical factory was a civilian's business and supplied free medicine to fifteen percent of the Sudanese. There was no legal justification of the U.S. action and no compensation offered. Essentially, Sudan did not respond. The U.S. could not take over Sudan without a pretext.

So there began a tug of war using the United Nations Convention on Genocide. The Sudanese people were suffering. Crimes against women in Sudan were reported in *The New York Times* and *The New Yorker* amid the jewelry ads. The U.N. Convention, if broken, would let the U.S. save the Sudanese from the

Government of Sudan. One would expect the Sudanese to be careful to avoid even the appearance of genocide. So the Government of Sudan has remained at war with outside provocation. *Medecins Sans Frontières*, whose doctors serve the sick in Darfur, is very careful to avoid any partisan political statement.

Physicians for Human Rights is a U.S. NGO and part of the Harvard Human Rights Initiative. Doctors in the States risk being thought of as venal: not doctoring the poor as a group could be considered a crime against humanity so the concept of *Physicians for Human Rights* is welcome. From the *Physicians for Human Rights* January 2006 report, comes this assessment of the current situation in Sudan: "By eliminating access to food backup support and water and by expelling people into inhospitable terrain and then in many cases blocking crucial outside assistance the government of Sudan and the Janjaweed have created the conditions to destroy the non-Arab people of Darfur in contravention of the 1948 *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide...*"²⁷

As of January 2006 the African Union had nearly 7000 soldiers on the ground trying to keep peace and it is costing 17 million dollars/month.²⁸ A lack of funding is controlling the mission and may close it down in March. It is likely to 'fail' because the U.S. wants European mechanisms to intercede, to assure a lucrative transfer of the rights to natural resources to Western corporate interests.²⁹

Current U.S. Assistant Secretary of African Affairs, Jendayi Frazer, reveals that given the U.S. presidency of the U.N. Security Council [and the African Union's lack of funds] the peace-keeping mission will be transferred to U.N. control and direction,³⁰ although the Government of Sudan has not acceded yet. When asked by many journalists the same question regarding the U.S. position on its finding of 'genocide,' neither Frazer nor Assistant Secretary of State Silverberg addressed the questions. Conclusion: the tactic of calling Government of Sudan war practices a 'genocide,' is not tactically necessary if the U.S. can move into Sudan with the U.N..

Facts about Darfur and the entire region which are left out of media reports may clarify. I start with Idi Amin who became ruler of Uganda, the country next door to Sudan, in 1971. Amin like his customary opposition, Milton Oboto, Uganda's president at Independence (1962), was raised in Western thought within the world view of a British colonial regiment, which he then joined. As a leader he was noted by Europeans for his fidelity to Africa, and the outrageousness of his human rights violations, slaughtering a hundred thousand African political opponents at a time. Muslim sources considered Idi Amin in league with Israel, a sponsor of his regime for possible use against Sudan.³¹ Sudan had supported the Arabs in Israel's "Six Day War," so after Ugandan Independence, Uganda's army was at least in part, Israeli trained. Amin visited Israel and he was an early supporter of rebels in southern Sudan³².

Military tactics of colonialists in Africa tend to drift off the edge of the world as though Judao-Christian minds, when freed from the constraining habitat of numbered streets or picket fences, forfeit sure ethical sense. The Judao-Christian mind was collectively scarred by the Holocaust and the reality of nightmare. Possibly traditions left behind by colonialists are seen as rituals by people who have no intrinsic interest. Is it fair to say that there is little African history or legend portraying the mass murders which occurred after colonialist training ? It becomes a relevant question with the slaughter in Rwanda, the former Belgian colony. Did Africa know mass murder before King Leopold's genocide of the Belgian Congo ? In the Americas, did one find mass killings before European arrival ? In the Americas I blame the Catholic Inquisition for the fate assigned pagans in mass killing of Native Americans. For the religious massacres of Europe, the fate of the Cathars, the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre etc., one might question the religious basis of European conformity.

Sudan and Uganda were British colonies, and more religiously pluralistic than most African countries. However there are British firms, companies, families, that have been dealing with the oil and mining rights of Sudan, for generations.

When John Garang's rebels finally did make an oil deal for their concessions, they made it with a small English company called White Nile Ltd. (not White Nile Petroleum). Israel's interest in the region and continuing presence usually remains covert. British East Africa was considered as a feasible site for the Zionist state, before Palestine was chosen.

In about 1982 Roger Winter of the Committee for Refugees, a U.S. "presence" oriented to the State Department, began visiting Museveni and his aide Paul Kagame in the Ugandan countryside. Both were subsequently funded by the U.S.. Museveni became leader of Uganda in 1986, and with Museveni's help, Kagame invaded Rwanda where he became President.³³ Mr. Winter followed his funding to visit with Paul Kagame on occasion during Kagame's invasion of Rwanda, as the U.N. forces' General Dallaire frantically sought international help to stop the inevitable massacres. These victories for U.S. policy were purchased by foreign aid payments to Uganda. Winter was also an early, strong, long-time backer of John Garang's army.³⁴

The U.S. was able to use Museveni and Uganda as a base for expanding its influence in Sudan. The funding of the Sudan operation was difficult to justify since it could signal an aggression against a sovereign nation, so John Garang's guerrilla war was apparently funded with "humanitarian" aid. The aid went to feed a rebel army of the U.S. selected and trained leader, at war with the Muslim Government of Sudan. The mechanism appears to be: the suffering of the people brought humanitarian aid. Which could be used to feed and arm an army. The rebellion dragged on for years because the people's suffering was so awful no one could stop the humanitarian assistance.

This mechanism secures for the U.S. and those within its sphere, rights to natural resources. Is it possible so many are killed because the inhabitants of each region can claim these rights for themselves? Particularly under true democracies or socialism. In Sudan, the inhabitants are being exterminated. The sequence of this mechanism was driven home in the history of North America with displacement of Native Americans, the genocide, the transfer to other reserves,

amid lands now used for mining and oil drilling and the profits of others.

If one wishes to find responsibility for 'genocide' then, in Sudan, one might look to the historical record. What groups have committed genocide before? Under what historical conditions? Would they for example, commit genocide for profit? What some have noted is the propensity of Sudanese in the north, preponderantly Arab and Muslim, to raid for slaves the villages of the south, preponderantly Black and Christian. The U.S. has been able to stand against slavery in propaganda campaigns against the Government of Sudan. Racial and religious distinctions provided a natural contention to raise when attempting to destabilize a region during early attempts by Israel and then the U.S..

It would be unjust not to remember two points of history which everyone is supposed to forget. The first is that Sudan's civil war began before independence (1956) when it became clear that the post WWII British would not divide the country to honor both the north and south. Keeping it together gave power to those who could keep peace between the two. Black army officers revolted in 1955, and a civil war costing 1.5 million lives ended in 1972. The Black forces were called the Banya N.A.³⁵

The second point, almost written out of history, is the Kingdom of Lado which exists, yet without formal recognition of its borders and without American approval. The homeland of its tribes approximates much of the area held by U.S.-selected John Garang's army, and extends over European made borders into neighboring countries. Many of the tribes have been generally displaced by the use of southern Sudan for the strategic interests of other nations. Settlement of the historical grievance which has kept the African homeland from its people might include Britain, Sudan north and south, Uganda, Congo-Zaire, Central African Republic, Belgium and France, pledging to guarantee the African kingdom's integrity as a United Nations protectorate.³⁶

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Those with some responsibility for the victory of European-American interests in that area of Africa during John Garang's funding are: Roger Winter, for years the chief of his own Committee for Refugees, and Susan E. Rice, Assistant Under Secretary of State for African Affairs under Clinton, a protege of then Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, of Roger Winter, and work-along with Philip Gourevitch of the *New Yorker* at that time and John Prendergast and Gayle Smith both of the National Security Council. Ms. Rice was a long time defender of Mr. Garang and U.S. funding. Actual arms delivery to Mr. Garang's forces has been traced to humanitarian groups: Norwegian People's Aid ³⁷ (Daniel Eiffe) - stopped in 1998, and the Norwegian Church Emergency Aid.³⁸ Michael Harari, of Israel's Mossad, was allegedly involved,³⁹ as well as Alberto Prado Herreros, both men with previous smuggling experience in Nicaragua supplying the Contras.⁴⁰ *Human Rights Watch* has documented some involvement by Bulgaria.⁴¹ Arms shipments to Uganda and Rwandan troops invading the eastern Congo were allegedly a U.S. State Department operation working under Ms Rice and Ricardo Zuniga,⁴² and there is some evidence of the gold rich Congo territory being used for weapons purchase after transporting the gold to the coast.⁴³

The distribution of millions of dollars in U.S. humanitarian aid to the south of Sudan was often accomplished by NGO's working directly for U.S. agencies. Food as a weapon of war was a tactic not initiated by the Government of Sudan but by the aggressor. Subsequently in Darfur, the Government of Sudan showed reluctance in cooperating with the NGO's which fueled a devastating war against them using the lands and lives of the innocent.

U.S. operations in southern Sudan could not have been a secret to anyone working the area. The operation was hidden from the world to promote vast humanitarian expenditures for the war. Starvation was a creation of policy. On Nov. 29, 1999 President Clinton signed a bill directly funding Garang's Sudanese People's Liberation Army.⁴⁴

On February 3, 2006, current Secretary of African Affairs Frazer announced brightly to reporters that John Garang's widow was in Washington for Bush's

State of the Union speech.⁴⁵ Considering the meaning of genocide then,⁴⁶ and the laws against it, an objective application of the law endangers the personal freedoms of these mentioned above. Within a context of the American domestic law against genocide several could face the death penalty. A Congressional hearing would reveal where they received their orders.

U.S. information war needs moral ground, to bend hatred of genocide away from outside interference, to the Government of Sudan. But to insist the catastrophes of Sudan are caused by itself is shameful. Sudan seems to have been marked for attempted destruction when it refused to support the Coalition bombing and ruin of Iraq in 1991.

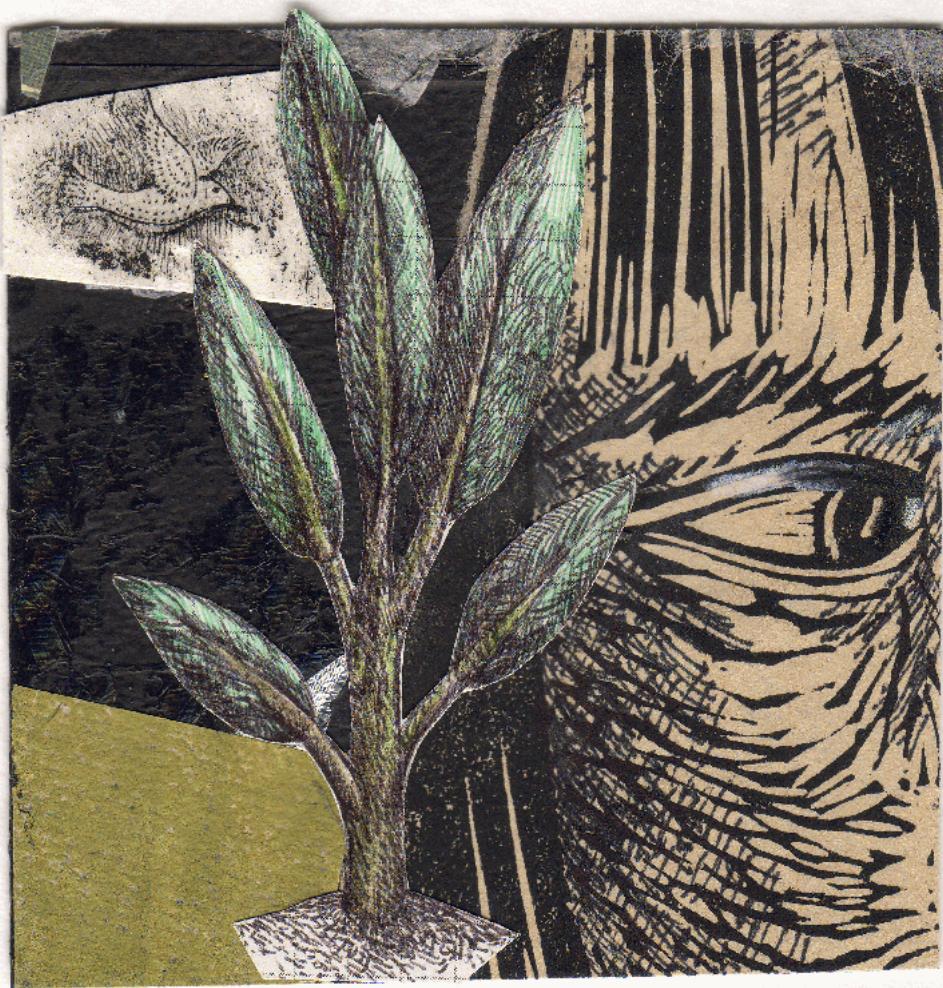
We are experiencing powerful perception management of the war in Darfur. By February 2006 the attempts to take over another third world country seem to be proceeding according to plan. The mechanisms revealed repeat themselves: a powerful country refuses the African Union adequate funding so the mission is ineffective; which requires the UN to place troops from wealthy allies, the countries and corporate hosts which caused the problems. It is a naked policy, if you consider that the cause of the problems is de-stabilization. I'm not sure there is a way to counter a mechanism of making innocent civilians suffer to the extent that intervention is required, other than documentation, and eventual prosecution for the crimes we find unforgivable. Reparations may eventually be available in U.S., European and Israeli courts (currently victims of the CIA's war in El Salvador are finding some restitution in U.S. courts) holding the individuals to account who caused and carried out the crime, but it is less possible when millions are victim, and simply it may be more appropriate to apply the Convention on Genocide. Reparations are not a viable answer. They are a commiseration in mourning. Vengeance is no answer and partakes in endless war. The Convention on Genocide provides some answer; it clarifies our world by making unacceptable what must be unacceptable, offering some hope that those employing genocide for strategic goals will be recognized and prosecuted.⁴⁷

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Lacklove, or Notes on the Crime of Genocide

It is a danger implicit in democracy's rule by the majority, the threat of genocide by consensus. An entire society that condemns the crime of genocide and then calls it by another name can be both criminal and righteous. When legal restraints to the majority or empowered portion of the society are taken away, then that society is in a position to threaten the minority (and any individual within a democracy is also a minority). When the legal restraints affirmatively expressed in civil rights laws, human rights law and Charter Rights, are removed, then the balance necessary to the safety of minorities is removed. As if speaking with a single voice all the US controlled human rights organizations have attempted to condemn the Iraqi people to death, by refusing to deal with two major attempts to conquer Iraq, within the perspective of the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

Because of the Convention on Genocide, any use of weapons of mass destruction may be considered criminal, since these indiscriminately destroy civilian populations. In economic warfare where the ruling classes of supposedly 'enemy' countries often have more in common than citizens within a country, all rulers may eventually be called to account for the effect of their policies on the poor. It seems that the purposes of any war are acquisition or conquest, profits for the arms merchants, and the destruction of underprivileged population groups. Economists will say that the destruction of a targeted area's people is collateral damage, but the people won't. Usually this applies to the residents of the battlefield, particularly if their group hinders access to native oil or mineral deposits, or access for their conveyance to market, or the tactical military use of the region.

The poor of Western countries, primed on television and mass culture entertainment which leads teenagers to armed attacks on their schools, are enlisted to terminate the existence of entire population groups in areas where Western corporations expand their interests.

This mechanism has become clear as an economic tactic of corporate expansion. A difficulty with US foreign policy which allows such a mechanism is that in each instance a genocide is commenced.

It is not always a genocide which is accomplished overnight, but the condemning of a portion of humanity - usually an ethnic or national population group without substantial allies, to death. The thoughtful ask, to what purpose ? The thoughtful do not understand easily the nature of conquest, the glorification of competition which leads to conquest rather than cooperation, the misuse of Darwin's sense of natural selection, to serve the interests of a few. The perspective of conquest is ultimately hinged with cost effectiveness.

It will be cost effective for large corporations and the countries they use, to destroy resistant cultures, societies, ethnic, religious etc. groups: they have done this recently to Yugoslavia, Iraq, and previously to Vietnam. They have accomplished their goals in Afghanistan. In all the above the native peoples or historic inhabitants of the targeted areas now live in ecologically hazardous conditions which can only lower birthrates if in fact the people are allowed biological continuation by what has been wrecked on their habitats.

These are each genocides because there is no truthful way to avoid awareness that there is intention to terminally destroy the groups within the habitat. Because the destruction is inevitable but sometimes very slow, it requires a certain amount of disinformation to the public over the years.

Otherwise, the people would easily understand the crime and stop it. It is not that people are intrinsically angels, but that Genocide simply isn't a crime that benefits people. It certainly doesn't benefit its victims, or all those in bondage through fear of being exterminated. It doesn't benefit the perpetrators, because they become people who can never heal to a sense of oneness with humanity, if in fact they are allowed to live or partake in society. Ecologically, genocide despoils the habitat for all other people.

But it's more than that. Genocide isn't civilized in the sense that it is so criminal people reject it as a military or political tactic, much as they reject murder

or torture. One doesn't want to build a life on the fruits of terrible crimes. So the only people who benefit from genocide are those directly sharing its profit, for example the property of victims, and the professional people who effect the genocides because that is what they are paid to do. These people or groups usually have an agenda based on furthering their own economic interests, and define their group or tribe by exclusions that make their victims somehow less human. The dehumanization of intended victims often begins with deprivation of the basic legal rights, such as right to a fair trial.

Parallel to any genocide are the efforts to hide and disguise its profit. As a corollary you will find concurrent efforts to legitimize any actions necessary for the genocide, which are otherwise largely arbitrary. This is clear if you study how and why the US and its Coalition went to war in Iraq in 1990 and the US and essentially Britain, in 2003. By hiding the economic benefits - essentially making early profits and withdrawing, or by deferring the profit - companies and individuals avoid appearing to have the intention of genocide. When this happens again and again and again, for example when it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that destabilisation of a country will assure ethnic warfare, and when the controls of extreme warfare are removed or denied as an adequate United Nations force was in Rwanda, the resulting crime is not a mistake, nor is it unforeseen.

"Why would we do that ?" as an answer to a charge of genocide, can be answered - at least in terms of contemporary genocides - with the word, "profit," direct profit. The destruction of Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq, each is an action for corporate profits - Euro-North American economic warfare. Countries of the Americas taken over by the US elites through death squads and anti-communism, were for profit. Vietnam and Korea were both wars of economic defence. Neither involved attacks on Western nations, territories or peoples.

It is no coincidence that the awareness of genocide as a tactic of our Judao-Christian civilization, and the laws governing it, marked the end of overt colonialism. Any arrogant group that would control another group for its own

purposes alone, risks at least the psychological destruction of that victim group. Colonial aspects of the Vietnam war were clear to the French, less to Americans who thought they sent their sons to rice paddies to fight Communism, in a kind of madness where communism is now replaced by religious fundamentalism. From the vantage of these years later, the aim of the Vietnam war seems to have been a genocide of the Vietnamese. Or was the agent orange of the land mass meant to be considered a carelessness ?

The destruction of a national group was initially prepared for by the division of the country into North and South - then the battle between the two as in “divide and conquer.” If one would speak of doctoring a country as a body politic, Vietnam could only find its health in wholeness. North and South Korea exist within a similar tension. As in Yugoslavia, whenever a country is broken down it is a prelude to ongoing war, a setting of one part against the other with destruction of all or emergence of one dominant section as the sure result. To live with balanced tension is more complex and is apparently allowed unless it controls wealth wanted by the global elites.

Any war of the people’s resistance against a foreign occupying power, has the Convention against Genocide on its side. That is why the powerful let it fall out of print at the United Nations in the late 1980’s, and why the US will continue to subvert it, as long as the US intends to extend its domain in other countries, particularly by military force.

Therefore it is not likely that any US control group will strengthen the Convention on Genocide. I wish this were not so. Some will find the support for humanity there in US history, but not in contemporary policies. It helps to question again the gradual eradication of American leaders throughout the Sixties, who provided some defence against genocide. So it isn’t so surprising that most US and Western (which increasingly means NATO) countries, have human rights organizations which are basically “dummy organizations,” managing large amounts of philanthropic capital, staffed by committed millionaires and professionals who

are covering their government's participation in acquisitive genocides. With exception. Often nonprofit corporations that pay their executives stout salaries, the non governmental organizations are not taking chances that risk their national group's policies of capital management.

The heads of US human rights organizations, for example, are not in jail. Nor are they risking arrest. Nor are they resisting. My guess is that they are eating well while the North Koreans starve in great numbers. But it is the "business as usual" approach to major crimes that calls our North American human rights community into question. Not one of our major human rights groups has challenged either Gulf War within a perspective of the United Nations Convention on Genocide, despite the deaths of over a million and a half children from the effects of war and withholding of necessary civilian supplies by Sanctions. The civilian deaths were foreseen, reported, and ignored in favour of the war agenda, and partly because human rights organizations and the media remained insensitive to the issue of genocide. In January 2004 the stock market hummed along. By March the US Democrats have put forward an alternative to a war-making criminal presidency, maybe, but not on the grounds that the US President broke major international laws in waging aggressive war and genocide in Iraq, but that an obviously criminal administration in an obviously criminal situation, had lied - as his entire intelligence apparatus had - to trick a Congress of millionaires who needed no tricking under the banners of profit, into accepting a criminal war.

The point from these observations is that I have not found existing recourse for any genuine complaint about North American genocides were the Nazi perspective to reappear and activate. There are moral people and proper organizations. I think of the government of Canada as relatively ethical. But the fault seems to be in deep mind control mechanisms which must have been purposefully implanted in the mass culture - which shut our eyes to the terrible crimes made necessary by capitalism.

The difficulty of a single ideology winning out in the world is that capitalism has never shown itself to be tolerant of difference. Rather it feels threatened by any challenging ideology, to the point of exterminating it. One remembers the lists of thousands of Communists and Trade Unionists, as well as people who didn't like Americans (these were called "shooting lists") that US intelligence operatives handed over to the military authorities in Indonesia as well as Chile. In addition to Western countries and the US in particular, who can't be relied on for countering genocide (and the best reference for this is the retired Lt. General Romeo Dallaire when he speaks on Rwanda), and particularly genocides they are responsible for, one has to include in the same area of doubt all countries and institutions that rely heavily on capitalism.

If genocide is intrinsic to corporate capitalism, why is it even an issue? It is a real concern because the people do not like it or accept it. Genocide degrades us to the same level of non-care and ugliness as the elites who perpetuate such crimes for profit. Because we refuse the lacklove which leaves entire portions of humanity to the choices of a targeting room filled with military lawyers, because we refuse to deny loving, we will stand against genocide as we can, but we can't be sure that capitalism will survive our victory.

UNIVERSITY OF THE HIDDEN STREETS



SOMOS UN CHINGO

Confronting the Big Lie

Respect for Life and Respect for People

The ongoing attempt to eradicate First Peoples of North America was / is never necessary. The why of it remains a puzzle. It was never required by the poor who were often used as the shock troops of conquest. It wasn't required by the traders or small businesses who served all people. But in some way it was required by the rule, by something at the heart of the invading and conquering Europeans that would try to kill off the native peoples. The strongest need seemed to be escape from fear, as if by continued killing of the evidence, the Euro-American could claim the nonexistence of a crime. It is a phenomenon of genocide which puzzles our civilization. What is it in European, possibly Anglo-Saxon culture, that requires the choice between itself and the rest of humanity ?

Consider: if born with equal rights, oneself and humanity at large are the same and have the same interests.

In a truly representative democracy, the need to choose between self and humanity passes, at least for the common / average man and woman. English culture which cradled democracy early and well doesn't require the either/or choice which leads to the enforced eradication of the North American First Peoples, or of the Africans brought to the Americas as an alternative source of slaves.

The ongoing North American genocide comes instead from two sources, racism and capitalism.

Neither ever serves the interests of the people.

Neither ever serves the interests of the poor.

Both are the essential tools of an elite which controls Western civilization, to maintain its control which is to say, wealth. Within it, with varying degrees of freedom are the nations, religions, ethnic groups, corporations, and classes from the wealthy to the dispossessed.

The actual members of that elite - who they are, is arbitrary. In many senses the great criminals of history could as easily be replaced with any upwardly

mobile middle class family, although the culture, values, training of the elite class prepare it for continuance.

Humanity could decide one morning en masse that we do not like bossy people or taking orders, and then reverse the entire system. This would be taboo because it is very deeply trained into us that we cannot, but it is not as binding as taboos which provide some protection to humanity, such as - it is better not to have children with one's blood relatives. What I would head off at the pass here is that it is not likely to do any good at all to simply identify and remove the ruling elites. It is possible. But when that is done, history suggests it allows mass slaughter of common people through wars and "revolutions," and then rule by generals or dictators. Exceptions prove necessary. For example, royalty, when accepting democracies, provides a necessary defence against fascist takeovers.

So the lessons of non-violence remain sound and generally ignored by the media which thrive on mayhem. What we require isn't a violent revolution replacing individuals, or replacing entire job slots, but a change in thinking, in commitment, in what we accept. Violence or armed struggle is either 1. Aggressive, in which case it is criminal and eventually requires judgement and punishment and must offer compensation, or 2., In defence, as resistance to aggression. When a country's own rulers are aggressive against their people, then this resistance may express itself by the people against the rulers or against foreign rulers of occupation. I'm not sure that self-defence is a violence. Its motive, its reason, is protection, preservation. It becomes violent as aggression or when pre-emptive. It is first, counter to other violence. Humanity stands with resistance.

Change requires that our actions be judged not for their value to profit, to earning, but for their value to people. State Communism in the Soviet Union tried this, but with serious loss due to the damage to the environment and sequestering of power within a party elite. So our values must serve the people and all life at the same time, so that the environment and all creation are cared for in mutual sustenance. As if those religions and codes and examples most respecting life itself were showing us a way because in that respect for life in its variety there is no

racism, no war crime, no mass murder, no genocide or other tactics of rule which are inevitably traced to someone somewhere making a profit. Against capitalism and genocide stand respect for life and respect for people, as one.

A Threat against the People

The difficulty is that after thinking about all this for some years, I conclude that North America, but particularly the United States, is preparing for genocide.

The victims intended are the poor, and minorities of colour. The perpetrators or agents are to be the Anglo Saxon and Euro-American conservatives, the elites which have been prepared through several generations and who have formed self-protecting groups with psychologies that inevitably lead to conquest, and all those who obey them because they are scared to mindlessness. Within any perspective of conquest are the tools of how they consider others, and a tactical use of militarily enforced genocide can, I think, be traced to military training and covertly funded entertainment industries. Intuition leads me to much gentler conclusions. The preponderance of white and usually middle class Euro-Americans have little conscious intention other than their own betterment. Is this sense of betterment necessarily one which endangers or entirely replaces others ?

I first became aware of genocide working as a teacher in West Africa, during its independence from colonial rule in 1960. The basic ethic of how one racial group of humanity treats another was relevant to my survival. Years later in the U.S., in 1989 my family small press published (with permission) the United Nations Convention on Genocide when it was out of print at the United Nations. The Convention risked being entirely suppressed and its ratification by the United States in 1988 went unreported. With the first Gulf War as it was called - in fact the destruction and invasion of Iraq as part of a program of acquisition by Western, essentially US corporations - it was clear to me that the U.S. Coalition military action and policy involved genocide, and I shared this awareness as a writer. In general, it was as though genocide was considered all right with everyone else

unless it affected ethnic groups with some economic or political clout. For example genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda was taken to court when the Tutsi had gained military control of the country.

Since then there has been a resurgence of thinking about genocide. Part of it may have risen from the massacres in Rwanda and the world's failure to stop them. Part of the resurgence is because genocide is being used tactically as a weapon of the powerful. Genocides throughout Africa continue to place her resources under the domain of international corporations interested in oil and minerals. The World Court International Tribunal's legal concern for Rwanda and subsequently Yugoslavia was within a perspective limited by essential corporate interests.

Because of my own difficulties trying to publish and disseminate information on the Genocide Convention; because the major powers particularly the US did not respond to the massacres in Rwanda when genocide might have been prevented; because they continued to ignore the dynamics of massacres in the Congo, Sudan, Uganda, etc.; because the US equivocated in its commitment to the Convention on Genocide at ratification in 1988; because US foreign policy actively set up political regimes in Guatemala and Chile which were guilty of genocide against their own peoples; because these were not brought to justice, and because the U.S. actively impeded justice in this concern; because Western nations have historically used genocide tactically to further individual economic interest; because the US and other NATO countries have placed into law their abilities to arrest and detain any number of people they choose, keeping detention and charge and accuser and trial and disposition secret, ie. because the machinery has been put in place for genocides to occur, it is necessary to review the people's recourse and defences when threatened with genocide.

Our Need for Defences against Crimes of Power

After analysing US and NATO wars in Afghanistan, Yugoslavia and Iraq, we understand something has happened outside of our expectations of our

democratically elected governments, beyond what civilization has prepared us for. We are avoiding realization of exactly what. If you find it difficult to use the word 'genocide' for small wars of aggression waged for economic advantage, you may have to wait to understand until the full effects of these wars become apparent.

In Canada veterans have been denied claims based on medical conditions caused them and their families by depleted uranium. After the first Gulf War the US found veterans sick with a syndrome of symptoms standard to radiation overexposure. Diagnosis of radiologically caused illness was avoided. In such ways governments cover a U.S. military crime of planting depleted uranium through warfare in civilian areas of foreign countries. Refusing to admit the effectiveness of the poison could spare accountability in court. Truth is denied even to our own militaries.

The tactic of not knowing is a poor pretense when the same event and the same result occur again and again. It offers a classic military defence for bombing civilians. However if a military bombs an area known to harbour civilians, it is not collateral damage but intentional killing of civilians. If military objectives prefigure civilian deaths, the civilian deaths are no longer 'mistakes'. The deaths are intentional.

The US, Israel and NATO countries argue that the killing of civilians isn't intentional. Yet entire civilian infra-structures are targeted and destroyed. So we are asked to be complicit in a lie.

In its policy toward Iraq, the US still acts as if partial destruction of a population will assure cooperation by the survivors. A thoughtful person understands this will not succeed. Bombing of civilians created terror and a difficulty with the US and Coalition slaughters of Iraqis is that these slaughters will never be forgiven. They will not be forgiven because they were merciless, and there was no way for the Iraqis to protect themselves.

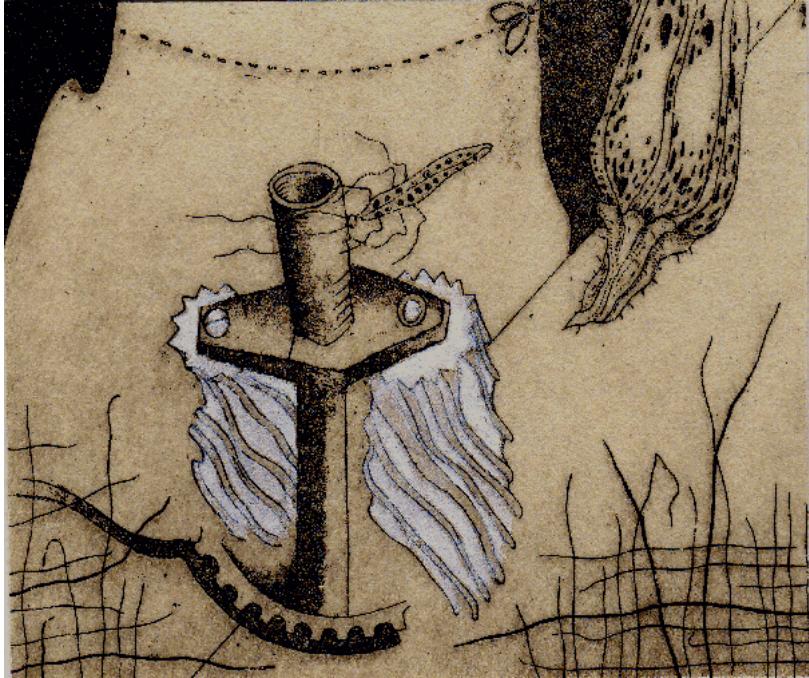
Part of the meaning of terrible crimes is that they are unforgivable, and that we do not really expect them to be forgiven. So it is inevitable that the first Gulf war would be followed by the second. It was not a question of 'weapons of mass

destruction.’ When the Iraqis became victim to mass murder, and when the criminals were an American establishment which found no legal impediment to mass murder, then one could only expect the history which followed. The crime would not rest half done and so in each country victim to US conquest the future is taken away so that there will not be portions of humanity who would seek justice. This is essentially the same principle taught death squads throughout the Americas. That may well be what depleted uranium is about. So in the 1991 war against Iraq, the Western militaries slaughtered shopkeepers in uniform, and then came back to finish the job. The military spokespeople said they did not intend to kill civilians: saying that improved their legal situation, tactically.

The first awful bombardment of Iraq found lawyers in the targeting room exactly because the US knew it was committing a crime. There could be nothing unforeseen about their deaths, which could be predicted proportionately to the amount of water and sewage facilities, and food and medicine the people were deprived of. Iraq was a lesson to the world. Cooperate or die. By my understanding several million Iraqis have died so far.

It was also intended as a lesson to our own peoples. We are asked to look at the crime of genocide and accept it as ‘liberating’ a country. That is the current big lie. These destructions of Iraq and the former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan are innately part of the settlement of what was once called “the new world,” and it is aptly attributed to ‘the new world order.’ It is as though we never understood that a portion of the settlement of the Americas was a crime, and the lack of understanding will condemn generations to its repetition. Current U.S. policy leads the West toward continuing terrible crimes against innocents. Entire population groups will be deprived of a future because the crimes against them are understood by the perpetrators to be unforgivable.

Why do we think our own people are to be dealt with differently ?



Think

What can be written now, said of these times that could possibly make it easier for the future to better spare us the fascism which surges intermittently through supposedly civilized societies, claiming to solve social problems by the enrichment of a very few ?

Lessons in Learning to Think

I've passed forty-five years responsible for myself, yet continually pressured, formed by programs whose purpose was to make me serve the society's needs, usually as a consumer, but also as a fighter.

As McLuhan pointed out, medium is message and society is attempting to advance or prolong itself as it programs us. Almost all data and information we take in within a modern society will have another agenda aside from itself. In Western or North American societies this agenda is inevitably capitalism, sometimes acutely tailored to the needs of a religion or product. When economics are reliant on growth, expansion, therefore war, it's data will support war. For example: try to find out the death toll of Iraqi civilians and military in the Gulf War of 1990. Because casualty statistics do not support wars they are always difficult to learn. When something particularly ugly happened such statistics are actively hidden.

When information is controlled for effect we have to think in order to survive the controls. This is nakedly true under capitalism because the controls inevitably serve someone else's profit, which might easily coin you.

So then the first suggestion in learning how to think is to understand the source of your data.

Since you are to be the essential creator or interpreter of your thinking you will be selecting the facts it is based on. Please understand yourself. This is the

reward of being an artist of any media but particularly with words - one eventually learns who one is. It is the best argument for a humanist education. The better one understands oneself the more accurately one can perceive the facts we call 'reality,' the greater a chance we have to think.

Art as healing

I see no way to approach the truth here as a whole since it consists of myriad points. The more one wants to make a statement by selecting fact, by defining the sliver of reality one presents, what is left out is also the truth. Any coherent set of truths or philosophy then, becomes a control, a psychological control, a mind control; if it serves any power group it can be used to manipulate the people. If it doesn't serve it is neglected, so all that one reads and sees and hears in the name of art is part of a river we're immersed in - its banks and current and direction are not necessarily at the service of god or nature but the power of groups which hold sway in our civilization. Within that containment the elites are economically based, directed, rewarded. All art then recognized within our cultures becomes part of a useable pattern of mind controls, and as such counter truth, at war with truth and its other parts.

Whenever one chooses a weapon one limits one's options for defence or attack. With conflicts of ideas one limits one's options for understanding. Government and corporate interests by shaping our cultural preferences for art, by economically based art, by mass media uses for art, encourage the ceding of all art within our western cultures to cultural warfare of art in competition with art. In fact I think art's primary concern is healing which knows no side of conflict.

The difficulty with the concept of art's primary purpose as healing is that it's a concept with political affect because it pre-supposes that the basic necessities for health are present: food, shelter, community. In other words, art which is accessible only to the very rich for example, or those within a single political perspective, has had to forfeit an aspect of its purpose and concern.

Of artists then within my understanding of art as healing, the best use the cultures, traditions, aspects of civilization and history available to them, to transcend these but without surrendering to the limits of any. In the 20th century you find artists culling traditions not only their own for what bears meaning more universally. We accede to Joyce, Conrad, Yeats perhaps for their human truths beyond their regional interests. Conrad surpasses. It is the same with painters developing their own visual vocabularies breaking sight expectations counter previous traditions to make us see / understand with new sight. They were able with abstract expressionism to transcend any local limits, any regionalism, the limit of things themselves to the concern for human perception. But the transcendence somehow in all cases left the healing behind except possibly in the rare instances of discovery - the joy of that so strong in Kandinsky spiritually released in Chagal. For the most part the egotism of the artist discovering sight shows more than any attempt to heal the perceiver. The concern remained with the great writers yet these carried the baggage of regional concerns except in instances like Akhmatova's where her sense of imprisonment and desperation remain constant human concerns.

My own work has relied on the very personal, and taking that into increasingly large arenas of concern. I find that loving shies off violence and the personal leads to non-violence. On a personal level violence, physical or psychological, is always ethically wrong. So it doesn't make sense to war for any one culture, people, religion; if one fights it is better to fight for the innate humanity in all of us. I am trying to be loyal first to humanity before its definitions and our divisions.

The new world as university.

North America, realizing that the Europeans, Africans and Asians it gathers to its heart are those tricked out of their rights to live where they were born, undertakes then, the education - all we need to survive. Seeming heartless the

over-riding spirit is in compassion explaining humankind to itself so that we might both understand and be compassionate.

Each of all of us is of human family

How many care about the land mass and the people here as a whole? Many say they care for our environment or their own group. Our fates here are as one people and bound to our care for everything that lives and the land mass which sustains us. First peoples have been about this much longer than the Europeans here. Both groups are victims of acquisition and greed and are set against each other. Of North Americans, those with families here for generations and who identify primarily with neither Europe, Asia, Africa, nor with First Nations, are only reluctantly ceded an identity. My own sense of family traces forebears in my father's family back to 1700 in the Carolinas fighting in the U.S. War for Independence and then Civil War, fairly simple folk never entering politics or doing anything too exceptional for generations, whereas my mother's went from Canada to the States in the mid-eighteen hundreds and married with 1800's immigrants on the North side of the Civil War so the wars of history - these take place on both sides within family and that sense of resolution, within and within one's own life extends to first peoples through what must have been there but hidden in the families and names of ancestors whose groups are unknown.

The identity of "North American" strengthens defenses against warfare within the group., and slides off group hatreds. It remains an identity and cultural awareness under attack, as if the society is being socially engineered to produce fighters rather than peoples who will work in harmony with each other.

Genocide 2007

The reluctance of North American but essentially European culture to deal with genocide continues partly because we hide from ourselves. European cultures are aware that there are huge other population groups of different religions,

values, appearance, who benefit from their own places on earth, which Euro-cultures and economics have no legitimate claims on, yet have beauty or wealth or assets and resources. The West is inflicting globalization. The resistance of less powerful nations has countered and the Euro-cultures have expanded through force, military governments, capitalist democracies as a disguise, or direct invasion. The pattern of Euro-expansion is continually against third world countries, or those not originally with the Euro-club, and so of a different 'race' or religion, which may bring the Euro-culture into the purview of the Convention against Genocide. The Convention is engaged when the Euro-culture's action deals with resistance to its economic or physical (armed) aggression in a terminal way.

U.S. thinkers in this area, 'ethicists' who are paid by their culture to allow its economic operation, have insisted on the aspect of "intent" in the Genocide Convention. In other words if those who perform the genocide do not intend the destruction of a people for example, then the Convention does not apply - wrong. What U.S. planning has done is information manage the people out of awareness so that the crime can be committed under other names.

This is said more simply by the test case of Iraq, where the Euro-culture took action destroying a country's infra-structure, strangled its chances of recovery through "Sanctions," then invaded again to occupy and assume the country's resources. Because the country's people were of secondary importance to the invader's need for oil resources, the destruction of the culture and its people is framed within a perspective of "collateral damage." More clearly it is genocide because the intention, though overlooked, continues to assert itself in further damage. The outcome of this continuing policy could be understood at its inception in 1990, and was.

Because this is part of an attempted Euro-conquest (Europeans would say the Amero-conquest, and intellectuals will say the corporate) conquest of the world, the problem is not addressed in the western media. Europe knows it is unwise to conquer the world, so what is happening is more accurately a conquest

by the rich, particularly of the U.S.. But in the fabric of the privileged classes internationally and particularly the West, there's an adherence to group which is excusing crime. It is a group formed by similar economic interest and status, reflected in several racial, religious, ethnic groups. And by manipulating the self interest of the economic group and the sub-groups it sustains, the U.S. government is currently signalling that it intends to take over the world.

Current President Bush's curious obtuseness to diplomacy works in official favour because his suggestions on how other countries are to proceed are in fact deeply threatening. This desire to threaten other countries into compliance is one explanation for the destructions of Afghanistan, Yugoslavia and Iraq.

In North America we share this phenomenon: we live in a culture which came into being by wiping out those who were here before. Required for this political entity, country, was a certain amount of genocide. We know this is a crime. We are unwilling to deal with it so as a society we live in denial. Canada with faults, has made some effort. The U.S. is so completely in denial that the issue which motivates more than any other, except for "escape," scarcely exists.

Preparations for the takeover

It is possible that U.S. social engineers and eugenicists have targeted some North American families, to end them, because these would provide a natural resistance to the takeover of the United States by its military based and corporate elites. I come to this conclusion after some thought about what happens to families with long histories in the States. Government, when it is coining the land mass for profit, fears those who would conserve. Political conservatives are almost always within the groups that misuse lands and forests and waters and air, for profit. The true movements for environment conservation and animal rights are on the left and radical and can't be bought.

Differences of prose and poetry

In prose, sequence is artificial. The flowing appears to be natural. In fact it is highly selective. Ideaphoria is never a random progression but results from its singular individual's own definition. Objectively the definition by any individual might be arbitrary.

We realize the difficulty even in journalism or reporting of fact. Everything noted is highly selected. We further select as readers, the points which construct or inform our 'meaning.' The relation of one's individual construct of meaning, to what exists, is partial, as a point on a line is to the line. So for depth and validity of perspective we have to approximate by selection of our interest, by its focus, those particular points we value because these for some reason represent more. Each point noted becomes also a metaphor.

In prose, because it presents a world view, a simulacrum of flow with its own reality, its attempt at becoming the focus and all for a moment, doesn't share continually its admission of separation, its arbitrariness, its confession of insufficiency.

Poetry does. Like moments setting themselves apart from their vessel of book or reading. Each poem has its own sufficiency and limitations and goals. As moments, each claims, pretends to, less than prose - offering more depth and validity, not claiming to be more than it is.

The purpose of rhyme, metrics, the forms of poetry were initially explained by the oral tradition of song and breathing, and as memory aids to oral epics, and then as ways of enhancing the message with refined mediums. Their primary function was and remains to call attention to the kind of message to be delivered in a poem as a metaphor for a moment of understanding.

Conclusion

We are experiencing a huge shift, a cultural earth movement transforming our touchstones, mainstays, what we have counted on from tradition, into

something very unsure. As Western Civilization 2007's ruling elite take over through illegal wars, aggressions, the ignoring or buying out of international law, the betrayal of democracies by a 'bought' press, what we thought unacceptable becomes commonplace.

If we analyse this cultural drift which thrusts the English speaking world toward war, it seems an intentional manipulation. The people's shared perspective, world view, has through events and cultural shaping been moved to the right. This means toward a need for security, unequal distribution of wealth, loss of human rights.

I am trying here, to write the obvious. What I feared would happen, has. There remain possibilities of world war, the use of nuclear weapons, the use of chemical and biological weapons, the loss of entire peoples, the loss of human rights, the use of martial law where countries once struggled toward democracy, in short, the end of life as we have known it, all to satisfy the greed of a relatively few people who place themselves, 'their profit', their group's attempt at supremacy, above humanity's needs.

There is no way we'll be able to accept the slaughtering of thousands of innocent people. We don't accept the torture of prisoners. We don't accept the stripping away of our human rights which were fought for through centuries. We don't/won't/can't sell these or barter these rights for comfort, for sustenance. There is no way that we can deny the truths we've learned. We refuse to betray people we love, the vulnerable, humanity, ourselves, because we refuse to betray the future.

Fascism gradually turns one set of human safeguards after another to its purposes, as it always has, as it betrays and buys and promises and orders its way to a common ground of greed in all those prepared for its thrall by hopelessness, as those who know they can't try to hide from caring for anyone else, as those who lie to cover the takeover by greed thinking they can retain their privilege, as those trying desperately to rise out of injustice, humiliation, hunger, by enslaving

their brothers and sisters. I look beyond what is 'safe' to write so that I can live - and I think as a father, grandfather, great grandfather and simply as a man with some hope for the future.

In reading histories of the discovery of the Caribbean what surprised me was the occasional mercy the King or Queen concerned would show the native peoples - at points forbidding that 'Indians' be taken slaves, refusing slavery then, and their letters with the accounts of Las Casas are rare moments of the heart amid years of pig-like stupidity and a greed that could almost shame the last fifty years. What won out was the greed of merchants, the need of the explorers to finance their curiosity and professions. And it is not so different from today and yesterday. Instead of the natives of the Americas who became part of an ongoing process, it is now the entire third world, ceding fast or slow to the U.S. takeover at the service of international corporate expansion.

If one understands this clearly as a U.S. policy then what seems confusing at first, simplifies. In all countries the history is the same - of attempted U.S. takeover of the economy, or governments. Where governments are of an antithetical political system such as Iraq, Sudan, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia, the governments are destabilized so the political systems / cultures / people if necessary can be destroyed by war. It is a tactic. It is ruthless. It is genocide.

The problem is that contemporary North America is inured to its own greed, which it calls "our way of life." So as it carries on normally it inflicts increasingly terrible harm by economic practices required for profit, enslaving other countries. In huge expenditures for war, conquest is the profit. The media manages public awareness into self-concern, shying from awareness which would require some accounting, to harmony. The U.S. and Canada are founded on denial of the crimes in the unnecessary destruction of indigenous peoples. Intellectually we are ruthless in denying perspectives which could heal us through peace. And this is basically the ethic the U.S. is exporting as it conquers through bombs or the weaker nations faith in compromise.

The problem is capitalism and what is always its lack of restraint. Because it nurtures greed it can never effectively police itself, buying off objections. When the U.S. breaks international law - it pulls back from international court and buys others to not enforce the laws. The policies of greed subject a nation to their blindness. The policies of the North American corporate rich are increasingly 1. To kill the poor; 2. To use the people to extend U.S. economic power globally; 3. To do this through lucrative destruction which increases their power; 4. To allow comfort only to those who subscribe to their crimes; 5. To hide their wealth and intentions; 6. To threaten destruction of the entire planet, its resources, all our futures if they don't get their way; 7. To end themselves, a final step in the alienation and loss of humanity which drove them to wealth in the first place.

It is simple enough to understand that the rich need power to compensate for their emotional and intellectual lack of solidarity with humanity. This also drives those who would work for them. Wealth and capital deny the norm of what life offers, to ask for more, at a cost to others. The need to compensate for what the privileged lack, their innate lack of human understanding, the result of buying power over others, is hard for those who have to work for the wealthy or their corporations. It is hardest on those the wealthy conquer. Capitalism and unequal capital in a society lead to the need for war and to occupations like Iraq where a U.S. policy is trying to enslave or destroy a people for being content with what they have.

