

GUERRILLA

01.01
April
2003

DEPROGRAMMER

A MONTHLY PUBLICATION

WELCOME TO THE REVOLUTION!

There are a lot of places to get your information these days – now seemingly more than ever. But with only six companies controlling virtually all of the mainstream media we ingest, it's hard for us to discern fiction from fact! That said, GNN is proud to bring you the Guerrilla Deprogrammer – a monthly distillation of news and information mined by the Guerrilla News Network. The Deprogrammer can be downloaded from www.gnn.tv and is designed to let you have something to print out and distribute to anyone you want to enroll in the information war.

Guerrilla News Network
www.gnn.tv

About GNN

Guerrilla News Network (www.gnn.tv) is an independent news organization committed to exposing people of all ages to important global issues - free from corporate filters - through innovative multi-platform news and documentary programming. GNN is best known for their short, hard-hitting Guerrilla NewsVideos - design-rich mini-documentaries that deconstruct complex socio-political issues in music video form. Broadcast at GNN.tv, Guerrilla NewsVideos meld high-impact imagery, poignant interviews, archival footage and enhanced graphics with tracks from top recording artists like Peter Gabriel, AdRoc, Dead Prez, and many others. The GNN website is one of the Internet's premiere alternative news outlets, averaging over 15,000 unique visitors a day and offers original and syndicated reporting from some of the world's top writers and journalists, in addition to a lively forum where a dedicated community meets to discuss issues raised by the material.



NewsWire *Of The Month:*

A PATRIOT ACT II Primer



Q: *Just how much power does the government have to spy on us?*



- * abolish federal limits on police surveillance of non-criminal organizations and public events (like antiwar activists).
- * collect DNA from suspected terrorists or any individual whose DNA might assist terror investigations, and add it to a national DNA database.
- * extend authorization periods for secret wiretaps and Internet surveillance.
- * secretly detain citizens.

Thanks to the original USA Patriot Act, passed in October 2001, the government already has the right to:

- * use torture on "suspected terrorists."
- * execute "suspected terrorists" without trial.
- * arrest and hold without trial hundreds of "suspected terrorists" while denying them access to legal counsel or even public notification that they have been arrested.
- * inspect the records of bookstores and public libraries to determine what Americans are reading.
- * break into homes and tap phones of U.S. citizens without warrants.

Source:
Center for Public Integrity
www.publicintegrity.org

GNN gets to the bottom of Big Brother's latest moves...

In January the Center for Public Integrity obtained a secret draft of a bill written by the staff of Attorney General John Ashcroft. Unknown even to lawmakers, the proposed bill was entitled the Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003, and it greatly expanded the government's power to arrest, spy on and deport those they deem enemies of the state. It quickly became known as the Patriot Act II.

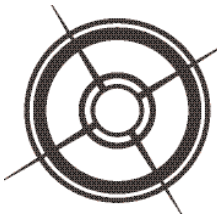
If passed, the bill would give the U.S. government the power, among other things, to:

- * tap your phone or read your email without court order for 15 days following a congressional authorization of use of force or an attack on the United States.
- * deport any alien, including green-card holders, convicted of drug possession or an aggravated felony.
- * access a citizen's credit reports without a subpoena.
- * ease restrictions on the use of secret evidence.

TAKE ACTION!

In the words of our favorite UK graffiti sniper, Banksy, "Don't just do something, stand there!"

Kidding aside, support your local ACLU or visit www.ACLU.org to find out more about what you can do to make your voice heard.



Guerrilla Of The Month:

John Brady Kiesling

March 3, 2003:

This week's startling resignation by career diplomat John Brady Kiesling, who has served in United States embassies from Tel Aviv to Casablanca to Yerevan, would have been back page news if not for the eloquent and shattering language used in his letter.

Addressed to Colin Powell, it is one of the more surgically damaging attacks levelled against the Bush administration's use of terrorism as "a domestic political tool". All the more so because it comes from an insider. Read on...

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am writing you to submit my resignation from the Foreign Service of the United States and from my position as Political Counselor in U.S. Embassy, Athens, effective March 7. I do so with a heavy heart. The baggage of my upbringing included a felt obligation to give something back to my country. Service as a U.S. diplomat was a dream job. I was paid to understand foreign languages and cultures, to seek out diplomats, politicians, scholars and journalists, and to persuade them that U.S. interests and theirs fundamentally coincided. My faith in my country and its values was the most powerful weapon in my diplomatic arsenal.

It is inevitable that during twenty years with the State Department I would become more sophisticated and cynical about the narrow and selfish bureaucratic motives that sometimes shaped our policies. Human nature is what it is, and I was rewarded and promoted for understanding human nature. But until this Administration it had been possible to believe that by upholding the policies of my president I was also upholding the interests of the American people and the world. I believe it no longer.

The policies we are now asked to advance are incompatible not only with

American values but also with American interests. Our fervent pursuit of war with Iraq is driving us to squander the international legitimacy that has been America's most potent weapon of both offense and defense since the days of Woodrow Wilson. We have begun to dismantle the largest and most effective web of international relationships the world has ever known. Our current course will bring instability and danger, not security.

The sacrifice of global interests to domestic politics and to bureaucratic self-interest is nothing new, and it is certainly not a uniquely American problem. Still, we have not seen such systematic distortion of intelligence, such systematic manipulation of American opinion, since the war in Vietnam. The September 11 tragedy left us stronger than before, rallying around us a vast international coalition to cooperate for the first time in a systematic way against the threat of terrorism. But rather than take credit for those successes and build on them, this Administration has chosen to make terrorism a domestic political tool, enlisting a scattered and largely defeated Al Qaeda as its bureaucratic ally. We spread disproportionate terror and confusion in the public mind, arbitrarily linking the unrelated problems of terrorism and Iraq. The result, and perhaps the motive, is to justify a vast misallocation of shrinking public wealth to the military and to weaken the safeguards that protect American citizens from the heavy hand of government. September 11 did not do as much damage to the fabric of American society as we seem determined to do to ourselves. Is the Russia of the late Romanovs really our model, a selfish, superstitious empire thrashing toward self-destruction in the name of a doomed status quo?

We should ask ourselves why we have failed to persuade more of the world that a war with Iraq is necessary. We have over the past two years done too much to assert to our world partners that narrow and mercenary U.S. interests override the cherished values of our partners. Even where our aims were not in question, our consistency is at issue. The model of Afghanistan is little comfort to allies wondering on what basis we plan to rebuild the Middle East, and in whose image and interests. Have we indeed become blind, as Russia is blind in Chechnya, as Israel is blind in the Occupied Territories, to our own advice, that overwhelming military power is not the answer to terrorism? After the shambles of post-war Iraq joins the shambles in Grozny and Ramallah, it will be a brave foreigner who forms ranks with Micronesia to follow where we lead.

We have a coalition still, a good



one. The loyalty of many of our friends is impressive, a tribute to American moral capital built up over a century. But our closest allies are persuaded less that war is justified than that it would be perilous to allow the U.S. to drift into complete solipsism. Loyalty should be reciprocal. Why does our President condone the swaggering and contemptuous approach to our friends and allies this Administration is fostering, including among its most senior officials. Has "oderint dum metuant" really become our motto? ["Oderint dum metuant" -- "Let them hate so long as they fear." A favorite saying of Caligula.]

I urge you to listen to America's friends around the world. Even here in Greece, purported hotbed of European anti-Americanism, we have more and closer friends than the American newspaper reader can possibly imagine. Even when they complain about American arrogance, Greeks know that the world is a difficult and dangerous place, and they want a strong international system, with the U.S. and EU in close partnership. When our friends are afraid of us rather than for us, it is time to worry. And now they are afraid. Who will tell them convincingly that the United States is as it was, a beacon of liberty, security, and justice for the planet?

Mr. Secretary, I have enormous respect for your character and ability. You have preserved more international credibility for us than our policy deserves, and salvaged something positive from the excesses of an ideological and self-serving Administration. But your loyalty to the President goes too far. We are straining beyond its limits an international system we built with such toil and treasure, a web of laws, treaties, organizations, and shared values that sets limits on our foes far more effectively than it ever constrained America's ability to defend its interests.

I am resigning because I have tried and failed to reconcile my conscience with my ability to represent the current U.S. Administration. I have confidence that our democratic process is ultimately self-correcting, and hope that in a small way I can contribute from outside to shaping policies that better serve the security and prosperity of the American people and the world we share. -- John Brady Kiesling

AFTERMATH
UNANSWERED QUESTIONS
FROM 9/11

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GNN asks the hard questions in their latest release, **AfterMath**: featuring NINE people answering ELEVEN unanswered questions from 9/11 that continue to challenge the official 'version' of the story.

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Colintel Of The Month:

Greg Palast, GNN's Guerrilla of the Year for 2001, is back with a new, revised, updated and expanded edition of his best-selling "The Best Democracy Money Can Buy: The Truth About Corporate Cons, Globalization, and High Finance Fraudsters."

The book is an essential primer for anyone who wants to understand how the global economy works in the 21st Century. As Palast writes, "The spiky-haired protestors in the streets of Seattle believe there's some kind of grand conspiracy between the corporate powers, the IMF, the World Bank and an alphabet soup of agencies that work to suck the blood of Bolivians and steal the gold of Tanzania. But the tree huggers are wrong; the details are far more stomach-churning than they even imagine.

He's been called, "the greatest investigative reporter of our time," by Britain's Tribune magazine, but in America, this U.S.-born journalist for BBC Television and the Guardian papers is all but banned from the U.S. airwaves and mainstream press. So Palast is taking the truth straight to the people with a whirlwind North American book tour.

Palast took a break from his hectic tour, which it should be noted is also raising money for independent media outlets like Democracy Now!, to give GNN this exclusive interview:

GNN: A new edition of your book "The Best Democracy Money Can Buy" is coming out in the U.S. next week, why is it relevant now?

PALAST: I've MADE it relevant by rewriting the beast top to bottom - my wife thought I'd lost my tiny mind by doing it: it's now close to 400 pages of my latest investigations, up from 200. And it's in



GNN VIDEO COLLECTION

*** HELP SUPPORT GNN ***
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Donate \$30 to GNN and receive a complete collection of all the 2001 Guerrilla NewsVideos (55 minutes), which includes the 2002 Sundance award-winning video **Crack the CIA** and **S-11 Redux: Channel Surfing the Apocalypse**, a GNN classic.

Order Copies @ www.GNN.tv

paperback so it will be easier carrying it around occupied Baghdad.

There's the whole new section on who's cashing in on the war on terror. And there's more on Bush's hindering the investigation, prior to September 11, of the money behind Al Qaeda. That's a story that I put at the top of BBC television news worldwide - but in the U.S. the broadcast was blacked-out. For example, here's something you're not allowed to see on U.S. television: details of a meeting in June 1996 in Paris in which Saudi billionaires agreed to pay off Al Qaeda to get out of Saudi Arabia. Who was in that meeting makes for interesting reading.

There's info written in just weeks



ago on Iraq and the Bomb. How does Bush know so much about Saddam's bomb? Well, according to documents from a defecting Gulf states diplomat, Saudi Arabia slipped \$7 billion to Saddam for his nuclear Tinker Toys - which was just okey-dokey with the Reagan-Bush administration, because at the time Saddam was given the loot, he was Bush's favorite dictator. Don't forget that before the Axis of Evil there was the Unicycle of Evil, Iran. As long as Saddam only slaughtered Iranians, he was Bush's buddy. In other words, we know Saddam has bomb fixings because, via the Saudis, WE GAVE IT TO HIM.

There's a new chapter on Venezuela: Venezuela's the second, hidden front in the war on Iraq. The Bush Administration has been doing it's damned best to overthrow the elected government of Hugo Chavez - whom I interview at length for the book - because Chavez dared to raise royalties on Exxon-Mobil. You simply can't understand Bush geopolitics and the showdown with Iraq unless you look at his oil-poisoned policy in Venezuela.

The opening chapter, on how Katherine Harris stole Florida for the Bushes, is more important than ever - updated with the newest info on how the Bush team is "Floridizing" the nation's voting systems in preparation for 2004.

I should warn you that Katherine Harris complained to my editors at

Harper's Magazine that I am "twisted and maniacal." But she didn't say I was WRONG. In my original report for BBC and the Guardian, I discovered that Harris and Jeb Bush had ordered the removal of 57,000 voters from voter rolls because these people were convicted criminals. It was a crock: 97% - 97%! - had NO criminal record - but they were guilty of voting while Black. At BBC we figure Gore lost 20,000 through this ethnic cleansing of the voter rolls. I reported that on page one of the Guardian in London, but because it was all but ignored in the USA, Jeb Bush of Florida is continuing with new purges ... and the Republicans are taking their Florida purge operation on the road, spreading it to other states. The 2004 race may already be decided - and the vote's just a formality.

There is a bunch of new material on the IMF and World Bank - more documents marked "confidential" from the file cabinets of the masters of the New World Order. Again, I could show these documents on the nightly news in Britain, but in the U.S. - fageddabouddit!

I also have the stories which I could not print in Britain without risking jail time - including the story of Poppy Bush and his gold mining company. Bush's company sued my paper for reporting this story - and they threatened several other reporters and papers trying to follow up on my investigation. Here you can read what Bush benefactors spent a fortune attempting to suppress.

By the way: I don't let the Democrats off the hook, either. This week's threat comes from Mario Cuomo. You remember Mario -- once our liberal hope, now a trivia question.

GNN: In your book you write about the real winners of Gulf War I, who were they? And who stands to gain the most from this war?

PALAST: Poppy Bush told us we were sending our soldiers into the desert to save Kuwait for democracy - remember? I'm still waiting for the election returns.

So who won? After Bush 1 was booted from office, he wrote a letter to the Kuwaiti dictatorship - "royalty" is a bullshit term - and asked them to give Chevron Oil a drilling concession. How could the Kuwaiti oligarchs refuse a request from the President who save their Rolls Royces? So it looks like the winner of the Gulf War was Chevron Oil - and the Bush family. After Bush did his little lobbying fix for the Chevron, the company put over half a million dollars into the Republican Party campaign kitty in time for Bush Junior's run. So you could say that Dubya and Chevron won the war...

Read the rest of the interview @ GNN.tv.

Tech Review

Garmin Rino 120

Whether marching for peace in America or economic justice in Brazil, it pays to know where you...and your friends are. Garmin's new GPS enabled hand held radios make it possible to pinpoint your location within several meters. Assign icons to your buddies and watch them in real time on your screen.

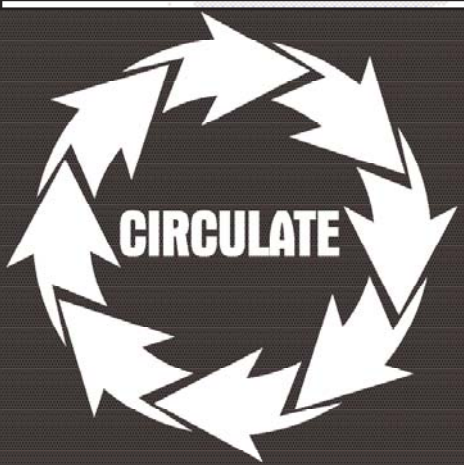
Garmin Rino 120: \$267.84 SRP
Application for FCC GRMS License: \$75.00

Sony Ericsson T300

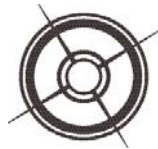
Capturing an image while running from tear gas and the local riot police isn't easy - not to mention keeping your film if you get caught. Behold a new generation of camera phones that allow you to take digital snap shots and transmit them to your email account long before the cops can figure out what happened. The Sony Ericsson T300 is not the most advanced camera phone on the market, but at \$99 from T Mobile, its price is hard to beat. The phone captures up to 30 images at 100 x 80 and features a voice recorder and 500-name address book.

Sony Ericsson T300: \$199 SRP
\$99 with rebate and service from T-Mobile

ART of Revolution



DO NOT WASTE THIS PAPER!
READ THIS INFORMATION AND PASS IT ALONG TO A FRIEND OR A STRANGER.
TAKE PART IN THE INFORMATION WAR!



Spin

Of The Month:

Weapons of Mass Amnesia

Here's a story that hasn't gotten covered in the U.S. press: As the USA prepares for a war against Iraq, it is being sued by Iran for its previous close relationship to Saddam Hussein. At the UN's International Court of Justice (ICJ), Teheran is accusing the United States of delivering dangerous chemicals and deadly viruses to Baghdad during the 1980s. Reports on the case have appeared in countries including Germany, England, Pakistan and Malaysia. In the United States, Associated Press writer Anthony Deutsch filed a report on the case, but it does not seem to have been picked up by any U.S. newspapers. However, the



National Security Archive, a nonprofit research institute on international affairs, has published a series of declassified U.S. documents detailing the U.S. embrace of Saddam Hussein in the early 1980s, including a photo of Donald Rumsfeld personally shaking Hussein's hand.

See National Security Archive documents at: www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB82/press.htm

Spin of the Month comes courtesy of PR Watch (www.prwatch.org)

BOOK Reviews



"Dreaming War: Blood for Oil and the Cheney-Bush Junta," Gore Vidal (Thunder Mouth Press, Nation Books)

A new paperback compilation by America's most eloquent enemy of the Empire, and defender of the Republic. Vidal dissects the secret history of the 20th Century, from Truman's installation of the National Security State to Bush's coup d'etat to the War on Terror's Greatest Lies. Much of it will be familiar territory for Vidal fans, but for newbies it is as good an introduction as any to the ideas of one of America's most potent polemicists.



"Kingdom of Fear: Loathsome Secrets of a Star-Crossed Child in the Final Days of the American Century," Hunter S. Thompson (Simon & Schuster)

Similar themes to the above, but with chapter-heads like, "Jesus Hated Bad Pussy." The Godfather of Gonzo is back with a rambling diary of his current battles, most of which seem to be with the Aspen Sheriff. If only the man who wrote one of the greatest books on American politics ever ("Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail '72") could focus a little more attention on the decline of the country he loves, and a little less on his traffic violations, maybe a GNN hero would once again be on the vanguard of a burgeoning counter-culture. Still worth a trip through the mind of a drug-addled, but surprisingly sharp iconoclast.



"Confronting Fear: A History of Terrorism," Isaac Crown (Thunder's Mouth)

Don't let the 'self-help book' title fool you. This is a priceless text for any

info-warrior interested in the real history of the technique of fighting known as "terrorism." It's chock full of primary sources, including selections from Joseph Conrad, Franz Fanon, the Weather Underground, the Hamas web site, and a famous female Palestinian terrorist. Be warned, you won't find many U.S.-sponsored terrorists. Get over it, the unfiltered info here is invaluable. Don't miss the selection from the banned, founding text of urban insurrection, the "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla," by assassinated Brazilian rebel Gianfranco Sanguinetti.



"Iraq Under Siege: The Deadly Impact of Sanctions and War," Edited by Anthony Arnove (South End Press)

Think the second Gulf War is about to start? Wrong, the first one never ended. For the last decade the people of Iraq have suffered one of the longest and most brutal assaults in modern history. A war of attrition, conducted by a virtual blockade of international goods, and near bi-weekly bombing raids, have decimated that once proud country. Yeah, we know Saddam is an asshole, but just hand this expertly researched and utterly depressing account of life in Iraq under U.S. and UN sanctions to your friends when they try to argue America is out to help the "Iraqi people."

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GNN

Post-War
UPDATE :

Will the Empire Be Fascist ?



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"People of Baghdad, remember for 26 generations you have suffered under strange tyrants who have ever endeavoured to set one Arab house against another in order that they might profit by your dissensions. This policy is abhorrent to Great Britain and her Allies for there can be neither peace nor prosperity where there is enmity or misgovernment. Our armies do not come into your cities and land as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators."

- From the Proclamation to the People of the Wilayat of Baghdad, that British General Stanley Maude issued when he took the city in 1917.



Empire.

It's the word the administration dares not speak. But with U.S. military bases and installations in 44 countries, occupying forces in two, guerrilla wars being fought in at least two more (Colombia, Philippines), covert

ops most likely taking place all across the planet, and a military budget greater than the rest of the world's countries combined, what other word could you correctly chose to describe American ambitions at the dawn of the 21st Century? But building an empire is a radical agenda, one that poses great risks. George Bush Sr. halted the march to Baghdad precisely because he feared becoming, as one commentator put it, "an occupying power in a bitterly hostile land." And that is the problem for this administration. America is a conservative country, at heart. As long as it sees itself in the rose-tinted glasses of the "liberator," the Bush empire will roll along like gangbusters. But as the mission becomes messier and messier, and Al Qaeda continues to operate with impunity, the stakes rise. Fear is a sharp blade that can turn on you in an instant. In their quest for empire, Bush & Company have created a monumental challenge for themselves - one that requires an unprecedented level of information management.

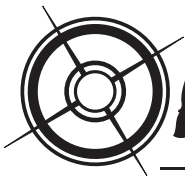
In this edition of the Deprogrammer, GNN looks at the issue of "empire": media censorship and the rise of Bush ally Clear Channel, the secret history of Donald Rumsfeld's trips to Baghdad, and we ask noted professor Richard Falk for his theory on the potentially fascist nature of Bush foreign policy. We hope you find it insightful, and that you will print it out and distribute it widely.

Be sure to check out GNN's web site (GNN.tv) for daily news and lively discussion, updates on GNN Live! screenings, and, as always, free streaming Guerrilla NewsVideos...

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NewsWire of the month: Prime Time Payola

A feverish, corporate-sponsored nationalism has taken root in America at a time when the public depends on a vibrant communications culture to sustain its institutional democracy. Nowhere is this more clear than in the case of Clear Channel Communications, the nation's largest radio chain.

In the outrage that followed the Floridian scandal and George Bush Jr.'s appointment by the Supreme Court to the Oval Office, many in the media missed an equally alarming familial maneuver. In one of his first bureaucratic decisions as president, Bush named Michael Powell, son of Secretary of State Colin Powell, as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. That the son of one of the nation's most decorated and politically entrenched former military officers should be given control of the agency that regulates the domestic news and entertainment networks - indeed the whole telecommunications industry - is something that is more imaginable in ... well, Iraq.

The FCC is comprised of five commissioners, one of whom is appointed chairman by the president. Typically, commissioners ride out their terms and retire when it suits them. But in a rare move, Sen. John McCain (R-Arizona) used his considerable influence to block the 1997 re-appointment of a sitting Republican commissioner. Powell replaced him on the FCC and four years later he was chairman.

Powell took over as chief regulator for a corporate communications industry in the throes of a radical transformation following the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which opened the door for deregulation and sparked widespread condemnation from media activists who saw the act as an attack on the public interest function of the FCC. The existing television and radio networks launched into mergers of unprecedented size, while new players with deep pockets were able to claim previously unthinkable levels of market share.

One of the act's most prominent benefactors was Clear Channel Communications, a relatively unknown broadcaster based in San Antonio, Texas. Led by L. Lowry Mays, a rancher and one-time George W. Bush business associate, Clear Channel has ridden a wave of acquisitions, spending more than \$30 billion to become the world's largest radio broadcaster, concert promoter and billboard advertising firm. Clear Channel owns more than 1,200 radio stations (approximately 50 percent of the U.S. total), five times more than its closest competitors, CBS and ABC. Considering the fact that prior to the Telco Act, a single broadcaster could not own more than 40 stations in the entire country, it is hard to see the behemoth as anything but a creation of the act itself.

But while Clear Channel's unhindered expansion is the result of the deregulation media barons crave, its growth has not been viewed favorably by the rest of the industry. Other would-be monopolists, anticipating the next phase of deregulation, fear that they will be adversely affected by Clear Channel's gluttonous horizontal consolidation. Recent lawsuits and congressional

hearings regarding the brutish tactics and political influence of Clear Channel have thrown a spotlight on the FCC and its abandonment of regulatory restraints. Led by articulate critiques by digital journalists such as Jeff Perlstein of Corpwatch and Eric Boehlert of Salon, the mainstream media have been prodded out of complicit somnambulism. With the FCC scheduled to review the last remaining set of protections on media diversity this spring, Big Media is worried that the upstart Texans will ruin it for everybody.



And they have reason to be concerned. In January, Sen. John McCain's Commerce Committee held two hearings that targeted, among other things, the issue of media concentration. At the first hearing, Michael Powell and his four commissioners were subjected to intense questioning about their strategy to protect the public interest from "sky's the limit" deregulation. In a response that clearly surprised the committee, Powell, traditionally an unabashed proponent of the free market and loosened restrictions to ownership, said he was "concerned about the concentration, particularly in radio." Mediageek.com's Paul Riismandel explained: "Indeed, [Powell] didn't want much publicity or input ... But now the cat is out of the bag and yowling like crazy."

Smelling the blood of a close Bush ally, partisan Democrats on the committee, led by maverick Republican McCain, called new hearings to specifically examine "consolidation in the radio industry." As the committee's star witness, McCain summoned Clear Channel's Lowry Mays.

Mays was systematically skewered by the hostile committee and those invited to testify on behalf of the public (and private) interest. Rep. Howard Berman (D-California) catalogued charges to the Justice Department and the FCC against Clear Channel. These include anti-trust violations, payola and a form of tactical extortion in which monopolies over local concert bookings are used to pressure record companies into buying radio spots, called "negative synergy." But, as we learned during the Enron hearings, lawmakers are less concerned with corporate criminality than

they are with sustaining the corporate capitalism that perpetuates it. The committee's ranking Democrat, Sen. Ernest "Fritz" Hollings (D-South Carolina), emphasizing more savory bureaucratic concerns, lamented, "Radio consolidation has contributed to a 34 percent decline in the number of owners, a 90 percent rise in the cost of advertising rates, [and] a rise in indecent broadcasts. If ever there were a cautionary tale, this is it."

While most of the congressional debate over media concentration focuses on the diminished health of the marketplace, Clear Channel has revived traditional progressive fears that media concentration will negatively impact the breadth of dialogue permitted in the public sphere. Indeed, since 9/11 and the advent of Bush's "war on terror," Clear Channel has been the most sycophantic and pro-militarist Big Media corporation, which is saying a lot.

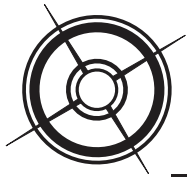
Just days after the 9/11 attacks, slates of blacklisted songs, including Cat Stevens' "Peace Train" and John Lennon's "Imagine," were leaked to the public. But it was not until the invasion of Iraq that Clear Channel really kicked into high gear. Facing the massive public outcry and protests against the war, the network began sponsoring pro-war rallies called "Rally for America." Using its 1,200 stations, Clear Channel pummeled listeners with a mind-numbing stream of uncritical "patriotism." Finally, there was the recent and gleeful banning of Dixie Chicks songs from several prominent Clear Channel stations after singer Natalie Maines made derogatory remarks about George W. Bush.

Perhaps Clear Channel is simply exercising its right to free expression and supporting the foreign policy initiatives of the current administration. This is hardly the first time that a major media network used its power to marginalize political beliefs that contradict those of its owners. However, one cannot deny the potential for a conflict of interest. Clear Channel is currently facing a major congressional investigation of its business practices. The FCC has blocked two of its most recent requests for station transfers, something that the commission has not done since 1969. Clear Channel's share price is down nearly 50 percent from the value it held before the 9/11 terrorist attacks. All this is coming at a time when the FCC is about to rule on the existing barriers to consolidation, a decision that could dramatically affect Clear Channel's ability to further collateralize its massive debt by expanding its holdings.

Has the fact that the FCC chairman is the son of the nation's most politically enfranchised former military official had any impact on the fanatically pro-war stance that Clear Channel has taken with its recent actions? Or is the Clear Channel executive leadership, closely connected to the president, simply providing him with the kind of support one expects from political allies?

Whatever the answer, with Michael Powell, George W. Bush and Clear Channel, the lines between political, military and corporate media power have become blurred into one authoritarian impulse.

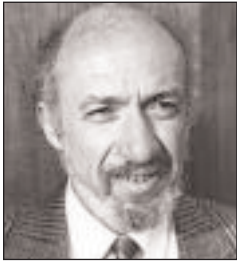
- Stephen Marshall



ColIntel
excerpts of the month:

featuring

RICHARD FALK & JIM VALLETTE



Dr. Richard Falk, a longtime professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton and now at UC Santa Barbara, has worked tirelessly to strengthen the rule of international law, and to imbue it with true humanist ideals. Recently, GNN talked with him about his latest book, "The Great Terror War" (Olive Branch Press) in which he asks the question, **Will the Empire Be Fascist?**



It's Nov. 1983. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz receives an intelligence report describing how Saddam Hussein's troops are resorting to "almost daily use of chemical weapons in his war against Iran. Undeterred, Reagan signs a secret order instructing his charges to do

"whatever was necessary and legal" to prevent Iraq's defeat. A month later, he dispatches a special envoy to Baghdad on a secret mission. On Dec. 20, the envoy meets with Saddam. He isn't there to lecture the dictator about his use of WMDs or the fine print of the Geneva Conventions. He's there to talk business.

GNN: How can your interpretation that we are heading towards a sort of American-led global fascism be grafted onto what is happening now domestically in terms of the erosion of civil liberties?

FALK: One of the basic characteristics of a fascist regime is the annihilation of civil liberties and the complete distrust and rejection of electoral democracy, constitutional process and independent judiciary. And what one, I think, sees in the current reaction to 9/11 is not a fascist formation at this stage, but trends that are moving toward increasing the power of the state at the extent of the liberties of the citizen, and creating a sense that those that are the opponents of the policies of the state are evil. To the extent that it is focused on Islam and on males from the Arab world, there is a racist undertone that also feeds an ideology that seems at least to be proto-fascist or pre-fascist in its implications. One should be clear that the leadership has not endorsed an explicitly fascist tactic, at this point, or doesn't embrace fascism as their preferred ideology. Indeed, they are trying to convey an impression that their commitment is to constitutional democracy and to the world of law and to peace. They are using that language in a very Orwellian way. I have sometimes said that it seems as if George Bush read 1984 too early in age and didn't realize it was satire, because he uses all these very common words associated with a liberal society to validate very illiberal policies.

GNN: For a lot of young people, our frame of reference for the word empire is Star Wars, in which the Empire is the embodiment of evil, versus the Force, which is the embodiment of good...

FALK: Yes. It is interesting that in George Bush's important speech at West Point in June of 2002, he made a point of saying that the U.S. seeks neither empire nor utopia. And what he appeared to mean by that was the United States was not trying to establish explicit control over the societies with which it was in conflict. And it is important to recognize that empire is descriptive of many different types of political arrangements of control. What empire refers to is a form of multi-state control. A basic form of world order is based on sovereign states exercising political autonomy within their territory. What an empire does is to centralize that control in some place - some site of power that exerts some control over a group of states or, in this case, the whole world or region, and doesn't necessarily establish formal control. It can be an informal empire, as I would certainly believe the American global empire will be. It will set limits on what other countries are allowed to do. It will use covert methods of controlling their internal politics. It will establish the rules of the game for how world politics are pursued. And it will seek to exert control over the pricing and supply of oil in particular, and energy resources in general and in the world economy...

The envoy was Donald H. Rumsfeld, then CEO of pharmaceutical giant Searle. The meeting ushers in a new era of U.S.-Iraq relations, opening the door to shipments of dual-use munitions, chemical, biological agents and other dubious technology transfers. But for years what exactly was discussed in that now infamous meeting has been shrouded in secrecy. Until last month. In a new report from the Institute for Policy Studies, entitled **Crude Vision: How Oil Interests Obscured U.S. Government Focus On Chemical Weapons Use by Saddam Hussein**, researchers led by **Jim Vallette** discovered that Rumsfeld was sent to Baghdad to convince Saddam to approve an oil pipeline on behalf of the Bechtel Corporation. The Bechtel pipeline would have carried a million barrels of Iraqi crude oil a day through Jordan to the Red Sea port of Aqaba.

GNN: Tell us about Bechtel.

VALLETTE: Bechtel is a privately held company, one of the largest construction companies in the world. They and Halliburton are dominating the contracting for post-war Iraq. They have deep ties with the Bush-Cheney Administration. Shultz went straight from being CEO of Bechtel to the White House, where he promoted this pipeline idea. They hired Donald Rumsfeld, and sent him to Baghdad. In the first meeting, Saddam told Rumsfeld that he thought the pipeline sounded like a good idea. He needed to avoid the Persian Gulf where the Iranians were attacking Iraqi ships. This would-be pipeline would circumvent the Persian Gulf. But Saddam told Rumsfeld that he was worried about the possibility of the Israelis attacking the pipeline.

GNN: The Israelis had attacked their nuclear plant at Osirak in 1982.

VALLETTE: Exactly...Bechtel met with a Swiss billionaire Bruce Rappaport, who was close personal friends with the Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Rappaport and another agent E. Robert Wallace tried to make certain arrangements with the Israeli government, which included funneling off oil pipeline profits into Peres' Labor Party. (Peres was reportedly offered \$700 million over ten years. Rappaport was later investigated by the FBI for illegal oil dealing. Wallace and his former client Attorney General Edwin Meese were investigated by a special prosecutor for their role in the bribing scandal.)

Read the complete ColIntel interviews at www.GNN.tv.

Technology Review

REAL TIME SPY: spy software

Think twice about opening that e-mail attachment! Spy Software Solutions sells a program that remotely deploys monitoring software to any computer once the recipient downloads and runs a nondescript-looking email attachment. Through an undetectable connection, Spy Software users can log all keystrokes typed, websites visited, windows opened, chats conducted, and system info in real time, to a password protected personal account on the "Real Time Spy" server.

www.spy-software-solutions.com \$79.95

CAS-200W: wireless net camera

This small Wi-Fi camera has a built in CPU and its own IP address, enabling it to feed full motion video to a server from any location. It can be controlled remotely using a laptop with broadband access, and the quality is reasonable at about 15 frames per second. Hit a spot with Wi-Fi access and you can be up and running with a live video feed in minutes. Think of it as a poor man's satellite videophone. And with all the free Wi-Fi nodes popping up in major cities, innovative new live-to-air content from indy mediamakers is in the ether.

www.advanteknetworks.com \$295

Art of Revolution



Spin

of the month:

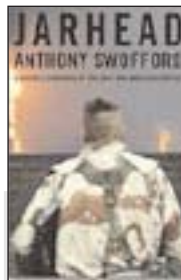
Road to War Paved with Disinformation

"The case for invading Iraq to remove its weapons of mass destruction was based on selective use of intelligence, exaggeration, use of sources known to be discredited, and outright fabrication," The Independent writes. "A high-level U.K. source said last night that intelligence agencies on both sides of the Atlantic were furious that briefings they gave political leaders were distorted in the rush to war with Iraq. Quoting an editorial in a Middle East newspaper which said, 'Washington has to prove its case. If it does not, the world will forever believe

that it paved the road to war with lies,' he added: 'You can draw your own conclusions.'... Some American officials have all but conceded that the weapons of mass destruction campaign was simply a means to an end in a 'global show of American power and democracy,' as ABC News in the U.S. put it. 'We were not lying,' it was told by one official. 'But it was just a matter of emphasis.'"

Source:
Independent (UK), April 27, 2003

Book Reviews



"Jarhead: A Marine's Chronicle of the Gulf War and Other Battles," Anthony Swofford (Scribner)

Coverage of Iraq gave us the PG version of the American soldier at war: clean-cut, fearless, exceedingly polite. In reality, wars are fought by aggressive, hard-edged young men who seek sex, violence and destruction with equal enthusiasm. Gulf War vet Anthony Swofford takes you on a raucous, almost poetic tour through the war he fought. War is hell, but it is also the defining moment for most of the men who are fighting it.

barred book that destroys the absurd myth that the media is liberal. In this aggressive, detailed argument, Alterman highlights scores of examples of how the U.S. media swings right. If all else fails just use it as a weapon to smack Bill O'Reilly fans in the head. It's a hardcover.



"Reefer Madness: Sex, Drugs, and Cheap Labor in the American Black Market," Eric Schlosser (Houghton Mifflin)

Fast Food Nation author goes deep into America's hidden economy, showing how pot, porn and illegal migrant labor make up 10% of the nation's wealth. His big conclusion: The free market is a myth. "The government is intervening all the time in the market, but on whose behalf? Is it protecting somebody who wants to smoke marijuana in their home, a migrant worker forced to live in a cave, or, more likely, a multinational drilling for oil?"



"What Liberal Media? The Truth About Bias and the News," Eric Alterman (Basic Books)

If you love to hate Ann Coulter, you'll love this one. Finally, a no-holds-

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About GNN

Guerrilla News Network (**GNN.tv**) is an independent news organization committed to exposing people of all ages to important global issues - free from corporate filters - through innovative multi-platform news and documentary programming. GNN is best known for their short, hard-hitting Guerrilla NewsVideos - design-rich mini-documentaries that deconstruct complex socio-political issues in music video form. Broadcast at GNN.tv, Guerrilla NewsVideos meld high-impact imagery, poignant interviews, archival footage and enhanced graphics with tracks from top recording artists like Peter Gabriel, AdRoc, Dead Prez, and many others. The GNN website is one of the Internet's premiere alternative news outlets, offering original and syndicated reporting from some of the world's top writers and journalists, in addition to an active forum where a dedicated community of guerrillas meet to discuss issues related to the Information (R)evolution.

BRING THEM HOME ALREADY

Soldiers For The Truth:
www.SFTT.org

Bring Them Home Now:
www.BringThemHomeNow.org

"These are rich men in their expensive suits conducting foreign policy like gangsters. They care about our troops like Tyson Foods cares about chickens."

- Stan Goff, U.S. Army, ret.
August 2003, National Press Club

Military strategists have often said that the key to winning a war is capturing the hearts and minds of civilians and selling a war as just and necessary. Soldiers are a given. But what if you lose your soldiers' hearts and minds? What if they don't believe in the war? For U.S. soldiers in occupied Iraq, that's what's happening. And it's bad news for Rumsfeld and the Pentagon.



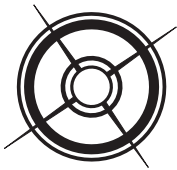
Since Bush declared the fighting over in May, U.S. soldiers have had more casualties than during the month-long Operation Iraqi Freedom. The body bags are

coming home for two main reasons: Soldiers are being killed by guerrilla attacks and "heat casualties." The former was not supposed to happen. U.S. troops were supposed to be welcomed with open arms—as liberators, not as occupiers. The latter because troops are not getting enough water and logistical support to survive the 120-degree day-time heat. Heat stroke, dehydration and unlisted "heat-related illnesses" have begun to take their toll on the 140,000 U.S. troops.

Soldiers are openly complaining that Rumsfeld and Company have no idea what they are doing. They are suffering from occupation blues. And occupational hazards. As Cheney's Halliburton works on pumping oil, their Kellogg Brown & Root subsidiary isn't showing up for work. They have been assigned the task of feeding and hydrating U.S. troops, not the government, and they're failing miserably. Soldiers are being limited to two 1.5 litre-bottles of water. The situation in Iraq is bad and getting worse.

In this issue of the Guerrilla **Deprogrammer**, GNN explores what secrets lie in the missing 28 pages of the 9/11 report, reviews two new books on doing business with the devil, examines a shocking French film, and we ask a retired U.S. Army Sergeant why the troops are so pissed off, and what that means for the American occupation of Iraq.

We hope you find it insightful and that you will read it, print it and distribute it widely...



Bush and the Saudis Sitting in a Tree...

Well, well, well. President George found himself in one hell of a bind when it turned out that Saudi Arabia funded Al Qaeda, not Iraq. Realizing we'd invaded the wrong country, Bush did the honorable thing: he came out against gay marriages.

This caused some real confusion in my staff where a gay member of our investigations team announced he was changing his allegiance from Howard Dean to George Bush. "Bush Saves Gays from Marriage! Bush Saves Gays!" he rushed around the office beaming. "Gay people exempt from going to in-laws for Thanksgiving dinner! Gay-mericans exempt from PTA meetings and hiring divorce lawyers!"

President George found himself in one hell of a bind when it turned out that Saudi Arabia funded Al Qaeda, not Iraq...

But then I had to bring him down to earth. ('Had to' because, while Bush announced last month that our conquest of Iraq had made 'the world a safer place', our President recently mentioned there's now a 'real threat' of new Al Qaeda hijackings. So America is safer? As long as one stays indoors.)

But here's the real kick in the head. Turns out that unlike the 18 minutes missing from the Nixon tape, the 28 pages missing from Congress' publicly released report on the September 11 attack has been found. And it turns out to be a summary of Saudi Arabia's financing of terrorist fronts including the 'charities' supporting Al Qaeda.

And now, The New York Times tells us, the U.S. Senate has been embarrassed into holding hearings on those Saudi charity fronts including one named WAMY.

Of course, this is ancient news to those who watched my report on WAMY and Saudi funding of terror -- broadcast on BBC's evening news on November 9, 2001. (In the USA, that report earned me

the title of 'conspiracy nut.' In America, a 'conspiracy nut' is defined as a journalist who reports the news two years before The New York Times.)

And here's the ugly little punchline to the story you WON'T read in the Times. Why has the Bush Administration covered up for WAMY and the Saudi's other blood-soaked 'charity' operations?



Saudi Foreign Minister Saud al-Faisal at the White House, Tues. July 27, 03

For the answer, let me take you back to Midland, Texas, 1986. A young old man, George W. Bush, seems to have trouble finding oil. But he strikes it rich when his flailing drilling partnership is bought out by Harken Oil. Despite the addition of the business acumen of Bush Jr., Harken faces collapse; but is pulled from the brink by a cash infusion from a Saudi, Sheik Bakhsh. The money from Arabia has nothing to do, we must assume, with Dubya's daddy at the time holding the post of Vice-President of the Free World.

(Bush's) first oil company, Arbusto, going bust-o, was aided by the American financial representative of the bin Laden family.

The Bakhsh booty continued a pattern of the young Bush being saved from his dire business decisions by a line of Sheik angels. His first oil company, Arbusto, going bust-o, was aided by the American financial representative of the bin Laden family.

And on BBC TV last month, I reported this: following the bombing of our embassies, the Clinton Administration sent two delegations to Saudi Arabia to tell their royal highnesses to stop giving money to the guys who are killing us. But Mr. Bush, once in office, put the kibosh on unfriendly words to the Saudis.

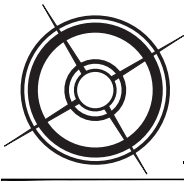
Furthermore, in the summer of 2001, Mr. Bush disbanded the U.S. intelligence unit tracking funding of Al Qaeda. What is it our G-men were uncovering? According to two separate sources speaking to BBC, the funders of Al Qaeda fronts include those who have previously funded Bush family business and political ventures.

...prior to the Sept. 11 attack, the Bush Administration held back agents of the FBI from tracking two members of the bin Laden family.

Now that's a wee bit embarrassing. Something you wouldn't want in a congressional report. Something you may not want the FBI to dwell on. (And you can unlock the women and children: the BBC reports will NOT be broadcast on U.S. television.)

And there's this: a document marked "Secret" and "1991" (meaning 'national security') which found its way out of the offices of the FBI into the office of our BBC/Guardian newspaper team. It indicates (and whistleblowers confirmed) that, prior to the September 11 attack, the Bush Administration held back agents of the FBI from tracking two members of the bin Laden family. According to the buried FBI report, the bin Laden lads were operating in the USA for "a suspected terrorist organization", WAMY.

But we mustn't ask too many questions of the Bush Administration's blindfolding the FBI, nor, Heaven forbid, discomfit the Saudis over their contributions to Terror-R-U.S. After all, in BushWorld, Saudi Arabia and America have shared values: we want our boys to kill, not to kiss.



ColIntel of the month:

STAN GOFF, U.S. Army, ret.



Stan Goff, a Retired U.S. Army Sergeant, founded the Bring Them Home Now campaign, which is aimed at mobilization and coordination among military families and veterans who oppose the occupation and want to return the troops home. GNN recently spoke with him about the hazards facing U.S. troops in Iraq, and why they want to come home.

GNN: It appears that most of the soldiers on the ground were not only surprised by the lack of roses being thrown at them, they don't seem to

have been properly trained to be an occupier in a hostile land. How do you explain that?

Goff: I think there is probably a great deal of dismay inside the Pentagon to this day. But given the relationship between the White House and Pentagon this isn't something that's going to be aired out in public. Everyone knows that **conventional military forces aren't equipped to conduct an occupation** like this. Especially one with such a dramatic cultural divide between the occupying troops and the people they are trying to occupy.

The Pentagon has a lot of issues, not the least of which is **Donald Rumsfeld** is imposing a **crackpot doctrine** on them which is being paid for in blood. There is a lot of resentment. A lot of these military decisions have been taken away from the Pentagon. There are a clique of neo-cons that operate pretty much in secret. Rumsfeld has been known to be extremely dismissive of his generals and extremely arrogant and not very inclined to admit when he's made mistakes. So I'm sure there are plenty in the Pentagon right now who would love to see the fall of Donald Rumsfeld. I can't prove that but I think it's probably true.

This imperial arrogance, this hubris, that affects the National Command Authority combined with the anti-Arab racism, has a parallel in the way they view the military. They have a **profound disrespect for the working class people who are the soldiers in this fight**. They expect they can use and abuse them as much as they want and feed them the same line of horseshit that they feed the American public. But the fact is the soldiers are pretty critical thinkers and they tend to pay attention to politics, especially when their lives depend on it.

They not only underestimated the Iraqis, they underestimated the rank and file soldiers. It's really shocked them that there's been such a breakdown in morale over there, and I think there's a fundamental failure in the administration to grasp why the morale and discipline is beginning to slide. It's not solely because of the hardship that's being suffered. The history of the military is that when people truly believe in what they're doing they can face incredible austerity and hardship and still maintain a **fierce fighting spirit**. But when they go over there with the expectation that people were going to greet them with flowers like they were the liberators of Paris and instead find this really generalized hostility - they, more than anyone, know the **chicanery of this whole liberation narrative** which was fed to the public.

Now they are also seeing, along with the rest of us, that the weapons of mass destruction, the nuclear programs and the Al Qaeda connection have begun to collapse like a house of cards. The morale problems and the discipline problems are a result of people over there risking their lives for something they no longer believe in. As this thing stretches out, these

problems are going to get deeper. There is a real sense of urgency on the part of the National Command Authority to remove the **3rd Infantry Division** from Iraq. In fact, **my son** is on his way over there as we speak with the **82nd Airborne Division** to replace them. They were supposed to be replaced in September but they accelerated the timetable. The 3rd ID, you can infer from what leaks out from Iraq, has some serious problems, and they have been seriously degraded as a fighting force.

You've heard the dissent. One thing that it's important for people to understand is when you're in the military you internalize a profound inhibition in your official capacity as a military person to speak out against any decision of your commanders. That's a very risky behavior, and one that people instinctively understand can have some serious consequences. But not too long ago we had non-commissioned officers, which are supervisors, the backbone of the military, blurring out some pretty provocative things, like 'I have a deck of cards and my four aces are Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and Bush...' This is serious stuff.

GNN: Put what we're seeing here in perspective, in terms of the Vietnam War. This is happening in hyper-speed, isn't it?

Goff: The whole process is just phenomenal. The anti-war movement that was international in scope even before the war happened, and the rapidity with which these problems started to crop up within the military. I think part of it has to do with the speed of communications technology. But I think part of it is, this is an extremely stupid administration. They believe their own stuff. They have deeply misread the international community. They've deeply misread the Iraqi people. And they've also deeply misread the willingness of American troops - which are literate and well educated and critical - to indefinitely participate and risk their lives in this particular military adventure.

It was four or five years before the morale and discipline problems began to crop up in Vietnam. It's been six months now. A very short period of time.

The official narratives have collapsed; the credibility of the Commander-in-Chief is in ruins. And I think soldiers know that they are not only being exposed to hostile fire, to heat stroke, to all these things everyone understands, but to some serious **environmental hazards** as well. I am thinking particularly of the cocktail of untested inoculations that they are being subjected to over there. They recognize that up to **40% of those who participated in Gulf War I are in some way disabled**. That's an incredible figure.

The military and the Veterans Administration have spent millions of dollars to evade responsibility and liability for that. I can't believe that most soldiers are not vaguely aware of that.

GNN: What is the exit strategy?

Goff: That's not for us to decide. We are going to be confronted with that question by our opposition as a way of transferring everyone's attention into some sort of hair-splitting policy argument based on abstractions. We're not going there. We want a decision by the National Command Authority to end the occupation. Period. Once we get that decision then we can start having fights about how it can get down.

It's like the antiwar movement. We had a lot of people who were stone-cold anti-imperialists on one hand, and people who said they would support the war if we get a UN resolution. There were all sorts of ideological trajectories around that movement - but we made sure we all converged on one point: no war.

FILM Review: *Irreversible*

Gaspar Noé's controversial 2003 Cannes entry, "Irreversible," is out on DVD - controversial because it includes a horrifying rape scene with French actress Monica Bellucci (*Matrix:Reloaded*) in the dark underbelly of a Parisian street, followed by a revenge murder in a raunchy gay bar called The Rectum.

I don't want to play spoiler, but the man is literally defaced by the blunt end of a fire extinguisher in such a real way I found myself rewinding the DVD to try to figure out how they did it. I don't think I have had that level of fear or silenced awe since jumping out of a plane for my first skydive.

And not because I drew any perverse glee from the spectacle. But more because it was drawing something from me. It was almost as if the murder was created with complete consciousness of the sensory manipulation that it would exert on its viewer. I've come to understand just what kind of revolution the so-called European Nu Millennial filmmakers like Gaspar Noé and Michael Haneke are all about. Faced with a citizenry trance-formed into a zombified electorate, willing to accept the most egregious lies from the least humanistic leaders, they are creating works so horrifying and self-defeatingly unwatchable in order to pierce the thick layer of the collective coma.

When "Irreversible" screened at Cannes earlier this year, people walked out of the rape scene that, more than the revengeful murder, has come to symbolize the violent gratuitousness of Noé's project. There were many times throughout the scene when I simply wanted to shut it off. And almost did. But each time, I held back, thinking that the thing had to be almost over. And besides, where was I supposed to go once the lights were turned off? Noé had already taken me so far down the hole that I had no desire to sleep in it. Alone.

At one point during the rape, a person appears at the end of the tunnel. I actually felt myself praying for the person to come and rescue Bellucci - and me - from the scene. But, after a brief look, the person simply turned back and fled.

Obviously the pedestrian was a representation of the viewer. But in choosing to leave the scene instead of helping, their actions cast a powerful lens on us, since we had been able to do neither: help nor leave. We had decided to stay on. Helpless. Spectators. Accessories to the crime.

How like the viewers of FOX News Channel. Or CNN. Or the State of the Union address.

- Stephen Marshall



Spin of the month:

Pentagon Moves To Contain US Troop Complaints

"After several troops made some highly publicized negative comments to the media about the war effort in Iraq, the Pentagon has taken steps to keep the frustrations of both soldiers and their families out of reports," PR Week reports.

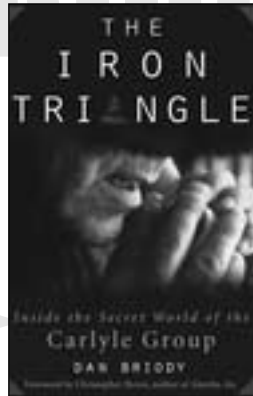
According to a story in the July 25 edition of Stars and Stripes, the military appears to be curtailing its much-touted embedded-journalist program, which has allowed reporters almost unfettered access to

military units throughout the war and occupation. The 3rd Infantry Division, from where many complaints have arisen, has expelled many of its embedded reporters, and its troops are no longer allowed to talk to the media outside of pre-approved news features... "Soldiers' families are also being advised not to complain to the media, according to news reports," PR Week writes.

Source:
PR Week

BOOK Reviews

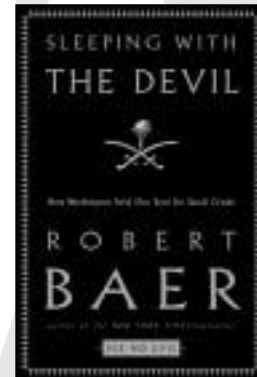
"The Iron Triangle: Inside the Secret World of the Carlyle Group" Dan Brody (Wiley)



This book gives you the real deal behind the infamous Carlyle Group, the murky private investment firm whose partners have included Bush Sr. and the bin Laden family. Thanks to its defense

holdings, for the first time in American history, a sitting president's family stands to profit directly from that president's foreign policy decisions. This is the secret history of the behind-the-scenes profiteering that has shaped this so-called War on Terror.

"Sleeping with the Devil: How Washington Sold Our Soul for Saudi Crude" Robert Baer (Crown)



"Fifty cents of every dollar you spend on gas goes to getting a Saudi prince laid." The real life Jack Bauer is back with a scathing indictment of the decadent Saudi royal family and the whorish DC

politicians they've bought along the way. Baer, an ex-CIA operative, writes the corrupt desert nation which holds 25% of the world's oil reserves is on the brink of collapse. Baer provocatively argues the U.S. has two choices to avoid global meltdown: develop alternative energies, or invade.

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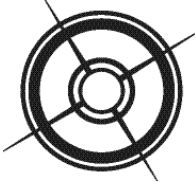
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Don't Be Misled:

www.Misleader.org

With all the spin coming out of Iraq, GNN traveled to the edge of the American Empire to find out just how life really is under the post-invasion occupation. GNN's Anthony Lappé and Stephen Marshall spent twenty one days on the ground, shooting over 50 hours of tape and filing dispatches at GNN.tv. Here are a couple excerpts:

DISPATCH 1:

Around 2 pm local time a car bomb exploded in front of the heavily fortified Turkish Embassy. We arrived shortly after. The situation was tense. While the press angled to get a shot of the damage down the now-closed-off-street, around the corner a group of about two-hundred neighborhood kids had gathered, chanting pro-Saddam slogans.

The Americans created a perimeter, while an Arab-speaking translator got on one of the Humvee's loudspeakers and ordered the crowd to disperse, taunting the crowd, "Saddam is gone, he's left you for the hills." The kids got bold and turned the corner to march on the soldiers and blue-shirted Iraqi police. The journalists were caught in the middle. The soldiers stayed behind the razorwire, sending out the Iraqi cops to handle the fast approaching mini-mob. I lost Stephen as he disappeared into the crowd of young Saddamphiles, some kissing Iraqi Dinars with Saddam's portrait on it like he was Sharon Stone. The cops surged forward, firing shots from their AK's into the air, and quickly apprehended the ringleader - an older teenager who was egging the kids on. The cops beat him to the ground and took him away. The kids turned and ran, some tossing a few stones, Palestinian-style, in our general direction. It was all over in short order.

Up the street from the attack sat a small, bullet-riddled truck, its facade pock-marked with holes. Inside on the passenger side of the cab was a nasty pool of blood. Apparently, the truck was being driven by an innocent bystander behind the suicide bomber. When the embassy security opened fire on the bomber, they tragically hit the truck. According to the Iraqi police, three men were shot, two critically. In the back of the truck, you couldn't ask for a more ironic visual metaphor: American flag logos on bags of U.S.-donated flour were splattered with Iraqi blood.

Anthony Lappé

DISPATCH 2:

Anthony and I had only spent ten minutes in a rural community, interviewing people about the resistance when a police car pulled up. Two officers jumped out and started walking briskly toward us. Thinking we were going to lose a (nother) tape for filming the upstarts, I put the camera down and looked over at our translator. The police began speaking quickly in Arabic and motioning toward the road. Our translator pulled at Anthony's arm and said: "Come on, there is a demonstration in front of the town hall, to protest the U.S. violence against the people here."

So much for the much touted alliance with the new Iraqi police force. These guys were out recruiting media coverage of the low-intensity resistance to the occupation. When we got to the demo, we were mobbed by sixty people, many of whom had wounds and who wore torn garments that had numbers written across their backs in blue and red ink. Behind them, US soldiers sat high above, looking down from the turrets of a Bradley and 2 Hummers ... staring passively.

Once we had filmed several testimonials, the crowd began to chant the now-familiar mantra: With our blood, with our lives, we sacrifice for you Saddam. It was quite a scene... and one that Rumsfeld would be hard pressed to spin. Because even the military leaders know that they have now entered a cycle of violence and retribution that will not end soon. And with Osama bin Laden's most recent message to the Iraqi people, they would do well to be honest with US troops and their nervous families. Instead of lying to them by characterizing the resistance as some rag-tag legion of frightened townsfolk, they should level, and tell them the truth: Even moderate Islamic farmers want the Americans out, now...

Or else.

Stephen Marshall



NewsWire Your Hearts and Minds, or Else

of the month:

by Gert Van Langendonck

(Balad, Iraq) Mohammed Al-Awasari's shack was no match for the American M-113 armored personal carrier. In a matter of minutes, the APC's powerful tracks reduced his small shop in the village of Albu Hishma to a pile of rubble. The U.S. soldiers on this "PSY-OPS" (psychological operations) mission deep inside Iraq's Sunni Triangle, were laughing, some were taking pictures to show back home, while the gathered villagers stood around and looked on helplessly.

Shopkeeper Mohammed was out of luck. The U.S. troops had decided to give him a break after he told them he wasn't responsible for the spray-painted pro-Saddam slogan on his shop's facade. But the Kurdish translator working with the Americans entered his shop and found a notebook in which Mohammed had apparently been practicing writing the very slogan on the wall outside: "Saddam is the heroic leader of a cowardly people. Saddam is the heroic leader of a cowardly people. Saddam..." Mohammed was given five minutes to clear out his produce before the APC went in.

Mohammed's shop was one of five houses in Albu Hishma that were partially destroyed on this day by the soldiers of the 1st Battalion 8th Infantry, stationed near the town of Balad. Several other villagers escaped the same fate by hurriedly covering up the anti-American graffiti with mud. Today's mission was part of a new, two-tiered approach to winning the hearts and minds of the Iraqis in this area. "I feel bad that the children have to see this," said Specialist Bryan Bledsoe, "But we have tried to help these people and they have thanked us by shooting at us. Now we're trying it this way. We want to make them understand that there is a price to pay if they support the terrorists."

The Americans refer to Albu Hishma as "Tupac," after the slain rapper **Tupac Shakur**. "On our maps this place is called Albu Shakur, so we just went with Tupac," said Specialist Brad Lewis. It is doubtful whether anyone in Albu Hishma has ever heard of Tupac Shakur - American pop culture is not high on people's minds here. Albu Hishma is one of many villages in this area where U.S. troops come under attack on a regular basis.

These days, most of the attacks are done by IED's, Improvised Explosive Devices, which are hidden on the side of the roads or buried in the road surface and remotely detonated, or by mortar attacks from the fields surrounding the many U.S. bases in the area. Balad airfield, a sprawling former military base of the Saddam regime, which is on its way to becoming the biggest American support base in Iraq, gets shelled on a nightly basis. Officially, the U.S. military refuses to give out figures on the number of wounded-in-action at Balad airfield, but individual soldiers spoke of one incident in which fourteen medical personnel were injured. Battalion headquarters at Balad town, too, has come under repeated mortar attack, and during a recent visit, work was underway there to surround the old school building with an anti-hand-grenade fence. The Americans' closest neighbors have wisely moved away.

It is doubtful whether anyone in Albu Hishma has ever heard of Tupac Shakur - American pop culture is not high on people's minds here...

The 1st Battalion 8th Infantry is confronted with a peculiar local situation in Balad. Battalion headquarters is in an old school in the town of Balad, which has a majority Shia Muslim population and has been cooperating with the Americans. But the town is surrounded by what the Americans call a "donut" of Sunni Muslim villages where many people remain loyal to the old regime. "Inside the 'donut', there hasn't been a single shot fired at the Americans," said Battalion Commander Lt. Col. Nate Sassaman, "and our policy from the start has been: if you don't shoot at us, you will be rewarded."

So the Americans are pouring money into Balad - \$1.2m so far - providing help with the water and electricity, and fixing up schools, whereas the villages where the Americans get shot at get slapped with an early 7 p.m. curfew; they get four hours a day of electricity and very little in terms of reconstruction projects. The policy is eerily similar to that of the Saddam regime, only in reverse. Sunni villages and neighborhoods traditionally loyal to Saddam received subsidies and favors, like a continuous flow of electricity, while Shia areas suffered neglect and outright oppression at the hands of the dictator and his henchmen.

The PSYOPS mission in Albu Hishma was preceded by an action a day earlier by the 1-8th's Lighting Platoon, which received the "Eagle Play of the Day" award "for firing white phosphorous grenades into the fields south of Albu Hishma, burning several acres of vegetation," which added "extra emphasis" to the next day's PSYOPS mission.

PSYOPS, of course, brings to mind **Vietnam**, where the "hearts and minds" program originated. The Americans at the time were trying to "pacify" South Vietnam by giving aid to villages supporting the communist guerrillas, and financial incentives to encourage Viet Cong defections. But PSYOPS also had a sinister aspect to it, in that uncooperative villages were punished, often cruelly. Capt. Gerard Walsh, a civil affairs officer with the 1-8th, admitted that the hearts and minds campaign "ultimately didn't work in Vietnam since we lost the war." But the tactic has never disappeared from the Army's textbooks "because it was felt that, regardless of the outcome of the war, the tactic itself did produce positive results."

"I realize that today's mission in Albu Hishma doesn't exactly send the message that we are here to help them," Lt. Col. Sassaman said afterwards. "In fact, you could say that we are

using some of the same tactics as Saddam's people did. But it does send the message that we will not be threatened by anyone. Keep in mind that our Battalion alone has had eleven wounded-in-action since we arrived here in June."

It helps that, at least in Balad, "We are treated like rock stars," said Lt. Col. Sassaman. The Shia population has embraced the U.S. presence, and the town's officials work closely with the Americans in providing information about the resistance. The town's mayor, Nibil Dawash, says he entirely agrees with their approach to the loyalist villages, "These people are supporting terrorists. They deserve to die."

But working with the Americans is not without danger. On the morning of the interview, the mayor's staff discovered two handgrenades and explosives just outside city hall. Several weeks ago, there was an attack with rocket-propelled grenades (RPG's). The mayor refuses to see the conflict in terms of the Shia-Sunni opposition, blaming the attacks instead on outside influences, "former Baath party members from Fallujah and Ramadi, and local Wahabi's, religious fanatics who get support from Saudi Arabia." He feels that, "If we are mean and strict with these people, the situation will improve. There is no use being nice to these people."

"I will teach my children and their children to hate the Americans until the end of their lives. Even if they pave our streets in gold, we don't want them here."

It remains to be seen whether the carrot-and-stick approach to the loyalist villages will make the Americans anymore popular there. Days after the raid, in the absence of U.S. soldiers, the people of Albu Hishma seemed to be heading in the opposite direction. Fifty-five year old Hassan Ali Hamoud proudly pointed to his ten-year old son Maher as the author of the "Long live Saddam!" slogan which resulted in a two-room dependency of his house being demolished by the Americans. "They'll never stop us from loving Saddam," he said...

One thing the Americans have accomplished is there will be no new pro-Saddam slogans painted on the walls of Albu Hishma. "We're not stupid. They will just destroy more houses if we do," said Ali Mahmoud. "No, we will paint them instead on the walls of the school the Americans have just renovated."

The school, just outside Albu Hishma, is one of the few American reconstruction projects in this area. Every night, local Saddam supporters taunt the Americans by defacing the freshly painted white wall around the school with slogans such as "Yes, yes, Saddam" or "Down USA." And every day, the Americans have the wall painted white again.

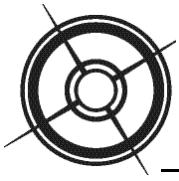
It is a constant source of frustration for Lt. Col. Sassaman, because he knows the Americans would look ridiculous if they tore down the very school they helped renovate. "No, we're not going to tear down that wall," he said angrily. "We're just going to have the Iraqi police paint it white over and over again, as long as it takes."

Lt. Col. Sassaman is popular with the men of the 1-8th because of his gloves-off approach to the loyalist villages, but privately he is given to some doubt. "Our first approach didn't really work all that well," he admitted. "We found that the former regime loyalists were using the fact that we were favoring the Shia in Balad town to rally support against us amongst the Sunni villagers." Recently, he has given the battalion's civil affairs officers permission to start some reconstruction projects in the loyalist villages. "Meanwhile, we will continue to militarily target the people shooting at us from those areas," he said...

The larger threat the Americans face, according to Williams, is "the alliance between former Baath party members and extreme religious groups. We believe that the Baath party people are financially supporting these religious groups because they have a common goal: getting the U.S. out of Iraq." There is evidence of "some kind of a contingency plan put in place by the former regime," and it is believed that the villagers are being paid as little as \$50 to shoot at American soldiers, and as much as \$1,500 if they manage to kill one. Locally, there is a branch of the so-called "Mohamad's Army," a larger cell that extends to Samarra, and recently a group has surfaced that goes by the name of the "Sept. 11 Revolutionary Group." It claimed a recent attack on the Americans in a leaflet bearing the logo of the Fedahdeen, Saddam's paramilitaries, combined with the Iraqi and Palestinian flags and a verse from the Koran. "But personally, I don't get too hung up on names," Williams said. "In these parts, you get three guys together in a room and they're a group."

Three such guys are sitting in a room in a house near the Tigris, somewhere in the Balad area. They all claim to be "mujahdeen" on a personal "jihad" against the U.S. occupation. One of them is a former officer from the Special Republican Guard, Saddam's bodyguards. Another is an Iraqi police officer, who works with the Americans during the day and shoots at them at night. "We give them the daylight but the nighttime is ours," he said. "This goes for all of the Iraqi police in this area..."

"It's not an insurgency," Lt. Col. Sassaman said. "I truly believe that ninety percent of the Iraqis support us. But there is a lot of ambivalence. Many Iraqis are sitting on the fence right now. They are not quite convinced that the old regime is finished, and they are afraid to be labeled as American spies should Saddam ever come back. This is why it is so important that we catch Saddam. Then those people on the fence are going to sigh with relief, and the Iraqis will finally be able to get on with their lives."



ColIntel of the month:

Felipe Fernandez-Armesto



With the recent invasion and occupation of Iraq, historians and cultural commentators have begun to invoke the 'E' word when describing America's identity in the world. But is it justified? While some would say that America is not an empire, in the traditional sense - and others that it is already an empire in decline. The prevailing interpretation is that the United States has become something much more than a "super-power." In this interview, conducted for GNN's upcoming feature film, best-selling author and Oxford historian Felipe Fernandez-Armesto deconstructs the legacy of Earth's imperial dynasties, dispelling conventional (liberal) wisdom that they were all evil and exploitative. Focusing on the invasion of Iraq, Prof. Fernandez-Armesto explains how elites are able to motivate the populace to spill blood for their causes and why media is such a crucial element to the expansion of their imperial desires:

GNN: In our generation there is a view that imperialism is bad. It's hard to imagine people thinking of it as a good thing. It wasn't always that way.

FELIPE FERNANDEZ-ARMESTO: I would say that if you look at it very broadly, most empires have been good. At least they have not been any worse than any other kind of state. Empires in the sense that Reagan used the term when he berated the Soviet system as an empire (which maintains power by continual menace and brutality and violence), are actually very rare in history, because for most of history that kind of system has not worked very well. The only way you can maintain a state which endures for a long length of time is by getting people's collaboration on the ground and cooperating with traditional and local elites. That's how the Chinese empire has endured for such a long time and that's how the British empire achieved such an extraordinarily large and vibrant system in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Therefore, on the whole, I think that you can say that empires have advantages for their subject peoples.

I don't want to whitewash empires. I particularly don't want to whitewash the great European empires of the 19th and 20th centuries. The British, French and German empires were in my opinion guilty of a great deal of intellectual impropriety. Racism above all, affected peoples' lives and spread misery around the world. They are also outrageously inefficient, particularly about delivering food where it was needed. And I hold the British Empire, in particular, responsible for a great deal of 19th century famine from Ireland to India. So I won't whitewash them, but I think you've got to give them their due. I offer one such good example of imperialist virtue by citing the British empire's commitment to the abolition of slavery. That was something, which in honesty was not in the interest of the British people. It was dismantled not for economic, but for moral reasons. In history, that's quite an extraordinary example of commitment of the state to a moral purpose. And it was achieved at the cost of an enormous amount of British blood and money. You can cite that. The empires of today, like the American empire, and the empires of the future, should measure themselves I think against that kind of achievement. America has got to ask itself today what are we going to do for the world which is comparable to the efforts the British made when they abolished slavery.

GNN: Empires are often built at the behest of the elite who will benefit from trade and from the administration of those colonies. However, the foundation of the empire is the work of the people themselves. How are the people inspired, coaxed or encouraged to work on behalf of the empire and how is it made to seem as though it is in their interest?

FFA: On the whole, that's how empires work. They get people to collaborate and sometimes to identify with the state. A very remarkable example of this is the Roman empire where the concept of Roman citizenship spread throughout the empire. Romans continually granted the status of "Roman citizen" to ever

more subject communities and what you got was a single culture and strong kind of Roman identity and commitment to the empire amongst Hebrews, Celts, Greeks and Romans. But really the Roman empire was a Romanic Greek empire in the east and a Romanic Celtic empire in the west, but subject peoples really identified emotionally with it. When it collapsed it didn't collapse because people rebelled within their own empire, it collapsed because of things that were happening from outside. The British empire didn't work by bossing people around and fighting them but by finding a collaborative elite through whom they could guide the local economy and policy into the channels and into the directions that they wanted. Empires work best when the imperialist is delivering to its subject peoples something they need. What they deliver can be economic prosperity, or it can be something very elementary like peace, or security against outside enemies. What I think is a really critical thing is that imperial elites can be sources of the administration of justice, which I call the "stranger effect." The imperialist comes from outside society so that he is not embroiled in its historic hatreds and rivalry. He can bring objectivity to the administration of justice - in the British empire it was the district commissioner. He may have just been a lone figure with nothing more than a pistol in his pocket but he travels around these vast territories amongst peoples who could easily get rid of him if they wanted to but because he is delivering that objectivity, he can help sort out their problems and their disputes and so they are actually very glad to have him. As long as the empire is not fiscally oppressive to make those advantages worthwhile, it endures.

GNN: The foot soldiers, the people who go out and fight the wars for the empire, the citizens of the state - they often need to be encouraged. In this case, much of the spoils from this occupation are going directly to the few. Historically, how have the common people been motivated and inspired? And what role has media, hype and propaganda played into that?

FFA: Probably the broadest possible generalization I can offer in response to that question is "duty." The foot soldier is usually involved in the process of imperialism for what he can get out of it. In most empires he has a role as a colonizer. Ordinary soldiers who settled on frontiers, who often married locally, were given land by the state. They were leaving the world of restricted social-economic opportunity at home and acquiring social-economic opportunities by going out to the frontier. Sometimes, of course, those soldiers deserted as they could do better by allying with their potential victors than they could by serving their imperial masters back home. To keep them functioning as agents of the empire, the empires had to reward them.

Unfortunately, that's where American capitalism has got it right. It's based on an unfortunately accurate reading of human nature. Because you can persuade people to do things out of altruism, especially in the short-term, and rhetoric and propaganda can play a big part in that. And if you tell people lies, like the country we're invading is a threat to us, or if you tell lies like these people are longing to be liberated, and it'll make them much better off than they formally were - you can temporarily get people to act for you, galvanized in this moral dynamism. Unfortunately, moral dynamism usually runs out of steam in history, and I don't think American draftees and volunteers are going to continue fighting in Iraq happily whilst the rhetoric that took them there corrodes.

GNN: There's a view we have now that people, in a sense, have been lied to. Are there myths that society needs sometimes to conjure, to tell itself, to reaffirm to itself, so that it allows itself to move in the ways that it needs to? Do we tell ourselves lies sometimes to justify what we're doing abroad?

FFA: Life is unsustainable without lubrication by lies. We know that in our own everyday lives. Who can put his hand on his heart and say that everything he's ever told his wife or his children has been crudely truthful. The truth is often hurtful; it very often directly inspires violence. So actually, we always need to protect ourselves from the ill effects of the truth. Lies and states. Actually the whole of history is a tissue of such myths, which are there to create collective identities, or to defend them when they've been created, or to generate hatreds against communities with whom you have to go to war for some reason or other...

Read the complete interview with **Felipe Fernandez-Armesto** at www.GNN.tv

From the East Coast Bunker

THE MEDIA WAR IN IRAQ:

First the Iraqi Governing Council bans the Arab TV network Al-Arabiya from working in Iraq for simply playing a tape of Saddam Hussein. Now Rumsfeld is accusing both Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya of being collaborators with the resistance. Rumsfeld claims the resistance is inviting the Arab networks to film them attacking Americans, and by accepting they have become nothing more than propaganda outlets for "terrorists." But what is embedding, other than inviting journalists to film the U.S. military attacking Iraqis? It's only propaganda when the other guy does it. Hell, Newsweek has interviewed and photographed resistance fighters on several occasions. Recently, Fox News Channel played a videotape of a group of Iraqi resistance fighters shooting shoulder-fired rockets at planes. Of course, none of that matters. Rummy's comments are meant to intimidate and ultimately silence the Arab networks. Al-Jazeera reporters and cameramen have been beaten and arrested by American troops. During the war, the Al-Jazeera HQ was hit by a tank shell, killing one of their correspondents. There is no doubt that Al-Jazeera, the more popular of the two Arab news networks, is hostile to the American effort. We spent time with them in Baghdad, and they are tough on the occupation. But they argue they are simply presenting the news from "an Arab point of view." Now Rumsfeld is trying to make that a crime in an Arab country.

- Anthony Lappé, NYC



Spin of the month:

Pentagon Iraqi Media Network 'Fair and Balanced'

The U.S. sponsored Iraqi Media Network -- planned to include a 24-hour satellite channel, two land-based TV channels, two radio channels, a national newspaper and studios in every major Iraqi region -- promises Iraqis "comprehensive, accurate, fair, and balanced news."

The Village Voice's Cynthia Cotts reports, however, that IMN already faces credibility issues. Budgeted at \$100 million (part of the \$87.5 billion approved for Iraq), the project's money will flow through the Defense Department's Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict division, which also handles military psy-ops. "Critics say the network's

mission is weakened by its contradictory goals. So far IMN is touted as both the voice of an occupying military force and an inspiration for Iraqis to produce fair and balanced news coverage. But many Iraqis have already dubbed the network a propaganda organ. (As if to underscore that impression, IMN recently ran a speech by CPA administrator Paul Bremer in which he spoke repeatedly of Hussein as 'the evil one.')

A recent poll found that 35 percent of Iraqis now have satellite receivers, and of those, 67 percent prefer to get TV news from the satellite channels Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera, rather than from IMN," Cotts writes.

Source: Village Voice

BOOK Review



"Covert Action: The Roots of Terrorism"
Ellen Ray & William Schaap
(Ocean Press)

While the media tide may be turning against the Bush-led, neo-con drive for global U.S. hegemony, info-starved civilians shouldn't

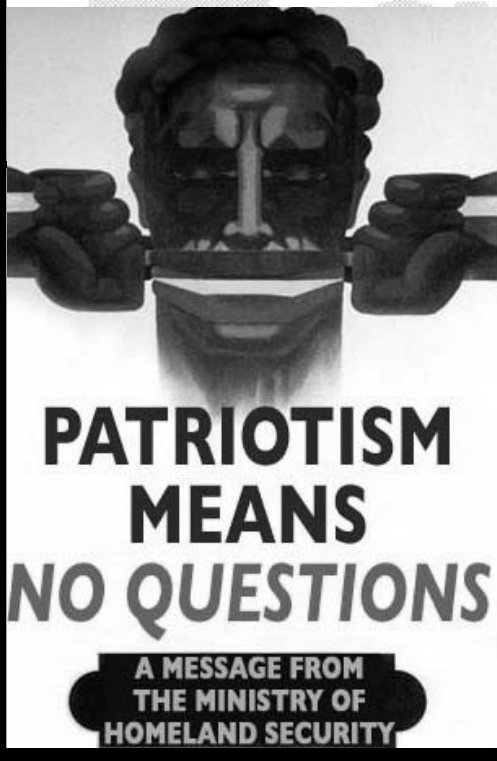
expect any serious level of historical analysis from the mainstream outlets. Luckily there is this encyclopedic compilation of essays from the editors of **CovertAction**, one of the most consistent and articulate critics of American unilateralism. Writers like Noam Chomsky, Jane Hunter, and Eqbal Ahmad show how the War on Terrorism is merely an evolution of the strategies developed under the Reagan and former Bush administration. A must read for anyone who needs ammo for the conservative holiday party circuit. **8.5/10**

TECH Review



Panasonic AG DVX-100 ("24p")

This camera will transform the way that studios, networks and film-makers view the medium of digital video. We first heard raves about it from our UK allies, OBAHC, who signed a deal with Miramax's Bob Weinstein after showing him footage shot on the DVX-100. He couldn't believe it wasn't film. So we bought 2 and have been shooting our new feature film exclusively in 24PA, the progressive 24 frame setting that can be imported through Final Cut Pro and exported for a direct film transfer. Panasonic's ergonomically advanced design, easy-access aperture and neutral density controls made shooting in sun-saturated Iraq a breeze. **9/10**



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"The real clash has yet to come. In the south, they are waiting, and in months they will be fired."

It was last October. We were walking through a tank graveyard on the outskirts of Baghdad. Our friend, Iraqi blogger Raed Jarrar, was describing the mood in the predominately Shiite south, where he frequently visited. At the time, Sunni insurgents had been fighting a more or a less non-stop guerrilla war against the U.S. occupation forces since the day Baghdad fell. But the Shia, Iraq's long-oppressed majority, had been relatively quiet, waiting in the wings, as Raed explained, for the dust to settle and the Americans to give them their country back. But five months later, when four American "contractors" were brutally killed and dismembered in Fallujah, the entire country was ready to erupt. And it did. Shiites and Sunnis united. Iraqis had had enough.



The Americans had blown it. They had almost a year to the day to prove to the Iraqi people they were "liberators" not "occupiers." But at every step, they fumbled. Nearly 20,000 Iraqis sit

in prison camps, with no rights, and most with no charges. Towns were rung in razor-wire. Civilians are still regularly shot and killed. And to top it all off, the Americans couldn't even get the lights back on.

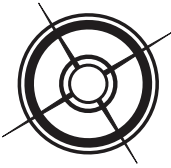
Back home in right-wing circles, the uprising seemed to come out of the blue. The New York Times' conservative commentator David Brooks wrote, "I never thought it would be this bad." The administration was less honest. Rumsfeld tried to argue they had planned for every eventuality, even as he scrambled to find more troops ready to fight.

There are a hundred and one reasons why Iraq isn't Vietnam. But in both cases, we see war planners stuck in deep denial. Here we are, once again deep in the "big muddy," with a corrupt puppet regime, a local army that won't fight, and a hostile population in which it's impossible to tell friend from foe. And our answer: send more troops. 2004 is 1964 all over again.

As the radical historian Howard Zinn wrote, "This fits the definition of fanaticism: 'When you find you're going in the wrong direction, you double your speed.'"

We went to Vietnam to stop the "domino effect," a region-wide shift towards communism. When we left, it never happened. But what we have in Iraq is something much worse: a global "domino effect," in reverse.

If there was another 9/11 tomorrow, people around the world wouldn't just be celebrating. They might turn it into an international holiday.



NewsWire: **The Line**

by William Rivers Pitt

Former White House Counter-Terrorism Czar Richard Clarke has managed to do something that defies modern political gravity. He has stayed in the news, hour after hour and day after day. Clarke, somehow, has managed to maintain his position at the top of the news despite this process we mistakenly call 'journalism' for longer than any other ten major recent stories combined. There are several reasons for this... One is because he does not stand alone. Had he been the only person to come forth with savage criticism of George W. and his administration, Karl Rove would have called out the dogs, and Clarke would have found himself selling Amway outside of McMurdo Sound before St. Patrick's Day. Fortunately for Clarke, and for the truth, he has joined a long and prestigious line of people who have come forward to bear witness against this White House:



* Tom Maertens, who was National Security Council director for nuclear non-proliferation for both the Clinton and Bush White House. Maertens' own words tell the tale: "Clarke was a colleague for 15 months in the White House, under both Bill Clinton and George W. Bush... From my perspective, the Bush administration has practiced the most cynical, opportunistic form of politics I witnessed in my 28 years in government: hijacking legitimate American outrage and patriotism over 9/11 to conduct a pre-ordained war against Saddam."

* Roger Cressey, Clarke's former deputy. Cressey backs up one of the most damning charges that has been leveled against the administration by Clarke: They blew past al Qaeda after the 9/11 attacks, focusing instead on Iraq. Cressey is one of four eyewitnesses to an exchange between Clarke and Bush which took place in the White House Situation Room on September 12, 2001. Bush pressed Clarke three times on September 12 to find evidence that Iraq was responsible for the attacks. According to his book, 'Against All Enemies,' Clarke protested that al-Qaeda, and not Iraq, was responsible. Bush angrily ordered him to "look into Iraq, Saddam," and then left the room. According to Cressey, Condoleezza Rice was also a witness to this exchange.

* Donald Kerrick, a three-star General who served as deputy National Security Advisor under Clinton, and stayed for several months

in the Bush White House. According to a report by Sidney Blumenthal from March 25, Kerrick wrote Stephen Hadley, his replacement in the White House, a two-page memo. "It was classified," Kerrick told Blumenthal. "I said they needed to pay attention to al-Qaeda and counterterrorism. I said we were going to be struck again. We didn't know where or when. They never once asked me a question nor did I see them having a serious discussion about it." Hadley has since become a White House front man in the attacks against Rickard Clarke.

* Paul O'Neill, former Treasury Secretary for George W. Bush. O'Neill was afforded a position on the National Security Council because of his job as Treasury Secretary, and sat in on the Iraq invasion planning sessions which were taking place months before the attacks of September 11. "It was all about finding a way to do it," says O'Neill. "That was the tone of it. The president saying 'Go find me a way to do this.'" O'Neill describes the process of decision-making between Bush and his people as being "like a blind man in a roomful of deaf people."

* Joseph Wilson, the former ambassador and career diplomat who received lavish praise from the first President Bush for his work in Iraq before the first Gulf War. Wilson was dispatched in February 2002 to Niger to see if charges that Iraq was seeking uranium from that nation to make nuclear bombs had any merit. He investigated, returned, and informed the CIA, the State Department, the office of the National Security Advisor and the office of Vice President Cheney that the charges were without merit. Eleven months later, GW used the Niger uranium claim in his State of the Union, despite the fact that it had been irrefutably debunked. Wilson went public. Days later, Wilson's wife came under attack from the White House, whose agents used press proxies to expose her as a deep-cover agent running a network which worked to keep wmds out of terrorists' hands.

* Greg Thielmann, former Director of the Office of Strategic, Proliferation, and Military Issues in the State Department. Thielmann, like Ambassador Wilson, was involved in investigating whether the Niger uranium claims had any merit. He told Newsweek at the beginning of June 2003 that the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research had concluded the documents used to support the Niger uranium claims were "garbage." In fact, they were crude forgeries. Thielmann was stunned to see Bush use the claims in his State of the Union address eleven months after the charge had been dispensed with as nonsense. "When I saw that, it really blew me away," Thielmann told Newsweek. He watched Bush use the claim and said, "Not that stupid piece of garbage. My thought was, how did that get into the speech?"

* Karen Kwiatkowski, a Lt. Colonel in the Air Force and a career Pentagon officer. Kwiatkowski worked in the office of Undersecretary for Policy Douglas Feith, and worked specifically with the Office of Special Plans. Kwiatkowski's own words tell her story: "From May 2002 until February 2003, I observed firsthand the formation of the Pentagon's Office of Special Plans and watched the latter stages of the neoconservative capture of the policy-intelligence nexus in the run-up to

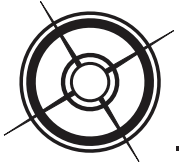
the invasion of Iraq. I saw a narrow and deeply flawed policy favored by some executive appointees in the Pentagon used to manipulate and pressurize the traditional relationship between policymakers in the Pentagon and U.S. intelligence agencies. I witnessed neoconservative agenda bearers within OSP usurp measured and carefully considered assessments, and through suppression and distortion of intelligence analysis promulgate what were in fact falsehoods to both Congress and the executive office of the president."

* Rand Beers, who served the Bush administration on the National Security Council at the White House as a special assistant to the President for combating terrorism. Mr. Beers served in government for more than 30 years working in international narcotics and law enforcement affairs, intelligence, and counterterrorism. He worked for the National Security Council under presidents Reagan, Bush Sr. and Clinton. Because of his position, Beers saw everything. In a June 2003 interview on Nightline, Beers reported that the administration was failing dramatically to defend the United States against terrorism. According to Beers, al Qaeda presented a far greater threat to America than Hussein and Iraq, and that the Iraq war was a terrible and unnecessary distraction from what was truly needed to keep the nation safe.

Rogue journalist Hunter S. Thompson, in a 1973 article titled "Fear and Loathing in Washington: The Boys in the Bag," described the looming sense of doom which surrounded the Nixon White House after the existence of recorded Oval Office conversations were exposed. The Nixon White House had tried everything to that point to fend off the Watergate scandal: They denied everything, then tried to pay off the central figures, then fired a bunch of people, denied everything again, and finally released edited transcripts of the White House tapes in an effort to stem the tide that was about to flood them out of power.

"There are a hundred or more people wandering around Washington today," wrote Thompson, "who have heard the 'real stuff,' as they put it - and despite their professional caution when the obvious question arises, there is one reaction they all feel free to agree on: that nobody who felt shocked, depressed or angry after reading the edited White House transcripts should ever be allowed to hear the actual tapes, except under heavy sedation or locked in the trunk of a car. Only a terminal cynic, they say, can listen for any length of time to the real stuff without feeling a compulsion to do something like drive to the White House and throw a bag of live rats over the fence."

These people all heard and saw the real stuff happening in this Bush White House. Wilson has a book coming out in May, in which he will name White House operatives who destroyed his wife's career. There will be more books, and the 24-hour news cycle will continue to ride this tiger. These people are telling the world about the real stuff. The Bush/Cheney Re-Election Axis is terrified, and the Secret Service detail guarding the White House perimeter might want to cowboy up in preparation for a rain of rat bags coming over that fence.



Co Intel featuring: Naomi Klein



Naomi Klein may be our generation's most potent threat to the menace collectively known as the World Bank/IMF/G8. Few people can riff this fluidly when asked about the structural analysis of the expansionist corpo-military paradigm in Iraq. Read carefully and whisper a little mantra of gratitude that she's on our side. And not theirs... GNN recently met up with Naomi at the Media Reform Conference in Madison, Wisconsin.

Naomi: I believe that the goal of this war was to bomb into being a new free trade zone. Precisely because of the enormous backlash against these economic policies by countries that have already adopted them. Capitalism functions like a drug addict. The drug is growth. It needs growth to survive. It needs growth to expand. The market has not actually recovered, it is in desperate need of new growth and it finds itself in a situation where its usual suppliers, its usual dealers, are cutting it off. That's what is happening in Latin America. When attempts to privatize energy and water in Bolivia are resisted, when huge popular movements are saying 'we don't want the free trade area of the Americas'... in Cancun, the last WTO round, when poor countries banded together and said 'we'd rather have no deal than a bad deal.' That means that they're getting cut off. Because what's embedded in these deals are opportunities for expansion and growth; new markets, services on the agenda and so on. I would call that free trade lite: that wrestles market access through the WTO and FTA negotiations. And it's precisely because of that desperation... the desperation of a junkie, that now it's been upgraded to this free trade at a barrel of a gun, or free trade supercharge. Where we will get our free trade and expansion, we'll get our shock therapy - which is what these economic policies are called in Latin America and Russia - through shock and awe military force. And if you believe, as I do, that that is actually the goal of the war: market expansion and growth... not just oil but water, roads, schools, hospitals, private jails, anything that can be turned into a commodity and sold, then you have to say: 'OK, if that's the goal, how's

it going?' On September 19, 2003 Paul Bremer introduced Order 39, which overturned Iraq's constitution. It allowed 100% foreign ownership of Iraqi businesses and it put 200 Iraqi state companies up for privatization, up for sale. And it also said that companies coming into Iraq can take 100% of their profits out of the country. It also gave them a massive tax break. Bigger than anything Bush has been able to achieve. The top tax bracket in Iraq before September 19 was 45%, which is what it is in Canada. It's now a 15% flat tax. So this is an economic overhaul. It is shock therapy. It has already led to 70% unemployment, as you know. And we're not hearing about it. All we're hearing about is this strategic discussion from the military side. It's a distraction from the truth... from the fact that the reason they went into the country was to achieve this structural adjustment... to open it up.

GNN: War is always presented by governments as an ideological crusade. As a battle between good and evil. But a quick study of history reveals that so often it is really just about economics and the expansion of markets. Is Iraq the new model? Or is that too dramatic a description?

Naomi: I think it's absolutely clear that this is the new model, that this is the new template that they're trying to sell. And Iraq is being treated as the dream economy for the most ideological of Washington's neo-conservatives to come and create the kind of economy that only exists in their own economics text books. Because they actually can't achieve this wish-list and this capitalist dream at home because democracy gets in the way. And I am hopeful about this situation for a couple of reasons. The first is that it is a response to desperation and not an expression of strength. The way that the U.S. likes to present itself to the world is as this swaggering, unilateral superpower that doesn't have to care about the rest of the world's opinion. If you see it in this other context, where the world is, in fact, standing up in an unprecedented way to this superpower. That there is an economic model that is not actually capable of thinking rationally, it can only think about how to get what it needs, which is growth and expansion. Then, what is happening in Iraq can be seen as an act of desperation and not of swaggering power, although it is an extraordinarily lethal, dangerous form of desperation. And it's important that those of us who oppose this economic system understand that. Because it can give us power and insight and allow us to better organize ourselves, strategically, to defeat it.

FILM : The Corporation

The much-anticipated documentary "The Corporation" is finally out. Directed by Mark Achbar (co-director of the landmark "Manufacturing Consent"), Joel Balkan (author of the forthcoming "The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power") and Jennifer Abbott, the three-hour feature documentary includes a star-studded cast that includes CEOs from the world's largest corporations, whistleblowers, a spy and the likes of Noam Chomsky, Michael Moore, Naomi Klein and Milton Friedman, to name a few. "The Corporation" is dark and amusing. It deconstructs the history of the institution, its evolution, and its effects on mankind. Treating the corporation as a legal "person" as defined by the law, the film employs a real personality diagnostic checklist from the World Health Organization and their Manual of Mental Disorders to illustrate how the corporation, once just a way of doing business, is, legally, a psychopath. Sound crazy? Maybe, but the film is groundbreaking and will be a staple amongst activists and business school students alike. The film took the documentary award at Sundance, and a U.S. release is imminent.

- Paul Shore, GNN Canada



Spin:

US Funded Channel Woos Arabs

"Like this image of Arabian stallions at full gallop, the new Alhurra Arabic-language television network is off and running with news coverage beamed at the Middle East, despite significant competition and mounting controversy," Television Week writes. Top branding and advertising specialists hope their work for the U.S.-funded Alhurra ("The Free One" in Arabic) will grab the attention of Arabic viewers, already skeptical of the network's content. Middle East Online reports that the United Arab Emirates newspaper Al-Khaleej said, "If U.S. policy in the region were healthy

and convincing, they would not resort to cosmetic means to improve their image." The Broadcasting Board of Governors, which oversees the new satellite channel as well as Voice of America and Radio Sawa, says its latest project -- costing \$62 million in its first year -- will provide independent news and information. Reuters reports Alhurra's slogan running between programs says, "You think, you aspire, you choose, you express, you are free. Alhurra, just as you are."

Source: TV Week

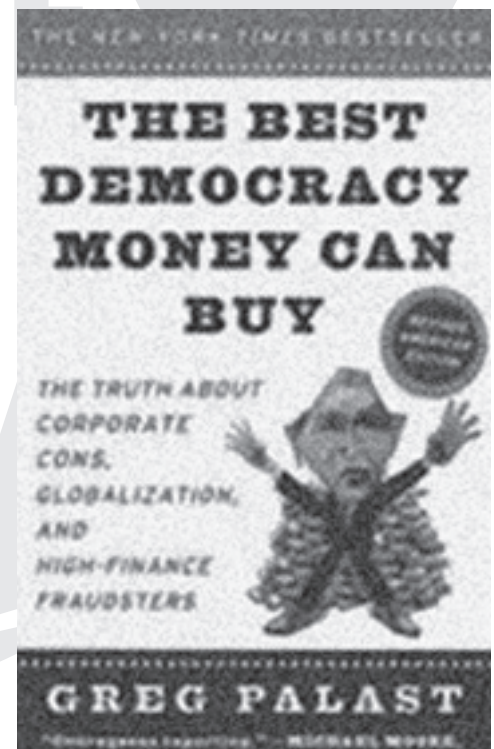
BOOK Review

"Greg Palast is back. In a new "election edition" of his hit, "The Best Democracy Money Can Buy," GNN's favorite fedora-sporting muckraker breaks down such scoops as how politically-connected companies, including the same company that fixed the 2000 Presidential Election, are cashing in on the "War on Terror" and how the man who fixed Florida, James Baker, is working for the Saudis while keeping an office in the White House. Palast also got a hold of a 100 page "Iraq Strategy" document: a comprehensive schedule to create a free-market Disneyland in Mesopotamia - put together by Washington insiders and lobbyists - that lays bare the real reasons our troops are risking their lives. It ain't pretty, but it's the truth. Can you handle it?"

For more info: www.GregPalast.com.

Also be sure to check out: "The Exception to the Rulers: Exposing Oily

Politicians, War Profiteers, and the Media that Love Them," Democracy Now! host Amy Goodman's inaugural book.



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