



From The Wilderness

A Nonpartisan Non-sectarian MAP for the Here That Is, Into the Tomorrow of Our Own Making

Vol. VII, No. 9

Jan 10, 2005

© Copyright 2005

Current Situation & 2005 Projections

by
Dale Allen Pfeiffer

December 29, 2004, 0300 PDT (FTW) - **T**his past year we have seen how volatile the oil market has become as the world approaches peak oil production. But the recent softening of oil prices demonstrates that we have not yet peaked. What we are experiencing right now is a tight oil market. Production can still increase, but not by much and only with difficulty. The good news is that we are producing more oil than ever before. The bad news is that production is barely keeping up with consumption, and the decline is still ahead of us.

In this tight situation, anything which disrupts oil production around the globe has an effect on prices. This year oil prices were driven up by the triple whammy of the Iraq invasion, civil unrest leading to production disruption in Nigeria, and hurricanes in the Gulf. Production could not increase enough to cover all of those shortages. But now the hurricane season is long over, and Nigeria is back in business. Barring further disruptions - such as the horror of a 9.0 earthquake in the Indian Ocean - prices should remain soft for the short term.

2005 Energy Picture

In fact, oil prices might drop back below \$20/barrel before 2005 is over - depending on circumstances. Several new large fields should come online this year, adding extra capacity. These are the last of the 500 million barrel mega fields, since none has been discovered in the past few years. Eighteen new mega projects are due to start producing this year, followed by eleven more in 2006. However, 2007 will see the opening of only three new projects, followed by three more in 2008. This will not keep up with declining production in older fields, much less the increase in demand.

[ODAC](#) has announced that world production is now seeing a 1 million barrel/day depletion rate. It remains to be seen whether the new production slated to come online this year and next will be sufficient to make up for that depletion rate. And should Ghawar collapse within the next year or two, the loss of production from this one field might cancel out all gains from new fields.

Increasing demand in China and India might also keep prices strong. Both countries are building strategic petroleum reserves. The additional demand of filling these reserves could account for all new production this year, driving prices higher. However, if prices climb high enough, these countries will likely suspend purchases for their strategic reserves, and might even open their reserves to help bring the price back down.

So for the next two years prices will tend to be soft, though they will remain volatile due to production disruptions caused by natural catastrophe, warfare and a host of other causes. In other words, we may have a cushion for the next couple years. But how are we going to use it? If we provoke supply disruptions, the price will bounce up. Once the disruption is over, prices will drop.

(Cont'd on page 11)

From the Wilderness

Michael C. Ruppert
Publisher/Editor

Assistant Managing Editor.....Jamey Hecht, Ph.D.
Contributing Editor.....Peter Dale Scott, Ph.D.
Science Editor.....Dale Allen Pfeiffer
Military /Veteran's Affairs Editor.....Stan Goff

From The Wilderness is published eleven times annually.
Subscriptions are \$65 (US) for 11 issues.

From The Wilderness

P.O Box 6061 – 350, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413

www.fromthewilderness.com

editorial: editor@copvcia.com

subscriptions and customer service:

service@copvcia.com

(818) 788-8791 * (818) 981-2847 fax

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Current Situation & 2005 Projection.....	page 1
Saying Goodbye to a Giant	page 2
Who is Sam Bodman?.....	page 9
Rampant Insider Trading Raises Red Flags.....	page 12
Taking the Fiscal Train Wreck to the Poverty Draft....	page 13
The Haitian Intifada—Part 2.....	page 14
Draft Extradition Update.....	page 24

© Copyright 2004-2005 Michael C. Ruppert and *From The Wilderness Publications*, www.fromthewilderness.com. All rights reserved.

Any story originally published in *From The Wilderness* more than thirty days old may be reprinted in its entirety, non-commercially, if and only if the author's name remains attached and the following statement appears:

"Reprinted with permission, Michael C. Ruppert and *From The Wilderness Publications*, www.copvcia.com, P.O Box 6061 – 350, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413, (818) 788-8791. FTW is published monthly; annual subscriptions are \$65 per year."

THIS WAIVER DOES NOT APPLY TO PUBLICATION OF NEW BOOKS.

For reprint permission for "for profit" publication, please contact FTW. For Terms and conditions on subscriptions and the *From the Wilderness* website, please see our website at: www.fromthewilderness.com or send a self-addressed stamped envelope with the request to the above address.

REPRINT POLICY

SAYING GOODBYE TO A GIANT

Gary Webb Memorial Attended by Hundreds

**New Information Confirms Suicide -
"Open and Shut"**

**Shabby, Self-Serving Internet Reports by Pseudo
Journalists and Activists Cause Webb Family
Grief - It's Time for Real Journalists and Activists
to Shun Demagogues, Hysterics and Profiteers**

by
Michael C. Ruppert



Gary Webb's first typewriter

Carmichael, California; Saturday December 18, 2004,
(FTW) - The world has said its powerful, enduring and
loving goodbye to Gary Webb.

Approximately 300 people came from as far away as
New Jersey to this quiet Sacramento suburb to honor a
man who - against all odds - made the corrupt and venal
world of corporations, covert operations and search-and-
destroy economics blink, stagger and show its true vul-
nerabilities. Webb's August 1996 *Dark Alliance* series in
the *San Jose Mercury News*, and his 1998 book of the
same name sparked an international outrage that led to
congressional hearings, massive disclosures of criminal
activity by the Central Intelligence Agency and the
Reagan-Bush (I) White House. They also gave brief, if
fleeting, hope to the oppressed - from America's inner

cities to villages and farms from Mexico to Colombia - that justice might not be the sole province of a parallel universe, untouched and unreachable from the world in which we "the abandoned ones" must live.

But even as his memorial service was a stirring tribute to a man who changed our world, Gary's passing was not without controversy and a just few more cheap shots for which his courageous surviving family has paid the inevitable price. That was the nature of Gary's life and - given his experience since 1996 - he would/should have expected this. To be fair, these follow-on blows are also an inevitable by-product of all suicides for which the one pulling the trigger must bear some responsibility.

The *Los Angeles Times'* [obituary](#), published just hours after Webb's body was discovered, drew universal outrage at the service, not only from Webb's family but also from about eight of his long-time former colleagues - professional journalists and writers all - who showed up to defy the way Gary's life had been distorted by corporate press in (as of last count) 73 obituaries published in the US and around the world. Most of Gary's obituaries were cut-and-paste jobs using material from the *Times* and *Associated Press* which explains the *Times'* rush to put their "stink" on Gary's passing as quickly as possible. The *L.A. Times* obituary was published shortly after midnight on Sunday December 12th.

Emmy Award-winning former CBS News producer Kristina Borjesson, herself a brutal victim of the mainstream media's "buzz saw", sat quietly in the crowded hall paying her respects. She had come all the way from New Jersey and as I was leaving to come home on the last cleared flight out of Sacramento's fog-shrouded airport, she missed her flight home and probably had to spend the night there. This is what friends do for each other.

The *Times* and the major press had to kill Gary Webb a second time just to make sure it stuck. He, like his incredible and professional journalism, was that hard to kill. Otherwise they might all have all been shamed for their relentless continuing extermination of anything resembling real investigative journalism.

As much as I know that Gary appreciated the many glowing tributes to his work, I also thought I heard him rage at some of the pseudo-journalism and malicious spin that followed his December 11th suicide because it came from people who should have been his friends and behaved like it.

But for those who were present, who spoke, and who sent messages to his family and to the world, it was clear that what Gary Webb accomplished in life was fully appreciated and will never be forgotten. Gary was remembered and honored as he should have been. This is what will endure long after the bitter tastes and painful memories have faded from the consciousness of all who knew him.



Standing room only

Gary Webb was a giant in a village of midgets.

SUICIDE CONFIRMED

Gary's suicide was accomplished with two gunshot wounds to the head. In death Gary proved to be as determined and single-minded as he had been in life.

Because of the rampant and ill-informed speculation that has been traversing the Internet it is a sad necessity to put this issue to rest right up front. What follows should be a warning and a lesson to all activists and progressives; to all those who dare label themselves as "journalists" without ever once following standard journalism protocols designed to ensure fairness and minimize unnecessary harm to the innocent and those already in pain.

After arriving in this quiet suburb of Sacramento California I drove to and photographed the outside of the house in which Gary died. The new owners were still moving in and they were extremely gracious. Then I drove to a nearby Doubletree Hotel and met Gary's family. I note that not one of the so-called journalists eager to cry murder -- especially radio demagogue and sensationalist fear monger Alex Jones (See Below) -- bothered to pick up the phone, send an email or make any attempt to contact the family or any agency for their observations, wishes or facts. Not the slightest concern was shown by any of them for an already devastated family. The wounded were kicked and exploited when they were already down. For this there can be no pardon.

In other words, one of the most fundamental tenets of journalism - one that Gary himself would have honored and demanded - was completely ignored by people who demonstrated that they have no class, zero judgment and not the slightest thought for anything but their own self-serving needs.

Here are the facts:

Gary Webb fired two shots from a .38 caliber revolver

into his own head. The entrance wounds for both shots were at or near the right ear. However, for the first shot Webb had the gun angled downward which produced a through-and-through wound blowing out his lower left jaw. This was obviously not a fatal wound. His second shot, angled upward, successfully reached the brain, killing him instantly.

As a former LAPD police officer and detective I have seen several suicides where multiple gunshots, especially from a relatively weak handgun like a .38, using inappropriate target ammunition, required multiple shots. In most cases the second and sometimes third shots were required because the victim made "hesitation" movements as they pulled the trigger, moving the gun barrel away from a fatal trajectory. There are many places on the human head to which a gunshot wound is not fatal (e.g. the lower and upper jaws, the cheeks, the roof of the mouth, the nose, etc.). Only a shot to the brain usually produces death but even that is not always guaranteed. I have seen attempted suicide and homicide victims survive after a .38 "ball" round had passed completely through and exited the opposite side of the skull.

Based upon an initial statement I received from an unidentified Coroner's spokesperson on the day of Gary's death, I and others had suspected a shotgun had been used because of indications of multiple wounds and the fact that one statement indicated that there was substantial disfigurement. At the time, my notes indicated that the Coroner's staff member had said there was only one gunshot. That led me to suspect a shotgun. (12 Gauge shotguns using 00 buckshot release between nine and twelve pellets, each causing a separate wound.). However, in an initial email to certain activists, authors and leaders who knew Gary, I was careful to use the qualifying word "suspect" because we didn't know for sure what kind of a weapon had been used and I said so. Given what Gary's brother and ex wife were to tell me later it's just possible that the Coroner's staffer made a mistake. Her phones were ringing off the hook. That happens sometimes and that's why reporters double check things. The fact that Gary had used a .38 was not disclosed until a [December 14th Coroner's statement](#) and a [follow-up story from the Sacramento Bee](#) were necessitated by the hysterical rumor mongering an unbridled publishing coming from the activist-progressive community.

Both Gary's ex-wife Susan and his brother Kurt viewed the body and they confirmed the location of the wounds to me when I met them.

In addition, Gary left multiple suicide notes to family members which were confirmed to be in his own hand by them. He laid his driver's license out on the bed next to where he shot himself so that paramedics would be

able to identify him. He had carefully placed his baby shoes in his mother's (her name is Anita and she is a real human being) storage bin. He had recently changed his bank account to make his ex-wife Susan the beneficiary. He had made statements to her in the days before his death that if this way the way he had to live he didn't want to continue.

There had been no reported deaths threats against Webb and no physical violence directed against him in the days preceding his death. There had been no reported burglaries of his residence and Gary had mentioned no recent difficulties or threats of any kind to his family. Several members of his family had seen Gary in the last days preceding the suicide and nothing out of the ordinary had happened except for the fact that his motorcycle had been stolen. Many friends and colleagues were aware of what writing assignments Gary had been working on for a small local magazine and none of them had to do with the CIA or drug running or major government corruption even approaching the magnitude of the *Dark Alliance* stories. He had no pending book contract, no publisher and - in fact - couldn't even get a full time job as a reporter. He was not writing another book.

Thanks to the *LA Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* and all major print publications in the country Gary Webb had become virtually unemployable in the world of big newspapers or book publishing. Still he was never able to let go of his desire to be recognized in that milieu and those of us who knew him were fully aware of that. Because of the trashing of his reputation and the absolutely unforgivable abandonment he has received from his *Mercury News* editor Jerry Ceppos, any new Gary Webb exposé in a major publication would have been discredited, discounted and ignored as soon as the major media saw his byline.

Veteran journalist and American expatriate Al Giordano described Gary's dwindling hopes and despair in detail in a brilliant essay titled "[Do What Gary Webb Did](#)." It is a painful read but well worth the effort for those who have doubts.

A note warning movers arriving at Gary's house on Saturday morning, asking them to not enter the house but call paramedics had been taped on the front door. Gary was well-familiar with police procedures from his years as an investigative street reporter. He protected the crime scene for them. He knew that a homicide (suicide) crime scene could not be initiated until after an official pronouncement of death. Police officers cannot pronounce death. Only paramedics or doctors can do that. That was the first step and he knew it. He was careful to leave his license next to where his body was found to expedite the identification process. He was thinking of the paramedics and the cops and making their job eas-

ier. He had been scheduled to vacate his house that day because - due to his chronic inability to get a job with a large newspaper - he was unable to keep up the payments. It had been sold and he was moving out.

Ironically his stolen motorcycle was recovered by the police just a few days after his death.

These are facts that cannot be faked unless one was to assume that Gary Webb was a willing conspirator in his own murder. The fact of Gary Webb's suicide is open and shut.

TRIBUTES

Gary was eulogized by his brother Kurt, his ex-wife Susan, his former sister-in-law Diana, his sons Ian and Eric, and his daughter, Christina. His grieving mother Anita and his uncle sat weeping in the audience, unable to speak from the podium.

Kurt recalled that Gary's first demonstrated passion for writing came when Gary was eight as he won an award for a school essay titled "What America means to me". Later, the two brothers came across an antiquated mimeograph machine. While Kurt quickly tired of the cumbersome process required to print a single sheet of printed text, Gary persisted - as was his nature - and rejoiced when he found that he could publish the written word. Gary's first typewriter sat nearby on a table next to the podium as his brother choked through tears. Writing was clearly Gary Webb's truest passion. Gary later wrote for his high school paper, becoming its music critic prompting his brother to observe, "Even though he had no musical talent, he certainly had an opinion."

Webb's brother then paused - as if reflecting on the harm caused by internet rumors - "Gary would never print anything unless he had checked it a couple of times over."

Before ending his eulogy, Kurt Webb left us a visual picture that will forever ring true with any serious journalist or author who has ever written about the CIA and drugs, or about government corruption.

"We would see him slaving into the dark night to pursue

his stories and that is the way I will always remember him."

Ian, one of Gary's two sons read a letter expressing profound grief from California congresswoman Maxine Waters who had championed Webb's stories in 1996 and 1997. The remaining family members spoke briefly, struggling to find words to express their feelings through their tears. It was absolutely apparent to all who were in attendance that Gary was deeply loved and he left behind a wonderful, courageous and beautiful family.



Gary's son Eric reading a letter from Congresswoman Maxine Waters

I was the first to speak after the family. I had come bearing messages from Peter Dale Scott (*The Iran-Contra Connection, Cocaine Politics, Deep Politics and the Death of JFK*), Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, former Assistant HUD Secretary Catherine Austin Fitts, former DEA agent and Bronze Star recipient Celerino Castillo (*Powderburns*), Al Giordano (*Narconews Bulletin*) and former US Army Special Forces Master Sergeant and author Stan Goff (*Hideous Dream, Full Spectrum Disorder*).

After delivering these incredible [messages](#) I made some personal observations which hit the family hard and brought tears to all of us.

I have only disclosed it to a few close friends over the years, but in the week prior to the publication of the *Dark Alliance* series in 1996 I had been wrestling with suicide myself. I had been trying to tell the world about CIA drug dealing for seventeen fruitless years and no one would listen. At the time I was broke, homeless, divorced, hopeless and fully convinced that the great effort of my life had amounted to nothing. I had been labeled crazy by the press and I had known the weight of a corporate media determined to destroy my reputation. *FTW* and my book, *Crossing the Rubicon: The Decline of the American Empire at the End of the Age of Oil*, would never have existed had it not been for Gary Webb. The best achievements of my life came to me because Gary Webb opened the door for them.

Gary gave me back my purpose but ultimately he lost his. It was as if Gary Webb removed the gun from my mouth only to have it ultimately placed against his own head.

I concluded my remarks by asking the entire audience

I concluded my remarks by asking the entire audience to join me in a Latin American salute for comrades fallen in battle. As I called an imaginary roll of heroes about to enter battle against the forces of oppression I called Gary Webb's name and 300 people in unison responded, "Presenté."

I was followed by many people who knew Gary: Journalist/author Lisa Pease; FBI Agent Lok Lau who quipped "The truth will not set you free. It will get you fired"; Faye Kennedy of the Sacramento area Black Caucus; former colleagues and professional journalists Tom Dressler and Kim Alexander who spoke for all of the real reporters present in praising Webb's skills, professionalism and dedication; a Hollywood screenwriter and many other people whose lives Gary had touched. The room was filled with awards from his lifetime of writing, truth-telling and ceaseless digging. There were more tears shed than I care to remember. There were laughs and there was, above all, the great unanswered question: Why?

Only Gary Webb knows that.

THE SHAME OF ALEX JONES AND JOHN HANKEY

There were many hysterical, unfounded internet rumors and wild stories circulated in the days following Gary's death. Unfortunately, almost all of them reached his family; the human beings you see in these pictures. I was even accused of participating in Gary's murder because I wrote that I had as yet seen "no reason" (i.e. evidence) to suspect murder and I, like many others had known pieces of Gary's state of mind in the months and years prior to his death.

None of these outrages inflicted upon Webb's family surpass those of radio demagogue Alex Jones and internet activist John Hankey.

The internet is an indispensable tool which brings us the BBC, major publications, university research, data bases, instant communication, and authentic investigative journalism. It also brings us a host of so-called journalists - angry, selfish children playing with the loaded weapons of powerful words who contaminate this medium with garbage. Because the internet must always - like free speech itself - be free from censorship (for as long as we can keep it that way) we will have to endure

the work of people who have no conscience, no ethics and little or no skill.

But the marketplace of ideas does work on the internet and I am going to put it use right now.

On December 14th, Alex Jones, publishing on his web site prisonplanet.com released an article titled

UPDATE: CORONER'S INITIAL FINDING: GARY WEBB'S DEATH CONFIRMED AS SUICIDE / NEW EVIDENCE BEGINS TO INDICATE GARY WEBB WAS MURDERED MOST LIKELY CIA OPERATIVES HE WAS GETTING READY TO EXPOSE AGAIN / WEBB SPOKE OF DEATH THREATS AND SEEING 'GOVERNMENT PEOPLE' LURKING AROUND HIS HOME / WAS HE ANOTHER DANNY CASOLERO?! - by Alex Jones & Paul Joseph Watson.



Gary's brother Kurt

Upon seeing the headline I laughed. Danny Casolaro was a real journalist whose murder was made to appear a suicide but Jones could not even spell his name correctly.

Jones has a large syndicated and internet radio show for which he claims a listening audience of "millions". Strange that he could not reach out into his vast empire to have someone in the Sacramento area check just a few facts before he published and sent his garbage out straight to Webb's family. *FTW* does that with its subscribers frequently because we - like Gary Webb - spare no effort to get it right.

Jones conducted separate radio interviews on the 14th with a former "business partner" of convicted drug dealer Ricky Ross and a second guest, retired DEA Agent Celerino Castillo. Later

Jones injected second-hand source comments (i.e. hearsay) from an alleged documentary film maker which were attributed to Ross. Ross' life and his selling of literally tons of cocaine in Los Angeles had been Webb's entrée into the dark world of covert operations. Castillo apparently had no idea his remarks were being aired in context with these statements - now known to be lies - made by a drug dealer. That part was apparently edited "for effect" by Jones later on.

Cele and I have been friends for a long time and both of us knew Gary Webb well. At the time of that interview - he had not learned any details yet - Castillo stated that it was possible that Webb had been murdered but he did

n't know. I talked to Castillo later that same day and he was clear that he knew that Webb's life wasn't going well and that it could just have easily been a suicide. He just didn't know.

But that's not the way Jones played it for his listeners and readers. No. Prior to interviewing Castillo, a colleague of Jones had interviewed Ross. Here are some excerpts of the Alex Jones written story published later that same day. Since no other sources are named - no family members, no colleagues, no one who had spoken to Webb personally - then Jones' *credible* sources are two of the largest drug dealers in West Coast history, one of whom (Ross) has spent almost two decades in prison.

Hey Alex, drug dealers lie! And I am about to prove it. So do you.

Jones and his co-writer said:

Credible sources who were close to Gary Webb have stated that he was receiving death threats, being regularly followed, and that he was concerned about strange individuals who were seen on multiple occasions breaking into and leaving his house before his apparent 'suicide' on Friday morning...

Today's Alex Jones Show, aired on the GCN radio network featured interviews with Chico Brown and Cele Castillo. Castillo is author of "Powder Burns - Cocaine, Contras & The Drug Connection." A retired DEA agent, Castillo personally witnessed CIA drug smuggling operations. Chico Brown, was former business partner [sic] and co-defendant [sic] with 'Freeway' Ricky Ross, the biggest drug dealer on the west coast supplied by the CIA.

Ricky Ross, one of Gary Webb's primary sources [Gary would have a big problem with this statement] had spoken to Gary in

the days before his death. Gary told Ricky that he had seen men scaling down the pipes outside his home and that they were obviously not burglars but 'government people'. Gary also told Ricky that he had been receiving death threats and was being regularly followed. It was also mentioned that Gary was working on a new story concerning the CIA and drug trafficking.



Gary described the men around his home as 'professionals' who jumped from his balcony and ran away when Gary confronted them. Alex Jones, while working with documentary film maker Kevin Booth has interviewed Ricky Ross many times from his federal jail cell in north Texas. On Monday night Kevin Booth broke the news to Ricky Ross during Ricky's once a week call that he makes to Kevin. The tape of that conversation which is edited to omit personal comments, is available by clicking here...



Former DEA agent Cele Castillo concurs that Webb was murdered and that in such a 'revenge hit' situation it was common in his experience that the murderers would have likely talked to Webb at length about how and why they were about to kill him. In a death of this nature a homicide investigation would be par for the course but the media is complicit in bleating like well-behaved sheep to the acceptance that this was a suicide.



I wonder how come Ricky Ross didn't know that Gary's motorcycle had been stolen. It was the only out-of-the-ordinary event in Gary's life in the months prior to his suicide. Above are

photographs I took of Gary's house (2016 Clearfield Way in Carmichael, a Sacramento suburb) showing clearly that it is a one-story house. There is no balcony anywhere and there are no pipes for Ricky Ross' Ninja warriors to slide down. There are aluminum drain spouts visible but they would not support a man's weight and I am at a loss to understand why a government Ninja would want to slide down it since the eave of the roof is

barely seven feet off the ground. It would be much easier to hang from the edge and then drop a foot or two. And what would have been the purpose of being on the roof anyway? There's no door there. How did these Ninjas get on the roof?

Many credible activists and journalists - including this writer - have been previously burned by Jones' hyperbole, salacious sensationalism and eagerness to play loose with and even fabricate facts in the past. But this travesty is beyond the pale; beyond redemption.

But there is someone else who made Alex Jones look almost credible by comparison. His name is John Hankey and he sent FTW Science Editor Dale Allen Pfeiffer the following email a day before I flew up to meet Gary's family.

> [Original Message (with punctuation as-is)]
> From: JOHN P HANKEY <jhankey@lausd.k12.ca.us>
> To: <calltoaction0416@earthlink.net>
> Date: 12/17/2004 4:48:59 PM
> Subject: Gary Webb's brother says suicide note a forgery
>
> *It seems Gary's colleagues, who should be rushing to his defense, are falling down. Ruppert says to "send flowers". Alex Coburn says, with no evidence, that it was probably a suicide and that Webb was depressed about his career.*
>
> *I'm just a school teacher, but I hired an investigator with money I don't have to go to Sacramento to see what he could see.*
>
> *My investigator says that Webb's brother says the writing on the notes is not Gary's.*
>
> *The investigator also examined the body and says that the entrance wounds appeared, to his non-professional eye, to be 2 shots from a 38s as reported by the coroner, in the right ear canal and in the back of the head; both exiting from the left cheek. You figure out the angle. Kelley O'Meara, who is knowledgeable in the field of head wounds, told me that the concussion from the explosion of 38 shot-to-the-head from close range would kill you before the bullet got a chance to*

An exaggeration perhaps, but the point is that the allegation of a second self-inflicted shot is ridiculous, let alone the angle

The one big issue now is paying for the second autopsy Cyril Wecht is the foremost authority and it is inspiring that he has offered to do it.

>
> *Certainly, THAT is what Gary Webb would have wanted He offered to do it for half his usual fee, which*

means the cost is \$5725, not counting shipping charges to Pittsburgh, probably another \$800 Wecht agrees that a criminal investigator should be engaged to examine the scene and attempt to determine the position of the body during both shots; and the amount of bleeding between shots And a handwriting expert of course needs to be engaged Costs will probably total around \$10 or \$11 thousand

>
> *I've never met Gary, and can only claim to be inspired by his courage and his work Further, I'm a poorly paid school teacher and can't possibly carry this financial burden I am pleading for his colleagues to take the question of his death personally, to ask yourselves what you would want us to do if you were "suicided think about that, and then do that for Gary.*

> *Utterly impromptu, I have been appearing on radio shows begging people to send a pledge to my email address, info@jfkii.com. So far I received about \$150 in pledges Pretty sadl [sic] pray his colleagues are more resourceful I'm grateful for alternative suggestions and initiatives.*

>
> *What say you?*

> *John H*

This man is teaching children?

When I gave a copy of Hankey's email to Gary's brother, his face turned crimson. He had seen Gary's notes and they were in Gary's handwriting. Sue, his ex-wife agreed. To everyone's knowledge no outside investigator had been allowed to view the body and that too was objectionable to him. Only a few family members had seen Gary. Only an investigator hired directly by the family through an attorney would have ever been allowed to view the body by law. Even though I have tried to dispel as many of these disgusting stories as possible I had to hand Hankey's email over to Kurt who said that he would gladly take care of the problem himself. I can only imagine what has happened to Mr. Hankey since and I sincerely hope for the worst.

Kurt did tell me that a second medical examiner had been called in to view the body and concurred with the initial findings. He added that as a gesture of courtesy the Coroner's office was going to bring in yet a third expert to examine the body. No one in Gary Webb's family expressed even the slightest doubt as to what the findings would be. They had all - to one degree or another - seen it coming and as his ex-wife Sue wrote to me, "We are all kicking ourselves over it."

So am I. So are all the people whose words I carried to Sacramento. Gary Webb was loved.

Gary is still teaching us from beyond the grave. Isn't it strange that the people who actually knew Gary Webb, and who were professionals like he was, all behaved one way; and that - sadly - many of the people who never knew him and have never been trained in journalism or investigative procedures behaved another?



Mourners line up to sign the guest book



Some of Gary's many awards and memorabilia. "Crossing the Rubicon" was placed on the table by Gary's ex wife Susan.

This is a time for all of us who are activists, professional investigator and journalists on the internet to distinguish and separate ourselves from those who do not employ professional standards for their investigation and reporting. These standards are used to make what is consumed by a sometimes too-trusting readership trustworthy and useful. It is a matter of love and honor for those who read what we write.

Just as the dishonest mainstream media distances itself from those of us who use this powerful medium out of fear, it is time for those of us who care about getting it right to draw an unmistakable line between ourselves and the internet "trailer trash" who detract from the very, very difficult job that Gary Webb gave his life for: Telling the truth, getting it right and proving it in a way that can be trusted... No matter what the cost.

This is what Gary Webb taught us.

[FTW's Science Editor briefs subscribers on new energy secretary.]

Who is Sam Bodman?

And Why Did Bush Nominate Him for Secretary of Energy?

by
Dale Allen Pfeiffer

December 17, 2004 0800 PDT (FTW) - On December 10th, 2004, George Bush nominated Samuel W. Bodman to replace Spence Abraham as Secretary of Energy. The nomination surprised everyone involved in the energy sector. Sam Bodman has little direct energy experience. Considering the situation with regards to world oil production and North American natural gas production, you would think Bush would want an energy expert to take the reins at the department of energy. Who is Sam Bodman anyway?

In the late 1960's, Sam Bodman began his career by serving as an Associate Professor of Chemical Engineering at MIT. Concurrently, he was the Technical Director of the American Research & Development Corporation, a venture capital firm. Next, Bodman went to Fidelity Venture Associates, a division of Fidelity Investments. He was eventually named President and Chief Operating Officer of Fidelity Investments and director of the Fidelity Group of Mutual Funds. In 1987 he moved to Cabot Corporation, a specialty chemicals and materials business. There he served as Chairman, CEO and Director.

Sam Bodman first came to work for the federal government as a Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, where he oversaw efforts to reorganize the offices involved in stopping the flow of funds to terrorists, thwarting money launderers, and enforcing economic sanctions. Moving to the Commerce Department, Bodman shifted his focus to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the Patent and Trademark Office, and the National Institute of Standards & Technology.

After his nomination by President Bush, Bodman commented on his past experience, "Each of these activities dealt with the financial markets and the impact of energy and technology on those markets."¹ Yet Sam Bodman was virtually unknown to energy industry insiders and to Washington energy policy specialists prior to his nomination. So why did he get the nod?

Sam Bodman was recommended for the position by outgoing Commerce Secretary Donald Evans. Evans, of course, is a Texas oil man and one of George Bush's closest friends. Sen. Pete Domenici, a Republican from New Mexico and chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee that will consider Bodman's nomination, has predicted an easy confirmation.

James Lucier, a Washington analyst with the Prudential Equity Group, has said, "The choice of Bodman is a signal that they want to continue using the Energy Department as more of a long-term transformation change agent than a high-profile position."² If confirmed, Bodman has said that he will carry out... "sound energy policy to ensure a steady supply of affordable energy for America's homes and businesses, and to work toward the day when America achieves energy independence."³

It is expected that Bodman will promote Vice-President Dick Cheney's energy initiative. He is expected to deregulate the energy industry and promote new nuclear power plant construction, clean coal-burning plants, and to press for drilling in ANWR and elsewhere within the US. Given his educational background in chemical engineering, his appointment will likely boost confidence in the Energy Department's proposed transition to a hydrogen economy.

Cheney Still in Control of Energy Policy

The Bodman nomination signals that the Bush administration wants an experienced administrator to run the department, leaving energy policymaking to the White House. Although the White House has long denied it, industry insiders and energy experts long ago concluded that Dick Cheney is in direct control of energy policy. "There is no doubt whatsoever that (Cheney) sets the broad direction and is keeping an eye on these agencies to make sure they follow their checklists," James Lucier has said.⁴

Environmental groups agree that Bodman will have little effect upon energy policy. "This nomination is indicative of a continuation of Cheney wanting to keep the lead," said Karen Wayland, legislative director of the Natural Resources Defense Council. "I think it's been pretty clear over the last four years that the energy plan the administration is pushing is taking its direction from the vice president's office."⁵

Bodman's nomination was awash in rhetoric about how he will help guide the US to energy independence. However, it is unlikely given his background, that Sam Bodman really believes the US can achieve this impossible goal. His appointment is intended merely to reassure the market. Sam Bodman will likely remain a low profile figure, proclaiming the glories of a hydrogen economy while secretly pushing nuclear, coal, and drilling of protected areas within the US. And, meanwhile, Dick Cheney will remain firmly in control of energy policy.

¹ **Remarks by President Bush and Secretary of Energy Nominee Sam Bodman**. White House Press Office, Dec. 10th, 2004. http://biz.yahoo.com/prnews/041210/dcf024_1.html

² **New US energy chief likely to keep low profile, Baltimore**, Chris. Reuters, Dec. 10th, 2004. <http://www.reuters.com/newsArticle.jhtml?type=topNews&storyID=7058044>

³ Op. Cit. See note 1.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ **'Sam Who?' Bush's Energy Nominee Surprises Industry**, Doggett, Tom & Baltimore, Chris. Reuters, Dec. 10th, 2004. http://wireservice.wired.com/wired/story.asp?section=Breaking&storyId=961808&tw=wn_wire_story

(Current Situation... Cont'd from page 1)

Likewise, our natural gas storage is full going into winter 2005. We will have no gas shortages this year, barring a major natural catastrophe. Though how long we can expect the weather to cooperate is a good question (which perhaps should be asked of those who are laying the ceiling of vapor trails in our skies). However, production is still precarious, and it is doubtful that any new production from territories recently opened to drilling will have much effect beyond broadening out the North American natural gas cliff.

So it appears that we may have reached an energy breather. Soft prices will be welcomed most graciously by those in denial of peak oil. Yet this will also give those of us who are aware a chance to prepare - perhaps our last chance before the roller coaster dives down the declining slope of production, carrying all in it.

The US & Iran

The Bush administration may take advantage of the soft energy market to continue their oil imperialism in the Middle East and elsewhere. It appears that the neocons have their sights on Iran. Bush has made some threats against Iran recently, using the excuses of Iranian nuclear potential and alleged Iranian interference in Iraq. Over the past year, Iran has been taking aim directly at corporate interests and US dollar hegemony. Iran has been working to set up its own oil market - sort of a world trade center of oil - and to price this market in euros. Iran is doing this intentionally to break the power of the oil majors over the oil market. This cannot be tolerated by the US neocons. So look for them to try to bust the Iranian oil bourse and depose the government through some covert means. But should the covert means fail, or should they feel time is short, then we can expect Bush to bring his already beleaguered war machine to Iran.

Following the 2004 US election, many foreign interests are considering taking matters into their own hands. The problem for them is that any action they take against the US will also hurt them to some extent. And nobody wants to piss off the US too openly; after all, we are the only country to use nuclear weapons in combat. But Iran has been pushed around by the US for years, and might feel that it has little to lose and everything to gain. An invasion of Iran would make Iraq look like a cake walk. And there is always the possibility that it could set off the entire powder keg known as the Middle East.

The US/British imperialist gambit is growing more dangerous by the day. And the Bush administration has gone too far to stop now. They will push the conquest of the Middle East and other oil bearing or geo-strategic areas. To fail now is to cease to be a superpower.

Meanwhile, the neocon TKO of the 2004 election will make it much easier for Bush to broaden the powers first granted under the Patriot Act and similar post 9-11 legislation. The neocons already have the capability to suspend the constitution in case of an emergency. They will seek to strengthen this capability over the next few years. And they will also prepare to handle the disenchanting masses back home once oil prices begin their irreversible climb.

It is a certainty, with our economy ready to burst at any moment due to various bubbles and dollar devaluation, and with the irreversible decline of oil production standing no more than a couple of years distant, that we will have a crisis before Bush is due to leave office. That would give him the excuse to do away with the sham elections and assume the mantle of Emperor. Impossible, some say; people will "take to the streets." Then why haven't they done so already? There has already been more than enough provocation to do so. The rest of the world has been scratching their heads for the last four years, wondering why people in the US have not risen up yet.

Long Range Projection

Oil production will begin its decline in 2007 or 2008. At that point recession, both at home and abroad, will begin in earnest. The economy will soon collapse completely (if it does not do so before 2007). People will feel the crunch, and they will become desperate. If you are not prepared in a supportive community intent on transitioning to self-sufficiency, then your chances of surviving are drastically reduced.

Beyond economic collapse followed by civil unrest, it is hard to say what will happen as energy production declines. But the world population will have to contract by 2/3s, and the US population will have to contract by 1/3. The loss will not happen all at once. It will start out very gradually, but it will develop into an exponential curve, similar to the curve of population growth following the introduction of hydrocarbon energy. Once the loss of energy production passes some critical point, the population will inevitably crash.

It is nearly impossible to say how the elite will play this out. It is to be hoped that we won't be left in a totalitarian world where none of us is even allowed the freedom to seek our own sustainable balance. It is also to be hoped that human society does not break down entirely, leaving some small communities attempting to survive while surrounded by predators.

Find some place or some way to grow as much of your own food as you can, where your neighbors are supportive. Plan to do without gas or electricity. Rediscover the old ways. Dust off those back copies of *Mother Earth News* stacked in the attic. It is time to prepare.

Rampant Insider Selling Raises Red Flags - AP Reports Major Corporate Execs, Including Some From the Homebuilding Industry Are Dumping Stocks - Serious Predictor of a Coming Crash

Special Commentary by Michael C. Ruppert

January 5, 2005, PST 0400 (FTW) --In 2000 and 2002, as the US financial markets tanked, investors lost trillions of dollars in equity as stock prices plunged and investment portfolios - many connected to pension funds - lost trillions of dollars in value. What was documented in both cases was that senior executives at many of the twenty or more companies involved (WorldCom, Enron, Adelphia, Merck, Global Crossing, to name a few) had engaged in a tactic called "pump and dump" just before the stock prices collapsed. Stock prices are pumped up by the executives and key insiders who then sell at the peak before everyone else gets reamed.

In a pump and dump operation, those who can influence stock prices issue glowing reports which cause investors to put their hard-earned dollars into a stock right before it collapses. This is a wealth transfer from poor or middle class folks to the absurdly wealthy. Immediately prior to the stock's collapse, the guys on top cash out and then the price plummets. The bad guys have the cash and the little investors and pension funds have nearly worthless or severely devalued paper.

In light of FTW's recent (third-ever) [economic alert](#), a number of very credible warnings from financial experts and the continuing intentional devaluation of the dollar, this is especially ominous. It is made more so by the fact that one of the nation's leading homebuilders is dumping stock hand over fist. This does not bode well for the housing bubble.

A critical distinction needs to be made however. Insider trading and insider selling are two different things.

Insider trading is a criminal activity in which a person with advance knowledge, acquired through inside involvement with economic or business events, violates his or her fiduciary and/or legal obligations for the sake of personal profit. This is what happened before 9/11 on

markets from Hong Kong, to Tokyo, to Chicago, to New York, London and Berlin. This is what Martha Stewart was sent to jail for. As described in *Crossing The Rubicon*, right after 9/11 the SEC issued (then quickly suppressed) a list of 38 companies where it suspected that persons with inside knowledge of the attacks knew that the stock of these companies would be adversely affected by the attacks. They thereby made undisclosed billions in profit after betting that the share prices would fall.

Insider *selling* is a relatively tightly-policed area of stock trading where those employed at senior levels of publicly traded companies start divesting themselves of stock they own in their own companies. Insider trading is always a criminal activity. Insider selling may or may not be, which is why the SEC watches and reports on it fairly closely. Disclosure of insider selling is required by law and executives who sell stock in their own companies are required to report it for the benefit of shareholders and other investors. It is these required reports which prompted a recent AP wire story: "[Rampant Insider Selling Raises Red Flags](#)," by Rachel Beck.

Given the fact that this pattern was evident just before each of the last two major financial slumps, this is a very ominous warning indeed. The Wall Street executives dumping their stocks are still trying to get small investors and pension funds to buy in when they know that a crash is coming. FTW strongly recommends to its subscribers that they take a look at any 401(k) plans or pension funds to which they belong and consider making immediate shifts out of stocks and into precious metals. For those lucky enough to have such assets, a consensus is emerging that now is a good time to have at least half of one's portfolio in precious metals.

We cannot make these warnings any clearer.

In Memory

Gary Webb

August 31, 1955 - December 10, 2004



Gary Webb's Memorial Webpage:

<http://www.newsreview.com/issues/sacto/2004-12-13/feature.asp>

"[N]ot long ago, to suggest that the Bush administration's policies might actually be driven by those ideologues - that the administration was deliberately setting the country up for a fiscal crisis in which popular social programs could be sharply cut - was to be accused of spouting conspiracy theories."

- Paul Krugman, [New York Times](#), Tuesday 27 May 2003

"\$44.2 trillion... That's the total "fiscal imbalance" figure Jagadeesh Gokhale, an economist with the Cleveland Federal Reserve and the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), and Kent Smetters, an economist at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, calculated in a recent, unpublished study about new methods of federal budget accounting."

- Mark Gongloff, "The \$44 trillion hole? Recent study says Social Security, Medicare shortfalls could be far bigger than previously thought. [CNN/Money](#), May 29, 2003

"I don't want to abolish government, "I simply want to reduce it to the size where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub."

- Grover Norquist, May 25, 2001 NPR Morning Edition interview.

"There is no such thing as an apolitical food crisis."

- Amartya Sen

Taking the Fiscal Train Wreck to the Poverty Draft

by
Jamey Hecht

January 4, 2005, PST 0800 (FTW) --The total US government revenue lost to the Bush tax cuts is approximately four times the revenue lost to the Iraq War. In this second stolen term, the administration intends to hemorrhage more money into particular private coffers and force an ever-greater share of the remaining tax revenue into the arms procurement cartel we call the Pentagon.

"In 2004," says the [Center on Budget and Policy Priorities](#), "revenues will total 15.8 percent of GDP under current law, the lowest level since 1950." If the tax revenue is contracting and the "Defense" budget is expanding in absolute size (rather than only as a percentage of the shrinking total tax revenue appropriated by Congress), some of the money for all that hardware is

coming from outside the tax base. Much of it is coming from narcotraffic and banking fraud. The rest is new debt.

For a look at the magnitude of these cuts and their effects on domestic spending, see: Richard Kogan and David Kamin, "[Large Tax Cuts But Little Else: Administration Proposes Tax Cuts That Cost Vastly More Than Other Domestic Initiatives Combined.](#)" January 23, 2004, [Center on Budget and Policy Priorities](#). Most of the remaining tax revenue will fund the state-socialist system of America's [6,702](#) active [military bases](#) around the world, where everything is paid for by the public, from recreation to food, clothing, and energy. ¹

The administration (let's call it, collectively, "Bush") has chosen these tax cuts for a tightly interlocking set of reasons. Cutting the taxes of the wealthy will do more than repay Bush's political debts. It will oblige the government to continue borrowing at such high rates that the dollar will probably crash during the remainder of Bush's 2nd term. Ten years ago the Newt Gingrich brigade deliberately "shut down the government" in an episode of centralized rightist tyranny disguised as libertarian rebellion. This was supposedly done to oppose "big government," even while the Clinton administration was slashing and burning federal payrolls like a Wendy's executive in the Amazon. It wasn't done for small government; it was done for no government. But "government" in this rhetoric refers to everything federal except the national security state (which is entitled to all the revenue it can extort, launder, borrow, or print up from nothing).

Last month in "[As The World Burns](#)," FTW's third-ever economic alert, Mike Ruppert observed: "An all-out run on the dollar is imminent and from the moment that begins we will be living in a whole new ruthless and unforgiving world. The best way to weaken the American military before fighting it is to eliminate as much of its funding as possible." The same article described the management of the dollar's decline from the Chinese side: "...according to a November 29th AP story reprinted in *Forbes* - China's Central Bank has now moved in to try and manage the dollar's decline by buying and selling [dollars] through its four largest banks. The likely intent is to allow all the other nations aligning with this plan to get out safely with minimal losses."

China has reason to moderate the dollar's fall, but would also like to "weaken the American military before fighting it." On the Washington side, the Bush plan looks eerily similar: manage the dollar's decline in a way that allows the super-rich Right ("some people call you the elite... [I call you my base](#)") to get out with minimal losses; watch the international capital fly out of the

US; then send the US military to go get the fossil fuels that give the money its value. The capital flight will make the whole country look like Flint, Michigan, stampeding the general population into recruitment/relief centers. When the dollar does crash, the working class will be so hard hit that what we now call a "poverty draft" will become either direct conscription (unlikely, though not for the [reasons currently claimed](#)) or a new kind of poverty draft that inflicts economic collapse in order to mobilize as large a fraction of the entire population as it sees fit. The reality of public military enlistment will be desperate self-preservation; the media story will be noble self-sacrifice.

An inflationary currency crash (like [what afflicted the German mark](#) in 1923) will wipe out the value of private savings and raise interest rates, causing mortgage defaults and bankruptcies. At that point the offshore capital currently held by U.S. elites will come home, to buy up the forfeited assets of the waitresses and the cab drivers and even the middle-management.

Recruitment has fallen off considerably, and public support for the Iraq War, never robust, has become feeble.² Imperial overstretch is on everyone's lips and the White House has quieted down about Iran and North Korea (as for the Bush [Mars project](#), you dreamed it). "Currently over 40% of the troops being rotated into Iraq are National Guard members and Reservists," states the Iraq War soldiers' and veterans' site [Operation Truth](#). "This reliance on Reservists hasn't been seen since World War II; of the 2 million people who served in Vietnam, only 9,000 were National Guardsmen." Although many Iraq War veterans return to an America of deteriorating health, lost wages, and [homelessness](#), the recruiter's mentally spellbinding cash-dangle will only get more powerful as real wages fall.

¹ At least [6,702](#) American-operated military bases dot the globe, in a [configuration](#) that looks a lot like four other world maps superimposed: [oil](#), [natural gas](#), [opium](#), and [coca](#).

² Gary Nurenberg, "[National Guard Facing Recruitment Shortfall](#)," 12/17/2004. "Facing a recruiting shortfall of 30 percent in the last two months alone, the National Guard is now offering cash incentives of up to 15 thousand dollars to attract new members... The Army expects to miss its annual recruiting goal by 8% -- the biggest shortfall since 1979."

[All over the globe, from Iraq to Venezuela the militarist faction of the US ruling class is amazed to discover the new limits of American power. Part of their surprise can be explained as the difference between conscious and unconscious white supremacy - avowed racists are all too numerous in this country, but the racism of tens of millions is the kind decried by Dr. King when he observed: "We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people." Uncle Sam tends to exchange fluids with our souls, giving us all his skanky diseases, and Americans who have never been infected with any racist ideology at all are rare. Exposed to that cognitive virus in our national environment, people fight it off with varying degrees of success. But the failure to realize that racism pervades American consciousness like salt in the sea, leaves naïve white liberals asking "why do they hate us"? That really is the question of the hour, but in the mainstream media it remains a rhetorical one that cannot have an answer. And racist imperialism is the answer.

Stan Goff is as illuminating on electoral politics as he is on military-economic hegemony: "Six out of ten white Americans vote Republican. Nine out of ten Black Americans vote Democrat. The question of which is an offensive and which a defensive strategy can be easily determined by examining any empirical measure of relative social power between these two categories." And that's saying a lot -here he is on the Haitian lifeworld: "The urban poor of Port-au-Prince are much the same as the burgeoning mass of surplus people now jamming the other cities of squalor around the world, dumped off the land and decanted into these hellish bidonvilles, with ten to a dark room choking with charcoal smoke, adjacent to an open sewer thickened by the plastic detritus of foreign modernism and by sugarcane bagasse." This is the second of a two-part series on Haitian "unrest." Read 'em and weep. --JAH]

THE HAITIAN INTIFADA

A story of politics from black and white, high and low

by
Stan Goff
(Part Two)

January 9, 2005, 2200 PDT (FTW) - It's not hard to compare Haiti's internal class structure and its relation to the North-

ern imperial power and the experience of African Americans. From slavery to sharecropping to land enclosure to urban industrialism to abandonment and deindustrialization, the trajectory has been the same, albeit on a different time line and in different dimensions. One can even make the argument that African America experiences domestic law enforcement more as an occupying army than service and protection - a prominent feature of all colonialism, whether that occupation is carried out directly by the imperial power armed forces or by colonial surrogates from the dominated nation.

And the political containment of African Americans by the US dominant class's Democratic Party wing is in many respects similar to the attempt to control electoral outcomes in the colonies through the funding of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which former CIA agent Ralph McGehee describes as:

NED is the primary overt vehicle for political operations - in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, Eastern Europe and in the former states of the USSR. NED subsidizes and influences elections, political parties, think tanks, academia, business groups, book publishers, media, and labor, religious, women's, and youth organizations. NED assumed this role from CIA beginning in 1983, and uses many of the same institutions but operates more openly. While NED is in the open drawing all the attention, it is in part a smoke screen for operations by other organizations. As proof we cite a government study that states the United States through AID and USIA, "and other agencies," is a huge and primary source of funding for democracy promotion programs.

The NED was, in fact, heavily involved in the political destabilization of Haiti as soon as it became apparent by 1999 that the 2000 Haitian elections would be overwhelmingly won by the Fanmi Lavalas Party of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. My own account of NED destabilization was written during Aristide's February 2001 inauguration, which also has a detailed description of the class composition of Haiti, can be found at:

<http://www.counterpunch.org/goff02142004.html>.

Haiti gained its independence in 1804 at the peak of the period of European colonial capital accumulation based on slave labor. It was the inter-imperial rivalry to control this rich slave-colony that created the conditions for the Haitian revolution.

It's difficult to overstate the shockwaves that went thro-

ugh the colonial powers, and in particular the terrifying potentiality for slave rebellion in the Southern United States, when a slave army led by [Jean-Jacques Dessalines](#), himself a former slave, devastated Napoleon's armed forces. Initially Toussaint L'Overture led the rebellion, but Toussaint wanted only the abolition of slavery. Just as Aristide has done, he played conciliator to the French at every turn, and they eventually trapped him into captivity and sent him to France to die, leaving the more revolutionary Dessalines to wage the brutal final push to independence.

An interesting historical aside here, one that relates to the difficulties being experienced by the occupying forces in post-coup Haiti today:

Seventy percent of the ex-slave warriors at independence had been born in Africa, many from Congo, who had brought with them knowledge of tactics we now commonly associate with guerrilla warfare.

This fact of an un-deracinated African origin is responsible for the distinctly African culture of Haiti to this day. Unlike generations of slaves elsewhere in this hemisphere that were uprooted and divorced by time from their own histories, there are many Haitians to this day who can trace their families to Kongos, Ibos, Nagos, Bambara, Arada, Mines, Morriquis, Sosos, Thiabas, Bobo, Mondongues, Senegals, Mozos, Hausa, Taucouas, and Yolofs.

Unfortunately for many US diplomats, this African culture - with its regionally unique cultural formation - has remained largely impenetrable by Ivy League bureaucrats schooled in the particular [Orientalisms](#) of so-called Latin America experts. This has proven, even during the [current](#) intifada in Port-au-Prince, a powerful advantage in struggle against the US - a kind of cultural cipher that translates into a form of operational security.

During this intifada, the cultural obtuseness of the Americans is displaying itself likewise among the MINUSTAH occupying forces from Latin American countries, led by the confused and strident General Heleno of Brazil, who has redeployed the majority of this thin force into Port-au-Prince in what has been ominously named *Operation Baghdad*.

It seems appropriate somehow, given that *Operation Baghdad* in Port-au-Prince has proven about as effective as occupation operations in the real Baghdad, and I will describe this intifada further down as well.

We were talking about the Haitian Revolution, and this latent fear of rebellion by Euro-American capitalists of slave insurrection, not merely out of concern for their own hides, but because of an economically rational con-

cern about profit.

It is historically demonstrable, albeit an unpopular and embarrassing statement for many, that capitalism did not incorporate slavery as a kind of amoral appendage, but that Euro-American capital could not have taken off at all without Indian land and slave labor. The material basis for capitalist expansion simply did not exist in Europe, and could not be bootstrapped out of the existing mercantile sector of European society.

This is the Rosa Luxemburg thesis I have alluded to before that "Imperialism is the political expression of the accumulation of capital in its competitive struggle for what remains still open of the non-capitalist environment." Colonial conquest and control is not incidental to the accumulation and expansion of capital, *it is that expansion's precondition*, and it remains so today.

Just as the capitalists of that day understood clearly the dangers of insurrection to capital accumulation then, today's imperialists are perfectly lucid about the potentially disastrous consequences of rebellion now - and the mandarins of this imperialist class are well aware of the structural connections between the struggle for independence now in motion in Iraq, the continental drift of Latin America being driven by ever more militant popular forces, the Haitian intifada, and the biggest political nightmare of all - the potential for an African American national liberation struggle that would ignite the fires of self-determination among other oppressed nationalities inside the United States.

Let's remember that the US in Haiti has always been ably assisted by the native comprador class, just as the compradors have always been the handmaidens of US capital in Latin America. The reactionary *caudillos* - in Haiti, they are the big landowners now called *macoutes* - are called in for muscle, but the petit bourgeoisie has always been the truest servant. They cajole and contain the masses, and they get paid.

Could sound familiar right here, eh? *Look at me*, the comprador always says, *I am providing stability* (to the boss) *and I am providing jobs* (to the masses)... *and I'm one of you. My ascendancy will pave the way for yours.*

In "Critical Race Globalism?" an essay by Gil Gott for the *UC Davis Law Review* (<http://www.law.ucdavis.edu/lawreview/Gott.pdf>), Gott points out:

The earlier race internationalists faced... tensions in pursuing their intellectual and political project of race conscious anti-imperialism. When CAA [the Committee on African Affairs] hit its stride, just after the Second World War, the anticommunist parochialism of the mainstream simul-

taneously took hold. The turn of events divided the civil rights community between the more anticapitalist and internationalist CAA of Robeson, DuBois, the Huntons, and Bethune on the one side and the more domestic-minded, if not patriotic, anti-communist and reformist NAACP of Walter White on the other... colonial techniques had to allow for the suppression of a... population, usually entailing the creation of a comprador, or middle-man economic and bureaucratic class.

Without these colonial surrogates, conflict becomes open and direct.

Think of the slave master's terror of Black rebellion ignited by the Haitian Revolution, and the later panic of the American ruling class when the Civil Rights movement started down that anti-colonial path again with King's opposition to the Vietnam invasion, followed by the Black Power movement that *was both class conscious and national*.

Dropping back for a moment to the Haitian Revolution, the other major blow dealt to surrounding slave colonies by Dessalines' victory was the destruction of the myth of white supremacy - an ideological blow that US capital, still dependent on the colonial subjugation of the Black Nation, has been struggling to overcome ever since. The Republican Party is in fact now the Party of White Supremacy in the United States, and the voting demographic of Republicans makes this abundantly clear even as the rhetoric becomes more oblique and camouflaged.

In the November 4, 2004 edition of *USA Today*, page 17A, there is a demographic breakdown of the election results. With the single exception of party affiliation, there is not more reliable indicator of a Republican vote than being white - stronger than age, stronger than education level, stronger than gender, and stronger than marital status. Six out of ten white Americans vote Republican. Nine out of ten Black Americans vote Democrat. The question of which is an offensive and which a defensive strategy can be easily determined by examining any empirical measure of relative social power between these two categories. Other data suggest a strong income correlation, but when income polarities are examined against 'race,' one finds that the correlations are just as strong. On average, individual Black net worth is 1/14th of white net worth.

Haiti today is telling the Imperium and its own dominant class they should be afraid, and telling the comprador - like the American-sponsored and supported *Group 184* - that he has to get out of the way.

Consider!

Haiti is subjected to a coup and the masses open up an urban rebellion (now punctuated with the glimmer of a rural insurgency). Intifada! Election time is over. They are hurling the coup back into the faces of the US and the UN.

This is how they defeated Napoleon's legions. They told the French they would turn the island to ashes before they would accept the re-imposition of slavery, and when the French called their hand, the slave-general Jean-Jacques Dessalines began the arson by putting the torch to his own home.

When people want to know why I have such enduring respect for the Haitian masses, that's why! It's because they mean it.

The favored rhetorical strategy of our dominant class, served up hot by our obedient press, is to reduce all resistance to the US diktat to the purported individual madness of a given leader - be that a progressive like Hugo Chavez, a maneuver-artist like Saddam, or a reactionary like Papa Doc. This attribution of madness serves to conceal the actual structures of class and empire.

Just as the US and its OAS drones tried to explain away Haiti's class struggle with Duvalier by portraying him as a madman (ergo, the nation that produced the lunatic is a nation in the genetic grip of lunacy... even though the mad Duvalier outfoxed the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and all his enemies for six years), the US ruling class and its press now represent the Haitian intifada as a kind of collective insanity - a voodoo, hoodoo reaction of crazed Africans.

Papa Doc, the favored bogeyman of Haiti in US Haiti-lore, of course, was neither an American creature - as some on the left have erroneously argued - nor was he insane. He was the canny and brutal representative of the reactionary Haitian caudillos, and his struggle was both against US inroads with capitalist agriculture in Haiti and against the cosmopolitan Haitian compradors who were competing with the caudillos for political hegemony. His compromises with all his rivals (including the Haitian compradors and their US allies in the State Department) was in every case to meet the one class threat common to all - the Haitian poor.

The madness-explanation, individual and collective, for Haiti, is a key that exactly fits the lock of American Negrophobia, and Negrophobia is the real basis of the Bush victory - the perfect confirmation of our white cultural impression-ingestion - black beast, bogeyman, blood-curdling cartoon... irremediable. This, of course,

is what African American *petit bourgeois* politicians fear intuitively, because it is this great rock of American racism against which they most fear the fragile craft, the USS Equality, will run aground. And so they, too, are unable or unwilling to see through the minutiae of the great storm enveloping Haiti, into its root causes, into its class struggle, and into its potentially uncontrollable and transformative character. "Oh please, please," they seem to say, "let's have an election!"

The ballot is always deployed when there is fear of the bullet, and the bullet is always deployed when the ballot doesn't contain the masses.

The ballot is always deployed when there is fear of the bullet, and the bullet is always deployed when the ballot doesn't contain the masses.

Aristide himself, like the talk-left-act-right Lula de Silva of Brazil, now appeals from his teaching position in South Africa for *dialogue* with the de facto government and the MINUSTAH, condemning the violence of the intifada as if it were the moral equivalent of the violence of the de factos, the ancien militair, and the MINUSTAH occupiers.

When he said this, he was harboring the frail hope that Kerry would Clinton him back into the presidential palace. He himself, who once was able to mobilize the Haitian masses as a transformative force, now plays the role of union bureaucrat... and plays it to the mainstreamed American Black elected official. Contain, contain, contain.

James Petras describes the role of the comprador leader eloquently - and aspects of the Latin American continental drift as well - in his recent Counterpunch essay, "The Politics of Imperialism: Neoliberalism and Latin America":

The link between the 'global' or imperial power and its control of national economies, natural and financial resources, markets and treasuries is through the ascendancy of national political-economic configurations of power. The basic 'link' in the imperial chain - what now is mistakenly called "globalization" - is based fundamentally on the outcome of class struggle. Without a successful outcome to the class struggle, there is no political elite or dominant class capable of linking to the imperial drive. Without a national 'link' the imperial powers cannot expand, or "globalize" the world. Unable to globalize or expand, the imperial powers must intervene directly, that is, militarily to shift the balance in the

national class struggle, via invasions, coups and colonization... If the imperialist powers - in our time - the US and the European Union are incapable of establishing direct hegemony, strictly speaking, over the masses in Latin America, they rely on the collaborator elites with whom they share interests, property and riches. Given increased polarization, and deepening political and economic crises the collaborator ruling class's influence over the masses has become very tenuous. In this context the crucial political-social class which enters to exercise power is the petit bourgeois via its electoral party apparatus, its role in the state bureaucracy and in civic organizations, its close ties with the trade union bureaucracy, NGO's and 'social movements.' Combining a 'populist rhetoric' attacking "neo-liberalism" and "globalization" with an unquestioning servility to electoral politics, and the institutional and legal order, this class does exercise hegemony over important sectors of the masses for longer or shorter time spans...

<http://www.counterpunch.org/petras11132004.html>

The stalemate between the MINUSTAH and the insurrection in Haiti is partly a consequence of the political incoherence of the Lavalas popular movement in the absence of Aristide and the Fanmi Lavalas party organization - which was always a sketchy organization at any rate. The Haitian intifada has now outrun its former Lavalas leadership in its militancy, but it has not been disciplined strategically for lack of ideologically clear and well-organized leadership. It has the power to disrupt, but not the organization to contest for political power. Political power is necessary to effect a post-insurrection social transformation and to mobilize the state in defense of independence.

Already in April, Aristide's own base was moving out in front of him, when he began calling for an end to protests that threatened to turn violent in response to *de facto* government crackdowns. He was still nursing the Kerry-as-Clinton fantasy, so he was already beginning to contain. *Stand down, my ass*, was the practical reaction.

These protests continued, and heated up as Aristide's Prime Minister Yvon Neptune was jailed on idiotic charges of a "massacre" in St. Marc that never happened, along with the killings and arrests of dozens of top Fanmi Lavalas officials, including the gratuitous arrest of the immensely popular Lavalas-sympathetic folk singer, So-Anne, without a peep of protest from the US State Department, and morgue figures point to thou-

sands being killed in the general chaos and repression. In June, the macoutes-sector ex-military and the comprador technocrats, led by Andy Apaid - a US citizen who was appointed, like Chalabi and Allawi, to be the new leader - were still coordinating their activities, though there were already polemical sniper shots being fired by the macoutes reminding people that Apaid was "white" (an appeal to the demagogic *noirisme* of the Duvalier era), and a US citizen (an appeal to the long standing *macoute* xenophobia). The fracture lines had begun to appear, but the popular challenge of the streets had driven both ruling class factions into the same bunker, again.

While the ex-militaries rampaged through the country, engaging in actions like killing teenage girls to terrorize villages by shooting them in the vaginas with shotguns, members of the US press continued to repeat *de facto* government references to them as "freedom fighters."

The only condemnation from the press was reserved for the alleged violence of Lavalas in Port-au-Prince in a series of suspicious arsons in June.

When Tropical Storm Jeanne brought devastating floods to Haiti in September of 2004, and over 2,000 were killed - 500+ in Gonaives alone - these same paramilitaries opened a new enterprise, stopping and robbing aid workers trying to deliver help to flood victims. Still not one word from the US government, though this was the point at which Argentinean and Brazilian MINUSTAH troops, suddenly faced with food riots and other aspects of this overwhelming humanitarian catastrophe, decided to at least denounce the paramilitaries... though to this day they refuse to *confront* them, even as they parade around in uniforms with weapons right next to MINUSTAH troops in Cap Haitien... I saw this with my own eyes.

Instead MINUSTAH was called on by the Latortue *de facto* government to attack protesters in Port-au-Prince who had had, by God, just about enough of it. When on October 2nd, *de facto* government police battered their way into Radio Caraibe and arrested three more Lavalas leaders, Senators Yvon Feuillé and Gerard Gilles, and former Deputy Rudy Hérivaux, without a peep from the US Embassy, pro-democracy forces poured into the street, where they were met by raw force. From *Haiti Progres* (October 6, 2004):

Haitian police, backed by U.N. occupation forces, have gunned down dozens of pro-democracy demonstrators and shanty town residents in the Haitian capital over the past six days and arrested many people without warrants, including former parliamentarians.

Skirmishes, barricades and spontaneous demonstrations have sprung up daily in poor neighborhoods around the capital since the police and paramilitary gunmen tried to stop a massive demonstration on September 30.

As we go to press on Oct. 5, there is street fighting in downtown Port-au-Prince, as well as the popular neighborhoods of Martissant and Bel Air. The latter slum is surrounded by heavily-armed contingents of the Haitian National Police (PNH). A former Haitian soldier was captured and decapitated in the neighborhood on Oct. 5, Port-au-Prince radios reported. On Oct. 2 and Oct. 3, police units entered Bel Air but were twice forced to flee, the first time abandoning their vehicle and weapons.

The popular uprising began on September 30th during a march to commemorate the 13th anniversary of the 1991 coup d'état against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. It is the largest and most sustained resistance to the latest coup against Aristide on Feb. 29, when U.S. Marines kidnapped and flew him into exile.

On the morning of Sep. 30, men in trucks, stripped of their license plates, drove around the capital setting up burning tire barricades. The National Cell for Reflection of Popular Organizations of the Lavalas Family Base, which called the demonstration that day, charged that the barricades were the work of pro-coup forces - either official or paramilitary - intent on thwarting the Sep. 30 march.

But the barricades didn't work. Stepping off from Bel Air at 10 a.m., thousands of demonstrators marched through the streets of neighborhoods like Sans Fils, Tiremasse, Caravelle, Saint Martin, Delmas 4, Delmas 2, Monseigneur Guilloux, Front-Fort, Montalais, Geffrard, and Oswald Durand, demanding an end to foreign military occupation, the departure of the de facto government, the release of all political prisoners, and the return of the constitutional government, including President Aristide.

Near the Interior Ministry, not far from the National Palace, shooting started.

"On September 30, the police opened fire on unarmed demonstrators, provoking an attack against a unit of the Unité de Sécurité Présidentielle (U.S.P), a special security detail assigned to [de facto] Interim President Boniface Alexandre," the Haitian Information Project (HIP) reported in an Oct. 4 dispatch. "Members of the special police unit were seen firing on demonstrators and collecting bodies before masked gunmen returned fire, killing three and wounding a fourth who later died in the hospital."

The U.S. mainstream press, echoing the de facto government and Haitian bourgeoisie's radio stations, has alleged that the policemen killed were decapitated by Lavalas "armed gangs." However, Lavalas leaders deny the charge. Last Friday, a day after the supposed decapitations, there were no headless bodies at the capital's morgue.

[The] de facto Prime Minister admitted that the police fired on the demonstrators. "We fired on them, some of them went down, others were wounded, and others fled," he announced with no words of regret on Friday. He claimed to have the situation under control and said that he would prohibit further Lavalas demonstrations.

Meanwhile, de facto Justice Minister Bernard Gousse went even further, calling the demonstrators "terrorists" and outlaws. "In consultation with the Prime Minister, we ordered the demonstration to be forbidden," Gousse declared unabashed. "This is not a violation of human rights, this is not a violation of anything, because the population knows that when it comes to expressing its opinions, we have no problem." (Under the 1987 Constitution, the Haitian government cannot outlaw a demonstration.)

But two leaders of the National Cell of Reflection, Jean Marie Samedi and Lesley Farreau, charged that the police had engineered the confrontation. "It was a well orchestrated plan to disperse the demonstrators and prevent the international community from seeing the dimensions of the Lavalas," Farreau declared. Gilvert Anger-

vil, a Lavalas Family spokesman, made a similar charge. "The government in place recruited armed bandits to fire on the police and attack stores downtown to try to lay the blame on Lavalas partisans," he said.

On Oct. 2, Haitian police, backed by occupation troops from the United Nations Mission to Stabilize Haiti (MINUSTAH), arrested former Senators Yvon Feuillé and Gérald Gilles and former Deputy Rudy Hériveaux, all of Aristide's Lavalas Family party.

"Feuillé, Gilles and Hériveaux had gone to Radio Caraïbes to participate on the station's 11AM 'Ranmase' program, along with Evans Paul and Himmler Rébu, both prominent critics of the Lavalas party," the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti (IJDH) reported in an Oct. 2 press alert. "The program's subject was violence accompanying recent anti-government demonstrations. Feuillé, Gilles and Hériveaux denounced the violence, and condemned the police for firing on unarmed demonstrators. Before the program ended, heavily armed police officers from the Port-au-Prince police headquarters and specialized units surrounded the station and announced their intention to arrest the three parliamentarians."

"A stand-off ensued," the IJDH report continues, "until just before 6 PM (the Constitution prohibits arrests, even with a warrant, after 6 PM). At that point Judge Gabriel Ambroise, a Justice of the Peace, instructed the police to cut the locks and make the arrests. The three Parliamentarians did not resist arrest, and were taken by the police from the Station Manager's office to the Port-au-Prince police holding cells. Lawyer Axène Joseph, also a former Deputy, was arrested earlier in the day when he arrived to protest the other arrests."

But authorities had trouble concocting a charge against the former parliamentarians. During the stand-off, "government and police sources made announcements purporting to link Feuillé, Gilles and Hériveaux to recent violence," the IJDH said. "The police also claimed that a car belonging to one of the three contained automatic weapons,

but dropped this claim when journalists and human rights observers on the scene insisted that the police, not the parliamentarians, had brought that car."

Finally the government charged Hériveaux and Feuillé as the "intellectual authors" of the Sep. 30 march. They said they would release Gilles for lack of evidence, but at press time, he remains jailed.

The official death toll since Sep. 30 is now about 20, but residents of popular neighborhoods say that there have been many more killings. They claim that the police often snatch and dump the bodies of their victims.

On Oct. 5, gunfire and street confrontations rocked the capital's Martissant neighborhood. "According to witnesses, heavily armed units of the PNH cordoned off the community at about 10:00 a.m. and began a sweep through the area," the HIP reported. "Gunfire could be heard as they entered with force and residents reported at least two people were killed and several more wounded. At least fifteen young men were reportedly seen being handcuffed and placed in the back of a large covered truck. Family members on the scene stated police would not respond when questioned about where they were being taken and are worried for their safety."

On the street, and having just arrived, I asked what was going on. The reply was, "Tet chaje!" which is Kreol for "The shit is on!"

The Haitian intifada had begun.

And it's still on.

MINUSTAH was called in from across the country, but they were beaten back out of neighborhood after neighborhood, sometimes abandoning their vehicles and weapons. The police began strong-pointing certain intersections and making mass arrests, but much like Fallujah in Iraq today, the rebellion just sprang up elsewhere. Then, more ominously, paramilitaries came into possession of police uniforms, which they wore to enter neighborhoods and then kill children in front of neighbors - a terror tactic hearkening back to the Tonton Macoutes. Many of the police themselves have now been placed under the command of commissars who are ex-militaries.

The people in Martissant, Belair, Delmar, and Cite Soleil still didn't stand down. The paramilitaries, now fearing they might be hunted, withdrew into their own enclave in Port-au-Prince near the intersection of 15 Oktub and Rue Jakob, where they go out each morning and do jumping jacks, practice 'karate', and try to look martial as they harass passers-by with their camouflage uniforms and their US-supplied guns.

It was only last October, in 2003, that the popular indigenous nationalism of Bolivia erupted like a volcano, a phenomenon described in the excellent recent article by Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson in "The Roots of Rebellion - Insurgent Bolivia," at <http://www.counterpunch.org/hylton1122004.html>. It was just April 2002 when Venezuela rolled back the made-in-USA coup d'etat, described here by Gregory Wilpert in "CounterCoup," found at <http://www.counterpunch.org/wilpert0415.html>:

The... miscalculation was the belief that Chavez was hopelessly unpopular in the population and among the military and that no one except Cuba and Colombia's guerrillas, the FARC, would regret Chavez' departure. Following the initial shock and demoralisation which the coup caused among Chavez-supporters, this second miscalculation led to major upheavals and riots in Caracas' sprawling slums, which make up nearly half of the city. In practically all of the "barrios" of Caracas spontaneous demonstrations and "cacerolazos" (pot-banging) broke out on April 13 and 14. The police immediately rushed in to suppress these expressions of discontent and somewhere between 10 and 40 people were killed in these clashes with the police. Then, in the early afternoon, purely by word-of-mouth and the use of cell phones (Venezuela has one of the highest per capita rates of cell phone use in the world), a demonstration in support of Chavez was called at the Miraflores presidential palace. By 6 PM about 100,000 people had gathered in the streets surrounding the presidential palace. At approximately the same time, the paratrooper battalion, to which Chavez used to belong, decided to remain loyal to Chavez and took over the presidential palace. Next, as the awareness of the extent of Chavez' support spread, major battalions in the interior of Venezuela began siding with Chavez.

There was a powerful antiracist element to these

manifestations of continental drift, just as there was in the indigenous rebellion in Ecuador in 2000, when Quechua-speaking Andeans (just as in Bolivia and parts of Peru) organized in Conaie, with its "people's parliament," to shut down the capital, Quito, and force the resignation of the seated president. The linkage between this sentiment and a resentment of the compradors who have consistently followed the directions of the Republican (white supremacist) government of the United States, even with its color decoys of Condoleeza and Colin, is hard to ignore. More and more, the brown people of the global South are becoming self-conscious in decidedly political ways.

This is also the case in Haiti, though the waters are somewhat muddied there by the outrageously demagogic "black-consciousness" of the *macoute* sector that is used to paper over class divisions whenever the *macoutes* are challenged by people like white comprador Andy Apaid, head of the US-sponsored "184" that currently enjoys a tenuous toehold on state power.

But none of this changes the fact that Haiti - with the ongoing intifada - is joining this continental drift, and the war in Iraq has weakened the capacity of the United States to stop it.

This drift has been noted by others, particularly China, who - as reported in the *Wall Street Journal* on November 11th - has begun to "court" Latin America ("[As US Diverts Its Attentions, China Courts Latin America](#)," by Charles Roth).

Geopolitics, like nature, abhors a vacuum. That largely explains why Chinese President Hu Jintao is leading a large delegation of his countrymen to Latin America, where the U.S. is seen to suffer from an attention deficit disorder.

The war in Iraq and the nuclear ambitions of North Korea and Iran have diverted Washington's focus far from its southern neighbors. Analysts say U.S. policy toward the region goes no further than pursuing free trade accords and anti-narcotics cooperation, leaving plenty of room for China to court it.

The debility of the intifada in Haiti is similar in many ways to the debility of the PLO, and that is in the essentially horizontal (and therefore in many ways unaccountable) structure of the organization. In a sea of locally-based elements, one person exercises a hegemonic influence over what becomes a set of competing cliques, that competition being for the favor of The Leader. While this strengthens the leader (alone), it

also makes the organization vulnerable to the leader's errors, and renders him unaccountable to collectively arrived-at mandates. Such organizations are easily penetrated by alien class and ideological forces that quickly contaminate the whole project with corruption and opportunism as well as infiltration. With Aristide's removal, the Lavalas movement is undergoing a structural crisis that will almost certainly lead to dissolution and the re-emergence of various factions. In the short term, this has been an advantage to the intifada, because the police and MINUSTAH are incapable of "decapitating" it.

But in the long term, it forecloses the possibility of coordinated and universal action. Moreover, the current intifada is city-based and slum-based, and the mentality of many participants is often reflective of the hustler-survivor orientation of slum dwellers, individualistic in the extreme, and often difficult to discipline into a coherent political project that is not built around a charismatic personality.

Lavalas "gangs," as the US press calls them, the *chimeres* (a mythical fire-breathing beast), have been portrayed as Aristide's actual organization. Instead, they are a loose composite of the disaffected slum-dwellers who use Aristide and the Lavalas movement as a kind of populist touchstone for their rebellious activity. There has never been even a shred of evidence that actually linked the *chimeres* with Aristide or his organization. Their own organization is highly fragmented and decentralized, and this is one reason both the government and the paramilitaries have so easily committed crimes for the express purpose of blaming the *chimeres*, and by extension, Aristide. Latortue and other Haitian propagandists have even made the idiotic claim that Aristide is still directing them from South Africa.

The *chimeres* stir the slums with this amorphous resistance. They are as diverse as their motives in a place where the law is now something that ignores them or is used against them, so the claim that they are "lawless" - while it has some technical merit - is practically meaningless. In the absence of law, there is righteous anger at those who sent away the embodiment of their hopes - President Aristide - and there is desire for revenge against a thick history of affronts and humiliations.

There is also now the jolting intoxication of the new-found power that comes with possession of firearms, as their battlefield recovery of MINUSTAH and *ancien militaire* weapons proceeds apace. With this intoxication comes the occasional impulse to become a criminal or a neighborhood warlord within the milieu of this boiling rebellion. It's a soup not made with a clarified stock, and the 184 press as well as the US news models find

it easy to now characterize the whole resistance as "bandits." During the 1915-1934 occupation, the Caco rebels were called just that by US Marines, and in Iraq now we still hear guerrillas being referred to as "thugs." This is a cheap rhetorical tactic for denying the political content of any rebellion.

But armed bandits do exist in Haiti - the *zenglendo*. These ubiquitous armed robbers that haunt remote spots on the roads or blind alleys grew in the fissures of a ruined infrastructure. It is convenient for the ruling class publicists to have these real *zenglendo* with whom to characterize all resistance as armed bandits, as *bandi ame*, because - as we were told in Special Operations training - a good cover story always has a strong element of truth to make it work.

The urban poor of Port-au-Prince are much the same as the burgeoning mass of surplus people now jamming the other cities of squalor around the world, dumped off the land and decanted into these hellish bidonvilles, with ten to a dark room choking with charcoal smoke, adjacent to an open sewer thickened by the plastic detritus of foreign modernism and by sugarcane *bagasse*. Mike Davis has written a very informative and useful piece that maps this urbanization globally in "Planet of Slums," published this year in *New Left Review*.

<http://www.newleftreview.net/NLR26001.shtml>

This is the basis of the Haitian intifada, and while it accomplishes the critical task of neutralizing the *de facto* government and the MINUSTAH occupiers, its social disposition is still defined by that survivalist individualism - which in turn predisposes these slum dwellers to seek saviors and to turn their saviors into personality cults.

But in Haiti, 70 percent of the population is still in the countryside, so unlike their city-bound kin who are poor-without-land, they are poor-with-land - even if it's technically someone else's land (the *macoute's*) - and they survive through the traditions of collective effort, disciplined solidarity, and a powerful sense of real community. It is likely here, therefore, that rebellion will morph into revolution. Peasant culture is materially based on collective effort and the powerful and axiomatic social norms that perpetuate community stability and the basis for conflict resolution.

I was driving through Gonaives on October 25th, mesmerized by the Nagasaki-like post-flood landscape, when I heard a news report on the radio. Not far away, the night before, in the town of Gros Morne on Trois Rivières, a police station run by an ex-military commissar had been attacked and sacked. This was a long

way from Port-au-Prince, and Gros Morne is a barter town for peasants between the Artibonnite and Nord Ouest districts of Haiti. The only activity until now in the whole region there had been the attacks by paramilitaries and the predations of the *zenglendo*.

This attack was being claimed in graffiti by something called the *Armee Dessaliniene de Liberacion Nationale*. Apparently, a uniformed, armed group had slipped into the city, ransacked the police station and wounded one policeman, and fought back a police reaction force of some kind, then disappeared... not into the slums. That's not Gros Morne. They disappeared back into the mountains. And their graffiti was not in support of the ex-military, according to witnesses. In fact, it had denounced the *macoutes* and the MINUSTAH. The news did not refer to this group as *bandi ame*, armed bandits, but as *ame bandi*, a bandit army.

Something is going on.

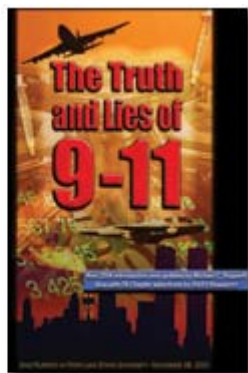
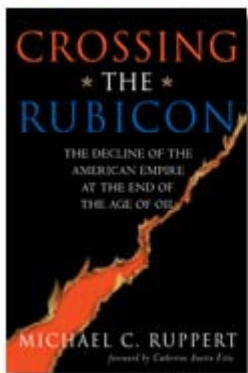
If the peasants join this rebellion, it really will be *tet chaje*, and Haiti will definitively join the continental drift of Latin America as the US grinds away in Iraq.

Somewhere, someone dreams of the Pax Americana.

Somewhere, a comprador wrings his hands and mutters about elections and the problem of lawlessness and the need for reconciliation.

Somewhere, a peasant picks up a gun.

Tet chaje!



“The Quintessential Ruppert Package”
Book: *Crossing The Rubicon: The Decline of the American Empire at the End of the Age of Oil*
- AND -
DVD: *The Truth & Lies of 9-11*

Both for \$32.95!
(That's almost 20% off!!)



FTW's New Year's Special!
“The Truth and Lies of 9/11” DVD
and both “Building A Better Map”
audio CD sets for only
\$39.99!!

(That's a savings of over \$15.00!!)

Order online at: <http://www.fromthewilderness.com> or call us toll-free: 1-866-222-7693

Draft Extradition Update

As regular FTW readers know, four months ago we began contacting the embassies and consulates of 75 countries and asking the following question: "Under existing treaties, is _____ obligated to extradite fugitives (back) to the United States for draft evasion?"

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

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