



From The Wilderness

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

Vol. VIII No. 5

July 31, 2005

© Copyright 2005

RATIONING

By
Michael C. Ruppert

July 18, 2005 1000 PST (FTW) -- In previous stories, reprinted from the *Financial Times*, (April 16, 2005, [IEA Calls For Emergency Plan](#)), and *Al Jazeera*, (March 24, 2005, [IEA Wants Brakes on Fuel Consumption](#)) we commented on how the International Energy Agency had apparently dusted off plans for rationing to be imposed (with the full authority of government and the UN) in nations which had signed the original UN treaty in 1974 or joined later.

The IEA plan is [here](#). As of today, IEA Member countries include: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States. (Source: <http://www.iea.org>)

Now we see the *Falls Church News-Press* (a very influential local newspaper from an affluent Washington, DC suburb) do some very hard-edged reporting on Peak Oil issues. This is the second time *FTW* has reprinted a *News-Press* story in a month. This is a local paper for the spot where the senior policy makers, intelligence officials and many high-ranking military personnel live and raise their families. They want a local paper that prepares them and that's what they've got. They get "authentic journalism" of sorts.

Contrary to this story's spin however, this plan has more loopholes for black market profiteering, arbitrage and manipulation than a colander has for draining spaghetti. The profit potential here is far greater than it would be with, for example, tax credits and subsidies for renewables. Once again, we're back to the infamous quotation: "It may not be profitable to slow decline." Or, as Catherine Austin Fitts says, "They make money on the way up and they make money on the way down."

On the other hand, mandatory and enforced rationing might be the only way to penetrate a very thick American skull. We do reveal a bovine nature on occasion.

So I think it's time we all put rationing (serious rationing) on our schedule of upcoming events.

When? (Sigh). It could be as soon as this winter. I would say, of a certainty, no later than January or February 2007.

Here's the key quotation: -- "A couple of weeks ago, the British press reported that Her Majesty's cabinet is considering a plan to ration energy consumption. The immediate reason for implementing such a system is to reduce the UK 's emission of greenhouse gases as required by the Kyoto Treaty. The plan's authors, however, claim that if the proposal works, it will deal equally well with equitably allocating dwindling energy supplies caused by peak oil."

The Peak Oil Crisis: Rationing

By Tom Whipple

Falls Church News-Press

July 14 - July 20, 2005 VOL. XV NO. 19

<http://www.fcnp.com/519/peakoil.htm>

(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

Rationing	page 1
The Global Battlefield - We Are Standing On It	page 2
Post-Soviet Lessons for a Post-American Century - Part III	page 12
The NTSB Failed Wellstone	page 15
Target: AIG	page 23
The Empire Strikes First - Space and World War III	page 24
The "Koran Quotation Error" Meme	page 25

© Copyright 20045 Michael C. Ruppert and *From The Wilderness*
Publications, www.fromthewilderness.com. All rights reserved.

REPRINT POLICY

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.

THE GLOBAL BATTLEFIELD - WE ARE STANDING ON IT The Evolution of the Bush- Rumsfeld War Doctrine

Roadmap to Martial Law

London Attacks From Another Perspective

**By
Stan Goff**

With comment by Michael C. Ruppert

[Perhaps the greatest immediate lessons, leads, clues and food for thought from yesterday's London bombings is staring us right in the face. Perhaps the reason for the attacks was just to make it possible to quickly impose martial law in both the United Kingdom and the United States. Events seem to indicate this. Britain is pushing hard and fast for biometric national IDs that each citizen will have to pay £200 for. Our own national ID legislation waits for the starting guns from Hastert, Rove and Cheney. Watch for that soon.

Yesterday's attack bore little similarity to 9/11 or Madrid except in terms of time of day and the fact that four or more locations were involved (seven in Spain). There was a specific event tied with today, the opening of the G8 Summit. There was not with any of the other post-9/11 attacks. The lead story today would otherwise have been the fact that Britain and the US had just split on Global Warming and the Kyoto Protocols. Britain is sinking and freezing as the ice caps melt.

The most important facts I gleaned today (all of which are consistent with what the venerable Stan Goff now tells us) were:

- *These were separate Al Qaeda cells not working under the direction of Al Qaeda (Washington Post, NY Times, London Times). Hence, the terrorists might be anywhere, doing anything, and following anyone. There is no Mr. Big and we need to be afraid of everyone around us.*
- *US markets rose instead of falling after the attacks; just two days after the Fed suddenly moved to repurchase or "repo" a number of financial instruments putting a large dose of liquidity in the system. Analysts attributed to market rise to a momentary reduction in oil prices.*
- *Israel seems to have received advance warning again, which doesn't justify a conclusion of participation at this time. It does leave many questions to be answered.*
- *We cannot rule out the possibility that these were actual terrorist attacks. Lord knows, the US has made enough enemies in the last four years.*
- *The prime beneficiaries so far are Tony Blair and George W. Bush.*

Perhaps the most amazing quote I have seen in the last four years was made in today's Washington Post confirming Peak Oil in a way I had never expected.

Washington Terrorism expert Thomas Sanderson actually participated in a Post chat session where he took questions from all over the country. How valuable and how rare are such moments.

The Post describes Sanderson thus:

Thomas M. Sanderson, deputy director of the Transnational Threats Initiative at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, was online **Thursday, July 7, at 1 p.m. ET** to discuss the bombings and the hallmarks of an al Qaeda attack.

Sanderson also codirects the Multilateral Terrorism Intelligence Sharing Project and the Private Sector Advisory Group. His work focuses on intelligence and information sharing; terrorist groups, operations, and crime; and U.S. national security policy.

Sanderson has co-authored studies on religious-based terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, and the psychology of extreme violence.

Here is the quote:

Tampa, Fla.: *Would an attack in this country be more likely to involve an economic target rather than a symbolic one? Bin Laden seems to understand our nation pretty well, far better than Americans understand him. He said he chose the WTC as a target in part due to their significance in the U.S. financial system. So why not expect him to next attack a couple of oil refineries to give us \$5/gallon gasoline?*

Thomas M. Sanderson: *Any attack in the US will involve multiple targets. I won't go into detail, but it will be well-planned, with a number of goals in mind.*

Yes, OBL better understands the US, a major factor in the current state of counter-terrorism.

Five dollar a gallon gas will be here of its own accord.

Now is the time for all Americans who have opposed tyranny to be concerned. Our next stop may be somewhat less comfortable than what we have been used to. And that \$5 gasoline might get here this winter. The pieces required to implement martial law have been put in place and now -- more than at any time since 9/11 -- we ought to be prepared for a major "attack" at home. After that, it's a whole new ball game. - MCR]

The entire Sanderson chat discussion can be viewed [here](#).

Money and Mediocrity

"General purpose money is what allows people to trade tracts of rain forest for Coca-Cola." -Alf Hornborg

[AUTHOR'S NOTE from Stan Goff: This article does NOT propose an "inside-job" hypothesis for the London attacks, and explicitly rejects that hypothesis. I do not personally believe that that Paul Wellstone was assassinated, a reference which occurs in my colleague's synopsis, not in the article itself. Central to my

analysis of the "Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support," and the concomitant leaks from the Pentagon that the war in Iraq has undermined the two-war doctrine, is my belief that - while the Bush administration would like nothing more than to impose martial law - their ability to do so, and even to see through their current debacle in Southwest Asia, may already be disappearing around the corner of no return. The real danger, from my viewpoint, is that with failure to achieve their desired objectives in Iraq, the reckless incompetence of this lame duck administration may lead them to consider the unthinkable - tactical nuclear strikes against "adversaries" in a period when conventional military power is rendering itself obsolete. -SG]

July 8, 2005 1400 PST (FTW) It's also what allows some of the most mediocre political and military intellects in the last century (and that is a highly competitive claim) to create one of the most dangerous and decisive historical conjunctures we may ever witness... and hopefully survive.

It appeared in the most arcane of headlines, this desperate new phase in the empire that had been gestating in the tense womb of the Pentagon-White House nexus.

"US military rethinking the two-war strategy"

It wasn't actually the military as a whole reconsidering anything, we find upon reading the article. This is a leak from high-level Pentagon insiders to the press, and more than one insider. There is an artful rebellion taking place among generals.

The first line of the article reads: "The U.S. military, under stress from fighting in Iraq and protecting America from terrorism, is debating whether it can remain ready to fight two big wars at once, according to defense officials." Further along, we find out that the "civilian and military officials, who asked not to be identified, confirmed a report in Tuesday's *New York Times* that top Defense Department planners were challenging longstanding strategy that requires the armed forces to be prepared to fight two major wars at once."

Officials, plural. If the leak were a felony, like the Plame case, this would add conspiracy to the charge.

So what is going on, and why did this leak come at the same time that the Department of Defense published its strange and alarming "Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support"? To answer that rhetorical question, I will have to go to the strategy document itself, hot off the presses.

Department of Defense, Washington, D.C., June 2005 - *Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support*. From the Executive Summary:

We now confront an enemy who will attempt to engage us not only far from US shores, but also at home. Terrorists will seek to employ asymmetric means to penetrate our defenses and exploit the openness of our society to their advantage. By attacking our citizens, our economic institutions, our physical infrastructure, and our social fabric, they seek to destroy American democracy. We dare not underestimate the devastation that terrorists seek to bring to Americans at home.

To defeat 21st Century threats, we must think and act innovatively. Our adversaries consider US territory an integral part of a global theater of combat. We must therefore have a strategy that applies to the domestic context the key principles that are driving the transformation of US power projection and joint expeditionary warfare.

Each section of this ten-year strategy outline for the Department of Defense is headed by an italicized quote from Reich Fuehrer Bush. This is what must be borne in mind as part of any analysis of this document, which is scaring the bejesus out of a lot of civil libertarians. Because it is - and I will describe exactly how as we go along - it is a roadmap to martial law.

But it is also an outline of a strategy of abject failure. It is a strategy so ambitious, so insanely grandiose, and so interdependently complicated in any attempt to put it into practice, that time, expense, and mind-boggling complexity at every scale will render the reality a ragged effigy of its own feverish ideal.

It is, in short, a document prepared by ambitious bureaucratic functionaries to please two people who can give them what they want - advancement at any cost. There cannot be any doubt, after studying this so-called strategy document that the content was developed by the metrics-worshipping sycophants of Donald Rumsfeld, and that Rumsfeld added the cartoon-like Bush quotes as a series of kisses planted firmly on his boss's ass.

But bear in mind, again, that while it is hard to underestimate the intelligence of these two powerful mooncalves, it is hard to overestimate the danger they present with control over the most expensive military apparatus in history. That is why the generals are leaking.

The Bush administration spends money. Just as money can trade rain forests for Coke, money can buy expertise. But military expertise isn't what has gotten them this far. On the contrary, they have already secured their places in history as the leaders of the most powerful military in the world that is heading to being defeated by a stateless insurgency.

Lebanonization

In April this year, Pepe Escobar, writing for *Asia Times*, called the degeneration of the tactical situation for the Anglo-American occupation Iraq's "Lebanonization" - a reference to the '80s when Israeli aggression around the region catalyzed the transformation of Beirut into an apocalyptic street-war of many and shifting armed factions.

While the new constituent assembly remains engaged in a monumental struggle behind the scenes over three key issues - the form of "federalism," the fate of Kirkuk, and the disposition of Iraq's oil industry - the factions are backed by armed militias. The Kurds command the largest militia, and the second largest armed organization in Iraq, the 80,000 strong Peshmerga. The Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution (SCIRI), which dominates the constituent assembly, has fielded thousands of former Badr Brigade members, who also predominate in many of the "official" Iraqi armed forces and police. The Iranian-controlled Da'wa Party has organized a militia as counterweight to these two large ones. Muqtada al Sadr still controls a very substantial militia that operates almost as a government in many parts of Baghdad and Najaf. And the Iraqi Patriotic Alliance (IPA) - the dominant and most well-organized element within the guerrilla resistance - operates in many areas throughout Anbar with strong popular support.

Islamist fighters, largely from Saudi Arabia, have infiltrated Iraq and engaged in multiple actions, including firefights with the IPA.

The territorial division of these armed elements has minimized conflict between them to some extent, but the question of regional or ethnic federalism is far from resolved, and many of these armed actors are leaning forward in anticipation of politics by other means. Kirkuk has become a tinderbox of contention meanwhile, with the widening Kurd-Arab current of conflict creating a kind of political quicksand for the constituent assembly.

On July 7, 2005, Iranian Defense Minister Admiral Ali Shamkhani announced an agreement between him and Iraqi counterpart Saadoun al-Dulaimi, on a joint Iran-Iraq military cooperation agreement - which surely dismayed Abazaid and Rumsfeld.

Bush, it is reported, does not read his messages, and is a "don't worry, be happy" kind of guy.

Just days earlier, another journalist critical of the US, Yasser Salihee - working for Knight-Ridder - was killed by a single bullet to the head, apparently fired by a US sniper, while he was halted at a US roadblock near his home. Salihee was researching ever more frequent reports of US-trained Iraqi paramilitaries who were engaging in death-squad style activities against anyone suspected of opposing the occupation. Less than a week later, 44-year-old Cyrus Kar - an American journalist and Navy veteran working on a documentary film in Iraq - was imprisoned by US occupation forces on "suspicion of insurgent activity." This was in the wake of *The Guardian's* release of a story that led with:

Secret torture chambers, the brutal interrogation of prisoners, murders by paramilitaries with links to powerful ministries... Foreign affairs editor Peter Beaumont in Baghdad uncovers a grim trail of abuse carried out by forces loyal to the new Iraqi government.

Lebanonization is proceeding nicely, and its complexity, as in both Somalia and Lebanon, spells big trouble for US forces there.

In the early 1980s, President Ronald Reagan - the first of two second-rate actors to have been Governor of California - ordered a military intervention and occupation in Lebanon. Within weeks, some of his own closest advisors, including Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, were telling him that this was a situation ripe for disaster, and that the US forces needed to be withdrawn as soon as possible. Reagan responded more positively, however, to someone whose grasp of global politics was as limited as his own, and whose worldview was heavily informed by a kind of Billy Badass, big-dick machismo - former Secretary of State and then-National Security Advisor Alexander Haig. Haig counseled Reagan that US "credibility" involved "sticking to its guns," and Reagan - himself a veteran of several cinematic Westerns - determined to "stay the course."

Within a year, the Marine outposts in Lebanon had become embroiled in the civil war, often trading shots with opponents they could not identify. Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, John Vessey joined his voice to that of Weinberger, and advised Reagan that he was slipping into a Vietnam-like conundrum. Another officer, a young up-and-coming colonel working as Weinberger's primary military advisor, also cautioned withdrawal. His name was Colin Powell.

On October 23, 1983, a mammoth truck bomb exploded in a Marine compound at the Beirut Airport, killing 241 American troops and more than 100 others. That was when Americans began to ask in earnest, what exactly are we doing there? In this case, the notion of building democracy would have choked the public with ludicrousness.

Powell would write later in his memoirs, "America [was] sticking its hand into a thousand-year-old hornet's nest with the expectation that our presence would pacify the hornets."

In February 1984, Reagan announced the withdrawal from Lebanon, saying, "We're not bugging out; we're just going to a little more defensible position [the ships sitting off the shores of Lebanon]." No doubt Reagan coached Donald Rumsfeld, then his envoy to the Middle East, on how to mangle the English language in the service of obfuscation.

Powell, it seems, still intuitively troubles well (like any successful bureaucrat), maintains his Orientalist ignorance of political history, and is willing to shut up and take orders to oversee disastrous lies. He will be remembered by history as a man who gave good advice based on bad but fortuitous logic, and who got paid well for being an obedient house negro.

Global Battlespace

I said earlier that the Bush administration has not solely invested appropriated revenues in military expertise. In fact, the real political investment - which is brilliant in the same sort of sociopathic way Karl Rove is said to be brilliant - has been in legal advice. Money buys space and time. Money buys scientists who lie about climate change and tobacco. Money also buys a great battle-staff of lawyers.

Look not to Iraq to understand this, but to Cuba.

The Guantanamo Bay US Naval Base in Cuba has long served as an offshore prison. More recently it has become a legal testing ground for the legal doctrine that underpins the Bush War Doctrine.

With the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration accelerated its push to extend military power by pressing the limits of juridical precedent, and carrying these new, precedent-establishing cases before a series of courts, dominated by Republican appointed judges.

Based on the notion that *the entire world is now a metaphorical battlefield*, in a "War on Terrorism," the administration has created a number of facts on the ground, then sought a judicial rubber stamp that will give these actions precedential power in the future expansion of their application. Over time, the metaphor of global battlefield has come to be treated by the administration and the obedient press as a *literal* and legally recognized reality.

One case in this regard is the concentration camp in Guantanamo Bay. The other case is that of Jose Padilla, an American citizen detained without showing cause as an "unlawful enemy combatant."

The attempt to summarily try detainees on the presumption of guilt at Guantanamo Bay suffered a setback by a ruling in November 2004, when the claim that the prisoners would appear before a military tribunal was ruled illegal in a US court. The federal court held against the US government that there must be a

process to determine whether detainees are entitled to protection as prisoners of war under the Geneva Conventions. But the right to indefinitely detain without charge was not challenged by that ruling, and it is now known that several detainees were transferred to Guantanamo from countries in which the US is not engaged in hostilities - possibly even the United States.

However, this ruling merely rejected the process that puts prisoners before a military bench; it did *not* weigh in on the question of whether the President or his representatives can simply declare anyone an "unlawful enemy combatant" by fiat... which is exactly what happened in the case of Jose Padilla and what has happened with the detention of Guantanamo inmates from places outside the US so-called "battlespaces" in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Padilla - who converted to Islam and changed his name to Abdullah Al Muhajir - was detained in 2002 by the Department of Justice. On June 9th of that same year, Muhajir/Padilla was transferred from civilian control to the control of the military and incarcerated in a South Carolina Navy brig.

He has not been charged with any crime; the evidence the government has indicated it has is currently too weak to make a credible case; and he has been denied legal representation.

This clear violation, using the military, of the 5th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, is obviously an attempt to push the envelope of legal precedent in order to employ surprise and indefinite detentions against anyone the executive branch determines is an "enemy." The 5th Amendment states:

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

It is not insignificant that the Bush administration is using the military to hold him out of the reach of civil law, because these actions in conjunction with the recently released Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support, which explicitly lays out plans for a kind of partial-martial law in the event of any attack which effectively puts the military in control of the movements of the entire population of the United States.

In effect, the Guantanamo and Padilla cases are designed to make actual martial law unnecessary, by introducing various measures under various precedents a *de facto* state of martial law which is immune to a singular *de jure* remedy, that is, lifting the declared state of martial law.

It is far harder to unravel a security-state legal apparatus that is composed of dozens of individual legal precedents than to mount an opposition to a declared state of emergency.

Let's look at the background.

Within a month of September 11th, the executive branch jumped

completely over an acquiescent Congress with executive fiat that established the following:

A directive empowering the attorney general to authorize the indefinite detention of some non-citizens, a rule that could affect "hundreds of individuals," according to the Justice Department.

An order to the Federal Bureau of Investigation to carry out "voluntary" interviews of more than 5,000 mostly Middle Eastern men, ages 18 to 33, who are living in the US, ostensibly to gather information concerning future terrorist attacks.

A new policy on visa applications affecting men, ages 16 to 45, from 25 Middle Eastern and African countries. All such applicants will face intense scrutiny and long delays in the processing of their requests. Their names will be checked against databases maintained by the FBI.

The suspension of running tallies by the Justice Department of the number of people rounded up by law enforcement agencies in the anti-terror dragnet. (WSWS, November 2001)

The basis for this collection of discrete orders (as opposed to laws) is, in fact, the same basis that must be established to impose martial law - it is just a matter of degree.

This entire legal edifice is erected, however, on a very shaky foundation - the "state of national emergency."

This "state" was actually enacted by an Executive Order on September 14, 2001, three days after the World Trade Center collapsed and at a point when the number of Congress members with enough sand left to resist the stampede could be counted on one hand. That actual order can be found at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010914-5.html>.

This Executive Order claims its authority from the National Emergencies Act (NEA)(50 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.) and section 301 of title 3, United States Code. The problem here is that the Executive Order cites the NEA as follows:

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.) and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and in furtherance of the proclamation of September 14, 2001, Declaration of National Emergency by Reason of Certain Terrorist Attacks, which declared a national emergency by reason of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, New York, New York, and the Pentagon, and the continuing and immediate threat of further attacks on the United States, I hereby order as follows:

One little glitch... nothing in the NEA gives the President Constitutional authority to declare shit, if I may be short. You can pore over either document until the cows come home, and no such authority exists. Moreover, his proclamation of September 14 has all the legal validity of a Shakespeare sonnet.

Only Congress is legally authorized to make such declarations.

The Constitution does not authorize the President to unilaterally declare such an emergency, therefore it surely does not authorize him to impose any form of emergency measures to meet it. The reason this gross usurpation of Congressional authority happened was because Congress itself, with precious few exceptions, displayed the most craven and opportunistic cowardice in the face of this administration, and now they are as loathe as any neo-con nutcase to admit they screwed this one up. So this illegality stands to this day. But there is more...

According to United States Code, Title 50, Chapter 34, Subchapter II, Section 1622, once a state of emergency is declared (by the legal method), it must by law undergo a Congressional review and approval for any extension a *minimum of every six months*.

Not later than six months after a national emergency is declared, and not later than the end of each six-month period thereafter that such emergency continues, each House of Congress shall meet to consider a vote on a joint resolution to determine whether that emergency shall be terminated.

This language is not ambiguous. Yet fiat-detention, as Executive Orders, are fundamentally predicated on an existing *state of national emergency* that has not been brought under review for a joint resolution of Congress since it was unilaterally declared.

The basis for extension of military rule through precedent until now has been this thoroughly unchallenged state of national emergency, one which presumes without explanation that there is a state of war, with no clear definition of who the enemy is, and with *the presumptive battleground conceivably covering every square inch of the earth*.

There are two things which have given the administration the green light for this abuse of power: (1) Congressional cowardice, and (2) failure of anyone to successfully challenge the notion of a "global battlespace."

The latter could become tougher as time goes on. Just as the specious claim that Iraq was harboring Islamist "terrorists" has been transformed into a reality by the actions of the United States, the provocations of the Bush administration based on the metaphor that the world is a battlefield could very well serve to make it into a frightening reality.

And this administration knows it.

That's why the Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support (SHDCS) begins with the assumption that such an attack is inevitable within the next ten years.

Integration

The ride-em-cowboy military adventurism of the Reagan administration in Lebanon became an embarrassment, but they managed to leave without pulling down an entire system around them. Team Reagan went on to conduct its own illegal terror campaign against Nicaragua, evade prosecution for a host of felonies related to the Iran-Contra affair, rescue a wrecked US economy by conducting an IMF hold-up of Mexico, and bequeath its most criminally-inclined diplomatic reptiles to the current administration... and still live to become a conservative icon.

But the Bush administration is now affording many of the same ministerial malefactors - from Rumsfeld to Negroponte - a second opportunity to fail greatly, but this time they are working madly to ensure that all failures become systemic failures. It is alarming, true enough, but also fascinating to watch in the same way we are fascinated by the film of a parachutist whose canopy never opens.

The key to this inevitable crash is something referred to dozens of times in the SHDCS as "integration." Integration refers to the standardization of equipment and operational procedures across the boundaries of international law enforcement and military action, across the boundaries of federal, state, and local authorities, and across the boundaries of military doctrine and police doctrine. [FTW described this legally mandated standardization in our Nov, 2001 analysis of the Patriot Act in "[The 'F' Word](#)."- Ed] This amounts to the conceptual simplification of numerous complex official-social systems, and an attempt to bring these systems more nearly under the singular control of the American executive branch.

While the SHDCS nods to flexibility and agility again and again, the general thrust of the "strategy" is to place that flexibility and agility in the hands of a tiny international general staff - the US National Command Authority - and this is an inevitably fatal contradiction. The whole notion of tactical agility, which Rumsfeld has fallaciously interpreted from warfighting theorist John Boyd, is based on direct and concrete observation at every scale of battle.

The Achilles heel of this entire concept is precisely in the realm of observation. The Bush administration blundered into its current Iraqi quagmire because of its insistence on perceptual conformity, and its unwavering tendency to seek evidence to support its own preconceptions. In Boyd's theory of warfighting - designed by the way for local combat and not national strategy - all actions are taken in the context of a decision cycle, which begins with observation and orientation, and ends with decision-action. The efficacy of action is directly related to the accuracy of observation and appropriateness of orientation. In other words, if the observation is faulty, the whole repeating decision cycle spirals down to disaster.

Like the Iraqis greeting the American occupation as liberators. They believed that... because that is what they wanted to believe.

In the SHDCS, among all the deadening bureau-chatter of integration, we find the most Orwellian notion of all - expressed in that uniquely one-dimensional manner of the military (and certain socially adept psychopaths) as "shared situational awareness," which is assigned its own acronym: SSA.

Shared situational awareness is defined as a common perception of the environment and its implications. All domestic and foreign partners within the homeland defense mission space require situational awareness for three reasons: to identify threats as early and as distant from US borders as possible; to provide ample time for an optimal course of action; and to allow for a flexible operational response... the US government continues to make great strides in overcoming obstacles to shared situational awareness. (page 23, SHDCS)

No wonder the generals are afraid.

One example given of how SSA has worked was how "the American law enforcement community worked with its international counterparts to thwart international drug cartels and worldwide crime syndicates."

Oooo-kay...

Today, transnational terrorists have blurred the traditional distinction between national security and international law enforcement. Together with the development of other security threats, this expanded national security challenge necessitates an unprecedented degree of shared situational awareness among Federal agencies, with state, local, tribal, and private entities, and between the United States and its key partners. (page 23, SHDCS)

"Integration" is based on perception-integration. But perception-integration can easily become (in fact, likely will become) a thoroughly mismatched perception and reality, and with that we enter the mismatch-spiral to breakdown.

Having Your Cake and Eating it Too

Excerpts from the SHDCS:

*The scope of DoD's role in **preventing** terrorist attacks within the USD land domain is defined by the President's constitutional authority as Commander in Chief and limited by statutory authority related to military support of civilian law enforcement. Domestic security is primarily a civilian law enforcement function. (page 26)*

*If circumstances warrant, the President and the Secretary of Defense may direct military forces and assets to intercept and defeat threats on US territory. When conducting land **defense** missions on US territory, DoD does so as a core, warfighting mission, fulfilling the Commander in Chief's Constitutional obligation to defend the nation. (page 27)*

One can only wonder whether capitalization of "Constitutional" in the second claim and non-capitalization in the first are Freudian slips. This is not as clear-cut a contradiction as many distressed civil libertarians have claimed in their first startled reactions to this document.

They are not yet trying to have their cake and eat it, too. They have just baked two cakes.

The keywords are prevention and defense, and they are also monotonously repeated throughout the SHDCS. For the decisive transfer of power to the military on US soil, there must at least be the (perceived) presence of actual attackers.

There are five interlocking strategies presented in this document: a National Security Strategy (euphemism for their more militarized foreign policy), a National Strategy for Homeland Defense (which falls under the Department of Homeland Security), a National Defense Strategy (which is a DoD responsibility to attack hypothetical enemies before they reach our shores), and the strategy outlined in the document under review - the SHDCS, which describes how the military will interact with other agencies

inside the US, before and during an attack.

What brings them all together conceptually is "shared situational awareness," under the direction of the new intelligence tsar and former Reagan accomplice, John Negroponte. What brings them all together symbolically (and legally - unless and until this concept is successfully challenged) is the "global battlespace." What brings them all together operationally is *the enhancement of executive authority* asserted using the global battlespace premise, and secured through Congressional cowardice and opportunism.

Congress could reassert itself at any time to demand a review of the presidential declaration of a state of national emergency, and on very sound Constitutional grounds. They just don't.

Homeland *defense* is named as the responsibility of the DoD, but on page 5 of the SHDCS, "homeland defense" is defined as "protection of US sovereignty, territory, domestic population, and critical defense infrastructure against *external* threats or aggression, or other threats as directed by the President." (italics mine)

What the SHDCS does that leaves the door open to transgress these jurisdictional boundaries is insert elastic clauses that will be left ultimately to the interpretation of Federal judges, who have now been largely appointed by Republicans. It states that DoD's responsibility is to address *external* threats, then leaves a clause, "other threats as directed by the President," that can be applied after action is taken to provide wiggle room. While our eye is on the institutional demarcation between military/non-military, we might miss the consolidation of power to interpret *before action is taken* in the hands of the President, who is not only the Commander in Chief of the military, but the intelligence tsar's and Attorney General's boss.

They have one cake. And they can eat another.

But the cakes are poison.

We have already briefly analyzed the situation in Iraq. The wholly pessimistic prognosis there seems to be utterly ignored by the SHDCS, which banters along in the tone-deaf language of Rumsfeld's metric-entranced toadies, even mentioning the *integral necessity* of building and maintaining foreign bases in order to make this febrile dream work.

Rumsfeld himself could read this very analysis, and anything I write here would be absolutely lost on him. His inability to go beyond his own empiricism is a reflection of his narcissism - self-referential above all, grandiose, convinced of his infallibility even the face of evidence to the contrary, manipulative, and incapable of genuine empathy. It works, because there is a match between personality and system here. He is the perfect Secretary of Defense, but he has come with an administration and an epoch that is transforming the offensive power of the United States military into the central instrument of imperial decline.

Asymmetry

On July 7th, 2005, we woke to the news of a coordinated attack against the transit system of London. The attacks coincided with a G-8 Summit meeting in Glasgow, the award of the 2012 Olympics to London, and a systematic attack against all foreign diplomats in Baghdad. I do not mean to imply that there is some conspiratorial connection between these phenomena. The connections are emblematic.

This attack happened in London, a metropolitan city that has long ago blurred the distinctions between military and police functions in its attempt to hang onto power in Northern Ireland, and a city already accustomed - if anyone ever becomes accustomed - to bombing as a method of asymmetric warfare.

Over 40 people were killed and more than 700 wounded. The city screeched to a halt. Stocks fell around the world. Traveler's insurance jumped. The US was put on a heightened state of alert. Emergency systems in London were strained to the limit.

There are predictable expressions of shock and "determination" from Bush. Blair is visibly shaken. But a glance at the SHDCS shows that this was expected. That it happened in London was a bit off the script, because the clear expectation, written between every line of the SHDCS is that it will happen in the United States.

The document is surprisingly honest about the vulnerabilities in the US, even mentioning (for the first time) something I had written about in December 2003 <http://www.counterpunch.org/goff12032003.html> - how general aviation aircraft, light airplanes from private fields, could be employed as a poor-man's Cruise missile against nuclear or chemical plants.

None of the goals for the imposition of domestic population control was met in the wake of September 11th. The left stood up first and defied the administration within days, while the national blood was still burning with the desire for revenge, and that push-back was extremely significant in creating a space for doubt, about official narratives, about the wisdom of accepting the Bush population control measures, about the characterization of the post-9-11 period as a "crusade," and about the attempt to throw down a gauntlet that said, "You are with us, or you are with the terrorists." This may have been the biggest unacknowledged victory of progressive forces in the US in many years, and it created the conditions for a rapidly assembled and vital antiwar movement later.

The "with us, or with the terrorists" language is reproduced in the SHDCS.

Terrorists will try to shape and degrade American political will in order to diminish American resistance to terrorist ideologies and agendas. (Page 9)

Ergo... anyone who opposes this plan is complicit in "degrading American political will" and therefore participating in a "terrorist agenda."

This is where they wanted to go after 9-11, but that part of their plan failed big. So they need that next attack, and they are on a policy trajectory that makes it a near certainty. There is not the slightest need for the Bush administration to build-their-own terror attack. Their stubborn refusal to change course in Southwest Asia, their aggressive militarism around the world, and the unspeakable technological power of the US armed forces, all make an attack almost inevitable. When no one anywhere can credibly face down such a powerful military head on, then they have no choice but to bend to the will of the US or fight back using asymmetric methods.

As I've pointed out before, the fact that many of the very formations that feel they are in this exact corner are now non-state actors, so there is no effective mechanism for either disabling their parent institution (the state) or attempting to apply a kind of point-by-point revenge. Any actions now taken by the US military in

response to any attack has a better chance of making more enemies than defeating some enemies. And as the SHDCS accurately states in somewhat more elliptical language, the US is a sprawling collection of hundreds and hundreds of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons in the form of infrastructure, that are pre-deployed weapons of mass destruction waiting for anyone who is so inclined to activate them. Exposed water supplies, poorly protected research labs, toxic chemical plants (over a hundred near populations of a million or more), and 103 licensed nuclear power facilities.

London today. Where tomorrow?

In another example of the psychotically flat language of this document, these kinds of attacks are referred to in the SHDCS as chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, or high-yield explosive attacks (CBRNE), and the response to them - which is discussed repeatedly and at length throughout this "strategy" - is called "CBRNE consequence management." I swear to readers that I did not make that up.

Partial-Martial

There is a plan within the SHDCS plan, as I stated earlier, to impose martial law that is not martial law. This is what aroused civil libertarian watchdogs, who rightly believe that the Bush administration would set up concentration camps for all of us if given half a chance. The fact that they don't, however, is an indication that they can't (at least for now) and the reason I find it personally impossible to fantasize yet about building escape tunnels under my house or emplacing food caches throughout the local pine-barrens.

The statement that "Terrorists will try to shape and degrade American political will in order to diminish American resistance to terrorist ideologies and agendas," as a bullet point in this military strategy overview certainly should give us pause, and it definitely supports the idea that this administration *wants* to exercise that kind of population control. And I have already outlined how they are laying the legal groundwork to go after political enemies.

In the SHDCS, on more than one occasion, it states, "At the direction of the President or the Secretary of Defense, the Department of Defense executes military missions that dissuade, deter, and defeat attacks upon the United States, our population, and our critical defense infrastructure."

This is interesting on two counts: (1) It gives the Secretary of Defense unprecedented power by using the conjunction "or." (2) It says the military can be used inside the United States to protect itself through the expansion of "itself" to include "critical defense infrastructure."

The document does not say "At the direction of the President *and* the Secretary of Defense," which would indicate a chain of command and accountability, but "At the direction of the President *or* the Secretary of Defense," which implies (a) that the SecDef can take it upon himself to make one of these momentous decisions, and (b) that if a decision is later scrutinized for who was responsible, the President can plausibly deny he had anything to do with it. Using these accountability cut-outs was one key way that Rumsfeld evaded any responsibility in the Abu Ghraib scandal.

But it is also interesting in a third way. Congress is nowhere mentioned. Apparently the DoD already finds itself in a position to assume that the war making powers formerly residing exclusively in Congress have now effectively passed exclusively to the executive branch. It seems to be a *fait accompli* that the US can now go to war without any declaration of war, that it can claim a state of war

as the basis for declaring the entire world a battlefield without a declaration of war, and that it can demand all the international rules and conventions relating to war apply to the US as protections but that these same rules and conventions do not apply to the US as they relate to US actions.

The SHDCS did not accomplish the concentration of power in the hands of the Presidency. Congress abdicates its own power every day that it continues to allow this to go on.

It is the combination of this concentration of fiat-power in the presidency and the redefinition of "force protection" for the military as including "critical infrastructure" that lays the foundation for a state of partial-martial law that effectively functions as martial law. Later in the same document, it states, "DoD will continue to transform military forces to execute homeland defense missions in the forward regions, approaches, *US homeland*, and global commons." Here they are explicitly stating that the military can and will operate inside the United States.

Further along, "The Department is also responsible for protecting DoD personnel located in US territory." This is fairly common sense and not alarming in and of itself. Of course, DoD will protect its own inside the US. But when the definition of "force protection" is expanded to include "critical infrastructure," and force protection comes to mean capability protection, the SHDCS then claims the right to move on

"critical defense assets... located at public or private sites beyond the direct control of DoD... [that] could include elements of the Defense Industrial Base, which is a worldwide industrial complex with capabilities to perform research and development and design, produce, and maintain military weapons systems, subsystems, components, or parts to meet military requirements... defense critical infrastructure could also include selected civil and commercial infrastructures that provide the power, communications, transportation, and other utilities that military forces and DoD support organizations rely on to meet their operational needs.

In addition, the President or the Secretary of Defense might direct US military forces to protect non-DoD assets of national significance that are so vital to the nation that their incapacitation could have a debilitating effect on the security of the United States.

It doesn't take much imagination to figure out how broadly this can be interpreted. The ability to take over roads alone effectively puts the military in a position to completely control the population... effectively martial law.

It even goes so far as to say that "Defense contractors must be able to maintain adequate response times, ensure supply and labor availability, and provide direct logistic support in times of crisis." Ensure labor availability? How do they plan to do that, exactly?

In the United States of America, where there are an average of four firearms per household, Donald Rumsfeld is going to form press-gangs of labor? [Many of the foundations for these moves have been laid over two decades in a series of Executive Orders. The work began using services from the likes of a young Oliver North in 1980. - Ed] Yeah, right! This is the reason I'm not building my tunnel and stocking canned food under tree roots yet.

The reality of Full Spectrum Dominance is that it is actually Full Spectrum Delusion. The United States military cannot even secure a military victory in Iraq, and this mad document from the Pentagon is talking about establishing martial law over 290 million armed people over a 9,631,418 square kilometer land mass. This is their plan? They are going to accomplish it with whom exactly? Do they honestly believe that American soldiers will impose this kind of control on US populations? Moreover, do they believe that in a real mass casualty emergency, soldiers will stay quietly buttoned down in their posts while a radiological cloud leaking from a destroyed reactor wafts gently toward their families?

And where will the money come from? The military is already driving the national debt and current account deficit through the stratosphere, and the war in Iraq's cost is being borne in larger and larger part by the real target of US international intrigue, China, who now owns [\\$230 billion](#) in US debt.

Unless we are prepared to accept that everyone at the Pentagon, from Rumsfeld down, is clinically insane, we cannot take this document seriously as a plan, but only as a basis for using an emergency as the pretext for rounding up and neutralizing their political opposition.

This is the pretext for the *selective* application of partial-martial law.

The Anonymous Generals

This is not what most generals signed up to do. And while a significant number of them have evolved into the twisted bureaucratic creatures we see in the guise of John Abazaid or Rumsfeld's pet weasel, Mark Kimmett, many of these senior officers are watching Iraq with growing dismay, even as they have seen the development of this creepy little Metrics Novella of the Apocalypse being scratched and sniffed through its composition in the Pentagon.

In February, 2003, Mike Davis wrote in *Slouching Toward Baghdad*:

Imperial Washington, like Berlin in the late 1930s, has become a psychedelic capital where one megalomaniacal hallucination succeeds another. Thus, in addition to creating a new geopolitical order in the Middle East, we are now told by the Pentagon's deepest thinkers that the invasion of Iraq will also inaugurate "the most important 'revolution in military affairs' (or RMA) in two hundred years."

According to Admiral William Owen, a chief theorist of the revolution, the first Gulf War was "not a new kind of war, but the last of the old ones." Likewise, the air wars in Kosovo and Afghanistan were only pale previews of the postmodern blitzkrieg that will be unleashed against the Baathist regime. Instead of old-fashioned sequential battles, we are promised nonlinear "shock and awe."

Although the news media will undoubtedly focus on the sci-fi gadgetry involved - thermobaric bombs, microwave weapons, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), PackBot robots, Stryker fighting vehicles, and so on - the truly radical innovations (or so the war wonks claim) will be in the organization and, indeed, the very concept of the war.

In the bizarre argot of the Pentagon's Office of Force Transformation (the nerve center of the revolution), a new kind of "warfighting ecosystem" known as "network centric warfare" (or NCW) is slouching

toward Baghdad to be born. Promoted by military futurists as a "minimalist" form of warfare that spares lives by replacing attrition with precision, NCW may in fact be the inevitable road to nuclear war.

Davis had put his finger on another reality that the more adroit among the Pentagon Admiralty understand. If the Rumsfeld doctrine continues to fail, as it is failing spectacularly in Iraq, how does the United States pursue its "integrated" long-term strategy, not to fight terrorists, but to encircle China, isolate Russia, and establish control through forward basing in strategically essential Southwest Asia?

Rumsfeld has dismantled his pre-"revolutionary" military capacity, and taken his "minimalist" revolution in military affairs into a dangerous impasse, where the whole world is alert not to US strength, but that the giant is hopelessly entangled in Iraq, while China bids for Unocal and Latin America drifts away on the tectonic political plate of *Bolivarianismo*. Europe flirts with Russia, and China invests in the Caribbean. In the Persian Gulf, Persia itself - Axis of Evil member Iran - is emerging in the tortured *realpolitik* of US intervention as a new power center, and just this month signed a military cooperation pact with the government of *occupied Iraq*.

Davis asked in his 2003 article just two months before the premature climax of Shock and Awe:

But what if the RNA/NCW's Second Coming of Warfare doesn't arrive as punctually promised? What happens if the Iraqis or future enemies find ways to foil the swarming sensors, the night-visioned Special Forces, the little stair-climbing robots, the missile-armed drones? Indeed, what if some North Korean cyberwar squad (or, for that matter, a fifteen-year-old hacker in Des Moines) manages to crash the Pentagon's "system of systems" behind its battlespace panopticon?

If the American war-fighting networks begin to unravel (as partially occurred in February 1991), the new paradigm - with its "just in time" logistics and its small "battlefield footprint" - leaves little backup in terms of traditional military reserves. This is one reason why the Rumsfeld Pentagon takes every opportunity to rattle its nuclear saber.

In their own subdued roundabout manner of Washington intrigue, the generals leaked the story that the US has lost the capability to execute the so-called two-war doctrine. They may only intuit the implications - implications that go far, far beyond the concern they have for how Rumsfeld and his whiz-kids have ripped up and wasted the institution to which they devoted their entire lives.

And they may understand the implications of the SHDCS when it is placed in the context of this global impasse. If things are about to get much rougher internationally, then they have to prepare to get a lot rougher domestically.

The US is not attempting to build an empire, but to salvage one in a late state of decay. And the strange collection of rulers currently running amok in the executive branch are not angling to "integrate" any defense of the people. They are building a rampaging nuclear terror state.

And, as Audre Lorde once said, "Your silence will not protect you."

It has to come sooner or later. As oil becomes scarcer and scarcer and price rises higher and higher, pressures will grow for a formal allocation system. Rationing will come, if only to calm the havoc at the gas lines and the social upheavals that are bound to occur as long as rationing is only by price.

America's most recent experience with rationing goes back to World War II. You have to be nearly 70 to remember the little square "A", "B", and "C" stickers affixed to the windshields of every car. These stickers, when accompanied by a sheet of rationing stamps, allowed one to buy gas. Everybody got an "A" sticker (a whole 4 gallons a month just for the asking). To get a "B" or "C" sticker, one had to appear before a rationing board and make the case their mobility was vital to the war effort or at least the well-being of their fellow citizens.

If one ponders for a few minutes on how a modern rationing system might be structured, it is soon apparent nearly any scheme is full of inequities and would be subject to massive and, no doubt, ingenious fraud—especially when an American's ability to drive his beloved car is at stake. Do you allocate fuel by vehicle? Buy a yard full of clunkers and drive to your heart's content or until you run out of money. Or allocate gasoline by person, by licensed driver, by commute distance, by adjusted gross income? Problems abound everywhere.

Once again our friends in Europe, this time in Britain, appear to be out in front in thinking about this problem. The ostensible British concern, of course, is global warming and the contribution made to this phenomenon by the combustion of fossil fuels. While we Americans, and particularly our government, seem little bothered by the idea that Florida might one day be under water, the British seem much more upset by the notion the melting Arctic ice cap will set the Gulf Stream to warming someplace other than Northern Europe.

A couple of weeks ago, the British press reported that Her Majesty's cabinet is considering a plan to ration energy consumption. The immediate reason for implementing such a system is to reduce the UK's emission of greenhouse gases as required by the Kyoto Treaty. The plan's authors, however, claim that if the proposal works, it will deal equally well with equitably allocating dwindling energy supplies caused by peak oil.

Given the seriousness with which the British are taking global warming, it is natural that they should put their finest minds to work on the problem. In this case, the Environmental Change Institute at Oxford and the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, a consortium of ten other British Universities. The current proposal has been in development for ten years and, given the organizations involved in its preparation, has obviously been subject to much intellectual rigor. While the details, pros, and cons of the plan fill many pages, the general concept is simple enough to outline here.

The major feature of the allocation system is that it covers all fossil fuels, not just gasoline; and it makes a real effort to be fair to all, by giving consideration to the needs of poorer folks.

Under the plan, every adult in the country would be given (for free) an annual "Personal Carbon Allowance" (PCA). This al-

lowance would be measured in "carbon units." One carbon unit would be equal to one kilogram of carbon dioxide emitted into the atmosphere when the fuel is burned. Carbon units can be equated easily to gallons of gasoline, heating oil, diesel, or jet fuel, or to pounds of coal, BTUs of natural gas, or KWh of electricity. For example, one gallon of gas would be the equivalent of about nine carbon units. Thus, for every gallon of gas purchased, nine carbon units would be subtracted from your account.

The annual allowance would be the same for all adults, with possibly a smaller allowance for dependent children, and would be tracked on a central electronic system similar to a credit card account. The size of the annual individual allowance would be based on what a government panel believed would be the total amount of fuel available for consumption in a country during the coming year, divided by the number of energy consumers. Whenever one purchased or consumed fuel, such as on an airplane trip, an appropriate deduction would be made from one's PCA account. With oil depletion, of course, the annual carbon allowance would shrink with each successive year.

The next most interesting feature of the plan is the government would also establish an electronic free market to buy and sell carbon units. Thus, those who have no need for their complete annual carbon allowance would be free to sell their excess units for cash at the market price. Those individuals who want and can afford more than their allocated share can buy as much as they want at the going price. Note that above-allocation consumers would not only have to pay for the energy, they would also have to pay for the right to buy the above-allocation energy. Non-residents visiting a country would not be given an annual allowance, but would have to buy the carbon units they use on the open market as they consume energy. Businesses that consume energy would buy their carbon units on the open market and would pass the cost on to the final consumer either money or in cases such as airplane rides as a PCA debit.

The object of all this, of course, is to force people to cut back on their energy use in a systematic way. With full knowledge of the projected costs and allocations of energy, people could make choices between SUVs or bicycles, McMansions or efficiencies, and train or plane rides.

Way below average energy users could make some money under the plan. While the very rich would not be bothered in the slightest, most people would start making energy saving choices in their lifestyles -- smaller cars, better-insulated homes, less air travel. As demand for energy drops in response to conservation measures, then the costs of energy would drop even in an era of oil depletion.

The plan's developers claim that declining amounts of energy will be allocated equitably and with minimum government interference. For, aside from setting up the system and determining the annual carbon ration, the free market would be left to work out the details of oil depletion.

Post-Soviet Lessons for a Post-American Century

(PART III OF III)

By
Dmitry Orlov

Special to *From the Wilderness*

Loss of Normalcy

An early victim of collapse is the sense of normalcy. People are initially shocked to find that it's missing, but quickly forget that such a thing ever existed, except for the odd vague tinge of nostalgia. Normalcy is not exactly normal: in an industrial economy, the sense of normalcy is an artificial, manufactured item.

We may be hurtling towards environmental doom, and thankfully never quite get there because of resource depletion, but, in the meantime, the lights are on, there is traffic on the streets, and, even if the lights go out for a while due to a blackout, they will be back on in due course, and the shops will reopen. Business as usual will resume. The sumptuous buffet lunch will be served on time, so that the assembled luminaries can resume discussion of measured steps we all need to take to avert certain disaster. The lunch is not served; then the lights go out. At some point, somebody calls the whole thing a farce, and the luminaries adjourn, forever.

In Russia, normalcy broke down in a series of steps. First, people stopped being afraid to speak their mind. Then, they stopped taking the authorities seriously. Lastly, the authorities stopped taking each other seriously. In the final act, Yeltsin got up on a tank and spoke the words "Former Soviet Union."

In the Soviet Union, as this thing called normalcy wore thin due to the stalemate in Afghanistan, the Chernobyl disaster, and general economic stagnation, it continued to be enforced through careful management of mass media well into the period known as *glasnost*. In the United States, as the economy fails to create enough jobs for several years in a row, and the entire economy tilts towards bankruptcy, business as usual continues to be a top-selling product, or so we are led to believe. American normalcy circa 2005 seems as impregnable as Soviet normalcy circa 1985 once seemed.

If there is a difference between the Soviet and the American approaches to maintaining a sense of normalcy, it is this: the Soviets tried to maintain it by force, while the Americans' superior approach is to maintain theirs through fear. You tend to feel more normal if you fear falling off your perch, and cling to it for dear life, than if somebody nails your feet to it.

More to the point: in a consumer society, anything that puts people off their shopping is dangerously disruptive, and all consumers sense this. Any expression of the truth about our lack of prospects for continued existence as a highly developed, prosperous industrial society is disruptive to the consumerist collective uncon-

scious. There is a herd instinct to reject it, and therefore it fails, not through any overt action, but by failing to turn a profit, because it is unpopular.

In spite of this small difference in how normalcy is or was enforced, it was, and is being brought down, in the late Soviet Union as in the contemporary United States, through almost identical means, though with different technology. In the Soviet Union, there was something called *samizdat*, or self-publishing: with the help of manual typewriters and carbon paper, Russian dissidents managed to circulate enough material to neutralize the effects of enforced normalcy. In contemporary United States, we have web sites and bloggers: different technology, same difference. These are writings for which enforced normalcy is no longer the norm; the norm is the truth - or at least someone's earnest approximation of it.

So what has become of these Soviet mavericks, some of whom foretold the coming collapse with some accuracy? To be brief, they faded from view. Both tragically and ironically, those who become experts in explaining the faults of the system and in predicting the course of its demise are very much part of the system. When the system disappears, so does their area of expertise, and their audience. People stop intellectualizing their predicament and start trying to escape it - through drink or drugs or creativity or cunning - but they have no time for pondering the larger context.

Political Apathy

Before, during, and immediately after the Soviet collapse, there was a great deal of political activity by groups we might regard as progressive: liberal, environmentalist, pro-democracy reformers. These grew out of the dissident movements of the Soviet era, and made quite a significant impact for a time. A decade later "democracy" and "liberalism" are generally considered dirty words in Russia, commonly associated with exploitation of Russia by foreigners and other rot. The Russian state is centrist, with authoritarian tendencies. Most Russians dislike and distrust their government, but are afraid of weakness, and want a strong hand at the helm.

It is easy to see why political idealism fails to thrive in the murky post-collapse political environment. There is a strong pull to the right by nationalists who want to find scapegoats (inevitably, foreigners and ethnic minorities), a strong pull to the center by members of the *ancien regime* trying to hold on to remnants of their power, and a great upwelling of indecision, confusion, and inconclusive debate on the left, by those trying to do good, and failing to do anything. Sometimes the liberals get a chance to try an experiment or two. Yegor Gaidar got to try some liberal economic reforms under Yeltsin. He is a tragicomic figure, and many Russians now cringe when remembering his efforts (and to be fair, we don't even know how helpful or damaging his reforms might have been, since most of them were never implemented).

The liberals, reformists, and progressives in the United States, whether self-styled or so labeled, have had a hard time implementing their agenda. Even their few hard-won victories, such as Social Security, may get dismantled. Even when they managed to elect a president more to their liking, the effects were, by Western standards, reactionary. There was the Carter doctrine, according to which the United States will protect its access to oil by military aggression if necessary. There was also Clinton's welfare reform, which forced single mothers to work menial jobs while placing their children in substandard daycare.

People in the United States have a broadly similar attitude toward politics with people of the Soviet Union. In the U.S., this is often referred to as "voter apathy", but it might be more accurately described as non-voter indifference. The Soviet Union had a single, entrenched, systemically corrupt political party, which held a monopoly on power. The U.S. has two entrenched, systemically corrupt political parties, whose positions are often indistinguishable, and which together hold a monopoly on power. In either case, there is, or was, a single governing elite, but in the United States it organized itself into opposing teams to make its stranglehold on power seem more sportsmanlike.

In the U.S., there is an industry of political commentators and pundits which is devoted to inflaming political passions as much as possible, especially before elections. This is similar to what sports writers and commentators do to draw attention to their game. It seems that the main force behind political discourse in the U.S. is boredom: one can chat about the weather, one's job, one's mortgage and how it relates to current and projected property values, cars and the traffic situation, sports, and, far behind sports, politics. In an effort to make people pay attention, most of the issues trotted out before the electorate pertain to reproduction: abortion, birth control, stem cell research, and similar small bits of social policy are bandied about rather than settled, simply because they get good ratings. "Boring" but vitally important strategic issues such as sustainable development, environmental protection, and energy policy are studiously avoided.

Although people often bemoan political apathy as if it were a grave social ill, it seems to me that this is just as it should be. Why should essentially powerless people want to engage in a humiliating farce designed to demonstrate the legitimacy of those who wield the power? In Soviet-era Russia, intelligent people did their best to ignore the Communists: paying attention to them, whether through criticism or praise, would only serve to give them comfort and encouragement, making them feel as if they mattered. Why should Americans want to act any differently with regard to the Republicans and the Democrats? For love of donkeys and elephants?

Political Dysfunction

As I mentioned before, crisis-mitigating agendas for "us" to implement, whether they involve wars over access to resources, nuclear plant construction, wind farms, or hydrogen dreams, are not likely to be implemented, because this "we" entity will no longer be functional. If we are not likely to be able to implement our agenda prior to the collapse, then whatever is left of us is even less likely to do so afterward. Thus, there is little reason to organize politically in order to try to do good. But if you want to prepare to take advantage of a bad situation - well, that's a different story!

Politics has great potential for making a bad situation worse. It can cause war, ethnic cleansing and genocide. Whenever people gather into political organizations, whether voluntarily or forcibly, it is a sign of trouble. I was at the annual meeting of my community garden recently, and among the generally placid and shy group of gardeners there were a couple of self-styled "activists." Before too long, one of these was raising the question of expelling people. People who don't show up for annual meetings and don't sign up to do cleaning and composting and so on - why are they allowed to hold on to their plots? Well, some of the "rogue elements" the activist was referring to consisted of elderly Russians, who, due to their extensive experience with such things during the Soviet times, are exceedingly unlikely to ever be compelled to take part in communal labor or sit through meetings with the col-

lective. Frankly, they would prefer death. But they also love to garden.

The reason the "element" is allowed to exist in this particular community garden is because the woman who runs the place allows them to hold on to their plots. It is her decision: she exercises leadership, and she does not engage in politics. She makes the garden function, and allows the activists to make their noise, once a year, with no ill effects. But if the situation were to change and the kitchen garden suddenly became a source of sustenance rather than a hobby, how long would it take before the activist element would start demanding more power and asserting its authority?

Leadership is certainly a helpful quality in a crisis, which is a particularly bad time for lengthy deliberations and debates. In any situation, some people are better equipped to handle it than others, and can help others by giving them directions. They naturally accumulate a certain amount of power for themselves, and this is fine as long as enough people benefit from it, and as long as nobody is harmed or oppressed. Such people often spontaneously emerge in a crisis.

An equally useful quality in a crisis is apathy. The Russian people are exceptionally patient: even in the worst of post-collapse times, they did not riot, and there were no significant protests. They coped as best they could. The safest group of people to be with in a crisis is one that does not share strong ideological convictions, is not easily swayed by argument, and does not possess an overdeveloped, exclusive sense of identity.

Clueless busybodies who feel that "we must do something" and can be spun around by any half-wit demagogue are bad enough, but the most dangerous group, and one to watch out for and run from, is a group of political activists resolved to organize and promote some program or other. Even if the program is benign, and even if it is beneficial, the politicized approach to solving it might not be. As the saying goes, revolutions eat their children. Then they turn on everyone else. The life of a refugee is a form of survival; staying and fighting an organized mob generally isn't.

The Balkans are the post-collapse nightmare everyone is familiar with. Within the former Soviet Union, Georgia is the prime example of nationalist politics pursued to the point of national disintegration. After winning its independence, Georgia went through a paroxysm of nationalist fervor, resulting in a somewhat smaller, slightly less populous, permanently defunct state, with widespread poverty, a large refugee population, and two former provinces stuck in permanent political limbo, because, apparently, the world has lost its ability to redraw political boundaries. In its current form, it is politically and militarily a client of Washington, treasured only as a pipeline route for Caspian oil. Its major trading partner and energy supplier is the Russian Federation.

The U.S. is much more like the Balkans than like Russia, which is inhabited by a fairly homogeneous Caucasian/Asian population. The U.S. is very much segregated, usually by race, often by ethnicity, and always by income level. During prosperous times, it is kept relatively calm by keeping a percentage of people in jail that has set an all-time world record. During less prosperous times, it is at a big risk of political explosion. Multi-ethnic societies are fragile and unstable; when they fall apart, or explode, everyone loses.

Collapse in the U.S.

In the U.S., there appear to be few ways to make the collapse scenario work out smoothly for oneself and one's family. The whole place seems too far gone in a particular, unsustainable direction. It is a real creative challenge, and we should be giving it a lot of serious thought.

Suppose you live in a big city, in an apartment or a condo. You depend on municipal services for survival. A week without electricity, or heat, or water, or gas, or garbage removal spells extreme discomfort. Any two of these is a calamity. Any three is a disaster. Food comes from the supermarket, with help from the cash machine or the credit card slot at the checkout station. Clean clothes come from the laundromat, which requires electricity, water, and natural gas. Once all the businesses have shut down and your apartment is cold, dark, smells like garbage (because it isn't being collected) and like excrement (because the toilet doesn't flush), perhaps it is time to go camping and explore the great outdoors.

So let's consider the countryside. Suppose that you own a homestead and have a tiny mortgage that shrivels to next to nothing after a good bout of inflation, or that you own it free and clear. If it's in a developed suburban subdivision, there will still be problems with taxes, code enforcement, strangers from outer space living next door, and other boondoggles, which could get worse as conditions deteriorate. Distressed municipalities may at first attempt jack up rates to cover their costs instead of simply closing up shop. In a misguided effort to save property values, they may also attempt to enforce codes against such necessities as compost heaps, outhouses, chicken coops, and crops planted on your front lawn. Keep in mind, also, that the pesticides and herbicides lavished on lawns and golf courses leave toxic residues. Perhaps the best thing to do with suburbia is to abandon it altogether.

A small farm offers somewhat better possibilities for farming, but most farms in the U.S. are mortgaged to the hilt, and most land that has been under intensive cultivation has been mercilessly bombarded with chemical fertilizers, herbicides and insecticides, making it an unhealthy place, inhabited by men with tiny sperm counts. Small farms tend to be lonely places, and many, without access to diesel or gasoline, would become dangerously remote. You will need neighbors to barter with, to help you, and to keep you company. Even a small farm is probably overkill in terms of the amount of farmland available, because without the ability to get crops to market, or a functioning cash economy to sell them in, there is no reason to grow a large surplus of food. Tens of acres are a waste when all you need is a few thousand square feet. Many Russian families managed to survive with the help of a standard garden plot of one *sotka*, which is 100 square meters, or, if you prefer, 0.024710538 acres, or 1076.391 square feet.

What is needed, of course, is a small town or a village: a relatively small, relatively dense settlement, with about an acre of farmland for every 30 or so people, and with zoning regulations designed for fair use and sustainability, not opportunities for capital investment, growth, property values, or other sorts of "development". Further, it would have to be a place where people know each other and are willing to help each other - a real community. There may still be a few hundred communities like that tucked away here and there in the poorer counties in the United States, but there are not enough of them, and most of them are too poor to absorb a significant population of economic migrants.

Investment Advice

Often when people hear about the possibility of economic col-

lapse, they wonder: "Let's suppose that the U.S. economy is going to collapse soon. Why is this even worth thinking about, if there is nothing I can do about it?" Well, I am not a professional investment adviser, so I risk nothing by making some suggestions for how one can collapse-proof one's investment portfolio.

The nuclear scare gave rise to the archetype of the American Survivalist, holed up in the hills, with a bomb shelter, a fantastic number of tins of spam, and an assortment of guns and plentiful ammunition with which to fight off neighbors from further downhill, or perhaps just to shoot beer-cans when the neighbors come over for beer and spamwiches. And, of course, an American flag. This sort of survivalism is about as good as burying yourself alive, I suppose.

The idea of stockpiling is not altogether bad, though. Stockpiling food is, of course, a rotten idea, literally. But certain manufactured items are certainly worth considering. Suppose you have a retirement account, or some mutual funds. And suppose you feel reasonably certain that by the time you are scheduled to retire it won't be enough to buy a cup of coffee. And suppose you realize that you can currently buy a lot of good stuff that has a long shelf life and will be needed, and valuable, far into the future. And suppose, further, that you have a small amount of storage space: a few hundred square feet. Now, what are you going to do? Sit by and watch your savings evaporate? Or take the tax hit and invest in things that are not composed of vapor?

Once the cash machines are out of cash, the stock ticker stops ticking, and the retail chain breaks down, people will still have basic needs. There will be flea markets and private barter arrangements to serve these needs, using whatever local token of exchange is available; bundles of \$100 bills, bits of gold chain, packs of cigarettes, or what have you. It's not a bad idea to own a few of everything you will need, but you should invest in things you will be able to trade for things you will need. Think of consumer necessities that require high technology and have a long shelf life. Here are some suggestions to get you started: drugs (over-the-counter and prescription); razor blades; condoms. Rechargeable batteries (and solar chargers) are sure to become a prized item (Ni-MH are the less toxic ones). Toiletries, such as good soap, will be luxury items. Fill some shipping containers, nitrogen-pack them so that nothing rusts or rots, and store them somewhere.

After the Soviet collapse, there swiftly appeared a category of itinerant merchants who provided people with access to imported products. To procure their wares, these people had to travel abroad, to Poland, to China, to Turkey, on trains, carrying goods back and forth in their baggage. They would exchange a suitcase of Russian-made watches for a suitcase of other, more useful consumer products, such as shampoo or razor blades. They would have to grease the palms of officials along their route, and were often robbed. There was a period of time when these people, called "*chelnoki*," which is Russian for "shuttles," were the only source of consumer products. The products were often factory rejects, damaged, or past their sell-by date, but this did not make them any less valuable. Based on their example, it is possible to predict which items will be in high demand, and to stockpile these items ahead of time, as a hedge against economic collapse. Note that *chelnoki* had intact economies to trade with, accessible by train - while this is not guaranteed to be the case in the U.S.

A stockpile of this sort, in a walkable, socially stable place, where you know everybody, where you have some close friends and

some family, where you own your shelter and some land free and clear, and where you can grow most of your own food, and barter for the rest, should enable you to survive economic collapse without too much trouble. And, who knows, maybe you will even find happiness there.

Conclusion

Although the basic and obvious conclusion is that the United States is worse prepared for economic collapse than Russia was, and will have a harder time than Russia had, there are some cultural facets to the United States that are not entirely unhelpful. To close on an optimistic note, I will mention three of these.

Firstly, and perhaps most surprisingly, Americans make better Communists than Russians ever did, or cared to try. They excel at communal living, with plenty of good, stable roommate situations, which compensate for their weak, alienated, or nonexistent families. These roommate situations can be used as a template, and scaled up to village-sized self-organized communities. Big households that pool their resources make a lot more sense in an unstable, resource-scarce environment than the individualistic approach. Without a functioning economy, a household that consists of a single individual or a nuclear family ceases to be viable, and people are forced to live in ever larger households, from roommate situations to taking lodgers to doubling up to forming villages. Where any Russian would cringe at such an idea, because it stirs the still fresh memories of the failed Soviet experiment at collectivization and forced communal living, many Americans are adept at making fast friends and getting along, and generally seem to possess an untapped reserve of gregariousness, community spirit, and civic-minded idealism.

Secondly, there is a layer of basic decency and niceness to at least some parts of American society, which has been all but destroyed in Russia over the course of Soviet history. There is an altruistic impulse to help strangers, and pride in being helpful to others. In many ways, Americans are culturally homogeneous, and the biggest interpersonal barrier between them is the fear and alienation fostered by their racially and economically segregated living conditions.

Lastly, hidden behind the tawdry veneer of patriotic bumper stickers and flags, there is an undercurrent of quiet national pride, which, if engaged, can produce high morale and results. Americans are not yet willing to simply succumb to circumstance. Because many of them lack a good understanding of their national predicament, their efforts to mitigate it may turn out to be in vain, but they are virtually guaranteed to make a valiant effort, for "this is, after all, America."

BACKGROUND LINKS :

- [HTTP://WWW.DIGGERSANDDREAMERS.ORG.UK/](http://www.diggersanddreamers.org.uk/)
- [HTTP://WWW.IC.ORG](http://www.ic.org)
- [HTTP://WWW.COHOUSING.ORG](http://www.cohousing.org)
- [WWW.THEFARM.ORG](http://www.thefarm.org)
- [WWW.PERMATOPIA.COM](http://www.permatopia.com)
- [WWW.SURVIVINGPEAKOIL.COM](http://www.survivingpeakoil.com)
- [WWW.POSTCARBON.ORG](http://www.postcarbon.org)

[The Senate was divided 50 to 49 with the Democrats in a majority of one. That one was the most progressive Senator in the government. We all know how the murder of a great man or woman in public life tends to fix itself in memory when the news arrives. Where were we? We were packing a bag for Washington, DC, to march against the impending war in Iraq. My sign said, "Senator Wellstone Was Murdered." People nodded in pained agreement and rightly went back to the task at hand – which was to show that public pressure could not stop the war, and that all talk of democracy – literally, the kratos (power) of the demos (people) – was fake. Instead the "President" let it be known that American democracy is really just demo-doxia, the right of the people to their own impotent "opinions."

As William Rivers Pitt of truthout would report a few days later, Jesse Jackson said some words of respect and remembrance to the crowd: "[In Democracy's Wake - The Anti-War Protest in Washington DC.](#)"

Even without the Downing Street memo, the mass murders of 9/11 were enough to show us that the war on Iraq was already inevitable – indeed, as we've just learned this week, the war was [already underway](#) while we stood on the grass in the millions trying to prevent it.

I'll end with Shakespeare, because lately, as the world seems to be losing its future, that particular author has been deeply reassuring. Here's a morsel from Romeo and Juliet (III, ii). The first part will remind you of the Democratic National Convention of 1964, when one eventual victim of the murder state paid homage to another one. The rest is for those of you – or that part of each of us – that believe Peak Oil will bring not only brutality and loss but also cooperation and solidarity – and a break in the power of the Big Lie. These days the dread as well as the hope for renewal are building higher than at any time since 1968, when Paul Wellstone heard Bobby Kennedy say these first four lines:

***Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine
That all the world will be in love with night
And pay no worship to the garish sun.***

***O, I have bought the mansion of a love,
But not possess'd it, and, though I am sold,
Not yet enjoy'd: so tedious is this day
As is the night before some festival
To an impatient child that hath new robes
And may not wear them.***

-- JAH]

The NTSB Failed Wellstone

IGNORED EVIDENCE AND SUPPRESSED INVESTIGATIONS

By

Jim Fetzer and John Costella

Special to *From The Wilderness*

When Senator Paul Wellstone's plane crashed near Eveleth, Minnesota on Friday, October 25, 2002, killing him, his wife, his daughter, three aides, the pilot, and the co-pilot, a casual observer might have forecast a simple investigation by the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB). The mass media widely reported bad weather in the area—freezing rain, snow, icing, and fog, with poor visibility—and implied that the weather had caused the crash.



All that remained of the fuselage of Senator Wellstone's plane: little more than ash. This photograph looks back from the cockpit (foreground) into the fuselage. (The yellow numbered markers are NTSB identification

More than a year later, however, the NTSB's 63-page Final Report¹ answered few questions, and left a huge void in the public record for those wishing to understand the death of the outspoken Senator. Despite having released over 2,300 pages of Factual Reports and supporting documents² to the public during the course of its investigations, the NTSB's Final Report does not address the most fundamental questions surrounding the crash. Moreover, even the very presence of the FBI during the investigation of the crash site was almost completely eliminated from the documents that were released—let alone the results of the FBI's investigations—despite an abundance of evidence that its agents were on site before members of the NTSB, and continued to play a major role at the crash site in the days that followed.

The NTSB concluded that the probable cause of the accident was “the flight crew's failure to maintain adequate airspeed, which led to an aerodynamic stall from which they did not recover.”³ It found that both pilots simply ignored their airspeed reading during descent, ignored the Course Deviation Indicator (CDI) needle indicating they were not heading toward the airport at all, ignored the loud stall warning horn that sounded when their airspeed dropped to a dangerously low level, and simply allowed the plane to stall and crash.⁴

The NTSB also concluded that icing played absolutely no role in the crash.⁵ Despite several scientists' attempts to construct theoretical arguments for the possible presence of icing,⁶ the Chairman of the Meteorology Group, Kevin Petty, Ph.D., had to reiterate the statements of two pilots who had flown into Eveleth-Virginia Municipal Airport (EVM) just hours earlier, indicating that there was very little icing at the altitudes of the Senator's plane.⁷

Moreover, the Duluth Air Traffic Control Tower (ATCT) specifically instructed the plane to descend to an altitude that would take them under the reported icing,⁸ and repeated an earlier request⁹ that the pilots report any icing conditions.¹⁰ They never encountered any at all.¹¹



Another view of the fuselage, this time from behind. (The yellow arrow is the NTSB's; it points to a rear passenger door.) It is unexplained how the tree remained

The NTSB further found that the navigational beacon at EVM did not play a role in the crash,¹² despite concerns that were earlier reported in the media.¹³ Although slightly out of tolerance,¹⁴ thirteen replicated check flights consistently demonstrated that the plane should have been guided directly to the airport.¹⁵ Pilots used the beacon to fly into and out of EVM both before and after the crash. No explanation was offered for the fact that the Senator's plane continued to drift off-course before crashing, despite calculations showing that the Course Deviation Indicator in the cockpit would have moved to full deflection (indicating they were massively off-course) long before the plane allegedly stalled.¹⁶

Instead, the NTSB pointed the finger at the air charter company, Aviation Charter, for failures relating to paperwork¹⁷ which the company's legal advice indicated was within the requirements of all regulations,¹⁸ and for failing to implement crew training modules relating to coordination and teamwork,¹⁹ which it had no obligation to provide,²⁰ and despite the NTSB having obtained evidence that both pilots had, in fact, received such training from previous employers.²¹ It further criticized the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) for failing to provide sufficient surveillance of Aviation Charter's operations to detect these “discrepancies,” despite acknowledging that the FAA had in fact fulfilled all of its requirements in its oversight of the company.²²

Most remarkably, absent from the NTSB's Final Report is any analysis, discussion, or conclusion about the fire that consumed the aircraft. Indeed, in all of the thousands of pages released by the NTSB on the crash, the fire is only ever described in three words: “post-crash fire.” What we do know is that the plane crashed at approximately 10:22 AM.²³ The assistant airport manager at EVM, Gary Ulman, who went up in his own plane to search for the missing plane at 10:55 AM, initially ignored²⁴ plumes of blue and white smoke²⁵ he saw two miles south-east of the end of the runway, being the wrong color smoke for a jet fuel fire, and criss-crossed around the area surrounding the airport

looking for the plane²⁶—only to return for a closer look and to realize that it was, indeed, the crashed aircraft.²⁷



Aerial view of the crash site, reportedly taken the day after the accident from a State Police helicopter, at the request of the NTSB.

After his location of the site, the first emergency responders arrived at the crash site at 11:35 AM.²⁸ A fire extinguisher was emptied on the fire,²⁹ which engulfed the fuselage, but it was not expected to have much effect “as it was a metal fire.”³⁰ Several bladder packs of water were subsequently emptied on the fire.³¹ A bombardier was reported to be at the scene by 11:45 AM.³² A Department of Natural Resources brush truck arrived on the scene, which was subsequently discovered to have an empty water tank because it had already been “winterized.”³³ A second water-carrying vehicle was sent to the scene from Hibbing, which reportedly caught fire after being taken off its trailer, and itself had to be extinguished.³⁴ Finally, additional fire units were summoned from surrounding areas.³⁵ The Fayal Township Fire Department Chief, Steve Shykes, who was in command of the site, reported at 5:56 PM that the “fire is out at [the] site.”³⁶ The Medical Examiner, by now on-scene, concluded that the heat in the still-smoldering debris would preclude any removal of the remains of the occupants of the aircraft until the next day.³⁷

One would think that this seven-and-a-half-hour fire deserved investigation. Photographs released by the NTSB show that the fuselage was reduced to ashes, and all that remained of the seats were disconnected frames.³⁸ The victims were only discovered as a by-product of the search through the ashes for the Cockpit Voice Recorder,³⁹ and were only identified by the Medical Examiner through dental records.⁴⁰ In turn, the search for the Cockpit Voice Recorder lasted a day, until it was discovered that the plane had none.⁴¹ One might think that the owners of the plane should have informed the NTSB of this fact before the fire was even extinguished.

Given such a suspicious fire, it might be completely appropriate that the FBI be called in to assist in the investigation of the crash site. Unfortunately, the NTSB leaves us in the dark as to how this came to pass. The NTSB has sole jurisdiction over aircraft investigations, unless the U.S. Attorney General declares the crash a crime scene⁴²—which he never did. However, the first member of the NTSB didn’t arrive from Chicago until around 5:30 PM,⁴³ and the NTSB “Go Team” dispatched from Washington, D.C. didn’t arrive until around 8:20 PM⁴⁴ to 8:45 PM.⁴⁵ No one appears to have contacted the FBI, yet by 6:35 PM CBS would report on its website that FBI spokesman Paul McCabe said there was “no

indication the crash was related to terrorism”—a remarkable conclusion, given that the fire had just been extinguished, and that there would even turn out to be a link between the co-pilot and an alleged terrorist.⁴⁶

According to Rick Wahlberg, Sheriff of St. Louis County, in which the crash occurred, a team of FBI agents appeared at the crash site around noon.⁴⁷ Gary Ulman confirmed that the FBI had been on the scene absolutely no later than 1:00 PM.⁴⁸ The NTSB’s lead investigator, Frank Hilldrup, stated that the first FBI agent arrived on the scene at 12:30 PM.⁴⁹ When questions began to be raised by Mike Ruppert of www.fromthewilderness.com and Christopher Bollyn of www.americanfreepress.net as to how FBI agents arrived on the scene so rapidly, McCabe insisted that logs were not kept of arrival times.⁵⁰

Lt. Tim Harken of the St. Louis County Sheriff’s Department, who had promised to retrieve his files and look up the logged arrival times of personnel at the crash site, failed to take or return any further calls.⁵¹ The Duluth FBI field office insisted that the agents came up from the Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul)—but this would imply that they departed before Wellstone’s plane even left the tarmac at St. Paul.⁵² A 911 computer dispatch transcript⁵³ states that, by Sunday morning, the federal personnel at the scene consisted of 8 FBI agents (mainly from Minneapolis), 8 NTSB investigators, 3 FAA investigators, and a member of the U.S. Federal Police Capitol Dignitary Protection Division.⁵⁴



Another aerial view of the crash site, taken from slightly further away. The NTSB never explained why the pilots turned the plane south - away from the airport - in the last seconds of the fatal flight. This photo suggests that they chose this grove of less-sturdy trees to soften their crash landing. The NTSB found that the plane descended through the trees with wings level, but at a steep angle of 26 degrees.

We can only wonder what the FBI found at the crash site: neither the Final Report, nor the thousands of pages of documents released by the NTSB, even acknowledge their presence at the scene. When asked by author Don “Four Arrows” Jacobs why the FBI was not listed as party to the investigation in the Final Report, the NTSB’s Hilldrup simply stated that “they were not a party to the investigation”.⁵⁵ When further asked what they were doing on the scene for many hours before the arrival of the NTSB, Hilldrup (who only took over on Monday) speculated that “maybe they were responding to the—you know—the conspiracy theories.”

When it was further pointed out to him that there could hardly have been any conspiracy theories operating before the crash was even known to the general public (first reports emerged

around 1:30 PM), he then suggested that they may have been there to “identify bodies.” But we know that the bodies weren’t even retrieved until the next day—and in any case were identified by the Medical Examiner, using dental records. Hilldrup then insisted that he knew that everything was “above board.” Finally, he was asked why there was no public hearing held for this incident. His response? “We only have hearings for high-profile cases.”⁵⁶

We do know that, by 1:45 PM, the command center at the crash site requested that Duluth ATCT or the FAA declare the area a no-fly zone.⁵⁷ This was at a time when only local emergency personnel, and the FBI, were on site; the NTSB was still many hours away. Two minutes later, a canine unit was reported “in service” at the scene.⁵⁸ Duluth ATCT reported back at 3:56 PM that the no-fly zone had been put in place.⁵⁹

By 11:00 AM the next morning, EVM airport reported that a plane had violated the no-fly zone, and that names and addresses would be obtained from the violators.⁶⁰ Later in that hour, Channel 4 News asked Princeton Flight Service if the no-fly zone could be removed, but the command center at the crash site promptly insisted that it be maintained, for at least another day.⁶¹ At 2:17 PM the Police 911 computer dispatch records a vehicle “taking pictures of the communications trailer.”⁶² By Sunday morning, KSTP Channel 5 was again requesting the lifting of the restrictions, which was again denied.⁶³ Curiously, however, the NTSB would later release photographs and videotape taken, on their request, from a Minnesota State Patrol helicopter, and dated Saturday, October 26.⁶⁴

The NTSB leaves us in the dark as to why the pilots never issued any radio distress calls, either on the EVM airport communication frequency, the Duluth ATCT frequency, or any emergency frequency. We are to believe that the plane emerged from the clouds, miles off-course from its correct final approach to the airport, and simply continued to descend into the forest. The Final Report does not draw attention to the fact that, four miles out from the airport and about 850 feet above the ground, the plane dropped off Duluth ATCT radar⁶⁵—not unexpectedly for the air traffic controller, because radar coverage from Duluth is unreliable below 1100 feet above the ground.⁶⁶

The remaining radar data shown in the report comes solely from the U.S. Air Force 84th Radar Evaluation Squadron; there is no FAA corroboration of the final minutes of the flight.⁶⁷ Coincidentally, it is at this very time that the aircraft appears to halt its descent and level off, at an incorrect altitude for final approach.⁶⁸ At the same time, it suffers a massive loss of airspeed.⁶⁹ The NTSB “smooth out” the USAF air speed data in the last two radar returns, giving the impression of a more gradual approach to a stall speed; the raw data, in contrast, indicates a more rapid loss of power.⁷⁰

The NTSB obtained statements from at least three witnesses that the engines of the Senator’s plane went quiet just before the plane crashed,⁷¹ and one witness who said the engines “quit suddenly” and went “completely quiet” when the plane was at least five miles from the airport.⁷² However, the NTSB does not explain the ramifications of these observations. The plane was equipped with “constant speed” propellers,⁷³ which automatically adjust the angle that they cut through the air, to allow the turbine engine to continue turning at a constant, optimal RPM (like a gearbox in a car, but able to continually “shift gears” to keep the engine at its best RPM).⁷⁴ The witnesses were surprised to hear the engines almost cut off, because they were accustomed to hearing planes landing at EVM airport, for which the engines keep the same

RPM, and the sound slowly fades as they travel into the distance. The reported behavior of the engines of the Senator’s plane indicates a serious failure of some aspect of the engine/propeller system.

Indeed, the NTSB’s “Powerplants Group” investigated the engines, and particularly the propellers, in minute detail.⁷⁵ Hartzell Propeller, Inc., is listed in the Final Report as a party to the NTSB’s investigation.⁷⁶ (Pratt and Whitney Canada, who manufactured the engines, were not a party to the investigation, but provided a technical advisor.)⁷⁷ The Powerplants Group found evidence of normal engine operation at the time of the crash, and the final positions of the pistons controlling the propellers to be at “flight idle” position;⁷⁸ these facts were reported in the Final Report.⁷⁹ No mention, however, was made of the witness reports of the change in engine RPM, nor of the fact that the propeller piston mechanisms revealed ten different markings indicative of being *below* idle position as the plane descended through the trees, which would give the plane almost no forward thrust.⁸⁰ No analysis or explanation of these phenomena was offered in any NTSB documents released to the public.



Another view of the remains of the wreckage, which fared much worse than the trees surrounding it. The NTSB claimed that the FBI was not a party to the investigation, but FBI agents were the first on the scene, and dominated the investigation of the site in the following days.

There were reports of strange electromagnetic phenomena in the vicinity of EVM airport around the time of the crash. John Ongaro, a Duluth businessman who was driving to the same funeral that Wellstone was to have attended, and who happened to be driving near the airport just before the time of the crash, reported a strange cellphone call which consisted of screeching, oscillating sounds.⁸¹ Phone records later placed the time of the call at 10:18 AM, just two minutes before the plane dropped off FAA radar and began to lose airspeed. Garage doors are reported to have opened by themselves.⁸² One of the NTSB’s meteorologists commented on a pocket that appeared on weather satellite radar around Eveleth at the time of the accident, which indicated water-laden clouds, in contrast to the ice-laden clouds in surrounding areas, and stated that such abrupt changes in time and space do not usually occur.⁸³

Electromagnetic weaponry is highly advanced⁸⁴ and would explain the loss of communications through the frying of electronics in the radios; but many of the systems on the Senator’s plane were actuated through mechanical linkages: this was a twin-turboprop plane built in 1979, not a computer-cockpit jumbo jet. Even the constant-speed propeller governor system was hydraulically-

cally and mechanically actuated.⁸⁵ However, each propeller governor contained two solenoids (electrical switches) for both testing the unit and protecting against overspeed, with wires running to switches in the cockpit.⁸⁶ An electrical fire in the cockpit that caused some or all of these solenoids to activate would have catastrophic effects and could cause the engines to almost shut down, as described by witnesses. This is, of course, but one possibility. The NTSB chose not to investigate any.

The NTSB's investigators spent substantial time and effort looking into the backgrounds of the pilots, interviewing many people, and uncovered a great number of intriguing leads. However, these were dealt with differently, depending on their nature. Any information that tended to indicate that the pilots were in any way incompetent or dishonest—in even the slightest way—was seized upon, expanded on, and witnesses frequently re-questioned. Much of this information found its way into the Final Report. For example, the Captain, Richard Conry, was alleged to have maintained two sets of logbooks in the mid-1980s. Although the total flying hours reported in the two books is essentially the same, the existence of two books is elaborated to the point of warranting a full page of text in the Final Report, plus one of only four graphs presented in the entire Report.⁸⁷

In fact, the NTSB's own documents reveal that the second logbook was a different type, color, and size to Conry's other logbooks, was found in a different part of Conry's house (the basement rather than the attic), was in fact discovered by another Aviation Charter pilot (rather than Conry's widow), and that Conry's widow stated that she had never seen it before.⁸⁸

Conry was also alleged to have lied about his eyesight to the FAA.⁸⁹ Examination of the documents reveals that he failed to check a box on some paperwork, due to his attending a new doctor that didn't allow him to review his previous paperwork when filling it out, as he was used to doing. He himself alerted the FAA to his mistake the very next day, after returning home to Minnesota and consulting his previous records.⁹⁰

A number of incidents exemplifying poor piloting by Conry were alleged by a number of co-pilots, none of which was ever reported to any member of Aviation Charter's management.⁹¹ Nevertheless, a number of these incidents made it through to the Final Report.⁹² In contrast, witness after witness described Conry as the most meticulous, careful, cautious, "by-the-book" pilot they had ever known.⁹³ Senator Wellstone, who was a nervous flyer, insisted that either one other pilot or Conry be the Captain for his flights.⁹⁴ Conry had flown him at least a dozen times,⁹⁵ the most recently three days before the fatal flight.⁹⁶ The day after, just two days before the crash, he had passed his regular FAA flight check, flawlessly.⁹⁷

The co-pilot, Michael Guess, had trained to be a ground instructor for Northwest Airlines. The NTSB focuses on the fact that he essentially "flunked out" of this course, being unable to master quickly enough the advanced computer systems necessary to teach pilots how to fly the A320 Airbus.⁹⁸ However, he participated in the flight-training lessons in an A320 simulator, and passed that section of the course.⁹⁹ Flying a King Air twin turbo-prop plane is far removed from the complexities of an Airbus. The witness reports indicate that he was a competent young co-pilot, building his experience and flight hours.¹⁰⁰

Aspects of the backgrounds of Conry and Guess that led in the slightest way in more sinister directions were downplayed by the NTSB. For example, Conry's construction business hit troubles in

the late 1980s, and several subcontractors sued for lack of payment.¹⁰¹ Damages were awarded against him. After losing his counterclaims and appeal to the verdict of the civil trial, Conry stood trial on criminal charges for mail fraud.¹⁰² One NTSB witness stated that this related to his non-payment of damages from the civil trial.¹⁰³ Conry was convicted, and served 17 months in Yankton Federal Prison Camp. However, the NTSB did not provide any description elaborating on his criminal conviction, and its Final Report does not refer to the prior civil court judgment.¹⁰⁴



Another view of the crash site, with both FBI and NTSB personnel on the scene.

There is considerable confusion and intrigue surrounding the departure of the fatal flight itself. The Flight Service specialists who fielded two calls that morning, allegedly from Conry, failed to recognize his voice, and stated that the second caller—who filed the ultimate flight plan—sounded distant, unemotional, stressed and apprehensive.¹⁰⁵ Both operators were surprised that he did not know the identification code for EVM, nor the direction of EVM from St. Paul.¹⁰⁶ Calls on the morning of the accident to members of the Senator's staff, the co-pilot, and Aviation Charter give conflicting accounts of whether the flight would be delayed or canceled.¹⁰⁷ The NTSB was unable to resolve these discrepancies. If the possibility that someone may have been impersonating Conry was ever considered, it was never discussed in the documents released to the public.

Michael Guess was recruited into aviation by the Tuskegee Airmen.¹⁰⁸ In his home state of Minnesota, his aunt secured help from Dexter Clarke, who provided a program assisting African Americans into careers in aviation.¹⁰⁹ Guess paid Clarke to provide training and allow him to be a co-pilot, including on revenue flights, for which Guess was not remunerated. Clarke happened to fly into St. Paul the morning of the crash, and Conry sought weather advice from him, asking him to repeat the information for the Senator.¹¹⁰

Guess's mother stated that he was in the Air National Guard in Duluth, and received a letter after Northwest did not allow him to attend drill duties. At the time of the NTSB's investigations, she had a lawyer investigating the incident in order to "clear his name."¹¹¹ However, we know little else of his connections with the military; the NTSB did not pursue the question. After flunking out of Northwest Airlines' ground instructor training program, Guess returned to the front-desk job that he had been previously performing at Northwest. By this time, however, the position had been transferred to Pan Am.¹¹²

There Guess met Zacharias Moussaoui, an accused 9/11 terrorist co-conspirator. Guess reportedly “inadvertently” left a disk for a 747 jumbo jet simulator at a workstation, which was later found copied onto Moussaoui’s laptop computer.¹¹³ At Aviation Charter, Guess had told colleagues that he was “at least a role player” in the detection of Moussaoui—that he and a receptionist thought that what Moussaoui was requesting was unusual, and that he had raised the issue with others.¹¹⁴ Sure to the trend, the NTSB did not mention Guess’s connection to Moussaoui at all, and even went as far as suppressing the name of Pan Am from its Final Report, referring to it as “another company located at the same training facility.”¹¹⁵

The NTSB’s own documents are replete with such examples of inconsistency, of promising leads puzzlingly allowed to go cold. There is little serious analysis of what actually occurred on October 25, 2002, and no consideration at all of the possibility that foul play might have been involved. The FBI clearly believed otherwise, expending considerable resources on this supposedly non-existent case. What they learned, alas, has yet to be revealed to the American public.

Paul Wellstone deserves better. Nothing less than a full re-opening of the investigation is tolerable, if we are to pretend to retain any semblance of justice in the United States.

Jim Fetzer, McKnight University Professor at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, is a former Marine Corps officer. The author of more than 20 books in the philosophy of science and on the theoretical foundations of computer science, artificial intelligence, and cognitive science, he has edited three books on the assassination of JFK as well as co-authored a book on the death of Senator Paul Wellstone.

John Costella graduated top of his class in Honors degrees in both Electrical Engineering and Science, and has a Ph.D. in Theoretical Physics, specializing in electromagnetism. His contributions to the JFK assassination have established scientifically that the Zapruder home movie of the assassination is an inauthentic fabrication. He teaches Math at The Peninsula School, in Melbourne, Australia.

¹ National Transportation Safety Board, *Loss of Control and Impact With Terrain, Aviation Charter, Inc., Raytheon (Beechcraft) King Air A100, N41BE, Eveleth, Minnesota, Oct. 25, 2002*, Aircraft Accident Report NTSB/AAR-03/03, PB2003-910403, Notation 7602, Adopted Nov. 18, 2003. Available from ntsb.gov. Hereinafter referred to as the “Final Report.”

² NTSB Public Docket 34064, Accident ID DCA03MA008, available on CD-ROM by request from the NTSB’s Public Inquiries Branch, (202) 314-6551. Hereinafter referred to as “Public Docket.”

³ Final Report, Sec. 3.2, “Probable Cause.”

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sec. 3.1, “Findings.”

⁵ *Ibid.*, Finding 10.

⁶ Public Docket: Meteorology Factual Report, Jan. 15, 2003; and particularly Addendum 1 to the Meteorology Factual Report, Feb. 6, 2003.

⁷ Public Docket: Meteorology Factual Report, pp. 15-16 and p. 40;

⁸ Public Docket: Air Traffic Control Group Chairman’s Factual Report of Investigation, Feb. 4, 2003, p. 9.

⁹ Public Docket: Attachment 1 to Air Traffic Control Factual Report, transcript of Princeton AFSS Preflight 11 position, Jan. 23, 2003, p. 6 of faxed document (attachment is unnumbered).

¹⁰ Public Docket: Attachment 2 to Air Traffic Control Factual Report, transcript of ATCT South Radar position, Jan. 31, 2003, p. 5 of faxed document (attachment is unnumbered).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

¹² Final Report, Sec. 3.1, Finding 12.

¹³ See, for example, John W. Fountain, “Crash Investigators Reconstruct Flight of Wellstone’s Plane,” *New York Times*, Oct. 28, 2002; Tom Majeski, “Weather, landing system are suspected causes,” *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Oct. 26, 2002.

¹⁴ Public Docket: VOR Navigation System Group Chairman’s Factual Report of Investigation, Feb. 20, 2003, p. 9; VOR Navigation System Special Study, Apr. 9, 2003.

¹⁵ Public Docket: Attachment C to the VOR Navigation System Group Chairman’s Special Study.

¹⁶ Public Docket: Addendum 1 to VOR Navigation System Group Chairman’s Special Study, Nov. 10, 2003.

¹⁷ Final Report, Sec. 3.1, Findings 14 and 15.

¹⁸ Public Docket: Operational Factors Group Chairman’s Factual Report, Feb. 20, 2003, p. 17.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Finding 16.

²⁰ Public Docket: Operational Factors Group Chairman’s Factual Report, Feb. 20, 2003, p. 21.

²¹ Public Docket: Attachment 6 to the Human Performance Specialist’s Factual Report; Attachment 1 to the Human Performance Specialist’s Factual Report, p. 21.

²² Final Report, Sec. 3.1, Finding 17.

²³ All times listed in this article are local time, Central Daylight Time (CDT). Many times quoted in the NTSB’s Factual Reports and supporting documents are in “Zulu” time, namely, Greenwich Mean Time (GMT), also called Coordinated Universal Time (UTC). To convert from “Zulu” time to CDT, subtract five hours.

²⁴ Paul McEnroe et al., “Senator dies in crash,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, Oct. 26, 2002.

²⁵ Public Docket: Attachment 1-2 to the Operational Factors

²⁶ The NTSB interviewed at least four witnesses who heard or saw a low-flying plane that could not have been the Senator’s, based on their published flight path; see Public Docket: Survival Factors / Witness Specialist’s Factual Report, and particularly the map on p. 1 of Attachment 5 to the Airplane Performance Study. This corroborates Ulman’s statement to the press that he initially ignored the smoke. However, the NTSB interview summary with Ulman has him flying immediately to the smoke, which contradicts both Ulman himself and the witnesses. See Public Docket: Attachment 1-2 to the Operational Factors Group Chairman’s Factual Report.

²⁷ Paul McEnroe et al., “Senator dies in crash,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, Oct. 26, 2002.

²⁸ Public Docket: Survival Factors / Witness Specialist’s Factual Report, Feb. 13, 2003, p. 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³² Public Docket: Attachment 3 to the Survival Factors / Witness Specialist's Factual Report, p. 1.

³³ Public Docket: Survival Factors / Witness Specialist's Factual Report, Feb. 13, 2003, p. 12.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁸ Public Docket: Attachment 1 to the Survival Factors / Witness Specialist's Factual Report.

³⁹ Public Docket: Airplane Performance Group: Crash Site Factual Report, Feb. 3, 2003, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Public Docket: Attachment 3 to the Survival Factors / Witness Specialist's Factual Report, pp. 10-11.

⁴¹ Public Docket: Airplane Performance Group: Crash Site Factual Report, Feb. 3, 2003, p. 2.

⁴² ntsb.gov/Abt_NTSB/invest.htm.

⁴³ Public Docket: Attachment 3 to the Survival Factors / Witness Specialist's Factual Report, p. 2

⁴⁴ See, for example, Paul McEnroe et al., "Senator dies in crash," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, Oct. 26, 2002.

⁴⁵ Final Report, p. 63.

⁴⁶ See discussion of Zacharias Moussaoui, below.

⁴⁷ Don "Four Arrows" Jacobs and James H. Fetzer, *American Assassination: The Strange Death of Senator Paul Wellstone* (New York: Vox Pop, 2004), p. 11. (Hereinafter referred to as "American Assassination.")

⁴⁸ *American Assassination*, p. 12.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 82-85.

⁵³ Public Docket: Attachment 3 to the Survival Factors / Witness Specialist's Factual Report, p. 11.

⁵⁴ A curious feature of the 911 dispatch transcript is the censoring (blacking out) of a solid block of 30 lines of the Police record after 11:22 AM on Saturday, Oct. 26: *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *American Assassination*, p. 14.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Public Docket: Attachment 3 to the Survival Factors / Witness Specialist's Factual Report, p. 2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁴ Public Docket: State Police Helicopter Photos cover page, Taken Oct. 26, 2002 At the Request Of The Airplane Performance Group Chairman, and Photos #1, #2, #3, and #4, filed Aug. 23, 2003.

⁶⁵ Public Docket: Air Traffic Control Group Chairman's Factual Report of Investigation, Feb. 4, 2003, p. 5, supported by Attachment 9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Public Docket: Attachment 1 to Airplane Performance Study, Mar. 24, 2003.

⁶⁸ The NTSB asked Aviation Charter's Chief Pilot, Alan Hoffert, for an explanation for this behavior. He could offer no explanation. See Public Docket: Attachment 1-39 to the Operational Factors Group Chairman's Factual Report, p. 174.

⁶⁹ Public Docket: Attachment 1 to Airplane Performance Study, Mar. 24, 2003.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Public Docket: Airplane Performance Group: Crash Site Factual Report, Feb. 3, 2003, pp. 5-8, Witnesses #1, #3, and #4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Witness #7.

⁷³ Public Docket: Powerplants Group Chairman's Factual Report, Feb. 19, 2003, p. 3.

⁷⁴ See, for example, airmasterpropellers.com/wa.asp?idWebPage=3637 for a simple introduction to constant-speed propellers.

⁷⁵ Public Docket: Powerplants Group Chairman's Factual Report, Feb. 19, 2003.

⁷⁶ Final Report, p. 63.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Public Docket: Powerplants Group Chairman's Factual Report, Feb. 19, 2003, pp. 6 and 9.

⁷⁹ Final Report, p. 26.

⁸⁰ Public Docket: Powerplants Group Chairman's Factual Report, Feb. 19, 2003, pp. 6-10.

⁸¹ *American Assassination*, pp. 47-50.

⁸² Private communications to Jim Fetzer.

⁸³ Public Docket: Meteorology Factual Report, Jan. 15, 2003, p. 39.

⁸⁴ Abstracts of *unclassified* reports of electromagnetic and other directed-energy weapons are listed in *American Assassination*, pp. 135-6, and include reports from the Department of Defense (1994), the Scientific Advisory Board of the U.S. Air Force (1995), the National Air Intelligence Center (1996), and the Royal Australian Air Force (1993). Current capabilities, of course, remain classified. In a curious coincidence, Raytheon, the fourth-largest U.S. defense contractor, now owns a number of patents for devastating electromagnetic weapons developed in the 1980s. It also owns Beechcraft, which manufactured the Senator's plane.

⁸⁵ Public Docket: Powerplants Group Chairman's Factual Report, Feb. 19, 2003, p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸⁷ Final Report, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁸ Public Docket: Attachment 1 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report, pp. 27-28.

⁸⁹ Public Docket: Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report, Feb. 20, 2003, pp. 8-10.

⁹⁰ Public Docket: Attachment 13 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report, pp. 1-2. Ironically, the doctor raising the charge of "falsification" refers to the required waiver certificate as a "wavier [sic]" 26 times, demonstrating himself how easy it is to make minor errors in paperwork.

⁹¹ Public Docket: Errata 1 to the Operations Group Chairman's Factual Report, Mar. 4, 2003.

⁹² Final Report, pp. 8-10.

⁹³ To avoid selective bias, one must read all of the 253 pages of summaries of witness interviews released by the NTSB. See Public Docket: Attachment 13 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report, and Attachments 1-1 through 1-47 to the Operational Factors Group Chairman's Factual Report.

⁹⁴ Public Docket: Attachments 1-27 to the Operational Factors Group Chairman's Factual Report, p. 123.

⁹⁵ Final Report, p. 10.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹⁹ Public Docket: Attachment 1 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report, pp. 40-41.

¹⁰⁰ Again, the complete set of witness interview summaries should be considered; see above references.

¹⁰¹ Public Docket: Attachment 23 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report.

¹⁰² Public Docket: Attachment 24 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report.

¹⁰³ Public Docket: Attachment 1 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Final Report, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Public Docket: Air Traffic Control Group Chairman's Factual Report, p. 9-11.

¹⁰⁶ This is particularly strange, given that 55-year-old Conry had lived in Minnesota for most of his life, had been flying since he had first gone up as a young boy with his father, and owned a PC-based flight simulator on which he and his co-pilots would practice takeoffs and landings on the weekends.

¹⁰⁷ References to these discrepancies run throughout the NTSB's documents, and an explicit list of citations would be excessive.

¹⁰⁸ Public Docket: Attachment 1 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report, p. 44.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4. (See also Final Report, p. 3.)

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

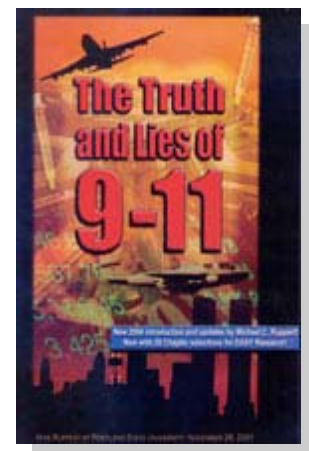
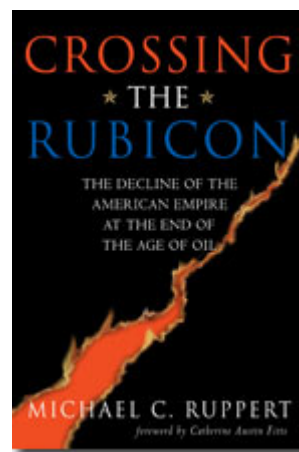
¹¹² Public Docket: Attachment 1 to the Human Performance Specialist's Factual Report, p. 35.

¹¹³ Christopher Bollyn, "Wellstone and 911: The Uncanny Connections," The American Free Press, Dec. 2, 2003; thetruthseeker.co.uk/article.asp?ID=271.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Final Report, p. 14.

The Quintessential Ruppert Package



**"Crossing The Rubicon:
The Decline of the
American Empire
at the End of the Age of Oil"**

Book (\$15.99)

-- AND --

"The Truth and Lies of 9-11"

DVD (\$24.95)

Yours for only \$32.95 (+s&h)

That's a savings of over 20% !!!

Please go to:

**<http://www.fromthewilderness.com>
to take advantage of this special offer!**

[American International Group is the latest in a series of large-scale enterprises whose fraudulent accounting practices have recently seen the light of day. AIG is a very big fish, not only because of the quantities of money involved but because of long-standing connections to US intelligence. This is deep stuff, reaching back to the Vietnam War, the [Philippines](#), and the post-1989 looting of Russia. Chin provides abundant sources and links - a timely exposé. - JAH]

Target: AIG Fraud probe of Maurice "Hank" Greenberg intensifies

By
Larry Chin

July 1, 2005 1300 PST (FTW) [American International Group's Maurice "Hank" Greenberg](#) is now the target of multiple investigations into the orchestration of sham transactions, the inflation of reserves, illegal stock trades, deception, and book-cooking.

In an [April television interview](#), New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer declared that his office had "powerful evidence" that AIG was "a black box run with an iron fist by a CEO who did not tell the public the truth". In May, Spitzer filed [civil fraud](#) charges against Greenberg, in a probe that has ensnared another Wall Street god, Berkshire Hathaway's [Warren Buffett](#). Buffett cooperated with the investigation as a witness (not a target). On June 9, 2005, two executives at General Re (a Berkshire Hathaway unit) [pleaded guilty](#) to conspiring to file false financial information. Spitzer is also pursuing Hank Greenberg's son, Jeffrey, in a separate investigation of bid-rigging at Marsh & McLennan (a top [Bush campaign contributor](#)). Jeffrey Greenberg quit as Marsh & McLennan's CEO in October 2004.

[Super-elite](#) Hank Greenberg - a legendary member of world planning groups (Council on Foreign Relations, the Bilderberger Group, the Trilateral Commission) and the Heritage Foundation, a former candidate for CIA director (1995), Bush family crony, and high-level functionary for all US presidents stretching back to Kennedy - remains supremely confident, and defiant. His net worth is still at least \$3 billion. Greenberg has transferred hundreds of shares of stock [to his wife and Greenberg family trusts](#). Greenberg is being defended by the high-powered attorney [David Boies](#) (of Bush v. Gore fame).

Many long-time [critics of AIG](#) are justifiably skeptical that the Spitzer case is anything more than another limited hangout - a "whiter shade of Enron" - that will permit Greenberg to skate. Although recent activity leaves the prospect of criminal charges open, Spitzer "reassured" Wall Street that criminal charges are not likely.

Besides questions about how aggressively Spitzer will pursue the evidence, there are [conflicts involving Spitzer himself](#). According to the *New York Post*, Spitzer received \$18,500 in campaign contributions from 16 attorneys from Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, where Spitzer once worked as an associate - and which currently represents AIG.

Where the real bodies are hidden

Although Greenberg resigned as CEO and chairman of the AIG

board, Greenberg still manages Starr International (SICO) and C.V. Starr. SICO and C.V. Starr (which was already [under fire](#) for millions in diverted commissions and questionable executive pay) are AIG private holding companies that control billions in AIG stock. More importantly, the Starr companies constitute the conglomerate's original roots as an *intelligence-related proprietary founded by OSS agent Cornelius Vander Starr*.

In other words, Greenberg remains in charge of the (real) "baby."

C.V. Starr's involvements in US covert operations and Southeast Asian opium trafficking going back to World War II, and connections to legendary CIA/OSS figures (Paul Helliwell, Tommy Corcoran), and infamous CIA fronts (Civil Air Transport, Sea Supply, Air America/Pacific Corp) are exposed by Peter Dale Scott in his book [Drugs, Oil, and War: The United States in Afghanistan, Colombia, and Indochina](#).

Building on Scott's research, **Michael C. Ruppert's investigation "AIG" (From The Wilderness, August 14, 2001)** exhaustively deconstructed Greenberg and AIG, exposing continuing connections to covert operations, narcotrafficking, money laundering, and AIG's central role in the Wall Street/Washington power nexus. In addition to explaining how "insurance" is used in intelligence operations, Ruppert tracked down then-AIG employee Coral Talavera, the wife of Medellin Cartel co-founder Carlos Lehder. The questions raised by Ruppert regarding AIG's connection to Lehder and millions in drug money (laundered between 1987-1992) remain unanswered, and the dark realities about the conglomerate, studiously ignored.

TIME magazine's June 20, 2005 profile of the irascible Greenberg, "[Down But Not Out](#)" is written like a tribute (evidenced by the title). Still, even this breezy piece confirms how Greenberg has functioned as a career agent and strongman, deeply involved in America's most important Eastern operations for decades, for anyone with a grasp of history:

- Greenberg was routinely the first foreigner to penetrate "politically combustible countries like Romania, Iran, Vietnam, and other parts of the Far East", and usually the first to be permitted to open business offices in these countries.
- Greenberg, a "private citizen" was involved in sensitive high-level negotiations with (and occasional bullying of) Asian leaders, from the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos to China's Zhu Rongji.
- Greenberg was among the top Wall Street elite who spearheaded the "free market transformation" of Russia in the early 1990s (which ultimately [looted](#) the country). (Note: [Ruppert's FTW investigation](#) revealed that as insurance carrier for the Bank of New York, AIG was indirectly linked to the laundering of up to \$10 billion in criminal money out of Russia by the BoNY. Tip of the iceberg?)
- Greenberg is a trustee of the [Asia Society](#), founded by John D. Rockefeller III, where he sits alongside the likes of Richard Holbrooke (an AIG director), John D. Rockefeller IV, Nicholas Platt, and other members of the elite. The Asia Society plays a significant role in global geostrategy. (A just-concluded conference on the future of energy-rich [Kazakhstan](#) is further evidence of this.)

Will any probe follow the trail from the Wall Street business-as-usual swindles, into the heart of an American empire that sustains itself on destruction?

In "[Enron: Ultimate Agent of the American Empire](#)", this writer penned the following:

"In portraying Enron as a 'scandal', and as an isolated case of overheated capitalism and 'unusual political influence', the American corporate media and congressional investigators are avoiding the truth: Enron, like many multinational corporations, has functioned as an operational arm of the US government, and as a weapon of economic, political and territorial hegemony.

"In a "free market world" in which the goals of the state, corporations and the national security apparatus are indistinguishable... and government and business elites, linked by longtime ties, move seamlessly between public and private sectors, the hydra that is Enron is nightmarishly uncontroversial - and quintessentially American."

AIG and Greenberg are equally powerful examples of this same milieu.

But as noted by Michel Chossudovsky (*CovertAction Quarterly*, Fall 1996), "Global crime has become an integral part of an economic system with far-reaching social, economic and geopolitical ramifications... the international community turns a blind eye until some scandal momentarily breaks through the gilded surface." At such a level, business is crime, and crime is business. The players operate right out in the open. Their ticker symbols fill business pages, and crawl across television screens every weekday morning. Their names, photos, and backgrounds are printed in glossy annual reports.

In a totalitarian Bush World in which the judicial system is irrevocably corrupted, crimes of global magnitude occur on a daily basis (and go unpunished), and the media functions as the Empire's handmaid, what is the likelihood that "almighty" Hank Greenberg - "our man in Asia" - will get his just due? Don't hold your breath.

The Empire Strikes First: Space and World War III

By
Michael Kane

"Let's think of a world where the U.S. has "death stars" that are going over countries. Do you think other countries are going to accept that?"

-- Theresa Hitchens, vice president of the [Centre for Defense Information](#)

June 30, 2005 1000 PST (FTW) - On December 13, 2004, China and Russia announced they will be conducting their first ever joint military war games in 2005.¹ World War III is being planned and the U.S. military views space as a battleground to its strategic advantage since it is far and away the front-runner on the final frontier. Immediately after China put their first man in space, Lt.

Gen. Edward Anderson, Deputy Commander of US Northern Command, stated that it will not be long before space becomes a battleground.

The *New York Times* reports that the Bush administration plans to issue a national security directive to put forth an offensive space weapons program. There are many opinions regarding the intent, necessity, and feasibility of such a program.

Will this be an economic boondoggle like the \$100 billion wasted on the failed missile defense system? Will it trigger a new world arms race? Russian officials have already come forward with statements that speak to both of these possibilities.² The Air Force has denied that its "focus" is to put weapons in space. They claim their interest is to ensure they have access to space even though the U.S. is far and away the leader in space dominance.

But competition on the final frontier will not be tolerated.

The "counter-satellite operations" program is designed to "target an adversary's space capability by using a variety of permanent and/or reversible means to achieve five possible effects: deception, disruption, denial, degradation and destruction..."³

The Air Force wants more than access to space. They want to deny real and perceived adversaries all usable access to it. An Air Force document entitled "[The 2004 Transformation Flight Plan](#)" states:

*The ability to deny an adversary's access to space services would be essential if future adversaries choose to exploit space in the same way the United States and its allies can.*⁴

The Air Force also has plans for space-based weaponry to hit earthbound targets. India's National Newspaper *The Hindu* reports:

*The new weapons being studied range from hunter-killer satellites to orbiting weapons using lasers, radio waves, or even dense metal tubes dropped from space by a weapon known as "Rods from God" on ground targets.*⁵

The Air Force's aim is "Full Spectrum Dominance."

Full Spectrum Dominance is based upon Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's logic that whoever controls space will dominate earth. This defines the U.S. military goal as fighting war "in, from and through" space.⁶

All of this should come as no surprise to anyone who has paid attention to the policies of the Bush administration. In 2002 they removed the U.S. from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty which was specifically designed to ban the militarization of space. There is now no law or treaty preventing the U.S. from putting weapons in space barring weapons of mass destruction.⁷

This is quite a significant shift from Bill Clinton's 1996 policy designed to use satellites for defensive purposes including spy satellite support for military operations, arms control and nonproliferation pacts.⁸ However both the Bush and Clinton administrations refused to negotiate a new space treaty through the United Nations.

The current administration may have plans to place nuclear weapons in space. This would be illegal, but then so was the Iraq war. This administration has shown a tendency to disregard international law whenever and however it sees fit.

One of NASA's nuclear space programs is "[Project Prometheus](#)." Though not an offensive weapons program, the project was designed for the purpose of having a nuclear powered rocket launch into space. If such a rocket were to explode as the shuttle Columbia did, the casualties, injuries and radioactive poisoning of civilians would be catastrophic.

A nuclear powered rocket system is thought by some to be a solution for shortening the time it would take for a shuttle to reach Mars so that humans could survive the trip. Fortunately NASA's recent budget proposal cuts \$171 million in funding for Project Prometheus, but the program still has \$260 million for the time being. Now NASA says it plans to "refocus" Project Prometheus on the development of "space-qualified nuclear systems to support human and robotic missions."⁹

Sounds a lot like the original focus. Time will tell.

Bruce Gagnon, who contributed "Mars, the Moon and the Militarization of Space" to *Global Outlook's* [issue #7](#), recently wrote the following:

*For the last several years the Space Command, headquartered in Colorado Springs, held a computer simulation space war game set in the year 2017. The game pitted the "Blues" (U.S.) against the "Reds" (China). In the war game the U.S. launched a preemptive first strike attack against China using the military space plane (called Global Strike). Armed with a half-ton of precision-guided munitions the space plane would fly down from orbit and strike anywhere in the world in 45 minutes.*¹⁰

Of course, playing God will become more and more difficult as the contested energy disappears.

Michael Kane's music can be heard and purchased at: www.csupreme.com

¹ "China, Russia Will Hold First War Games," by Joe McDonald, *Associated Press*, 12/13/2004 http://www.fromthewilderness.com/free/ww3/121704_china_russia.shtml

² Russia Will Take 'Adequate Measures' if Space Militarized: Ivanov, *Agence France-Presse*, 6/02/2005 <http://www.defensenews.com/story.php?F=889997&C=america>

"A Russian reality check on space weapons," by James Oberg, *MSNBC News*, 6/03/2005 <http://msnbc.msn.com/id/8089747/>

³ <http://www.defensetech.org/archives/001384.html>

⁴ "Pentagon Exercises Focus on Space Control," by Jeremy Singer, *C4ISR*, 2/10/2005 <http://www.c4isrjournal.com/story.php?F=652108>

⁵ "Bush likely to back weapons in space," by Julian Borger, *The Hindu*, 5/20/2005 <http://www.hindu.com/2005/05/20/stories/2005052001671400.htm>

⁶ "Military Creating "Rods from God," by Sean Gonsalves, *Cape Cod Times*, 5/31/2005 <http://www.commondreams.org/views05/0531-26.htm>

⁷ "Air Force Seeks Bush's Approval for Space Weapons Programs," by Tim Weiner, *New York Times*, 5/18/2005 <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines05/0518-02.htm>

⁸ Ibid

⁹ "Prometheus, ISS Research Cuts Help Pay for Shuttle and Hubble Repair Bills," by Brian Berger, *Space.com*, 5/12/2005 http://www.space.com/news/050512_nasa_prometheus.html

¹⁰ "It's Our Destiny" Bush Seeks Military Control of Space," by Bruce Gagnon, *Counterpunch*, 6/3/2005 <http://www.counterpunch.org/gagnon06032005.html>

The "Koran Quotation Error" Meme

By
Jamey Hecht

MSNBC TV translator Jacob Keryakes, who said that a copy of the message was later posted on a secular Web site, noted that the claim of responsibility contained an error in one of the Quranic verses it cited. That suggests that the claim may be phony, he said.

"This is not something al-Qaida would do," he said.

July 11, 2005 1400 PST (FTW): **W**ithout more information about this potentially critical transcription "error" by the message's author, we can only establish that the quoted verse containing the error does indeed mean essentially the same thing as the correct verse. Sure enough, recourse to a [posted translation](#) of the message alongside a web-based searchable Koran translation shows that the error, if it exists, does not materially impair the meaning. It must be a mistake in spelling or orthography, or the use of a synonym. The apparent source of the "error" claim, MSNBC Cable TV translator Jacob Keryakes, turns out to be a signatory to an October 2004 endorsement of the Bush-Cheney ticket by "THE MIDDLE EAST-ERN AMERICAN NATIONAL CONFERENCE."¹ That organization includes notable non-Muslim and / or non-Arabic Americans from the Middle East; Mr. Keryakes is a Coptic Christian from Egypt. [Keryakes is also the key person used to translate video releases allegedly from Osama bin Laden](#),² and read those translations into the broadcast news.

The passage in question is from the Koran, the Sura [i.e., "Book"] of Muhammad, Chapter 47 verse 7. This is the (commonly used) scholarly translation by M.H. Shakir:

Muhammad [47.7] O you who believe! **if you help (the cause of) Allah, He will help you and make firm your feet.**

And this is [yesterday's rendering](#) from the Arabic, by Michigan professor [Juan Cole](#):

God, may He be exalted, said, **"If you aid God, God will aid you, and will plant your feet firmly."**

The only difference is in the English idiom. For that reason, scrutiny of Mr. Keryakes' assertion requires both access to the original Arabic web posting and a knowledge of Arabic adequate to make a comparison between that document and the verse M47.7 in a standard Arabic Koran. So I contacted Mr. Keryakes, who told me the following:

- Immediately after the posting of the claim of responsibility by "The Secret Organization of al-Qaida in Europe," readers of the posting whom Mr. Keryakes described as "Islamic radicals" posted their own responses to it (on the same Arabic-only site) alleging an error in its quotation of the Koran, and that therefore the claim was bogus.
- Those "Islamic radicals," who ought to know better, were mistaken: there is no such error. There are, however, errors in the grammar of the Modern Arabic in the body of the message.
- Other journalists, too, propagated as fact the report of an error in the Koran quotation, casting doubt on the message's authenticity.
- Although it is now well known inside the media that there is no error in the message's Koranic portion, as of 12:10 pm July 8, 2005 no news agency has issued a retraction of the report or clarified its origin.

It would seem that somebody in a position to do so has inserted into the news machine a false meme whose effect is to cast doubt on the authenticity of the only claim of responsibility for the London bombings that has emerged so far. Today at 3:54 p.m., an MSN video [report](#) from Evan Kohlmann says:

I'm not exactly sure which U.S. counterterrorism official said this is potentially credible but it's not at all. In fact this message was even dismissed by supporters of al-Qaida immediately deleted off of the Web forum that it was posted on yesterday morning. Only within minutes really of it having been posted originally.

Why was it taken offline? Because the Jihad sympathizers that run that message board determined that it was a hoax, it was illegitimate. Many such messages like that get posted on a regular basis especially since last summer when we saw a flurry of such threats potentially targeting Denmark, Britain and Italy. The same three countries that were targeted in this communiqué. None of these communiqués were legitimate. All of them were hoaxes. The same languages were used in the communiqué. The same targets. It seems this is a hoax as well. It's impossible to be certain but this did not come from a legitimate source of information about terrorist groups like saying the videos and communiqués we see from Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.

This, too, comes from the Microsoft Network, and yet there is no mention of any quotation from the Koran nor any mention of the "grammatical errors" of which Mr. Keryakes told me on the phone.

Meanwhile, the original story remains prevalent:

Islamic group claims London attack Previously unknown group says blasts in retaliation for Iraq, Afghanistan

MSNBC staff and news service reports

Updated: 1:37 p.m. ET July 7, 2005
<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/8496293/>

CAIRO, Egypt - A group calling itself "The Secret Organization of al-Qaida in Europe" posted a claim of responsibility for Thursday's blasts in London, saying they were in retaliation for Britain's involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The authenticity of the message could not be immediately confirmed.

The statement, which also threatened attacks in Italy and Denmark, was published on a Web site popular with Islamic militants, according to Elaph, a secular Arabic-language news Web site, and Der Spiegel magazine in Berlin, which published the text on their Web sites.

"Rejoice, Islamic nation. Rejoice, Arab world. The time has come for vengeance against the Zionist crusader government of Britain in response to the massacres Britain committed in Iraq and Afghanistan," said the statement, translated by The Associated Press in Cairo. The AP was unable to access the Web site where it was posted, which was closed quickly after the reports.

But MSNBC TV translator Jacob Keryakes, who said that a copy of the message was later posted on a secular Web site, noted that the claim of responsibility contained an error in one of the Quranic verses it cited. That suggests that the claim may be phony, he said.

"This is not something al-Qaida would do," he said.

The group al-Qaida in Europe claimed responsibility for the last major terror attack in Europe: a string of bombs that hit commuter trains in Madrid, Spain in March 2004, killing 191 people. Two days after that attack, a video was found in a trash can outside a Madrid mosque with a statement purported to be from the group's spokesman, called by the nickname "Abu Dujan al Afghani."

In the new statement, the group said "the heroic mujahedeen carried out a blessed attack in London, and now Britain is burning with fear and terror, from north to south, east to west."

"We warned the British government and the British people repeatedly. We have carried out our promise and carried out a military attack in Britain after great efforts by the heroic mujahedeen over a long period to ensure its success."

"We continue to warn the governments of Denmark and Italy and all crusader governments that they will receive the same punishment if they do not withdraw their troops from Iraq and Afghanistan," the statement went on.

It was signed "The Secret Organization of al-Qaida in Europe."

¹ October 27th published version of the Middle Eastern American National Conference Bush endorsement Press Release:
<http://www.aina.org/news/20041027001230.htm>

² "Arab TV airs alleged bin Laden tape." September 10, 2003 - MSNBC's Jacob Keryakes translates a portion of the Al-Jazeera tape purportedly from Osama bin Laden.
<http://www.moun.com/Articles/sep2003/9-18-10.htm>