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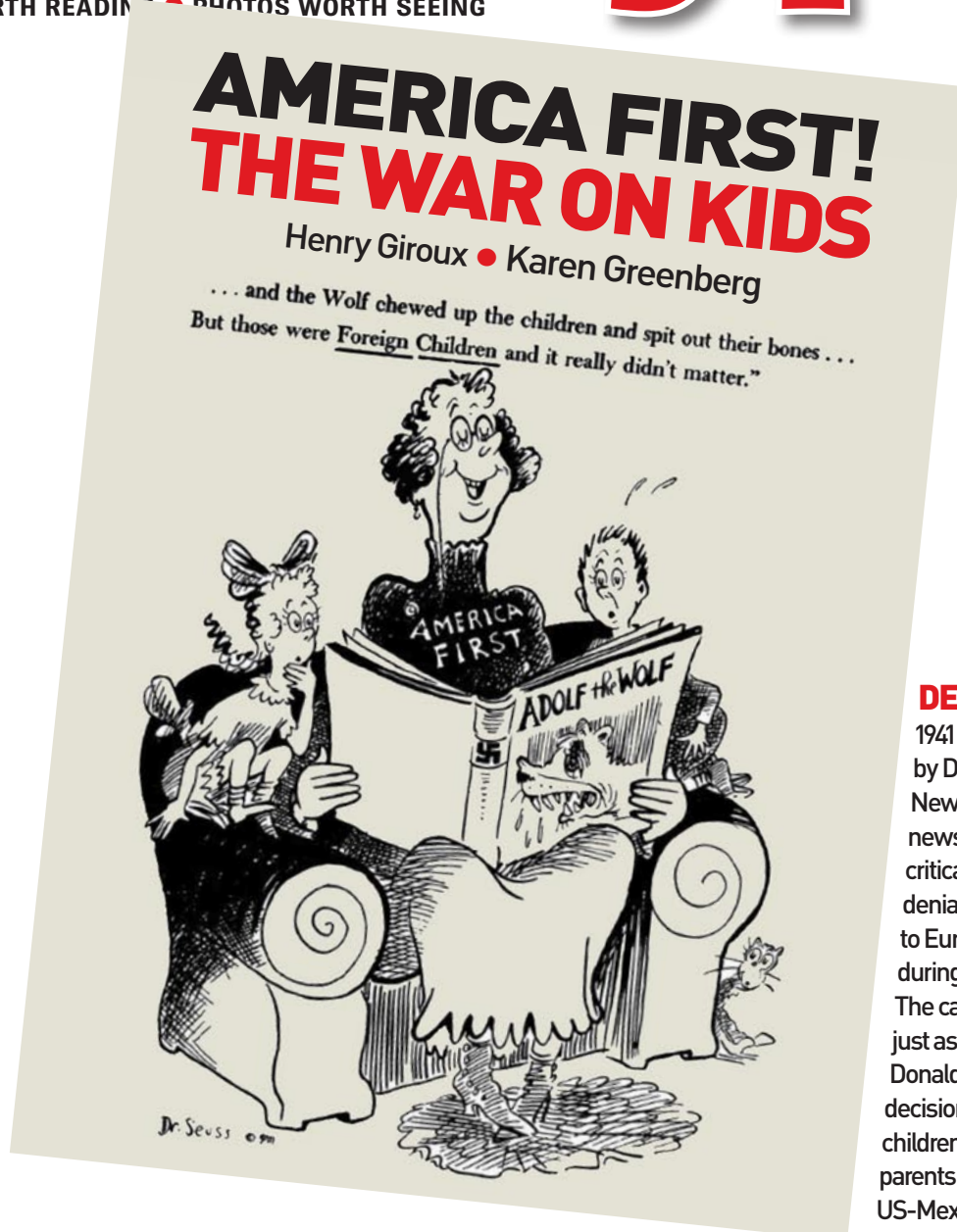
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ColdType

ISSUE 163

WRITING WORTH READING • PHOTOS WORTH SEEING

JULY 2018



DEJA VU:

1941 cartoon by Dr Seuss for New York's PM newspaper is critical of America's denial of safe haven to European Jews during World War II. The cartoon could just as easily refer to Donald Trump's recent decision to separate children from their parents at the US-Mexico border

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HENRY GIROUX

Trump's terrorism against children

The US has now entered a new era of racial hatred that exposes
all the horrors of fascism's past

STATE terrorism comes in many forms, but one of its most cruel and revolting expressions is when it is aimed at children. Even though US President Donald Trump backed down in the face of a scathing political and public outcry and ended his administration's policy of separating migrant children from their parents, make no mistake: His actions were and remain a form of terrorism.

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That he was defiant until his back was against the wall points not only to a society that has lost its moral compass, but has also descended into such darkness that it demands both the loudest forms of moral outrage and a collective resistance aimed at eliminating the narratives, power relations and values that support it.

State violence against children has a long, dark history among authoritarian regimes.

Josef Stalin's police took children from the parents he labelled as "enemies of the people". Adolf Hitler, Francisco Franco and Augusto Pinochet all separated children from their families on a large scale as a way to punish political dissidents and those parents considered disposable.

Now we can add Trump to the list of the depraved.

Amnesty International called Trump's decision to separate children from their parents and ware-

house them in cages and tents for months as a cruel policy that amounts to "nothing short of torture".

Many of the parents whose children were taken away from them entered the country legally, unwittingly exposing what resembles a state-sanctioned policy of racial cleansing. Allegations of abuse against the children while detained are emerging. And federal US officials have said despite Trump's about-face, children who have already been separated from their

parents – more than 2,000 of them – will not be reunited with them.

In any democratic society, the primary index through which a society registers its own meaning, vision and politics is measured by how it treats its children, and its commitment to the ideal that a civilised society is one that does everything it can to make the future and the world a better place for youth.



By this measure, the Trump administration has done more than fail in its commitment to children. It has abused, terrorised and scarred them. What's more, this policy was ludicrously initiated and legitimised by Attorney General Jeff Sessions, a notorious anti-immigrant advocate, with a Bible verse that was used historically by racists to justify slavery.

In the name of religion and without irony, Sessions put into play a policy that has been a hall-



Cartoon: Khalil Bendib – www.otherwords.org

mark of authoritarian regimes.

At the same time, Trump justified the policy with the notorious lie that the Democrats have to change the law for the separations to stop, when in actuality the separations are the result of a policy inaugurated by Sessions under Trump's direction.

Trump wrote on Twitter that the Democrats are breaking up families: "It is the Democrats fault for being weak and ineffective with Border Security and Crime. Tell them to start thinking about the people devastated by Crime coming from illegal immigration. Change the laws".

Yet according to the *New York Times*: "Mr. Trump was misrepresenting his own policy. There is no law that says children must be taken from their parents if they cross the border unlawfully, and previous administrations have made exceptions for those travelling with minor children when prosecuting immigrants for illegal entry. A "zero tolerance" policy created by the president in April and put into effect last month by the attorney

general, Jeff Sessions, allows no such exceptions, Mr. Trump's advisers say".

Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen actually elevated Trump's lie to a horrendous act of willful ignorance and complicity, Tweeting: "This misreporting by Members, press & advocacy groups must stop. It is irresponsible and unproductive. As I have said many times before, if you are seeking asylum for your family, there is no reason to break the law and illegally cross between ports of entry.

"We do not have a policy of separating families at the border. Period".

This is an extension of the carceral state to the most vulnerable groups, putting into play a punitive policy that signals a descent into fascism, American-style.

The *New Yorker's* Marsha Gessen got it right in comparing Trump's policies towards children to those used by Vladimir Putin in Russia, both of

which amounts to what she calls “an instrument of totalitarian terror.”

Both countries arrest children in order to send a powerful message to their enemies. In this case, Trump’s message was designed to terrorise immigrants while shoring up his base, while Putin’s message is to squelch dissent in general among the larger populace. Referring to Putin’s reign of terror, she writes: “The spectacle of children being arrested sends a stronger message than any amount of police violence against adults could do. The threat that children might be removed from their families is likely to compel parents to keep their kids at home next time – and to stay home themselves”.

Within the last few weeks, heart-wrenching reports, images and audio have emerged in which children, including infants, were forcibly separated from their parents, relocated to detention centres under-staffed by professional caretakers and housed in what some reporters have described as cages.

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The consequences of Trump’s xenophobia are agonisingly clear in reports of migrant children screaming out for their parents, babies crying incessantly, infants housed with teenagers who don’t know how to change diapers and shattered and traumatised families.

The Trump administration has detained more than 2,000 children. What’s more, the Trump administration has lost track of more than 1,500 children it first detained. In some cases, it deported parents without first uniting them with their detained children. What is equally horrifying and morally reprehensible is that previous studies, such as those done by Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham in the midst of the Second World War, indicated that children separated from their parents suffered both emotionally in the short run and were plagued by long-term separation anxieties.

It’s no wonder the American Academy of Pediatrics referred to the Trump administration’s policy of separating children from their families as one of “sweeping cruelty.”

Trump has mobilised the fascist fervour that inevitably leads to prisons, detention centres and

acts of domestic terrorism and state violence. Echoes of Nazi camps, Japanese internment prisons and the mass incarceration of Black and brown people, along with the destruction of their families, are now part of Trump’s legacy.

Trump has mobilised the fascist fervour that leads to prisons and detention centres

Shameless cruelty now marks the neoliberal fascism currently shaping American society. Trump used children as hostages in his attempt to implement his racist policy of building a wall on the US-Mexico border and to please his white supremacist base.

Trump’s racism was on full display as he dug in to defend this white supremacist policy: “Democrats are the problem. They don’t care about crime and want illegal immigrants, no matter how bad they may be, to pour into and infest our Country, like MS-13. They can’t win on their terrible policies, so they view them as potential voters!”

He likened migrants to insects or disease-carrying rodents. In the past, he has also called undocumented immigrants “animals.” This is a rhetoric with a dark past. The Nazis used similar analogies to describe Jews. This is the language of white supremacy and neo-fascism.

But let’s be clear. While the caging of children provoked a great deal of moral outrage across the ideological spectrum, the underlying logic has been largely ignored.

These tactics have a long history in the United States, and in recent years have been intensified with the collapse of the social contract, expanding inequality and the increasing criminalisation of a range of behaviours associated with immigrants, young people and those populations considered most vulnerable.

The horrible treatment of immigrant parents and children by the Trump regime signals not only a hatred of human rights, justice and democracy, it lays bare a growing fascism in the United States in which politics and power are now being used to foster disposability. White supremacists, religious fundamentalists and political extremists are now

HENRY GIROUX

in charge. It's all a logical extension of his plans to deport 300,000 immigrants and refugees, including 200,000 Salvadorans and 86,000 Hondurans, by revoking their temporary protected status. His cruelty is also evident in his rescinding of DACA for 800,000 so-called dreamers and the removal of temporary protected status for 248,000 refugees.

"Making America Great Again" and "America First" morphed into an unprecedented and unapologetic act of terrorism against immigrants. While the Obama administration also locked up the families of immigrants, it eventually scaled back the practice.

Under Trump, the savage practice accelerated and intensified. His administration refused to consider more humane practices, such as community management of asylum-seekers.

It all functions as shorthand for making America white again, and signals the unwillingness of the United States to break from its past and the ghosts of a lethal authoritarianism.

It's also more evidence of Trump's love affair with the practices of other dictators like Putin and now Kim Jong Un. And it signals a growing consolidation of power that is matched by the use of the repressive powers of the state to brutalise and threaten those who don't fit into Trump's white nationalist vision of the United States.

There is more at work here than the collapse

of humanity and ethics under the Trump regime, there is also a process of dehumanisation, racial cleansing and a convulsion of hatred toward those marked as disposable that echoes the darkest elements of fascism's tenets.

The steep path to violence and cruelty can no longer be ignored

The US has now entered into a new era of racial hatred. What has happened to the children and parents of immigrants does more than reek of cruelty, it points to a country in which matters of life and death have become unmoored from the principles of justice, compassion and democracy itself.

The horrors of fascism's past have now travelled from the history books to modern times. The steep path to violence and cruelty can no longer be ignored. The time has come for the American public, politicians, educators, social movements and others to make clear that resistance to the emerging fascism in the United States is not an option – but a dire and urgent necessity. **CT**

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Henry Giroux is Professor for Scholarship in the Public Interest in the Department of English and Cultural Studies, McMaster University, in Montreal, Canada. This article was first published at www.theconversation.com

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KAREN J GREENBERG

Guantánamo for kids on the US border

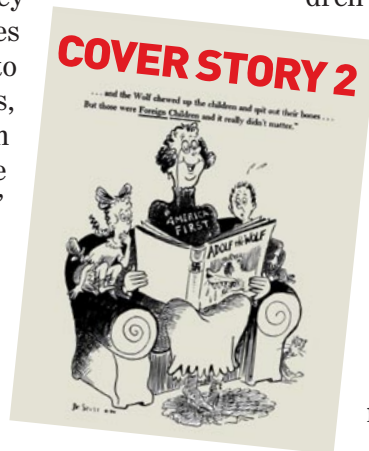
The latest nightmare from a country
whose leaders know no shame

BY the time Donald Trump threw in the towel, who among us hadn't seen or heard the chilling videos in which US border officials shamelessly grabbed uncomprehending children and toddlers from their pleading mothers and fathers? Some were told they were being taken to bathe or shower by people with little sense of the resonances of history. They were, of course, creating scenes that couldn't help but bring to mind those moments when Jews, brought to Nazi concentration camps, were told that they were being sent to take "showers," only to be murdered en masse in the gas chambers. Some of those children didn't even realise that they had missed the chance to say goodbye to their mothers or fathers. Those weeping toddlers, breast-deprived infants, and distressed teens were just the most recent signs of the Trump administration's war against decency, compassion, and justice.

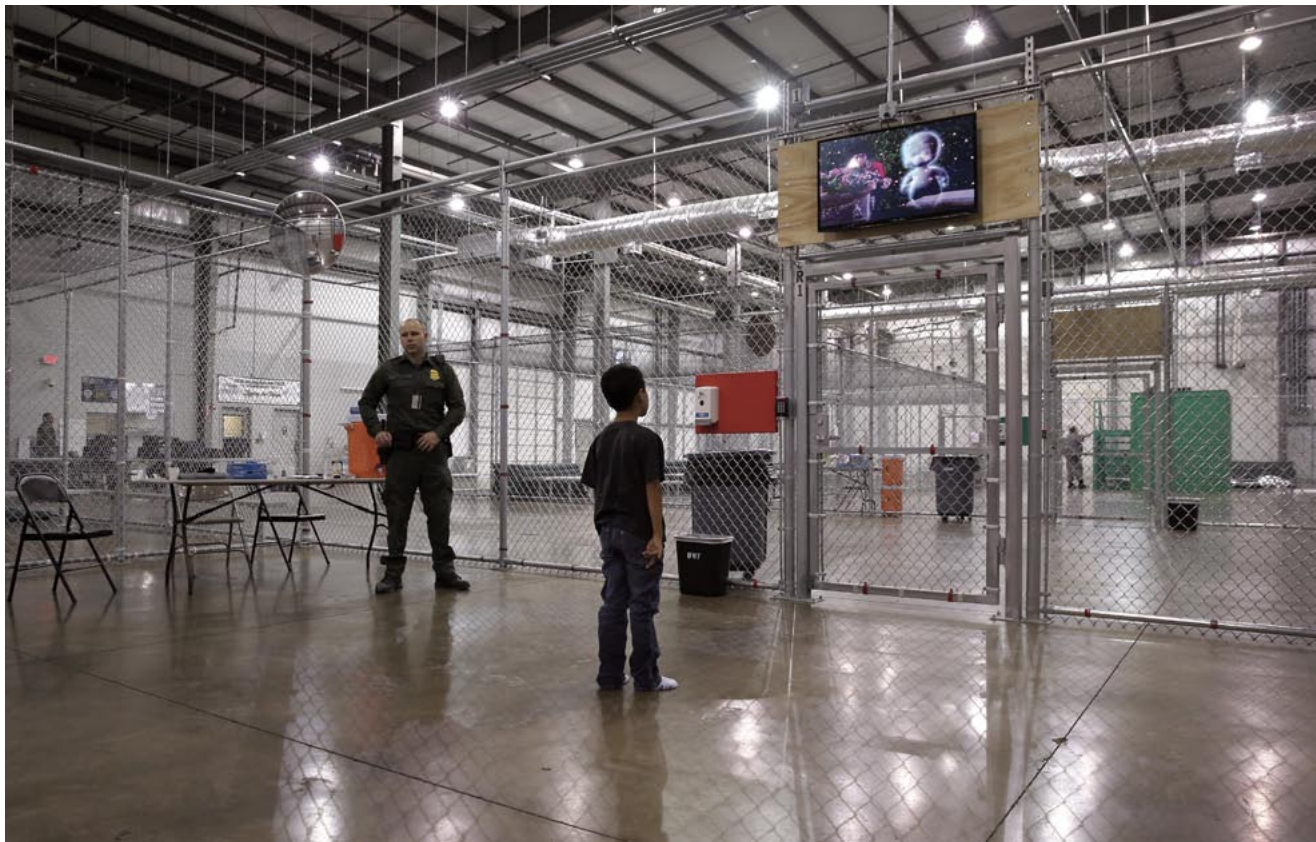
Because the victims were children, however, it was easy to ignore one reality: new as all this may have seemed, it actually wasn't. Dehumanised, traumatised, and scared, those children – their predicament – shocked many Americans who insisted, along with former First Lady Laura Bush, that this was truly un-American. As she wrote in the *Washington Post*: "Americans

pride ourselves on being a moral nation, on being the nation that sends humanitarian relief to places devastated by natural disasters or famine or war. We pride ourselves on believing that people should be seen for the content of their character, not the colour of their skin. We pride ourselves on acceptance. If we are truly that country, then it is our obligation to reunite these detained children with their parents – and to stop separating parents and children in the first place."

Her essay essentially asked one question: Who have we become? Former CIA Director Michael Hayden, tweeting out a picture of the Birkenau concentration camp over the words "Other governments have separated women and children", suggested an answer: we were planting the seeds that could make us the new Nazi Germany.



But let me assure you, much of what we saw in these last weeks with those children had its origins in policies and "laws" so much closer to home than Germany three-quarters of a century ago. If you wanted to see where their ravaging really began, you needed to look elsewhere (which, surprisingly enough, no one has) – specifically, to those who created the Guantánamo Bay Detention Facility. From its inception beyond the reach of American courts or, in any normal sense, jus-



CAGED: Honduran boy watches a movie at a detention facility in McAllen, Texas. Customs and Border Protection opened the holding centre to temporarily house children, after thousands of families and unaccompanied minors from Central America surged into the US, seeking political asylum. – Photo from *Undocumented: Immigration And The Militarization Of The United States-Mexico Border*, by John Moore, published by powerHouse Books, 2018

tice, this prison camp set the stage structurally, institutionally, and legally for what we've just been witnessing at the border.

The fingerprints of those who created and sustained that offshore island prison for war-on-terror detainees were all over that policy. Not surprisingly, White House Chief of Staff and retired General John Kelly, former head of SOUTHCOM, the US military combatant command that oversees Guantánamo, was the first official in the Trump administration to publicly float the idea of such a separation policy on the border. In March 2017, answering a question from CNN's Wolf Blitzer about the separation of children from their mothers, he said, "I would do almost anything to deter the people from Central America" from making the journey here.

Just such separations, of course, became the well-publicised essence of the Trump administration's "zero tolerance" policy at the border and, until the president's executive order, the

numbers of children affected were mounting exponentially – more than 2,000 of them in the previous six weeks, some still in diapers. (And keep in mind that there already were 11,000 migrant children in US custody at that point.)

Apprehended at the border, the children were taken to processing facilities, separated from their parents thanks to a mix of Department of Homeland Security, Department of Health and Human Services, and Department of Justice policy directives, and then locked up. From the moment they arrived at those facilities, the echoes of Guantánamo were obvious (at least for those of us who had long followed developments there over the years). First, there were the most visible signs; above all, the children being placed in wire cages that, as journalists and others who saw them attested, looked more like holding cells for animals at a zoo or dogs at a kennel than for

humans, no less children. This was, of course, exactly how the first Gitmo detainees were held back in 2002 as that prison was being built.

President Trump foreshadowed the treatment to come. “These aren’t people”, he said in May, referring to undocumented migrants crossing the border, “these are animals”. To make the children’s caged existence worse still, the lights were kept on around the clock and the children subjected to interruptions all night, recalling the sleep deprivation and constant light used as a matter of policy on detainees at Guantánamo Bay. Caregivers were not allowed to touch the children. Even shelter workers were forbidden to do so, which meant adults were not able to console them, either. And bad as any of this sounded, such conditions were but a prelude to a much deeper tale of abuse at government hands.

As at Guantánamo, those children were also being subjected to a regime of intentional abuse. The cruel and inhuman treatment began, of course, with the trauma of separation from their parents and often from their siblings as well, since children of different genders were sent to different facilities (or at least different parts of the same facility). Such policies, according to pediatrician and Columbia professor Dr. Irwin Redlener, a leading authority on public policy and children in harm’s way, amount to “child abuse by the government”. In other words, it all added up to a new form of torture, this time visited upon children.

Asking for Congress and the White House to end the policy of separation, members of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry weighed in on the harm that the trauma of forced separation can cause: “Separating these children from their families in times of stress creates unnecessary and high-risk trauma, at the very time they need care and support the most”. In addition, the “children who experience sudden separation from one or both parents, especially under frightening, unpredictable, and chaotic circumstances, are at higher risk for developing illnesses such as anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and other trauma-induced reactions”;

Name me the parent who doesn’t think that his

or her child would suffer lasting harm if separated from his or her closest attachments. Yet, in a press briefing, Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen insisted that “claiming these children and their parents are treated inhumanely is not true”. It’s worth mentioning, by the way, that the parents of the children were being tortured, too, not knowing where their children were being sent or held and when (or even if) they would ever see them again.

Perversely, administration spokespersons seemed to think a trade-off had occurred: the loss of basic human rights for at least the pretence of pleasant cosmetic props. Some of the children at least were given toys and games. Nielsen even bragged that Trump administration officials had “high standards. We give them meals, we give them education, we give them medical care. There is videos, there is TVs”.

This, too, should have been a reminder of Guantánamo logic. The more the prisoners there were deprived of in terms of legal and human rights, the more the Bush administration boasted about the creature comforts offered to them, such as movies, halal food, and even comfortable chairs (while they were being force-fed) – as if the presence of toys could counteract the wrenching separation from a parent (or a comfortable chair, force-feeding).

Beyond the physical and emotional deprivations, there were the legal ones. The stay of those children was indefinite, the defining characteristic of Gitmo. Before the Trump separation policy started, children, as minors whose parents were awaiting decisions on immigration status, could only be held by the government for 20 days. With “zero tolerance”, their saga suddenly became interminable.

Legally, like their parents, they were also reclassified. These were no longer the children of migrants or asylum seekers in immigration court, for whom there were strict policies and time limits on detention. They were now the children of alleged criminals, having essentially been rendered orphans. At Guantánamo, changing legal categories in a similar fashion – that is,

KAREN J GREENBERG

defining the prisoners' detentions as military, not criminal in nature – accomplished the same trick, avoiding the application of due process and rights for the detainees.

Which brings up yet another fundamental parallel between Gitmo's prisoners and the children's Gitmo at the border. Those being held were described in both places using the same crucial term: detainee. Guantánamo branded this word forever as beyond the bounds of normal legality because the Bush administration officials who set up that system wanted to ensure that the normal legal protections of both national and international law would not be extended to those captured and held there. Guantánamo, the government insisted, was not a prison. It was merely a "detention centre". So many years later, it still is, while those incarcerated there have often served "sentences" of a decade and more, even though only a handful of them were ever actually sentenced by a court of any sort. In 2018, that same label was taken from those accused of being battlefield enemies and slapped on the children of asylum seekers.

As with Guantánamo, lawyers who wanted to represent the parents, whose fates were to determine those of their separated children, found themselves impeded in their access to the detained adults. No one familiar with Gitmo could have missed the parallel. Lawyers seeking to provide assistance to war-on-terror detainees were kept out of Guantánamo for more than two years after it opened.

The Southern Poverty Law Center recently filed suit claiming that, at two detention centres, authorities had limited the access of those undocumented immigrants to lawyers, violating due process. To make matters worse, Attorney General Jeff Sessions's Department of Justice recently decided not to renew two programmes that offered legal aid lawyers to undocumented immigrants facing deportation. Meanwhile, that department has instituted a new policy in which pro-bono lawyers (those from NGO groups seeking to represent the detainees) now have to go through a certification process before taking them on at their own expense.

The media has been similarly restricted. Pho-

tographs of the detention "camps" for those children were left to the government alone to provide. So, too, when Guantánamo opened, visiting journalists were ordered to leave their cameras behind. These restrictions stayed in place as official policy, intensified by none other than John Kelly. (Ironically, the Pentagon itself sent out the iconic early 2002 images of kneeling, shackled, orange-jump-suited detainees.)

For 16 years now, opponents of the US detention centre on the island of Cuba have understandably warned that its remarkable disregard for the rule of law would inevitably creep into America's institutions. For the most part, their worries centred on the federal court system and the possibility that defendants there might someday lose basic rights. Now, we know that Guantánamo found a future in those detention camps on our southern border. Don't think it will be the last place that the influence of that infamous prison will pop up.

While this moment of crisis may have passed, consider this piece, at best, a requiem for a tragedy that has barely ended (if it has) – and also a warning. The legacy of Guantánamo continues to haunt our laws, our imaginations, and our way of life. It's time to do what we have failed to do for so long now: push back hard on the truly un-American policies spawned by that prison and apparent in so much else of Donald Trump's America. We need to do so now, before the way of life we once knew is largely erased. It's time to insist on the right to bring up our children in an America of compassion, law, and respect for the rights of all, not in one whose leaders are intent on robbing them – and so many other children – of their future. **CT**

*Karen J. Greenberg is the director of the Center on National Security at Fordham Law School and author of *The Least Worst Place: Guantánamo's First 100 Days*. Her latest book is *Rogue Justice: The Making of the Security State*. She will never write *The Least Worst Place: Guantánamo's Last 100 Days*. This essay first appeared at www.tomdispatch.com*

TREVOR GRUNDY

Using sport to hide inhumanity

The UK Foreign Secretary says Vladimir Putin is using the World Cup to bolster his image, just as Hitler did with the 1936 Olympic Games. However, a new book shows Hitler was in a league of his own when it came to sport and propaganda

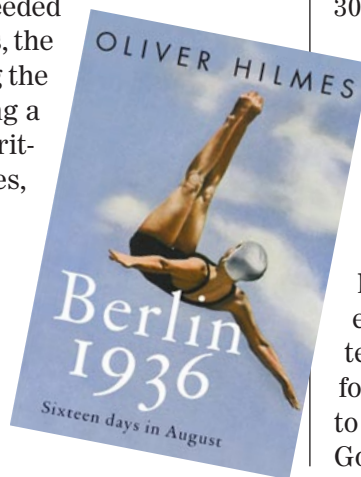
ONCE again, Britain's Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson, put his foot firmly into his mouth when, in March, he made the silly and insulting claim that President Putin was "glorying" over the World Cup being held in Russia in the same way that Hitler gloried when Germany hosted the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936.

The German Fuhrer's aim then and Putin's ambitions now were similar, said Johnson. That was to demonstrate the efficiency of their respective tyrannies while glossing over internal abuse and external aggression. Reaction in Moscow was sharp. A spokesperson for the Russian Government dismissed Theresa May's most ambitious Winston Churchill wannabe as "poisoned with hatred."

And as we all know, so far, the Russian-hosted World Cup 2018 has proceeded with few violent incidents, the most embarrassing being the release of a video showing a collection of drunken British fans doing Nazi salutes,

**BERLIN 1936:
Sixteen Days in August**

By Oliver Hilmes
Translated from the German
by Jefferson Chase
Bodley Head, £13.88



singing fascist songs and yelling anti-Jewish slogans in a Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad) pub.

Sadly "Our Boris" wasn't there to take them on and silence them.

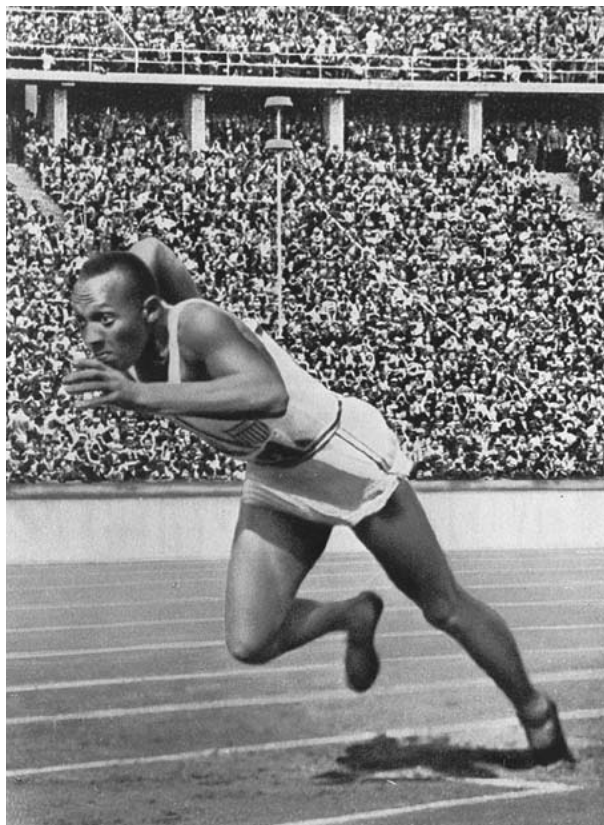
It's a pity that the British minister trying to draw parallels between two such different sporting events had not read *Berlin 1936: Sixteen Days in August* by German historian, Oliver Hilmes.

The author is not especially interested in sporting prowess. What most interests him is the way that the Berlin Games that long-ago August changed the way so many men and women of importance saw Hitler and other top Nazis.

The organisation was spectacular and coincided with the zenith of Hitler's public acceptance before the war. At the opening ceremony, almost 30,000 Hitler Youth rallied at the Lustgarten in Berlin to greet the arrival of the Olympic flame. It was the first time since the start of the Modern Olympics in 1896 that runners carried the flame from Olympia in Greece to a host nation.

Hundreds of thousands of onlookers gathered along the Via Triumphalis, the 11-km-long avenue guarded by 40,000 SA stormtroopers. When Hitler appeared in an open car, tens of thousands of Germans applauded him; for a few hours every day, he sat in a box next to Joseph Goebbels, Rudolf Hess and Hermann Goering.

TREVOR GRUNDY



Jesse Owens: On the way to four gold medals

Berlin 1936 is not a sporting enthusiast's account of the Games, although Hilmes is not short on detail if that's what you want.

Fifty two nations took part, the French and Greek teams giving Hitler the Olympic salute as they marched past his box (many watchers thought it was the Nazi salute and yelled with delight). Germany won 33 Gold medals and the US came second with 24.

Hilmes's book is basically a collection montage of vignettes from police records, diaries and newspaper cuttings. One reviewer Robbie Millen in the Times poetically said the whole thing "dances from comedy to tragedy, from the ironic to the sinister, to give a picture of darkening Germany."

One top American Olympic official said that he was not surprised Hitler didn't want Jews in German teams. Back home in Chicago, Jews weren't allowed in his club, either, he said. An-

other asked why he should be interested in the fate of Jews in Germany, considering he had not the slightest interest in what happened to Negroes in the American South.

Liberal and democracy-loving Westerners had a hard time spotting that darker side of the Third Reich. Hitler even banned the sale of Julius Streicher's weekly hate-sheet *Der Sturmer* from sale in Berlin that August. And to show how tolerant the Nazis were, a Jew – Helene Mayer – was included in the German fencing team. After she won a silver medal, she stood to attention on the podium, before throwing out her right arm towards the grim-faced Fuhrer.

The Jewish scholar, philologist and diarist Victor Klemperer wrote: "I don't know which is more shameless, the fact that she competed as a German for the Third Reich or the fact that the Third Reich laid claim to her achievements".

Non-Germans enjoyed the parties which were often all night affairs where champagne flowers like water in the Rhine. Visiting dignitaries included Robert Vansittart, the leading critic of Hitler at the Foreign Office in London, who was impressed with what he saw and what Germans told him about Hitler. Towards the end of the Games he wondered if he had misjudged the Nazi high command and wrote in a confidential report to London, "These tense, intense people are going to make us look like a C nation".

After Goebbels worked on him at dinner parties, Vansittart said, "I found much charm in him – a limping, eloquent, slip of a Jacobin, quick as a whip and often, I doubt not, as cutting".

Josef Lipski, the Polish ambassador to Germany, turned to a fellow spectator at the opening day and remarked, "We have to be on our guard against a people with such talent for organisation. They could mobilise their entire nation just as smoothly for war".

"Chips" Channon, a UK pro-appeasement Tory MP, was close to being in love with Hitler. He complained about the number of women close to the Fuhrer, women in "appalling khaki-coloured clothes". In his diary he asked rhetorically, "Is it because their women are so unattractive that the German race is largely homosexual?"

Luckily for Chips, he didn't put that question

to the Fuhrer, who had only recently obliterated a homosexual clique in the SA led by Ernst Roehm (The Night of the Long Knives).

The Nazi wars against gays had only started. In Berlin alone in 1936 there were over 100 gay and lesbian bars, one of the reasons why WH Auden and Christopher Isherwood spent so much time in Berlin, exposing Nazi crime.

The gourmet restaurant Horcher on Lutherstrasse was a culinary institution and as considered one of the leading places to eat in Europe, while the roof garden of the cosmopolitan Eden Hotel was one of the main attractions in Berlin that year, where foreign intellectuals, newspaper editors – including the owners of the Daily Express and Daily Mail – and politicians rubbed shoulders with local Nazi dignitaries.

Leni Riefenstahl was the remarkable 35-year old who recorded the Games. Her *Triumph of the Will* (1934) and *Olympia* (1936) are regarded as documentary classics. Unfortunately, she was in America publicising her film about the Games in November 1938 when Kristallnacht took place in Germany; and she failed to include shots of political prisoners building the nearby Sachsenhausen concentration which was later to hold more than 200,000 communists, gypsies, Jews and men and women damned as mental or sexual deviants

Those obsessed with the history of sport will find the section on Jesse Owens fascinating because it throws fresh light on the friendship formed at the Games between that Afro-American athlete and the Hitler-worshipping long jump champion, Lutz Long.

Owens stood Hitler's Aryan superiority theories on their head when he won four gold medals. However, the Germans adored him and yelled his name in staccato chants whenever he appeared.

After the American beat the German in the long-jump, Long and Owens posed on the grass for photographers after circling the stadium and standing in front of Hitler's box. When the medals were presented, Hitler did his salute throughout the American anthem. Owens said: "I looked up and Hitler was giving the Nazi sa-

lute. He remained standing until the anthem was finished".

Later, the Americans pulled two Jewish runners – Marty Glickman and Sam Stoller – out of the 4 x 100 meter relay. People claimed the coach was motivated by a hatred of Jews, but he said he pulled them out because he wanted the two best runners, Jesse Owens and Ralph Metcalfe, in his team.

Was Hitler being spared the sight of two American Jews receiving golds in Berlin? Would he have stood to attention for so long then? We shall never know.

On the massively publicised "refusal" by Hitler to shake hands with Owens, the author says "there is nothing to that story". And after re-visiting the Nazi built stadium in 1964, Owens said on television: "Hitler didn't snub me. It was our president (Franklin Roosevelt) who snubbed me. He didn't even send me a telegram."

In September, Owens' achievements were celebrated with a ticker-tape reception in New York. But when a ceremonial banquet was held at the Waldorf Astoria hotel in his honour he had to use the service elevator to get there because of his skin colour.

Owens died of lung cancer in March 1960. At that point, Long had been dead for 37 years – having been drafted into the Wehrmacht, he was killed in battle in Sicily in July 1943

When the Games came to a close on August 16, a cathedral of light was projected into the night sky over Berlin, and at the island home of Goebbels, there was entertainment that rivalled the best of ancient Rome in full frenzy.

Chips Channon raved on about Hitler but his diary entry sounded a note of caution: "The endless massive explosions remind many of the guests of artillery fire. Finally, the din comes to an end with a gigantic concluding boom that turns the nocturnal heavens blood red".

Three years later, more than the night sky over Berlin was coloured blood red. **CT**

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Trevor Grundy is a British journalist and author of *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood* (William Heinemann, London 1998).

SAM PIZZIGATI

New York, New York: Not quite so wonderful

Any city – any society – that lets the rich keep as much as they can grab
is asking for big-time trouble

THE ultimate real-life test of “trickle down” – the notion that we all prosper when the rich get richer – may well be New York City. The Big Apple, after all, certainly abounds in rich getting richer. No city in the world now hosts more of humanity’s super rich.

Researchers at Wealth-X last month put the New York billionaire total at 103, ten more than Hong Kong. Top one percenters in New York overall are now taking in over 40 percent of the city’s income, about double the top one percent’s income share nationally in the United States.

Numbers like these don’t happen by accident. Local and state officials in New York have worked diligently for decades to make their city as attractive as possible to the ten-digit set.

“If we could get every billionaire around the world to move here”, as then mayor of New York Michael Bloomberg, himself a billionaire, noted in 2013, “it would be a godsend”.

At that mission, Bloomberg and his pals would prove remarkably successful. The fantastically rich physically dominate New York as never before. Luxury residential towers over 75 stories tall now look down upon midtown Manhattan,

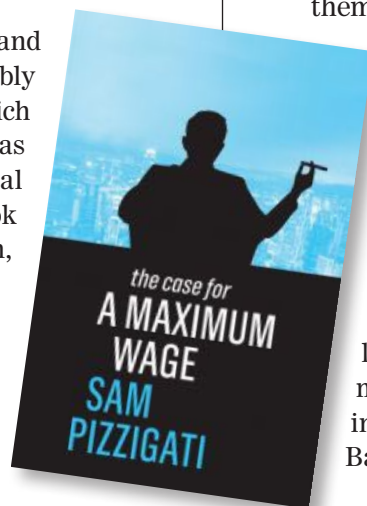
THE CASE FOR A MAXIMUM WAGE

Sam Pizzigati

Published by PolityPress

www.politybooks.com

\$45 hardback \$12.30 paperback



casting shadows that darken ever wider swatches of Central Park.

Fancy restaurants abound throughout Manhattan and beyond. Broadway is booming. Millions of tourists are trampling on streets free from grit and grime. New York, the city’s most ardent cheerleaders proclaim, has never been a better place.

Never been a better place, counters long-time New York resident and writer Kevin Baker, only if you’re talking about the rich. For everyone else, Baker details in a July *Harper’s* magazine cover story, life in New York can seem like a scene from a sci-fi flick that has bystanders barely noticing “as our fellow human beings are picked off by the monsters living among us”.

The poor, of course, have life the hardest in the new New York, and the city has many more of them. One in five New Yorkers – 19.6 percent – currently rate as officially poor. Back in 1970, that rate stood at 11.5 percent.

The ranks of the near-poor have swelled as well. Almost half the city lives a precarious existence, “just one paycheck away,” writes Baker, “from disaster.”

Most of the rest of New York’s 8.6-million people strain to maintain a decent middle-class existence. The city is losing its “most treasured amenities,” adds Baker’s *Harper’s* analysis, those aspects

SAM PIZZIGATI

of life most “essential to its middle-class character”.

“Look at almost any public service or space in New York”, he advises, “and you will see that it has been diminished, degraded, appropriated”.

Parks throughout the city have slipped into the hands of privately funded “conservancies” that operate more as businesses than public services. The once-free Central Park Zoo now costs the classic family of four \$62 to enter.

Some parks have simply disappeared. The new Yankee Stadium sits on what had been, notes Baker, “two beloved public parks”. Local, state, and federal officials graced the owners of the Yankees with \$1.2-billion in subsidies. The owners graced the city back with a ballpark that has 9,000 fewer seats for the general public and 37 more luxury suites for the deep-pocket set.

For these deep pockets, New York has become a dazzling cornucopia of consumption options, with posh shops full of luxuries of every description. For those of more pedestrian means, the “warrens of little shops and businesses” that used to sustain – and enliven – daily life are vanishing in one neighbourhood after another. Last year, on one stretch of a prime commercial avenue in Manhattan, researchers found 188 vacant storefronts.

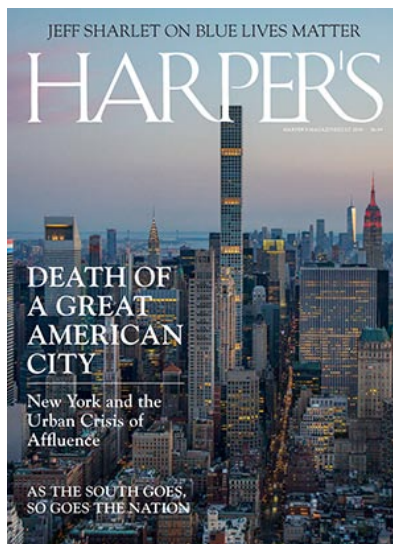
Baker tells the story of a proprietor of one of New York’s vanished small businesses. She had been paying \$7,000 a month to rent the space for her laundromat. The landlord upped that to \$21,000.

Back in the mid-20th-century days of Abbott and Costello, your landlord lived in your neighbourhood. Today’s New York landlord will more likely be a private equity empire, a lavishly financed international firm, Baker notes, “highly incentivised” to replace low-rent tenants with more lucrative lessees. The resulting high rents are driving

away neighbourhood-based commerce.

Driving people away, too. Between 2014 and 2017, rents for vacant apartments in New York rose 30 percent, about three times faster than the typical incomes of renting families. What happens when arithmetic like this happens? Homelessness happens. New York’s Department of Homeless Services now on average shelters 60,000 people per night.

Developers have priced one four-storey apartment at \$250-million



New York, Harper's magazine points out, is now a city for the super-rich

Meanwhile, the average price for a condo or elite “co-op” apartment last year topped \$2-million for the first time ever. In one of New York’s newest luxury towers, developers have priced one four-storey apartment at \$250-million. Those wealthy who park themselves in these luxury towers can find just about everything they desire without having to venture outside.

“Want a drink or a meal, a swim or a game of pool at the end of the day, a yoga class or a good book?” as Baker relates in *Harper's*. “There’s no need to step out into the city”.

The predictable result: more and more civic “dead zones”, lifeless sections of the city where once vibrant street life existed.

And under the street, in New York’s famed subway system? Baker describes “longer and longer delays, with both cars and platforms filling up with frustrated, angry passengers”. Mayor Bill de Blasio sought a “millionaire’s tax” to fix the subway’s antiquated operation. Governor Andrew Cuomo rejected the idea, instead suggesting “a ‘genius transit challenge’ wherein anyone who came up with a great idea to make the trains run on time could win a million dollars”.

The sad lesson here?

“A tax on the wealthiest New Yorkers to restore

SAM PIZZIGATI

even the most vital public good,” writes Baker, “cannot be so much as entertained”.

So what can be done, he goes on to ask, “about a New York that is, right now, being plundered not only of its treasure but also of its heart, and soul, and purpose?”

Baker has some “practical reforms” to suggest, everything from ending subsidies for wealthy developers to reinstating commercial rent control. But he exudes no optimism about the chances these reforms will ever advance. He sees a political system rigged to enrich the already rich.

Ever since the 1970s, Baker notes, “all that our urban leaders, in New York and elsewhere, Democratic as well as Republican, have been able to come up with is one scheme after another to invite the rich in.” They “seem hopelessly invested in importing a race of supermen for the supercity”. “Yes”, Baker concludes, “the rich will be with us always”. But why must we accept this notion that the rich will always be with us? We don’t accept the notion that poverty will always be with us. The United Nations has grand global efforts underway to “eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere”. Why aren’t we endeavouring to eradicate extreme wealth? Perhaps more to the point: How can we afford not to?

Kevin Baker’s powerful analysis brilliantly exposes the toxicities we inevitably nourish when we set no limits on how much our awesomely affluent can grab and pocket. Ever-widening gaps between our richest and everyone else, the story of contemporary New York helps us see, stretch our social fabric. At some point, that fabric will tear.

Can’t we just mend any torn social fabric? Eas-

ier said than done when the rich hold most all the thread.

A century ago, at a time of staggering inequality not unlike our own, we had New Yorkers of distinction who dared to directly challenge excessively concentrated wealth and power. New York attorney Amos Pinchot – a top aide in Teddy Roosevelt’s 1912 “Bull Moose” insurgent bid for the White House – led a national campaign five years later to place a 100 percent tax on all individual annual income over \$100,000, the equivalent of almost \$2-million today.

New Yorker Sidney Hillman, the nation’s most innovative labour movement leader, backed that campaign, and a generation later Hillman, by then President Franklin Roosevelt’s top labour confidant, watched as FDR in 1942 proposed a 100 percent cap on income over \$25,000.

Congress would end up giving Roosevelt a 94 percent tax on income over \$200,000, and America’s top tax rate on the incomes of the nation’s wealthiest would hover around 90 percent for the next two decades, years that would see the United States grow the first mass middle class in world history.

New Yorkers like Amos Pinchot and Sidney Hillman did not accept the notion that the rich will always be with us. We shouldn’t either. **CT**

Sam Pizzigati co-edits *Inequality.org*. His latest book – *The Case for a Maximum Wage* – has just appeared. His 2012 book, *The Rich Don’t Always Win: The Forgotten Triumph over Plutocracy that Created the American Middle Class, 1900-1970*, tells the story of 20th-century efforts to cap the income and power of America’s richest. Follow him at @Too_Much_Online.

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RON FASSBENDER



It's OUR NHS, and it's not for sale, say thousands of protesters at London march.

Fighting for their NHS

TENS OF THOUSANDS of angry marchers gathered in London on June 30 to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the UK's National Health Service, and to demand an end to the "ruinous" privatisation-by-stealth of NHS services. They were incensed at plans announced the day before the march to "cut 17 routine, but unnecessary procedures" in order to save £200-million. Why is it, marchers demanded, that the government always has cash for killing people in never-ending wars, but never enough for saving lives. They're not expecting a quick answer to that simple question.

CT



Ironic birthday cake for the NHS 70th anniversary.



The Downing Street vulture pecks at the remains of the UK's National Health Service

RON FASSBENDER



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OUR PHOTOGRAPHER

RON FASSBENDER is a London-based photographer. His Flickr feed is www.flickr.com/theweeklybull/albums Find him on Twitter at www.twitter.com/TheWeeklyBull

BEN STOCKTON, MADLEN DAVIES & ANDREW WASLEY

Keep calm and eat chicken!

How clunky advertising campaigns are downplaying consumer concerns over giving antibiotics to animals



Screenshot of one of the ENOUGH advertisements

“**H**OW to survive as a working mom” is the title of a Facebook advert depicting a stressed woman with a baby on her lap and a phone under one ear, (above). “Breathe”, the advert says, continuing: “Pour a glass of wine (if that’s your thing). Prepare your family the chicken. Whether the label says ‘no antibiotics’ or not, the meat and milk you buy is free of harmful residues from antibiotics”.

The ENOUGH Movement, the “global community” behind this advert, promises to tell you the truth about food. However, it’s a PR campaign funded by Elanco, a multinational animal drugs

company that sells antibiotics for use on livestock. Elanco operates in more than 70 countries and accounted for 13 percent of the veterinary pharmaceuticals market in 2015. The company, which is a subsidiary of pharmaceutical giant Eli Lilly and Company, was valued at \$14-16-billion last year.

Elanco, along with other organisations with vested interests, is using advertising campaigns to downplay consumer concerns over giving antibiotics in animals, the Bureau of Investigative Journalism has found. Critics say agricultural and pharmaceutical organisations are using similar tactics to steer the debate about antibiotic use on farm animals as those employed by tobacco and oil companies during public health debates about smoking and climate change.

Mothers are clearly the target for many of the ENOUGH Movement’s adverts. Some refer to so-called “Mom-isms” and others, such as one titled “Eat. Sleep. Mom. Repeat”, make no reference to antibiotics or agriculture at all. Another, from its Twitter feed, reads: “Making mom friends can be difficult. Making food decisions doesn’t have to be. Whether the label says ‘no antibiotics’ or not, the meat or milk you buy is free of harmful residues from antibiotics”.

These adverts – just a handful of the many posted on social media by the ENOUGH Movement – refer to US Food Safety and Inspection Service (FSIS) testing, which makes sure the meat on supermarket shelves has no more than trace amounts of antibiotic. But many scientists



EARL DOTTER / OXFAM AMERICA

Poultry workers on a US production line.

Photo: Earl Dotter for Oxfam America

are more concerned that agriculture's use of antibiotics poses a greater public health threat than simply residues in meat: giving antibiotics to animals can breed "superbugs", a type of bacteria that are resistant to the drugs used to treat them. The ENOUGH Movement potentially confuses consumers, who are increasingly looking for antibiotic-free meat, by shifting the debate from resistance to residues.

Sarah Sorscher, deputy director of Regulatory Affairs at the Center for Science in the Public Interest, said: "Ads like this are patronising. Industry should be looking for ways to address valid consumer concerns. Instead, they're trying to brush us off like we're a bunch of hysterical women who just need a pat on the head and a good glass of wine to calm down".

Besides a tendency for the ads to be "grossly sexist", Dr Thomas Van Boeckel, an epidemiologist specialising in antimicrobial resistance, be-

lieves the Elanco adverts are "a classic strategy to divert the debate about residues rather than focusing on the core issue which is the selection for resistant bacteria in the live animals due to the constant exposure to those drugs on the farm".

Scientists believe giving antibiotics to animals is one of the major causes of antimicrobial resistance. These resistant bacteria can spread from farms and infect humans through food, contact with farm workers or via soil and fertiliser. Drug resistance has been dubbed one of the greatest public health threats the world faces. It is estimated to kill 700,000 people worldwide, a figure which will rise to 10-million by 2050, if no action is taken.

Ferd Hoefner, a senior strategic advisor at the Washington-based National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition, believes the way industry has responded to calls to reduce the amount of antibiotics in agriculture is strikingly similar to techniques adopted in the smoking and climate

change fields: “They’re doing all the same kind of things – PR companies that are just constantly raising doubts. They’ve turned that kind of thing into an art form”.

Prof Ramanan Laxminarayan, director of the US-based Center for Disease Dynamics, Economics and Policy, agrees: “It’s not surprising. It’s pretty standard. In the case of tobacco the industry played down the effects of smoking, [saying] ‘a few cigarettes won’t hurt you’. They tried to appeal to women by making smoking Virginia Slims a sign of the feminist movement”.

He added: “The truth is that companies like Elanco are likely to face significant financial hardship, given that many of the world’s consumers will no longer want to buy meat raised on antibiotics”.

A report ranked Sanderson Farms among the worst companies for antibiotic use

There is now a widespread scientific consensus that giving antibiotics to animals can fuel resistance in bacteria which infect humans. In a 2016 report commissioned by the British government, former economist Lord Jim O’Neill found that out of 139 academic studies, excluding those funded by industry or government bodies, 72 percent supported evidence of a link between antibiotic consumption in animals and resistance in humans. Only 5 percent argued that there was no link.

Of the studies compiled by Lord O’Neill, the most recent academic paper to find no link was written by a student at a Hawaiian high school, in 2005. Out of four industry funded papers identified by the review, two didn’t support evidence that banning agricultural antibiotic use would have an effect on the level of resistance in humans.

Even so, one of those industry-funded papers said that stricter regulation of newer antibiotics in agriculture could potentially extend their effectiveness in humans. The authors of the study – which was funded by Pfizer, one of the world’s biggest drug companies, and published in 2002



Chickens on a farm in India, photographed during the investigation into antibiotics in Indian poultry farming.
Photo: Rahul Meesaraganda

– suggested that recently discovered antibiotics should be used prudently on farms before resistance emerges. But they argued that controlling the use of antibiotics in agriculture after resistance has already emerged will have little impact on the number of superbugs in hospitals.

The Elanco-funded ENOUGH Movement reads like a humanitarian report, offering “practical solutions” on ensuring there is enough food for everyone as the population grows. The “movement”, which includes a report, a website and social media adverts, promotes modern farming procedures that could ensure a steady supply of meat and dairy. The campaign’s Facebook page has more than 20,000 followers and Elanco claims that its messaging has one million impressions online per week.

The continued use of antibiotics on farms is necessary to feed the world, according to the advertising campaign. Antibiotics are a “vital tool in protecting animal health and ensuring a healthy, safe food supply”, one advert says. Elanco commissioned editors associated with Elite Media, a company which provides “advocacy, research and content support for lobbyists”, to author a Europe-focused version of the report, according to the Elite Media website. Elite Media bills itself on its website as “a vibrant company... [we] are all alumni of *The Economist*, a brand

that continues to underpin many of the qualities we offer”. Elite Media told the Bureau Elanco did not directly hire the services of the company and the report was not directly linked to it.

In response to the Bureau’s findings, Elanco said: “The ENOUGH Movement works to bring awareness to food security and answer consumer questions about how food is produced. Recent labelling initiatives have increased consumer questions about antibiotic use in animals. And we have a responsibility to answer those concerns, especially when it comes to the safety of the food we eat”.

Sanderson Farms, the third largest poultry producer in the US, launched a similar campaign to Elanco in 2016, as its CEO called meat labelled as antibiotic-free as “misleading”. In one TV advert, a man in a supermarket, dressed in a plaid shirt, khakis and a cap, says: “Some chicken companies try to get you to spend more money by using labels like ‘raised without antibiotics’. At Sanderson Farms, we don’t believe in gimmicks like that. No antibiotics to worry about here” Last month, a report by investors’ group, Farm Animal Investment Risk and Return, and covered by the Bureau, ranked Sanderson Farms among the worst companies for its policies on antibiotic use in animals.

Sanderson Farms did not respond to a request for comment, but a statement on its website says it is “committed to taking steps toward finding alternative ways to control disease to reduce antibiotic use, and to work with its drug suppliers to phase out the use of antibiotics that are important to human medicine when alternatives become available”.

Although the majority of the scientific community accepts antibiotic use on farms is a genuine threat to human health, the true scale of the problem remains unknown. This gap in knowledge has proved fertile ground for the agricultural and pharmaceutical industry to suggest the threat may be at most minimal.

Not only are companies such as Elanco and Sanderson Farms targeting consumers with adverts, the pharmaceutical and agricultural in-

dustries are also pumping money into scientific research on antibiotic resistance. Some of these studies either play down the potential risk to human health from antibiotic use in farm animals or support claims that more research is needed before policy decisions are made.

Elanco has indirectly funded studies which point to the need for more research on the link between antibiotic use on farms and resistant infections in humans. Along with other major pharmaceutical companies, including Bayer Animal Health and Boehringer Ingelheim, it is one of 13 members of the US-based Animal Health Institute (AHI), which has funded this work. Eight out of the 13 AHI members listed on its website sell antibiotics for use in farm animals. AHI also spent almost \$700,000 on lobbying between 2013 and 2017, according to the Washington-based research group, the Center for Responsive Politics.

The true scale of the antibiotic danger to humans remains unknown

While the AHI funded an important early study in 1976, which found that feeding antibiotics to animals leads to antibiotic resistance that can spread to farmers, since then the studies it has funded have generally been less definitive. In 2016 and 2017 AHI was acknowledged as the source of funding in two studies which highlighted the need for more research on antibiotic use on farms and the impact on human health. While many agree more research is needed, both these studies focussed on the extent that antibiotic use in agriculture contributes to resistant bacteria found on meat. Many feel the more pressing concern is that it is causing more resistance in the environment.

A press release published by AHI to promote the 2016 study was headlined: “New research examining link between antibiotic use in farm animals and antibiotic resistance in humans leads to more questions”. The AHI said the review of 195 studies found no conclusive evidence of a definitive link between use of antibiotics in

food animals and emergence of drug-resistant campylobacter, a bacteria that is a common cause of food poisoning. This appears to contradict the decision by the Food and Drug Administration to ban a fluoroquinolone antibiotic used in poultry in 2005 due to concerns about resistant bacteria, including campylobacter, salmonella and E.coli.

AHI said it was committed to increasing “knowledge, transparency and communication” and “the funding of third-party research is one way we contribute to the knowledge about antibiotic resistance and use”.

Some pharmaceutical companies have turned to an influential scientist, Dr Tony Cox, who has previously also consulted or done research for tobacco companies and the oil industry and whose credibility was on one occasion described by a judge as “severely compromised”.

The tobacco giant Philip Morris International, which owns the Marlboro brand, partly funded research by Cox which indicated that the dangers of passive smoking could be exaggerated.

Another Cox study, funded by the American Petroleum Institute, which represents the major oil companies, questioned the evidence that emissions from car exhausts could cause heart disease. Concerns were raised in some quarters when President Trump’s administration appointed Dr Cox to the Scientific Advisory Committee of the Environmental Protection Agency, which advises on major policy decisions.

Veterinary drug companies Elanco, Phibro – which is also a member of AHI – and Alpharma have all contributed funds to work on antibiotic resistance carried out by Dr Cox.

The US National Pork Board funded work by Cox which suggested the risk of humans dying as a result of superbugs caused by feeding antibiotics to farm animals was low.

In all these instances cited by the Bureau, the authors confirm funders have no involvement in the contents of the study, its results and conclusions and there is no suggestion Dr Cox has acted inappropriately when carrying out research.

In 2003, the FDA proposed banning the treatment of drinking water given to chickens with

Baytril, a fluoroquinolone antibiotic marketed by Bayer, due to concerns about resistant bacteria. The World Health Organisation classifies fluoroquinolones as “critically important” to human healthcare. In its challenge to the proposal, Bayer called on Dr Cox as an expert witness. But the judge dismissed Dr Cox’s testimony saying his “credibility is severely compromised and his testimony cannot be relied on”.

“This witness admits to altering quoted material from published articles,” the judge said. “He contends that editing quoted material is fair as long as it does not change the context and admitted that this is the way he quotes other sources throughout his testimony.”

The judge also struck from the record one of the exhibits cited in the case by a representative of AHI, who Bayer also used as an expert witness as “it was found to be altogether unreliable”.

Dr Cox told the Bureau: “Antibiotic policy in agriculture has been highly politicised in the US in recent decades, with both sides engaging in lobbying, funding of university studies, editorials in scientific journals, headlines in the media (predominantly from those who oppose animal antibiotic use), and advertising.”

The judge said Dr Cox’s “credibility is severely compromised”

A number of companies have vigorously opposed stricter regulations arguing that, without antibiotics, not only will animal welfare be compromised but also that food prices will increase. Until 2017 antibiotics were widely used as growth promoters on US farms, helping livestock grow fatter more quickly. When farm animals are sick it is sometimes necessary to give them antibiotics. But US farmers are still allowed to routinely give them to healthy animals to control disease, a practice many believe can often take place as a way of dealing with overcrowding and poor hygiene.

Dr James Rogers, director of Food Safety Research & Testing at Consumer Reports and a former FSIS employee, said: “There is intense

BEN STOCKTON, MADLEN DAVIES & ANDREW WASLEY

pushback because we are talking about an economic effect, that if they were not allowed to use antibiotics, especially for growth promotion, you're going to get fewer pounds per chicken, which means less money".

In November the US Department of Agriculture rejected further restrictions recommended by the World Health Organisation (WHO). The guidelines proposed a ban on giving healthy animals antibiotics important for human medicine. The USDA acting chief scientist, Dr Chavonda Jacobs-Young said they were "not in alignment with US policy and not supported by sound science". Hoefner, who is a regular attendee at the monthly meetings between industry representatives and USDA officials, described her comment as "outrageous", given the weight of knowledge behind the WHO guidelines.

Last year agribusiness organisations, including all livestock, crop and tobacco industries, spent more than \$131-million on lobbying in the US, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Critics say industry is perceived to have been able to tighten its grip on the USDA dur-

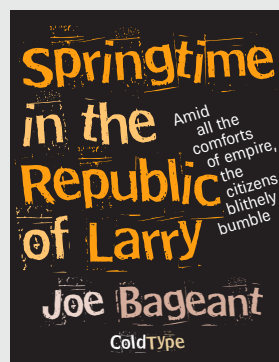
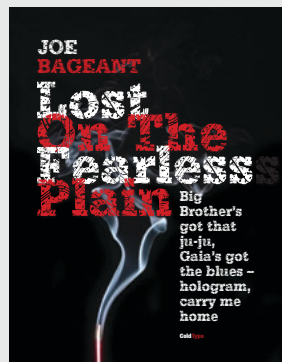
ing the Trump administration, especially on the issue of antibiotic use. Hoefner said: "We were making some inroads in the last administration here in the US, but even then it was difficult. We weren't making huge strides but we were making some strides. But now it's totally impossible so we'll just have to wait this out".

But Prof Laxminarayan is more hopeful. Referring to Elanco's ENOUGH Movement, he said: "I see all of this as the last cries before it goes down," adding: "it will still have a role in animal health, but the days of pushing antibiotics in livestock for growth promotion, their widespread use on farms to prevent disease, are soon to be over".

CT

***Ben Stockton, Madlen Davie & Andrew Wasley** wrote this article for the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, in partnership with The Guardian newspaper. The Bureau's work on global superbugs is part-funded by the European Journalism Centre's Innovation in Development Reporting Grant Programme, which receives a grant from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Follow the Bureau of Investigative Journalism at www.thebureauinvestigates.com*

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Defiance of the flaming kites

Israel ministers' response is to call for anyone flying a kite, even young children, to be shot

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FIRST Israel built a sophisticated missile interception system named Iron Dome to neutralise the threat of homemade rockets fired out of Gaza.

Next it created technology that could detect and destroy tunnels Palestinians had cut through the parched earth deep under the fences Israel erected to imprison Gaza on all sides. Israel's priority was to keep Gaza locked down with a blockade and its two million inhabitants invisible.

Now Israel is facing a new and apparently even tougher challenge: how to stop Palestinian resistance from Gaza using flaming kites, which have set fire to lands close by in Israel. F-16 fighter jets are equipped to take on many foes but not the humble kite.

These various innovations by Palestinians are widely seen by Israelis as part of the same relentless campaign by Hamas to destroy their country. But from inside Gaza, things look very different. These initiatives are driven by a mix of recognisably human emotions: a refusal to bow before crushing oppression; a fear of becoming complicit through silence and inaction in being erased and forgotten; and a compelling need to take back control of one's life.

Palestinians encaged in Gaza, denied entry and exit by Israel via land, sea and air for more than a decade, know that life there is rapidly becoming unsustainable. Most young people are unemployed, much of the infrastructure and housing are irreparably damaged, and polluted

water sources are near-unpotable.

After waves of military attacks, Gaza's children are traumatised with mental scars that may never heal. This catastrophe was carefully engineered by Israel, which renews and enforces it daily. The kites have long served as a potent symbol of freedom in Gaza. Children have flown them from the few spots in the tiny, congested enclave where people can still breathe – from rooftops or on Gaza's beaches.

Five years ago, the film *Flying Paper* documented the successful efforts of Gaza's children to set a new world record for mass kite-flying. The children defied Israel's blockade, which prevents entry of most goods, by making kites from sticks, newspapers and scraps of plastic.

The children's ambition was – if only briefly – to retake Gaza's skies, which Israel dominates with its unseen, death-dealing drones that buzz interminably overhead and with missiles that can flatten a building in seconds.

A young girl observed of the kite's lure: "When we fly the kite, we know that freedom exists." A message scrawled on one read: "I have the right to pride, education, justice, equality and life."

But the world record attempt was not only about the children's dreams and their defiance. It was intended to highlight Gaza's confinement and to issue a reminder that Palestinians too are human.

That same generation of children have grown into the youths being picked off weekly by Israeli

JONATHAN COOK

snipers at unarmed protests at the perimeter fence – the most visible feature of Israel’s infrastructure of imprisonment.

A few have taken up kite-flying again. If they have refused to put away childish things, this time they have discarded their childish idealism. Their world record did not win them freedom, nor even much notice.

After the snipers began maiming thousands of the demonstrators, including children, medics and journalists, for the impudence of imagining they had a right to liberty, the enclave’s youths reinvented the kite’s role. If it failed to serve as a reminder of Palestinians’ humanity, it could at least remind Israel and the outside world of their presence, of the cost of leaving two million human beings to rot. So the kites were set on fire, flaming emissaries that brought a new kind of reckoning for Israel when they landed on the other side of the fence.

Gaza’s inhabitants can still see the lands from which many of them were expelled during the mass dispossession of the Palestinian people in 1948 – under western colonial sponsorship – to create a Jewish state.

Not only were those lands taken from them, but the Jewish farming communities that replaced them now irrigate their crops using water Palestinians are deprived of, including water seized from aquifers under the West Bank.

The kites have rained fire down on this idyll created by Israel at the expense of Gaza’s inhabitants. No one has been hurt but Israel claims extinguishing the fires has already cost some \$2 million and 7,000 acres of farmland have been damaged.

Sadly, given the profound sense of entitlement that afflicts many Israelis, a small dent in their material wellbeing has not pricked consciences about the incomparably greater suffering only a few kilometres away in Gaza.

Instead, Israel’s public security minister Gilad Erdan called last week for anyone flying a kite, even young children, to be shot. He and other ministers have argued that another large-scale military assault on Gaza is necessary to create

what Erdan has termed “durable deterrence”.

That moment seems to be moving inexorably closer. The last few days have seen Israel launch punitive air strikes to stop the kites and Palestinian factions retaliate by firing significant numbers of rockets out of Gaza for the first time in years.

The Trump administration is no longer pretending to mediate. It has publicly thrown in its hand with Israel. It withdrew last week from the United Nations Human Rights Council, accusing it of being a “cesspool of political bias” after the council criticised Israel for executing Gaza’s unarmed demonstrators.

On a visit to the region last month, Jared Kushner, Donald Trump’s son-in-law and adviser, urged ordinary Palestinians to rebel against their leaders’ refusal to accept a long-awaited US peace plan that all evidence suggests will further undermine Palestinian hopes of a viable state.

Kushner is apparently unaware that the Palestinian public is expressing its will, for liberation, by protesting at the Gaza fence – and risking execution by Israel for doing so.

Meanwhile, Prince William became the first British royal to make an official visit since the mandate ended 70 years ago. While Kensington Palace stressed that the trip was non-political, William met both Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas in an itinerary that was claimed by both sides as a victory.

From the vantage point of the Mount of Olives, from which he could see Jerusalem’s Old City, the prince may not quite have managed to see the kite battles in Gaza’s skies that underscore who is Goliath and who is David. But he could see enough in the West Bank and occupied East Jerusalem to understand that western leaders have decisively chosen the side of Goliath. **CT**

Jonathan Cook won the Martha Gellhorn Special Prize for Journalism. His books include “Israel and the Clash of Civilisations: Iraq, Iran and the Plan to Remake the Middle East” (Pluto Press) and “Disappearing Palestine: Israel’s Experiments in Human Despair” (Zed Books). His website is www.jonathan-cook.net

Why we must bring Julian Assange home

The persecution of Wikileaks founder must stop, or it will end in tragedy

THE Australian government and prime minister Malcolm Turnbull have an historic opportunity to decide which it will be. They can remain silent, for which history will be unforgiving. Or they can act in the interests of justice and humanity and bring home the remarkable Australian citizen Julian Assange.

Assange does not ask for special treatment. The government has clear diplomatic and moral obligations to protect Australian citizens abroad from gross injustice: in Assange's case, from a gross miscarriage of justice and the extreme danger that await him should he walk out of the Ecuadorean embassy in London unprotected.

We know from the Chelsea Manning case what he can expect if a US extradition warrant is successful – a United Nations Special Rapporteur called it torture.

I know Julian Assange well; I regard him as a close friend, a person of extraordinary resilience and courage. I have watched a tsunami of lies and smear engulf him, endlessly, vindictively, perfidiously; and I know why they smear him.

In 2008, a plan to destroy both WikiLeaks and Assange was laid out in a top secret document dated March 8, 2008. The authors were the Cyber Counter-intelligence Assessments Branch of the US Defence Department. They described in detail how important it was to destroy the “feeling of trust” that is WikiLeaks’ “centre of gravity”.

This would be achieved, they wrote, with threats of “exposure [and] criminal prosecu-

tion” and an unrelenting assault on reputation. The aim was to silence and criminalise WikiLeaks and its editor and publisher. It was as if they planned a war on a single human being and on the very principle of freedom of speech.

Their main weapon would be personal smear. Their shock troops would be enlisted in the media – those who are meant to keep the record straight and tell us the truth. The irony is that no one told these journalists what to do. I call them Vichy journalists – after the Vichy government that served and enabled the German occupation of wartime France.

Last October, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation journalist Sarah Ferguson interviewed Hillary Clinton, over whom she fawned as “the icon for your generation”. This was the same Clinton who threatened to “obliterate totally” Iran and, who, as US secretary of State in 2011, was one of the instigators of the invasion and destruction of Libya as a modern state, with the loss of 40,000 lives. Like the invasion of Iraq, it was based on lies.

When the Libyan president was murdered publicly and gruesomely with a knife, Clinton was filmed whooping and cheering. Thanks largely to her, Libya became a breeding ground for ISIS and other jihadists. Thanks largely to her, tens of thousands of refugees fled in peril across the Mediterranean, and many drowned.

Leaked emails published by WikiLeaks re-



SOLIDARITY! A rally for Julian Assange at the Ecuador embassy in London on June 19. Photo: Ron Fassbender

vealed that Hillary Clinton’s foundation – which she shares with her husband – received millions of dollars from Saudi Arabia and Qatar, the main backers of ISIS and terrorism across the Middle East. As Secretary of State, Clinton approved the biggest arms sale ever – worth \$80-billion – to Saudi Arabia, one of her foundation’s principal benefactors. Today, Saudi Arabia is using these weapons to crush starving and stricken people in a genocidal assault on Yemen.

Sarah Ferguson, a highly paid reporter, raised not a word of this with Clinton as she sat in front of her. Instead, she invited Clinton to describe the “damage” Julian Assange did “personally to you”. In response, Clinton defamed Assange, an Australian citizen, as “very clearly a tool of Russian intelligence” and “a nihilistic opportunist who does the bidding of a dictator”.

She offered no evidence – nor was asked for any – to back her grave allegations. At no time was Assange offered the right of reply to this shocking interview, which Australia’s publicly-funded state broadcaster had a duty to give him.

As if that wasn’t enough, Ferguson’s executive producer, Sally Neighbour, followed the interview with a vicious re-tweet: “Assange is Putin’s bitch. We all know it!”

Clinton defamed Assange as “very clearly a tool of Russian intelligence”

There are many other examples of Vichy journalism. *The Guardian*, reputedly once a great liberal newspaper, conducted a vendetta against Julian Assange. Like a spurned lover, the *Guardian* aimed its personal, petty, inhuman and craven attacks at a man whose work it once published and profited from.

The former editor of the *Guardian*, Alan Rusbridger, called the WikiLeaks disclosures, which his newspaper published in 2010, “one of the greatest journalistic scoops of the last 30 years”. Awards were lavished and celebrated as if Julian Assange did not exist.

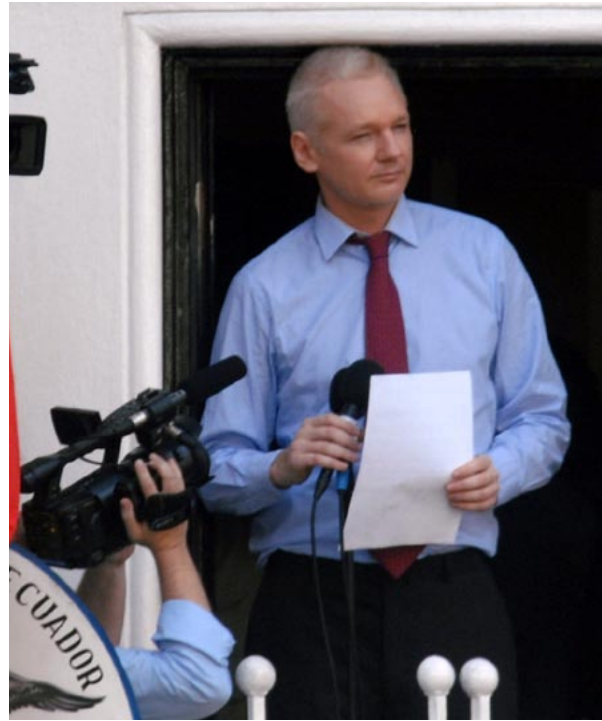
JOHN PILGER

WikiLeaks' revelations became part of the *Guardian's* marketing plan to raise the paper's cover price. They made money, often big money, while WikiLeaks and Assange struggled to survive.

With not a penny going to WikiLeaks, a hyped *Guardian* book led to a lucrative Hollywood movie deal. The book's authors, Luke Harding and David Leigh, gratuitously abused Assange as a "damaged personality" and "calous". They also revealed the secret password Julian had given the *Guardian* in confidence and which was designed to protect a digital file containing the US embassy cables.

With Assange now trapped in the Ecuadorean embassy, Harding, who had enriched himself on the backs of both Julian Assange and Edward Snowden, stood among the police outside the embassy and gloated on his blog that "Scotland Yard may get the last laugh".

The question is why?



Julian Assange speaks to the media from the balcony of the Ecuadorean embassy in London in 2012.

Photo: Wikimedia.

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Julian Assange has committed no crime. He has never been charged with a crime. The Swedish episode was bogus and farcical and he has been vindicated.

Katrin Axelsson and Lisa Longstaff of Women Against Rape summed it up when they wrote, "The allegations against [Assange] are a smoke-screen behind which a number of governments are trying to clamp down on WikiLeaks for having audaciously revealed to the public their secret planning of wars and occupations with their attendant rape, murder and destruction. ... The authorities care so little about violence against women that they manipulate rape allegations at will".

This truth was lost or buried in a media witch-hunt that disgracefully associated Assange with rape and misogyny. The witch-hunt included voices who described themselves as on the left and as feminist. They willfully ignored the evidence of extreme danger should Assange be extradited to the United States.

According to a document released by Edward Snowden, Assange is on a "Manhunt target list". One leaked official memo says: "Assange is going

to make a nice bride in prison. Screw the terrorist. He'll be eating cat food forever".

In Alexandria, Virginia – the suburban home of America's war-making elite – a secret grand jury, a throwback to the middle ages, has spent seven years trying to concoct a crime for which Assange can be prosecuted.

This is not easy; the US Constitution protects publishers, journalists and whistleblowers. Assange's crime is to have broken a silence.

No investigative journalism in my lifetime can equal the importance of what WikiLeaks has done in calling rapacious power to account. It is as if a one-way moral screen has been pushed back to expose the imperialism of liberal democracies: the commitment to endless warfare and the division and degradation of "unworthy" lives: from Grenfell Tower to Gaza.

When Harold Pinter accepted the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2005, he referred to "a vast tap-estry of lies up on which we feed". He asked why "the systematic brutality, the widespread atrocities, the ruthless suppression of independent

JOHN PILGER



Julia Gillard, former Australian prime minister, who wanted to cancel Julian Assange's passport.

Photo: Wikimedia.

thought” of the Soviet Union were well known in the West while America’s imperial crimes “never happened ... even while [they] were happening, they never happened”.

In its revelations of fraudulent wars (Afghanistan, Iraq) and the bald-faced lies of governments (the Chagos Islands), WikiLeaks has allowed us to glimpse how the imperial game is played in the 21st-century. That is why Assange is in mortal danger.

Seven years ago, in Sydney, I arranged to meet Malcolm Turnbull, a prominent Liberal member of parliament. I wanted to ask him to deliver a letter from Gareth Peirce, Assange’s lawyer, to the government. We talked about his famous victory – in the 1980s when, as a young barrister, he had fought the British government’s attempts to suppress free speech and prevent the publication of the book *Spycatcher* – in its way, a WikiLeaks of the time, for it revealed the crimes of state power.

The prime minister of Australia was then

Julia Gillard, a Labor Party politician who had declared WikiLeaks “illegal” and wanted to cancel Assange’s passport – until she was told she could not do this: that Assange had committed no crime; and that WikiLeaks was a publisher, whose work was protected under Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which Australia was one of the original signatories.

In abandoning Assange, an Australian citizen, and colluding in his persecution, Prime Minister Gillard’s outrageous behaviour forced the issue of his recognition, under international law, as a political refugee whose life was at risk. Ecuador invoked the 1951 Convention and granted Assange refuge in its embassy in London.

Gillard has recently been appearing in a gig with Hillary Clinton; they are billed as pioneering feminists. If there is anything to remember Gillard by, it a warmongering, sycophantic, embarrassing speech she made to the US Congress soon after she demanded the illegal cancellation of Julian’s passport.

Malcolm Turnbull is now the prime minister of Australia. Julian Assange’s father has written to him. It is a moving letter, in which he has appealed to the prime minister to bring his son home. He refers to the real possibility of a tragedy.

I have watched Assange’s health deteriorate in his years of confinement without sunlight. He has had a relentless cough, but is not even allowed safe passage to and from a hospital for an X-ray. Malcolm Turnbull can remain silent. Or he can seize this opportunity and use his government’s diplomatic influence to defend the life of an Australian citizen, whose courageous public service is recognised by countless people across the world. He can bring Julian Assange home.

CT

This is an abridged version of an address by John Pilger to a rally in Sydney, Australia, to mark Julian Assange’s six years’ confinement in the Ecuadorean embassy in London. Pilger’s web site is www.johnpilger.com

US military drops a bomb every 12 seconds

So why is no one talking about it?

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WE live in a state of perpetual war, and we never feel it. While you get your gelato at the hip place where they put those cute little mint leaves on the side, someone is being bombed in your name. While you argue with the 17-year-old at the movie theatre who gave you a small popcorn when you paid for a large, someone is being obliterated in your name. While we sleep and eat and make love and shield our eyes on a sunny day, someone's home, family, life and body are being blown into a thousand pieces in our names.

Once every 12 minutes.

The United States military drops an explosive with a strength you can hardly comprehend once every 12 minutes. And that's odd, because we're technically at war with – let me think – zero countries. So that should mean zero bombs are being dropped, right?

Hell no! You've made the common mistake of confusing our world with some sort of rational, cogent world in which our military-industrial complex is under control, the music industry is based on merit and talent, Legos have gently rounded edges (so when you step on them barefoot, it doesn't feel like an armour-piercing bullet just shot straight up your sphincter), and humans are dealing with climate change like adults rather than burying our heads in the sand while trying to convince ourselves that the sand around our heads isn't getting really, really hot.

You're thinking of a rational world. We do not live there.

Instead, we live in a world where the Pentagon is completely and utterly out of control. A few issues ago I wrote about the \$21-trillion (no, that's not a typo) that has gone unaccounted for at the Pentagon. But I didn't get into the number of bombs that ridiculous amount of money buys us. President George W Bush's military dropped 70,000 bombs on five countries. But of that outrageous number, only 57 of those bombs really upset the international community.

Because there were 57 strikes in Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen – countries the US was neither at war with nor had ongoing conflicts with. And the world was kind of horrified. There was a lot of talk that went something like, "Wait a second. We're bombing in countries outside of war zones? Is it possible that's a slippery slope ending in us just bombing all the goddamn time? (Awkward pause.) ... Nah! Whichever president follows Bush will be a normal adult person (with a functional brain stem of some sort) and will therefore stop this madness".

We were so cute and naive back then, like a kitten when it's first waking up in the morning.

The Bureau of Investigative Journalism reported that under President Barack Obama there were "563 strikes, largely by drones, that targeted Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen. ..."

It's not just the fact that bombing outside of a war zone is a horrific violation of international



USS Ross fires a tomahawk missile towards Syria on April 7, 2017.

Photo: Robert S. Price,
US Navy

law and global norms. It's also the morally reprehensible targeting of people for pre-crime, which is what we're doing and what the Tom Cruise movie *Minority Report* warned us about. (Humans are very bad at taking the advice of sci-fi dystopias. If we'd listened to *1984*, we wouldn't have allowed the existence of the National Security Agency. If we listened to *The Terminator*, we wouldn't have allowed the existence of drone warfare. And if we'd listened to *The Matrix*, we wouldn't have allowed the vast majority of humans to get lost in a virtual reality of spectacle and vapid nonsense while the oceans die in a swamp of plastic waste. ... But you know, who's counting?)

There was basically a media blackout while Obama was president. You could count on one hand the number of mainstream media reports on the Pentagon's daily bombing campaigns under Obama. And even when the media did mention it, the underlying sentiment was, "Yeah, but look at how suave Obama is while he's OK'ing endless destruction. He's like the Steve McQueen of aerial death".

And let's take a moment to wipe away the idea that our "advanced weaponry" hits only the bad

guys. As David DeGraw put it, "According to the CIA's own documents, the people on the 'kill list', who were targeted for 'death-by-drone', accounted for only two percent of the deaths caused by the drone strikes".

Two percent. Really, Pentagon? You got a two on the test? You get five points just for spelling your name right.

But those 70,000 bombs dropped by Bush – it was child's play. DeGraw again: "[Obama] dropped 100,000 bombs in seven countries. He out-bombed Bush by 30,000 bombs and two countries".

You have to admit that's impressively horrific. That puts Obama in a very elite group of Nobel Peace Prize winners who have killed that many innocent civilians. The reunions are mainly just him and Henry Kissinger wearing little hand-drawn name tags and munching on devilled eggs.

However, we now know that Donald Trump's administration puts all previous presidents to shame. The Pentagon's numbers show that during George W Bush's eight years he averaged 24 bombs dropped per day, which is 8,750 per year. Over the course of Obama's time in office, his

LEE CAMP

military dropped 34 bombs per day, 12,500 per year. And in Trump's first year in office, he averaged 121 bombs dropped per day, for an annual total of 44,096.

Trump's military dropped 44,000 bombs in his first year in office.

He has basically taken the gloves off the Pentagon, taken the leash off an already rabid dog. So the end result is a military that's behaving like Lil Wayne crossed with Conor McGregor. You look away for one minute, look back, and are like, "What the fuck did you just do? I was gone for like, a second!"

Under Trump, five bombs are dropped per hour – every hour of every day. That averages out to a bomb every 12 minutes.

And which is more outrageous – the crazy amount of death and destruction we are creating around the world, or the fact that your mainstream corporate media basically NEVER investigates it? They talk about Trump's flaws. They say he's a racist, bulbous-headed, self-centred idiot (which is totally accurate) – but they don't criticise the perpetual Amityville massacre our military perpetrates by dropping a bomb every 12 minutes, most of them killing 98 percent non-targets.

When you have a Department of War with a completely unaccountable budget – as we saw with the \$21-trillion – and you have a president with no interest in overseeing how much death the Department of War is responsible for, then you end up dropping so many bombs that the Pentagon has reported we are running out of bombs.

Oh, dear God. If we run out of our bombs, then how will we stop all those innocent civilians from ... farming? Think of all the goats that will be allowed to go about their days.

And, as with the \$21-trillion, the theme seems to be "unaccountable".

Journalist Whitney Webb wrote in February, "Shockingly, more than 80 percent of those killed have never even been identified and the CIA's own documents have shown that they are not even aware of who they are killing – avoiding the issue of reporting civilian deaths simply by naming all those in the strike zone as enemy

combatants."

That's right. We kill only enemy combatants. How do we know they're enemy combatants? Because they were in our strike zone. How did we know it was a strike zone? Because there were enemy combatants there. How did we find out they were enemy combatants? Because they were in the strike zone. ... Want me to keep going, or do you get the point? I have all day.

This is not about Trump, even though he's a maniac. It's not about Obama, even though he's a war criminal. It's not about Bush, even though he has the intelligence of boiled cabbage. (I haven't told a Bush joke in about eight years. Felt kind of good. Maybe I'll get back into that.)

This is about a runaway military-industrial complex that our ruling elite are more than happy to let loose. Almost no one in Congress or the presidency tries to restrain our 121 bombs a day. Almost no one in a mainstream outlet tries to get people to care about this.

Recently, the hashtag #21Trillion for the unaccounted Pentagon money has gained some traction. Let's get another one started: #121BombsA-Day.

One every 12 minutes.

Do you know where they're hitting? Who they're murdering? Why? One-hundred-and-twenty-one bombs a day rip apart the lives of families a world away – in your name and my name and the name of the kid doling out the wrong size popcorn at the movie theatre.

We are a rogue nation with a rogue military and a completely unaccountable ruling elite. The government and military you and I support by being a part of this society are murdering people every 12 minutes, and in response, there's nothing but a ghostly silence. It is beneath us as a people and a species to give this topic nothing but silence. It is a crime against humanity. **CT**

Lee Camp is an American stand-up comedian, writer, actor and activist. Camp is the host of the weekly comedy news TV show, "Redacted Tonight With Lee Camp" on RT America. He is a former comedy writer for the Onion and the Huffington Post and has been a touring stand-up comic for 20 years.

More great journalism for you to enjoy



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reads in the ColdType archives at

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FIRST SIGHT: Muhammad Ali (then Cassius Clay) meets his future wife Lonnie Williams in Louisville in 1963, when he was 21 and she was just six years old.

When Ali met Lonnie

**She was six and he was 21 when this photograph was taken.
Then, 23 years later, Lonnie Williams became Muhammad Ali's
fourth wife**

Photos © Steve Schapiro.. From Ali, published by powerHouse Books – www.powerhousebooks.com



STEVE SCHAPIRO



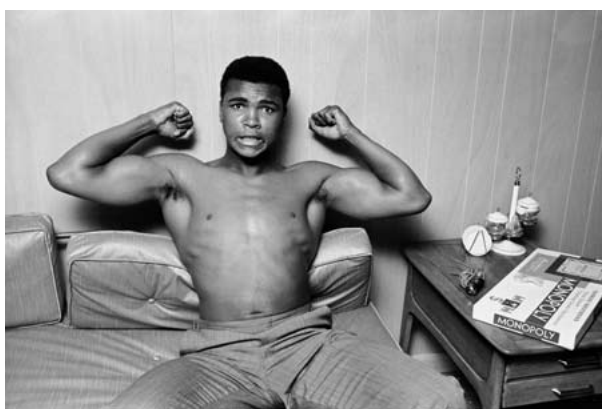
DRESSED TO KILL: Clay discusses business with a member of his entourage.

In June, 1963, photographer Steve Schapiro travelled on assignment from *Sports Illustrated* magazine to Louisville, Kentucky, to spend time with the 21-year-old Olympic champion heavyweight boxer Cassius Clay at his family home, and then to accompany him on a road trip to New York City.

During those days, Schapiro took a series of images of Clay – yet to adopt the name, Muhammad Ali – messing around with neighbourhood kids, among whom was just one little girl, Lonnie Williams, aged six.

Forty-nine years later, in February 2012, Schapiro received a letter from Lonnie, in which she asked for a copy of that photograph (our main picture). In her letter – reproduced in Schapiro's new tabloid-sized photobook of those five days, *Ali* (published by powerHouse Books), she told him:

“My name is Lonnie Ali. I am the wife of Muhammad Ali. Almost 50 years ago (1963), you came to Louisville and photographed Muhammad, then still known as Cassius Clay, at his parents’ home on Verona Way. That was the day I first met Cassius Clay. It was quite fateful



THE GREATEST: Clay shows off the muscles that helped make him Olympic champion.



MOTHER KNOWS BEST: The young Cassius Clay takes a playful swipe at his mother Odessa.

that you were there photographing that May day because you actually snapped a picture of the moment Cassius and I met. I was the only little girl in a crowd of neighbourhood boys. ... Shortly thereafter, you sent our family several copies of the photographs you took that day that included me and my brothers with Cassius.

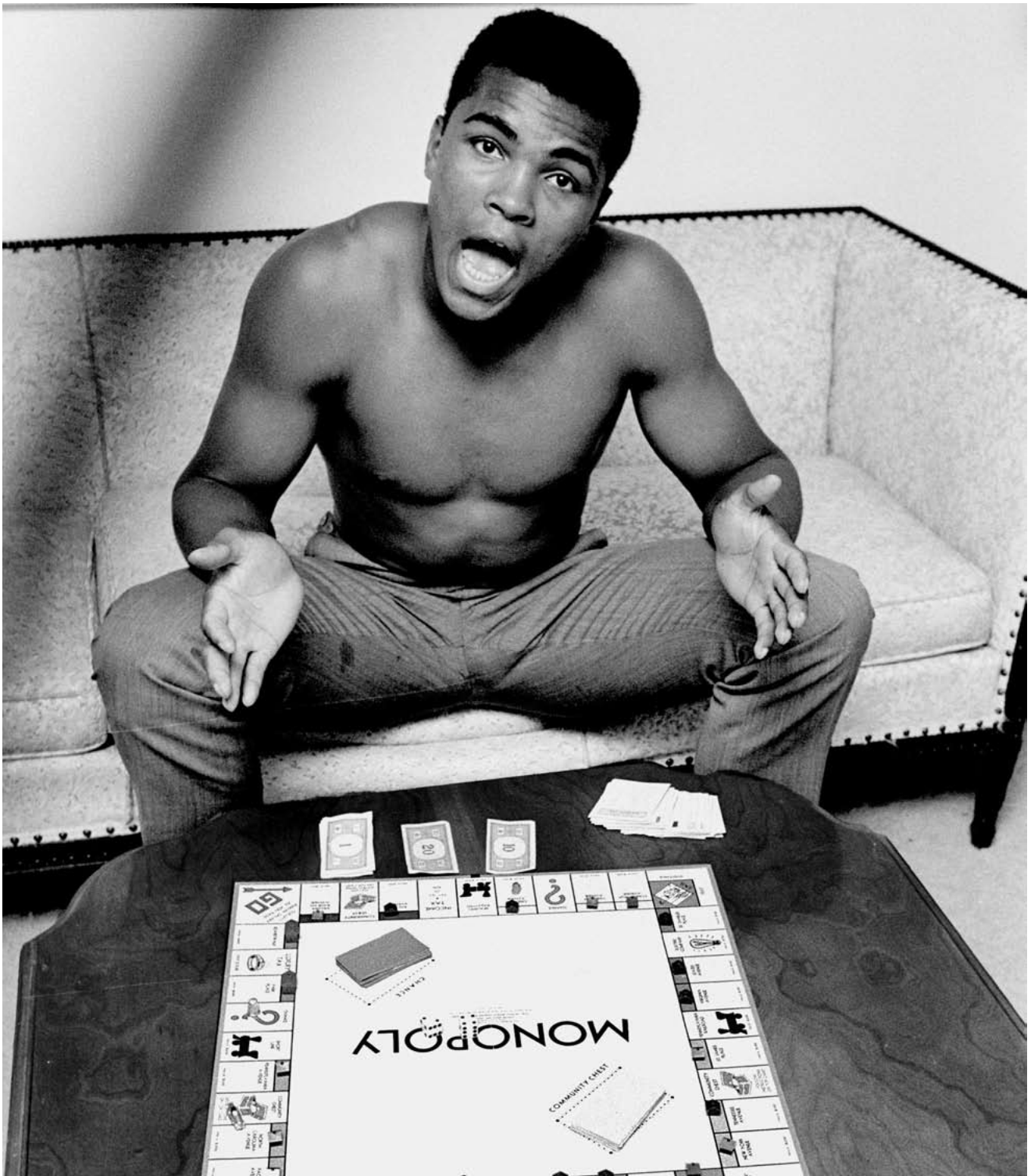
“Well, believe it or not, I still have the picture you took of the moment I first met Muhammad. It is framed and in our home in Michigan. I want to thank you for sending those pictures to our family because I do believe it was fate that I met Muhammad that day and you were there to memorialise it forever in black and white.”

Lonnie was the girl Ali never forgot: she be-

came his fourth wife in 1986, 23 years after that photograph was taken; and lived with him until his death in 2016.

Lonnie’s letter is just one of the book’s significant insights into the early life of Ali. In another, Schapiro recounts how, a few days later, the champ was snubbed by another boxing legend, Sugar Ray Robinson, when he arrived in New York City, while the book also features an eloquent introduction taken from by Jack Olsen’s book, *Black is Best: The Riddle of Cassius Clay*.

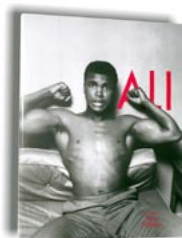
But it is Schapiro’s photographs, many never been published before, that make *Ali* an outstanding contribution to the huge library of



THE GREATEST: Later to become famous as Muhammad Ali, Cassius Clay always had something to say.

books celebrating the life of Ali. Those classic images contrast the fighter's unguarded and intimate family life with the brash exuberance that became his trademark as he rose to become the world's most unforgettable sporting icon.

– Tony Sutton



ALI

By Steve Schapiro

Published by

powerHouse Books

www.powerhousebooks.com

\$50

Government eyes are watching you

We are all prisoners of the surveillance state

“We’re run by the Pentagon, we’re run by Madison Avenue, we’re run by television, and as long as we accept those things and don’t revolt we’ll have to go along with the stream to the eventual avalanche.... As long as we go out and buy stuff, we’re at their mercy... We all live in a little Village. Your Village may be different from other people’s Villages, but we are all prisoners.”
– Patrick McGoohan, *The Prisoner*

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FIRST broadcast 50 years ago, *The Prisoner* – a dystopian television series described as “James Bond meets George Orwell filtered through Franz Kafka” – confronted societal themes that are still relevant today: the rise of a police state, the freedom of the individual, round-the-clock surveillance, the corruption of government, totalitarianism, weaponisation, group think, mass marketing, and the tendency of humankind to meekly accept their lot in life as a prisoner in a prison of their own making.

Perhaps the best visual debate ever on individuality and freedom, *The Prisoner* (17 episodes in all) centres around a British secret agent who abruptly resigns only to find himself imprisoned and interrogated in a mysterious, self-contained, cosmopolitan, seemingly tranquil retirement community known only as The Village.

The Village is a virtual prison disguised as a seaside paradise: its inhabitants have no true freedom, they cannot leave the Village, they are under constant surveillance, their movements

are tracked by surveillance drones, and they are stripped of their individuality and identified only by numbers.

The series’ protagonist, played by Patrick McGoohan, is Number Six.

“I am not a number. I am a free man,” was the mantra chanted on each episode of *The Prisoner*, which was largely written and directed by McGoohan.

In the opening episode (“The Arrival”), Number Six is told that he is in The Village because information stored “inside” his head has made him too valuable to be allowed to roam free “outside”.

Throughout the series, Number Six is subjected to interrogation tactics, torture, hallucinogenic drugs, identity theft, mind control, dream manipulation, and various forms of social indoctrination and physical coercion in order to “persuade” him to comply, give up, give in and subjugate himself to the will of the powers-that-be.

He refuses to comply.

In each episode, Number Six resists the Village’s indoctrination methods, struggles to maintain his own identity, and attempts to escape his captors.

“I will not make any deals with you,” he pointedly remarks. “I’ve resigned. I will not be pushed, filed, stamped, indexed, debriefed or numbered. My life is my own.”

Yet no matter how far Number Six manages to

get in his efforts to escape, it's never far enough.

Watched by surveillance cameras and other devices, Number Six's getaways are continuously thwarted by ominous white balloon-like spheres known as "rovers". Still, he refuses to give up. "Unlike me", he says to his fellow prisoners, "many of you have accepted the situation of your imprisonment, and will die here like rotten cabbages".

Number Six's escapes become a surreal exercise in futility, each episode an unsettling, reoccurring nightmare that builds to the same frustrating denouement: there is no escape.

The series is a chilling lesson about how difficult it is to gain one's freedom in a society in which prison walls are disguised within the trappings of technological and scientific progress, national security and so-called democracy.

As Thill noted when McGoohan died in 2009, "The Prisoner was an allegory of the individual, aiming to find peace and freedom in a dystopia masquerading as a utopia".

The Prisoner's Village is also an apt allegory for the American police state: it gives the illusion of freedom while functioning all the while like a prison: controlled, watchful, inflexible, punitive, deadly and inescapable.

The American police state, much like *The Prisoner's Village*, is a metaphorical panopticon, a circular prison in which the inmates are monitored by a single watchman situated in a central tower.

Because the inmates cannot see the watchman, they are unable to tell whether or not they are being watched at any given time and must proceed under the assumption that they are always being watched.

Eighteenth-century social theorist Jeremy Bentham's panopticon has become a model for the modern surveillance state in which the populace is constantly being watched, controlled and managed by the powers-that-be and funding its existence.

Nowhere to run and nowhere to hide: this is the new mantra of the architects of the police state and their corporate collaborators (Face-

book, Amazon, Netflix, Google, YouTube, Instagram, etc.). We now find ourselves in the unenviable position of being monitored, managed and controlled by our technology, which answers not to us but to our government and corporate rulers.

Consider that on any given day, the average American going about his daily business will be monitored, surveilled, spied on and tracked in more than 20 different ways, by both government and corporate eyes and ears.

This is the electronic concentration camp – the panopticon prison – the Village – in which we are now caged. It is a prison from which there will be no escape if the government gets it way.

Unfortunately, as I make clear in my book *Battlefield America: The War on the American People*, we seem to be trapped in the Village with no hope of escape.

That we are prisoners – and, in fact, never stopped being prisoners – should come as no surprise to those who haven't been taking the escapist blue pill, who haven't fallen for the Deep State's phony rhetoric, and who haven't been lured in by the promise of a political savior.

So how do we break out?

For starters, wake up. Resist the urge to comply.

Think for yourself. Be an individual. As McGoohan commented in 1968, "At this moment individuals are being drained of their personalities and being brainwashed into slaves... As long as people feel something, that's the great thing. It's when they are walking around not thinking and not feeling, that's tough. When you get a mob like that, you can turn them into the sort of gang that Hitler had."

We have come full circle from Bentham's Panopticon to McGoohan's Village to Huxley's Brave New World.

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John W Whitehead is a constitutional attorney and author, and founder and president of the Rutherford Institute. His new book Battlefield America: The War on the American People (SelectBooks, 2015) is available online at www.amazon.com. Whitehead can be contacted at johnw@rutherford.org

World Cup: Patriotic joy meets propaganda

Soccer action meets the media's alternative reality during Russia's World Cup finals

SENIOR *Guardian* sports writer Barney Ronay indicated the basic tone of early corporate coverage of the Russia 2018 World Cup: “Moscow is like a giant scale version of Lewisham”.

Journalist Peter Osborne responded: “I know Moscow. It is one of the great cities of the world. Barney Ronay should stick to sports reporting. He diminishes himself by trying to join in *Guardian* anti-Russian sneering”.

In fact, Ronay had already joined the *Guardian*'s sneering with his review of the World Cup's opening ceremony and first match. He commented: “There was the required grimly magisterial speech from your host for the night, Mr Vladimir Putin”.

The intended irony being, of course, that the grim “Mr Vladimir Putin” – think Vlad the Impaler – was hosting a joyous sporting occasion. And we do not mean to suggest that there is not much that is grim about Putin's Russia (as Osborne also made clear in an excellent article he tweeted to people who responded to his criticism of Ronay); that is not our point.

For Ronay, the grimness was inescapable, as he noted in describing the opening match between Russia and Saudi Arabia: “This match had been dubbed *El Gasico* by some, a reference to the fact these two nations host between them a quarter of the world's crude oil reserves. Perhaps something a bit darker – El Kalashniko? – might have been more apt given the distressingly tangled relations between these two en-

ergy caliphates, who are currently the best of frenemies, convivial sponsors of opposing sides in the Syrian war”.

Although Ronay is a sports writer, realpolitik was a running theme throughout his review of the opening ceremony: “Here the powerplay was on show for all to see, the stadium TV cameras cutting away mid-game to show shots of Putin and Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salman leaning in to swap gobbets of power gossip in the VIP cockpit. Lodged between them sat the slightly jarring figure of Gianni Infantino, the mouse who roared, an administrator who really must blink now and then and wonder what exactly he's doing here. Football does get itself into the strangest of places”.

Ronay added: “A few weeks ago Fifa produced a film showing Putin and Infantino doing keep-ups together inside the Kremlin. Even here the dark hand of the Putin alternative reality machine was felt, with talk that the president's performance had been doctored by technicians to make his skills sicker, more convincing, less the usual middle-aged mess of toe-pokes and shinners”.

Driven by an army of “Russian bots”, the “Putin alternative reality machine” is supposed to be distorting everything from Brexit to Trump's presidency, to Corbyn's rise to prominence, but is mostly an excuse for the West's alternative reality machine to attack internet freedom that



Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salma of Saudi Arabia, Fifa boss Gianni Infantino and Russia's President Vladimir Putin at the opening match of the 2018 FIFA World Cup between Russia and Saudi Arabia. Russia won 5-0.

has left the establishment shaken, not stirred.

Finally, Ronay added: “To squeals and roars Putin appeared at last to deliver a speech about the joys of football, not to mention peace, love and understanding, all of which are great. It was perhaps a little rambling and terse, less opening day Santa Claus, more notoriously frightening local vicar called away from his books to open the village fete”.

Chief *Guardian* sports writer Martha Kerner, formerly of the *Daily Mail* and niece of the former *Independent* editor Simon Kelner who was at one time deputy sports editor at the *Independent*, also focused on the ominous undertones: “Just 15 minutes before kick-off, the Russian president was driven in a convoy of cars with blacked out windows into an underground space beneath the 81,000-seat stadium. Large swaths of the crowd burst into a spontaneous chant of ‘Vladimir, Vladimir’. When Russia won the right to host the World Cup eight years ago the Russian president possibly expected it to be an opportunity to ingratiate himself with the international community. The aims have changed drastically since then, with Russia’s involvement in wars in Ukraine and Syria, allegations of med-

dling in foreign elections and one of the biggest doping scandals in sporting history.”

Perhaps in 2012, some free-thinking *Guardian* journalist reviewed the opening ceremony of the London Olympics, noting that David Cameron “possibly expected” the Games “to be an opportunity to ingratiate himself with the international community”, having destroyed Libya in 2011, and having voted for the war that destroyed Iraq in 2003. In reality, of course, there was no need for Cameron to ingratiate himself – it was precisely the “international community” that had committed these crimes.

Like all Bond villains, Putin was joined by other leaders of a lesser God: “Putin was joined in the VIP box by a host of lesser known world leaders including Shavkat Mirziyoyev, the president of Uzbekistan, Sooronbay Jeenbekov, the president of Kyrgyzstan, and Juan Carlos Varela, the president of Panama”.

But Kerner glimpsed light in the darkness: “There was evidence, too, of progress being made through football in the less enlightened corners of the world. Yasser, an IT engineer from Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia, attended the game with his wife and two primary school age daughters. They were surprise visitors, especially as women were not even allowed into foot-

ball stadiums in Saudi Arabia until January this year”.

It would never occur to a *Daily Mail/Guardian* journalist that Britain and its leading allies might be considered “less enlightened corners of the world”, given their staggering record of selecting, installing, arming and otherwise supporting dictators in “less enlightened corners”, including Saudi Arabia as it devastates famine-stricken Yemen.

Kelner’s piece included a video clip showing Williams giving the middle finger to his critics

A *Guardian* TV guide commented: “Expect a fearsomely drilled opening ceremony live from Moscow’s Luzhniki Stadium, followed by a human rights activist’s dream of an opening fixture as Russia take on Saudi Arabia.” (Catterall, Ali; Harrison, Phil; Howlett, Paul; Mueller, Andrew; Seale, Jack; et al, *Thursday’s best TV: The Trouble with Women; Fifa World Cup*, the *Guardian*, June 14, 2018)

We can be sure that the England team has never featured in “a human rights activist’s dream”.

The *Guardian* sneers were very much extended to singer Robbie Williams who performed at the opening ceremony. A piece by Mattha Busby reported: “Robbie Williams has been accused of selling his soul to the ‘dictator’ Vladimir Putin after it emerged he will be performing in Russia for the football World Cup”.

Busby cited Labour MP Stephen Doughty, who voted for war on Iraq and Syria: “It is surprising and disappointing to hear that such a great British artist as Robbie Williams, who has been an ally of human rights campaigns and the LGBT+ community, has apparently agreed to be paid by Russia and Fifa to sing at the World Cup opener.

“At a time when Russian jets are bombing civilians in Syria, the Russian state is poisoning people on the streets of Britain, as well as persecuting LGBT+ people in Chechnya and elsewhere – let alone attempting to undermine our democracies – I can only assume Robbie will be

speaking out on these issues alongside his performance?”

The *Guardian* clearly felt the point needed underlining. It also cited John Woodcock MP, who voted for war on Afghanistan, Libya, Syria and Iraq: “We all want to support the England team but Robbie Williams is handing Vladimir Putin a PR coup by performing at the thuggish pariah’s opening ceremony just months after Russia carried out a chemical weapons attack on English soil”.

Nobody criticised Paul McCartney, Mike Oldfield or indeed the Queen for participating in the London 2012 opening ceremony. But then nobody could think of any reasons for considering David Cameron a “thuggish pariah”.

Former *Guardian* music editor, Michael Hann, observed dismissively: “Williams’s stardom has been largely confined to Europe and isn’t of the wattage it once was. Still, nothing hung around long enough to get dull ...”

As for the event: “It was short, it was mostly painless. And it was completely pointless.”

Kelner’s piece included a tweeted video clip from England footballer Kyle Walker showing Williams giving the middle finger to his critics, with Walker commenting sarcastically: “So nice of Robbie to say hello”.

In the *Times*, under the title, “Fans give Moscow shiny, happy feel to help Putin create image of harmony”, chief football correspondent Oliver Kay scratched his head in bewilderment, asking: “What does Russia want from this tournament?” Kay rejected out of hand the notion that it was “about trying to convince the rest of the world that Russia is open to embracing what the West would regard as a modern, progressive approach to life”. (Oliver Kay, the *Times*, June 13, 2018)

Fellow *Times* journalists and other Westerners taking a “modern, progressive approach to life” will have nodded sagely from their more “enlightened corners of the world”.

Broadcast media were happy to join in this New Cold War fun. The *Telegraph* noted of ITV’s senior football commentator Clive Tyldesley: “One man who is definitely not going mushy on

us is Clive Tyldesley. The great man was in fine form on commentary, getting a reducer in early doors with an anecdote about the Russian manager, Stanislav Cherchesov, having a nationally-celebrated moustache and observing that ‘Stalin had a proper ‘tache’. Somewhere, [football commentator] Andy Townsend murmured, half to himself, ‘a cult of personality dictator who slaughtered millions of his own citizens? Not for me, Clive.’” (*Clive Tyldesley takes on Vladimir Putin as ITV kicks off World Cup with brilliant opening broadcast – Telegraph*, June 14, 2018)

And: “The camera dutifully sought out President Putin after the opening, mildly controversial goal; the top man was shaking hands with the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia. Clive: ‘They are doing an oil deal, nothing to do with the match.’”

The London 2012 Olympic Games’ opening was widely hailed as “a masterpiece”

Discussions of ugly realpolitik do have a place in sports analysis. But did UK and US realpolitik in plundering Iraq and Libya’s oil, in propping up dictators in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Turkey, Kuwait, Uzbekistan, in supporting Israel’s ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, in obstructing action on catastrophic climate change, in subordinating Third World people to power and profit over hundreds of years, make it into sports reviews of the London Olympics, or any other UK or US sporting event?

The *Sun* reported of broadcaster Gabby Roslin: “Despite her excitement, Gabby, 45, does have some reservations about being in Russia.

“I’d be lying if I said I was completely free and easy and it will be just like a weekend Marbella, because it won’t,’ she admits. ‘But you have to be open to cultural differences and not try to change it and make it fit for you. Russia are not going to do that.’” (*World in motion: Your TV schedule is about to be taken over by football as 2018 World Cup kicks off in Russia*, *The Sun*, June 9, 2018)

And then there was “Putin’s Russia with David Dimbleby”, a BBC One special. A TV guide in

the *Telegraph* commented: “In a democracy if you fail to deliver on economic promises, if you surround yourself with cronies and use the law to suppress opposition, you would rightly be thrown out on your ear. But this is Russia, they do things differently here...” So begins David Dimbleby’s thoughtful film in which – as the eyes of the world turn towards Moscow for the 2018 World Cup football tournament – he takes the opportunity to cast an eye over Vladimir Putin’s 18 years as leader and assess the state of Russia today, especially in regard to the West.” (*What’s on TV tonight: Putin’s Russia, The Fight for Women’s Bodies and Beetlejuice*, *The Telegraph*, June 13, 2018)

They also do things differently at the BBC. On January 18, 1991 - one day after the US-UK’s Operation Desert Storm had begun devastating Iraq with 88,500 tons of bombs, the equivalent of seven Hiroshimas, just 7 percent of them ‘smart bombs’ – Dimbleby asked the US ambassador to Britain: “Isn’t it in fact true that America is... by dint of the very accuracy of the weapons we’ve seen, the only potential world policeman? You may have to operate under the United Nations, but it’s beginning to look as though you’re going to have to be in the Middle East, just as in the previous part of this century, we and the French were in the Middle East.” (Quoted, John Eldridge, *Getting The Message: News, Truth and Power*, Routledge, 2003, p.14)

Dimbleby retained his job as an impartial, objective public broadcaster. In fact, nobody noticed anything controversial at all.

By contrast, the London 2012 Olympic Games’ opening ceremony was widely hailed as “a masterpiece”. For the *Daily Telegraph* it was “brilliant, breathtaking, bonkers and utterly British”. The BBC’s chief sports writer Tom Fordyce commented: “no-one expected... it would be quite so gloriously daft, so cynicism-squashingly charming and, well, so much pinch-yourself fun”.

“Cynicism”, which certainly had been “squashed”, was off the agenda. In an article titled, “Festival of Light”, the *Times* preached from a patriotic pulpit: “From London these next few

weeks will come joy in a time of trouble, will come spectacular feats and great human dramas, will come triumph and will come tears. The great dream of the Olympic founders, that the Games would eliminate war, was naive. But they can at least unite us in common endeavour. Mankind has many moments of great darkness, but this will be a festival of light.

“Yesterday’s opening ceremony was a triumph. Adventurous, self-confident, playful, entertaining and all with a sense of history. It was suffused, in other words, with the spirit of the Games to come... Festival of Light: Great feats of athletic ability; great unscripted stories of triumph and disaster; a great sense of national spirit. Britain will rise to a shining occasion... For our country, as well as the athletes from around the world, this is a time to shine.”

This was a time to exalt in Britain’s greatness, “a time to shine”. It was not a time to sneer at *our* great wars of aggression.

In an article titled, Let’s build on the triumph and hope of Danny Boyle’s night, the *Observer’s* editors also waxed lyrical on the opening ceremony: “Sport has a special hold on the imagination. This is sport of the most special kind. We didn’t drop the torch. We didn’t foul up or shrink from the daring option. We put creativity first. Now, why on earth should all that go hang when it’s all over?”

The *Observer* sought out any remaining readers not yet reduced to tears of patriotic joy: “It sought to sum up a country – a very multicultural land manifestly – which had played a full part in world literature, world construction, world invention (even if very few of those feats are taught in our core curriculum these days). It was anxious to show us, in short, that we’d mattered – and hint that we could perhaps matter again.” (Leading article, *London 2012: Let’s build on the triumph and hope of Danny Boyle’s night*, the *Observer*, July 29, 2012)

Jonathan Freedland wrote in the *Guardian*: “Here too the opening ceremony set the tone, suggesting that we should love the country we have become – informal, mixed, quirky – rather than the one we used to be.”

Freedland soared on a reverie of poetic pos-

sibility. The Olympics had offered hope of a place ‘where patriotism is heartfelt, but of the soft and civic rather than naked and aggressive variety; a place that welcomes visitors from abroad and cheers louder for the Turkish woman who came last in a 3,000m steeplechase heat than it did for the winner.

“This is the Britain we let ourselves see these past two weeks. It will slip from view as time passes, but we are not condemned to forget it. We don’t have to be like the long-ago poet who once wrote: ‘Did you exist? Or did I dream a dream?’”

The sublime, lovely and inspirational were everywhere in reviews of the London 2012 opening ceremony and games. Three weeks before the ceremony, Amnesty International published a report, *Libya: Rule of law or rule of militias?*, based on the findings of an Amnesty visit to Libya in May and June 2012.

The militias, Amnesty reported, were now “threatening the very future of Libya and casting a shadow over landmark national elections... They are killing people, making arbitrary arrests, torturing detainees and forcibly displacing and terrorising entire communities... They are also recklessly using machineguns, mortars and other weaponry during tribal and territorial battles, killing and maiming bystanders. They act above the law, committing their crimes without fear of punishment.”

Amnesty added: “The entire population of the city of Tawargha, estimated at 30,000, was driven out by Misratah militias and remains scattered across Libya, including in poorly resourced camps in Tripoli and Benghazi.”

None of this was up for discussion by Britain’s sports writers and broadcasters, nor even by its political commentators. It would have been deemed as outrageous for journalists to mention UK realpolitik then as it would for them to not make at least some passing reference to brutal Russian realpolitik now. **CT**

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David Edwards is co-editor of *Media Lens* – www.medialens.org – the UK media watchdog.

ColdType Insights

- SIMON WILLMETTS
- RICK SALUTIN
- RAMZY BAROUD
- GRANVILLE WILLIAMS



Allen Ginsberg.
Photo: Michiel Hendryckx
Wikimedia

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When Allen Ginsberg met the head of the CIA

Simon Willmetts recounts an encounter that led to a bizarre wager about the CIA's illegal opium trade in South East Asia

It is difficult to imagine a more unlikely pairing. Allen Ginsberg, beat poet and icon of the counterculture, and Richard Helms, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 1966-1973, during the most controversial years of the Vietnam War. But in March 1971, in a drawing room of the Corcoran Gallery in Washington DC, the two came face to face in a fittingly bizarre encounter.

Ginsberg, due to give a reading at the gallery that evening, approached Helms with a wager. He told Helms that he suspected the CIA of being involved in the illegal opium trade in South-East Asia. If he was right about this controversial allegation, Ginsberg proposed that Helms should agree to meditate for one hour every day for the rest of his life. "It is terribly important to get him into an improved mind-

consciousness," Ginsberg later told reporters.

But if Ginsberg was wrong, and Helms could demonstrate the innocence of his agency, then Ginsberg agreed to gift Helms his Vajra, a brass Buddhist-Hindu ritual instrument that symbolised "the lightning doctrine of sudden illumination". Confident that, on this score at least, the CIA had nothing to hide, Helms agreed to the bargain.

A year later, Ginsberg sent Helms a clipping from the *Far Eastern Review* that reported a number of sightings by journalists of piles of raw opium being readied for sale in full view of CIA agents. A January 1972 exposé in *Ramparts* magazine, which five years earlier had first

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exposed details of the CIA's infiltration of the National Students' Association, lent further credence to Ginsberg's charges.

Accompanying the clippings, a smug Ginsberg sent Helms some notes and advice on meditation techniques, including guidance on appropriate posture and breathing:

"My abuse in your confidence in betting with me may be excused if you sit empty minded peaceful – at least forgiven".

Perhaps more troubling for Helms though, particularly at a time of mounting public suspicion of the CIA, was the publicity that Ginsberg gave to these allegations.

50 A few months after their encounter Ginsberg wrote an open letter to Senator Clifford P Hansen asking him to investigate the matter. Hansen refused, and instead issued a firm rebuttal in an open letter that was drafted for him by the CIA's public affairs staff.

But Ginsberg wasn't one to give up. The following winter, he raised the issue again, this time on television, as a guest on the Dick Cavett Show. And then in March 1972 Ginsberg published the first draft of his ever-evolving poem *CIA Dope Calypso* in an issue of *Earth* magazine that contained a series of damning articles about the CIA by other authors. The poem ends:

*All these Dealers were decades and today
The Indochinese Mob of the CIA*



Richard Helms, CIA Director, 1966-1973. Photo: CIA archives

The poem drew heavily from the analysis of Alfred W McCoy, a graduate student at Yale who was commissioned by Harper and Row to write a study of the purported heroin epidemic in Vietnam. Ginsberg had met McCoy at a rally in New Haven to free Black Panther leader Huey P Newton. "His vision was expansive and poetic, while mine was historical and documentarian," recalled McCoy:

"But we met in the common ground of unpublished dispatches from Time/Life correspondents about opium trafficking in South-East Asia that he had somehow obtained and he mailed me a few days later".

McCoy's book, based on more than 250 interviews with heroin dealers, police officials, and former French and American intelligence agents was published later that year as *The Politics of Heroin in South-East Asia*. Needless to say, it supported Ginsberg's accusation that the CIA were complicit in the opium

trade. When the CIA found out about McCoy's book after he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, they took strong objection to it.

Cord Meyer, the CIA's deputy director of plans, was sent to pay a visit to Harper and Row's offices in New York and petitioned the publisher to share the galley proofs with them prior to publication. Reluctantly, Harper and Row consented. But the CIA's intervention backfired. Against their objections, Harper and Row chose to publish the work in full, and speeded up the production of the book by a month to cash in on the controversy. "

I had hoped that my work would be interesting enough to spark a public debate," McCoy later wrote, "now the CIA, by attempting to suppress it, has itself sparked the debate". After it was published, Ginsberg was often seen marching at protests with a copy on his head, exclaiming "he had something on his mind".

It was not the first time the CIA had been subjected to Ginsberg's particular brand of activist irreverence. During the trial of the "Ann Arbor Three", a group of White Panther activists accused of blowing up a CIA recruitment station in Michigan, Ginsberg appeared as a defence witness, proclaiming himself as the spokesperson for all young people under the age of 28 in his vociferous opposition to the CIA (a claim that

was vigorously rejected by the prosecution).

But perhaps there was a grain of truth in Ginsberg's somewhat tongue-in-cheek exaggeration. Though he certainly couldn't claim to speak for the silent majority that swept Richard Nixon into a second term of office just a few weeks after the publication of McCoy's book, he was undoubtedly one of the most high-profile representatives of the American counterculture and anti-war movement.

As a result, he played a small but significant role in raising the American public's suspicions about their most secretive foreign intelligence agency at

a time of immense discord and social upheaval. And, in the process, he helped to cement the CIA's place in American culture as a lightning rod for wider public anxieties regarding secrecy and the excesses of US foreign policy. **CT**

*Simon Willmetts is a lecturer in American Studies at the University of Hull in England. His book, **In Secrecy's Shadow: The OSS and CIA in Hollywood**, charts the history of the relationship between US intelligence and the American film industry.*

This article first appeared at www.theconversation.com

the social and cultural contexts that made sense of their lives and showered them with care, all but destroyed them, or did so.

These kids have already lost the anchor of community and what remained to hold onto was its molecular unit, the family. So remove that too!

You get the sense some of these policy-makers long ago lost any sense of rootedness and care themselves and hate the thought of others enjoying it. Trump confidant Corey Lewandowski mocked the detention of a 10-year-old with Down syndrome, separated from her mom, with a "Wah, Wah." I don't think it's accidental that he used a child's voice. He's one of many adults in whom you can see the kid they were, if you just squint and lose the suit.

The head of the US Chamber of Commerce objected, "This is not who we are and it must end now." In fact, his statement rings truer if you remove the "not": "This is who we are – and it must end now."

There's a racial othering of these kids, for sure. But it rings with another level of hostility, the sort Callwood meant. Kids are endlessly evocative.

I once had a shrink to whom I mused, "You know, it's almost as if my dad wants me to fail. Isn't that ridiculous?" He looked up with rare interest and said, "Well, could there be any reason that might be true?" And, of course, there was. But it's not the sort of truth one likes to

It's about the kids, but that's not all

Our outrage masks the reality that children in our society are often misunderstood and manipulated, says **Rick Salutin**

THE late June Callwood, the Canadian author and social activist, sometimes said, as if it were as obvious as the weather, that we live in societies that hate children. I've often wished I'd asked what she meant. I thought it again last month. after US Attorney-General Jeff Sessions wrote about Latino refugee kids jailed apart from their parents: "These children are well cared for. In fact, they get better care than a lot of American kids do ... plenty of food, education in their

language, health and dental care ... at taxpayer expense." That's close to saying they're better off imprisoned in the US, and should be grateful.

It's a deep misunderstanding, not just of what kids need but what everyone needs. Economist Karl Polanyi wrote that Africans transported to the Americas as slaves, as well as Indigenous North American peoples forced onto reserves or reservations, may have gained higher living standards by some measures, but so what? Uprooting them from

confront, individually or collectively.

In this case, the hostility comes from sheer villains, like Lewandowski and Sessions, and from more sympathetic sorts, like Rust Belt Trump voters who've seen their own contexts smashed by the economic forces of free trade and neo-liberalism. No, they thunder, they're not bothered by those kids in cages: "Because they're well cared for. We're paying \$700 a day per child."

What's particularly poignant is that the kids and their parents aren't just fleeing to the US, they're fleeing from the results of US policies in violence-drenched countries like Guatemala (where US complicity extends to a CIA-backed coup in 1954); El Salvador, where the US was behind a gory civil war in the 1980s; and Honduras currently, where the US supported a 2009 military coup against a democratic election, and has meddled forever. At the same time neo-liberal US policies at home have created a constituency ready to blame Latino immigrants for the lives and jobs they've lost.

So it's about more than the kids, but it's about the kids.

I know a young millennial who says he can see what I and my peers missed when we were in our twenties and felt sure we'd identified all the areas requiring radical change. (I think it was imperialism and stuff like that.)

What we missed were, among other things, issues around gender and the environment. There were hints and ripples, of course, but nothing like what developed in recent years. He says he expects to find out decades from now what he and

his generation missed. Could it be the kids? Or is it always the kids? **CT**

Rick Salutin is an author and social activist. This article was first published by the Toronto Star.

How Europe can end its refugee crisis

Politicians may ignore the root cause of the refugee problem, but the crisis will not go away, writes **Ramzy Baroud**

EUROPE is facing its most significant refugee crisis since World War II. All attempts at resolving the issue have failed, mostly because those charged with doing so have ignored the root causes of the problem.

Furthermore, on 11 June, Italy's new Interior Minister, Matteo Salvini, blocked the Aquarius rescue ship from docking in Italian ports. It was carrying 629 refugees and economic migrants. A statement by Doctors without Borders (MSF) stated that the passengers included 123 unaccompanied minors and seven pregnant women.

"From now on," said Salvini, who also heads the far-right League Party, "Italy begins to say NO to the traffic of human beings, NO to the business of illegal immigration."

The number of refugees was repeated in news broadcasts time and again, as a mere

statistic. In reality, there were 629 precious lives at stake, each human being with a compelling reason why s/he has undertaken the potentially deadly journey to Europe.

While the cruelty of refusing entry to a boat laden with desperate refugees is obvious, it has to be viewed within a larger narrative pertaining to the rapidly changing political landscape in Europe and the crises under way in the Middle East and North Africa. Italy's new government, a coalition of the anti-establishment Five-Star Movement and the right-wing League Party, seems intent on stopping the flow of refugees into the country, as promised on the campaign trail. However, if politicians continue to ignore the root causes of the problem, the refugee crisis will not go away on its own.

The disturbing truth is this: Europe is accountable for much

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of the mayhem underway in the Middle East. Right-wing pundits may wish to omit that part of the debate altogether, but facts will not simply disappear when ignored.

European politicians should confront the question honestly: what are the reasons for millions of people leaving their homes? They must then fashion equally honest and humane solutions. Put simply, they need to stop the wars to end the refugee crisis. Look at the facts.

In 2017, an uprising-turned-civil-war in Syria led to the exodus of millions of refugees. Ahmed is a 55-year old Syrian refugee, who fled the country with his wife and two children. His reason for leaving was nothing less than the grinding, deadly war.

“I was born in Homs,” he told the UN refugee agency, “and I wanted to live there until the end, but this vicious war left us no other choice but to leave all behind. For the sake of my children’s future, we had to take the risk.”

Ahmed explained that he had to pay the smuggler \$8,000 for each member of his family. “I’ve never done anything illegal in my whole life, but there was no other solution.”

Saving his family meant breaking the rules; I have no doubt that millions of people the



LOST AT SEA!: Refugees aboard the Aquarius, which finally docked in Spain after being refused entry by Italy.

world over would do the same thing if confronted with the same grim dilemma. In fact, millions have.

African immigrants are often blamed for “taking advantage” of the porous Libyan coastline to “sneak” into Europe. The reality, though, is that many of those refugees lived peacefully in Libya and were only forced to flee following the NATO-led war on Libya in March 2011.

“I’m originally from Nigeria and I had been living in Libya for five years when the war broke out,” wrote Hakim Bello in the *Guardian*. “I had a good life: I was working as a tailor and I earned enough to send money home to loved ones. But after the fighting started, people like us – black people – became very vulnerable. If you went out for something to eat, a gang would stop you and ask if you supported them. They might be rebels, they might be government, you didn’t know.”

The security mayhem in

Libya led not only to the persecution of many Libyans, but also millions of African workers like Bello. Many of those workers could neither go home nor stay in Libya. They, too, joined the dangerous mass exodus to Europe.

War-ravaged Afghanistan has served as a tragic model of the same story. Ajmal Sadiqi escaped from the country, which has been in a constant state of war for

many years. The situation there has taken a much deadlier turn since the US invasion in 2001.

Sadiqi told CNN that the vast majority of those who joined him on his journey from Afghanistan to Turkey, Greece and other EU countries died along the way. However, like many in the same situation, he had few alternatives.

“Afghanistan has been at war for 50 years and things are never going to change,” he said. “Here, I have nothing, but I feel safe. I can walk on the street without being afraid.”

Alas, that sense of safety is, perhaps, temporary. Many in Europe are refusing to examine their own responsibility for creating or feeding conflicts around the world; they only perceive the refugees as a threat.

Despite the obvious correlation between western-sustained wars and the EU’s refugee crisis, no moral awakening has

yet been realised. Worse still, France and Italy are now involved in exploiting the current warring factions in Libya for their own interests.

Even in Syria, the EU is hardly innocent. The war there has resulted in a massive surge in refugees, most of whom are hosted by neighbouring Middle Eastern countries, although many have set sail in leaky vessels to seek safety in Europe.

“All of Europe has a responsibility to stop people from drowning,” insisted Bello. “It’s partly due to their actions in Africa that people have had to leave their homes.” Countries such as Britain, France, Belgium and Germany, he added, think that they are far away and not responsible. “But they all took part in colonising Africa. NATO took part in the war in Libya. They’re all part of the problem.”

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As you would expect, Italy’s Salvini and other politicians like

him refuse to frame the crisis in such a way. They use whichever discourse is necessary to guarantee votes, while ignoring the obvious fact that, without Europe’s military interventions, economic exploitation and political meddling, a refugee crisis - at least one of this magnitude - would probably not exist in the first place. Until this fact is recognised by EU governments, the flow of refugees will continue, raising political tension and contributing to the tragic loss of lives of innocent people, whose only desire is simple survival. Is that too much to ask? **CT**

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Ramzy Baroud is a journalist, author and editor of *Palestine Chronicle*. His forthcoming book is *The Last Earth: A Palestinian Story* (Pluto Press, London). His website is www.ramzybaroud.net. (Romana Rubeo, an Italian writer, also contributed)

or maternity problems and three for major trauma. At least 1,800 people work year-round at the Rugeley warehouse, with an additional 2,000 employed during the peak Christmas period.

In contrast, just eight calls were made over the same period from a nearby, similar-sized, Tesco warehouse, where about 1,300 people work, according to another FOI request by the union.

So what’s happening? Well, the first thing is that Tesco recognises trade unions, with most of its warehouse workers members of the shop workers’ union, USDAW, while Amazon fiercely resists unions.

But that is only part of the story. To get a clear sense of what working life is like in Amazon you need to have someone who has been immersed in the experience of living and working with other people employed by the company.

That’s how James Bloodworth went about drawing together the often disturbing material contained in *Hired: Six Months Undercover in Low-Wage Britain*. His book joins a list of other titles exploring, for people fortunate enough to be in secure, well-paid jobs and secure accommodation, an invisible world of insecure employment and poverty pay. Other recent outstanding books in this list includes Barbara Ehrenreich’s *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America* (2001) and Polly Toynbee’s *Hard Work: Life in Low-Pay Britain* (2003).

However, in contrast to these

In the shoes of an Amazon worker...

New book exposes the misery of life in low-pay Britain, and shows the need for trade unions, writes **Granville Williams**

A **HEADLINE** in the Guardian newspaper on May 31 this year was dramatic: “Amazon accused of treating UK warehouse staff like robots.” The article told how one of the biggest UK unions – the GMB – had used a Freedom

of Information request to discover that ambulances had been called out to the online retailer’s UK warehouses 600 times in the past three years. 115 of those call-outs were to Amazon’s site in Rugeley, Staffordshire, including three relating to pregnancy

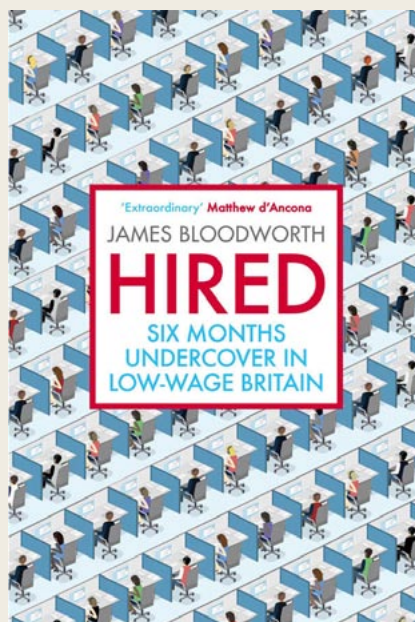
Insights

two books, written when the UK and US economies were booming, Bloodworth writes about working life in the years of austerity that followed the 2008 financial crisis – years that saw the coining of the term “gig economy”. He points out that the UK is enjoying “record levels of employment ... but an increasing proportion of this work is poorly paid, precarious and without regular hours.”

Bloodworth worked at Amazon’s Rugeley site, as a care worker in Blackpool, for an Admiral insurance call centre in South Wales, and with Uber in London, all either without contracts or on zero-hour conditions, to amass the material for his book.

Two aspects of *Hired* stand out:

First, the defeat of the mine-workers by Margaret Thatcher’s Tory government in 1985 after a year-long strike is a constant backcloth to his writing, whether in Rugeley where Lea Hall Colliery opened in 1960 and closed in January 1991– throwing 1,250 men out of work, or amidst the demoralisation and deindustrialisation of the Welsh valleys. “The mines are all gone but so, almost, are the trade unions”, writes Bloodworth, as he speculates the fate of Arthur Seaton, the fictional hero of Alan Sillitoe’s classic book *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, 50 years on, trapped on a zero-hours contract in a dingy warehouse, cowed and fearful.



OUTSTANDING: James Bloodworth's book, *Hired: Six Months Undercover in Low-Wage Britain*.

Second, *Hired* confronts the tensions of immigration and class, and the way these play out in Amazon warehouses and in the battered, deprived communities that are hostile to East European workers.

The book has, deservedly, won plaudits since it was published in March for the manner in which it demolishes the state-generated myth that people are happy with zero-hours contracts, and exposes the underside of the “gig economy”, which is driven by fear and coercion. Bloodworth vividly describes what working life is like “for a permanent class of people who live a fearful and tumultuous existence characterised by an almost total subservience to the whims of their employers”.

The author deliberately avoids offering “a long mani-

festos, or a list of wonkish policy proposals”, but stresses that firm action is needed, pointing out that effective government regulation of global groups such as Amazon is necessary to ensure they pay taxes in the countries in which they sell their goods. On the other hand, he notes, the key to pushing back the assault on workers’ wages and working conditions in those companies is effective trade union organisation.

A TUC report in 2017 estimated that one in ten UK workers – three million – now work in insecure jobs. Young adults have been hit hardest by these long-term trends, and the future of trade unions depends on reaching out to, organising and recruiting young people. We need to call time on the exploitation and misery which sustains the gig economy, and trade unions will pay a central role in making it happen.

Frances O’Grady, the TUC General Secretary, makes the point well: “We know that when workers come together in a union, they can change their workplace for the better – helping stop unfair treatment, campaigning for equality, and pushing for better pay and decent conditions.” **CT**

*Granville Williams is a journalist and author, his most recent book being *The Flame Still Burns: The Creative Power of Coal*. He is on the National Council of the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom in the UK.*

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