

CounterPunch

Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair

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Our Little Secrets

How Go the Dems ?

BY ALEXANDER COCKBURN
AND JEFFREY ST. CLAIR

Not too well, if one week in February is a reliable guide. First we had the Senate Democrats taking a dive on the nomination of Michael Chertoff as Tom Ridge's successor as director of the Department of Homeland Security. This offered a fine opportunity for Democrats to resurrect one of the big issues they had going for them in the spring of 2004, before John Kerry decided it would be in poor taste to raise the issue of torture in his campaign. Now, as then, Americans are uneasy about the use of torture as a public instrument of national policy and have awaiting decent leadership on the matter.

Kerry offered none and the press signally failed to force the issue even as a topic for the campaign debates. Chertoff's nomination offered the chance for a reprise.

In Bush's first term he was John Ashcroft's assistant attorney general, and crafted some of the legal justifications for the detention, interrogation and ultimately torture of suspected terrorists placed in the legal limbo of "enemy combatant" status.

If indifferent to the matter of torture, some Senate Democrats might have wanted to give Chertoff a hard time out of the pure spirit of revenge. Chertoff was chief counsel to Al d'Amato's special Whitewater Committee and hence a prime engineer of the prolonged, incredibly costly and ultimately null probe into the Whitewater affair. Surely Senator Hillary Clinton of New York would have wanted to give Chertoff at least fif-

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Innocent Lads, Depraved Killers, Predatory Priests

Pittman and Shanley as Demons

BY JOANN WYPIJEWSKI

If Christopher Pittman had had sex with a man at the age of 12, however willfully and however young the man — 14 is the age of consent for boys in South Carolina, his state of residence — he would be, in the eyes of law and society, a victim, a child, incapable of reasoned decision-making. As it is, he killed his grandparents, and so when he waived his rights to an attorney, when he confessed and a judge in Charleston decided to try him in criminal court, he became an adult. On February 16 he was convicted, sentenced to 30 years in prison. At 12 his was "a dark heart, an evil heart", prosecutor Barney Giese had told the jury.

When Pittman, then 5 foot 2 and 90 pounds, told police, after the murder on November 28, 2001, that his grandfather beat him with a paddle, that he was living with Joe and Joy Pittman because of a destructive relationship with his father, who had given him the .410-gauge shotgun used in the murder, the occasion did not prompt a national conversation about violence and children, or about the justice of allowing kids to waive their civil liberties.

When it came out that this white child, found wandering in the woods after killing the grandparents, igniting their house and stealing their SUV, had originally invented a 6 foot 2 black man whom he said committed the murder and abducted him, no news teams probed the means by which white children learn racist thinking and then rely on it reflexively.

When it came out that Pittman had once tried to hurt himself, had been in a

psychiatric center, that he was diagnosed with depression, prescribed first Paxil then Zoloft, was agitated and fighting with classmates, the case was bound to become part of the debate about antidepressants and their effects. But those facts were not enough to keep the case in family court (where he's now being tried separately for arson), or to challenge the social acceptance of widespread psychiatric medication of children.

Those circumstances of Christopher Pittman's life and crime, like his self-loathing — "I'm useless" he told a deputy sheriff at 12 — were too common for scandal. Besides, at the time the murder occurred and as details of the events seeped out, America was becoming engrossed in a certified scandal, built around the alleged victimization of certified children.

As it happens, the final act of that scandal, the priest/sexual abuse scandal that riveted the press, was playing itself out in a courtroom in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the same time as young Pittman, now 15, was quietly sniveling at the defense table in Charleston. The coincidence ought to provoke consideration of America's hypocrisy toward children, and of the distracting, damaging effect of media sex panics.

Paul Shanley, previously Father Shanley, was formally convicted of child rape and abuse on February 7. He had been convicted in the press long before, beginning in early 2002, when he was made the marquee monster in the scandal, prior to any charges being brought.

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 ten minutes of discomfort?

It was not to be. The Senate Democrats gave Chertoff a cordial welcome, with the only probing questions asked by Senator Carl Levin in Michigan, and even Levin threw them into the ring in an off-hand manner, as if to undercut any appearance of partisan intent. When the vote went to the Senate floor, it was 98 Ayes for Mr Chertoff, none opposed.

In the same week came the Administration's request for a supplemental appropriation of \$82 billion for the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Here surely was a peg on which to hang some pointed criticisms of a war which in its current phase sees all major roads into Baghdad held by the insurgents, though we could forgive the Senate Democrats and their staffs for not knowing this, since the CounterPunch website has been virtually alone in reporting this telling fact. (See Patrick Cockburn's story from Baghdad, www.counterpunch.org/patrick02122005.html)

No sooner had the request landed on the floor of the senate than none other than John Kerry sprang from his seat to announce that he was eager to vote for the money. This brings his career flips flops on war funding closer to double digits. Kerry is not alone. Many of his senate colleagues have indicated they also sup-

port the request, thus confirming our suspicions during the campaign that, for many Democrats, opposition to the war ended with the presidential campaign.

A few days later Kerry went further, calling on Bush to increase the size of the military by 40,000. Kerry apparently still entertains hopes of capturing the nomination again in 2008 and will be pounding the war drums for years to come. After the Iraqi elections of January 31 Ted Kennedy very creditably said that Bush should take the occasion as the signal to start withdrawing US troops. Kerry and Joe Biden both raced onto the Sunday shows to denounce Kennedy and any talk of the troops coming home.

Even when it comes to Social Security the Democrats can't hold a decent line for long. In fact it looks as though Bush might crash on this one mostly because the Republicans in Congress don't want privatization hung round their necks in the 2006 campaigns. Bush, desperate to get somewhere on his prime domestic issue, said in mid-February that he is ready to consider a progressive FICA tax on incomes over \$90,000. At present everyone, no matter with what income, pays the same tax rate, which is how FDR managed to sell the program in the 1930s, but liberals have long denounced the cap as regressive, which of course it is.

As the Economic Policy Institute recently outlined, if the FICA tax rate was to be increased by a mere one per cent on incomes over \$90,000 the projected Social Security shortfall over the next 75 years would be entirely eliminated. In his lust for private accounts Bush has opened the door to protecting Social Security over the long, long term, by increasing taxes on the rich. What did the Democrats do? They sent out Donna Brazile to denounce the plan and to accuse Bush of being a hypocrite for breaking his pledge not to raise taxes. (Fans of bipartisanship should note that Bay Buchanan and Ms Brazile disclosed on Judy Woodruff's CNN program that they had talked about Bush's plan in the green room, had agreed that it would cut into their own \$100,000-plus incomes and by golly, they were against it.)

The Democrats may shirk the grim task of taxing the rich, but would they not rush to protect the trial lawyers, the last reliable source of large donations to the Democratic Party? They would not. In the third week of February, many Democrats

in the House okayed a Republican bill to transfer large class action suits from state to federal courts. It's the state courts with real juries that have awarded the big settlements against the tobacco and asbestos companies. Federal judges have consistently cut back the big awards. Transfer of the suits would be a huge victory for the business lobby.

Just to stick it to the trial lawyers, the bill limits the compensation for plaintiffs' attorneys in certain kinds of settlements. Earlier in February the Senate passed the same bill, 72 to 26. Among Democrats voting for a bill written by the Chamber of Commerce and National Association of Manufacturers were such supposed bright hopes as Obama of Illinois, Salazar of Colorado, Bayh of Indiana, along with possible aspirants for the 2008 nomination as Dodd of Connecticut. This is only the first of three bills designed to crush any possible consumer/trial lawyer resistance.

Symbolic of the inability of the Democrats to exhibit any sort of sinew was their whines of "unfair" when the Republicans attacked Democratic senate minority leader Harry Reid of Nevada. The Republicans sent out a 13-page letter going through Reid's voting record and also noting that he lives in a high-price condo. Forth hastened Democrats Schumer and Durbin to complain that this persecution of their colleague amounted to "a knee-capping" (this was Schumer's contribution) and to "Abu Ghraib", Durbin's deft parallel.

PLANTED QUESTIONS AT WHITE HOUSE BRIEFINGS? WE'RE SHOCKED!

Liberal columnists are quivering with delighted outrage at the discovery that the White House press office had okayed a ringer to toss softball questions at Bush in White House press conferences. Better still the ringer turned out to be working under an alias, spending other portions of his working 24/4 as an escort, with web photos and the word militarystud in his email address.

After spending three decades watching the mostly sheep-like press corps toss marshmallows at one president after another we find it hard to do much more than cheer on "Jeff Gannon" as the logical consequence of years of subservience. Our cynicism is buttressed by the particularly

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“Believe the children” became a commandment as accusers rang up reporters, even though the accusers were now grown-ups, even though some admitted consent and were 16, 18, 20, 21 when the alleged sex occurred.

In the trial just completed the prosecution depended entirely on the uncorroborated memories of one man. Paul Busa claimed he had been pulled out of religious classes by the priest and raped or assaulted nearly every week for years beginning when he was 6, while nobody noticed a thing. He claimed he had suffered immediate, total amnesia until his memory was jump-started by a conversation with a friend, Gregory Ford, who reported suffering identical amnesia and nearly identical abuse under identical conditions. Two other men made virtually the same claims. All saw the same therapists, had the same personal injury lawyer, received huge settlements from the church and were part of the prosecution’s case until three were dropped, their stories too troublesome to present to a jury. Last year the prosecution offered Shanley, 74, two years’ house arrest to avoid trial. He has always claimed innocence; now he faces 12 to 15 years, effectively life — quite possibly violent death — in prison.

Unlike Pittman’s, Shanley’s case occasioned thousands of words of pretrial commentary, much of it unproved or false. (See www.counterpunch.org/jw01292005.html.) What was left out is notable. Busa has testified to a boyhood of punches and kicks from his father; violence from and among his uncles, with whom he lived; blows and rejection from his mother. At 16 he was sleeping on park benches after his father threw him out of the house.

Busa’s friend Ford, who though dropped from the criminal case did collect more than \$1.4 million from the church for his alleged suffering at the hands of Shanley, once told doctors he’d been sexually abused by a grown-up relative and a neighbor. The shrinks thought it was a breakthrough but Ford’s parents didn’t want to hear it; his father rushed to the hospital to reason with him, and stopped the treatment. Ford’s sister testified in a deposition that he’d once screamed, “My father raped me”. (She later told the press she must have got this wrong.) Like young Pittman, from the

age of 12 Ford started being medicated, and also started on his own regimen of alcohol and steroids. He once beat his girlfriend and kicked in the window of a police cruiser. He also threatened to kill his whole family and burn their house down but was always packed off to an institution before it came to that.

Other accusers, who were present at Shanley’s sentencing on February 11 saying they finally experienced that favorite national emotion, closure, have confided that their fathers raped them, beat them, degraded them, that they were sexually exploited by older schoolmates, emotionally deprived at home. I have

The fact is, the nation doesn’t care much for its children. Periodic sex panics, like the ones that swept up day care providers and then aged parents and most recently priests, simply provide a show of it.

heard those stories from some of them, every time as secrets that could still never be told.

In Massachusetts at the peak of the priest scandal, one in 38 kids was witnessing violence at home; one in 47 was abused or neglected; one in 5 was hungry; one in 10 needed mental health attention but only a fifth of them got it. In South Carolina, the numbers are worse.

No media squad monitors such mundane suffering, just as none made it a scandal when, beginning in the 1990s, federal and state laws eased the prosecution of children as adults. Now there is not a state in the land that does not have some provision to turn children into adults for the sake of criminal prosecution. As rates of juvenile violence have dropped, the rate of kids tried as adults has risen, as has the length of their sentences. Most cruelly of all, the number of kids locked up with adults has exploded.

Pittman was remanded to a juvenile prison, for now, but between 1990 and 1998 the number of kids locked up with adults almost quadrupled, from 2,301 to 8,090. Today the number is around 7,400. Unlike Pittman, most of those kids are black or Latino; most are in for robbery. And if they are raped or terrorized or commit suicide there, fates that disproportionately befall juveniles in adult prisons, it is as if they had it coming. No one pays much attention besides a beleaguered band of juvenile justice advocates.

After Christopher Pittman was sentenced — the one act of lenience being Circuit Court Judge Danny Pieper’s decision that the kid’s two 30-year-sentences would run concurrently — jurors told reporters that they never believed the defense contention that the Zoloff had driven the kid nuts. “It was difficult, simply because he was 12 years old when he did this”, Steven Platt, one of the jurors, said; originally the vote was 9 to 3 for conviction but finally those three threw off sentimentality and agreed to put him away.

That somehow the age, the drugs, the violent history might have combined in some hideous vortex that lead to murder, flight, lying and ultimately confession seems not to have counted with the jury. Afterward, Pittman’s lead attorney, Andy Vickery, said, “We’ve got 12-year-old kids, we give them pills and say, ‘Here, take this’ as if they had some choice to disobey. And we know it’s a mind-altering pill. What in the name of God are we doing to our children?” Vickery had begged the judge to ignore the mandatory minimum in sentencing; Pittman was a child, after all. The judge pronounced sentence, and told the kid, “Good luck to you.”

The fact is, the nation doesn’t care much for its children. Periodic sex panics, like the ones that swept up day care providers and then aged parents and most recently priests, simply provide a show of it. They allow America to save the children, believe the children, where otherwise they’d be ignored.

Now Shanley is done for, as is Pittman. Soon enough another panic will arise, with beating of breast and pronouncements of innocence defiled; far sooner, maybe tomorrow, another 12-year-old will be in the dock somewhere, an instant adult, and someone will call it justice. CP

The Road to Rendition

Torture Air, Incorporated

BY JEFFREY ST. CLAIR

A sleek Gulfstream V jet with the tail number N379P has racked up more international miles than most passenger jets. Since October 2001, this plane has been spotted in some of the world's most exotic and forbidding airports: Tashkent, Uzbekistan; Karachi, Pakistan; Baku, Azerbaijan; Baghdad, Iraq; and Rabat, Morocco.

It has also frequently landed at Dulles International, outside Washington, DC and with special clearances to land at US military air bases in Scotland, Cyprus and Frankfurt, Germany. Observers around the world have noticed men in hoods and chains being taken on and off the jet.

The plane is owned by a company called Bayard Marketing, based in Portland, Oregon. According to FAA records, Bayard's lone corporate officer is a man called Leonard T. Bayard. There is no contact information available for Bayard. Indeed, there's no public record of Bayard at all. No residential address. No telephone numbers. Nothing.

In fact, Bayard Marketing is a dummy corporation and Leonard Bayard is a false identity. They were both created by the CIA to conceal an operation launched after the attacks of September 11, 2001 to kidnap suspected terrorists and transport them to foreign governments where they could be interrogated using methods outlawed in the United States – that is, tortured and sometimes killed.

Bayard Marketing is one of five or six different front companies the CIA has used to hide its role in the clandestine “rendition” (the term of art for this process) of suspected terrorists. In this case, the CIA's desire to keep the program a secret doesn't spring from a need to protect it from al-Qaeda or other hostile forces, but from public exposure. The rendition of captives for the purpose of torture violates international and US law.

Unfortunately for the CIA, the jet and its human cargo have been something of an open secret since early 2002,

when spotters at international airports began to take note of its regular arrivals and departures, usually at night, from military air bases from Jordan to Indonesia.

A notorious example: on September 26, 2002, Maher Arar, a Canadian engineer born in Syria was arrested by US intelligence officials at John F. Kennedy Airport in New York as he was changing planes. Arar and his family were returning home to Canada from a vacation in Tunisia. Arar was held in a federal cell for 13 days while he was interrogated about a man US intelligence believed was linked to al-Qaeda. Arar told his

The prison in desert of southern Jordan is only one of 24 secret detention and interrogation centers worldwide operated by the CIA.

captors that he had never met the man in question, although he had worked with his brother on a construction project.

Then one night two plainclothes officers came for Arar, placed a hood over his head, secured his hands with plastic cuffs and shackled his feet in leg irons. He was taken from the federal jail to the airport, where he was placed on the Gulfstream V jet. The plane flew to Washington, DC, then to Portland, Maine. It stopped once in Rome, then landed in Amman, Jordan. During the flight, Arar recalls that he heard the pilots and crew referring to themselves as members of the “Special Removal Unit”.

Arar was held in a cell in Amman for

10 hours. He pleaded with his captors to release him or allow him to talk with a lawyer. They refused. He was placed in a van and driven across the border into Syria, where he was handed over to a secret police unit. He was taken to a dark underground cell and immediately his interrogators began to beat him with battery cables. The beatings went on, day after day.

A year later, Arar was released by the Syrians at the behest of the Canadian government. He was never charged with a crime. His detention, interrogation and torture had been ordered by the CIA. He has received no apology. Arar is one of at least 150 people the CIA has captured and taken to other countries in a covert program known as “extraordinary rendition”.

While Arar ended up in Syria, other detainees have stayed in Jordan, where the CIA runs a “ghost prison” for the detention, interrogation and torture of some of the most senior members of al-Qaeda captured by US forces over the last three years. According to an article in the Israeli daily Ha'aretz, 11 top al-Qaeda operatives have been sent to the al-Jafr prison in Jordan's southern desert, where they have been interrogated and tortured. Among those being held in Jordan are Abu Zubaydah, Riduan Isamuddin and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed.

Khalid Sheik Mohammed, a suspected planner of the 9/11 attacks, was captured in Pakistan in March, 2003. Mohammed was reportedly taken to a US base in Afghanistan for his initial interrogation and then was sent to the prison in Jordan, where he was subjected to range of tortures, including the infamous “water-boarding” technique, where the victim is bound tightly with ropes to a piece of plywood and then dunked in ice cold water until he nearly drowns.

The water-boarding method was one of several varieties of torture approved by President Bush in an executive order issued in February 2002. Bush's order,

“Why is it so hard for people to understand that there is a category of behavior not covered by the legal system?...If you were an illegal combatant, you didn’t deserve the protection of the laws of war.”

which exempted the CIA from compliance with the rules of the Geneva Conventions, was extended seven months later by an August 2002 memorandum signed by Assistant Attorney General Jay S. Bybee.

The Bybee Memo (largely written by his deputy John Yoo) called for the continuation of CIA interrogation methods, including rendition, and blessed as legal methods of physical and psychological coercion that inflicted discomfort “equivalent in intensity to the pain accompanying serious physical injury, such as organ failure, impairment of bodily function, or even death”.

The prison in Jordan is only one of 24 secret detention and interrogation centers worldwide operated by the CIA. According to a report by Human Rights Watch, “at least half of these operate in total secrecy.”

Originally, the Gulfstream V that flew Arar to Amman was owned by a company called Premier Executive Transport Services, Inc, a company based in Deham, Massachusetts. An investigation by the Washington Post’s reporter Dana Priest revealed that the corporate papers filed by Premier Executive included a list of executive officer and board members who, in Priest’s words, “exist only on paper”. The names, Bryan Dyess, Steven Kent, Timothy Sperling and Audrey Tailor, had been issued new Social Security numbers and included only Post Office box numbers for addresses.

The Post Offices are located in Arlington, Virginia, Oakton and Chevy Chase, Maryland and the District of Columbia. Over the past few years, those very same Post Office boxes have been registered to 325 other fictitious names, as well as a company called Executive Support OFC, another CIA front.

The Bush administration hasn’t tried very hard to keep its torture-by-proxy program a secret. That’s because the administration’s torture lawyers, such as John Yoo, former deputy to Alberto Gonzales and now a law professor at

Berkeley, argue that the administration is free to breach international and domestic laws in its pursuit of suspected terrorists. While working for the Bush administration, Yoo drafted a legal memo, which set the framework for the rendition program. He argued that the US was not bound by the Geneva Accords (or US prohibitions on torture) in its pursuit of al-Qaeda members or Taliban soldiers because Afghanistan was “a failed state” and therefore not subject to the protections of the anti-torture laws. The detainees were slotted into a newly created category called “illegal enemy combatants,” a legal rubric which treated them as subhumans lacking all basic human rights.

“Why is it so hard for people to understand that there is a category of behavior not covered by the legal system?” Yoo proclaimed. “Historically, there were people so bad that they were not given protection of the laws. There were no specific provisions for their trial, or imprisonment. If you were an illegal combatant, you didn’t deserve the protection of the laws of war.”

Of course, in the absence of a trial, who is to determine if the people detained as “illegal combatants” are either “illegal” or even “combatants”?

Even more brazenly, Yoo contends that the Bush administration is free to ignore US laws against torture.

“Congress doesn’t have the power to tie the hands of the President in regard to torture as an interrogation technique,” said Yoo. “It’s the core of the Commander-in-Chief function. Congress can’t prevent the president from ordering torture.”

Yoo claims that if Congress has a problem with Bush flouting its laws, the solution is simple: impeachment. He also argued that the US public had its shot at repudiating Bush’s detention and torture program and instead endorsed it. “The issue is dying out,” Yoo told the *New Yorker* magazine. It “has had its referendum.”

As in so many cases with the Bush

administration, it appears that Dick Cheney himself gave the greenlight for the kidnapping and torture scenario. Cheney even dropped a public hint that the Bush administration was going deal savagely with suspected terrorists. During an interview on Meet the Press, a week after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Cheney said that the administration wasn’t going to shackle itself to conventional methods in tracking down suspected terrorists.

“A lot of what needs to be done here will have to be done quietly, without any discussion, using sources and methods that are available to our intelligence agencies, if we’re going to be successful”, Cheney said. “That’s the world these folks operate in. And so it’s going to be vital for us to use any means at our disposal, basically, to achieve our objective. We may have to work through, sort of, the dark side.”

Welcome to the dark ages. CP

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shrill howls of outrage from former White House staffer Sid Blumenthal, writing on the Gannon affair in the London Guardian: "Inserting an agent directly into the White House press corps was a daring operation. Until his exposure, he [Gannon] proved useful for the White House. But the longer-term implication is the Republican effort to sideline an independent press and undermine its legitimacy. 'Spin' seems quaint. 'In this day and age,' said press secretary McClellan, waxing philosophical about the Gannon affair, 'when you have a changing media, it's not an easy issue to decide or try to pick and choose who is a journalist.' It is not that the White House press secretary cannot distinguish who is or is not a journalist; it is that there are no journalists, just the gaming of the system for the concentration of power."

Back before he made it official and went to work for the Clintons, Blumenthal claimed to be a journalist, (in such publications as the New Yorker), though in fact he was a hack partisan Clinton promoter.

Frank Rich had a column on the theme of fake journalism in the Times in which he wrote that "the 'real' news from CNN was no news at all, but it's not as if any of its competitors did much better. The 'Jeff Gannon' story got less attention than another media frenzy - that set off by the veteran news executive Eason Jordan, who resigned from CNN after speaking recklessly at a panel discussion at Davos, where he appar-

ently implied, at least in passing, that American troops deliberately targeted reporters. Is the banishment of a real newsman for behaving foolishly at a bloviation conference in Switzerland a more pressing story than that of a fake newsman gaining years of access to the White House (and network TV cameras) under mysterious circumstances?"

Real newsman? Here at CounterPunch we remember Eason Jordan fondly as the CNN executive we exposed as okaying and subsequently justifying the insertion of Army psy-ops personnel into the CNN newsroom, a CounterPunch scoop from some years back.

As for journalists being on secret payrolls, that's scarcely something new either. A very knowledgeable source has described to a close Friend of CounterPunch how the CIA had the columnist Joseph Alsop on its payroll. No, this wasn't the same close friend of CP that enabled us to be the first to report, in a brief item in 2002, that US agencies were deeply involved in torture. Yes, you read it here first.

CONVINCED?

Two days after Eason Jordan stepped down from CNN, the network's news room featured dozens of breathless reports on the latest accusations from Condoleezza Rice about Iran's nuclear program. As illustration for the Iran story, CNN ran satellite photographs purporting to show the Iran nuclear plant now under construction at Bushehr, on the country's Per-

sian Gulf coast.

Rice's huffing about Iran occurred on the same day that Kim Jong Il announced that North Korea possessed nuclear-tipped missiles, but was ready to meet face-to-face with Rice for disarmament talks. Rice curtly rejected Kim's offer, calling North Korea "an outpost of tyranny" unworthy of bilateral talks. Alert viewers of the network were puzzled, however, when CNN ran a report on the North Korea situation and the same grainy satellite photo appeared with a logo describing it as a North Korean nuclear plant. The photo also appeared on CNN's website.

This photo ran with both stories on CNN and CNN's Headline News over the next two days, until an online media site called bradblog.com ran a piece outing the network for running a fraudulent photo. The photo swiftly disappeared from the network's website and its broadcasts without any correction or comment.

But this wasn't the first time this photo, apparently taken by US intelligence of the Bushehr complex, had been used by a media outlet to depict a nuclear site operated by one of the axes of evil. Indeed, the photo first popped up on the web in a February 2004 story by Andrew Tully about Iraq's, yes Iraq's, supposed nuclear program, on the Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty website, a US propaganda online organ funded by the State Department. In that story, the photograph's file name reads "Iraq-nuclear.jpg." Aptly, the caption for the photo read: "Convincing enough?" CP

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