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TELLS THE FACTS AND NAMES THE NAMES

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Geography Counterinsurgent

By Joel Wainwright

Since the 1970s, the once-musty academic field of geography has enjoyed a renaissance. Global climate change, new geospatial technologies, and the emergence of a critical form of human geography have transformed the discipline. Many departments have seen rapid growth in the number of majors and faculty and geographical approaches to global problems have attracted considerable attention. Recently geography has even captured the attention of the US military.

Consider the “Human Geography Summit” held recently near the Pentagon. Generals and spies rubbed shoulders with GIS geeks and staid geography professors, plus the usual retinue of private contractors – eager as ever to sell the latest tools to the Pentagon. But

the newest arrow in the quiver isn’t a fancy bomb; it’s human geography. The Summit’s theme was “maximizing force efficiency through intelligence in the human domain.” Participants attended talks with titles like “Understanding the local culture and history of target populations” and “Thinking like the natives”. The pros and GIS nerds were there to teach the spies and generals how to efficiently map the world and plan for their wars.

This Summit is only the latest sign of a broader trend: the US military’s rediscovery of human geography. Of the four branches, the US Army has been especially active and open about its investments in human geography. An unclassified US Army presentation provides a glimpse into some of the

Army’s geography programs, which involve creating tools to collect, integrate, and analyze geospatial data from the entire world. Some of this work is coordinated by the Army’s “Human Geography Working Group,” but the Army’s geography research stretches well beyond the Pentagon.

Consider the Bowman Expeditions, a series of research projects carried out by academic geographers who conduct detailed fieldwork in various hot spots – Colombia, Iraq, Jordan, and elsewhere. The Expeditions are designed to produce detailed maps of local communities for the program’s funder: the US Army’s Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO) at Fort Leavenworth. When the Bowman Expedition to Oaxaca in southern Mexico was revealed to be funded by the FMSO, participating indigenous communities rebelled, publishing a trio of public denunciations of the project.

WAINWRIGHT CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Music Censorship

Tipper Gore and the Encore

By Lee Ballinger

Music connects us. Music inspires us. Music helps us to vent our anger. Music gives us visions of a better world. As a result, some people don’t like it. This was on full display at the September 1985 Senate hearings on rock lyrics, which consisted of Al Gore and other politicians bashing music by trotting out raunchy lyrics while three musicians—Frank Zappa, John Denver, and Dee Snider—defended freedom of expression.

That same year, the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC) came out of the woodwork. They were a group of Washington wives who used the clout of their politician husbands to develop some clout of their own. Their goal was music censorship, so they allied with the PTA to press for warning labels on

records, tapes, and CDs. Shortly after the 1985 hearings concluded, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) agreed to put warning labels (Tipper stickers) on the music.

The hearings got tremendous publicity, which the PMRC used to help construct its bully pulpit. But watching the hearings on CSPAN doesn’t give a full picture of what was at stake.

That could be seen in 1986 at a secret gathering in the Maryland countryside. Billed as a “family picnic” and a “Pig Pickin’ Barbecue,” it was also a benefit for the PMRC. The “Benefit Committee” included Marine Corps commandant P.X. Kelly, Marriott vice-president Fred Malek, former Republican Party chairman Dean Burch, Senator Al Gore, Senator John Danforth (initiator

of the anti-rock hearings), future HUD Secretary Jack Kemp, soon to be Democratic vice-presidential candidate Lloyd Bentsen, past president of the American Bar Association Robert Wallick, Merrill Lynch vice-president Bruce Thompson, and Secretary of Agriculture John Block. Many other luminaries attended, including a few foreign dignitaries. If the real purpose was simply to raise money, these well-heeled folks could have just sent a check. Instead it was a meeting of America’s power elite, brought together to discuss the threat music posed to them. As the Ramones sang on “Censorshit,” music censorship was “just a smoke screen for the real problems, S&L deficit, the homeless, the environment.” The people who created those problems wanted to solve a different one—the fact that music was the conscience of the world and musicians were using the corporate structure to spread their messages.

The Tipper stickers and pressure from the government and the police had an

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One reads:

“[The geographers] never informed us that the data they collected in our community would be given to the Foreign Military Study Office (FMSO) of the Army of the United States, nor did they inform us that this institution was one of the sources of financing for the project. Because of this, we consider that our General Assembly was tricked by the researchers, in order to draw out the information the[y] wanted. The community did not request the research[;] it was the researchers who convinced the community to carry it out. Thus, the research was not carried out due to the community’s need, it was the researchers [...] who designed the research method in order to collect the type of information that truly interested them. [...] [W]e wish to express to the public [...] our complete disagreement with the research carried out in our community, since we were not properly informed of the true goals of the research, the use of the information obtained, and the sources of financing.”

When the ‘Oaxaca controversy’ broke, many academic geographers were shocked to learn about the US military’s new investment in human geography research. But the Bowman Expeditions

represent only a small side-project for the US Army and far more significant geographical projects are underway.

The hub for US military/intelligence geographical research lies not in the US Army, but in the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA), an enormous, secretive organization in the Beltway’s shadow lands: a sister organization to the CIA, focused exclusively on mapping the world and producing fine-grained, real-time geographical analyses of anything the US government or its military may desire. The NGA’s website describes itself as a “combat support agency” and the “primary source of geospatial intelligence [...] for the Department of Defense and the US Intelligence Community.” In a recent advertisement for geospatial analysts, the NGA asked: “Imagine being able to identify anything on, above, or

“It’s one thing to know where each bomb will fall... it’s quite another to know where the people are, and that requires GIS.”

beneath the Earth’s surface and display that information visually to provide a meaningful foundation for decision-making to ensure the safety of the world. That’s the job of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency.”

Apart from collecting data and producing maps for the military and State Department, the NGA is the coordinating body for an extraordinary project called the “World-wide Human Geography Data Working Group” (or WWHGD). Its stated purpose is to build “partnerships around human geography data” – i.e., find ways to collect datasets on human geography from as many sources as possible – and make that information “available to promote human security”. But who will have access to all this data, and who will decide what form of human security needs promoting? That will be the US government and its military. The NGA has an elegant formula that foreshadows the uses of these data: “human geography tells ‘when’ and ‘where’ to put boots on the

ground.”

What do these initiatives amount to? They mark an unprecedented attempt to integrate geographical data from various sources (open source data mining, fieldwork, satellites, and so on) to build platforms for geospatial analyses that are capable of mapping people’s movements across the entire planet—for potential military applications.

David Price has published several terrific articles in *CounterPunch* detailing the ‘weaponizing’ of anthropology since the 1960s. Why is the military ‘weaponizing’ human geography today? There are two broad ways to answer this question.

The first centers on geospatial technology. Recent advances in satellite, surveillance, and mapping technologies have been nothing short of extraordinary. Couple this with the ubiquity of geographical data-collection – cellphones, video cameras, computers, and other components produce streams of spatial data that allow everything to be located and tracked – and the possibilities for mapping people’s lives around the world are revolutionized. The founder of the Bowman Expeditions, geographer Jerry Dobson, once summarized the value of such tools: “It’s one thing to know where each bomb will fall, and GPS can tell you that. It’s quite another to know where the people are, and that requires a GIS.” The US military has been at the forefront of developing these technologies and, together with the NGA, sees geospatial technologies as critical for success in what they call “battlespace” (the totality of a war environment). The soldier not only needs constant access to information about his battlespace; he also produces data through multiple sensors that feed information, all of it spatial, back to the ‘geospatial intelligence’ analysts (‘GEOINT’).

A second answer emphasizes geopolitics and the recent failures of the US in Iraq and Afghanistan. Thanks to the overwhelming dominance enjoyed in air power, the US military was able to quickly control airspace and, at least nominally, these country’s territories. Yet of course the US did not win any meaningful hegemony (its nostrums about the ‘war on terror’ were more effective at silencing dissent at home) and thus US military practice effectively

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became counterinsurgency. In the classic tradition of colonial war, US leaders like General Petraeus emphasized the importance of fine-grained social and geographical studies of the entire population. In the mid-2000s, the Army called this “human terrain mapping”. Today the military and NGA prefer to simply call it ‘human geography’. While many of their texts are classified, this statement from the Institute for Defense and Government Advancement reflects the prevailing conception of human geography in Arlington County:

“The process of studying not only your enemy and his tactics but the people around him who could give him shelter or turn him in to the authorities is a big part of the discipline known as human geography. It is cultural awareness [...] raised to a critical level for intelligence gathering and tactical decision making. [...] But human geography isn’t confined to cultural sensitivity and human intelligence gathering. Technology – from unmanned aircraft that spot anomalies in normal village behavior to digital simulators that train convoy truck drivers how to behave in potentially volatile situations like striking a pedestrian in a hostile neighborhood – helps map out the human terrain and develop actionable intelligence [...]”

For academic human geographers like me it is extraordinary to see our discipline described in such terms. It is simply false to say that studying our enemies and their tactics “is a big part of the discipline known as human geography.” What we generally aim to produce in our intellectual work is not “actionable intelligence” – a euphemism, of course, for knowing who to kill – but something more prosaic: we seek a coherent and rigorous understanding of the world by examining the processes, social and natural, that make it what it is. Rather than engage in “human intelligence gathering,” human geographers aim to help others learn to be more effective at critically analyzing the world.

Nevertheless a growing number of academic human geographers are enlisting themselves for the new assignment with the military. The standard explanation is money. While accurate figures are unavailable, we can be certain that funding from the US military and NGA flowing to universities

for human geography research has spiked in recent years. Typically defense funding flows through a third party which helps assuage academic scruples (e.g., MINERVA grants are funded by the Pentagon, yet processed through the NSF). But money is not, in my view, a sufficient explanation. Status anxiety and the attraction of power also play a considerable role. As former Harvard President Derek Bok observes, “it would be fatuous to ignore the effect of money and worldly ambition on scholarly writing and research. Many professors are subject to these pressures, and it is quite possible that the resulting dangers pose a greater risk to scholarship than any threats arising from conventional attacks on academic freedom.”

What “resulting dangers” may result from geography’s dalliance with counterinsurgency? The extensive involvement of the US military and NGA in geographical research, especially under the heading of ‘human geography,’ may lead people around the world to assume that geographers have ties to the US military, thus putting all academic geographers at some risk. Moreover, extensive military involvement threatens the openness required of scholarly debate and intellectual inquiry. And if the US military is avowedly drawing geospatial intelligence from open-source geographical research, how are we to know whether our research will not inadvertently cause harm to those we study? If we cannot safeguard our data from use by the military, the ethical basis for our research erodes.

These are strictly academic concerns. Far more serious consequences will be felt by future targets of the US government. They will find that their lives and communities have already been mapped and analyzed – as potential battlespace. **CP**

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immediate impact. Promoters were jailed for putting on shows. Wal-Mart, the nation’s biggest music retailer, refused to stock stickered product and many retailers who did sell it were arrested. Musicians such as Bobby Brown, the Beastie Boys, LL Cool J, and Tommy Lee of Motley Crue were also arrested and Jello Biafra went to trial over the cover to his *Frankenchrist* album. There were PMRC-endorsed record burnings. The major record labels set up in-house lyric censorship committees and rappers who had songs criticizing the police were not allowed to record. Insurance coverage was cancelled for rap tours. Fans were arrested for wearing band t-shirts. A Florida public radio station lost its funding for playing an Iris DeMent song. Many states and cities introduced laws to restrict music. Police established local and national monitoring networks, disrupted shows and tours, set up concert roadblocks to keep fans away, and threatened to make it impossible for Time/Warner to do business.

All this was done in the name of protecting women and children. Censorship point man Al Gore, who as

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part of the Clinton administration would help to usher in welfare reform, NAFTA, and the prison-industrial complex, cared about lyrics? Al Gore cared about women? Dow Corning, which as of 2010 had paid out \$1.2 billion to women who have suffered medical problems with Dow's silicon breast implants since the 1970s, also paid for a PMRC anti-rock music booklet that claimed that the music was to blame for AIDS because it doesn't promote "sexual abstinence." Al Gore was Dow Corning's strongest advocate in the Senate.

Dow Corning wasn't the only corporation bankrolling censorship. 7-Up helped defray the costs of the Pig Pickin' Barbecue and Marriott, Alcoa, and Merrill Lynch all gave money to the PMRC. So did the foundations associated with R.J. Reynolds Tobacco and Chemical Bank. Coors donated office space to the PMRC.

The censorship wars accelerated developments that are now in full bloom. The PMRC brought the previously marginal rightwing lunatic fringe onto the public stage and gave it their blessing. The police-produced *Back In Control Manual* that deems music to be Satanic and cautions parents to watch out for the Star of David was endorsed by Tipper Gore. Focus on the Family, now a significant player on the political scene with Tim Tebow's 2010 Super Bowl FOF endorsement/commercial on its resume, used its then \$57 million annual budget to spread a "rock is Satanism" message. Focus on the Family opposed Earth Day, child care, and the anti-apartheid struggle that was such a big part of the hip-hop scene while putting out an audio tape, *Bringing Hope to the Inner City*, in which Dr. John Perkins warns against getting drugs out of the black community because "You'll have a generation of people who are going to get a leader and say the problem is society around us." Susan Baker, co-founder of the PMRC, was on the Focus on the Family board.

Music censorship also highlighted the growing class split among blacks. While rap music brought the voices of poor communities such as the South Bronx and Compton to the world, the rich and powerful in the black community moved to attack it. Typical was C. Delores Tucker, a Pennsylvania slumlord who was the state's commonwealth secretary until fired for misuse of public office. Tucker,

working through the National Political Caucus of Black Women, organized picketing of record stores and got the Congressional Black Caucus, National Organization For Women, the NAACP, and the National and Progressive Baptist Conventions to support a boycott of Tower Records for selling hip-hop music. Tucker was no marginal gadfly. In 1995, sharing the dais with Hillary Clinton, she spoke at a Pentagon banquet, where she called for using abandoned military bases as "training centers" for inner city youth who would be under the direct control of the military. Tucker's proposal was warmly received by an audience which included Joint Chiefs chairman

We live under an ever-growing system of control that includes the Patriot Act, cameras on almost every corner, gang databases, post-Occupy restrictions on protest, privacy invasion as a fact of digital life.

John Shalikashvilli and the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. A year later, at a NPCBW luncheon, Tucker welcomed Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary, Senator Carole Mosely-Braun, Coretta Scott King, and Tipper Gore to an event where \$14,000 was raised for Tucker's anti-music campaigns. The war against rap helped to reinforce the image of the "young black thug," smoothing the way for the prison-industrial complex. The US prison population has gone from 750,000 people at the time of the 1985 censorship hearings to 2.7 million people today.

Today we have an African-American President and attorney general, forty-one African-American members of the House of Representatives, and six African-American *Fortune* 500 CEOs. None of them was heard to argue with Bill Cosby as he traveled the country bashing rap music and attacking poor blacks for being poor.

There was a wave of resistance to

the PMRC, led not by liberals but by the very musicians and their fans who were in the crosshairs of the censors. Dozens of grassroots anti-censorship groups sprang up, mostly in small towns. Davis, California. Yellville, Arkansas. Linton, Indiana. Ashland, Massachusetts. Gulfport, Mississippi. This upsurge culminated in the National Anti-Censorship War Council, held at Chicken's Night Club in Midvale, Ohio on August 8, 1992. There it was decided to present the 30,000 anti-labeling petitions the movement had gathered to the RIAA at its Washington headquarters and to demonstrate outside PMRC headquarters in Arlington, VA. This happened a few months later, led by the editors of *Rock Out Censorship*, a national newspaper based in the tiny hamlet of Jewett, Ohio. Boycotts of Marriott and 7-Up were launched in response to their support of the PMRC. Marriott pledged to never give the censors money again while 7-Up president John Albers tried to plead innocent by calling the homes of organizers to claim his company was a lover of rock & roll. At Occidental College in Los Angeles, students staged a five day takeover of administration offices after the school cancelled a scheduled cultural festival because it would attract "the wrong crowd."

Things have been relatively quiet on the censorship front for the past several years. The overt attacks have greatly subsided and so has the media hysteria. Why? The easy availability of downloaded music is one reason but the main factor is that there was a war and the other side won. We live under an ever-growing system of control that includes the Patriot Act, cameras on almost every corner, gang databases, post-Occupy restrictions on protest, privacy invasion as a fact of digital life, and a political system whose corporate agenda resulted in two mothers who were running for office (Jill Stein and Cheri Honkala of the Green Party) being arrested and handcuffed to chairs this past October for attempting to enter the Presidential debates.

It's not clear if the lyric committees still exist since star chamber proceedings are not subject to sunshine laws. But lyric committees may no longer be necessary. In a December 8 *New York Times* op-ed piece, Somali-born singer K'naan revealed that his record company

summoned him to a breakfast chat in October where they told him that he needed to stop writing songs about politics and war and “avoid subjects too far from fun and self-absorption.”

In Russia, two members of the band Pussy Riot remain in jail for the band’s songs and videos which mock the Orthodox church, a key cog in Russian president Vladimir Putin’s system of social control. Could something similar happen in the United States? The legal basis for it already exists.

In 1988, Congress unanimously passed the Child Protection and Enforcement Act which gives the federal government the power to arrest anyone connected with selling or promoting an album that is “obscene,” the definition of which is left to the imagination of the music police. It also gives the Justice Department the right to take the “community standards” of south Florida established in the 2 Live Crew case and apply them to any city in America.

In 1996, the Clinton/Gore administration easily got Congress to approve the Telecom bill, which makes it a crime punishable by up to five years in prison to distribute or promote by any means music that is “obscene, lewd, lascivious, or filthy.” The definition of those terms will be left up to prosecutors who are free to go after not just artists or record companies but bloggers and DJs as well. Among the 91 Senators who voted for the bill were John Ashcroft, convener of the 1985 censorship hearings; current Vice-President Joe Biden; Ernest Hollings, whose wife was a leader of the PMRC; and Carol Mosely-Braun, convener of her own Senate anti-rap hearings.

In 2003, under the leadership of Joe Biden, Congress approved the RAVE Act (98-0 in the Senate, 400-25 in the House). The law is not actually specific to raves and makes the organizers of almost any public event liable for prison time and \$250,000 fines. The supposed target is drug use but prosecutors are not required to prove that anyone attending an event actually possessed drugs.

These laws were passed to be enforced, designed for a time when the conflict between the progressive agenda embedded in so much of our music and the reactionary nature of the government could no longer be papered over. Whatever the ultimate fate of these laws,

the primary enforcer of music censorship will continue to be the police, who exert their will without regard for the niceties of the legal process.

Each year, millions more guitars, keyboards, drums, turntables, and sound systems are sold and become part of America’s collective artistic stash for musicians to draw from. Meanwhile, the 99 per cent is staggering to its feet. A majority of Americans oppose the war and endorse universal healthcare. Millions of immigrants marched in 2006. A million people demonstrated in the streets for public education in 2011 followed by the explosion of the Occupy movement. Millions of people are searching for ways to avoid foreclosure.

A social explosion is coming. Music

Past anti-censorship efforts failed because they weren’t linked to the struggles echoed and amplified in the music itself.

will be a big part of it, weaving its magic to inspire us with visions of a better future. It will be attacked. Since a dying mainstream music industry will no longer be an effective censorship partner, those attacks will likely be more ferocious than any we’ve seen before.

The heroic efforts of anti-censorship groups in the past failed because they were defensive and single issue. They weren’t linked to the struggles which were echoed and amplified in the music itself. Today those struggles are so close to each other they can feel each other’s breath. Still, they need the connective power of music to consummate their marriage while music cannot defend itself without being deeply woven into that linkage. A different strategic path is opening up before us. That is truly music to my ears. CP

Lee Ballinger, a contributing editor to CounterPunch, coedits Rock and Rap Confidential.

Another ‘Conference of Polluters’ Confirms Climate Catastrophe By Patrick Bond

We suffered the spectacle in 2011, in Durban. Now it was Doha’s time in the sun, and the feudal Qatari regime proved an entirely appropriate host for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) 18th Conference of the Parties.

Putting an oil tycoon (Abdullah bin Hamad Al-Attiyah) in the chair and a carbon trader (Christiana Figueres) as the main UN official personified the summit’s failure to address climate and instead promote the agenda of polluters and profiteers. Even so, the contradictions are so extreme that emissions markets – the 1-percenters’ main operative strategy for climate policy – can only crash further as a result of the negotiators’ failure to undergird market demand with emissions cuts.

This should have surprised no one. Recall from Qatar’s last global-governance moment in 2001, that its hosting hastened the demolition of the World Trade Organisation thanks to lackadaisical top-down global governance – after all, no serious protesters were permitted in Doha to remind elites of their responsibility. Think of this little country hosting the 2022 soccer World Cup, having bribed the Zurich FIFA mafia, soon building once-off stadia and then deconstructing them for export.

Doha was bound to tumble off the Durban Platform – itself an utterly useless document when it comes to binding emissions cuts or raising the financing required for renewable energy, public transport, fossil-free agriculture and production, zero-waste disposal and all the other economic rebooting that civilisation desperately needs this century. Those NGOs and commentators who continue to justify their existence at the summits by repeatedly raising hopes and then whining obviously suffer an abused-spouse syndrome, structurally unable to cut free and make the changes necessary for genuine climate advocacy.

Of course there were a few nuances in Doha, as blocs of countries formed

with differing agendas. But unlike at the 2010 summit in Cancun, no country had the bravery of little Bolivia, which then attempted to block consensus for the sake of a reality check. As usual, Washington came to sabotage a genuine climate solution, and as usual, succeeded with its primary objective, to prevent making binding emissions cuts notwithstanding Barack Obama's post-election climate confession.

Recall the bragging after last year's summit in Durban by Washington insider Trevor Houser – formerly an aide to lead Washington negotiator Todd Stern – speaking to the New York Times: 'The Durban Platform was promising because of what it did not say. There is no mention of historic responsibility or per capita emissions. There is no

mention of economic development as the priority for developing countries. There is no mention of a difference between developed and developing country action.'

Washington's grandstanding on behalf of polluting industries was especially evident when poor countries raised the prospect of 'Loss and Damage' bills on the scale of Superstorm Sandy, which wrecked roughly \$60 billion worth of US property overnight last month. As sea-level rise inundates the Bangladesh coast and small islands, as glaciers in the Andes and Himalayas melt, as African soil dries and crops burn, there will be similar-sized bills in the non-industrialised world, broached by Pakistan's one-third flooding in 2010, for example, or huge storms that devastated

Thailand, Cambodia and El Salvador last year. During the Doha summit, the Philippines was hit by a typhoon, leaving 500 dead and 300,000 displaced.

But dare suggest that the 'climate debt' from these disasters be paid in part by the United States – using what should be the uncontroversial 'polluter pays' principle – and you get this response from Stern: 'I will block this. I will shut this down.' Though Loss and Damage language survived in the final text, Stern's ruthless defence of US interests included watering down liability language and ensuring that the World Court will not soon have an opportunity to provide an Advisory Opinion. Explained Wesleyan University professor Michael Dorsey, 'A World Court finding could cause a flurry of exploratory climate lawsuits in various

Privatizing the Air: The Emissions Trading Scam

Just after Doha ended, CarbonTradeWatch and other groups associated with 'climate justice' politics launched a campaign to discredit the EU review and re-legitimization of its Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS). The organizations argue that "the structural failures of the ETS cannot be fixed":

- *The ETS has not reduced greenhouse gas emissions... offset projects have directly resulted in an increase of emissions worldwide as between 1/3 and 2/3 of the projects do not represent real carbon reductions. The large emissions reductions registered after 2008 in the EU can be attributed mainly to the economic crisis... in some European countries, more than 30% of consumption-based emissions were imported...*
- *The ETS has worked as a subsidy system for polluters... over-allocation of permits covering existing technologies rubbed out any incentive to a transition towards low-carbon production processes... windfall profits accrued from passing through these 'costs' reached €14 billion between 2005 and 2008... Electricity producers windfall profits [were] anywhere between €23 to €71 billion [from 2008-12]... 75% of the manufacturing industry receiving permits for free at least until 2020 (meaning an extra revenue per year of around €7 billion)...*
- *The ETS is based on inherently volatile carbon prices. Carbon prices have been continuously unstable, with a clear descending trend since 2008...*
- *The ETS increases social and environmental conflicts in Southern countries... The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) is the biggest offset scheme which has demonstrated to bring severe social and environmental consequences upon the communities where the projects are implemented, including lands and human rights violations, displacements, conflicts and increased local environmental destruction...*

Carbon markets are particularly susceptible to fraud. In the carbon commodity, measurement of whether the pollution has or hasn't occurred is estimated by proxy measures and other

vague calculations. In 2010 a vast 'carousel fraud' in the EU ETS was exposed, costing taxpayers more than €5 billion, on a Value-Added Tax (VAT) fraud...

Public money is being poured into carbon markets. The public purse must cover the cost of legislation and regulation for the markets, the cost of enforcement to pursue fraud, theft and corruption, and bear the cost of tax and revenue evasion scams through carbon markets... In times when citizens are shouldering the severe impacts from the economic crisis and 'austerity' packets, yet more money is being used to further pay the companies that caused the problem in the first place.

The logic of the ETS is to benefit market actors. Since its inception the ETS was adopted because industry was content with it. It was in fact oil giant BP, with the support of the UK government, who lobbied the EU to adopt the ETS as the main instrument to deal with climate change...

The path shown by the ETS locks-in a fossil-fuel economy. The ETS reinforces the same logic of over-production and consumption based on fossil fuels.. It allows more pollution while implementing 'clean development' projects which mainly harm local populations and environments...

The ETS closes the door to effective policies, while reinforcing other false solutions such as nuclear energy, agrofuels and tree plantations. The logic of trading pollution is being expanded to other arenas, such as biodiversity and water offsets, which will replicate the problems of the carbon market, whilst further commodifying and financializing more of nature's capacities, functions and cycles.

Insisting on trying to 'fix' a system that is broken from the start deviates attention and resources away from just and effective policies. By exporting the EU ETS failure to other countries, under the cover of 'leadership', masks another wave of interventions from above in Southern countries, increasing the social and environmental debt from North to South...

The struggle against the ETS is the struggle for social, environmental and climate justice. We call to all civil society organizations and movements to endorse this call and join the fight against ETS. – PB

jurisdictions, so the State Department twisted arms, even threatening aid, to prevent island nations like the Republic of Palau from even putting it on the agenda.'

Stern also backtracked on \$100 billion/year Green Climate Fund commitments his boss Hillary Clinton had made in Copenhagen three years later. The next goal to be missed is \$60 billion for the Fund by 2015, and it remains a nearly empty shell, with only provisional commitments of a few billion by Britain and Germany. Canadian negotiators also sabotaged climate finance, and a year ago formally dropped out of the Kyoto Protocol so as to continue tar sands development.

It would be foolish to trust the Fund with putting resources into genuine climate mitigation and adaptation projects, given the vast bias to corporations and the inadequate civil society oversight so far. What is most urgently needed is a mechanism to pay the climate debt directly to the victims of climate chaos instead of to corrupt bureaucracies and aid agencies, such as a Basic Income Grant mechanism – but that will require more visionary strategies to change power and financial flows than are currently available.

Three other formations – the G77/China group, Association of Small Island States and Least Developed Countries – warned against allowing the next commitment period of Kyoto to become a short-term 'public relations exercise.' Their valid concern is that 'creative accounting' from carbon markets means offsets allow Europe to claim large GreenHouse Gas cuts, with Eastern Europe also enjoying 'hot air' allowances because of the early 1990s crash that flattened industrial output and hence emissions. In addition, China has become a useful idiot for Northern emissions-cutting claims, simply because since the 1997 deal was cut in Kyoto, East Asia won a substantial shift in industrial production that once took place in the rich economies.

In ramping up emissions dramatically the past dozen years, the Chinese are conjoined with the other large emerging countries – Brazil, India and South Africa (together known as BASIC) – which in 2009 signed the Copenhagen Accord offered by Barack Obama. Though that deal wrecked the Kyoto Protocol,

they still argue for Kyoto's extension because its obligations do not include them. In contrast, Washington was joined by Norway and Mexico to oppose the crucial language in Kyoto (and in the original 1992 Rio Earth Summit) specifying 'common but differentiated responsibilities.'

Such conflicts between North and South were sharp as ever, as Third World Network's Meena Raman reported, and were 'only papered over superficially in the final hours to avoid an open failure.' The main rich-country block taking a bit of responsibility includes the European Union and coal-addicted Australia, joined by oil-soaked Kazakhstan. In Australia's case, that little bit amounted to unconditionally committing just 5 percent cuts in emissions by 2020, using 2005 as a base, around the same as Washington's. Worse, several rich countries – Australia, New Zealand, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Norway joined by Kyoto Protocol defaulters Japan and Russia – argue for a greater role for carbon markets, even during the week that this 'false solution' generated further criminal investigations into fraud, involving even Deutsche Bank. For years, the European Union's Emissions Trading Scheme and the UN Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) have been unable to shake the reputation of giant casinos based on the 'privatisation of the air.'

But like many financial casinos, the carbon markets continue to fail the free-marketeers. Because Japan and New Zealand don't have legally binding targets, they were expelled from purchase of carbon credits, which shrinks demand even further. Indeed, although extending the Kyoto Protocol until 2020 at least provides a renewed fiction that carbon markets can aid emissions cuts, they markets are effectively dead, especially those that support Third World trading in the CDM and the offset strategy for forests known as Reducing Emissions through Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD).

'Nations dodged a chance to agree several measures that could have lifted rock-bottom demand for UN-backed carbon offsets,' reported Reuters Point Carbon. 'Investment in new CDM projects has ground to a halt as the value of the credits they generate has plunged 95 percent in four years to well below 1 euro, crushing profits that investors

count on to set up the carbon-cutting schemes... The Doha talks failed to pave the way for billions of dollars to be invested in projects to cut carbon emissions through stopping deforestation and degradation of rain forests.'

In other words, if you are of the belief that climate catastrophes are market problems – externalities – that simply need market solutions (emissions trading or carbon taxes) to 'get the prices right' and assure clear price incentives, your hope in the global negotiators has evaporated. California's carbon market formally begins in January, just when the world's main news source turns gloomy, confirming again that the processes of elite management of world financial and ecological crises amounts to little more than pushing the bubble around. CP

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With the next issue, Volume 20 Number 1, CounterPunch will be celebrating our 20th Anniversary and will be transitioning to a magazine format. Issues, which will be four times longer than our previous layout, will now be delivered to subscribers on a monthly basis. For email subscribers, the digital version of the magazine will be sent as a pdf only.

Life in a Yoga Sex Cult Romania's Tantric Guru

By Stewart J. Lawrence

Cecilia Tiz is a 46-year old divorced housewife who lives in the quiet German town of Leverkusen, just south of Dusseldorf. She first met Gregorian Bivolaru, the self-styled guru and founder of the Romania-based Tantric yoga cult known as MISA shortly after the group was founded in 1991.

Then married with a young child, she and her husband Vlad were intrigued by the idea of a “spiritual” movement that preached greater openness and personal intimacy in relationships, improved diet and physical health, and human “liberation” through the practice of a uniquely Romanian brand of “esoteric” yoga. They readily agreed to sign on as local MISA yoga instructors.

But Bivolaru's call for help in establishing the group's German branch alongside the ones then forming in Denmark, the UK, Hungary, and some two dozen other countries, including the United States, left them feeling uneasy.

Even from the start, something didn't seem quite right about the guru, Tiz says.

In one of their first encounters, she was shocked when Bivolaru commented that her body lacked “vitality” and abruptly suggested that she start watching erotic movies to “awaken” her femininity. Then, in a bizarre twist, and with her husband still at her side, Bivolaru recommended that Tiz visit him alone in Romania to receive what he referred to, cryptically, as an “identification.”

It was only much later that Tiz realized what an “identification” actually was: Bivolaru had just invited her to have sex.

According to defectors, including contributors to the web site www.exmisa.org, Bivolaru's sexual passes at women are no mere *ad hoc* flirtations. He's made thousands of them over the years – some to underage girls, including the 14-year old he eventually “married” – as part of MISA's theology of celebrating the “Divine Goddess” through Tantric sexual arousal.

And it turns out that hundreds of women have accepted Bivolaru's invitations, convinced that sex with the

now-balding-and-gray bespectacled man known for his psychic overtures to extraterrestrials and paranoid rants against “freemasons” and other shadowy global conspirators might somehow place them on the fast track to Nirvana – or in MISA parlance, “help them evolve spiritually.”

What it's given them, instead, is permanent entrée to Bivolaru's far-flung sex empire, a kind of floating harem-for-hire in which his closest female disciples engage in erotic video-chatting online and dance nude in strip clubs in Japan and Europe to raise money for MISA. Some of these women also attend MISA's annual summer camps on the Black Sea where they live in the so-called “Shakti villas,” practice yoga, perform kinky sex games (including ritual masturbation), and dutifully wait their turn to have sexual intercourse with Bivolaru.

It's not entirely clear how many women have agreed to become, in effect, Bivolaru's concubines. One former member notes that about 300 women live in the Shakti villas each summer and that most of them probably have sex with the guru at least once over a month-long period. Bivolaru and MISA have been in business for over 20 years, so even by modest estimates that's quite a few sexual encounters for just one man.

Tantric yoga, of course, has always been closely associated with sensual pleasure, and the Tantric tradition that Bivolaru extols, Kashmir Shaivism, is notorious for falling prey to unscrupulous Western gurus in search of a charismatic mass following. In the US, John Friend's Anusara yoga movement and Geshe Michael Roach's Buddhist sect both claim a strong Tantric lineage, and earlier this year both men became engulfed in highly-publicized scandals involving sexual abuses of power.

But when it comes to creating an unhealthy sexual atmosphere for women, few yoga movements – other than Bagwan (Osho) Rajneesh's notorious sex cult of the 1980s, perhaps – can compete with the wacky and exploitative world of Bivolaru's MISA.

Bivolaru, it turns out, is extremely particular about what his Divine “goddesses” should look like – voluptuous and decidedly plump – or what some MISA defectors describe, with derision, as “like a whale.” A common MISA complaint about trimmer

and firmer women is that they're “too skinny” and need to become “more robust.” In fact, older MISA women, at Bivolaru's behest, are known to exert strong pressure on newcomers to live up to the guru's Rubenesque beauty standards by consuming large amounts of ice cream and other unhealthy fatty foods, defectors say.

Not all MISA women submit to Bivolaru's efforts at behavioral control. But only those that do – or seriously try – can advance up the group's ranks, apparently. One key test for aspiring MISA women is the annual Miss Shakti beauty contest that is held at the conclusion of the summer camps while the MISA female elite is populating Bivolaru's harem. Women who enter the contest must pass through a succession of trial stages, and many talented and beautiful women never even make it past the first stage. Why? They haven't sufficiently “fattened” themselves up, former participants say.

And that's not all. Aspiring MISA women are also expected to shave their vaginas and are constantly exhorted to act in “sexually liberated” ways. Having multiple sex partners and being open to love-making with other women confers higher status, defectors say. At the “villas” for women, space is even set aside for expressions of lesbian love. Nudity and the wearing of sexually provocative clothing is considered *de rigeur*.

Bivolaru also has his fetishes – including oral sex, and what American porn aficionados typically refer to as “watersports.” MISA has produced an entire series of porn videos like the “Exaltation of Pee” that celebrate the presumed mystical power of “urinary orgasm.” In fact, the guru himself reportedly encourages the women he beds down to drink copious amounts of water so that they can urinate in his mouth for long periods while he pleasures them. Some of these women have fallen in love with Bivolaru, but many are repulsed, and either flee before their session, or participate reluctantly, once, and never return, defectors say.

Tiz eventually left MISA, after trying to square her belief in sacred monogamy with the more libertine practices – and outright sexual exploitation – she encountered in MISA. Her husband Vlad became enmeshed, however, to the point of seeing Bivolaru as his personal savior.

Tiz never did. When Vlad began taking on lovers, she decided it was time to leave.

But unlike hundreds of other MISA dropouts, Tiz didn't just fade away. Angered and still suffering the sting of her lost marriage, perhaps, she began speaking out, and the Romanian media, which had largely treated Bivolaru as a victim ever since his arrest and imprisonment by communist authorities in the 1980s, started to listen.

Last year, Tiz shocked many Romanians when she appeared on a national television program to denounce Bivolaru by name. And she wasn't alone. Two former MISA members who'd joined the cult as teenagers appeared wearing masks – too ashamed to show their faces, and fearful of retribution – and recounted their own unsavory experiences. Since then, Tiz has become MISA's "public enemy one," the object of public scorn and vitriolic attacks through postings on MISA's various websites, including Yogaesoteric.com, the group's official mouthpiece.

In recent months, Tiz and other MISA detractors have received support from an unexpected source: Mihai Rapcea, the group's former lawyer. In an interview with a Romanian newspaper, Rapcea described his employer as a man obsessed with the sexual conquest of "young girls" who "had lost his way, spiritually." He told the newspaper that Bivolaru had sunk so low that he was even appropriating the esoteric yoga texts written by others and claiming them as his own.

After the interview was published, Bivolaru announced that he was "suspending" Rapcea from internal MISA operations for a period of three years – a rare public punishment, but also a limited one. Apparently, Rapcea has far too much on Bivolaru and MISA to be completely severed from the organization.

Tiz remains unfazed, even as some friends and supporters suggest that she's become obsessed with MISA and should simply "move on." Bivolaru and his followers have called her a jealous and bitter wife, and sometimes accuse her of being mentally ill or suffering from "demonic possession." Another charge is that she's working for Bivolaru's old *bête noire* – the Romanian secret police. Tiz vehemently denies that charge, calling it

"absurd," and MISA has never presented any evidence to support it. In fact, while vilifying Tiz in print, the group has repeatedly declined offers to appear with her on television to defend its bizarre organizational practices.

Despite the attacks – including a recent defamation suit in Germany – Tiz takes satisfaction in knowing that she's helped dozens of distraught parents reconnect with their "lost" daughters. She's also served as a "mother hen" to a number of younger women who remain estranged from their families.

This bitter fact remains: Bivolaru remains at large and travels freely abroad, despite an international warrant for his arrest issued by Interpol in April 2008. In the absence of stronger protests or legal action, MISA is likely to survive.

Roxana-Malina Chirila, who joined MISA when she was just 14, credits Tiz with helping her successfully exit the group. She spent eight long years struggling to define herself inside MISA and twice barely managed to escape from being coerced into sex by Bivolaru in Paris. The entire experience has left her deeply shaken and at one point, she contemplated suicide, she says. Now, 24, she's an aspiring writer and activist with a promising professional career. But other young women may never fully recover, cult experts say.

In the past year alone, two MISA members – a man and a woman – took their lives, and at least half of the Danish MISA group, NATHA, has sought counseling and therapy, according to the "Dark Side of Tantric Cult," a 2009 Finnish public television documentary (available online).

Tiz's own daughter has just entered college, her first extended period away from her mother's care. The women Tiz tries to help remind her of her daughter, she says, and she's grateful that their own bond is strong enough to withstand the kinds of pressures that have led other young women throughout Europe to get caught up in cults like MISA.

"My daughter seems to think I'm another Erin Brockovich" Tiz says, with a chuckle. But more than a few women who have managed to escape MISA's predatory clutches would almost certainly agree. **CP**

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Japan's Resurgent Militarism

By Tom Clifford

Beijing.

A new day is dawning in Japanese politics, or so the nationalist Shinzo Abe, whose grandfather served in the Tojo war cabinet, would have us believe. The trouble is that a new day for Abe will break with a rising sun that will chill the region.

The timing is profound, as if history was mocking us. As China marked the 75th anniversary of the Rape of Nanking, Japan elected as its prime minister the grandson of an official at the heart of the war machine.

Abe's grandfather, Nobusuke Kishi, was jailed after the war as a suspected war criminal but went on to become prime minister (as if Albert Speer had become German chancellor).

For all but five years of the last 60 years Japan has been governed by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

This is a group of right-wing parties that came together to consolidate their voter base after the initial liberalism of America's occupation gave way to a more rigid approach following Mao's victory in China and civil war in Korea. The Japanese refer to this as the Reverse Course.

The traditionalists that America had originally shunned in Japan were now back in favor.

Japan prides itself on its sense of history. But the lessons of its past remain fundamentally unabsorbed. The failure to apologize for atrocities, especially but not just Nanking, means relations between it and China and its neighbors are stunted by the toxic waste of arrogance.

Japan has pretended for 22 years that its moribund economy, tarnished democracy and sense of drift were manageable. The people were told what Europe is being told now; that with the application of painful remedies, the country will again have a future to inspire it and a present to be proud of.

But time is running out. China was the great boost to Japan, without that mass market on its doorstep, the economy would be in even worse shape. But the Chinese are turning against purchasing

return service requested

Japanese products.

Patrol ships from both China and Japan shadow each other off a group of jagged islands in the East China Sea. In the skies above, planes buzz each other. This is not Europe of 1912-14, but there are disturbing similarities. Rising jingoism, militarism, a “teach-them-a-lesson-attitude” emerging, a new power threatening an established one, strident “no surrender” utterances and aggressive posturing from politicians. A single shot, at sea or in the air, would be heard around the world.

The actual timing does not help either. The world will soon turn its attention to the centenary marking the outbreak of what innocently, and misleadingly, became known as the War To End All Wars that led to The Peace To End All Peace.

The average shelf life of a Japanese PM, since 1945, is about 18 months. Abe will probably fall from power by the summer of 2014. That is not a reason for those against conflict in the region to cheer. The Galtieri option for weak leaders, marine adventurism, is discredited but should never be discounted.

What makes Japan so different and belligerent, is a piece of Tokyo real estate near Book Street and, alarmingly, nestled beside the defense headquarters.

Yasukuni is a shrine dedicated to far-right militarism, where history and facts are warped through Japan’s Black Hole of consciousness. A mural at the shrine celebrates Japanese resistance at the battle of Tokyo Bay. Divers are seen heroically attaching mines to US warships. But there was no battle. It is make believe. The Rape of Nanking is ignored. This is not a shrine, as so often mistakenly said, that honors the war dead. This is a shrine that honors Japanese militarism. It celebrates conquering other lands.

Nobody is suggesting that Japan will become a military state in the foreseeable future, but the building blocks for such a state are disturbingly visible on the streets of Tokyo - from the schoolboys in their Prussian-style uniforms with brass buttons, to the menacing black sound trucks which blare out nationalist propaganda and to which police turn a deaf ear.

Immediately after World War II,

Japan experienced its only time of true liberalization. Trade unions were allowed, political debate and dissent encouraged. But then the occupying Americans became concerned by the Cold War and reversed course. War criminals were rehabilitated, Abe’s grandfather among them, and political stability became the watchword. Beliefs that sustained and nourished the extreme right were never challenged, as they were in post-war West Germany.

Imagine the outrage if a truck bearing symbols of the SS and blaring out wartime propaganda paraded down Berlin’s Kurfurstendamm today as policemen stood idly by. Impossible, yet an equivalent occurs in Tokyo daily.

In Japan where the defeat of militarism, not militarism itself, has been discredited, the reminders of a militaristic era are an everyday sight, and many of its people seem blind to their menace. **CP**

Tom Clifford reported from Japan from 2000 to 2003. He now lives and writes in China.