

**please write your opinions  
on US politics...**

onestar press rainer ganahl please, write your opinions on US politics

Rainer Ganahl

**please write your opinions on  
US politics...**

onestar press

## NEXT TARGET?

For the Armory Art Fair in March 2003 I was invited by *zingmagazine* to make a wall drawing for their magazine booth. Political tensions and frustrations were running high over an immanent attack on Iraq. In response to this situation, I opted for an interactive graffiti wall that invited visitors to write down what they thought of US politics. During five days the white wall panels of the booth were filled with texts, commentaries, provocations, thoughts, suggestions, personal accounts, wishful and hateful thinking, and graphics. My photographs of the results of this experiment are presented in this publication.

In this introduction I am not going to characterize, analyze or criticize any comments or symbols expressed visually on these walls. I look at them as material evidence of stresses we were all exposed to during this time. Most of the comments and graffiti written down mirror a large spectrum of contradicting views and positions on whether the USA should militarily attack Iraq. It was my belief that such an attack could be called pre-emptive, in violation of international law. Those weeks culminating in war were a particular historical moment: it was a time of world-wide opposition and of global anti-war mass protests. It was a time when US mainstream media still would discuss, question and challenge the logic of aggressive preemptive war doctrines. There was hope and outrage for and against breaking the automatic mechanism of massive military build-up. The reasons for war changed by the weeks, by the days: disarming Saddam Hussein, biological and chemical weapon threats, terrorism, democracy, human rights, the violation of UN resolutions, the reorganization of the Middle East and so on. In the end, these reasons could be considered an international passport for military incursions into nearly any country around the world.

I want to be clear that I do not share all the views or identify with all the statements written by participants. The first day of the five-day project, the project started with a black marker saying: PLEASE WRITE YOUR OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS ON THE WALL. With a red marker I then imitated two typical logos from network news: LIVE FROM NEW YORK and NEXT TARGET? The answer to this question was written in Arabic by an Iraqi friend, Ghazi Al Delaimi living in Germany: "Iraq, Iran, Syria." Now, a couple of weeks later, an uncounted and unreleased large number of Iraqi soldiers have been bulldozed into mass graves, hundreds of civilians, are dead or badly injured, and major museums, libraries and hospitals looted, partially burned and destroyed. In contrast to the mass-looting of Iraqi cultural and social treasures, most of the oil fields were secured by the US and the UK and are already producing. Iraq is mostly under control of the US army. It is "liberated," and the danger of weapons of mass destructions is alleviated, though none of them were used during the three-week war and none have been found so far. Syria is now accused not only of hiding Saddam Hussein and his top 50 men wanted but also of possessing weapons of mass destruction. RIGHT NOW: SYRIA DENIES IT HAS



CHEMICAL WEAPONS. The White House rhetoric against Syria and Iran is toughening and the message has been sent that they might be the NEXT TARGET.

The media as always has played a crucial roll in selling, branding and justifying this war. Soon it will do so by ignoring it altogether and moving on to local crime scenes, abducted children, corporate and political scandals or the next country on the list of evil-doers. But let me still recall how the media worked this time: A selected number of journalists were “embedded” in the military in Iraq, and, dressed-up in camouflage, repeated the press releases of the Pentagon. Journalists who were independent were sometimes beaten up, shot, targeted and killed by tank fire. The broadcasting stations of two major Arab network news that were able to report independently around the world were destroyed with missiles, an attack that was officially declared as self-defense. The US army said it felt threatened by gun fire from the roof of a building and reacted with overwhelming force. Various-long standing reporters just doing their job were dismissed from their positions in corporate media. Celebrities critical of the war were threatened and are still prosecuted with death threats, hate web sites, threats and hate mail to their sponsors, producers and media outlets and much more. The group Dixie Chicks were removed from broadcasting and Madonna withdrew her Bush-critical video release. Now, censorship and self-censorship is now after the war in full swing and reminiscent of McCarthyism.

I am fascinated and horrified by the logos, titles and subtitles used in TV news broadcasting. They cheerlead the news SADDAM STATUE GETS HAMMERED; they brand the news FOX NEWS CHANNEL. THE MOST POWERFUL NAME IN NEWS; they define the news OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM; they anticipate the news NEXT TARGET?; they abbreviate WAR ON TERROR and simplify the news REGIME GONE; they sell the news and compete for the news CNN. THE MOST TRUSTED NAME IN NEWS; they lend authenticity to the news LIVE FROM BADGHAD suggesting to be the epicenter of truth and truth production; news titles and subtitles may even contradict themselves: you can see on the same frame CELEBRATING-IN-BAGHDAD and a bit smaller underneath LOOTING RAMPANT IN BADHDAD. Dubious and insulting layering of information is omnipresent: sports scores may appear or scroll in direct proximity to death toll numbers, entertainment abstracts combined with the maximum of misery allowed on TV.

News network interfaces were even seen sticking on military equipment carrying embedded journalists. These abbreviated news accounts HEAVY BOMBING create images that remain, that indeed stick in the mind and can be caught with a glance when zipping across channels and other electronic devices. They are part of an effective infotainment that is as computerized, instant and effective as satellite guided bombs and night goggles. In the USA, this current war was narrated not only as a moral and civilizing obligation, a military necessity to secure peace and US security but also as a series of technological trade shows with the media as PR agents. 3-D animations interchanged with real footage, commented by military experts and analysts.

By no means do I want to suggest that these gestures of unedited writing down of one’s opinion is a substitute for democracy or a movement that really could impact the count-down and run-down of things. Even large numbers of protesting people did not have the influence to stop this war. Yet any kind of questioning and expressing of dissent has a psychological impact on people that don’t agree with the White House, the Pentagon and the majority of corporate media whose interest and ownership structure partially mirrors the population that occupies the White House. This war was not prevented. But the way this war was carried out in violation of UN laws is now subject to fights over definitions and history writing. It is not a coincidence that the first thing exported to Post-War-Iraq were media products. US-media networks are now donating parts of their programs and entertainment content to Iraq, even before humanitarian aid has yet fully arrived.

If we manage to inform others about what was and still is actually going on with our illegitimate, law- and constitution-breaching government and the majority of corporate media, we might be able to make future interventions of this sort less likely to happen. But not only do we have the fact against us, that “people really don’t want to know” (Slavoj Zizek’s thesis in recent interviews) but widely published intimidation threats to people having opposed the war. As I just mentioned, an endless subtle process of censorship and self-censorship is now unfolding in a climate where people are silent or silenced, evasive and kept ignorant about politics. Seeing signs of protest and dissent is therefore not just a drop on a hot stone but the necessary encouragement for people to continue the fight for a more just world that is not defined by corporations and aggressive governments for the interest of lobbies against the people, its environment and natural resources. Last but not least, we shouldn’t forget the words of Martin Luther King who said that every bomb falling over Vietnam also explodes in an American inner city. To come here to an arbitrary stop I can only adapt King’s sentence to the current situation and say this war not only looted Iraq and its treasures and natural resources but also the USA, its middle classes and poor people. Our actions overseas send ripple effects which reach home.

Here, I would like to thank everybody who expressed his/her opinion on US politics participating in this project. I am grateful that so much interest and support for this project was shown. I am also specially indebted to two editors without whom this project wouldn’t have been realized: Devon Dikeou, editor of *zingmagazine* who let me use her entire booth to unfold this project and Christophe Boutin, *onestar press* who saw it at the art fair and decided to publish it without delay.

Rainer Ganahl, New York, April 2003







NEXTAR GET?

PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
ON THE WALL

POM-POMS  
God Bless America  
Be Proud of it!!  
And stand by it!!  
THE BUSH REGIME  
IS HORRIBLE  
NOT  
BOMB BOMBS  
GLO

BUSH-CHENEY  
HYPOCRITE  
ASS HOLES  
THE FUCKING  
WESTERN  
WORLD  
SHOULD GET  
IT'S HEAD  
OUT OF IT'S  
ASS!

PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
ON THE WALL

What's  
white  
shit  
SIT  
DUCK

NO MORE BUSH-SHIT

العراق  
إيران وسوريا

WAR IS PEACE  
FREEDOM  
IGNORANCE

MAKE LOVE NOT  
WAR

Practice  
Love

If I Wasn't for War  
I'd be speaking German or Japanese.

These Panels Cost  
\$150 a piece. GET  
Protest this!

Midnight?

LIVE  
FROM NEW YORK

BURN  
BUSH  
BURN

THE COST OF  
NOT THE COST OF  
WAR

War is not  
Healthy  
Dishes with  
Living things





L-910

zingmagazine  
New York

BRING Back The DRAFT  
Palestine is Jordan LET THE RICH KIDS FIGHT  
too!!

# NEXT TARGET?

FREE PALESTINE! END THE OCCUPATION! I got it from pocket.

**FUCK THE BUSH!**  
THE ONLY PAST I TRUST IS MY OWN  
I've needed protection since invasion but a fucking word we can't leave it. we invited George Bush to America.

2MAJITLLO9ILA  
SYKMOO9AMW239A  
Beauty TV  
So? gonna PIZ-E. Ance!  
(Fuck who?)  
I don't know  
Q: Why are there so many Americans without health care?  
A: Bush's Iraq  
Q: Where are my rights?  
A: Bush's Iraq  
Q: What's Cheater's name?  
A: Bush's Iraq  
Q: What are we gonna do to stop Bush?  
A: Pray for friends, Pray for friends!!

**Let's Go Banners!**  
GLO

**BLAST 'EM**  
Close u, dudes

**WAR IS SWEET TO THOSE WHO HAVE NOT TASTED IT.**  
PEO HUMAN

**KILL ALL LIES**  
how Random is Random?  
WSB

**WAR IS RAW SPELLED BACKWARD BUSH RUB ME RAN!**

**WAR IS RAW SPELLED BACKWARD BUSH RUB ME RAN!**

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# GET?

**WAR IS RAW SPELLED BACKWARD BUSH RUB ME RAN!**

**WAR IS RAW SPELLED BACKWARD BUSH RUB ME RAN!**

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# NEXT TARGET?

PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
ON THE WALL

THE BUCHAREST  
IS HORRIBLE

العراق  
إيران وروسيا



PROJECT: KAMINS GARDNER ARCHITECTS 1990 IERUSALEM MUSEUM OF MODERN ARTS

Bible

Magazine  
ork



zingmagazine  
New York

# NEXT TARGET

Back to Bush's...  
and...  
IT SUCKS!

ALL POLITICAL  
ARE SWAMP DONKEYS



LIVE

FROM NEW YORK

BURN  
BUSH  
BURN



OPINION OF U.S. GOVERNMENT  
ON THE WALL

THE BUCH REBING  
IS HORRIBLE

2MA'ITILLO911A  
SYKNOO 9MAW239A

The 100...  
very normal...

IT SUCKS!

HOPES CANDY LESS WAR!

But's long...  
the...  
I'm...  
to...



RESUME  
DRI 185

العراق  
بهران



# NEXT TARGET?

PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
ON THE WALL

The Empire is crumbling no clothes!  
Bush is not a target

you!

Bush is not a target  
The Empire is crumbling  
no clothes!

2001  
DOCKETS  
9/11

The US? is visible  
even more

THIS BUSH REGIME  
IS HORRIBLE

IT SUCKS!

HOPES CANDY LESS WAR!



ULTI?

you!

The USA is violating  
every international resolution

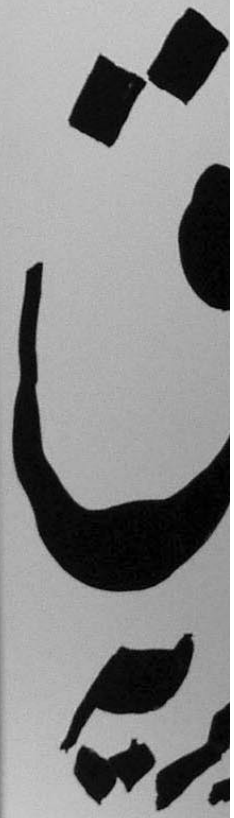
#BOMBBS!

Give America back to its former enemies to stop with

ON THE W



THIS SUCH REGIME  
IS HORRIBLE

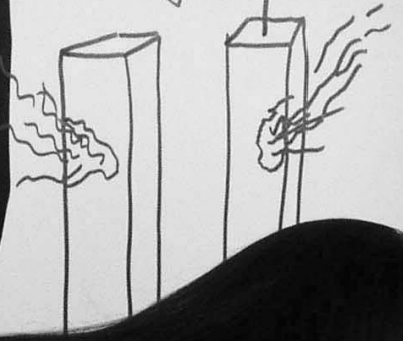






I Like Bush

Protest this!



WHY WASTE  
A THOUGHT ON THE

HELLO

The military is terrorism with a bigger budget.



Condoleezza is a she

Speaking German or Japanese

These drinks cost

وقتاً و كلاً

مذوق

NEW



FUCK THE...  
it's complete CRAPOLA.  
Embarrassing!!

become a  
a whole of  
from a ruler the lar  
smart people

or get the fu  
OUT!!!  
GET THE LOVE OUT  
OR FUCK THIS COUNTRY

# BOMBS BOMBS

## FUCK THAT NOISE

The last time we listened  
to a BUSH, we wandered  
in the desert for 40 years!

Kick  
the  
Bush!

BUSH  
KNOWS  
Nothing!!

## GREED

care?

sh? heated!...

Clinton  
THE CORNER BOOK  
PAINTED US INTO!

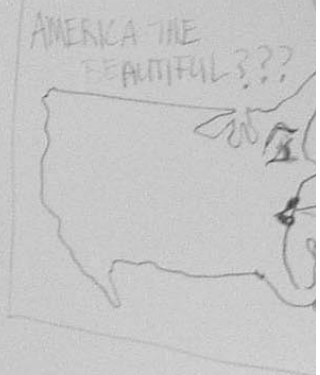
Between Iraq  
and a hard place.



"OUR CUP OF FOREBEARANCE  
IS EXHAUSTED" JAMES KNOX  
POOK ON THE EYE OF THE INVASION  
OF MEXICO

What a stupid  
foreign policy.  
Hypocritical

CARD RAINERA  
GET PROPRIO FORTS.....  
Mmm





INTERNATIONAL

TEN  
UCKS  
in everything  
work

Practice  
Love

ORAN MEINER?  
SUCKS A BIG  
DICK



MAKE OUT  
NOT WAR.

Best wishes,  
a WIESEL

BUSHWACK

LE BUSH-SHIT

DUCT  
TAPE  
BUSH

If it wasn't  
you'd be...

THUCB

IF YOU  
Give Me  
take th

I Like  
Bush

Protest

Large, bold, black calligraphic Arabic script covering the lower left and center of the whiteboard.



WASTE  
ON T



Kick  
the  
Bash!

BUSH  
KNOWS  
Nothing!!!

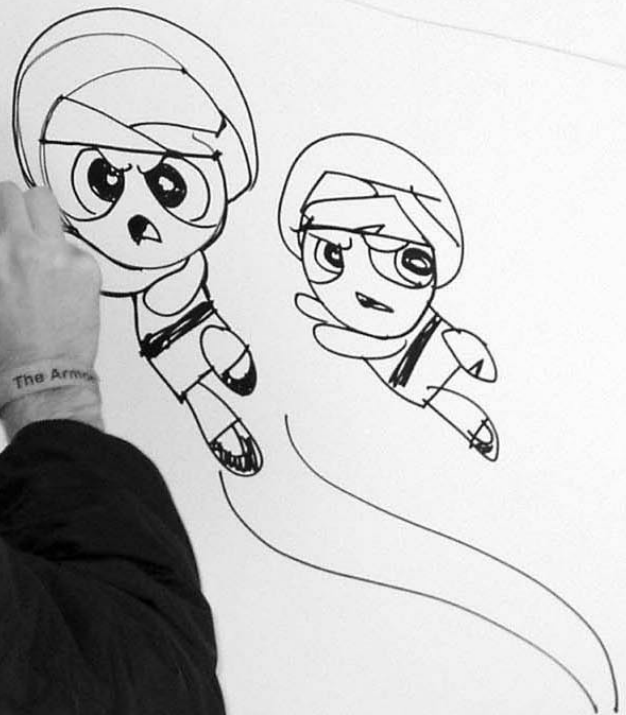


Pat...  
Out of  
Eretz  
Yisrad

AMERICA THE  
BEAUTIFUL???



BUSH-CHENEY  
HYPOCRITE  
ASS-HOLE



Practice Love

MAN MEINER  
SUCKS A BIG  
DICK



MAKE OUT  
NOT WAR.

Bush wishes  
a WIESEL

BUSHWACKED!!!

If ++ Wasn't for War

1. ~~Chapman's~~ ~~Chapman's~~
  2. "The Berg Queen" - ~~Alvin~~ ~~Conroy~~
  3. ~~The~~
- You'd be speaking German or Jap

- SHIT

**بزرگان**

I Like Bush

IF THE INFIDEL MUST DIE

IT'S SITADOL NOT CITADOL

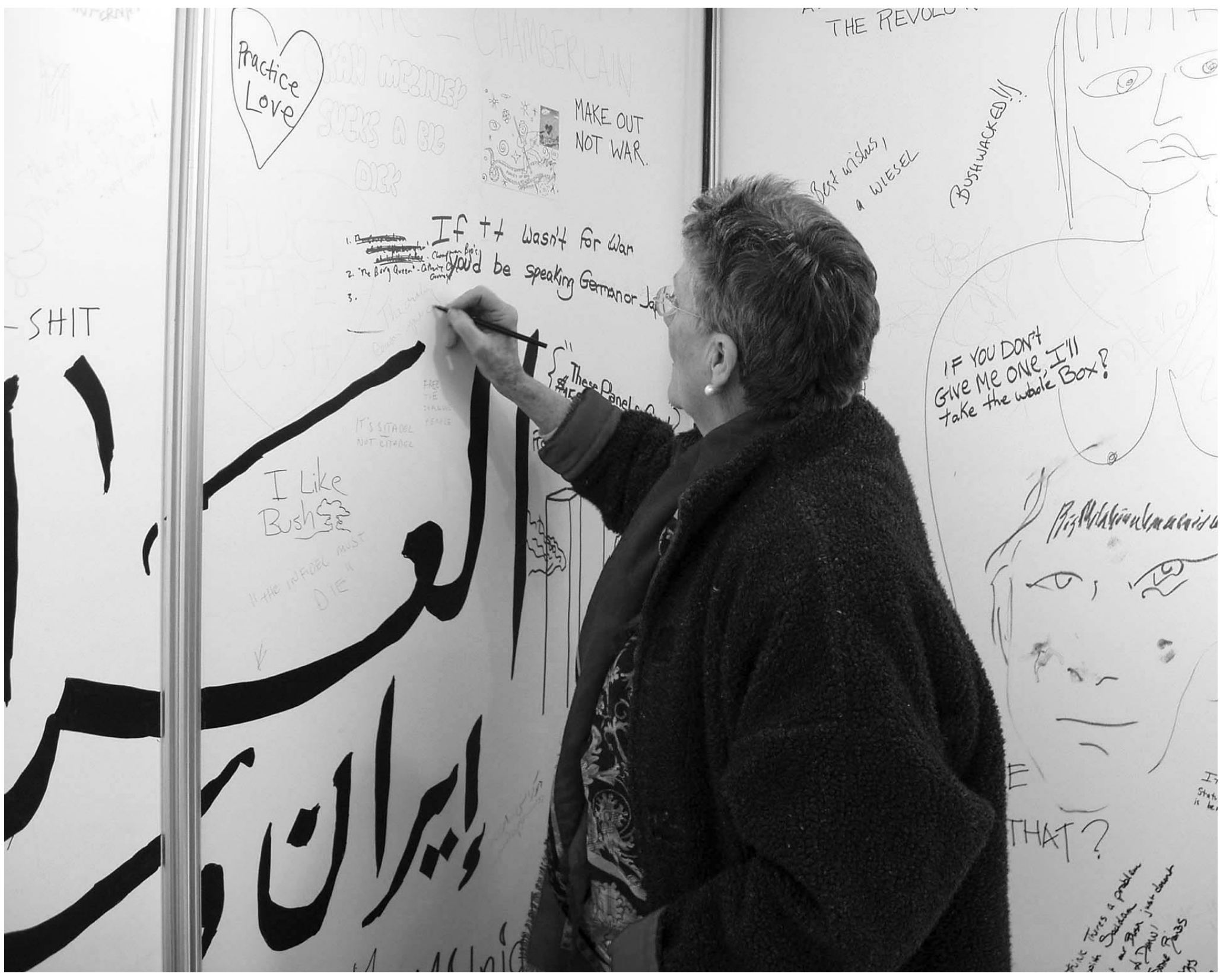
These Panels

IF YOU DON'T  
GIVE ME ONE I'll  
take the whole Box?

Big Mike in a crisis

THAT?

Five Times a Problem  
with  
or Bush just don't  
of (Amu) just don't  
the PMS





thing !!

The only Bush I trust is my own - every woman

Love

MAKE OUT NOT WAR.



SH-SHIT

DUCK TAPE

for War

German or Japanese.

IT'S SITADEL NOT CITADEL

11-11-11





# THE WALL

ARABIC?  
BUSH'S

~~God Bless America~~  
~~Be Proud of it!!~~  
~~AND STAND BY it!!~~

THIS BUSH REGIME  
IS HORRIBLE  
FREE YOURSELF  
FROM THE

Bush only cares  
about self profit  
not USA interests



you  
Don't cry

that's  
what  
she  
said...

BUSH GO HOME!  
THE POWER OF BRUTALITY



SITTEN  
DUCKS  
with everything  
to loose!!

MORE BUSH

M-  
MS  
ical  
leader  
MB  
PS





BUSH-CHENEY  
HYPOCRITE  
ASS-HOLES

WOULD GET  
IT'S HEAD  
OUT OF  
ASS, IT'S

WAR IS PET  
FREEDOM  
IGNORANCE





Wasn't for Wa  
speaking Ge

Protest

IF YOU DON'T  
GIVE ME ONE I'll  
take the whole Box!

Peace

HELLO  
to world  
Zoozoo

remember?

IT'S BUSY

DON'T FORGET  
MAKE LOVE NOT

51 Million in the bush administration  
HAAA?

Practice Love

CHIRAC = CHAMBERLAIN



MAKE OUT  
NOT WAR

If ++ wasn't for We  
You'd be speaking German

1. ~~Clinton~~ Clinton
2. "The Borg Queen" - Clinton
3. Gender Curving

There's  
\$150 a  
Protest th

I Like  
Bush

UNLEASH THE FURY  
OF WOMEN  
AS A FORCE FOR  
THE REVOLUTION

Best wishes,  
WIESEL

BUSH WACKED!!!

BUSH IT

IF YOU DON'T  
GIVE ME ONE, I'll  
take the whole B



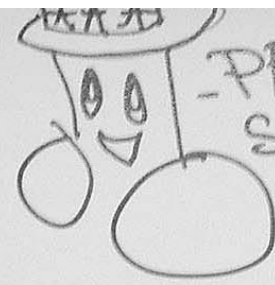


What a stupid  
foreign policy.  
Procritical

A  
to FORTS.....  
Mmm

"OUR CUP OF FOREBEARENCE  
IS EXHAUSTED" JAMES KNOX  
POUR ON THE EVE OF THE INVASION  
OF MEXICO.

"THE GAME"  
GEORGE  
EVE  
IRAQ

WARR  
-PRACTICE  
SAFE  
DIPLOMACY!  


AZNAR MENOS REBUSLINAR

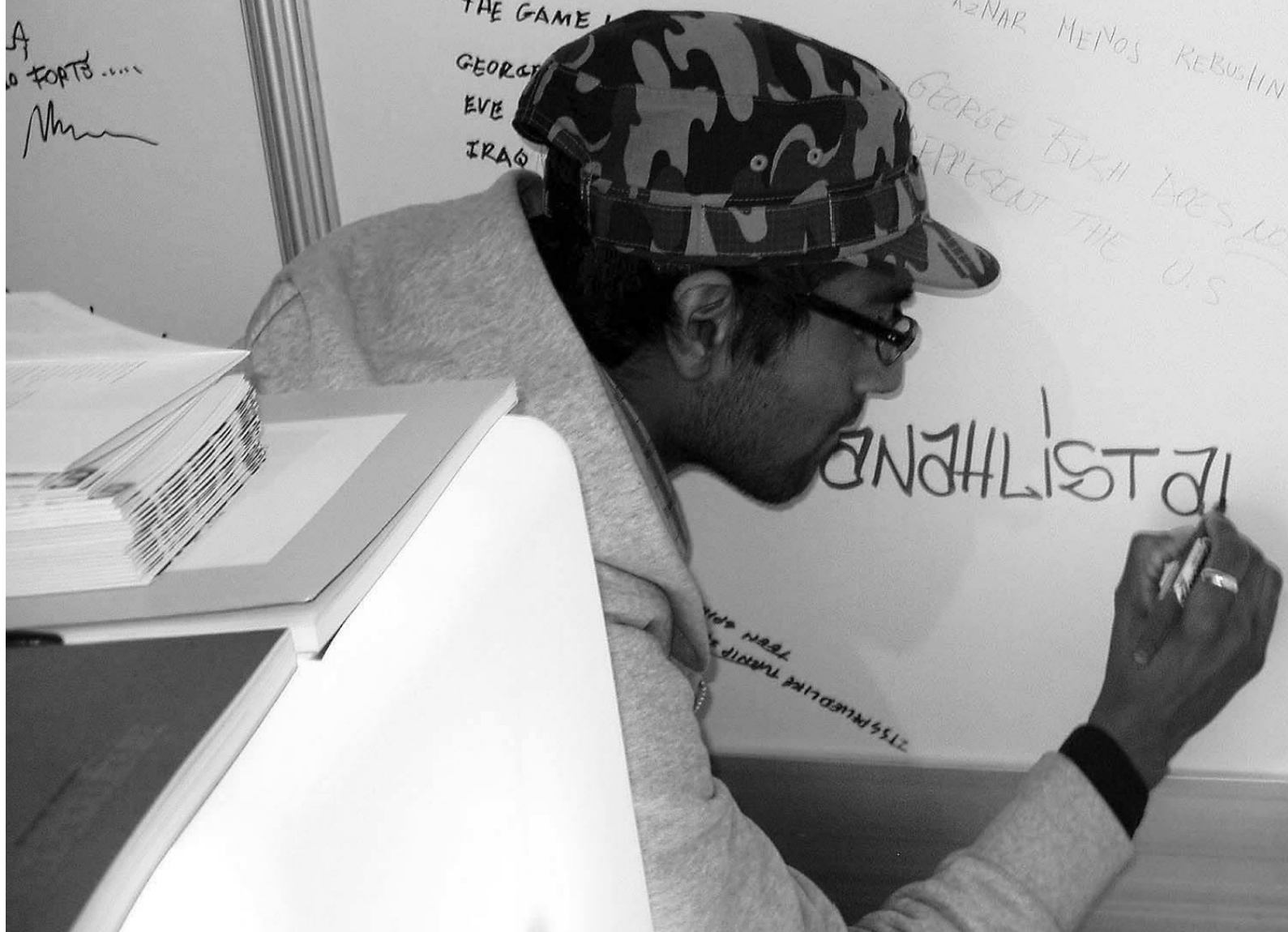
GEORGE BUSH DOES NOT  
REPRESENT THE U.S

WHAT CAN I SAY?  
A GOOD AS PRESIDENT  
MONEY RULES THIS  
JUST STOP WATCHING  
AND START THINKING

at the point where i'd  
to go somewhere else  
be safe... is when  
should fight the war  
ever harder. PAZ!

IP TSI 7 HOND

THIS PICTURE TAKEN  
BY A  
TEEN







IT'S CITADEL NOT CITADEL  
Like sh 3e  
MODEL MUST DIE  
FREE THE DRAWER FEMALE  
ايرادات

These Panels Cost \$150 a piece. GES  
Protest this

Midnight?

NEW YORK  
SAME OLD SHIT NEW LOOK  
A T  
THE CO  
EAT

IF YOU DON'T GIVE ME ONE, I'll take the whole Box?  
HELLO  
If you think the States go in Arab Countries is benign, think again.  
ASSASSINAT



Midnight!

WHY WASTE  
ON T

تلاوة  
القرآن الكريم

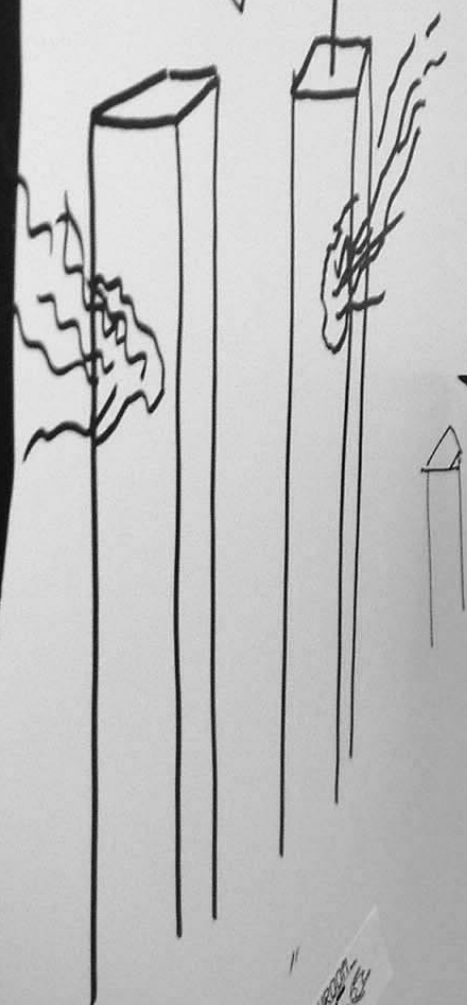
SHARON  
X5







These Panels Cost  
\$150 a piece. GES  
Protest this



طوفان كوني  
و قوت را

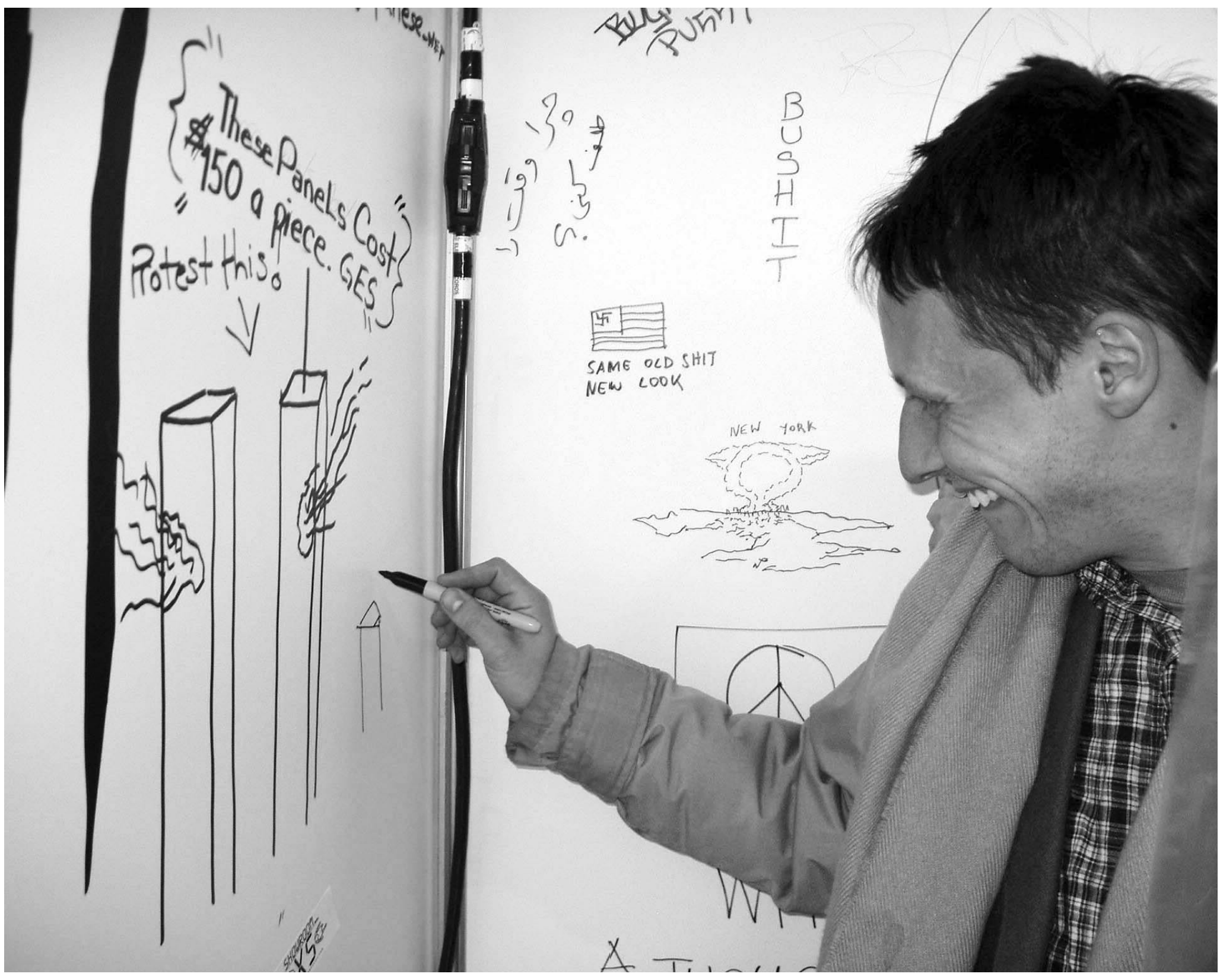


SAME OLD SHIT  
NEW LOOK

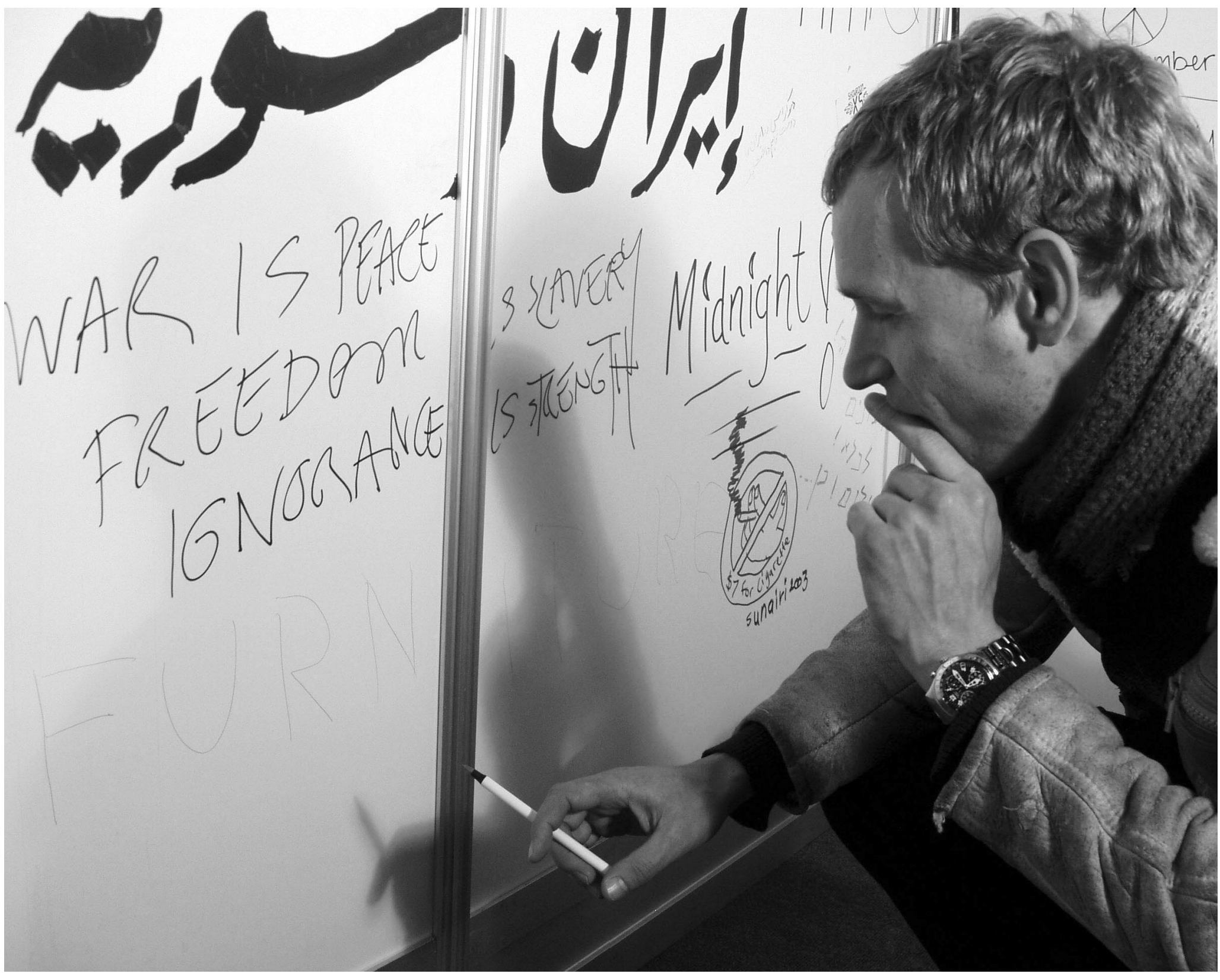


HTHUSCB

BUY  
RUSH







جنگ

ایران

WAR IS PEACE  
FREEDOM  
IGNORANCE

S SLAVERY  
IS STRENGTH

Midnight

\$7 for Opium  
sundari 2003

FURN

number

# NEXT TARGET?

PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
ON THE WALL

POM-POMS  
God Bless America  
Be Proud of it!!!  
And stand by it!!!  
this BUSH REGIME  
IS HORRIBLE  
has killed  
half the  
ethical  
system

NOT  
BOMB'S  
BOMB'S

GLO

BUSH-CHENEY  
HYPOCRITE  
ASS HOLES

THE  
FLUCKING  
WESTERN  
WORLD  
SHOULD GET  
IT'S HEAD  
OUT OF IT'S  
ASS!

NO MORE BUSH-SHIT

العراق  
إيران وسوريا

WAR IS PEACE  
FREEDOM  
IGNORANCE

IS SLAVERY  
IS STRENGTH

Midnight?

MAKE LOVE NOT  
WAR

you have  
to break  
some eggs  
to make  
an omelette

HAAA?

practice  
Love

MAKE OUT  
NOT WAR

If it wasn't for War  
you'd be speaking German or Japanese

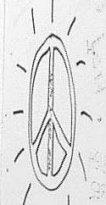
These Panels Cost  
150 a piece. GEE?



# LIVE

FROM NEW YORK

BURN  
BUSH  
BURN



PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
ON THE WALL

PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
ON THE WALL

PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
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ON THE WALL



PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICS  
ON THE WALL

ARABIC?  
BUSH'S



~~God Bless America~~  
~~Be Proud of it!!~~  
~~AND STAND BY it!!~~

THIS BUSH REGIME  
IS HORRIBLE

FREE YOURSELF  
FROM THE  
BABYLON  
SHITSTEM

HEIN SCHULZ HAT  
MIR GEZEIGT WARE 100%

RAW  
BACKWARD

UB ME  
RAW!

ED.

MAN

love on you!  
for Bush  
sucks



# BRING Back The DRAFT

Palestine is Jordan LET THE RICH KIDS FIGHT

Press Conference 3/03- Answer the fucking question, George, you (draft) dodgy bastard!

AFGHANAWHAT?  
AFGHANAWHAT?  
AFGHANAWHAT?

YOU'RE  
EITHER  
WITH US  
OR AGAINST  
US?

# NEXT TA



FREE PALESTINE! END THE OCCUPATION No  
I Got 2 in my pocket!

# "FUCK THE BUSH"

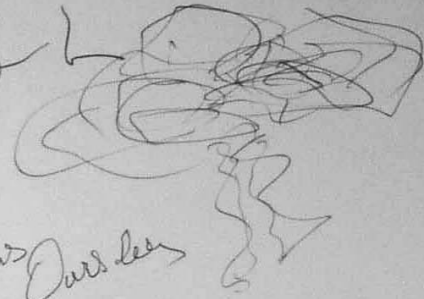
\* The emperor is wearing no clothes!  
Bush is hiding behind "the war"  
America is in a depression!  
open your eyes!

If we needed proof that  
Saddam Hussein has a diabolical mind  
have it: He's invited  
to debate.....

THE ONLY RIGHT I TRUST

MS BONIS

FUCK US ALL



James Ouellet

GETZ

JESUS was PALESTINIAN and so was MARY

WAR IS RAW  
SPELLED BACK  
BUSH RUB M  
RAW.

Bush was  
SELECTED  
NOT ELECTED.

538

HiLo!

BUSH IS THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN

Midtown Manhattan

FREE PALESTINE! END THE OCCUPATION NOW! @

I Got 2 in my pocket!

"Fuck The BUSH"

\* The emperor is wearing no clothes!  
Bush is hiding behind "the war"  
America is in a depression!  
open your eyes!

If we needed proof that  
Saddam Hussein has a diabolical mind  
we now have it: He's invited  
George Bush to debate....

THE ONLY BUSH I TRUST  
IS MY OWN.

FAIRE L'AMOUR  
PAS LA GUERRE

Bush is putting this country  
and thousands more  
into the same horrific  
situation as the US has  
put into Iraq

SAVE  
HUMANITY!  
STOP

DUST SADDAM



Be thankful your here!

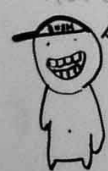
ONE PLANET  
ONE PEOPLE  
Share brothers & sisters

BUSH  
IS NOT  
MY PRESIDENT!

IT SUCKS

PEACE  
World-Wide!

HOPE CANDY LESS WAR!



I don't know.

- Q: Why are 48 million Americans without health care?  
A: Bomb Iraq
- Q: Where's my 401(k)?  
A: Bomb Iraq
- Q: Where's Osama?  
A: Bomb Iraq
- Q: What are we gonno do to stop Bush?  
A: Heated!....

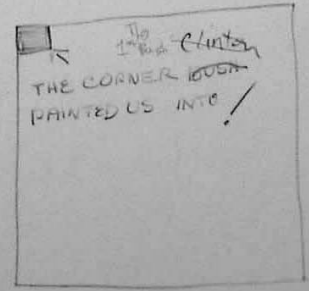
Lets Go Rangers!

Fuck the Propaganda!  
it's complete CRAPOLA!  
Embarrassing!!

So' quano PaZ & AMOR!  
(FUCK WAR!)

BLAST 'EM  
Blast u, doofus

GREED



PROJECT: PRIMER GANVAHL

Dame Dos  
Para Mañana!

Prende, Prende, Prende!!

KMC

CHANGE  
REGIME  
NOW  
(in USA)

Bush is A reptile

JESUS W

538  
It's all Hilo!

IF YOU SEE  
Don't Blow

Don't Lo

PHONY  
TEXAS

HELLO  
Goodbye...

I'm thinking  
becoming  
a citizen  
France  
Shan  
One America

FUCK

The last  
to a B  
in the c

Between  
and a ha

"OUR CUP



THE ONLY BUST  
IS MY OWN.

The same people asking for peace  
are the same people who were  
asking the US five years ago  
to do some thing about IRAQ'S  
Human Rights offenses

IERME

ing this country  
and world peace

you  
STOP  
BEING  
HYPOCRITIC

the one who

SAVE HUMANITY!  
STOP!  
WWIII!  
No Blood for Oil

JUST SADDAM  
.....with Liberty and Justice for all !!

Be Thankful your here!

2VNA! )IT 1L09 11A  
SYXKUD 9MAWZ 39A

REALITY T.V.



So' quero Paz & Amor!  
(FUCK WAR!!)

Fuck the Propaganda!  
it's complete CRAPOLA!

Embarrassing!!

I don't know.

Lets Go Rangers!

My government  
confuses me...  
(but I live in  
a democracy?)

Q: Why are 40<sup>51</sup> million Americans without health care?  
A: Bomb Iraq

Q: Where's my 401(k)?

WAR!

(FUCK WAR!)

I don't know.

Lets Go Ran

Q: Why are <sup>51</sup>40 million Americans without health care?

A: Bomb Iraq

Q: Where's my 401(k)?

A: Bomb Iraq

Q: Where's Osama?

A: Bomb Iraq

Q: What are we gonno do to stop Bush?

ide, Prende, Prende!!

BLAST 'EM

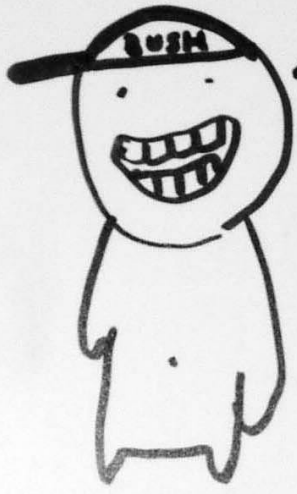
THE CO  
PAINTED

USA

doofus



MORE CANDY LESS WAR!



WAR!  
WAR!  
WAR!



I don't

Q: Why are there

A: Bomb

Q: Where's

A: Bomb

Q: Where's

A: Bomb

Q: What a

PROJECT: R.A.

¡Dame Dos  
Dere Mañana!

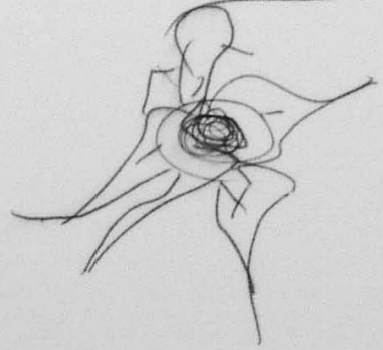
Prende, Prende, Prende

W AHL

ARABIC TEXT: 1M

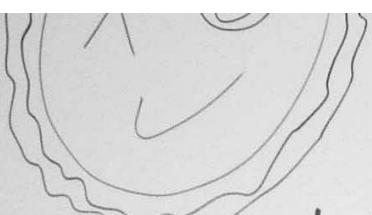
GEORGE Bush  
IS NOT SO NICE,  
BUT SARAH'S Bush  
IS!

McNAMARA



Bush is  
part  
to have  
It's B  
you  
WAK  
THIN

PROJECT: RAINIER GANVAHL  
ARABIC TEXT: IRAQ, IRAN, SYRIA  
CALLIGRAPHY: GHADI AL DEHANI



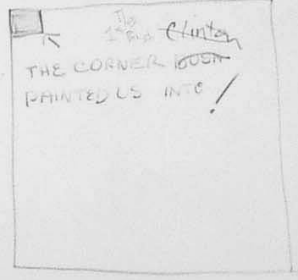
Q: Where's Osama?  
A: Bomb Iraq  
Q: What are we gonno do to stop Bush?  
A: heated!...

GREED

Dame Dos  
Para Mañana!

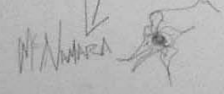
Prende, Prende, Prende!!

BLAST 'EM  
Blast u, doofus



KMC

GEORGE BUSH IS NOT SO NICE BUT SARAH'S FISH



Bush is a reptile  
PART of the plan  
to have New World ORDER  
It's Bigger than what  
you see  
WAKE up America + world  
THINK FOR YOURSELF!

Hi, I like dominating  
Arab men. Call me  
G.B.

What a stupid  
foreign policy.  
Hypocritical

CARD RAINIERA  
C'EST PROPRIO FORTS.....  
Mmm

"WAR IS SWEET  
TO THOSE WHO HAVE  
NOT TASTED IT."  
PG

how Random is Random?  
WSB

KILL ALL  
LIES

PRO HUMAN



Dish: You are  
doing it all  
wrong. You will  
never be the  
leader of the world.  
You miss your chance

The last time we listened  
to a BUSH, we wandered  
in the desert for 40 years

Between Iraq  
and a hard place.

"OUR CUP OF FOREBEARANCE  
IS EXHAUSTED" JAMES K  
POLK ON THE EVE OF THE INVA  
SION OF MEXICO

"THE GAME IS OVER"  
GEORGE BUSH ON THE  
EVE OF THE INVASION OF  
IRAQ

IMPERIALISM =   
(BUT IT PAYS)

THE LAST TIME WE LISTENED  
TO A BUSH, WE WANDERED  
IN THE DESERT FOR 40 YEARS



FORGET?

JESUS was PALESTINIAN and so was MARY

WAR IS RAW  
SPELLED BACKWARD  
BUSH RUB ME  
RAW!

Bush was  
SELECTED  
NOT ELECTED.

538  
It's all Hilo!

BUSH IS THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN  
IN THE WORLD

You know I can't  
kill myself

IF YOU SEE KAY  
Don't Blow My O.T.!

Don't Look at it!

I Just got back!

I'm on Stand-by!

PHONY  
TEXAS  
ACCENT

YOU!

WE  
NEED  
REGIME  
CHANGE?

America Shame on you!

You (Voted) for Bush

The world no longer respects  
Tyrants-

So why go after Hussein

Get aid of Bush

The USA is violating  
every international resolution

TEMA CELESTE

HELLO  
Goodbye...

To thinking

Country

530  
It's all HiLo: BUSH IS THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN  
IN THE WORLD

IF YOU SEE KAY  
Don't Blow My O.T.!

Don't Look at it!  
I Just got back!  
I'm on Stand-by!

YOU!  
WE NEED  
REGIME  
CHANGE!

America Shame on you!  
You Voted for Bush  
The world no longer respects  
Tyrants -  
So why go after Housseinne  
Get rid of Bush

The USA is violating  
every international resolution

HELLO  
Goodbye...

I'm thinking of  
becoming  
a citizen of  
France where they love  
smart people  
GIVE America back to the American Indians so begin with

FUCK BUSH

Love This Country  
or get the Fuck  
OUT!!!  
GET THE LOVE OUT  
OR FUCK THIS COUNTRY!

FUCK THAT NOISE

BUSH IS  
DOING THE RIGHT THING  
BUSH IS HEROIC

The last time we listened  
to a BUSH, we wandered  
in the desert for 40 years

Kick  
the  
Bush!

BUSH  
KNOX  
KNOX

TEMA

here!

D

answered  
0 years

Kick  
the  
Bush!

B  
K  
H  
S  
H  
O  
W  
S  
A  
L  
W  
S  
S

REFERENCE  
S KNOX  
INVASION



-PRACTICE  
SAFE  
DIPLOMACY!

AZNAR MEINOS

WHAT CAN I SAY?  
A COWBOY AS PRESIDENT SUCKS ANYWAY  
RULES THIS PLACE.  
TV 24 HOURS / D  
E !!!




to a ...  
in the desert for 40 years

Between Iraq  
and a hard place.

"OUR CUP OF FOREBEARENCE  
IS EXHAUSTED" JAMES KNOX  
POKE ON THE EVE OF THE INVASION  
OF MEXICO

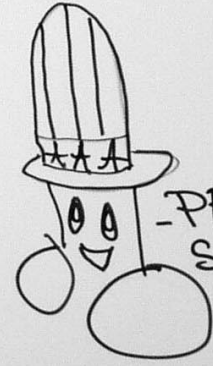
"THE GAME IS OVER"  
GEORGE BUSH ON THE  
EVE OF THE INVASION OF  
IRAQ

IMPERIALISM =   
(BUT IT PAYS)

GANDHILISTAN

TRIP TO ...  
TRIP TO ...

ck  
the  
Bush!  
m



-PRACTICE  
SAFE  
DIPLOMACY!

WHAT CAN I SAY?  
A CONROL AS PRESIDENT SUCKS ANYWAY  
MONEY RULES THIS PLACE  
JUST STOP WATCHING TV 24 HOURS  
AND START THINKING, PEOPLE !!!

AzNAR MENOS REBUSHINAZ  
GEORGE BUSH DOES NOT  
REPRESENT THE U.S.

at the point where i'd like  
to go somewhere else and  
be safe ... is when you  
should fight the war  
even harder. PAZ!

THE CORNER ROOM  
PAINTED US INTO!

What a stupid  
foreign policy.  
Hypocritical

HANERA  
PROPRIO FORTS .....

ALL  
S

PLEASE WRITE YOUR  
OPINION OF U.S. POLITICAL  
THE WALL

ARABIC?  
BUSH'S

~~God Bless America~~

Be Proud of it!!

AND STAND BY it!!

FREE/PARSED





POM-  
POMS

THIS BUSH REGIME  
IS HORRIBLE

FREE YOURSELF  
FROM THE  
BABYLON  
SYSTEM

Bush only cares  
about self-profit  
not USA interests

Boycot  
CROSS GATES  
MALL

NWO GLO  
you voted for him  
don't cry now

"not in my name"  
www.~~www~~  
p10n.com

BOMB'S  
BOMBS

THERE  
IS  
NO  
ISRAEL

AMERICA THE  
BEAUTIFUL???

Honey - Does  
this FOREIGN  
POLICY make me  
look UGLY?

THE  
FLUCKING  
WESTERN  
WORLD  
SHOULD GET  
IT'S



SITTEN  
DUCKS  
with everything  
to loose!!  
NO  
NO MORE BUSH-





NOT in my name  
www.~~anon~~  
nion.com

MBS

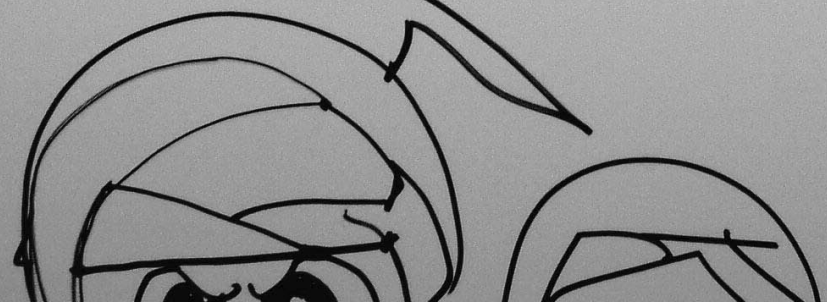
AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL ???

Honey - Does this FOREIGN POLICY make me look UGLY?



THE FLUCKING WESTERN WORLD  
SHOULD GET IT'S HEAD OUT OF IT'S ASS!

CHENEY



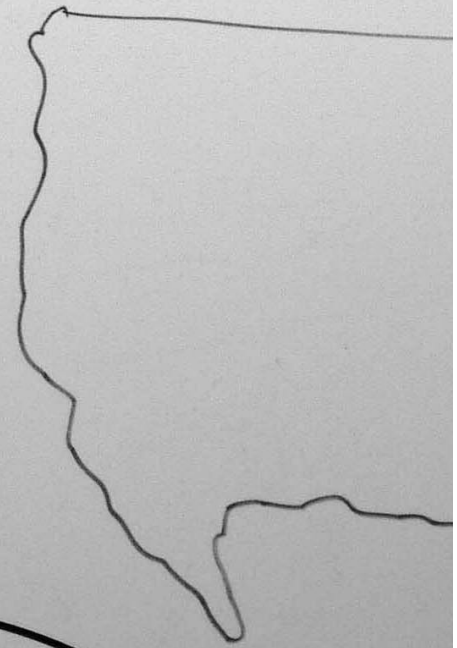
IF  
MS  
/

THERE  
IS  
NO  
ISRAEL

# BOMB

PALESTINIANS  
OF  
JERUSALEM  
SPREAD

AMERICA THE  
BEAUTIFUL



RUSH-CHENEY

BUSH-CHENEY  
HYPOCRITZ  
ASS-HOLES





U THE WALL

LITICS

C?

S



America

fit!!

!!

FREE YOURSELF  
FROM THE  
BABYLON  
SYSTEM

I SURE HOPE THIS WAR IS ABOUT  
OIL, BECAUSE THAT WILL HELP GREATLY  
IN THE CONQUEST OF THIS  
SHITTY WORLD.

thats  
what  
she  
said...

BUSH GO HOME!

THE POWER OF BEAUTY IS THE MIRACLES  
from



SITTEN  
DUCKS

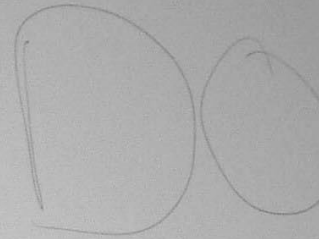
with everything  
to loose!!

NK

SITUATIONIST

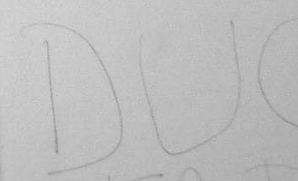
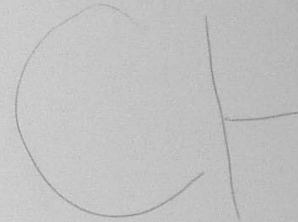


The only Bush I  
trust is my own!!  
-every woman



M

51 Million



DON'T FORGET  
MAKE LOVE NOT WAR

you have  
to BREAK  
some eggs  
to make  
an omelette  
NSUMI

51 Million with health insurance  
HAAA?


CHIRAC = CHAMBERLAIN

Practice  
Love

OSKAN MEZINLEY  
SUCKS A BIG  
DICK



MAKE OUT  
NOT WAR.

If I  wasn't for war  
you'd be speaking German or Japanese.

1. ~~Chomsky~~ - Chomsky
2. "The Borg Queen" - Arthur C. Clarke
3. Gaudin Germany

DUCT  
TADE

merica  
it!!  
FREE YOURSELF  
FROM THE  
BABYLON  
SYSTEM  
ES  
MALL  
GLO  
Him  
in my name"  
www.  
nion.com  
THE  
FLICKING  
WESTERN  
WORLD  
SHOULD GET  
IT'S HEAD  
OUT OF IT'S  
ASS!

SITTEN  
DUCKS  
with everything  
to look!!  
NO  
NO MORE BUSH-SHIT



Practice  
Love

GRAN MEZINLEY  
SUCKS A BIG  
DICK



MAKE OUT  
NOT WAR.

If ~~it~~ wasn't for war  
you'd be speaking German, or Japanese

1. ~~Clayton Biv's~~
2. "The Borg Queen" - Arthur C. Clarke
3. Gender Curving

العراق  
ایران و سوریه

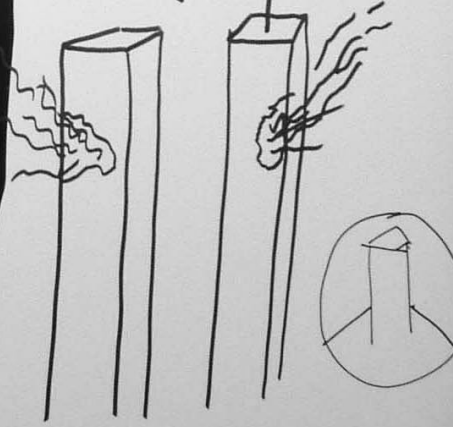
I Like  
Bush

"THE INFIDEL MUST  
DIE"

IT'S CITADEL  
NOT CITADEL

I ♥ ZOE

These Panels Cost  
\$150 a piece. GES  
Protest this



SHIROOD  
X5

WAR IS PEACE  
FREEDOM

IS SLAVERY  
IS STRENGTH

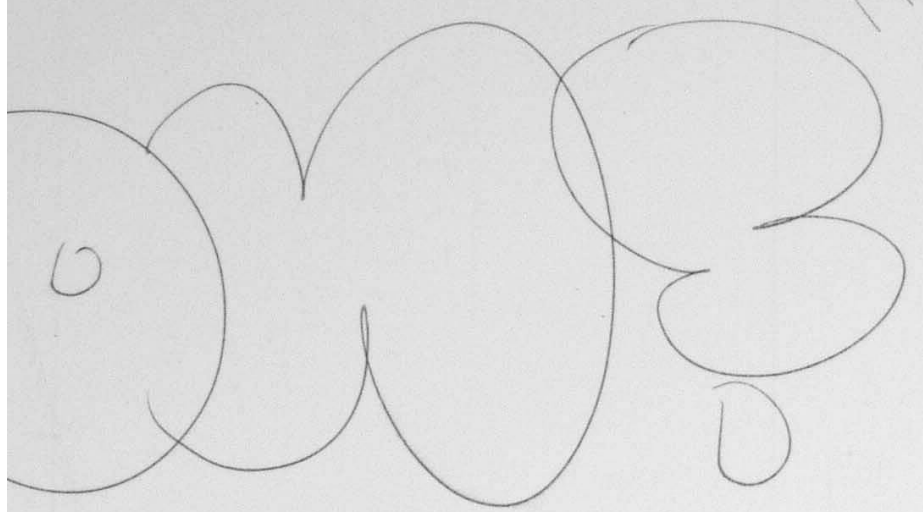
Midnight?

75  
75



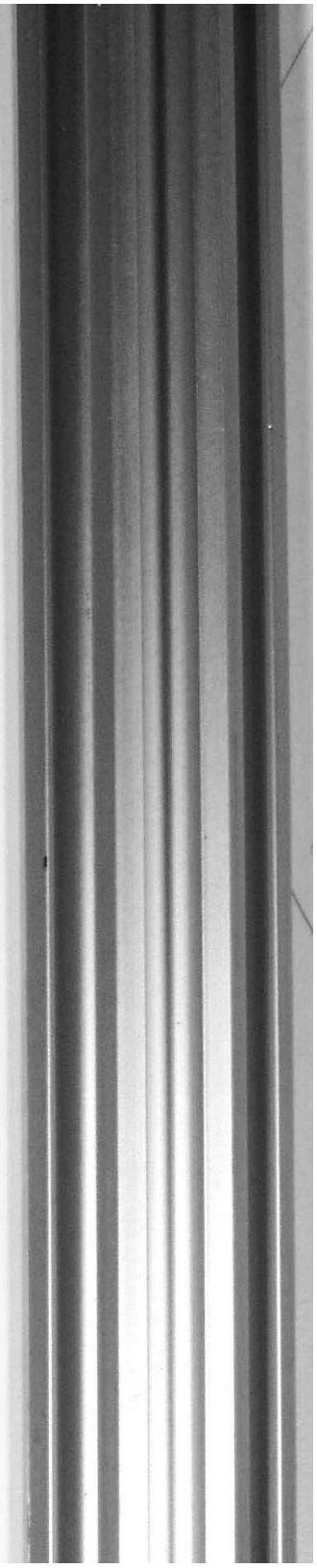
DOSE!!

The only  
TRUST IS  
every



Tony

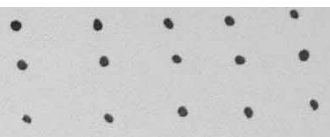
BUSH - SHIT



NTERNT

Practice Love

SUCKS A BIG DICK




Bush I  
15 My Own !!  
-my house



IT

DUCT  
TAPE  
BUS H

1. ~~Clinton~~ Clinton Bro's.
2. "The Borg Queen" - Arthur C. Clarke
3. Gordon Garry

If I  Wasn't for War  
You'd be speaking German or Japanese

The only Reason you can't see this Country is because you are white.

FREE THE IRAQI PEOPLE

IT'S SITADEL NOT CITADEL

I Like Bush


"THE INFIDEL MUST DIE"

I ♥ ZOE

These Panels Cost \$150 a piece. GES  
Protest this



SHOWROOM X5

If I 

- ~~The Courtship of Mr. Lyonesse~~
- ~~at White Lake~~
- 2. "The Borg Queen" - Catherine Gorney
- 3. Gender Gearing

Champion Bro's.

you'd be

The reason you can't write this (any of it) is because you are in this country U.S.A.








IT'S SITADEL  
NOT CITADEL

PEOPLE

I Like  
Bush 

IF THE INFIDEL MUST  
DIE



I ♥ ZOE

m

WAR IS PEACE  
FREEDOM  
IGNORANCE

FURNITURE

IS SLAVERY  
IS STRENGTH

M  
ITUR



UNLEASH THE FURY  
OF WOMEN  
AS A FORCE FOR  
THE REVOLUTION

How do we  
impeach an unelected  
President?

VOTE  
OUT  
EVIL

ARE US ALL  
MESIANIC VISIONARIES  
WITH DREAMS OF UTOPIA!  
i.e. STALIN  
HITLER etc.  
MOR...

Best wishes,  
a WIESEL

BUSHWACK

OH - I'm WORKING FOR  
LEVIN  
I THOUGHT I WAS IN  
AT 11

WHY IS A  
WHY!



OF WOMEN  
AS A FORCE FOR  
THE REVOLUTION

SAVE US ALL  
FROM MESSIANIC VISIONARIES  
WITH DREAMS OF UTOPIA!  
i.e. STALIN  
HITLER  
~~MOR...~~

VOTE  
OUT  
EVIL

Best wishes,  
a WIESEL

BUSHWACK

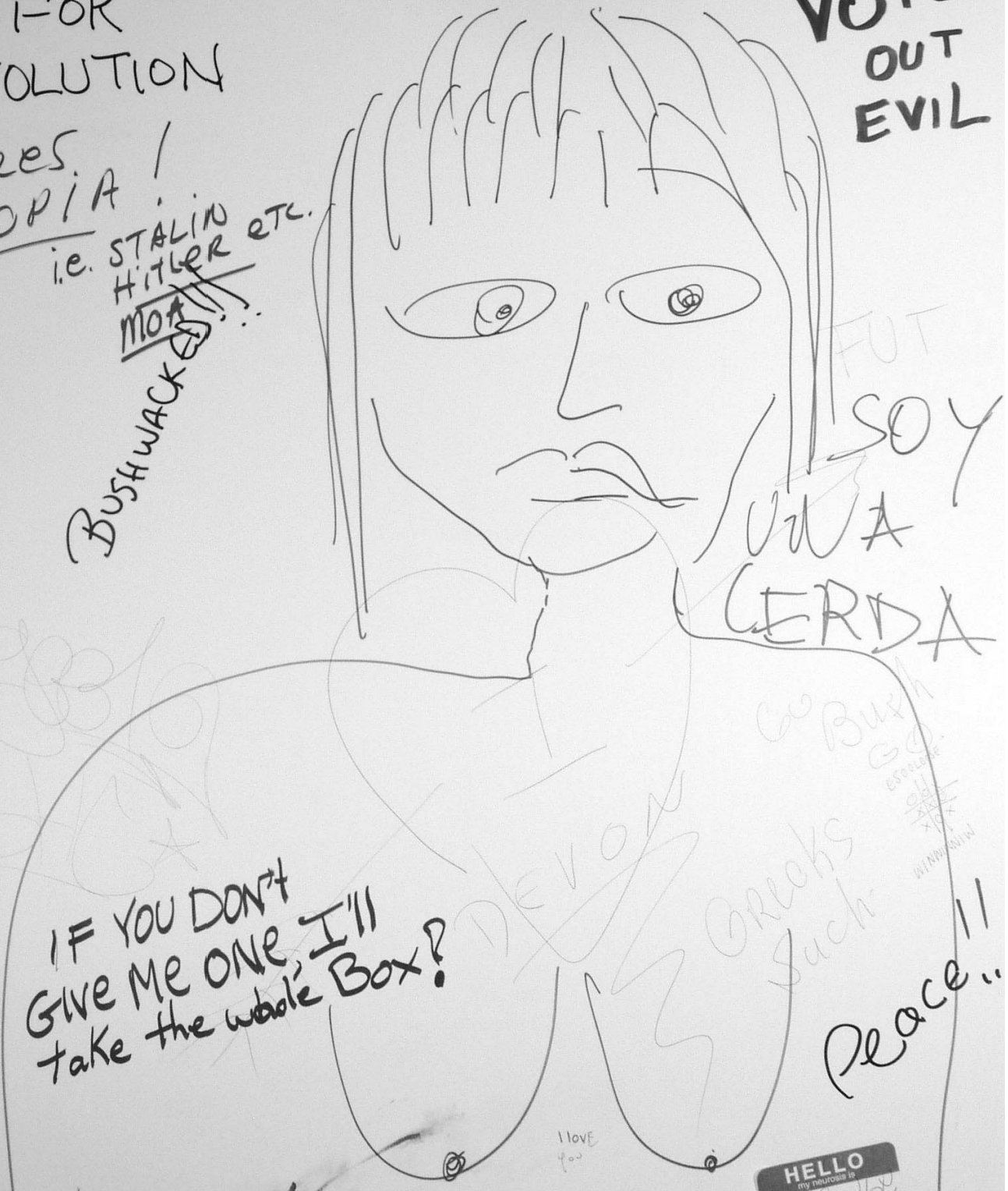
OH- I'm WORKING FOR  
LEVIN  
I THOUGHT I WAS IN  
AT II

BUSH IS A  
PUNNY!

وفاقی  
س. س. س.

THHUCB

IF YOU DON'T  
GIVE ME ONE, I'll  
take the whole Box?



FUT  
SOY

WIA  
GERDA

DEVON

Breaks  
Such

Peace!!



HELLO  
my mistress is

I love  
you

OH- I'm W...  
LEVIN  
I THOUGHT I WAS  
AT II

BUSH IS A  
PUSSY!

وقت  
طوفان کنی؟

THUSCB

IF YOU DON'T  
GIVE ME ONE, I'll  
take the whole Box?

DEVON

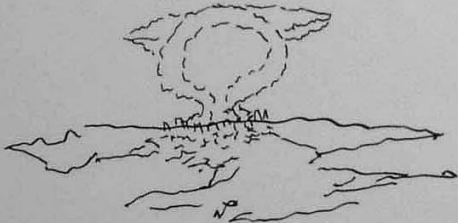
Grecks  
sack

Peace!!



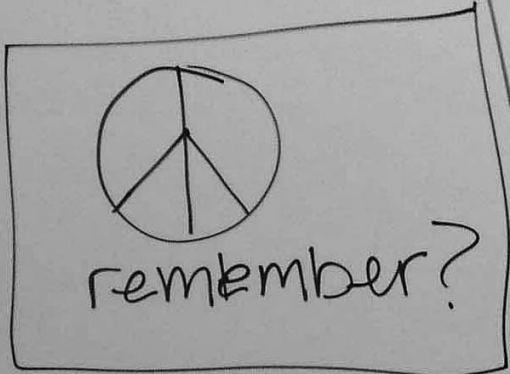
SAME OLD SHIT  
NEW LOOK

NEW YORK



Big M... ..

!! ASSASINATE BUSH!!



If you think the



A THOUGHT ON THAT!

RE-ELECT BUSH  
AND  
GO BACK TO  
THE COLD WAR

**EAT BUSH**

IN THE TRENCHES,  
(I LOVE CANADIANS)

I think Theres a problem  
with Saddam  
Not that our Bush just dont  
Side of DAWN!  
He's Got Some PANTS  
i He's A crazy  
Kind of Guy  
But starting a war  
is not the answer  
So I sign!  
acmmh...

voted for  
Cruz,  
He  
Ken-du

WAR, what's it good for?

LES  
CANADIENS  
SONT  
LA

BUSH  
JETS A LA  
MIGRADA

Go to school

Bush  
Shows  
AT

PETZEL IS A DICK

ARTIST ALERT:  
PLEASE KEEP  
HEADS OUT  
OF ASSES.  
- helpfully  
Jeff

\$500  
for the  
elevator  
operator

This war is not just  
Karl, Germany.

WESTERN OIL COMPANIES  
PORTIONS OF THE PIE  
2003



\*Polon  
Fomb

I ♥ the FRENCH

That's a silly thought.

WHY NOT?

FROM NEW YORK

SO FAR.



War is the best  
argument of anarchy  
Plan. CBK 7

Wouldn't it be nice  
if all countries could write  
their opinions on walls and not  
be killed for it...  
(Get the picture)!!

Bush on Bush  
THE Father is called  
TO THE MATH

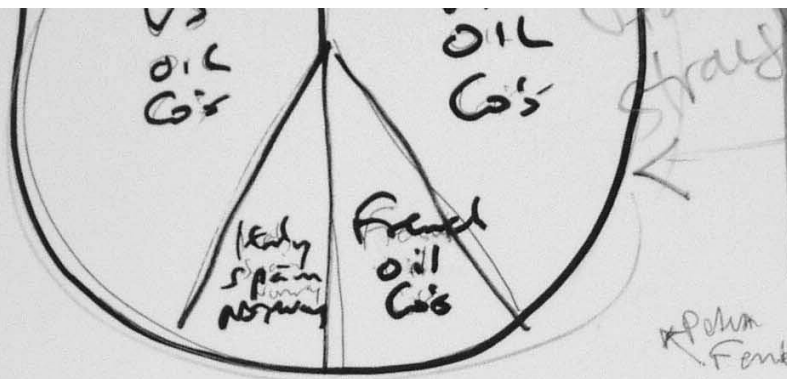
DAVIDA HONEY

LEWINSKY → IN A NUN'S DRESS

HIZOCRACY = DEMOCRACY + CAPITALISM

TRUE ANARCHY DOES  
NOT EXIST ALL THE  
TIME (A) HAVE

YUIGH!



I ♥ the FRENCH  
That's a silly thought.

FROM

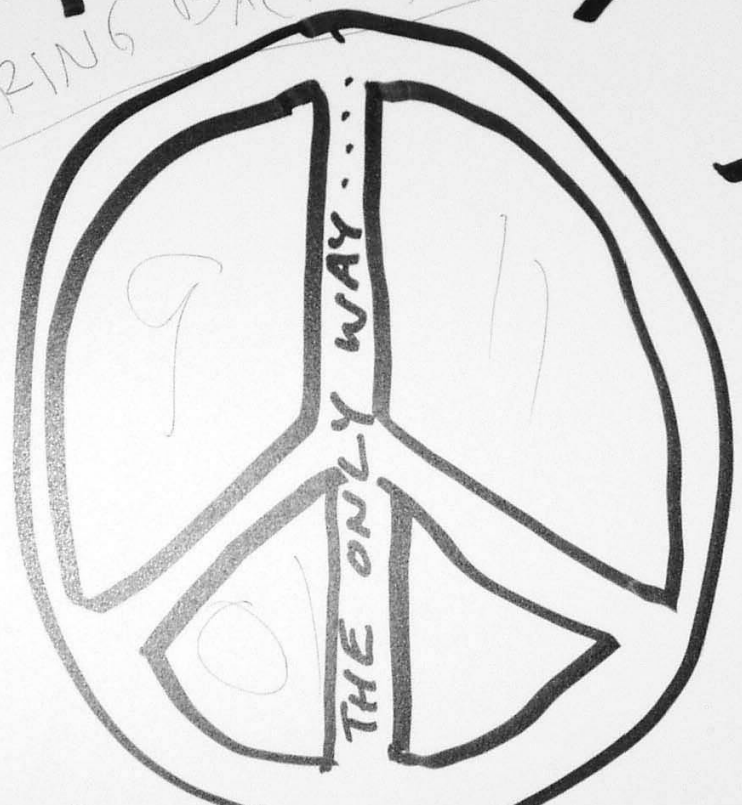
WHY NOT?

Bush on Bush  
THE Father is critical  
TO THE MAN

INAGODADAVIDA HONEY

BRING BACK MONIKA LEWINSKY

SCHIZOCRACY = DEMOCRACY  
IN A NUN'S DRESS



Appeasement  
kills more  
than war

B  
B  
B

BUSH  
LDS



Be filled in  
(Get the

SO FAR.

S  
CRACY + CAPITALISM

TRUE ANARCHY DOES NOT EXIST

(A)

HAVE ALL THING  
EVEN STRUGG  
CHAOS

Y U G

Did you know a man  
was arrested for  
saying this. He later  
clarified that he had  
said "Building bust".

THE U.S. GOVT. TREATS ALL

ALWAYS TREATED

PEOPLE ON EARTH, THE SAME WAY IT'S  
AFR. AMERICANS, NATIVE AMER.  
LATIN AMERS; IT WON'T WORK

EMBARASSED  
NEVER

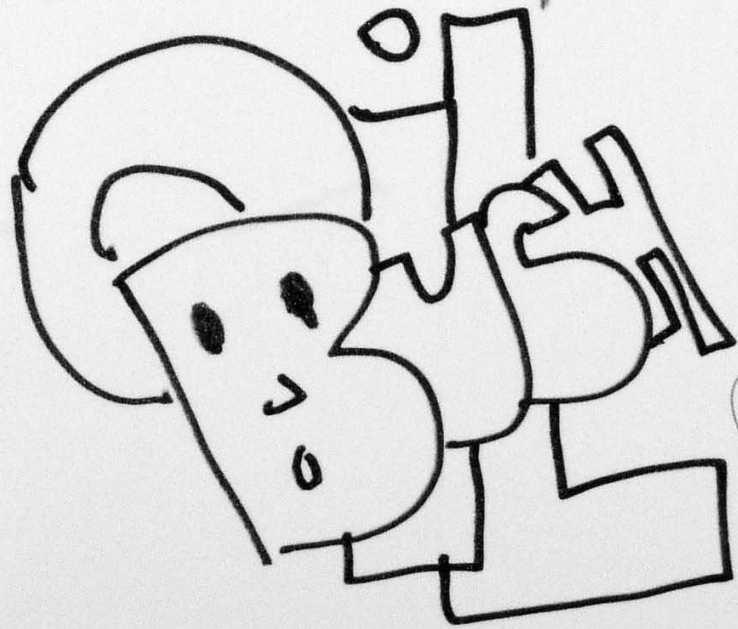
BURN

ANYMORE  
EVERYONE'S  
FED UP.  
AMERICAN'S  
STAND UP.

AN AMERIC  
I AM.  
me, too! ↑

CHRISTIAN F  
IS AS BAD AS

“The military is terrorism with a bigger budget.”



Viva Minnesota!

One of the most liberal (french sense) state of the US

U.S.

BUSH  
ERES.  
XUM

BURN

Imperfect opinions on  
Imperfect actions based on  
Imperfect knowledge

See what  
living in an  
undemocratic  
place is  
like...

The Coat Check  
NOT the Goat Check

To STOP HIM FROM BOMBING:  
on a plane and go to ~~Irak~~ before the  
arts. R u up for it?  
sents of American citizens in Irak NOW!

AMERICA IS THE ROGUE STATE.  
REGIME CHANGE BEGINS AT HOME.  
THE ONLY CONNECTION BETWEEN  
OSAMA & SADDAM - BOTH WERE  
ON THE AMERICAN PAYROLL IN  
THE REAGAN/BUSH 80'S - DON'T  
BELIEVE THE HYPE! STOP BUSH!!

BUSH

NYC MARCH  
3/22 FOR PEACE  
& DEMOCRACY  
Saturday Noon  
Midtown  
Manhattan  
UNited FOR PEACE & JUSTICE  
www.unitedforpeace.org/nyc

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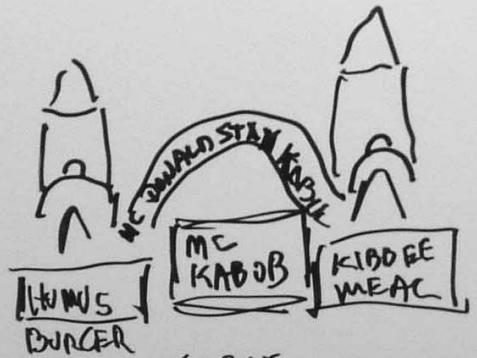
Condeleezah is a sheesa

reactimary art is so fun and  
reaffirming isn't it?

War is not  
healthy for  
children and other  
living things!

SAY NO TO WAR!

BABY  
GIVE WAR  
A  
CHANGE



KADUK  
CIRCA 2010  
-P. CASCONI-

AZNAR  
MENOS  
RE-BUSHNAR!

I feel like  
I'm taking crazy pills!  
Or everyone else is

SIMON CALIGO

Ken - du

## Homeland Security, Paranoia, Terrorism, God and Karl Marx

My day starts with *The New York Times* and NPR (1). This means that my day starts with a layer of frustration over George Bush's policies, their consequences around the world, and over the massive impact of a biased media. I have to learn how to deal with news that insults my sense of justice and my political thinking. Rather naïvely, I had believed that I had been living in a society that could be called "open," "free," "secular," and somehow guided by partial "justice" and constitutional freedoms. Of course, I was aware that the history of the United States – as is the case with many other countries – is full of violations, genocides, opportunistic wars, imperialistic behavior, and racial injustices. But this knowledge of history and injustice was a rational one and I did not feel affected by it on a daily basis—perhaps because I am a white middle-class man living in Manhattan. Now, my perception is changing.

Since 9/11 (3), my anger and frustration over the political climate in the United States has risen and a certain paranoia concerning the state and its security-agencies has begun to surface. I am not afraid of terrorism but more and more afraid of the actions taken by the United States against terrorism. Many of them violate human rights, the U.S. constitution, recognized international laws, and the most basic policies for peaceful relations between nations, people, and religions. The self-righteousness and the drive for war with Iraq by this administration has tainted my naïve understanding of the USA's civil tradition. (4)

Self-censorship, attempted and practiced censorship (5) imposed by others have become a reality in the United States, causing me to ask myself many questions: Is my e-mail monitored? Are my neighbors suspicious of me? When writing on line, should I purposefully misspell certain words in order to evade automatic search machines? Can my analysis of the current political situation put me in legal jeopardy, in social or professional isolation? Is my heightened sensitivity and subjection to the news only a product of the news? Why do I care more about the reports concerning Bush's and Sharon's policies than I did when hundreds of thousands of Africans were slaughtered during the 1990s? Can they take my newly issued American citizenship away since I feel so in disharmony with the current administration? Was my quiet Moroccan roommate a terrorist? Almost everyday we get reports about individual sad stories of INS abuse (6), deportations, indefinite holdings and worse (7). Atrocities committed by the Russian government in Chechnya might confirm the prejudices and biased reports I grew up with during the Cold War, but hearing similar stories of military crimes and severe human violations carried out by

(1) *The New York Times* and National Public Radio are mainstream media. In regard to many matters they are rather conservative, with an equal balance of hawkish rightwing columns and war-critical voices. On Sunday 12/29/02, a 10 am show concluded with the female show host saying "We should always remember, that war is something that gives us meaning." Statements like this are catering directly to the US war machine that is currently run by George W. Bush, a sitting president that had never even really visited abroad before coming to office.

(2) During the war with Iraq, I mostly read European newspapers on-line and mostly listened to WBAI, 99.5 FM.

(3) The frequent and stereotypical use of the 9/11 acronym for the Twin Tower Terrorism of 2001 is almost symptomatic for the appearance of a "9/11 industry."

(4) Almost every week a new scary proposal is launched: currently, the administration proposes the introduction of a system to gather any electronic information about anybody in this country for data mining and profiling.

(5) There are also discrepancies between this published text and my original draft.

(6) The Immigration and Naturalization Service is now dissolved and is becoming a part of the newly created Homeland

Security Department. Anti-terror specialists will have a better look over all immigration papers. Due to the more effective data-linking, two European friends of mine were refused access into the country based on misdemeanors in the far past. One was jumped a subway turnstile; the other person overstayed his visa for a day.

(7) Right now, the U.S. government is engaged in mass arrests and mass deportation of Arabic men and Arabic immigrants. Deportations could be due to minor Visa irregularities. New INS rules demand registration of all adult male immigrants from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Syria, and others nationalities unless they are naturalized citizens or permanent residents. The list of countries is going to be extended and arrests are more likely to increase, see: "Demonstrators Protest INS Registration" By *The Associated Press* September 19, 2002, *The New York Times*.

(8) I sometimes wake up from nightmares about this new super-department. In case I get contacted I will be prepared. I have been working on a series of videos entitled "Homeland Security:" In the eleven languages I have been learning, I repeat: "I am not a terrorist", "I am not a religious fanatic," "I don't give money to terrorist networks," "I don't know how to build bombs" and "I'm not downloading dangerous information from

the USA are more difficult to understand. However, as I acknowledged earlier, I am just very naïve.

Do I hate the United States? Definitely not. I love the United States and its constitution or what is left intact of it. Therefore I am concerned with the aggressive politics of this current administration and the economic, environmental, political and social damage it causes to this country—policies embodied by the new department of Homeland Security. (8)

## II.

"A spectre is haunting the United States and the world – the spectre of terrorism. All the powers of the world have entered into a holy alliance to exorcize this spectre."

Replacing only some notorious words, you might remember this opening in the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx. Terrorism has become the new code word in politics, policing and the media on a global level. It is interesting to revisit Marx's analysis of society and look from there into manifest aspects of contemporary terrorism, the reactions to it, the use of God and other powerful businesses. I'm not talking about how today's paranoia and hysteria is starting to resemble the anxieties and reactions in the USA fifty years ago. Fear of communism dominated the twentieth century causing millions of deaths in unnecessary wars and assassinations around the world. I am also not talking about the fact that there is material and social continuity from the fight against communism to today's terrorism since many mujaheddeens have been trained and financed by the CIA in the fight against the former Soviet Union.

The Communist Manifesto states that communism is already acknowledged by all powers to be itself a power. So is terrorism. Marx asks communists to "openly face the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies." Terrorist groups partially do so as well. Marx then draws a history of struggles between groups, classes, geographical regions and nations based on the development of knowledge, technologies, industries, international trade, and world markets for labor, raw materials and goods. Confronted with Islamic fundamentalist terror today, two factors of Marx's analysis are interesting: The often violent fight over resources, labor and markets and the prominent aspect of religion and culture as intellectual production and weapons in these struggles. Education, the knowledge industry, belief and truth systems as well as family structures are clearly recognized by Marx as weapons in the history of competing interests and conflicts. Karl Marx saw material, social and ideological change not as voluntary acts by an elite but as a result of changes in technological and industrial productions, in knowledge and communications, in labor, markets, disease prevention and changing demographics.

Karl Marx was not a terrorist nor was he a revolutionary. He insisted in analyzing and communicating social demands and believed in institutions whose powers he wanted to see controlled in the hands of a secular, rationalized class subject (9) in the interest of the majority of impoverished masses, at his time omnipresent in all European cities. Only in moments when mutating social forces are hindered and developments blocked, may violence set in and revolutions take place (10). Marx himself provided theoretical instruments for the analysis of social injustice, and the liberation from industrial slavery and hardship. From the very beginning he had an international view on the state of exploitation and understood how local and national misery are part of an international network of imperialist competitions for labor, raw materials, goods and markets (11). Marx himself wasn't calling for anarchism or terrorism. He believed that history itself would do the job. Marx was one of the first people to acknowledge that small people, poor and exploited laborers – the majority of the people in his time – were major protagonists in history. He also acknowledged machines and technology, knowledge and information as a driving force for historical change. Marx saw misery, injustice and exploitation as man- and machine made and not a result of divine fate. Marxist historical and materialistic thinking is a secular antithesis to a world view that operates with gods, fears and threats.

In Karl Marx's mentor Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's philosophic system History is an often-violent agent, the "Master from Germany." (12) Before German Idealism, history was an attribute of God represented and interpreted by emperors, kings and the church who made sure that the position of God in the world wasn't called into question. Challenging God was equivalent to challenging worldly powers and resulted in death sentences. God was the institution to be feared and respected. God was the mirror image of all secular powers in mostly patriarchal dress. The devastating religious wars in Europe in the 17th century were about the final interpretation of the words of God. Rebellious protestants and Calvinists rejected the power of the pope and the church and privatized their relationship with God. God as an institution started to lose its monopoly in the business of legitimating power. Democratizing the personal relationship with God was a step towards democratizing politics which quickly followed. Legitimate worldly powers, therefore, soon entered a crisis and needed a secular basis. Thomas Hobbes was one of the most brilliant thinkers to come up with new ways to legitimate the concentration of power in the hand of a ruler without any recourse to the metaphysical supremacy of God. He laid out elements of secular modern state theory and to a certain extent the basis for our constitutional democracies. Hobbes imagined a state before the state in which "everybody is everybody's wolf," a murderous and impossible life. Under his famous theory, individuals enter a contract to give up their

the internet." For the production of this work I started to study Arabic. When I purchased my study material I was obliged to order audio materials by mail, using a credit card to pay. I wonder whether the publisher was required to pass on my personal data to Homeland Security. The FBI requested the data of all scuba divers who took lessons within the last 3 years in the USA. See: "America under surveillance: Privacy and Security; New Tools for Domestic Spying, and Qualms," By Michael Moss and Ford Fessenden, *The New York Time*, September 10, 2002.

(9) The dynamics of class struggle and the concept of the proletariat is worth studying even if its terminology is anachronistic and often shuts down discussions on social justice. Today in America, even full time middle class workers barely have guaranteed access to decent medical services. (*The New York Times*, November 25, 2002, "Problem of Lost Health Benefits Is Reaching Into the Middle Class," by Mr. Broder)

(10) Even within the Islamic state of Iran, large student protests in favor of a jailed state critic threaten the power of the mullahs; even Iran risks explosion.

(11) We shouldn't forget that developing nations often are screwed twice: not just do they often not get enough paid for their

raw materials and their labor, but they frequently are banned from selling their goods on the open market by the USA when these goods are competing with U.S. interests. The current Bush administration is, in spite of all its pseudo-open market policy, blocking many South American states from selling their meat, their cotton, their fruits, and their technologies. *The New York Times* just reported how the USA is stopping the incoming Brazilian president from selling Brazilian fighter jets to Venezuela. (December 11, 2002, "Brazilian Meets Bush and Vows to Cooperate on Freer Trade" By James Dao) This economic protectionism is omnipresent and makes even the mere talk of "free markets and trade zones" a cynical euphemism for imperialist US dominance over world markets. South American food too is for the majority not entering USA markets because of "safety regulations." Safety is never even discussed when it is about the illegal distribution of gene-manipulated crops and foods all over the world that destroy local productions and make farmers directly dependent on U.S. gene-tech corporations. Needless to say, Europeans eat Brazilian food and try block U.S. "Frankenfood." (12) With Paul Celan and Adorno/Horkheimer in mind, I could be even more direct: History, Bildung (education in liberal arts

rights to some ruler, a soon to be national state representative, in return for order and security. No God is needed but fear and chaos.

Today, murderously competing ideas of God, fear and chaos are once again the driving force and a valid token in national and international politics on all fronts. Fundamentalist Islamic terrorists, gone-mad sniper-killers and the administrations of George Bush, Ariel Sharon, and Vladimir Putin are all doing big business with God, fear and chaos. Endless killings, war theaters and threats are for them the medium to express God's will. Fear and paranoia of weapons of mass destruction are weapons of mass distraction for trying to turn history back without any proper media coverage. Since September 11, the Bush administration has cemented its power and erased any opposing alternative in domestic and international politics the same way Sharon seems to have eliminated peaceful alternatives to his politics of provocation, aggression and brutal retaliation. Putin and other strong men in the world of politics have gained power in times of crisis. Fear of terror committed by Palestinians, or the Chechens or the Iraqis turns into blank checks to carry out policies that in return infuriate and humiliate large segments of not just the Islamic world.

The White House organizes prayer groups, openly prefers religious institutions over secular ones in educational and social services. The unconstitutional re-employment of God in U.S. government can best be detected by Supreme Court Justice and Opus Dei (13) member Antonin Scalia, who looks to democracy as a means "to obscure the divine authority behind government." (14) It is quite remarkable that a Supreme Court Justice who is part of a group of nine people who even has the power to select a president against the popular vote – this current president for example – and who is supposed to guard the constitution and our democracy can attack democracy on such a fundamental level with religious arguments without any consequences. Some of the highest U.S. officials seem to share the same ideas regarding the relationship 'government-state-God' as re-emerging, re-empowered religious fanatics from all over the world. They also express a similar contempt for politics. I am not saying that U.S. government officials opt for religiously driven terror (15), but they might share similar beliefs about God and the place in government held by religious fundamentalists who too are not automatically in favor of terrorism. In our current U.S. climate, it is also no surprise that some centers of worship in the USA become equipped with state symbols (16). Meanwhile, in the name of saving "unborn life," inspired by Bush's firm religious beliefs, his administration has stopped funding the desperately needed international health initiatives in the poorest areas of the world causing death to about 3000 women a year during child birth without medical assistance. These victim numbers don't include the



deaths occurred as a result of ongoing abortions without medical assistance. (17)

Poor, badly educated masses and highly foreign-educated elites in most of the Middle East were let down by their versions of autocratic modernist states. In 1916, these new states followed mostly British and French colonization and were drawn and divided with rulers and straight lines on maps ignoring ethnic, cultural and historical differences. Since the 1950s, oil, the fear of Communism and Soviet influence dictated Middle Eastern politics next to problems that came into existence with the insertion of the new state of Israel and its troubled relationship with its Arabic population and neighbors. The USA practiced the British model of “indirect rule” and helped to keep in place autocratic regimes and dictatorships hindering existing democratic movements. The police state of the Shah of Iran was very much supported by British and U.S. interests. The Islamic revolution in Iran forcefully changed all this in 1979. That same year, the military general Saddam Hussein started to control Iraq with the means of a tyrant. An 8 year long war with Iran followed in which Europe and the US were no neutral by-standers. Genocide against defiant Kurds and Shiites in Iraq were carried out by Saddam Hussein with the help of war materials and intelligence provided to him by the US and Europe. (18) Saudi Arabia, former home of Bin Laden and the majority of the 9/11 terrorist crew, has been for many decades ruled with iron fists, repression and a contempt for democracy, human rights and gender equality. The USA has been installing military bases there since 1957 to look after the predominantly American petroleum interests and the need to stabilize the kingdom’s repressive political and military power. (19)

A costly US military presence, autocratic rule without democratic access, explosive social polarizations, radicalized Islamic teachings, a demography with many young (unemployed) people, satellite broadcasts of live Israeli-Arabic frictions, and televised US-war theaters against Muslim populations are only some reasons on a long list to explain this current new breed of explosive Islamic fundamentalism. Anti-imperial and anti-American propaganda addresses impoverished masses and attracts the attention of some highly educated and privileged people. This credit card, cell phone and internet coordinated terrorism is also attractive to well and foreign educated middle class and upper-middle class people. It is productive to see all these bloody conflicts, these awful violent reactions and terrible options for terror through the spectral analysis of Karl Marx and therefore, as part of our history of class and (neo)colonial struggles. These current manifestations of violent terrorism are to be seen as complicated results of reckless international and local long term politics. Terrorism cannot be explained in

and in humanities), and Death are masters from Germany. (This is in reference to Celan’s poem starting: “Death is a Master from Germany...”)

(13) Opus Dei is a catholic sect.

(14) This is quoted directly taken from a talk by Antonin Scalia given in 2002, see: Sean Wilentz, From Justice Scalia, a chilling vision of religion’s authority in America, in *The New York Times*, July 8, 2002 . Find more of his pseudo-theocratic views on google.com: “Scalia god government.”

(15) Some people even joke and say “military is terrorism with an unlimited budget.” Military spending is currently exploding.

(16) See the illustration of the article “In Synagogue Design, Many Paths” by David W. Dunlap, *The New York Times*, Sunday December 8, 2002 which shows a newly made New York (82nd Street) sanctuary decorated

prominently with the flags of the USA and Israel. The Christian Church on 5th Avenue and 90th street has currently two flags hanging outside: the U.S. flag and the flag of the Crusaders. This white flag with a red cross stands for the brutal Christian history to conquer Jerusalem and the Holy Land. President Bush might recognize this flag since he used the word “crusade” in response to the events of September 11.

(17) BBC world news, special TV report, November 20, 2002. I

could go on and on with reports how the policies of this Bush administration bring hardship to poor people around the world. We are observing a “reversed Robin Hoodism,” even in America: stealing from the middle and lower middle classes and redistributing to the upper classes. With the exception of the military and Homeland Security regular government functions risk to be outsourced to private contractors where they are starved or given up. In today’s New York Time, we see two headlines

wonderfully squaring off: “White House Aides Push For 50 % Cut In Dividend Taxes” with a subtext including” Benefits Would Go to the Wealthiest Taxpayers” by Edmund L. Andrews, and “Law Requiring Lower Drug Prices Is Struck Down,” by Robert Pear, hurting people with the lowest income. (*The New York Times*, December 25, 2002) The New Leader of the Republicans in congress, Bill Frist, has a financial and family background that controls the most powerful pharmaceutical complexes in the USA.

(18) In the 20th century, Iraq was mostly dominated by British influence even after its direct colonial liberation. British military presence was in place many decades after formal independence. There was only a very short period of true independence through a revolt that kicked out the British in 1957 followed by

pathological, criminal, chauvinistic, theological and moral terms. Calling terrorists “evil doers” (Bush) doesn’t help understanding these violent reactions to U.S. politics and U.S. military presence in the Middle East. “They” also do not “envy our freedom,” in fact they don’t want any of this imposed on them. They also don’t “hate us” because we are rich. PR campaigns fabricated by Madison Avenue will not bring the desired change of the U.S. image in the (Arabic) world without a substantial correction of U.S. politics towards the Middle East with its strategic importance, its ethical and religious differences and its petrochemical resources.

Speaking of “terrorism” and of “fundamentalism” should never erase the distinct political and strategic differences of all these various conflicts. Addressing Palestine and Chechnya together with the 9/11 attacks under the simple qualifiers of “fundamentalism” or “international terrorism” is inadvertently normalizing the political rhetoric of George W. Bush. While the tactics of Palestinian suicide bombers may seem similar to those of Bin Laden there is an important difference to be considered: the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip violates international law. For Palestinians, armed aggressions against Israeli forces, interests and its people are desperate partisan acts in an attempt to realize self-determination and to deal with the endless frustrations and provocations they are going through since Sharon took office. In this sense Palestinian terror is closer to the tactics of the IRA in Northern Ireland (which had not been named in the axis of evil). The important political differences and tactics between these various groups in the Middle East, Asia, Europe and Russia ought to be considered in order not to indiscriminately oversimplify the complexities of regional conflicts (20). It is not surprising that even Slovo dan Milosevic, responsible for the slaughtering of his Muslim population in the former Yugoslavia, is today claiming that he was only “fighting terrorism.” The use of the word terrorism is in itself strategic. The BBC so far refuses to use the word terrorism for their broadcasts on the Israeli-Palestinian struggle, something that makes them a target of criticism by the Israel and the USA administrations. Language is the prime medium to represent and find truth, something that is said to be the first casualty of war. In today’s vocabulary, language suffers the first collateral damage.

Let’s now focus on the relationship between politics and religion. In a large part of the Arab world, religion re-entered the political arena since political options had been repressed on the part of rulers operating through a brutal state security. Fundamentalist teaching and the preaching of hatred and death to infidels radicalized poor populations and their corresponding educated elites. This in return rendered some Arab rulers partially schizophrenic and quasi-complicit with radical religious groups sympathetic to terrorism, supporting

them financially or paying them off. We shouldn't underestimate the well-reported horrors and crimes of discrimination, ghettoization, humiliation, deportation and straight-forward genocide of Muslims around the world. Serbia, Kosovo, Albania, India, Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Kashmir, and Chechnya represent for young Arabs significant conflicts that, while differing in nature and history, share a religious element central to their own struggles. This experience is radicalizing young people to fight for the right for Muslims to defend their own definitions of themselves. Some people refer to this struggle as 'jihad,' a word that is highly problematic, associated with both an individual's struggle with God and at the same time suicide bombers. The plurality of the Muslim worlds don't need Western experts and think-tanks telling them who they are, what they need, what they have to do and what to believe. The problem in all these conflicts is not religion as such – as some right wing non-Muslims might suggest (21) – but the fact that it is hijacked around the world by blood-shedding, de-humanizing, misogynistic interpretations of religion.

The successful spread (22) of this hitherto unseen radicalized Islam has been facilitated by the absence of an alternative screen of identification in a national or pan-Arabic coordination system. A new pan-Islamic identity has become a powerful attractor around the world independent of how different the myriads of practices and interpretations of Islam might be. This vaguely constructed pan-Islamic imaginary gets reinforced through various televised conflicts in Islamic regions throughout the world involving often Christian and Jewish opponents. Spiritual realities have come to power because of an absence of effective secular political discourses and a lack of democratic options in large parts of these regions. There is nothing more cynical put forward by U.S. think tanks than suggesting that the USA will bring "freedom and democracy" to the Middle East: Over the last 50 years in that region, most U.S. administrations have tried desperately to block real democracies with the brutal forces of CIA-supported dictators, money, diplomacy and secret service contractors.

But religion is itself political, it is a form of politics, it is discourse- and practice-driven politics. Unfortunately, any religious ideology – be it Christian, Islamic or other – is intrinsically non-democratic. Religious discourse is based on assumptions – in most cases secured by holy scripts – that have to be accepted by its believing constituency. Religions produce logically coherent teachings on every level, from street preaching to theological universities though the first and most effective mediation addresses children, making up their belief systems. Religion is usually inscribed in the collective and personal memory of people and is fundamental to most cultural formations. As such, religion constitutes a

brutal military dictatorships. Before Saddam Hussein occupied Kuwait, the United States – in particular the Bush family – had rather closed relationships with that regime during times in which the worst crimes in their history took place. For example: the poison gas attacks of the Kurds in 1988. see endnote 7.

(19) Saudi Arabia's king Feisal announced in 1973 that he was going to use oil supply as a weapon. In March 1975 he was assassinated.

(20) This paragraph was inspired by Nina Servizzi.

(21) Also the talk of a "clash of civilization" is nothing but reactionary and euro-centric. It is not the difference in cultural affairs that produces clashes, but the interpretation of it. The politics of cultural differences can easily be abused and radicalized by these clashes.

(22) Religion has always traveled as fast as power, influence, money and people, traveling by horse, by food, by phone and per satellite. Gods are perfect global commodities and travel accessories. Not by accident they can be found in most hotel rooms around the world, on most airplanes, in most tanks and armored vehicles. Along with European rats and diseases, Gods have been spreading in all directions.

(23) Even if I acknowledge that modernism as a rational project has not produced the results it had been celebrating early on,

there is no alternative to it. We should never give up on discourse based political negotiations and transparent rational ways of power-sharing and control.

(24) For example: Putin and Sharon – or whoever might follow them – do have to talk and negotiate with their conflict parties. Violent measures will never

produces acceptable degrees of security and peace.

(25) It is quite ironic that Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are sharing the same routes, the same narratives, the same books. Their interpretations and are historically and genealogically related to each other. Yet historically, they have caused killings and killings, within factions of one religion or between these religions and factions.

In all these cases it was only reckless politics that instrumentalized religion. (26) I'm also very surprised that at a moment when the current administration calls for military people to be sent to war – and when many of them are African American – the current GOP leader made this most incredible racist remark. His statement announced his regret that another former senator who was running for presidency in the 1940s with an openly racist platform, lost the presidency.

(27) In the religiously dominated conflicts over Kashmir, the involved players are evenly equipped with tested nuclear missiles but let's not even think about these nightmare

matrix on which other logical and illogical worlds are built. It generates interpretations of the world for every age. It is cheap, it is mostly wide spread and creates strong identities formed over lifetimes, over generations, over hundreds of years. Religion absorbs frustrations and compensates for worldly failure. It also justifies and legitimizes success, wealth and power. As legal substance for life, religion was called by Karl Marx "opium of the people." In most parts throughout the Middle East, religion serves now as a powerful substitute for the absence of a discourse oriented, consensus generating, effective, political culture. (23)

Religious thinking starts with the unquestionable truth of God. It is accompanied by exclusive forms of interpreting the world and of distributing justice. The main authorities in the business of defining God for main religions are traditionally established institutions built mostly on stone. Messianic horizons are well-decorated and promising. Identities are emotionally communicated from early on in rituals and in discursive and non-discursive zones of daily life. In many ways, consensus is inscribed and guaranteed upon by a culture of excluding values and practices that don't need further political negotiations and convincing. They are simply believed. (24) The excluding nature of religious Weltanschauung-systems can cause catastrophic results when occupying and defining the main field of politics.

The ideological and soon institutionalized category of "history" has come into existence as antithesis to religious authority. Historical studies became part of the fundament on which the European nation state was built. History was to the nation state what modern sciences meant to capitalist modes of productions developing hand in hand during the 19th century. The educated, emancipated bourgeoisie headed by the German philosopher Emmanuel Kant, the most influential theoretical spokesperson next to Hegel and followed by Marx, tried to domesticate and privatize religion. Kant was distilling religion, delegating it to an esthetic realm and thus excluding it from his "critique of pure reason." In Europe at the time, Karl Marx and all the newly erected universities finished religion off with the historical and comparative studies of many religions, analyzing their functions as historical texts, as social, economic and political believe systems, as metaphysical Weltanschauung, as psychological, personal, political, ideological and social realities.

The role of religion in past and present wars and genocides is factual. The Jewish Holocaust is the most incomprehensible mass tragedy but was preceded and followed by other religiously motivated mass killings and genocides throughout the 20th century and now beyond. It is therefore unsettling that a reactionary U.S. president is re-engaging with religious reasoning in public office while being openly phobic towards

secular political discourse. Bush denounces political cultures and seems to want to eliminate debate and political competition altogether. Special interest politics and the arrogance of power can replace national and international politics. It is emblematic that this president not only dismisses international diplomacy, violates international treaties and laws, but even physically doesn't want to move and travel. He simply doesn't want to engage in discourse, in politics, and despises and ridicules political mediation and negotiations. His pseudo-imperial presidency tries to hijack the political process in many ways: the elimination of its opponents with all available means (25), the limitation of basic constitutional rights, the reduction of influence of the congress and the judiciary branch of the government and the polarization of politics: "You are with us or with them," you are with right conservatism or with the enemy, if not with terrorism. Soon, we will say "Long live the Bush dynasty." Voting could be indefinitely suspended for security reasons, for a financially bankrupted government, for many more conservative reasons. (26) Why not be paranoid since they already stole one election?

My point here is not to become vulgar and say "Bush and his imperialist administration act like an international terrorist network (27)" nor do I want to sympathize in any way with terrorism. I categorically reject all forms of violence and terror. My analysis comes to the conclusion that an unlimited accumulation of geographical, environmental, chauvinistic, social, racial and ethnic aggression and arrogance create a climate that make violence more likely to occur damaging everybody. This is true around the world and should concern everybody (28). I hypothetically ask myself what would happen if all the money now spent on Israel's security and military would be used to end social hardship for Palestinians and to reinforce a Palestinian middle class? Respect, identity and self-determination don't have to be defined and defended with helicopter gun ships, missiles and tanks nor with stones, rifles and suicide bombers. The same is true for the rest of the Middle East. If oil revenues would not just grossly enrich a few royal family members, their autocratic entourage and all their international beneficiaries and protectors, it could be properly reinvested in the people, in real democracies and in a viable model of participatory governance. Hence, reactionary interpretations of religious rules and laws wouldn't be the only alternative to despotic misery. There is no way to win a "war against terrorism," since terrorism isn't an enemy but only an asymmetrical method of fighting overwhelming power through violent acts of destruction of highly symbolic targets.

Terrorism is mostly a reaction to overwhelming, arrogant, non-negotiating power and will always find the necessary sophistication and ways to cause damage to strategic points

scenarios.

(28) On one of the embroidered commentaries I received for my Afghan Dialog work from the Afghanistani-Pakistani border reads: "For every Pharaoh, there is a Moses." (29) "Al Queda" means in Arabic "the base." (30) The government is trying to monitor all internet communication: "White House to Propose System for Wide Monitoring of Internet" By John Markoff and John Scharwitz December 20, 2002, *The New York Times*. (31) Some friends advised me to end with alternative notes. They have forwarded me a series of internet addresses that are all critical of this administration and their way of handling things. I decide not to focus on this aspect and want to just point out that we can change a lot in this world if we manage to change ourselves, and inform ourselves by mainstream and alternative media and common sense. Almost every day, the administrations proposes major changes to government that dismantle health care systems, balanced tax systems, government organizations as such, information release standards, civil rights and privacy rights, a woman's right to chose, environmental standards, clean air acts, the separation of state and church, the judiciary branch of the government and so on and so forth. I'm

also not talking about the cynicism with which president Bush is now pursuing a war with Iraq and other international conflicts, including North Korea. Note also how this administration even manages to sell these drastic changes to the larger public as "improvements" when it is so clear, that for example, lowering the standards of pollution is polluting the environment. The list of concerns are endless and so is my frustration and rage over the politics of this administration.

For most of my historical data, I'm using *DTV-Atlas Weltgeschichte*, Volume 2, a historical data bank.

within civil society. (29) High-tech globalized networks of power and military intelligence are confronted by international terrorists with globalized bases (30) and people with a highly-destructive intelligence who are even willing to die in suicide operations. There is no way to secure all national and public interests. Targets are not limited to high rise buildings, airports and airplanes. The possible list of vulnerable points is endless and terrorists will always have the first choice, the decisive pick. Global terrorism will always have "open season" if we exclude political means. Terrorism would even win if we turned our private and public spheres into fortresses and destroyed our civil societies, something that it would seem is about to happen. (31) Converting our daily world into a terrorist-proof security mad-house without reorienting our politics would be as suicidal as terrorist actionism. Terrorism will win under whatever circumstances if we don't engage with the world in a more just and balanced way: if we as Americans – and I am also one since summer of 2002 - continue to believe that we can bully the world and exploit the planet in the interests of an "oilgarchy," we will unfortunately experience ever-new surprises. We will not be safe even if we define segments of the entire world population as "terrorist" and isolate ourselves on every level.

Last but not least, the planet earth too will not accept ruthless exploitation and destruction and will too start terrorizing us with chilling effects of destruction, be it global warming or worse. The man-made and man-provoked catastrophes cannot be looked at as insignificant albeit unwanted byproducts or accidents. They need to be studied and included in a large comprehensive calculus that cannot be only reduced to profitability, manipulation and exploitation for short term games. It is all very simple as in an English saying: "What goes around comes around." (32) I would like to end this essay with the most impressive, most stunning and most simple answer from the most fundamentalist, fanatic corner of the spectrum operating with God in the center of gravitation: Confronted with the Twin Tower Terrorism, Osama Bin Laden compressed all political, social, economic, cultural, racial and religious complexity and causality into one phrase: "Allah did it."

Rainer Ganahl, New York, January/February 2003



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US politics on these pages**

Rainer Ganahl

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