

COMMUNICATION ARTS  
**CINEMATHEQUE**

Presents the Fall 2016 Schomburg Series:  
The Homeland Generation – Legacies of 9/11 Fifteen Years Later

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## **Drones, Resources, and the 'Forever' War**

**Talk & Screening - *10 Years On: Afghanistan/Pakistan***

**Tues., 11/29 @ 2pm – Pavilion**

### **Visiting Schomburg International Visiting Scholars**

- **Prof. Shafiuddin Khan, Pakistan, scholar/human rights organizer**
- **Kathleen Foster, filmmaker**
- **Prof. Dean Chen, political science, moderator**

As the U.S. prepares for a Trump Presidency, it also marks the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its longest war in history. Schomburg Fellows Khan and Foster will report on their experiences in Afghanistan and Pakistan and discuss the perspectives of people from the region about the continuing U.S. ground and drone war in Afghanistan, its expansion into Pakistan, and how this 'forever' war continues to shape U.S. relations with Europe and Asia in the international competition for resources and geopolitical dominance.



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- o “Textile workers to stage protest on Aug. 7.” Business Recorder

## **Drones, Resources, and the ‘Forever’ War**

**Talk & Screening - 10 Years On:  
Afghanistan/Pakistan**

**Tues., 11/29 @ 2pm – Pavilion**

### **ABOUT PROFESSOR SHAFIUDDIN KHAN**

Professor Muhammad Shafiuddin Khan is Professor and Chair of Urdu Literature and Oriental Languages at the Government Degree College, Dhirkot, Bagh. He is also a human rights and international relief organizer. He has worked with the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) and has been involved with the All Pakistan Women’s Association, Pakistan Home-Based Women Workers Organization and Women Workers Federation since 2009, as well as other national and grassroots organizations. He has helped lead national organizing activities with students across Pakistan as well as supported efforts for labor struggles by workers in two textile factories. He is active in the International Education and Development organization in Pakistan and participated in the 2006 World Social Forum in Karachi, Pakistan.

Prof. Khan has a background of service and training with the UNHCR, diplomas from the Norwegian Refugee Council and field security training organized by the UNHCR. He was appointed by the Pakistan government to coordinate relief efforts with the UNHCR and United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) in 2005 at the time of a major earthquake in northern Pakistan and again in 2010 in response to major flooding. He continues to work with NGOs and local grassroots organizations to address the failures of the national government to deliver relief materials to the Bakh region, which left 75,000-80,000 dead and thousands more poor farmers and peasants displaced and homeless. In addition, as a native of Bakh, born and raised in the Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK – a self-governing state under Pakistani control but not constitutionally part of Pakistan -- Prof. Khan has a lifelong interest in the history and current border dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, which has existed from the 1947 partition of India to create Pakistan; an estimated 1-2 million people were killed and another 10-12 million people were forcibly transferred between the two countries. Prof. Khan’s academic teaching, writing and publication is in literature, with special expertise in traditional Urdu poetry, as rooted in the cultural tradition of the Progressive Writers’ Association (PWA) established in 1936 in England by progressive writers of the Indian sub-continent. Khan’s work draws parallels between Urdu poetry traditions and those of social protest poetry and literature in other countries. Prof. Khan’s cultural approach to poetry grew out of his undergraduate education in economics, where he began his long-time involvement and interest in community organizing and relief work with refugees and displaced persons.

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## ABOUT FILMMAKER KATHLEEN FOSTER



Since the mid-1980's, Kathleen Foster has been making films for community organizations and producing independent documentaries that combine elements of history, current events and individual stories, focusing on grassroots struggles for change. Her films have been screened at such prestigious venues as the Museum of Modern Art, the Asia Society, Queens Museum, Anthology Film Archives, and Brecht Forum. She has spoken at screenings of her films at universities around the country including NYU, Columbia, Boston, MICA, UCLA, Howard, and Princeton. She has received grants from the New York State Council on the Arts, the Funding Exchange, The Paul Robeson Fund, the Yip Harburg

Foundation, Lifebridge Foundation, and the Experimental Television Center. She is the recipient of Women In Islam's 2006 Compass Award, given to women, in celebration of the example and legacy of Dr. Betty Shabazz,. Her photos have appeared in *The New York Times*, *Scholastic* magazines, *Time*, *Village Voice*, *Food and Wine*, *Fortune*, *Institutional Investor* and *Z Magazine*. **Filmmaker Website:** [www.kathleenfoster.com](http://www.kathleenfoster.com)

## ABOUT THE FILM **10 YEARS ON: AFGHANISTAN/PAKISTAN**

**(2011, Kathleen Foster, USA, 34:29m, documentary)** Since 9/11, Americans have largely been kept ignorant of the human cost of the Middle East wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and now Pakistan. After more than a decade of fighting, Foster's newest film provides an up to date account of the consequences of the War on Terror in Afghanistan and now Pakistan, as the US expands the war through the use of remote control drones fired over the Afghan border into Pakistan. The new documentary updates *Afghan Women: A History of Struggle*, which focused on the struggles of women and U.S. involvement over the past 30 years of conflict in Afghanistan. **10 Years On: Afghanistan, Pakistan** expands the continuing struggle of women in Afghanistan, within the context of larger political and social conflicts in the region resulting from a decade of war and occupation by United States and NATO forces. This film shows conditions in Pakistan films in April 2011, revising places and people met during the filming of *Afghan Women: A History of Struggle* as well as current material from Pakistan, including analysis of U.S. geopolitical interests in the region in terms of resources, especially the construction of pipelines.

**Watch at** [http://video.ramapo.edu/Relay/10\\_years\\_Afghanistan\\_-\\_20161018\\_132349\\_6.html](http://video.ramapo.edu/Relay/10_years_Afghanistan_-_20161018_132349_6.html)

**Filmmaker Website:** [www.kathleenfoster.com](http://www.kathleenfoster.com)



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## ABOUT PAKISTAN -- BBC COUNTRY PROFILE

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12965779>

The Muslim-majority state of Pakistan occupies an area that was home to some of the earliest human settlements. The modern state was born out of the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947, and has faced both domestic political upheavals and regional confrontations. Created to meet the demands of Indian Muslims for their own homeland, Pakistan was originally made up of two parts. The east wing - present-day Bangladesh - is on the Bay of Bengal bordering India and Burma. The west wing - present-day Pakistan - stretches from the Himalayas down to the Arabian Sea. The break-up of the two wings came in 1971 when the Bengali-speaking east wing seceded with help from India. The disputed northern territory of Kashmir has been the flashpoint for two of the three India-Pakistan wars - those of 1947-8 and 1965.

### At a glance

**Politics:** Polarised parties, the influence of political Islam, and frequent military interventions have left Pakistan's democracy weak. Only in 2013 did one elected government hand over power to another at elections. **Economy:** The precarious security situation and low fixed investment leave Pakistan's economy fragile, despite a robust private sector. **International:** India and Afghanistan accuse Pakistan of protecting Islamist insurgents, which makes for tense and sometimes explosive relations. Pakistan gets on better with China and, like India and Bangladesh, is one of the most important contributors to UN peacekeeping missions. Country profiles compiled by [BBC Monitoring](#). **Military dominance:** Pakistan came under military rule again in October 1999. Coup leader General Pervez Musharraf pledged to revive the country's fortunes, but failed to boost the economy or lessen polarisation between Islamist militancy and the modernising secular wing of politics. Under growing pressure to reintroduce democratic rule, Mr Musharraf relinquished his army post in November 2007, but his supporters were defeated at parliamentary elections in February 2008 by the Pakistan People's Party and former prime minister Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League. The two parties formed a coalition government that forced Mr Musharraf out of office, but it soon fell apart. The People's Party governed with smaller parties until elections in 2013 brought the Muslim League back to power, in the first transition from one elected government to another at elections in the country's history. **Regional tensions and terror:** Pakistan's place on the world stage shifted after the 11 September 2001 attacks in the US. It dropped its support for the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and found itself on the frontline in the fight against terrorism, becoming an uneasy ally of the United States. However, Pakistani forces have struggled to maintain control over the restive tribal regions along the Afghan border, where Taliban-linked militants are firmly entrenched. These Sunni extremists have more recently expanded attacks to target minority groups elsewhere in the country, in particular Shia Muslims and Christians. Since 2009, the government has been waging an on-and-off military campaign to flush the militants out of the tribal areas.

It repeatedly denied US and Afghan allegations that senior al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders were present in the border areas, or that its ISI military intelligence service had links to these armed groups. So the death in April 2011 of al-Qaeda chief Osama Bin-Laden in a US raid on Abbottabad, a city in the heart of Pakistan's military establishment, stretched relations with the US to breaking point.



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## LINKS TO ALTERNATIVE, INTERNATIONAL, & U.S. MAINSTREAM NEWS MEDIA SOURCES ABOUT PAKISTAN, AFGHANISTAN

### **ALTERNATIVE NEWS SOURCES**

See more alternative news sources at <http://www.world-newspapers.com/alternative-news.html>

**Centre for Research on Globalisation** at [www.globalresearch.ca](http://www.globalresearch.ca)

Independent media and research group of writers, scholars and journalists. Publishes news articles, analysis and intelligence on the New World Order.

**Democracy Now!** At [www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org)

National/international news with perspectives rarely heard in US corporate-sponsored media.

**Common Dreams** at [www.commondreams.org](http://www.commondreams.org)

Breaking national and international news and views from progressive perspective.

**Challenge-Desafio (CD)** at [www.plp.org](http://www.plp.org)

National and international news from a Marxist revolutionary perspective

**World Socialist Web Site (WSWS)** at [www.wsws.org](http://www.wsws.org)

National and international news from socialist Marxist perspective.

### **SOUTH ASIAN NEWSPAPERS, including Pakistan media**

**The Times of India** at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/international-home>

Mainstream newspaper in English in India

**Economic Times of India** at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/>

Business and mainstream newspaper in India

**Pakistan Newspapers (list)** at <http://www.world-newspapers.com/pakistan.html>

List of newspapers in English in Pakistan

**Dawn at dawn.com**

Most widely circulated English language mainstream Pakistani newspaper.

### **OTHER NON-U.S. INTERNATIONAL MAINSTREAM MEDIA SOURCES**

Selected Non-U.S. International Global News Sources

**BBC News**, United Kingdom, at [www.bbc.co.uk/news](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news)

**Aljazeera English**, English-language version of Arabic-language news network at [www.aljazeera.com](http://www.aljazeera.com)

**Euronews.com** at [www.euronews.com](http://www.euronews.com)

Latest international news available; daily curated shows in English at [www.youtube.com/user/Euronews](http://www.youtube.com/user/Euronews)

**The Guardian** at [www.theguardian.com](http://www.theguardian.com)

Liberal mainstream newspaper from the United Kingdom

**Le Monde Diplomatique – English** at [mondediplo.com](http://mondediplo.com)

English edition of the French newspaper, *Le Monde Diplomatique* at [mondediplo.com](http://mondediplo.com)

**Russia Today** at [www.rt.com](http://www.rt.com)

Russian English-language news channel which brings the Russian view on global news.

**Al-Ahram Weekly** at <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/>

Government affiliated leading Egyptian newspaper.



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## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SPECIFIC ARTICLES ABOUT PIPELINE, U.S. DRONES, AND WOMEN (MALALA)

(Available Online, In Potter Library and/or Included in this Packet)

### Articles about Pipeline, Geopolitical Conflicts in Pakistan

1. (ALTERNATIVE MEDIA– ARTICLE #1): Foster, J. (4 March 2016). “Where there’s war, oil, gas and pipelines are never far away. *Ecologist*. At [http://www.theecologist.org/News/news\\_analysis/2775307/where\\_theres\\_war\\_oil\\_gas\\_and\\_pipelines\\_are\\_never\\_far\\_away.html](http://www.theecologist.org/News/news_analysis/2775307/where_theres_war_oil_gas_and_pipelines_are_never_far_away.html)
2. (ALTERNATIVE MEDIA – ARTICLE #2): Distler, B. (29 February 2016). “Afghanistan, Mineral Resources and the TAPI Natural Gas: The Driving Force Behind the War.” *Global Research*. At <http://www.globalresearch.ca/afghanistan-and-the-tapi-natural-gas-pipeline-the-driving-force-behind-the-war/5510989>

*Last December 13th, the leaders of Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the vice president of India met in Turkmenistan; a table with four buttons was set up so each leader could press a button, simultaneously initiating the construction of the TAPI natural gas pipeline (see image below). TAPI is the acronym for the four countries involved in the pipeline construction. This event was big news in south Asia and was covered by all the major newspapers in India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. It should have been big news in the U.S. too, but except for one paragraph in Foreign Policy online, the U.S. media ignored the story. (FULL TEXT IN MEDIA KIT)*

### Articles about U.S. Drone Attacks in Pakistan

1. (U.S. MAINSTREAM – ARTICLE #1): *New York Times*: Shane, S. (23 April 2016). “Drone Strikes Reveal Uncomfortable Truth: U.S. is Often Unsure about Who Will Die.” *New York Times*. At <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/24/world/asia/drone-strikes-reveal-uncomfortable-truth-us-is-often-unsure-about-who-will-die.html> (SEE FULL TEXT IN MEDIA KIT).
2. (ALTERNATIVE MEDIA– ARTICLE #1): Drones Team. (11 January 2016) “Get the data: Drone Wars: Obama 2016 Pakistan drone strikes. *The Bureau of Investigative Journalism*. At <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2016/01/11/obama-2016-pakistan-drone-strikes/>
2. (ALTERNATIVE MEDIA – ARTICLE #2): (17 Nov. 2016). Obama will not roll back drone program before Trump takes office. *Democracy Now!* At [https://www.democracynow.org/2016/11/17/headlines/obama\\_will\\_not\\_roll\\_back\\_drone\\_program\\_before\\_trump\\_takes\\_office](https://www.democracynow.org/2016/11/17/headlines/obama_will_not_roll_back_drone_program_before_trump_takes_office)
3. ALTERNATIVE MEDIA-ARTICLE #4): “Obomber’s drones: Mass murder.” (2012, June 6). *Challenge-Desafio*. At <http://www.plp.org/challenge/2012/6/6/obombers-drones-mass-murder.html>
4. (SOUTH ASIAN-PAKISTAN MEDIA- ARTICLE 5): Thousands protest against drone strikes in Peshawar. *Dawn* Updated Nov 23, 2013 11:08pm. At <http://www.dawn.com/news/1058051>

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**Articles about Women - Malala Yousafzai (2014 Nobel Peace Prize Winner)**

1. **(MAINSTREAM - WEBSITE about Malala)**. Website devoted to the life and activities of Pakistan teenager, Malala Yousafzai, who at age 17 won the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize. Links can be found to her 2014 Nobel Peace Prize Speech, the Malala Fund activities to empower girls, and other articles and information. At <http://www.malala.org/>
2. **(ALTERNATIVE MEDIA ARTICLE IN PACKET)** Kampmark, Binoy. (12 October 2014). Sanctifying Malala: The Nobel Prize and moral alibis. *Global Research*. At <http://www.globalresearch.ca/sanctifying-malala-the-nobel-prize-and-moral-alibis/5407505>

**Articles about Labor and Women**

3. **(ARTICLE)** "Textile workers to stage protest on August 7: APTMA (31 July 2015). *Recorder Report*. At <http://www.brecorder.com/cotton-a-textiles/185:pakistan/1212829:textile-workers-to-stage-protest-on-august-7-aptma/>
4. **(VIDEO ONLINE)** "Few lessons learned from Pakistan's textile [fire] 11 September [2012]. (22 January 2015, 2:24). *World News* at wn.com. On YouTube at [http://wn.com/few\\_lessons\\_learned\\_from\\_pakistan%27s\\_textile\\_11\\_september](http://wn.com/few_lessons_learned_from_pakistan%27s_textile_11_september)  
Video on YouTube about the families in Pakistan, who are still fighting for justice after one of the textile industry's deadliest accidents saw 255 workers die in a clothing factory fire in 2012.
5. **(VIDEO IN POTTER LIBRARY)** *Afghan Women: A History of Struggle*. (Kathleen Foster, USA, 2008, 69m, documentary). Potter Library (Call Number: HQ1236.5.A3 A34 2008) Captures the resilience and courage of women who risk their lives on a daily basis to stand up for their rights. The film examines the drafting of the Afghan Women's Bill of Rights by women from across Afghanistan at a 2003 conference in Kandahar. The women debunk the myth that current U.S. intervention in Afghanistan has liberated Afghan women from the tyranny of fundamentalism. The film exposes the "War on Terror" as mainly a euphemism for expanding U.S. control of the region's oil and gas.





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## **FULL TEXT OF ARTICLES ABOUT PIPELINE, DRONES, MALALA**

### **ARTICLE ABOUT PIPELINE (Alternative Media-Article #1)**

**Distler, B. (29 February 2016). "Afghanistan, Mineral Resources and the TAPI Natural Gas: The Driving Force Behind the War." *Global Research*. At <http://www.globalresearch.ca/afghanistan-and-the-tapi-natural-gas-pipeline-the-driving-force-behind-the-war/5510989>**

*Last December 13th, the leaders of Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the vice-president of India met in Turkmenistan; a table with four buttons was set up so each leader could press a button, simultaneously initiating the construction of the TAPI natural gas pipeline (see image below). TAPI is the acronym for the four countries involved in the pipeline construction.*

This event was big news in south Asia and was covered by all the major newspapers in India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. It should have been big news in the U.S. too, but except for one paragraph in Foreign Policy online, it seems that the U.S. media ignored the story. Even the *Houston Chronicle*, the hometown newspaper of the largest U.S. pipeline construction companies, ignored it.

A U.S. State Department spokesman told the Press Trust of India that "The United States congratulates Turkmenistan and its partners on the recent ground-breaking for the construction of the natural gas pipeline to Afghanistan..." Yet, the U.S. media decided that [this was news](#) that U.S. citizens did not need to know.

We have been at war in Afghanistan for over 14 years. The preceding sentence answers the first four journalistic questions of who, what, where and when, but it doesn't answer the most important question – why?

Many peace advocates have suspected from the beginning that this natural gas pipeline is one of the ways that the coalition of the greedy expected to profit from this war. But the story that the media promoted continuously after September 11, 2001 was that Afghanistan was just a worthless pile of rocks that had no economic value; therefore, the goal of the war must be to deprive terrorists of a base and, as a bonus, to spread democracy, protect women, and rebuild the country.

In 2010 the New York Times reported on "newly discovered mineral deposits" in Afghanistan. The James Risen [article](#) stated that according to U.S. officials "the previously unknown deposits...are so big...that Afghanistan could eventually be transformed into one of the most important mining centers in the world." But news of mineral riches in Afghanistan was not really new.

Since the 1960s, it was reported by the Minerals Yearbook of the U.S. Geological Survey that Afghanistan is rich in natural gas, copper, iron ore, gold, silver, and precious gems. Afghanistan has chromite that hardens steel. It has barite that is used in oil well "drilling fluid." The 1963 entry on Afghanistan in the Minerals Yearbook says "known natural gas reserves are substantial and have potential significance." The 1982 entry reports about the Hajigak iron ore deposit that "a 1977 independent survey concluded that the deposit was large enough and of a sufficient grade to support a major iron and steel industry."

The high point of reporting by the Minerals Yearbook came in 1992, when they reported on "The country's rich reserves of natural gas, estimated at 2,000 billion cubic meters..." The Yearbook also reported "copper ore from a reserve estimated at 360 MMT (Million metric tons)" and that "rich reserves of iron ore were estimated at 1,700 MMT."

This knowledge should have served as the starting point for reporters seeking background on Afghanistan after the attacks of September 11, 2001. But reporters must have asked the wrong people for information. They



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**Continued: ARTICLE ABOUT PIPELINE (Alternative Media-Article #1)**

consistently reported that Afghanistan had no economic value aside from pistachios, pomegranates, goats, and sheep.

Against this tide of misinformation a few brave souls tried to tell the true story to the American people. In an [opinion column in the New York Times](#) in November 2001 Ishaq Nadiri, a professor of economics at New York University, wrote that Afghanistan “...once exported natural gas to the Soviet Union. It has large reserves of copper and high-grade iron ore.”

In a [December 2001 column](#) in the Christian Science Monitor, John F. Shroder, Jr., a professor of geology at the University of Nebraska, said that he had studied the natural resources of Afghanistan for decades and that it had “what may be the world’s largest copper deposit and the third-largest deposit of high-grade iron ore, in addition to reserves of gas, oil, coal, precious stones.” Professor Shroder said that several American companies had called him “to find out more about the prospects for post-war mining and hydrocarbon acquisition.”

This news might lead a careful reader to question the nobility of our motives in Afghanistan, but the day after Professor Shroder’s column appeared, the New York Times rode into town to put the kibosh on any growing suspicion. In its usual inconclusive way, the Times both denied and confirmed that there might be something interesting going on. The first sentence of [their article](#) said that “there is no oil in Afghanistan, but there are oil politics”. But later the article says, “Oil companies and regional experts wonder whether significant new oil and gas reservoirs will be opened to foreign investment,” a reference to oil and gas reserves north of Afghanistan in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan.

Aside from the TAPI pipeline there are many opportunities for the coalition of the greedy to make a killing, so to speak. Selling weapons to both sides, opium smuggling, and overcharging for shoddy construction and useless consulting fees are just a few examples, but stealing minerals may be the driving force that makes the war continue. President Karzai of Afghanistan was once called paranoid by the New York Times because he said the goal of U.S. policy was to weaken his country, not to strengthen it. But just look at what we’ve done. Under U.S. guidance, Afghanistan, year after year, slipped down the Transparency International corruption index until it is now tied for second most corrupt nation on earth.

The October 2015 report from the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction shows that over 99% of our tax spending in Afghanistan has gone to military spending or supporting a corrupt government. Less than 1% has gone to food, clothing, and shelter for some of the poorest people on earth, the Afghans, now suffering through their 38th year of war. What better way to steal the mineral wealth of Afghanistan than to create a weakened government and a starving people?

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his brilliant “Beyond Vietnam” speech at Riverside Church in 1967 said that an important reason for forming the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and for speaking out against the Vietnam War was “To save the soul of America.” If we are going to save the soul of America and bring relief to our suffering sisters and brothers in Afghanistan and in all the wars we are involved in, then our nation must stop being a leader in war and become a leader in peace.

*The author of this post is **Bill Distler** from Bellingham, Washington. Bill is a Vietnam veteran and former squad leader in the 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam from December 1967 to September 1968. He is a member of the CPL Jonathan J. Santos Memorial Chapter of Veterans For Peace VFP-111.*

The original source of this article is [Veterans for Peace](#)  
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## **ARTICLE ABOUT U.S. DRONE ATTACKS (Mainstream – Article #1)**

**U.S. Mainstream: *New York Times*: Shane, S. (23 April 2016). "Drone Strikes Reveal Uncomfortable Truth: U.S. is Often Unsure about Who Will Die." *New York Times*. At**

**<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/24/world/asia/drone-strikes-reveal-uncomfortable-truth-us-is-often-unsure-about-who-will-die.html>**

Barack Obama inherited two ugly, intractable wars in Iraq and Afghanistan when he became president and set to work to end them. But a third, more covert war he made his own, escalating drone strikes in Pakistan and expanding them to Yemen and Somalia.

The drone's vaunted capability for pinpoint killing appealed to a president intrigued by a new technology and determined to try to keep the United States out of new quagmires. Aides said Mr. Obama liked the idea of picking off dangerous terrorists a few at a time, without endangering American lives or risking the yearslong bloodshed of conventional war.

"Let's kill the people who are trying to kill us," he often told aides. By most accounts, hundreds of dangerous militants have, indeed, been killed by drones, including some high-ranking Qaeda figures. But for six years, when the heavy cloak of secrecy has occasionally been breached, the results of some strikes have often turned out to be deeply troubling.

Every independent investigation of the strikes has found far more civilian casualties than administration officials admit. Gradually, it has become clear that when operators in Nevada fire missiles into remote tribal territories on the other side of the world, they often do not know who they are killing, but are making an imperfect best guess. The president's announcement on Thursday that a January strike on Al Qaeda in Pakistan had killed two Western hostages, and that it took many weeks to confirm their deaths, bolstered the assessments of the program's harshest outside critics. The dark picture was compounded by the additional disclosure that two American members of Al Qaeda were killed in strikes that same month, but neither had been identified in advance and deliberately targeted.

In all, it was a devastating acknowledgment for Mr. Obama, who had hoped to pioneer a new, more discriminating kind of warfare. Whether the episode might bring a long-delayed public reckoning about targeted killings, long hidden by classification rules, remained uncertain. Even some former Obama administration security officials have expressed serious doubts about the wisdom of the program, given the ire it has ignited overseas and the terrorists who have said they plotted attacks because of drones. And outside experts have long called for a candid accounting of the results of strikes.

"I hope this event allows us at last to have an honest dialogue about the U.S. drone program," said Rachel Stohl, of the Stimson Center, a Washington research institute. "These are precise weapons. The failure is in the intelligence about who it is that we are killing."

Ms. Stohl noted that Mr. Obama and his top aides have repeatedly promised greater openness about the drone program but have never really delivered on it.

In a speech in 2013 about drones, Mr. Obama declared that no strike was taken without "near-certainty that no civilians will be killed or injured." He added that "nevertheless, it is a hard fact that U.S. strikes have resulted in civilian casualties" and said "those deaths will haunt us as long as we live." But over the Obama presidency, it has become harder for journalists to obtain information from the government on the results of particular strikes. And Mr. Obama's Justice Department has fought in court for years to keep secret the legal opinions justifying strikes.

Micah Zenko, a scholar at the Council on Foreign Relations and lead author of a 2013 study of drones, said the president's statement "highlights what we've sort of known: that most individuals killed aren't on a kill list, and the government does not know their names." (Continued online).



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## ARTICLE #1 ON MALALA YOUSAFZAI

(Alternative Media) Kampmark, Binoy. (12 October 2014) "Sanctifying Malala: The Nobel Prize and Moral Alibis." *Global Research* at <http://www.globalresearch.ca/sanctifying-malala-the-nobel-prize-and-moral-alibis/5407505>

### Sanctifying Malala: The Nobel Prize and Moral Alibis

By [Binoy Kampmark](#), Global Research, October 12, 2014

**"Drones Kill So Malala Can Live." Sign at a vigil, Pakistan, noted in The Nation, Oct 10, 2014**

*There were two recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize this year – the rather less known Kailish Satyarthi and near celebrity cherished Malala Yousafzai. In awarding the prize, the Norwegian Nobel Committee deftly ignored the perceived frontrunner, Pope Francis. Il Papa will have to wait his turn.*

Those getting it will always be marred by the contradictions any peace prize suggests. The greatest of all remains the fact that the dynamite guru – Alfred Nobel himself – did as much for the cause of war as he decided his profits would supposedly do for peace. Peace was a sentimental afterthought. Many winners of the prize have since kept this legacy alive: that of war maker turned peace maker; a fair share of hypocrisy, with a good share of feigned sincerity. Satyarthi doesn't seem to suffer those problems. He made his name targeting the persistent use of child-labour in India. In the business of freeing slaves, it is hard not to admire efforts that saw the freeing of over 80,000 children from a state of servitude.[1]

In contrast, the photogenic seventeen-year old Pakistani, Malala Yousafzai, is both the prop of an agenda, and the cause of a program. In 2012, she received life threatening wounds to the head from the Taliban for her stance on girls' education in the SWAT valley. In suffering those injuries, she gave a problem a face and voice. She is also the perfect poster girl for Western middle-class anxieties, one which Zeynep Tufekci has described as "finding a young woman we admire that we all want to take home as if to put on a shelf to adore." [2] What of, argues historian Sarah Waheed, the Malalas you do not see? [3] They are very much the victims of a dysfunctional relationship between Pakistan and the United States, one that is all too brutally characterised by the continued use of drone strikes and bundles of US aid. "Unlike Malala Yousafzai... Madonna did not dedicate a song to them, nor has Angelina Jolie spoken out on their behalf." They are the faceless ones, the sort that celebrities so conspicuously resist. Malala, on the other end, is ideological candy for the morally outraged in Hollywood and beyond. She did, after all, survive. The congratulatory tone is invariably gushing, and the Malala cheer squad is both heavily staffed and noisy with inspirational snippets. Dominique Mosbergen, writing in The Huffington Post, gives eight reasons why Malala "is an inspiration to us all." [4] What are some of them? Bravery, for one. Another: tremendous compassion. Importantly, Malala has to be seen as a universal figure, rather than one with particular aptitude in dealing with problems of education in her own country. "Malala advocates for young women everywhere."

Malala may well strike fear into the gun men of the Taliban. She may well terrify, in her own specific way, the theocrats who stand guard over jaundiced traditions and archaic law. "Armed men run scared of an unarmed girl." But something else is at work in what seems to be a form of witting, and unwitting deification. It

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ignores, for instance, that she is being perceived in some quarters of her country as a symbol of Western sponsored interference. (This takes the form, most blatantly, in the charge that she is a product of the CIA doll factory.)

Malala, in what is becoming something of a sanctification project, risks falling into the role of a moral cipher for a range of other causes in a global battle that is both political and cultural. She is a moral reminder, but also an alibi for actions taken under the cover of improvement. She has become a politicised Shirley Temple, a child politician of the developing world. Her life under Taliban rule – which she no longer experiences by virtue of her move to Britain – is becoming the cudgel to use, be it in her statements against the Taliban, or her general pronouncements on the BBC reflecting on those harrowing experiences under their rule.

This is the tragedy of politics and morality – at a certain point, manipulation is unavoidable, be it through its own self-justifying propaganda, or basic sloganeering. The public relations watchers have quickly noted the “important binary” of selecting “a Pakistani Muslim” and “an Indian Hindu”. “Their joint selection,” argues Elias Groll in Foreign Policy, “is an obvious nod towards the ongoing efforts to bring a peaceful end to Pakistan and India’s long-standing conflict with one another”. [5] Weapons get sharpened in the name of what perceived justice is – even some of Pakistan’s liberal elite have allied their interests with US drone strikes aimed for a higher good. [6] The funding institutes get busy. The think tank circuits issue invitations. A drooling press corps, and a hyperventilating blogosphere, finds in Malala another child crusader. Her quotes are tweeted like a bestselling manual of self-help instructions – “12 powerful and inspiring quotes”. Editor of the Pakistan Observer, Tariq Khattak, sees the crudest form of branding at work. In his words to the BBC Newshour, Malala’s “father is a good salesman, that’s it. And the daughter has also become a salesgirl. And they are dancing on the tunes of the West.” [7]

There is the other side of the peace and education crusade. It is the political mettle that is coming to the fore, a cool yet discerning sense that she is becoming a figure in the folds of a contradictory history. Malala, over time, has matured into a moving advertiser of causes, even telling CNN’s Christiane Amanpour that she intends leading Pakistan. “Through politics, I believe I can serve my whole country.” That maturity, however, is in an ever problematic dance with Malala the emblem – one that European and American voices can use in their cultural causes against other states even as villages get struck by the lethal work of drones. Sainthood and martyrdom tend to be poor tools for measuring actual change.

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[1] [http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/10/10/will\\_malala\\_s\\_nobel\\_prize\\_backfire?utm\\_source=Sailthru&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=%2AEditors%20Picks&utm\\_campaign=2014\\_EditorsPicks10%2F10RS](http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/10/10/will_malala_s_nobel_prize_backfire?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=%2AEditors%20Picks&utm_campaign=2014_EditorsPicks10%2F10RS)

[2] <http://technosociology.org/?m=201310>

[3] [http://www.thenation.com/article/170920/malalas-you-dont-see?utm\\_source=twitter&utm\\_medium=socialflow](http://www.thenation.com/article/170920/malalas-you-dont-see?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=socialflow)

[4] [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/10/10/malala-nobel-peace-prize-inspiration\\_n\\_5966180.html?&ncid=tweetInkushpmg00000067](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/10/10/malala-nobel-peace-prize-inspiration_n_5966180.html?&ncid=tweetInkushpmg00000067)

[5] [http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/10/10/will\\_malala\\_s\\_nobel\\_prize\\_backfire?utm\\_source=Sailthru&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=%2AEditors%20Picks&utm\\_campaign=2014\\_EditorsPicks10%2F10RS](http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/10/10/will_malala_s_nobel_prize_backfire?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=%2AEditors%20Picks&utm_campaign=2014_EditorsPicks10%2F10RS)

[6] [http://www.thenation.com/article/170920/malalas-you-dont-see?utm\\_source=twitter&utm\\_medium=socialflow](http://www.thenation.com/article/170920/malalas-you-dont-see?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=socialflow)

[7] <http://thinkprogress.org/world/2014/10/10/3578820/malala-yousafzai-nobel-prize/>