

Easter Hope: Justice Against Torture

From the Archive: Celebrating Easter in 2009, ex-CIA analyst Ray McGovern saw progress toward ending the Iraq War and hope that George W. Bush and other U.S. war criminals might finally face justice. Three years later, however, many of those dreams of accountability remain unfulfilled.

By Ray McGovern (Originally published April 8, 2009)

In 2006, Easter dawned in Crawford, Texas, for the many friends of peace gathered to celebrate new Easter hope. Rev. Joseph Lowery gave an inspired message that morning, in what turned out to be a warm-up for his Benediction at the Inauguration of President Barack Obama in January 2009.

Camp Casey that Easter 2006 was a relatively quiet occasion to reflect and celebrate new life and one another. The best known resident of Crawford had decided to avoid the crowd assembling there, opting instead to spend Easter at Camp David, where troublesome questioners could be kept even farther away. People like Cindy Sheehan who would not stop asking why our sons and daughters were being killed and maimed in an unnecessary war in Iraq.

The previous summer, Sheehan had become the Rosa Parks of Crawford, challenging President George W. Bush to tell her what was the “noble cause” for which her son Casey died on April 4, 2004. Sadly, we were not surprised that an answerless President preferred clearing brush to clearing up what he meant by saying such deaths were “worth it.”

Ironically, President Bush seemed supremely comfortable talking about evildoers, other evildoers. We, in contrast, saw evil in the launching of what the post-WWII Nuremberg Tribunal labeled a “war of aggression,” defined as the “supreme international crime, differing from other war crimes only in that it contains the accumulated evil of the whole.”

As I gathered with other pilgrims in Crawford those sad summers of 2005 and 2006, there was a strong sense of responsibility to confront “the accumulated evil of the whole”, and particularly torture.

In August 2006, the timid journalists of the western White House told us the President had sweat on his brow from clearing brush. And as we gathered one evening, someone quoted from the musical Camelot: “I wonder what the (self-styled) king is doing tonight; what merriment is the king pursuing tonight.”

With the damning disclosures about the torture procedures unleashed by that President, it seems a good guess that, rather than making merry, he was sweating

the evenings away as well. You see, President Bush had left his fingerprints on accumulated evils for which he was likely to be held accountable, in one way or another. And during the summer of 2006 the chickens were coming home to roost.

On June 29 of that year, in a 5-to-3 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the Bush administration could not deny detainees the protections afforded by the Geneva Conventions, as the President had done by executive order of Feb. 7, 2002. Worse still from Bush's point of view, Justice Anthony Kennedy saw fit to say the obvious; i.e., that to disregard Geneva amounts to a war crime.

So as we stood watch in Crawford in 2006, gallons of sweat were being poured into an (ultimately successful) effort to get the Republican-controlled Congress to pass a law applying retroactively, that's right, retroactively, holding everyone, from the President on down, harmless for the illegal detainment and mistreatment of detainees.

Too clever by half; it's not going to work. On Dec. 11, 2008, Sen. John McCain and Sen. Carl Levin released the summary of a Senate Armed Services Committee report, issued without dissent, demonstrating that Bush's Executive Order of Feb. 7, 2002, had "opened the way to considering aggressive techniques."

And a report of the International Committee of the Red Cross not only recounts in gory detail the torture of so-called "high-value" detainees, but also puts the final nail in the coffin, so to speak, for any plans the former President may have had to travel abroad. Even if our own government proves too timid to bring him to justice, Bush cannot risk being apprehended abroad, brought to The Hague, and tried for war crimes.

Rev. Lowery's sermon to the gathering alongside Prairie Chapel Road just three years ago rings ever more true: "Don't tell me Easter's not real! Don't tell me righteousness will not overcome evil! Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven. That's the message of Easter."

Let the church say Amen.

Ray McGovern served as an Army intelligence officer and a CIA analyst for almost 30 years. He believes anthropologist Margaret Meade had it exactly right (and that the Crawford Peace House did well to adopt her dictum): "Never doubt the power of a small group of committed individuals to change the world. It is the only thing that ever has."

What's Happening in Syria?

It's difficult to know what's happening in Syria not only because of the confusing violence but because the Western news media has lost nearly all credibility when it comes to reporting on Muslim countries, at least those on America's and Israel's enemies lists. William Blum explained the dilemma at the Anti-Empire Report.

By William Blum

The Holy Triumvirate, the United States, NATO, and the European Union, or an approved segment thereof, can usually get what they want.

They wanted Saddam Hussein out, and soon he was swinging from a rope. They wanted the Taliban ousted from power in Afghanistan, and, using overwhelming force, that was achieved rather quickly. They wanted Muammar Gaddafi's rule to come to an end, and before very long he suffered a horrible death. Haiti's President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was democratically elected, but this black man who didn't know his place was sent into distant exile by the United States and France in 2004.

Iraq and Libya were the two most modern, educated and secular states in the Middle East; now all four of these countries could qualify as failed states.

These are some of the examples from the past decade of how the Holy Triumvirate recognizes no higher power and believes, literally, that they can do whatever they want in the world, to whomever they want, for as long as they want, and call it whatever they want, like "humanitarian intervention." The 19th- and 20th-century colonialist-imperialist mentality is alive and well in the West.

Next on their agenda: the removal of Bashar al-Assad of Syria. As with Gaddafi, the ground is being laid with continual news reports, from *CNN* to *al Jazeera*, of Assad's alleged barbarity, presented as both uncompromising and unprovoked.

After months of this media onslaught who can doubt that what's happening in Syria is yet another of those cherished Arab Spring "popular uprisings" against a "brutal dictator" who must be overthrown? And that the Assad government is overwhelmingly the cause of the violence.

Assad actually appears to have a large measure of popularity, not only in Syria, but elsewhere in the Middle East. This includes not just fellow Alawites, but Syria's two million Christians and no small number of Sunnis. Gaddafi had at least as much support in Libya and elsewhere in Africa.

The difference between the two cases, at least so far, is that the Holy Triumvirate bombed and machine-gunned Libya daily for seven months, unceasingly, crushing the pro-government forces, as well as Gaddafi himself, and effecting the Triumvirate's treasured "regime change."

Now, rampant chaos, anarchy, looting and shooting, revenge murders, tribal war, militia war, religious war, civil war, the most awful racism against the black population, loss of their cherished welfare state, and possible dismemberment of the country into several mini-states are the new daily life for the Libyan people.

The capital city of Tripoli is "wallowing in four months of uncollected garbage" because the landfill is controlled by a faction that doesn't want the trash of another faction. [*Washington Post*, April 1, 2012]. Just imagine what has happened to the country's infrastructure.

This may be what Syria has to look forward to if the Triumvirate gets its way, although the Masters of the Universe undoubtedly believe that the people of Libya should be grateful to them for their "liberation."

As to the current violence in Syria, we must consider the numerous reports of forces providing military support to the Syrian rebels, the UK, France, the U.S., Turkey, Israel, Qatar, the Gulf states, and everyone's favorite champion of freedom and democracy, Saudi Arabia; with Syria claiming to have captured some 14 French soldiers; plus individual jihadists and mercenaries from Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Libya, et al, joining the anti-government forces, their number including al-Qaeda veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan who are likely behind the car bombs in an attempt to create chaos and destabilize the country.

This may mark the third time the United States has been on the same side as al-Qaeda, adding to Afghanistan and Libya.

Stratfor, the private and conservative American intelligence firm with high-level connections, reported that "most of the opposition's more serious claims have turned out to be grossly exaggerated or simply untrue."

Opposition groups including the Syrian National Council, the Free Syrian Army and the London-based Syrian Observatory for Human Rights began disseminating "claims that regime forces besieged Homs and imposed a 72-hour deadline for Syrian defectors to surrender themselves and their weapons or face a potential massacre." That news made international headlines.

Stratfor's investigation, however, found "no signs of a massacre," and declared that "opposition forces have an interest in portraying an impending massacre, hoping to mimic the conditions that propelled a foreign military intervention in

Libya.”

Stratfor added that any suggestions of massacres are unlikely because the Syrian “regime has calibrated its crackdowns to avoid just such a scenario. Regime forces have been careful to avoid the high casualty numbers that could lead to an intervention based on humanitarian grounds.” [*Huffington Post*, Dec. 19, 2011]

Reva Bhalla, Stratfor’s Director of Analysis, reported in a December 2011 email on a meeting she attended at the Pentagon about Syria: “After a couple hours of talking, they said without saying that SOF [Special Operation Forces] teams (presumably from US, UK, France, Jordan, Turkey) are already on the ground focused on recce [reconnaissance] missions and training opposition forces.”

We know of Bhalla’s comments thanks to the 5 million Stratfor emails obtained by the Internet hacker group Anonymous in December and passed on to Wikileaks. [[See the document on WikiLeaks](#)]

Human Rights Watch has reported that both Syrian government security forces and Syria’s armed rebels have committed serious human rights abuses, including kidnappings, torture, and executions.

But only the Holy Triumvirate can get away with the sanctions they love to impose. Assad’s wife is now banned from traveling to EU countries and any assets she may have there are frozen. Same for Assad’s mother, sister and sister-in-law, as well as eight of his government ministers. Assad himself received the same treatment last May. [*Washington Post*, March 24, 2012] Because the Triumvirate can.

On March 25, the U.S. and Turkish governments announced that they were discussing sending non-lethal aid to the Syrian opposition, implying quite clearly that until then they had not been engaged in such activity. [*Washington Post*, March 26, 2012]

But according to a U.S. embassy cable, revealed by Wikileaks, since at least 2006 the United States has been funding political opposition groups in Syria as well as the London-based satellite TV channel, Barada TV, run by Syrian exiles, that beams anti-government programming into the country.

The cable further stated that Syrian authorities “would undoubtedly view any U.S. funds going to illegal political groups as tantamount to supporting regime change.”

Regime change in Syria has been on the neo-conservative wish list since at least 2002 when John Bolton, Undersecretary of State under George W. Bush, came up with a project to simultaneously break up Libya and Syria. He called the two

states along with Cuba “The Axis Of Evil.” On a FOX News appearance in 2011 Bolton said that the United States should have overthrown the Syrian government right after they overthrew Saddam Hussein.

Amongst Syria’s crimes have been their close relations with Iran, Hezbollah (in Lebanon), the Palestinian resistance, and Russia, and Syria’s failure to conclude a peace treaty with Israel, unlike Jordan and Egypt; all this constituting evidence to the Holy Triumvirate of Syria, like Aristide, being “uppity.”

The clinical megalomania of the Holy Triumvirate can scarcely be exaggerated. And never prosecuted.

A closing word from Cui Tiankai, Chinese vice foreign minister for United States affairs: “The U.S. has the strongest military in the world and spends more than any other country. But the U.S. always feels unsafe or insecure about other countries. ... I suggest the United States spend more time thinking about how to make other countries feel less worried about the United States. [*Washington Post*, Jan. 10, 2012]

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Behind Another Rampage Massacre

Exclusive: Work-place and college-campus slaughters have become a regular feature of America’s harsh economic landscape the past few decades, as Ayn Rand-style policies sharply divide the nation into a few heroic “winners” and many hapless “losers,” a factor Mark Ames examines in the latest college bloodbath.

By Mark Ames

I was working on an article about last month’s rampage massacre in Afghanistan that left 17 villagers dead, when news hit of this past Monday’s massacre at an Oakland, California, religious college, leaving seven dead. In both cases, the shooters survived and face a possible death penalty, which is rare: Usually these rampage killings end with self-inflicted bullet in the mouth.

These “going postal” rampage killings like the one that just took place at the Oikos University campus so often and with such relentless rhythm, a lot of people might easily assume that these mass-shootings at American schools and workplaces have always been with us.

It’s not true, of course, as I wrote in my book *Going Postal: Rage, Murder and Rebellion*, it’s an exclusively American phenomenon specific to our time. The first post office rampage killing took place in Edmond, Oklahoma, in the mid-1980s, at the height of the Reagan Revolution’s war on the American worker.

Those post office massacres quickly migrated into private workplace massacres by the end of the 1980s, where they’ve become a regular rhythmic staple of our murder culture ever since and from the adult workplace, the massacres migrated to our schools.

We’ve had mass-killings before; and every now and then, you’ll read about a rampage killing in some other country. But only in America, and only since the mid-1980s, do American employees attack their own workplaces and offices, and middle-class students attack their own schools, with such consistency, year after year.

It was only after the crash in 2008 that some Americans began to accept the obvious: That the cruelty, predation and concentration of wealth and power introduced by the Reagan Revolution sparked a new type of murder that has more in common with insurgency violence or rebellious peasant violence than, say, the psychopathology of a serial murder.

Like so many school rampage killers, last Monday’s alleged murderer, One L. Goh, was reportedly bullied and mistreated at his nursing school program at the small Korean Christian nursing program he enrolled in. Bullying also was blamed for the high school rampage killing a few weeks ago in suburban Cleveland that left three students dead and five wounded.

The gruesome details about the way Goh is said to have lined up and executed his victims, the way he apparently singled out women, make hard not to caricature him as a monster, a demonic psychopath, and yet, without excusing Goh’s killings, one should try to make sense of what happened to him, the downward-trending bleakness, the slow water-torture of low-five-figure debts, the broken marriage, the \$23,000 tax bill owed to the IRS.

Losing Hope

In the Naughts, One L. Goh helped run a construction company. But construction collapsed as an industry in 2006-7; and unless you were Countrywide Financial CEO Angelo Mozillo, you’d have nothing to show for the few good years.

In late 2007, Goh moved into the Yorkview Apartments complex in Hayes, Virginia, a bleak, prefab looking structure in a rural corner of Virginia. By the following summer, One L. Goh found himself unable to cover his \$575 rent payment two months in a row. He was evicted; but before they evicted him, creditors took his car

The future rampage-murderer took it all stoically, even politely, according to one of Goh's apartment complex neighbors, Thomas Lumpkin. Goh "was always neat, wore nice clothes," Lumpkin said. "You would never expect it out of him. He just don't seem like that type of person."

Lumpkin also recalled the day Lumpkin was evicted, saw his Nissan pickup repossessed and departed by cab. I tried to imagine what that cab ride felt like for One L. Goh, a pudgy 40-something Korean-American dweeb, stewing with resentment, in his nice neat clothes. How far did he go in that cab, and where to?

Eventually he wound up with his father on the West Coast. Goh's father lives in an Oakland housing project for senior citizens run by a Christian non-profit. Goh found work in a San Mateo warehouse, he doubled as a mover.

It's not a good place to be if you're a middle-aged failure: San Francisco has so much obscene wealth, and smug beauty, to be a fat 40-something nerd working with your father in a grocery store in Daly City, in the shadow of San Francisco, is some kind of Hell, a Hell for failures.

And then last year, Goh's brother, an Iraq War veteran and Special Forces hero, died in a freak car accident when his Toyota slammed head-on at 70 mpg into a "multi-ton" boulder lying on a Virginia road. The photos of the accident scene look almost unreal, almost staged. The news was a blow to One L. Goh's mother; she died within a few months after the brother.

This is the backdrop to Goh's fateful decision to pull himself out of a years-long rut, and to start a new career for himself as a nurse. It may have been the shock of the back-to-back deaths in the family, or maybe it was his father who encouraged him, or the experience of living with his father in a building for the elderly.

Whatever the case, his widower father supported his son with a \$6,000 loan to pay for the vocational nursing school tuition. But after a few months, One L. Goh was out of the program, bitter and vengeful, dead set on murder; and his father was out \$6,000, thanks to his son's bad bet.

Ignition to a Massacre

What set Goh off? Why did he leave the nursing school so early? Most reports say he was teased by his classmates for his age, 43, and his accent. Which is odd, considering most of the students are foreigners and Koreans.

(Another Korean-American rampage-killer was teased over his voice: Virginia Tech killer Cho Seung-Hui. As another Virginia Tech student told reporters back in 2007, "As soon as [Cho] started reading, the whole class started laughing and pointing and saying, 'Go back to China.'")

Goh enrolled in what must have been one of the very worst nursing programs in the entire state of California: the vocational nursing program at Oikos University, a fundamentalist Korean-American Christian school in Oakland.

The school's nursing program is accredited, which is important of course if you want your for-profit school program to make money. To comply with the accreditation, Oikos U. had provide a "2010 Performance Sheet" summing up its students' performances both on the national nursing exam and, once licensed, in the job market.

The "performance" is abysmal, to the point where you almost wonder if it's even statistically possible to fail as spectacularly as Oikos University's nursing students. Of the programs 28 graduates from the Spring 2010 2011 term, only 11 of those 28 managed to pass the national nursing exam. That's a 29 percent pass rate, almost unheard of.

According to a spokesman for the California Department of Consumer Affairs, it makes Oikos among the state's very worst programs, the average success rate for graduates of other programs is 75 percent. (An Oakland Tribune article puts Oikos U's exam pass rate at 41 percent of students who took the test, but the actual Performance Sheet gives a lower 29 percent pass figure, either way, both are awful).

Oikos University failed to prepare its students for the test, and it failed those who passed when they turned to the job market. According to the same Performance Sheet, of the school's 11 students who passed the exam, eight found paying jobs as nurses, with salaries ranging as low as \$5,000 per year to the one lucky top salary earner who earned up to \$35,000. That's in the Bay Area, the most expensive region in America.

In sum: One L. Goh could not have chosen a worse nursing program to pin his personal hopes on. This nursing program was all but guaranteed to fail him.

Fundamentalist Mission

One thing Oikos University does fairly convincingly is fundamentalist

evangelical Christianity for Korean-Americans. Students at Oikos U. are required to attend regular church services; the pious language of evangelical Christianity frames everything.

The school's president, Rev. Jongkin Kim, says his goal is "to foster spiritual Christian leaders who abide by God's intentions and to expand God's nation through them." Under the university's "Our Vision" it reads:

"The vision of Oikos University is to educate emerging Christian leaders to transform and bless the world at every level from the church and local community levels to the realm of world entire."

And then there's the reality, revealed in a lawsuit filed last month by a former staffer of Oikos University named Jong Cha, who says the school cheated her out of \$75,000 in salary and expenses, and stiffed her on a \$10,000 loan that she personally gave to the Christian college in 2008.

Viewed from this angle, One L. Goh might have come to the conclusion at some point that he'd taken scarce funds from his poor old widower father, and handed it over to religious hucksters running the Golden State's worst nursing program.

One thing to keep in mind here: It's easy to see why Oikos University introduced a nursing vocational program. If you get it accredited, these nursing programs are guaranteed cash-cows. Most of the big for-profit education predators like Kaplan Inc. (which owns, and subsidizes, the Washington Post) are in on the vocational nursing for-profit gig.

You can charge students insane tuitions, hire hacks as teachers, pocket the difference, and dump the unpaid loans on the government in exchange for 100 cents on the dollar.

The Reverend who founded Oikos University certainly understood this, his good friend told the New York Times that Rev. Kim "had established the nursing school to support the school's department of religion." The cash must have rolled in quickly, because within a year after launching its nursing program, Oikos doubled its size, meaning doubling revenues.

And yet even with all those new revenues coming in, the school couldn't figure out a way to raise its graduates' test results out of the failure category. The school appears to have stiffed one of its top staffers out of her pay and her loan, suggesting, in the words of the Oakland Tribune, "that the school may have fallen on hard times."

I wonder if this is what set off One L. Goh a few months after he enrolled, the realization that he'd been fleeced, that he enrolled in the wrong program on his

father's money. The year 2011 had already taken his brother and his mother.

A Dashed Last Hope

There is something in between the lines that suggests his plan to become a nurse, worked out with his father's assistance a kind of desperate last attempt to turn everything around in the proverbial One Bold Swoop.

He would do something practical, and morally good, helping the elderly, people like his father, and earn a steady income that would allow him, at last, some dignity and some chance to start paying off his debts.

It was as though Goh pinned everything on this plan to reinvent himself as a nurse, and according to all our cultural propaganda, all the Hollywood movies and newspaper bromides, Goh would be rewarded for undertaking this self-transformation. It was guaranteed to change everything.

And for a brief while last year, Goh's mood was transformed, he really did think he had a great future ahead of him. One of Goh's former employers at a food warehouse described Goh as "upbeat" when he ran into him last year in Oakland, a change from the usually quiet, sullen Goh he'd known.

This new "upbeat" One L. Goh boasted to his former employer "about how he had returned to school to become a nurse and help elderly people."

The idea that you can reinvent yourself, that your fate is in your own hands, that you have the power inside of you to make yourself a winner (and if you fail, it's all your own fault), this may be America's most toxic cultural snake-oil. And yet it never fails to find takers.

Of course, nothing changed, except that Goh had been conned out of his dad's money. As his former employer put it: "Not many people go back to school at that age. He was trying something new and it wasn't working."

It didn't take long for him to figure it out. Just a few months after enrolling, One L. Goh dropped out of the Oikos University program. When he dropped out of the program, he asked them to refund his father's \$6,000 that he paid for tuition. He was denied. He fought with the administrators, but they didn't budge. This was what made him snap.

The administrator, whom Goh fought with for his tuition refund and whom he came to kill that day, has now come forward. Her name is Ellen Cervellon. She was gone on the day of the massacre because she also teaches nursing to students at California State University at East Bay.

Now she will have to wonder, why didn't she just approve the refund to a

desperate man? What if she had approved it? Her argument was that he'd already spent several months in the program. According to a friend of Ellen Cervellon's, Linda Music, she even denied Goh his last reasonable request, to prorate the refund.

As Matthai Kuruvila reported at SFGate.com, Goh had asked Ellen Cervellon for a full refund of his tuition and when he was denied suggested prorating the tuition refund. Cervellon said no, Music said.

That meant he threw his father's money away: He had nothing to show for the \$6,000 given to the university; he would never be able to pay his father back; and he would never be able to borrow a sum like that from him again. That was it, the final act. The jig was up for him.

Lack of Empathy

Why? Why couldn't Cervellon meet this desperate failure half-way? What was in it for Cervellon? What's with the Ayn Randian lack of empathy in this country among the non-oligarchy caste?

Cervellon seems to be asking herself this same question: "In talking to several of the students and faculty who were there, I think he was looking for me. I have that weight on my shoulders and I don't know what to do with it,"

School officials have been painting a portrait of One L. Goh as a psycho and a freak, using phrases like "behavioral problems" and calling him "angry" and "paranoid." There must be truth to that; nice, normal people in a healthy state of mind don't rampage-massacre others.

But the intended target, Ellen Cervellon, disputes that: "He was never forced out, he showed no behavioral problems, and he was never asked to leave the program. He decided on his own to leave the program."

The depressingly familiar dead-end life that One L. Goh found himself in, surrounded by petty scams as revealed in the ex-staffer's lawsuit and the bleak performance of the school's graduates, combined with the back-to-back deaths of two family members, could make a lot of sane people desperate and enraged and suicidal. Not to mention the larger context of an inequality-ravaged America where opportunity and dignity are scarcer and scarcer.

On top of all this, as he complained often, students at the nursing program wouldn't talk to him. That could be traumatizing even under better circumstances, but under his conditions, being mocked and ignored by fellow

fundamentalist Christians for being an aging loser, would be devastating.

One of Goh's teachers continued criticizing Goh even after the massacre: "I always advised him, 'You go to school to learn, not to make friends.'" More great advice from the Oikos University folks.

After quitting the nursing program, One L. Goh spent the last few months working with his father at the Daly City supermarket. He was back at square one: A failure, swindled, condemned to work in a shitty job beside his struggling father whom he'd let down.

You might say that One L. Goh snapped because for once, he saw things as they really were, stripped of hope, stripped of fantasies about self-improvement or self-transformation.

He failed at everything; he was one of those faceless, anonymous losers. But there was one thing he could still excel at, something that could get him attention, something that this country perversely celebrates: mass murder in a blaze of anti-glory. So long as you're ready to make that transformation-of-character into a death row inmate, that option is always available here.

Last Monday, according to police accounts, One L. Goh armed himself with a .45 caliber semi-automatic pistol and showed up at the Oikos school for his final act. But the plan failed from the start: The administrator he was after was gone. So the target became the entire setting, Oikos University, as it so often happens in these "going postal" rampage killings.

There's a section on the Oikos University website about the 11 beliefs that the University holds to, they call it their "Doctrinal Statement" and it's the last belief, Number 11, that sums up the malevolence of it all:

"We believe in the existence of a personal, malevolent being called Satan who acts as tempter and accuser, for whom the place of eternal punishment was prepared, where all who die outside of Christ shall be confined in conscious torment for eternity."

Mark Ames is editor of The eXiled Online and author of the book Going Postal: Rage, Murder and Rebellion from Reagan's Workplaces to Clinton's Columbine and co-author with Matt Taibbi of The eXile: Sex, Drugs and Libel in the New Russia.
