

The War Powers Resolution Is Not What You've Been Told

by David Swanson | Apr 19, 2026 | 0 Comments

Reprinted From World BEYOND War.

According to *The Hill*, in an article typical of U.S. media, Trump's war on Iran is totally legal for 60 days if Congress does nothing, after which it becomes illegal, unless Congress has explicitly OK'd it. This is supposedly because of the War Powers Resolution of 1973. And *The Hill* is not alone in pushing this idea. *Fox News* agrees with *The Hill*. So does *Time*. So does *USA Today*. So does *The Washington Post*. So does *Roll Call*. So does *Politico*. So does every AI bot infecting the internet.

However, the War Powers Resolution consists of words that you can read for yourself, and here are some of them:

"The constitutional powers of the President as Commander-in-Chief to introduce United States Armed Forces into hostilities, or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances, are exercised only pursuant to (1) a declaration of war, (2) specific statutory authorization, or (3) a national emergency created by attack upon the United States, its territories or possessions, or its armed forces."

1. There has been no declaration of war by the U.S. Congress since 1941.
2. There has been no authorization to attack Iran, nor to continue attacking Iran.
3. There has been no attack upon the United States or its territories or possessions, and there were no attacks on its armed forces until after said armed forces had begun the war.

The same law says that a president who launches a war in any of those three situations, then has 48 hours to submit his first report explaining himself, and 60 days after that report (62 days total — plus a possible extra 30) to entirely knock it off. But none of those three situations exists. So, the president must immediately knock it off — must, in fact, have never started the war. It is simply not true that the war will become illegal after 60 days; it has been illegal since the instant it was begun. It is factually false that it must be ended after 60 days in order to comply with the law; it must be ended immediately.

If the War Powers Resolution did not exist, one could revert to the actual Constitution that the War Powers Resolution claimed to uphold and which says that the decision to declare and wage a war is up to the Congress.

If that weren't enough, one could also find in the Constitution that spending money on anything is up to the Congress. At least one Congress Member has been pointing out lately that the Constitution says "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by law." No law has appropriated a dime for attacking Iran.

If Congress were to appropriate money for the war and/or to declare or authorize the war, there would still remain the problem that the same Constitution makes treaties to which the United States is party "the supreme law of the land" and one of those treaties

2

is the UN Charter, which bans war except in narrow circumstances not met. Various other treaties ban war entirely.

The wars are all illegal from day 1. But don't we still want the War Powers Resolution used to try to end them, by forcing votes on whether to end them? Sure, we do. The wars are legally allowed to continue for 0 days, but don't we still want them stopped at 60 or 62 or 90 or 92 or whatever number of days our so-called government is willing to treat as a deadline? Sure, we do. Endless bloody massacres and fits of massive destruction are horrible, but wouldn't they be less horrible if they could each be held to 60 days or shorter? Maybe.

Better would be to end each war immediately, right now, and to hold all the future wars to 0 days. How does one do that without a handy mechanism that corporate media outlets all pretend is real? Well, one way would be to use handy mechanisms that are real in written law. They include (redundantly) banning the use of any money for a war. They include impeaching and removing from office those waging a war. They include closing distant foreign bases, thereby making it impossible to get them attacked.

Those sound harder, perhaps, than telling a president his time is up. But you'll have to do them anyway after you've told him his time is up and he's told you to go to hell. Meanwhile all the blood of those 60 days will be on your hands — not to mention the blood of all the other wars to come.

If you let corporate media outlets and random Congress members pretend that laws say totally crazy things — such as that presidents can legally attack anyone they want if they cut it out after 2 months, what else will they decide that laws can say: no warrant is needed to spy on you? being born in the U.S. doesn't make you a citizen? a corporation has human rights? one human right is the right to use assault rifles? bribery is free speech? a paramilitary force can kidnap people off the street? profiting from public office is acceptable?

And if all your puppet, weapons-buying, sidekick governments around the world obediently immitate the standard that their presidents can legally attack anyone they want if they cut it out after 2 months, how is that likely to work out?

David Swanson is an author, activist, journalist, and radio host. He is executive director of WorldBeyondWar.org and campaign coordinator for RootsAction.org. Swanson's books include War Is A Lie and When the World Outlawed War. He blogs at DavidSwanson.org and WarIsACrime.org. He hosts Talk Nation Radio.

**If you liked this article, please support Antiwar.com.
We are 100% reader-supported.**

Join the Discussion!

We welcome thoughtful and respectful comments. Hateful language, illegal content, or attacks against Antiwar.com will be removed.

For more details, please see our [Comment Policy](#).

Agree to Comment

'A Revolting Moral Outrage': Israeli Soldiers Reportedly Torture Gaza Toddler

3

Reports of 1-year-old Karim Abu Nassar being burned with a cigarette and pierced with a nail followed the publication of a United Nations analysis detailing Israel's "systematic" torture of Palestinians since October 2023.

by Brett Wilkins | Mar 23, 2026 | News | 4 Comments

Israeli soldiers in Gaza allegedly tortured an 18-month-old Palestinian toddler in an effort to force a confession from his father, local and international media outlets reported Monday.

According to Al Jazeera, Karim Abu Nassar was with his father, Osama Abu Nassar, near the al-Maghazi refugee camp in central Gaza on Saturday when they came under Israel Defense Forces fire. Eyewitnesses told Palestine TV that IDF troops ordered the man to leave the child on the ground and advance to a nearby checkpoint, where he was stripped naked and searched.

Witnesses said IDF soldiers then tortured Karim in front of his father to pressure him to confess to something. Journalist Osama Al-Kahlout interviewed the child's mother, who said the toddler suffered a cigarette burn to one leg and a nail puncture to the other. Al-Kahlout's video shows wounds on the child's legs – injuries reportedly confirmed by an unspecified medical authority.

Karim was reportedly released to relatives via the International Committee of the Red Cross after 10 hours of detention. The ICRC has not issued a statement regarding the matter and rarely does so absent an investigation.

The Palestine Chronicle reported that Osama Abu Nassar remains in custody, in a system rife with torture – sometimes deadly – and other abuse.

The IDF has not commented on the alleged incident.

In the United States, the story is being amplified by prominent figures including Congresswoman Rashida Tlaib (D-Mich.) and the Council for American Islamic Relations (CAIR), which issued a statement calling the accusations "revolting."

"Israel's use of a nail and cigarette burns to torture a 1-year-old child and force a confession from his father is a revolting moral outrage that demands immediate action from Congress," the group said. "No child, anywhere in the world, should be subjected to such cruelty, especially with American taxpayer dollars. These actions constitute grave violations of international law and basic human decency."

"Our nation must end its complicity in these crimes," CAIR added. "Congress has a responsibility to ensure that American taxpayer dollars are not used to support the torture or slaughter of more children. Every lawmaker with a conscience must vote to end military aid for the out-of-control Israeli regime."

The US has given Israel hundreds of billions of inflation-adjusted dollars in aid to Israel since the country was established in 1948, including more than \$20 billion since October 2023.

A new report published by UN Palestine expert Francesca Albanese examines the "systematic use by Israel of torture against Palestinians," finding "practices that meet the threshold for genocide" under the Genocide Convention – the basis of the ongoing International Court of Justice (ICJ) case brought by South Africa.

A summary of the report states:

4

Torture has become integral to the domination of and punishment inflicted on men, women, and children – both through custodial abuse and through a relentless campaign of forced displacement, mass killings, deprivation, and the destruction of all means of life to inflict long-term collective pain and suffering. A continuous, territorially pervasive regime of psychological terror is being imposed, designed to break bodies, deprive a people of their dignity, and force them from their land. This is not incidental violence. It is the architecture of settler-colonialism, built on a foundation of dehumanization and maintained by a policy of cruelty and collective torture.

Palestinian victims – including minors – and witnesses, as well as Israeli soldiers, veterans, and medical professionals have described widespread torture and other abuses including rape and sexual assault by male and female soldiers, electrocution, mauling by dogs, beatings, denial of food and water, sleep deprivation, stress positions, and exposure to loud music and temperature extremes.

At least scores of Palestinian detainees have died or been killed in Israeli custody, including one who died after allegedly being sodomized with an electric baton. Many bodies of former Palestinian prisoners returned by Israel have shown signs of torture, execution, and mutilation.

Since the Hamas-led attack of October 2023, Israeli forces have killed or wounded at least 250,000 Palestinians, including more than 65,000 children. Israeli troops have been accused by Palestinians, Western medical volunteers, and their own colleagues of deliberately targeting children with sniper fire and executing them along with their adult relatives during massacres.

In addition to facing the ICJ genocide case, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his former defense minister, Yoav Gallant, are fugitives from the International Criminal Court, where they are wanted for alleged crimes against humanity and war crimes in Gaza, including murder and forced starvation.

**If you liked this article, please support [Antiwar.com](https://antiwar.com).
We are 100% reader-supported.**

The government of the United States is a definite government, confined to specified objects. It is not like state governments, whose powers are more general. Charity is no part of the legislative duty of the government.

– James Madison, *Speech in the House of Representatives* [January 10, 1794]

The Economic Destruction of Trump's War Goes Far Beyond High Gas Prices

[Big Government](#), [Economic Policy](#), [War and Foreign Policy](#)

04/08/2026 • Mises Wire • Connor O'Keeffe

[Listen to this article](#)

For the past six weeks, as this US-Israeli war with Iran has played out, the economic impact of the conflict has gotten a lot of attention. And rightfully so.

As anyone who's consumed any news about this war knows well by now, the Strait of Hormuz is a major energy chokepoint, the Iranian government did exactly what they said they were going to do if Trump and Netanyahu ordered this attack and started blocking ships tied in any way to the government's attacking them from passing through the Strait, and the US, Israeli, or really any other government have not been able to do anything about it.

However, throughout all of this, most of the discourse about the economic impacts of the war has focused on the rising prices drivers are facing at the gas pump. That isn't surprising, as gas prices are an early cost that impact consumers directly.

But the emphasis on pain at the pump threatens to badly *understate* the economic damage of this war. And it helps feed the false impression that, if this new attempt at a ceasefire holds and the war ends somewhat quickly, gas prices will fall back down as fast as they rose, and then all the global economic turmoil the world's been worrying about will be avoided.

It won't. A lot of economic pain has already been locked in by this war. But to really understand it, it's necessary to keep a few important economic truths at the front of our minds.

First is the fact that the *entire purpose* of the economy is to produce goods and services that consumers value enough to pay for. All of the production happening anywhere in the economy is geared towards that end.

That's relatively straightforward with the production of consumer goods. A commercial brewer, for example, chooses to produce specific beers because they think consumers will value those beers enough to pay more money than the brewer spent producing them, making it a profitable production.

But it's also true for all the production that is not directly tied to a finished consumer good—which is, in fact, most of the production happening in the economy. Businesses produce capital goods like industrial stainless-steel mixing tanks, rubber tractor tires, plastic packaging, or the ingredients of fertilizer because there's demand for those goods from other businesses that produce later-stage goods and, ultimately, consumer goods.

So, returning to the brewing example, all the production that results in that finished bottle of beer doesn't begin with the brewer. It requires grain that is planted, grown, harvested, and transported to the brewery.

It also requires fermenters, Brite tanks, mash tuns, and canning or bottling systems—all of which need to be produced with other capital goods like stainless steel, which itself requires other capital goods like iron ore.

Every consumer good can be viewed as the end of a long chain of production stretching all the way back to the cultivation of raw materials like iron or timber, or the creation of basic components like resins or plastics. Economists call those basic capital goods at the beginning of the chain higher order goods.

And what's important to remember about higher order goods is that, first, almost all of them are used in many different lines of production. Iron ore is not exclusively used to help eventually produce beer, it's used to make a lot of goods that are themselves used to make a lot of other goods. It's what's called a non-specific factor of production. Any change in the production of iron ore has widespread consequences across the economy.

And second, production takes time. That's true for the production of any given good, but it's especially true if we look across that entire chain of production. The higher order goods that are currently being produced won't help bring about finished consumer products until months or even years down the road.

All of this is important to understand and keep in mind because the war with Iran is, so far, primarily impacting the production of higher order goods. And it goes far beyond oil.

About 8 percent of the world's aluminum travels through the Strait. And aluminum is used across many sectors, including construction, manufacturing, and technology. Nearly a third of the world's helium supply comes from Qatar, which is an important component in semiconductor production as well as MRI systems.

Polyethylene and other kinds of plastics and resins are also greatly affected. More than 40 percent of the world's polyethylene is exported from the Middle East. And these are used in all stages of production in all sorts of industries—packaging, auto parts, medical equipment, consumer containers, industrial components, electronics, and much, much more.

And there are other often-neglected but extremely important hydrocarbon products being held up, such as petroleum naphtha, which is critical for refining gasoline and producing solvents for cleaning agents and paints. Natural gas condensate is another liquid hydrocarbon used in refining and to dilute other denser hydrocarbons to make them easier to transport. There's also liquified petroleum gas, or LPG, which is mostly composed of propane and butane. These components are also important for refining as well as residential cooking and heating in many parts of the world. Much of the world's supply of all these products is produced in the Middle East and exported through the Strait of Hormuz.

Another often-neglected yet critical higher-order good is sulfur. About half the world's seaborne sulfur trade moves through the Strait. It's important for refining petroleum and minerals like copper, nickel, and zinc, which are widely used in everything from electronics to medicine.

But the other major use of sulfur is as an ingredient in fertilizer. The sulfur supply shock—along with adjacent shocks in the supply of ammonia and urea, other key fertilizer components primarily exported through the Strait of Hormuz—has created a time bomb in global food markets.

Which brings us to another economic concept that is extremely important to understand if we want to fully comprehend the situation we're now in. The problem is not merely a rise in prices but, specifically, the

destruction of supply. The strikes on production facilities and the severing of supply lines mean there is now not enough supply of the components I laid out above available to meet current levels of demand. And because, again, these higher order goods are demanded for the production of lower order and consumer goods, that means, eventually, fewer consumer goods. The rising prices are a *symptom* of the fact that there is now less stuff available for everyone who wants it than there was before.

The fertilizer shortage provides a good example. The fact that producers cannot get their hands on the supply of ingredients like sulfuric acid, ammonia, and urea they need to meet demand means they are forced to produce less fertilizer than their customers need. Which, in turn, means those customers— industrial and family farmers—have less fertilizer to use during this year’s spring planting season. Which means they produce fewer crops. This leads to less animal feed for livestock and produce overall, resulting in an unavoidable drop in the food supply.

Those of us who are fortunate enough to live in developed countries above the poverty line will primarily experience the shortage as higher food prices. But for the millions of people who are already struggling to secure the food they need, this drop in supply may force them to go without.

That is not a choice forced on all of us by some greedy companies, it is an unavoidable consequence of the economic destruction brought about by this war.

And that same basic process is at play with all the other commodities and higher order goods I mentioned, as can be seen in the dramatic price increases. Aluminum prices have already surged by 10 percent. Import prices for helium have jumped 50 percent. Polyethylene prices are up 37 percent. Polypropylene is up 38 percent. And the price of petroleum naphtha has tripled since February.

Remember, these price increases are not the whole story. They are the symptom of supply shortages that will work their way through all relevant lines of production and result in fewer consumer goods down the road—all from production disruption that will be slow to start back up again, even when the war is fully over.

That means fewer containers available for goods like nail polish and, yes, beer. It means fewer medical supplies, like IV bags, syringes, and sterile packaging, all of which rely on petrochemical plastics. Also, delays in construction projects as it becomes harder to source asphalt, plastics, and aluminum inputs. And dangerous health issues going undetected because of limited MRI machine availability, and much more.

And that’s not to mention, of course, the oil and LNG shortages that people are already sufficiently focused on. These commodities power nearly all stages of all lines of production and help produce the diesel and jet fuel used to physically move everything in the economy to where it needs to be.

Unlike gas prices, these effects will take some time to develop—especially in the US, where our supply chain is momentarily protected from the initial impacts. And they won’t be as clearly tied to the war in the minds of most people. But the costs of all this economic destruction are real, they are substantial, and they are already locked in.



Note: The views expressed on Mises.org are not necessarily those of the Mises Institute.

The Colorado Constitution of Liberty



Before each Western state entered the Union in the late 19th century, its people adopted a state constitution. By and large, these state charters displayed a commitment to individual liberty almost inconceivable today.

Among all those documents, Colorado's 1876 constitution especially stands out. Its 150th birthday invites us to celebrate its spirit of freedom.

Today, politicians and leftist ideologues frequently complain about the modest fiscal limits imposed by Colorado's Taxpayer's Bill of Rights (TABOR). As most readers know, TABOR requires popular votes for raising most taxes, for spending above a certain limit, or for incurring public debt. But TABOR was not added to the state constitution until 1992, partly because the document's original limits had eroded.

If you read the Colorado constitution as adopted in 1876, you will see financial restrictions that put TABOR to shame.

Article X of the Colorado Constitution was entitled "Revenue." It authorized only one kind of statewide tax: the property tax. Article X initially limited this levy to six mills (tenths of a cent) on each dollar of assessed valuation. Then, as the tax base grew, the constitution mandated a series of rate *reductions* down to two mills.

If that rule were still in effect, you would pay only \$800 annually on a \$400,000 house—and no other state taxes at all. The only way for the government to exceed that maximum was by a vote of those electors who actually paid property levies.

To assure that the tax base remained broad and not corrupted by favors to special interests, the document banned all exemptions except for a few itemized religious and charitable purposes. Further, it banned the use of state funds to subsidize county and city government: Local people would bear the full consequences of their own decisions.

In not just one but in two places, the 1876 constitution required the state to operate on a balanced budget. It prohibited pay raises for public officers during their terms of office, prohibited compensation to employees and contractors beyond that contracted for, required competitive bidding for state contracts, and interdicted handouts to private persons and entities.

Total state debt could not exceed three-fourths of a mill for each dollar of taxable valuation—that is, a maximum of \$300 of debt on a \$400,000 home. Debt spent on public buildings could not exceed half a mill (\$200 on a \$400,000 home). Unless the people authorized more debt to finance public buildings, total state borrowing was capped at \$100,000—about \$3 million in today's money. Additionally, the constitution prohibited incurring public debt to subsidize private interests. It imposed similar restrictions on local government.

An expansive bill of rights (28 sections) broadened the U.S. Constitution's protection against ex post facto laws—that is, retroactive criminal laws—to include retroactive laws of any kind, civil as well as criminal. The Colorado bill of rights required compensation not just when government seized property, but also when it damaged property. The state bill of rights enlarged protections for religious liberty, banned imprisonment for debt, prohibited needless imprisonment to force testimony, and in criminal cases required the court to appoint legal counsel for the defendant if he had none.

Several states admitted into the Union after Colorado adopted constitutions that borrowed from Colorado. For example, both Dakotas (1889) imposed tight limits on state property taxes, Idaho (1890) required successive property tax cuts down to one-and-a-half mill per dollar of assessed valuation, and Utah (1895) imposed sharp limits on local levies.

But the state that followed Colorado's formula most closely was Montana. Large parts of its 1889 constitution simply tracked their Colorado counterparts.

Of course, most of the financial protections in Colorado's original constitution are no longer there. One reason is that the document has been amended 176 times. One amendment authorized a state income tax. Others were of the "only this" kind—that is, they were promoted as departures from usual practice in "only this" case. Some of these created special funds outside the control of either TABOR or the legislature for the benefit of special interests.

In other instances, state government began to exercise an unconstitutional power and was not promptly and effectively challenged. An example is when the Colorado legislature began to impose an "emergency" sales tax in the 1930s. Nearly a century later, that "emergency" still continues.

Many more changes have been the product of apparently-conscious destruction by the courts.

Still, the 1876 Colorado charter remains an example to freedom-loving people of the kind of state constitution they might like to see today.



Rob Natelson

Rob Natelson is Senior Fellow in Constitutional Jurisprudence at Independence Institute and a former constitutional law professor at the University of Montana. He is the author of "The Original Constitution: What It Actually Said and Meant" (4th ed., 2025).



Our only Hope to Avoid Civil War and Depression is to Reverse The Coup of 1913 that Destroyed our Constitutional Republic. (9)

March 18, 2026 By **Andrew Wallace**

It will require a Tsunami of the People's voices, almost to the point of violence, to reverse the Coup of 1913 (Income Tax, Federal Reserve Bank, Tax-Free Foundations, Unconstitutional Money). The Coup of 1913 was a hostile takeover of our government by the Zionists, Parasitic Super-Rich Ruling Class (PSRRC), Bankers and Unconstitutional Criminal Enterprises. Very few people realize that the Income Tax finished the job started by President Lincoln, and that was to transfer power of the states to the Federal Government. Simply stated, the Income Tax makes the Constitutional Republic impossible. It allows the Federal Government to fund Communist Programs in the Blue Cities and to blackmail States by withholding federal funds.

It is unconstitutional to spend federal money in the states. To solve this problem, you must return all income taxes collected in a state to that state. The communist cities and states then get to sink or swim on their own, without using the money of working Americans in other states. The non-working alternative is to separate Blue cities from the Union. The Federal Government would finance itself with Tariffs as it did until 1913.

Remember, the Federal Government financed its Wars for Profit of the PSRRC with Income Taxes and printed money from the Federal Reserve Bank. This is one way to stop the Warmongers. If you also return to Constitutional Money, which is gold, you eliminate inflation and protect the assets of Americans.

Tax-Free Foundations allow the PSRRC to have access to their money thru eternity; not a good idea, they have enough already. The Zionist lobby must be outlawed because it bribes, blackmails, and terrifies elected members of Congress and the President. That Lobby controls most members of Congress with money in the seven figures. If a member refuses to do their bidding, they will spend what it takes to get them out of office or worse. At this time you can safely say that our Congress and President are "Zionist Israel First".

The American people object strongly to funding Israel Genocide and using our military to fight for Zionist Israel. Both are unconstitutional. The negative feelings of voters are so strong that Republicans should expect to lose the mid-term elections.

Most importantly, Iran devastated most of our military bases in the Middle East and we could not protect them. Government should learn from this defeat that they must shut down the 750 bases in 80 countries and bring the 170,000 troops home where they are desperately needed to defeat and deport the Democrat aka Communist army of twenty million Illegals.

THE MIDDLE EAST IS PROOF THAT OUR TROOPS DEPLOYED OVERSEAS ARE

NEEDLESSLY AT RISK AND WE CAN'T PROTECT THEM. THEY ARE CANARIES IN A COAL MINE SUBJECT TO SACRIFICE FOR PROFIT OF THE PSRRC, AS ARE THE

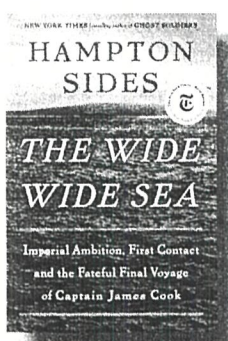
10) SAILORS IN AIRCRAFT CARRIERS,

The Democratic and Republican parties are "Israel First" because they are bribed, blackmailed and terrified of the Jewish Zionist Lobby and the Parasitic Super-Rich Ruling Class (PSRRC). The Democrat aka Communist party does everything to enrich themselves and destroy the United States. Some examples are Anti-Family, Anti-Religion, open borders, Anti-Energy, Anti-Police, Pro-Criminal, Anti-Home ownership, and Anti-Everything that raises the people's prosperity. I know of nothing the Democrats aka Communists have done to benefit our country. The Communist Control Act of 1954 outlaws the Communist party, but no government has had the balls to enforce it.

As an Economist I can guarantee you that prosperity and the American Dream are impossible so long as we give unconstitutional Foreign Aid, have troops deployed overseas, and participate in wars for the profit of the Military Industrial Complex. Since we can't be invaded, all wars for last 80 years were for profit, not National Security, and we lost all of them. We only earned the hatred of the world.

In addition to the preceding, we must terminate the Criminal Enterprises in our government and return to a Constitutional Government. Even then, unless we return to Gold Money, it may be impossible to dodge a great Depression

I do have some advice for the Criminals who rule us contrary to promises made and the Constitution: If you harm the people too much and too long, you could have a French Reign of Terror and lose your heads.



THE WRITING OF history is shaped by the writer's time and intended audience. Modern attempts to retell history are lessons in themselves, *prima facie* evidence that someone has seen the utility of a reexamination. Newly available facts may be pertinent; fresh concepts and alternate terminology may have value. Any new slant may lead to what we now call revisionist history—whether readers of such revisionist tracts are made more intelligent, as many self-designated educators assert, is uncertain.

In *The Wide, Wide Sea: Imperial Ambition, First Contact and the Fateful Final Voyage of Captain James Cook* (2024), Hampton Sides provides a sort of revisionist history of the British explorer of Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii. He builds on

earlier records, starting with Cook's own accounts, for the purpose of reconciling the captain with a critical modern world. Sides is aware of hostility toward canonic treatments of European exploration by radical anthropologists, feminists, anti-colonialists, and anti-whites, so he treads carefully between their positions and the historian's proper ideal of objectivity.

Cook himself set an example of cultural neutrality when he approached what were viewed as primitive cultures. While his relativism had limits—he condemned cannibalism and human sacrifice—he tried to avoid an attitude of superiority. He tried to curb the worst of Western influences and to reduce thoughtless abuse of the natives by his men. He quarantined any of his sailors who carried disease. He ate local foodstuffs and observed local courtesies. He even privately questioned the propriety of introducing Occidental knowledge and goods to primitive peoples, thereby agreeing with his subsequent detractors. Although it was beneficial to share some

technologies, such as iron tools, he was convinced that contact with European explorers had already done much damage to the natives and would do much more.

These positions do not suffice to exonerate Cook in the eyes of his critics, who would like him to have adopted today's attitudes, behavior, and nomenclature—better yet if he and all his ilk, whether English, Spanish, French, or Dutch, had gone to the bottom of the sea. The best Sides can do with this contemporary audience is to highlight Cook's scruples while acknowledging modern criticism. He sounds a few notes of *mea culpa*, provides native geographical names, and capitalizes the terms "natives" and "indigenous," making them, by a majuscule, races. For feminists and the nonbinary, the term "people" is occasionally employed where I would write "women."

Sides's position is tricky; his book is the result of trying to satisfy both the goat and the cabbage, as the French say.

—Catharine Savage Brosman



Image Credit: Shutterstock

The Dark Side of FDR

David Beito's new book argues that Roosevelt's record reveals a president driven more by power than principle.

[Marcus M. Witcher](#) • January 27, 2026

David Beito argues that Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a self-serving politician who cared very little for the civil liberties of Americans. In *FDR: A New Political Life*, Beito challenges historians who explain away Roosevelt's horrid record on civil rights as politically strategic (in the case of black Americans) or as an exception (in the case of Japanese internment).

Instead, Beito contends that FDR's glib view of civil liberties was core to his worldview. Additionally, Beito emphasizes that Roosevelt's economic policies were ineffective and at times counterproductive, and that his reliance on top-down solutions to the Great Depression violated the economic liberties of Americans. In short, FDR was the worst president on individual liberty since Woodrow Wilson, and he might have been even worse.

17

Beito begins by recounting Roosevelt's actions as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Wilson. FDR "gave unquestioning support" to Wilson's attack on free speech and expression during the conflict and demonstrated no "strong ideological commitments to the Bill of Rights." During the notorious white violence against black Americans during the "Red Summer" of 1919, Roosevelt did nothing as white sailors attacked black streetcar passengers. The violence spread to 26 cities and when the NAACP demanded that the sailors and marines be arrested, FDR and the rest of the Wilson administration initially did nothing. Writing to a Harvard classmate, FDR joked, "With your experience in handling Africans in Arkansas, I think you had better come here and take charge of the police force."

In addition to his lack of a response to the racial violence of 1919, Roosevelt also played an active role in the Newport Sex Scandal. There were reports that there were "perverts" at the Newport Naval base and Ervin Arnold, a chief petty officer, began an investigation using entrapment as a tool to root out homosexual activity. Lacking funds, Arnold's violation of the sailors' dignity and civil liberties might have ended, but Roosevelt "almost single-handedly saved the investigation" by pushing his superiors to create Section A (nicknamed the Newport Sex Squad) to continue looking into the matter.

Roosevelt believed that "homosexuality was immoral and he would expend every effort to ferret out offenders." Section A used "heavy-handed tactics" that "soon backfired" and led to "public backlash." FDR ultimately had to testify and defend the methods of the investigation. On the stand, he "denied any knowledge that his investigators had engaged in same-sex acts to obtain evidence." To which the judge skeptically inquired, "How did you think evidence of unnatural crimes could be obtained?" Humiliated, Roosevelt responded simply, "I didn't think."

Beito uses FDR's time in the Wilson administration to demonstrate that his indifference to the plight of black Americans and his support for mass internment of Japanese Americans were not aberrations but rather the fulfillment of Roosevelt's worldview. He did not care about American civil liberties. The Senate Committee of Naval Affairs issued a stunning rebuke of FDR following its investigation of the Newport scandal. It asserted that Roosevelt's office had violated "the moral code of the American citizen, and the rights of every American boy who enlisted in the Navy to fight for his country." Further, it found FDR "morally responsible" for entrapment and the other "immoral acts" and came to the conclusion that he "must have known" the methods that were being used by the investigation.

Beito also demonstrates how Roosevelt came of age and was influenced by an intellectual climate that was sympathetic to central planning and social control.

His later penchant for top-down economic solutions was a product of “the spread of progressive ideas all around him.” Drawing on the work of historian Daniel T. Rodgers, Beito explains that much of this progressivism was coming from Germany where Bismarck’s emphasis on “paternalism and military-style efficiency” had captured the imaginations of American students who studied abroad. They brought back with them “German-inspired policies” such as “compulsory insurance, public housing, and zoning.” For his part, Roosevelt praised Germany because it had moved “beyond the liberty of the individual to do as he pleased with his own property and found it was necessary to check this liberty for the benefit of the freedom of the whole people.” Far from being the pragmatist that most historians cast Roosevelt as, Beito argues that he bathed in progressive waters and concluded early in his political career that American society needed to be “centered on cooperation rather than excessive competition.”

Beito shows that FDR harbored racist views of both Jews and Japanese Americans and infers that these contributed to the president’s poor treatment of both groups. The story of Japanese internment is well documented, and Roosevelt is beginning to get the blame that he deserves for that gross violation of justice. Beito’s discussion of FDR’s treatment of potential Jewish refugees, however, is newer and demonstrates a further dimension of his bigotry. As Nazi atrocities against German Jews began to surface in the mid-1930s, Roosevelt did nothing to help them migrate to the United States. Following Kristallnacht, his State Department rejected the United Kingdom’s willingness “to donate the unused capacity of its quota so the US could admit sixty thousand more German Jews.”

Daily economic insight in your mailbox.

Email

SUBSCRIBE

Further, FDR rejected calls from Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins “to admit the maximum combined quota for the next three years (82,000 in all).” Most tragically, when the German liner, the SS St. Louis, arrived off the coast of Florida carrying over 900 Jewish refugees, the administration not only did not admit them, the Coast Guard ensured that none of the refugees would be able to swim to freedom. Even after evidence of mass genocide in Europe reached Roosevelt, “the administration’s stance toward refugees showed no sign of shifting.” Beito concludes that “while FDR

and his advisors certainly viewed the Nazis as international gangsters, the plight of the Jews was never a priority.”

(14)

For those focused on FDR's economic policy, Beito agrees that the New Deal was ineffective and even counterproductive for bringing about economic recovery. He condemns the National Recovery Administration, the Federal Housing Administration, the Wagner Act, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for harming black Americans. Beito argues that Roosevelt created massive amounts of uncertainty that prevented economic recovery and did so by embracing a corporatism that emulated fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Even in areas where FDR is sometimes praised, such as his emphasis in encouraging more international trade, Beito demonstrates how progress sometimes came in spite of the president rather than because of him. In fact, Beito details how Roosevelt undermined the efforts of Cordell Hull to expand trade and reduce tariffs.

Finally, Beito challenges the narrative that FDR was a great wartime leader. In contrast, he depicts Roosevelt as prolonging the war with his insistence on “unconditional surrender.” Beito argues that the rigidity of these terms led the Nazis and the Japanese to fight on when they might have laid down their arms. He concludes that “after the US entered the war, the president's rigid stand for unconditional surrender worsened the destructive nature of the conflict.”

In making his case against FDR, Beito marshals evidence from his numerous publications, including his previous book *The New Deal's War on the Bill of Rights*. The result is a magnificently researched narrative that also serves as an introduction to numerous topics that Beito has long studied, including mutual aid societies, self-help organizations, the tax revolt of the 1920s, and more.

In a sense, *FDR: A New Political Life* feels like the crescendo of all the work that came before it. The book is a damning portrayal of America's thirty-second president.

Beito ultimately concludes that “FDR was a failed president primarily because he repeatedly put his considerable abilities at the service of far less laudable goals, including a ruthless preoccupation with personal and political advancement, self-defeating economic policies, and the erection of a vast and unaccountable centralized federal bureaucracy.” This short biography is worth the read, even for those who are well acquainted with Roosevelt's shortcomings. Beito has produced the most accessible and comprehensive critical account of FDR to date.

The Trump Surveillance State

15

by Andrew P. Napolitano | May 1, 2026 | 0 Comments

The Fourth Amendment protects all persons from warrantless government searches and seizures of their persons, houses, papers and effects. It requires that warrants be supported by probable cause of crime and specifically describe the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

Last week, for the first time in the modern era, the government argued to the Supreme Court of the United States that the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution did not outlaw general warrants. General warrants were issued in the colonial era by a secret court in London. They were not based on probable cause of crime or even on articulable suspicion about a potential defendant. They did not identify a target or state what crime was being investigated.

Rather, general warrants were based on governmental need; a meaningless standard as whatever the government wants it will tell a court it needs. The warrants authorized the bearer of the warrant to search wherever he wished and seize whatever he found.

The stated motivation for the general warrants was the British government's enforcement of the Stamp Act. That legislation required all colonists to have stamps affixed to all papers, books and newspapers in their possession. The enforcement of the Stamp Act was the government's fig leaf for spying.

We know that the true reason for the Stamp Act was to conduct surreptitious searches for revolutionary materials. We know this because during the one-year existence of the Stamp Act — 1765 — a group of enterprising students at the College of New Jersey, now known as Princeton University, calculated that more revenue was spent to enforce the act than was collected by the sale of the stamps.

Historians believe that the use of general warrants for the enforcement of the Stamp Act pushed many colonists into the independence camp 10 years later in 1775. The use of general warrants also motivated James Madison and his colleagues in 1791 to craft the Fourth Amendment whose specificity requirement “particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized” poignantly did away with search where you wish and seize whatever you find.

Until now.

Now, in one week on Capitol Hill, the right to privacy is facing its gravest challenges since pre-colonial days, in Congress and the Supreme Court. Congress will wrestle with Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, which expires in just days, and the court will hear a claim that general warrants are still viable.

Sec. 702 permits warrantless surveillance on Americans by permitting federal agents to use software that allows them to conduct surveillance of all fiber optic means of communication — mobile phones, message texting, emails — based on the lawful communications of some Americans to foreign persons and then their subsequent lawful communications to other Americans. The “other Americans” can include all 340 million of us.

Theoretically, the data gathered from these warrantless searches cannot be used for criminal prosecutions, since even the feds who do this spying have told members of

16

Congress that they recognize the need for search warrants to access the content of the data. There are at least two reasons that no one should believe what the feds have said. The first is the feds lie. In 2023, they accessed the content of the data thousands of times without warrants. The second reason is that Madison and the Fourth Amendment's ratifiers did not believe the government would restrain itself, hence the specificity requirement.

As if all this were not enough to keep those of us who monitor constitutional fidelity awake at night, this week the Trump administration actually told the court that it should be able to use general warrants if the target has failed to inform his service provider of his wish for privacy. Okello Chatrue was convicted of bank robbery when the feds persuaded a state judge to sign a search warrant for Google records that failed to identify a target, failed to articulate a crime and failed to specify what the government sought.

The warrant was for the ping records — the records of cellphones showing their location — of all cellphones in the vicinity of a bank that had been robbed on the day and at the time of the robbery. Then the feds persuaded another judge to sign another general warrant that ordered Google to unmask the identity of the owner/users of all those cellphones. This led them to several homes that the feds persuaded another judge to authorize them to raid.

All three of these warrants were in direct violation of the Fourth Amendment by failing to describe particularly the place to be searched or the persons or things to be seized. At trial before one of these constitutionally challenged judges, the defendant Chatrue was convicted on the basis of the Google pings and the loot found in his home.

The government is patting itself on the back. Yet, its agents and prosecutors took an oath to uphold the Fourth Amendment; just as the government's domestic spies have done; just as judges do.

Does anyone in the government take the Constitution seriously? If it means what it says — as the late Justice Antonin Scalia argued literally thousands of times — then why does the government evade it?

The Constitution is intended to be an obstacle to the government. Its principal value judgment is that the individual is sovereign, not the government; and the government can only do what the governed have affirmatively consented to allow it to do. And the governed have not consented to general warrants.

Justice Scalia recognized that the Fourth Amendment protects more than pings and loot. He knew it protects beliefs, thoughts, sensations and emotions when he famously wrote that “there is nothing new in the realization that the Constitution sometimes insulates the criminality of a few in order to protect the privacy of us all.”

**If you liked this article, please support [Antiwar.com](https://antiwar.com).
We are 100% reader-supported.**

Andrew P. Napolitano, a former judge of the Superior Court of New Jersey, is the senior judicial analyst at Fox News Channel. Judge Napolitano has written seven books on the US Constitution. The most recent is Suicide Pact: The Radical Expansion of Presidential Powers and the Lethal Threat to American Liberty. To find out more about Judge Napolitano and to read features by other Creators Syndicate writers and cartoonists, visit www.creators.com. COPYRIGHT 2025 ANDREW P. NAPOLITANO – DISTRIBUTED BY CREATORS.COM

The Global Sumud Flotilla to Gaza – A Cry at Sea to the World’s Dormant Conscience

HT

by Jamal Kanj | Apr 29, 2026 | News | 0 Comments

While the world’s attention has been hijacked by the new American, made-for-Israel war against Iran, a quieter act of resistance is gathering on the deep blue waters of the Mediterranean Sea. An act of defiance determined to remind the international community that there is no pause in Gaza’s genocide, and there will be none for those fighting to end it.

The Global Sumud Flotilla, (*sumud* means “steadfast” in Arabic), is now on its 2026 spring mission. International activists boarding close to 100 boats, with Greenpeace’s Arctic Sunrise providing technical and operational support, are sailing to Gaza under the slogan: *We sail until Palestine is free.*

The goal is clear, and against all odds, to establish a direct maritime corridor to Gaza’s shores, delivering what Israel’s blockade has long denied the more than 2.2 million human beings. The 1,000 multinational seafarers carry something harder to quantify: the accumulated moral weight of a world that has grown tired of watching governments perform concern while doing nothing.

Before speaking of what the flotilla is sailing toward, the world must first reckon with what it has chosen to normalize: Israeli occupation of 53 percent of Gaza. Its suffocating blockade controls every calorie that enters the strip, so precisely, so deliberately engineered, that humanitarian organizations have documented an official daily intake for Gaza’s children, a number calculated not to sustain life but to regulate its slow erosion. A supposed ceasefire that never ceased using food as a weapon in a war of starvation.

Since the October 10, 2025 ceasefire announcement, the headlines moved on, but Israel kept killing. Six months later, UN Human Rights Chief Volker Türk reported that at least 738 Palestinians had been murdered since that ceasefire took effect, with airstrikes, gunfire, and shelling continuing daily across the strip. “Palestinians have no blueprint for survival ... Whatever they do or don’t do, wherever they go or don’t go, there is no safety or protection afforded to them. It is hard to square this with a ceasefire,” he said.

It cannot be squared, because it is a one-sided ceasefire. More than six months on, Israel continues to cordon 2.2 million Palestinians into 47 percent of their own land, an open-air prison shrinking by the day, its walls drawn not in concrete but by the calculated silence of the international community. Homes, or what had remained of them at the time of the ceasefire, have since been systematically razed to the ground. More than one million human beings are not permitted to return, not even to pitch a tent over the rubble of what was once their home.

They are separated from their homes and farms by the so-called yellow line. In reality, it’s a red bloodline, demarcated not by markings, but by the corpses of murdered Palestinians. A moving death trap that follows Gazans into their streets, their neighborhoods, their tents. A father walking his child to what remains of a school. A woman carrying water back to a tent. A man standing outside because his home no longer has walls. Any of them, at any moment, can fall within the “bloodline” death coordinates, and be shot.

HT
MAY 4, 2026
ICRMC
PACKET



To hide the story, Israel kills the witnesses attempting to document the murder. On April 8, the Israeli military murdered another journalist, Mohamed Washah. Washah, the 294th Palestinian journalist targeted by Israel in Gaza since October 2023. According to Brown University, Watson School, as of April 2025, Israel “killed more journalists in Gaza than the U.S. Civil War, World Wars I and II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War (including the conflicts in Cambodia and Laos), the wars in Yugoslavia in the 1990s and 2000s, and the post-9/11 war in Afghanistan, combined.”

Israel has exported the same tactic to Lebanon, where the targeting of journalists and media workers has brought the total number of murdered Lebanese journalists to more than twenty. It is a regional Israeli strategy of silencing witnesses, not an isolated pattern of collateral damage. The number of murdered journalists in Palestine and Lebanon, are not just a statistic. It is an Israeli methodology. Where the blue helmet and the press vest have become Israeli military priorities, not because journalists carry weapons, but because Israel fears the camera more than it fears the gun.

This is why Gaza remains sealed to a *complicit* international press. A blackout designed to conceal what its killing machine is doing on the ground. When it cannot stop the truth from existing, it kills the locals who expose it. When it cannot stop the world from eventually seeing, it ensures, the world sees as little as possible, as late as possible, and filtered through its own hasbara's outlets. The camera is the enemy because the camera does not lie, does not accept military briefings as fact, and does not look away from a child pulled from under the rubble in Gaza, or a screeching cat rescuing its kitten from under concrete wreckage in Lebanon. Evidence is the one thing that cannot be bombed into rubble, or starved into submission, so it murders the bearers of the truth.

The Global Sumud Flotilla understands this. Among those sailing are journalists, documentarians, and human rights monitors. People of conscience who have chosen to place their bodies between Gaza and the world's forgetting. Israel has intercepted previous attempts in international waters many times before, jamming their signals, seizing their vessels, humiliating activists, and dragging them into custody. It'll certainly try again. But the calculus of the world's public opinion has shifted. Every interception is new proof, and every crew member taken in the dark Mediterranean night is a witness who will tell a story.

Israel has the most sophisticated military hardware American taxpayers' money can buy. Its drones hunt journalists by name, and a diplomatic shield held in place by Washington's veto. What it neither has nor can manufacture is the power to kill an idea whose time has come. The flotilla sails, again, because Gazans have not surrendered. It sails because the blue helmet and the press vest, though stained with the blood of nearly 300 journalists, still mean something to the people who wear them. Activists, representing the best of humanity, have come from all seven continents because history is being written beneath the stars and across the cobalt waters. They stand apart in a world that has chosen to look away.

Yet, and for all its firepower, Israel has not found a weapon capable of extinguishing people's determination to stand up against injustice. Gaza will be free. The only question is, how many flotillas must sail, and how many witnesses must be murdered before the world's conscience awakens.

Jamal Kanj (www.jamalkanj.com) an author who had written weekly newspaper column and publishes on several websites on Arab world issues. He is the author of Children of Catastrophe, Journey from a Palestinian Refugee Camp to America. His recent coauthored book Bride of the Sea was published in Germany and Poland. He can be reached at jamal@jamalkanj.com.