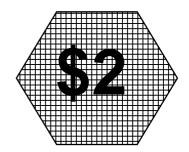
Out of their mouths

Planning the new world order

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By Anna Pha



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Out of their own mouths

"Maintaining imperial order"

Empires have come and gone in world history – the Roman empire, the Mongols, the British and Ottoman empires. The objective of the leaders of Nazi Germany was world domination but they were resisted and they failed. The British empire disintegrated after WW2. Now, a new and even more powerful and dangerous nation has launched its crusade for a New World Order – a new world-wide American empire. They have become so arrogant that they do not hide their objectives and the ways by which they intend to enforce their domination. This article, the first of three, brings you what their spokespersons have said. Now read on ...

"The United States has no rival. We are militarily dominant around the world. Our military spending exceeds that of the next six or seven powers combined, and we have a monopoly on many advanced and not so advanced military technologies. We, and only we, form and lead military coalitions into war. We use our military dominance to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, because the local inhabitants are killing each other, or harbouring enemies of the United States, or developing nuclear and biological weapons." (S R Rosen, "The Future of War and the American Military", *Harvard Magazine*, May-June 2002)

"A political unit that has overwhelming superiority in military power, and uses that power to influence the internal behaviour of other states, is called an empire. Because the United States does not seek to control territory or govern the overseas citizens of the empire, we are an indirect empire, to be sure, but an empire nonetheless. If this is correct, **our goal is not combating a rival, but maintaining our imperial position, and maintaining imperial order**." (Emphasis added) "[I]mperial strategy focuses on preventing the emergence of powerful, hostile challengers to the empire: by war if necessary, but by imperial assimilation if possible", writes Rosen.

You may say that this is just extremist language but its author is part of a circle of very powerful and dangerous people and organisations who are in control of the Bush administration's foreign policy. (See article opposite for details of some of these people and their organisations.)

In September 2000, prior to Bush's appointment to the US presidency and one year before the September 11 attack on the World Trade Centre, the Project for a New American Century (PNAC) (one of the many US think tanks) published a statement called *Rebuilding America's Defense: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century.*

The report identifies core tasks for the US military to achieve. These include:

"MAINTAIN NUCLEAR STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY ...

"DEVELOP AND DEPLOY GLOBAL MISSILE DEFENCES to defend America and American allies and to provide a secure basis for US power projection around the world.

"CONTROL THE NEW 'INTERNATIONAL COMMONS' OF SPACE AND 'CYBERSPACE', and pave the way for the creation of a new military service – US Space Forces – with the mission of space control.

"EXPLOIT THE 'REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS' to ensure longterm superiority of US conventional forces....

"INCREASE DEFENCE SPENDING gradually to a minimum level of 3.5 to 3.8 percent of gross domestic product, adding \$15 billion to \$20 billion to total defence spending annually." (PNAC) (Upper case from the original text)

Michael Ledeen is a member of another of the "think tanks" – the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). He published an article "We'll Win this War" in the AEI's *The American Enterprise* magazine in December 2001.

"We must wage revolutionary war against all the terrorist regimes, and gradually replace them with governments that turn to their own people's freely expressed desires as the basis of their political legitimacy", he writes.

"If we act like the revolutionary force we truly are, **we can once again reshape the world, as we repeatedly did throughout the last century**. But if we settle for token victories and limited accomplishments, we will permit our enemies to reorganize, and attack us with even greater venom in the future." (emphasis added)

Shock and Awe warfare

Shock and Awe is the method of warfare to achieve these goals. It has just been tested in Iraq. It is explained by Rosen:

"The maximum amount of force can and should be used as quickly as possible for psychological impact – to demonstrate that the empire cannot be challenged with impunity ... [W]e are in the business of bringing down hostile governments and creating governments favourable to us.

"Conventional international wars end and troops are brought back home. Imperial wars end, but imperial garrisons must be left in place for decades to ensure order and stability. This is, in fact, what we are beginning to see, first in the Balkans and now in Central Asia....

This type of warfare is explained in the strategy document, *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominanc*e, which was published by the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) in 1996. It says:

"The military posture and capability of the United States of America are, today, dominant. Simply put, there is no external adversary in the world that can successfully challenge the extraordinary power of the American military in either regional conflict or in 'conventional' war as we know it once the United States makes the commitment to take whatever action may be needed." (Emphasis added)

Rapid Domination

"The aim of Rapid Dominance is to affect the will, perception, and understanding of the adversary to fit or respond to our strategic policy ends through imposing a regime of Shock and Awe.

"Clearly, the traditional military aim of destroying, defeating, or neutralizing the adversary's military capability is a fundamental and necessary component of Rapid Dominance. Our intent, however, is to field a range of capabilities to induce sufficient Shock and Awe to render the adversary impotent. This means that physical and psychological effects must be obtained.

"Dominance' means the ability to affect and dominate an adversary's will both physically and psychologically. Physical dominance includes the ability to destroy, disarm, disrupt, neutralize, and to render impotent. (Emphasis added)

"Psychological dominance means the ability to destroy, defeat, and neuter the will of an adversary to resist; or convince the adversary to accept our terms and aims short of using force. The target is the adversary's will, perception, and understanding....

"... deception, confusion, misinformation, and disinformation, perhaps in massive amounts, must be employed." (Emphasis added)

"Theoretically, the magnitude of Shock and Awe Rapid Dominance seeks to impose (in extreme cases) is the non-nuclear equivalent of the impact that the atomic weapons dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had on the Japanese...

"The impact of those weapons was sufficient to transform both the mindset of the average Japanese citizen and the outlook of the leadership through this condition of Shock and Awe. The Japanese simply could not comprehend the destructive power carried by a single airplane. This incomprehension produced a state of awe....

"It will imply more than the direct application of force. It will mean the ability to control the environment and to master all levels of an opponent's activities to affect will, perception, and understanding.

"This could include means of communication, transportation, food production, water supply, and other aspects of infrastructure as well as the denial of military responses. **Deception, misinformation, and disinformation are key components in this assault on the will and understanding of the opponent**..." (Emphasis added)

The JINSA document continues: "The first priority of a doctrine of Rapid Dominance should be to deter, alter, or affect the will and therefore those actions that are either unacceptable to U.S. national security interests or endanger the democratic community of states and access to free markets...

"Should deterrence fail, the application of Rapid Dominance in these circumstances should create sufficient Shock and Awe to the immediate threat forces and leadership as well as provide a clear message for other potential threat partners. The doctrine of Rapid Dominance ... has applications in a variety of areas such as countering WMD, terrorism, and perhaps other tasks.

"... in addition to improving our force capabilities, the US must develop an intelligence repository far more extensive than during the Cold War, covering virtually all the important regions and organizational structures throughout the world." (JINSA)

Space control

Space control is also necessary in the eyes of the imperial war hawks. As long ago as 1976, the Joint Strategy Review by the National Defense Panel said, "Unrestricted use of space has become a major strategic interest of the United States." (as quoted in *Rebuilding America's Defenses*)

"Building an effective, robust, layered, global system of missile defenses is a prerequisite for maintaining American preeminence." (PNAC)

"The Clinton Administration's adherence to the 1972 ABM Treaty frustrated development of useful ballistic missile defenses", says the PNAC strategy document.

"No system of missile defenses can be fully effective without placing sensors and weapons in space ... US armed forces are uniquely dependent upon space." (PNAC)

"The US Space Command foresees that in the coming decades, ... an adversary might also share the same commercial satellite services for communications, imagery, and navigation... The space playing 'field is levelling' rapidly, so US forces will be increasingly vulnerable." (PNAC) (Italics in original)

"For US armed forces to continue to assert military preeminence, **control** of **space** – defined by Space Command as 'the ability to assure access to space, freedom of operations within the space medium, and an ability to deny others the use of space' – **must be an essential element of** our military strategy." (Emphasis added)

"As Space Command also recognizes, the United States must also have the capability to deny America's adversaries the use of commercial space platforms for military purposes in times of crises."

"But, over the longer term, maintaining control of space will inevitably require the application of force both in space and from space, including but not limited to anti-missile defenses and defensive systems capable of protecting US and allied satellites; space control cannot be sustained in any other fashion, with conventional land, sea or airforce, or by electronic warfare." (Emphasis added) (PNAC)

Nuclear weapons

"Shutting the country down would entail both the physical destruction of appropriate infrastructure and the shutdown and control of the flow of all vital information and associated commerce so rapidly as to achieve a level of national shock akin to the effect that dropping nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had on the Japanese. Simultaneously, Iraq's armed forces would be paralysed with the neutralization or destruction of its capabilities. Deception, disinformation, and misinformation would be applied massively." (JINSA)

This does not rule out the use, development or testing of nuclear weapons. *Rebuilding America's Defences* (PNAC) is quite categoric on this question. The maintenance of a moratorium on nuclear tests is "an untenable situation" it says.

"... there may be a need to develop a new family of nuclear weapons designed to address new sets of military requirements, such as would be required in targeting the very deep underground, hardened bunkers that are being built by many of our potential adversaries." (Emphasis added)

"US nuclear superiority is nothing to be ashamed of; rather, it will be an essential element in preserving American leadership in a more complex and chaotic world." (Emphasis added) (PNAC)

Justifying the unjustifiable

American leaders and the various "think tanks" that provide them with strategic plans to achieve their objective of world domination, often find it hard to justify the unjustifiable. *The Guardian* brings more statements of these institutes that graphically illustrate the thinking behind their theories for "pre-emptive strikes" and military intervention. (See *The Guardian* 25-6-03 for Part 1 and article on the institutes and their main spokespersons quoted in this article, and their government and other connections.)

"Without a 'clear and present danger' such as the Axis Powers in 1941 or, later, the Soviet Union to coalesce public agreement on the threat, it is difficult to construct a supporting strategy that can be effective either in setting priorities or objectives."

The quote is from a strategy document called *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance*, which was published by the powerful right-wing think-tank, the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA).

The JINSA document tackles this question: "In assessing the future utility and applicability of Rapid Dominance, it is crucial to consider the political context in which force is likely to be employed. As we enter the next century, the probability is low that an overriding, massive, direct threat posed by a peer-competitor to the U.S. will emerge in the near term. Without compelling reasons, public tolerance toward American sacrifice abroad will remain low and may even decrease.

"This reluctance on the part of Americans to tolerate pain is directly correlated to perceptions of threat to U.S. interests.

"Americans have always appreciated rapid and decisive military solutions. But, many challenges or crises in the future are likely to be marginal to U.S. interests and therefore may not be resolvable before American political staying power is exhausted.

"Americans prefer not to intervene, especially when the direct threat to the U.S. is ambiguous, tenuous, or difficult to define. Therefore, when intervention is necessary there is likely to be both a political and practical imperative to have allied or international involvement or at least the political cover of the UN, NATO, or appropriate NGOs...

These words of caution have now been thrown to the winds. Bush and those like the Australian Government that support "pre-emptive strike" and the "failed state" theory have been provided with the causes to justify their actions. They are the "war against terrorism", "weapons of mass destruction" and "regime change" to be used against selected targets defined by "those who are not with us are against us". Although American propaganda still seeks to convince the world that the US is motivated by benevolent attitudes the reality is different.

Bob Woodward has graphically illustrated the reality in his book *Bush at War* in describing a scene in Afghanistan. He writes: "On February 5, 2002, about 25 men representing three different Special Forces unites and three CIA paramilitary teams gathered outside Gardez in Afghanistan...

"The men stood or kneeled on this desolate site in front of a helicopter. An American flag was standing in the background. There was a pile of rocks arranged as a tombstone. One of the men read a prayer. Then he said, 'We consecrate this spot as an everlasting memorial to brave Americans who died on September 11, so that all who would seek to do her harm will know that America will not stand by and watch terror prevail.

"We will export death and violence to the four corners of the earth in defence of our great nation." (emphasis added)

Two approaches

The war hawks at the Pentagon are quite intolerant of different views, even to those that predominate the US State Department.

"There are two world views in conflict about [US] foreign policy. One world view is of process, politeness and accommodation. The other world view is a world view of facts, values and outcomes", says Newt Gingrich the former Republican Speaker of the US House of Representatives and a rabid war hawk and extreme conservative.

"President Bush clearly represents the latter world view, with his focus on facts, values and outcomes. The State Department, as an institution, and the Foreign Service, as a culture, clearly represents the former, with a focus on process, politeness and accommodation...." (Gingrich, American Enterprise Institute (AEI) transcript April 22, 2003) "From President Bush's clear choice between two worlds, the State Department had descended into a murky game in which the players were deceptive and the rules were stacked against the United States. The State Department's Communications Program failed during these five months to such a degree that 95 percent of the Turkish people opposed the American [war against Iraq]".

Gingrich goes on to describe the State Department's communications as a failure, "as a result of which the South Korean people regarded the United States as more dangerous than North Korea and a vast majority of French and German citizens favored policies that opposed the United States.

"As the State Department remained ineffective and incoherent, the French launched a worldwide campaign to undermine the American position and make the replacement of the Saddam dictatorship very difficult." (Gingrich, AEI April 22, 2003)

Iraq – US there to stay

When speaking to the public, the US war hawks would have us believe that they are motivated by good intentions towards their victims: "For the first time in decades, the wealth of Iraq will be devoted to the welfare of its people, not to palaces and armies and instruments of repression. Economic development will require the protection of Iraq's natural resources and infrastructure", said Paul Wolfowitz (AEI transcript, April 10, 2003).

"Much has been achieved already but additional efforts are underway to protect Iraq's oil fields and preserve them as a national asset, and to restore oil production as quickly as possible to provide the Iraqi people with the primary source of revenue.

"While the coalition will be involved at the outset, the goal is to have production and marketing responsibility in the hands of a stable Iraqi authority as soon as possible."

Richard Perle, one of the leading ideologues behind the Bush attack on Iraq, is more honest about their real intentions.

When speaking at an AEI forum he said, "Iraq, fortunately, has a continuing revenue stream from the production of oil, which should go a long way toward financing the reconstruction of the country. And whether there will be private financing, to make that money available immediately against future revenues is one way to do it, or by international contributions, I don't know.

"I don't know that there's any judgment on that. But private companies will end up doing the work almost certainly, as there is simply no other way of doing it." (Perle, AEI transcript, March 21, 2003)

While they are talking, the Americans are drawing up Iraq's constitution and handing over oil production to US oil corporations. In the main, US corporations are being given contracts to rebuild the infrastructure they destroyed using the Iraqi people's oil to fund this "aid".

If their occupation is successful, the US can be expected to pull Iraq out of the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and put the US dollar back in control. (Iraq had converted to the Euro during Saddam Hussein's rule.)

"We do not want a replay of the [first] Gulf War. This time we must fight for keeps." (Michael Ledeen, *The American Enterprise Magazine*, (AEI) December 2001)

But, "Iraq is not the war"

"And ... [what] I've said from the beginning, is that this is a battle in a longer war. Iraq is not the war. And the war is a regional war, and we cannot be successful in Iraq if we only do Iraq alone. And I think that the terror countries bordering Iraq, namely, Iran and Syria, know that", says Ledeen. (AEI, transcript, March 21, 2003)

Ledeen continues: "I think that the Iranians and the Syrians fully intend to do everything in their power to destabilize our efforts in Iraq once the war is over and once we're in stable positions on the ground. And there are two models for that. One is Lebanon in the 1980s and Afghanistan today.

"You probably noticed that at the same time the war is going on in Iraq, we have launched many hundreds if not thousands of soldiers in attacks against Iranian-sponsored terrorists in Afghanistan, who are trying to make sure that we don't have success there."

The new crusades

Pullitzer prize-winning Charles Krauthammer confirms it is not just about Iraq. Krauthammer is from the American Enterprise Institute and columnist for the *Washington Post*.

He told the AEI: "I would argue that we have now lived through the 19 months, which stand on an equal plain in their audacity, success and revolutionary nature. The 19 months, of course, are from September 11, 2001, to April 9, 2003, a period which, in responding to an attack out of the blue, this administration has redefined the world, reoriented American foreign policy and put in place a profound new approach..."

"The main reason that we are doing this is for protection of the United States and America at home and abroad.

"Our only hope of eradicating the kind of hatred, enmity and fanaticism which gave us a 9/11 is to see a revolution in the Arab World, and this will not be overnight, but to try to change the cauldron in which that radicalism, anti-Americanism, hatred and fanaticism has been bred. And you start that by democratizing societies, bringing in a decent society, decent education, and I think that is the long-run project. That's the meaning of the war on Iraq. (Krauthammer, AEI April 22, 2003)

"We ought to make the Syrians think that anything is possible. We are in a position, after the shock and awe of this war, of influencing the behavior, if not the composition, of regimes in Iran, Syria and elsewhere. "We ought to use the uncertainty in the region to try to impose changes in behavior on regimes like that in Damascus and leave them wondering and thinking." (Krauthammer, AEI April 22, 2003)

"The common denominator of our enemies in the Middle East is tyranny. The terror masters are all tyrants. So Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran, and Iraq are all tyrannies. And I believe until these tyrannies are brought down we will continue to have terrorism." (Ledeen, Fox News Channel interview May 10, 2002)

"The Saudis finance all the terror. The Iranians design it, the Iraqis support it, and the Saudis finance it. And the Saudis are the producers of the basic non-Shiite doctrine.

"There are two schools of Islam, so there are two kinds of terrorism, there's Shiite terrorism and Sunni terrorism. Wahabi terrorism is Saudi, it's a Saudi invention, it's a Saudi product, it's preached in Saudi mosques, it's spread around the world in Saudi textbooks, even in the United States." (Ledeen, Ibid)

"This new century now challenges the hopes for a new world order in new ways. We will not defeat or even contain fanatical terror unless we can carry the war to the territories from which it is launched. This will sometimes require that we use force against states that harbour terrorists, as we did in destroying the Taliban regime in Afghanistan." (Perle, *The Spectator*, March 29, 2003)

The United Nations Perle said, "Is simply not up to the task."

"We are left with coalitions of the willing. Far from disparaging them as a threat to a new world order, we should recognize that they are, by default, the best hope for that order, and the true alternative to the anarchy of the abject failure of the United Nations. (Perle, *The Spectator*, March 29, 2003)

Krauthammer pushes the concept of preemption which has been long practiced by US administrations, but not normally openly declared as policy – well, not until

Preemption George W came to office.

"[W]e know that we can be attacked out of the blue, in the context of a world where we have democratized the knowledge of how to make and acquire weapons of mass destruction. We cannot afford to wait to be attacked again because if we are attacked again with weapons of mass destruction, the results would be so catastrophic as to be unimaginable. Therefore, we must, necessarily, have a policy of preemption."

"Now, the problem is that preemption is an uncomfortable idea, not because of moral or legal reasons. Morally, I think it is unsalable, and in terms of international law, international law is useful in regulating the fishery rights off Newfoundland, but they have nothing to say about matters of war and peace, particularly between civilized states and terrorist states." (Krauthammer, AEI, April 22, 2003)

Krauthammer ignores the Charter of the United Nations that provides in detail how relations between states are to be regulated and international law applied.

"There must also be an appropriate political context that justifies the use of preemptive force, as opposed to less destructive or non-lethal types of sanctions (e.g., responses to terrorism in the case of Libya, invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, exports of WMD to a threatening country such as Iran, the North Korean threat to South Korea and Japan)." (JINSA *Shock* & Awe)

"The struggle against global terrorism is different from any other war in our history. It will be fought on many fronts against a particularly elusive enemy over an extended period of time", warns the strategy document, quoting from a government document, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002. And when there are no weapons of mass destruction or regime changes to justify intervention there is always the idea of "failed states". Some political or economic instability, some serious conflict between social groups, some ethnic conflict can be used to justify a claim of "failed state".

This is what the Australian Government is using for its intended occupation and re-colonisation of the Solomon Islands. The Australian Government's blueprint is outlined in a report called *Our Failing Neighbour* which was produced by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute – a governmentfunded "independent" think-tank.

Iraq, a battle in a longer war

Dig a little deeper than the rhetoric and lies of politicians and their propagandists, and one will find the advisers and ideologues who develop and dictate policy on behalf of the corporate sector. They are to be found in the various think-tanks, on government advisory bodies, in the corridors of academia and in the corporate board rooms. This is the third and final article in a series looking at what some of these power brokers are saying and their plans for a new US imperial order. The first two articles and some background details on the power brokers quoted in the series can be found in the previous two issues of *The Guardian* (25-6-03 & 2-7-03).

"With Saddam Hussein condemned to the ash-heap of history ... The real question now is how the United States can leverage its victory in Iraq to uphold, expand, and institutionalize Pax Americana." (Thomas Donnelly, "Preserving American Primacy, Institutionalizing Unipolarity", American Enterprise Institute (AEI), April 22, 2003)

"Institutionalizing unipolarity' is not an unachievable aim. To begin with, Americans have the experience of creating the international institutions that helped manage the crises of the cold war; despite their recent failures ... NATO and the United Nations have generally proved to be very useful tools of US statecraft", says Donnelly. The agenda is global domination by US imperialism in a post-Soviet world, where all states accept US leadership and "values", adopt "free markets" and other IMF and WTO policies or are deemed to be enemies requiring regime change and disciplining.

Iran, Syria, Libya, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), the People's Republic of China and Cuba head the list of "rogue states" in line for US treatment. They are portrayed as being governed by despotic dictatorships, assisting terrorists, possessing weapons of mass destruction, selling weapons to failed states, and as posing a danger to the freedom loving, democratic, civilised world led by the US.

September 11 and the Bali bombings served them well as excuses to wage "war on terrorism". But the Bush administration is now running into difficulties with its plans for future wars and conquests as more people come forward with information exposing the lies that were used to justify the war against and occupation of Iraq. (See page 12 for a few of these lies.)

The British Government is also facing difficulties as its own MPs and many others question the principal reason given for going to war: weapons of mass destruction.

"Mother of modern terrorism"

The preparatory work of softening up the public, particularly in the Murdoch media, is well under way for future operations in Iran, Syria and other countries on the hit list.

"Support for terror is an integral part of both regimes [Iran and Syria], and it is impossible to win the war on terrorism so long as the two regimes are in power. The good news is that both are very vulnerable to political attack", says policy adviser and AEI member Michael Ledeen, ("The End of the Beginning", *The Spectator*, June 28, 2003)

"And if you're going to be serious about that, then dealing with Iran and bringing down the regime in Iran is the central act because Iran is the world's most dangerous terrorist country. It's the mother of modern terrorism. It invented jihadism. It created Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad. I mean, Iran is the centerpiece of the war." (Michael Ledeen, AEI transcript March 21, 2003)

Bombs and missiles are not the only option open for bringing down the regime. There are other methods such as covert work, assassinations, coups, organising and assisting opposition forces. There are differences in the US administration as to the best method of achieving a compliant regime in Iran that is to the US's liking.

Former Minister in the Polish Government and leader in Solidarinosc Radek Sikorski says: "I have been contacted by Iranian students who want to know how we formed Solidarity and how Solidarity worked to overthrow the communist regime. Therefore I think Mike [Ledeen] is right." (AEI transcript, March 21, 2003)

"In the case of Iran, you really see us more in a diplomatic, psychological, political offensive, trying to ally ourselves with younger Iranians, rather than in the kind of military operation that we might need, say in Baghdad." (arch-reactionary Newt Gingrich, Fox News Channel interview May 10, 2002)

Israel

Possession of and development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are used as an excuse for economic sanctions, intervention or preemptive strike. But not when these weapons are in Israel's hands. The US and other Western countries have remained deadly silent about Israel's possession of such weapons, including nuclear weapons.

Gingrich has no problem in handling that contradiction: "My only comment on possession of weapons of mass destruction would be that whether or not Israel has them – and everyone agrees they do have them – they clearly have refused to use them, and they clearly exist for the purpose of deterrence.

Reuel Marc Gerecht of the AEI goes further in defending Israel's possession of nuclear weapons. He says "the Israeli nuclear arsenal is

I think the primary check on the Iranians engaging in what you might call open, naughty, aggressive behavior ..." (AEI transcript, May 6, 2003) His admission of their existence is rare among US and other Western leaders or media.

North Korea

The power brokers have their own plans regarding the re-unification of Korea.

"While Korean unification might call for the reduction in American presence on the peninsula and a transformation of US force posture in Korea, the changes would really reflect a *change* in their mission – and changing technological realities – not the *termination* of their mission.

"Moreover, in any realistic post-unification scenario, US forces are likely to have some role in stability operations in North Korea. ... it is not too early to recognize that the presence of American forces in Korea serves a larger and longer-range strategic purpose." (Project for New American Century (PNAC) *Rebuilding America's Defenses*)

Radek Sikorski does not mince words on North Korea either. He is not interested in the technical details of its warheads and missiles. "It is the nature of the North Korean regime, and not its armaments, that threaten us. And that regime is beyond evil. We can only be secure when it finds itself on the ash-heap of history where it belongs."

North Korea is both an ideological threat with its socialist path of development and also of strategic importance to the US because of its border with China.

China

"China is not yet powerful enough to be a challenger to the American empire, and the goal of the United States is to prevent that challenge from emerging. China will be a major economic and military power in a generation", says Stephen Rosen. (*Harvard Magazine*, "The Future of War and the American Military", May-June 2002) "If Chinese political reforms are successful, and the Chinese government ceases to be a dictatorship ... the government of China will concentrate on improving the lives of its own people, and participating in the world order led by the United States", says Rosen.

"Raising US military strength in East Asia is the key to coping with the rise of China to great-power status. For this to proceed peacefully, US armed forces must retain their military preeminence and thereby reassure our regional allies." (PNAC *Rebuilding America's Defenses*)

Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Japan play a part in providing forces, weapons, communications facilities and bases in the plans of the US to defeat China.

Cuba

Tiny Cuba only 90 kilometres off the coast of the USA is one of the biggest thorns in the side of the Bush administration. It spreads "poison" across the Americas by providing free education and health services to its people. Its socialist ideology and genuine people's democracy is an anathema to everything these right-wing forces stand for.

US Secretary of State Colin Powell challenged the Organisation of American States on June 9, 2003, at an annual meeting of Foreign Ministers to join the US in finding ways to "hasten the inevitable democratic transition in Cuba".

Mark Falcoff, writing for the AEI, speculates on the future of Cuba: "in the near and perhaps even the medium term, Fidel Castro has nothing to worry about. His control of the island is all but absolute, and he enjoys a remarkable degree of support in the foreign press and in the so-called international community.

"In the long run, however, his country's future is very problematic indeed ... its entire national identity is based on its being the most aggressive and intransigent enemy of the United States at the United Nations and the so-called nonaligned movement." (June 3, 2003)

United Nations

The US has taken the law into its own hands (not the first time by any means), and makes no pretence of respecting international law – except when it gets what it wants.

"In the heady aftermath of the Allied victory in the second world war, the hope that security could be made collective was reposed in the United Nations Security Council – with abject results." (Richard Perle, "United they Fall", *The Spectator*, March 29, 2003)

"The Bush administration went to the UN. They tried to get the support. They couldn't get the support. They said, fine, you chose not to support us, we're going to go ahead and get the allies we can and do what we think is necessary." (Kristol, AEI transcript March 21, 2003, on going to war against Iraq)

Perle also has little time for the UN: "Now, for world health and agriculture and other things, it's fine, and for peacekeeping, it's fine. But ... we need either new institutions or a radically reformed approach to the United Nations if the UN is going to be relevant to the security concerns that we now face. (Perle, AEI March 21, 2003)

Ledeen also weighs in: "... one of the great accomplishments of the Bush administration [was] showing that we don't need the United Nations for serious international operations ... actually it was Clinton who showed that because that was Bosnia. Right? The UN voted against Bosnia, and we went ahead and did it anyway.

"Sometimes we seem to forget that, you know, as if Bush acting, as the rhetoric puts it, in contempt of international opinion and the United Nations is something new. It's not new." (Ledeen, AEI, March 21, 2003)

Warning to others

"So what we have produced, I think, is a revolution in military doctrine, a revolution in national security doctrine, and also a revolution in the region and the world in understanding what the power of the United States is and what it is capable of doing ... So we ought to do what we have to do, alone if we have to ..." (Krauthammer, AEI April 22, 2003) J

The Power Brokers

While US President George W Bush gives the appearance of being an ignorant, uneducated and semi-literate idiot, the forces behind him are none of these things. They consist of an interlocking group of highly organised, well educated, extremely wealthy and sophisticated group of individuals and organisations. Bush is their public mouthpiece whose appointment to the presidency by the US Supreme Court also put them in office. Their policies, which were drafted over the past decade in readiness for the Republicans gaining control of the White House, are now being implemented by the Bush administration.

Ten years ago, they would have been considered on the fringe – too far to the Right to be taken seriously. Now they dictate military and foreign policy. Bush shares their highly dangerous and ultra-conservative politics and ideology.

This grouping brings together ultra-Right (neo-conservative) Christians, equally extremist (pro-Sharon/Likud) Zionists and certain corporate interests including weapons manufacturers, oil corporations and a section of the media including outlets owned by Murdoch.

In addition to being in government many are members of a group of "think tanks" with overlapping memberships.

A number of them are to be found on the Bush administration's Defense Policy Advisory Committee Board (**DPB**). The DPB gives allegedly 23 "independent" policy advice to the Secretary of Defence and his deputies. Almost all of Board's 30 or so members are from the private business sector.

The Center for Pubic Integrity reports that the Board's members have ties to leading military corporations such as Boeing, TRW, Northrop Grumman, Lockheed Martin and Booz Allen Hamilton and "at least nine have ties to companies that have won more than \$US76 billion in defense contracts in 2001 and 2002". Some are registered lobbyists for defense contractors.

In many respects these powerful, privately sponsored institutes have become the most listened to advisers to the Government, a role more often associated with government departments whose staff are directly employed by the State. This is one form of the "privatisation of government" that is now taking place in Australia.

Policy-wise these organisations advocate:

* US global domination and control over and exploitation of the world's peoples and resources, imposed by military means if necessary;

* US leadership rather than UN leadership and the rejection of international treaties where they do not serve the interests of US imperialism;

* increased military expenditure, in particular the construction of a "national missile defence system" – Star Wars II;

* unilateral intervention by the US anywhere in the world, with or without UN support. Where it is not possible to form a coalition under US leadership, the US will act alone;

* pre-emptive wars, the first strike use of nuclear weapons and strong opposition to arms controls treaties;

* "regime change" in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia and the Palestinian Authority;

* the Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands and support for Sharon's genocidal policies;

* the rolling back and privatisation of social services such as public health and public education;

* support for "free trade", "free markets", the World Bank and World Trade Organisation;

It goes without saying, that while preaching freedom and democracy, they are rabidly anti-trade union and anti-communist.

The notes below give a brief overview of some of the policy "think tanks", their leading figures and their links to government. It is by no means a complete picture.

Organisations

AEI – American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research is an extremely powerful right-wing think tank and policy developer. More than 20 of its people are working for the Bush administration. It has a budget of around US\$20 million. It is "dedicated to preserving and strengthening the foundations of freedom – limited government, private enterprise, vital cultural and political institutions and strong foreign policy and national defense". It publishes the *American Enterprise* magazine and holds regular seminars with high ranking speakers from government and military.

Its members include Lynne Cheney (Dick's wife), Thomas Donnelly, Reuel Marc Gerecht, Newt Gingrich, Robert Helms, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Irving Kristol, Michael Ledeen, Richard Perle, Radek Sikorski.

JINSA – Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs is another powerful ultra right-wing "think tank" which publicly declares that "there

is no Israeli occupation". It has succeeded in its campaign to make Israeli "security" a central feature of US foreign policy.

PNAC – Project for a New American Century is a leading neoconservative think-tank advocated "regime change" in Iraq long before Bush came to office. Its white paper **Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for the New Century** was published in September 2000. It is almost identical to government policy – even the language used.

Its members include Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, Bill Kristol, John Bolton and Lewis Libby – all powerful operators in directing US foreign and military policy.

Other important institutions include: The Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, the Center for Security Policy (CSP), Enterprise America and the New Atlantic Initiative (NAI).

The People

Some of those named below may not be household names but they are extremely powerful in the Bush administration. Many are to be found in one or another or even several of the above "think tanks".

Bolton, John is the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control in the State Department. He is a PNAC member and was on the JINSA board of advisers prior to joining the Bush administration. He is believed to have been a prime architect of the Iraq policy of the US.

Cheney, Dick is the Vice-President to Bush and a leading war-hawk. He is a founding member of PNAC and was on JINSA's board of advisers until taking office. He was Defence Secretary under Bush Snr and Halliburton chairman, whose subsidiary Kellogg Brown and Root has secured lucrative contracts from the US army. He is a trustee of AEI and has numerous oil links including Chevron. His wife Lynne sat on the board of Lockheed Martin which makes Cruise missiles. **Donnelly, Thomas** is deputy executive director PNAC and principal author of *Rebuilding America's Defences* (PNAC) He is a columnist for *The Washington Times* and executive editor of *The National Interest.* His articles are also published in *The Weekly Standard, The Washington Post, Jane's Defence Week* and he appears on FoxNews. He is a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy. He is the director of strategic communications and initiatives of the Lockheed Martin Corporation (2002).

Feith, Douglas was a JINSA board member before joining the Bush administration and is the third highest ranking executive in the Pentagon being the Under-Secretary for Policy. He has represented Northrop Grumman, a major arms manufacturer, as a lawyer and selects members for the government's Defence Policy Board.

Gerecht, Reuel Marc is a resident fellow of AEI and the director of the Middle East Initiative at PNAC and writes for *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Weekly Standard, The New Republic, The Washington Post, The New York Times* and other publications. He was a CIA Middle East specialist and consultant on Afghanistan for CBS News

Gingrich, Newt is on the NAI advisory board and a senior fellow of AEI. He was Republican Speaker for the US House of Representatives (1995-1999) and an analyst for Fox News.

Kirkpatrick, Jeane is on the advisory boards of NAI, JINSA; and the CSP. She is a senior fellow of AEI. Her former positions include membership of the Defence Policy Review Board and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, US representative to the United Nations and member of White House cabinet.

Kristol, Bill is chairman of PNAC and on the advisory board of NAI. He is editor of the Washington-based *The Weekly Standard* (a Rupert Murdoch paper). He appears regularly on television as a leading political analyst and helped shape the 1994 Republican Congressional victory. He served as chief of staff to Vice-President Dan Quayle.

Ledeen, Michael is a foreign policy expert and former consultant to the National Security Council, the State Department and the Defence Department. He is a resident scholar of AEI in the Freedom Chair and on the JINSA advisory board. His articles include "Syria and Iran Must Get Their Turn".

Libby, I Lewis is a founding member of PNAC and Cheney's Chief of Staff. He served in the Defence Department under Bush Snr and sits on the board of the Rand Corporation which has lucrative contracts with the Pentagon.

Perle, Richard is a member of PNAC and JINSA's board of advisers. Until recently he was chairman of the Pentagon's Defence Policy Advisory Board but stood down amidst controversy over his relations with the failed Global Crossing corporation. He is a resident fellow of AEI.

He writes for the *Wall Street Journal*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Washington Post*, and other papers, and was once a director of the *Jerusalem Post*. He is director of the software company Autonomy Corp and other corporations whose clients include the Pentagon and was Assistant Secretary for Defence for International Security Policy (1981-1987). He worked as an aid to former Israeli PM Benyamin Netanyahu and is a member of the Board of Advisors of Foundation for Defense of Democracy (FDD), a pro-Israeli organisation that "conducts research and education on international terrorism".

Rosen, Stephen Peter is director of the Olin Institute and a founding member of PNAC. He is professor of National Security and Military Affairs at Harvard University, an advisor to the CIA and US Department of Defence and previously worked in the Department of Defense and the National Security Council of the Naval War College.

Rumsfeld, Donald is a founding member of PNAC and a member of the advisory board of NAI. He is Bush's Defence Secretary and is credited with planning the invasion of Iraq. He also plays a key role in the allocation of reconstruction contracts in Iraq and has links with Bechtel (a major beneficiary of US wars).

Shultz, George is a patron of AEI and is on the board of directors of Bechtel. He is chairman of the International Council of JP Morgan Chase that has interests in post-war "investment opportunities" in Iraq. He is a member of the Defense Policy Board.

Sikorski, Radek is an executive director of NAI. He comes from Poland were he held positions of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (1998-2001), Deputy Minister of Defence (1992) and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Solidarity party (1999-2002). He was News Corp's representative (1989-1992) and a roving correspondent for *National Review* (1988-98). He became a political refugee in the UK (1981-1989).

Wolfowitz, Paul is a PNAC member and Bush's Deputy Defence Secretary. He is an important ideologue in the Bush administration.

Woolsey, James is a member of PNAC and a former CIA director. He is also a member of the JINSA board of advisers. His business interests include DynCorp, Titan Corporation, British Aerospace, Paladin Capital Group and Booz Allen Hamilton – corporations that stand to benefit from US wars.

Notably missing from the list is Secretary for State Colin Powell, who is at odds with them over their methods, but not their long term goals.

The positions held by these individuals show that there is an unholy alliance between government, corporations, the media and bodies advising the government. They are often one and the same persons.