# 'Regime Change' Planned Before Bush was President



A secret blueprint for U.S. global domination, called Rebuilding America's Defenses says: "While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein."

By Neil Mackay, Home Affairs Editor, *The Sunday Herald* (Scotland).

secret blueprint for U.S. global domination reveals that President Bush and his cabinet planned a premeditated attack on Iraq to secure 'regime change' even before he took power in January 2001.

The blueprint for the creation of a 'global Pax Americana' was drawn up for Dick Cheney (now vice-president), Donald Rumsfeld (defense secretary), Paul Wolfowitz (Rumsfeld's deputy), George W. Bush's younger brother Jeb and Lewis Libby (Cheney's chief of staff). The document, entitled Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategies, Forces And Resources for a New Century, was written in September 2000 by the neo-conservative thinktank Project for the New American Century (PNAC).

The plan shows Bush's cabinet intended to take military control of the Gulf region whether or not Saddam Hussein was in power. It says: 'The U.S. has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of

Saddam Hussein.'

The PNAC document supports a 'blueprint for maintaining global U.S. pre-eminence, precluding the rise of a great power rival, and shaping the international security order in line with American principles and interests.'

This 'American grand strategy' must be advanced for 'as far into the future as possible,' the report says. It also calls for the U.S. to 'fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major theatre wars' as a 'core mission.'

The report describes U.S. armed forces abroad as 'the cavalry on the new American frontier.' The PNAC blueprint supports an earlier document written by Wolfowitz and Libby that said the U.S. must 'discourage advanced industrial nations from challenging our leadership or even aspiring to a larger regional or global role.'

The PNAC report also:

- Refers to key allies such as the UK as 'the most effective and efficient means of exercising American global leadership';
- Describes peace-keeping missions as 'demanding American political leadership rather than that of the UN';
- Reveals worries in the administration that Europe could rival the U.S.;
- Says 'even should Saddam pass from the scene,' bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait will remain permanently –

- despite opposition in the Gulf regimes to the stationing of U.S. troops as 'Iran may well prove as large a threat to U.S. interests as Iraq has';
- Spotlights China for 'regime change' saying 'it is time to increase the presence of American forces in southeast Asia.' This, it says, may lead to 'American and allied power providing the spur to the process of democratization in China';
- Calls for the creation of 'U.S. Space Forces,' to dominate space, and the total control of cyberspace to prevent 'enemies' using the internet against the U.S.;
- Hints that, despite threatening war against Iraq for developing weapons of mass destruction, the U.S. may consider developing biological weapons - which the nation has banned - in decades to come. It says: 'New methods of attack – electronic, 'non-lethal,' biological - will be more widely available...combat likely will take place in new dimensions, in space, cyberspace, and perhaps the world of microbes... advanced forms of biological warfare that can 'target' specific genotypes may transform biological warfare from the realm of terror to a politically useful tool'; and
- Pinpoints North Korea, Libya, Syria and Iran as dangerous regimes and says their existence justifies the creation of a 'world-wide command-andcontrol system.'

Tam Dalyell, the Labour MP, father of the House of Commons and one of the leading rebel voices against war with Iraq, said: 'This is a blue-print for U.S. world domination — a new world order of their making. These are the thought processes of fantasist Americans who want to control the world. I am appalled that a British Labour Prime Minister should have got into bed with a crew which has this moral standing.'

**Source:** *The Sunday Herald* (Scotland), September 15, 2002. <www.sundayherald.com/27734>

The full text of *Rebuilding America's Defenses* can be read at this web site: <www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf>

# The Latest Opportunity to Expand Global Power

Interview with Howard Zinn, emeritus professor of history, Boston College, an activist, playwright and author of many books including *A People's History of the United States* (1980, 2000) and *Terrorism and War* (2002).

lishing control in a country that has so far eluded the American grasp. The U.S. cannot abide the existence of nations that do not go along submissively with American policy. Iraq used to be such a country, when it was a close ally, but that changed when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990.

**Anthony Arnove** (adjunct professor, Rhode Island College): The Bush administration and other supporters of war justify the "war on terrorism" with rhetoric about democracy. What are their real interests?

**Zinn:** The real interests of the Bush administration — and the Democratic Party supporters of war

— are what the interests of the U.S. have been for a very long time, long before September 11.

The long-term interest of U.S. governments, from the end of the Revolutionary War down to the present day, has been the expansion of national power, first on the continent, then into the Caribbean and the Pacific, and since World War II, everywhere on the globe.

Each time there was a period of expansion, there was an explanation: "Manifest Destiny," the need to "save Spain," the need to "civilize" and bring Christianity to the Filipinos, the Germans are sinking our merchant vessels, North Korea has invaded South Korea, we've been fired on in the Gulf of Tonkin, we need to stop the spread of Communism.

But behind all those justifications was the urge to expand U.S. economic and military power. The "war on terrorism" is the latest opportunity to expand U.S. political, economic and military power into other parts of the world

**Arnove:** Eugene Debs, the leading U.S. socialist at the beginning of the last century, had a lot to say about patriotism. Could you talk about his views of war and patriotism?

Zinn: Debs was a leader in the protest against World War I. He was sentenced to 10 years in prison, a decision that was affirmed by a unanimous Supreme Court led by the presumed liberal jurist Oliver Wendell Holmes. Debs was sentenced because in a speech in Canton, Ohio, he said that the master classes made the wars, and the working classes fought in them.

He said: "Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder. In the Middle Ages, when the feudal lords who inhabited the castles whose towers may still be seen along the Rhine concluded to enlarge their domains, to increase their power, their prestige and their wealth, they declared war upon one another. But they themselves did not go to war, any more than the modern feudal



lords, the barons of Wall Street, go to war.

"The feudal barons of the Middle Ages, the economic predecessors of the capitalists of our day, declared all wars. And their miserable serfs fought all the battles. The poor, ignorant serfs had been taught to revere their masters; to believe that when their masters declared war upon one another, it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another and to cut one another's throats for the profit and glory of the lords and barons who held them in contempt.

"And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose — especially their lives."

Debs rightly saw war in class terms — as benefiting the rich and killing the poor. There is no natural inclination to support war; it has to be artificially induced by political leaders. And when Americans, normally of good will and decent morality, begin to get information different from the official line, they have second thoughts and question the official line.

**Source:** "What Bush's 'War on Terror' is Really About," *Socialist Worker*, September 6, 2002. <www.socialist worker.org/2002-2/421/421\_06\_Zinn.shtml>



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### Plundering the Globe with Wars of Conquest

he fundamental character of a war is defined by the class nature and historical position of the states involved. The U.S. is the most powerful imperialist country, which seeks to dominate the globe. Its impending attack on Iraq is the culmination of two decades of increasingly reckless and aggressive behavior, in the course of which U.S. forces have bombed, attacked, occupied or organized armed subversion in more than a dozen countries: Nicaragua, Panama, Grenada, Haiti, Somalia, Sudan, Libya,

Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and the various states and fragments comprising the former Yugoslavia.

A U.S. protectorate in Iraq would be the staging ground for future wars in the region and beyond. The most immediate target could be Iraq's oil-rich neighbor, Iran. There is an active campaign within the political establishment for eventual military action against Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen, Libya and Syria.

U.S. troops and warplanes are already deployed in nearly every country between the Mediterranean Sea and China. There can be no doubt that within U.S. military and political circles, the attack on

Iraq is seen as the prelude to coming wars against Russia and China, both nuclear-armed powers, with incalculable consequences.

Iraq will not be the end of U.S. wars of conquest. Those who supported war in Afghanistan and endorse war against Iraq must take responsibility for future U.S. military actions as well. Such wars are already being actively planned by the Pentagon. The most recent U.S. command-and-control exercise, conducted in August, was a war game simulating a U.S. invasion of Iran in 2007.

The Bush administration talks incessantly of "regime change" in Iraq. The removal of this regime is the task of the Iraqi people, not the U.S. government.

Far more ominous for the world is the "regime change" which has al-

ready taken place in the U.S. The Bush administration represents the coming to power of a criminal element in the U.S. ruling class. This is not hyperbole; in its political methods, social base and foreign policy, the Bush administration is gangsterism personified.

This government is the product of a protracted campaign of right-wing political subversion and conspiracy to destabilize the previous administration, culminating in the Clinton impeachment, followed by the theft of the



"The evil barons grabbed power, pillaged the peasants and planet, and claimed free market compassion."

2000 presidential election.

The Bush administration draws its leading personnel from the social layer whose systematic corruption has been laid bare in the corporate scandals of the past year. Army Secretary Thomas White is a former Enron executive. Vice President Dick Cheney is under investigation for accounting fraud in his previous role as CEO of the energy construction firm Halliburton. Bush himself made his personal fortune on the basis of insider trading and cronyism. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill are both former CEOs, while other top officials served as lobbyists for the energy, drug and automobile industries.

When he entered the White House, Bush boasted that his CEOfilled cabinet would run the government like a business. This has proved true; the Bush administration embodies in government the methods of Enron, WorldCom, Global Crossing, Tyco and a dozen other high-profile cases of corporate skullduggery.

Bush's domestic policies amount to the systematic plundering of working people to enrich corporate America. He pushed through the largest tax cut for the wealthy in U.S. history, a staggering \$1.35 trillion. His administration has launched attack after attack on the living standards and

democratic rights of the working class. Health and safety regulations, environmental safeguards, trade union rights — all are targeted for destruction as part of the drive to remove any restrictions on the accumulation of personal wealth and corporate profit.

The Bush administration's foreign policy is the extension on a global scale of its domestic policy. People who rose to power through fraud and crime are now making decisions on war and peace. They are using the military and political resources of the U.S. government to further the interests of the most rapacious section of the corporate elite — the energy monopolies, the arms industry,

the financial conglomerates — which seek to profit from plundering the globe.

Wartime measures will be carried out not only against targets overseas, but against the American people. Already the administration has begun to criminalize political dissent. Anti-Bush demonstrators have been arrested, beaten and jailed for voicing their opposition to a war with Iraq. Bush has declared that in the war against terror, "either you are with us or against us." The logic of this policy is to treat all social opposition to the administration as treasonous.

**Source:** Excerpt from a statement by the Editorial Board, World Socialist Web Site, September 9, 2002. <www.wsws.org/articles/2002/sep2002/iraq-s09.shtml>



# The Logic of Empire

By George Monbiot, Honorary Professor, Department of Politics, Keele University, columnist for the *Guardian* and author of *Captive State: The Corporate Takeover of Britain* (2000).

s the U.S. government discovers that it can threaten and attack other nations with impunity, it will surely soon begin to threaten countries which have numbered among our allies. As its insatiable demand for resources prompts ever bolder colonial adventures, it will come to interfere directly with the strategic interests of other quasi-imperial states.

As it refuses to take responsibility for the consequences of the use of those resources, it threatens the rest of the world with environmental disaster. It has become openly contemptuous of other governments, and prepared to dispose of any treaty or agreement which impedes its strategic objectives. It is starting to construct a new generation of nuclear weapons, and appears to be ready to use them preemptively. It could be about to ignite an inferno in the Middle East, into which the rest of the world would be sucked. The U.S., in other words, behaves like any other imperial power. Imperial powers expand their empires until they meet with overwhelming resistance.

To accept that the U.S. presents a danger to the rest of the world would be to acknowledge the need to resist it. Resisting the U.S. would be the most daring reversal of policy a British government has undertaken for over 60 years.

We can resist the U.S. by neither military nor economic means, but we can resist it diplomatically. The only safe and sensible response to U.S. power is a policy of non-cooperation. Britain and the rest of Europe should impede, at the diplomatic level, all U.S. attempts to act unilaterally. We should launch independent efforts to resolve the Iraq crisis and the conflict between Israel and Palestine. And we should cross our fingers and hope that a combination of economic mismanagement, gangster capitalism and excessive military spending will reduce America's power to the extent that it ceases to use the rest of the world as its doormat. Only when the U.S. can accept its role as a nation whose interests must be balanced with those of all other nations can we resume a friendship.

**Source:** Excerpt from "Logic of Empire: The U.S. is Now Our Foremost Enemy," *The Guardian* (London) Aug. 6, 2002. <www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,769699,00.html>

#### Iraq is 'Just the First Step'

s the Bush Administration debates going to war against Iraq, its most hawkish members are pushing a vision for the Middle East that sees the overthrow of President Saddam Hussein as merely a first step in the region's transformation

The argument for reshaping the political landscape in the Middle East has been pushed for years by some Washington think tanks and in hawkish circles. It is now being considered as a possible U.S. policy by hardliners in the Administration, analysts and officials say.

Iraq, they argue, is just the first piece of the puzzle. After ousting Saddam the U.S. will have more leverage to act against Syria and Iran, be in a better position to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and rely less on Saudi oil. Although the thinking does not represent official US policy, it has increasingly served as a justification for a military attack against Iraq, and elements of the strategy have emerged in speeches by U.S. officials, particularly the Vice-President, Dick Cheney.

"The goal is not just a new regime in Iraq; the goal is a new Middle East," said Raad Alkadiri, an Iraq analyst with PFC, a Washington-based energy consulting organisation. "The goal has been and remains one of the main driving factors of pre-emptive action against Iraq."

The push comes as the U.S. quietly drops what has been a central argument in the case for military action against Baghdad: Iraq's links to al-Qaeda and other terrorist organisations.

**Source:** *The Boston Globe, The Washington Post*, September 11, 2002.

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## Shaping the Middle East to Suit U.S. Interests

The U.S. does not want Iraq – or for that matter, the Middle East – to economically develop outside the U.S. sphere of influence. The aim of U.S. policy in the Middle Eastern is to ensure that the revenue from the region's oil is funneled to the U.S. (by way of corporate profits or investments in U.S. financial markets made by a pro-U.S. Iraqi elite). In addition to the financial interests served by this policy, there are geopolitical ones as well. It has long been the strategic aim of the U.S. to prevent the emergence of an autonomous power in that oil-rich region. Fundamental to this goal is preventing the political and economic development and integration of the Middle Eastern states. An essential component of this has been the U.S. sanctions policy. Fearful that international pressure to end the sanctions will continue to grow, the U.S. sees the current anti-terrorism fervor as a perfect opportunity to remove Saddam Hussein from power and install a puppet regime favorable to U.S. interests. Once U.S. influence is secured in the region, Washington could then seek to reshape the Middle East's political and economic landscape in a way more suitable to the interests of Washington and its close allies.

Two recent events represent a threat to 'U.S. interests' in the region:

#### Iraqi-Arab League Relations:

Iraq has recently made efforts to reintegrate into the Arab economy and embark on important infrastructure projects in cooperation with other Arab states that would severely undermine U.S. ambitions in the region.

**Muriel Mirak-Weissbach**, "Anglo-Americans prepare new war against Iraq." *Executive Intelligence Review*, Feb. 16, 2001.

#### Iragi-Russian Relations:

Russia has been strengthening its ties with the regime and putting pressure on the U.S. to end sanctions. Russia is opposed to the sanctions because it has large contracts with the Ba'ath regime to develop the oil resources of Iraq if and when the sanctions are lifted.

"[The] most hawkish members are pushing a sweeping vision for the Middle East that sees the overthrow of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq as merely a first step in the region's transformation. The argument for reshaping the political landscape in the Mideast has been pushed for years by some Washington think tanks and in hawkish circles. It is now being considered as a possible US policy with the ascent of key hard-liners in the administration - from Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith in the Pentagon to John Hannah and Lewis Libby on the vice president's staff and John Bolton in the State Department, analysts and officials say. Iraq, the hawks argue, is just the first piece of the puzzle. After an ouster of Hussein, they say, the U.S. will have more leverage to act against Syria and Iran, will be in a better position to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and will be able to rely less on Saudi oil."

John Donnelly and Anthony Shadid, *Boston Globe*, Sept. 10, 2002.

"In Washington, it's clear that the faction of the administration most interested in pursuing military action against Saddam Hussein has goals for change that goes beyond Iraq's borders."

**Peter Grier**, "Larger aim in Iraq: Alter Mideast," *The Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 16, 2002.

"A friendly Iraq – home to the world's second-largest oil reserves – would provide an alternative to Saudi Arabia for basing U.S. troops. Its oil reserves would make Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil exporter, less important in setting prices. In general, others contend, a U.S.-allied Iraq could work to diminish the influence of OPEC, long dominated by Saudi Arabia, over oil supplies and prices."

Summary of remarks by **Patrick Clawson**, deputy director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Summarized by John Donnelly and Anthony Shadid, in "Iraq war hawks have plans to reshape entire Mideast," *Boston Globe*, Sept. 10, 2002.

**Source:** Center for Cooperative Research <www.cooperativeresearch.org/wotiraq/Ulterior\_Motives.htm>

### Encouraging a 'Clash of Civilizations'

ome critics have accused the war hawks in the Pentagon, certain members of the British elite, and Zionist fanatics in Israel of being determined to ignite a so-called 'clash of civilizations.' They believe that such a conflict would provide the U.S. with the justification it seeks to establish a global 'New World Order' under the tutelage and hegemony of the U.S. and its close allies. Many observers have warned that expanding the war to Iraq would throw the entire region into chaos. What these commentators however fail to realize is that this may be exactly what the warmongers want.

Evidence that supports this interpretation includes this statement in response to Brent Scowcroft's August 2002 op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* criticizing the neoconservative war drive:

"However, nobody is perfect, and [General Brent] Scowcroft [National Security Advisor to Presidents Ford and George Bush Sr.] has managed to get one thing half right, even though he misdescribes it. He fears that if we attack Iraq 'I think we could have an explosion in the Middle East. It could turn the whole region into a caldron and destroy the War on Terror.'

One can only hope that we turn the region into a cauldron, and faster, please. If ever there were a region that richly deserved being cauldronized, it is the Middle East today. If we wage the war effectively, we will bring down the terror regimes in Iraq, Iran and Syria, and either bring down the Saudi monarchy or force it to abandon its global assembly line to indoctrinate young terrorists. That's our mission in the war against terror."

**Michael A. Ledeen**, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 6, 2002.

**Source:** Center for Cooperative Research <www.cooperativeresearch.org/wotiraq/Ulterior\_Motives.htm>

#### Serving Israeli Interests

any critics suspect that the push for war on Iraq can be explained, in part, as an effort to further Israeli interests. As is well known by all knowledgeable observers of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the U.S. has been providing uncritical support for Israel's repressive policies against the Palestinians for the last 50 years. Despite several condemnations from the U.N. General Assembly and even the Security Council with regard to the Israeli government's tacit encouragement of settlement expansion and its involvement in other oppressive practices, the U.S. has continually refused to censure its Middle Eastern ally. This policy of near servitude to Israel has a long history and therefore it is only obvious that some discussion of Israel's interest in a war against Iraq is warranted.

Available evidence suggests that Israel has a vested interest in a U.S. war against Iraq.

The most adamant hawks in the administration, in Congress, among the various 'think-tanks' and in the mainstream press also happen to be some of the most ardent supporters of Israel: Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, Donald Rumsfeld, James Woolsey, Robert Kagan, William Kristol, Charles Krauthhammer, Daniel Pipes and Tom Delay.

Here are some statements that support this view:

"I think that everybody is a little bit impatient because there is a feeling that Iraq is developing nuclear weapons. They possess chemical weapons. They possess biological weapons. They are building missiles. And simply, you cannot sit and wait for meeting this challenge.... But I believe Saddam Hussein is as dangerous as bin Laden. I don't see a real difference. He is killing. He is threatening. He is trying to achieve nonconventional arms. Now, if he were in your suburb, in my suburb? What would we do? Would we let him run free and crazy?" Peres also suggested that a regime change in Iraq may help the Middle East move towards peace. He speculated, "Maybe a change in Iraq can facilitate a better solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It's not so clear that there is a simple answer."

**Shimon Peres**, Israeli foreign minister, 'Novak, Hunt and Shields,' CNN. Cited by Joyce Howard Price, "Peres encourages U.S. action on Iraq." *The Washington Times*, May 12, 2002.

"If the Americans do not do this now, it will be harder to do it in the future. In a year or two, Saddam Hussein will be further along in developing weapons of mass destruction. It is a world interest, but especially an American interest to attack Iraq."

**Weizman Shiry**, Israeli deputy defense minister and Labor Party member, August 28. Cited by Ben Lynfield, "Israel sees opportunity in possible U.S. strike on Iraq," Aug. 30, 2002.

"The more aggressive the attack is, the more it will help Israel against the Palestinians. The understanding would be that what is good to do in Iraq, is also good for here." [A U.S. invasion would] "undoubtedly deal a psychological blow" [to the Palestinians].

**Gideon Ezra**, Israeli deputy interior minister. Cited by Lynfield, Aug. 30, 2002.



"After Iraq is taken by U.S. troops and we see a new regime installed as in Afghanistan, and Iraqi bases become American bases, it will be very easy to pressure Syria to stop supporting terrorist organizations like Hizbullah and Islamic Jihad, to allow the Lebanese army to dismantle Hizbullah, and maybe to put an end to the Syrian occupation in Lebanon. If this happens we will really see a new Middle East." **Yuval Steinitz**, a Likud party member of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Cited by Lynfield Aug. 30, 2002.

"I'm afraid that with a government like Sharon's that is not restrained, the situations during a war might allow them to do more atrocities than now. This could mean more killing, more demolition of houses, more tightening of occupation," or even the outright transfer of the Palestinian population across the Jordan River.

**Ghassan Khatib**, a Palestinian Authority official. Cited by Lynfield, Aug. 30, 2002.

"Viewed through the eyes of Israel's hawkish leaders, however, a U.S. strike is not about Iraq only. Decisionmakers believe it will strengthen Israel's hand on the Palestinian front and throughout the region. Deputy Interior Minister Gideon Ezra suggested this week that a U.S. attack on Iraq will help Israel impose a new order, sans Arafat, in the Palestinian territories."

**Ben Lynfield**, summarizing Israeli hawks, *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 30, 2002.

"A powerful corollary of the strategy is that a pro-U.S. Iraq would make the region safer for Israel and, indeed, its staunchest proponents are ardent supporters of the Israeli right-wing. Administration officials, meanwhile, have increasingly argued that the onset of an Iraq allied to the U.S. would give the administration more sway in bringing about a settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, though Cheney and others have offered few details on precisely how."

**John Donnelly and Anthony Shadid**, "Iraq war hawks have plans to reshape entire Mideast," *The Boston Globe*, Sept. 10, 2002

**Source:** Center for Cooperative Research <www.cooperativeresearch.org/wotiraq/Ulterior\_Motives.htm>