

# The College Voice

For Free Tuition and Open Admissions

WINTER 2006

## REBUILDING AMERICA'S DEFENSES

Strategy, Forces and Resources  
For a New Century

A Report of  
The Project for the New American Century  
September 2000

# The Truth About the U.S. War on Iraq

THE SEMI-CIVILIZED

THE CIVILIZED

THE UNCIVILIZED  
BARBARIAN-TERRORISTS?

THE MOST CIVILIZED

THE SEMI-CIVILIZED

THE CIVILIZED

## The Project for the New American Century & The National Security Strategy of the United States

THE NATIONAL  
SECURITY STRATEGY  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA



SEPTEMBER 2002

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# *Money for Education, Not for War!*

# Introduction

As the war on Iraq continues (in the form of an uncontrollable occupation) an increasing amount of prominent individuals (mostly analysts, journalists, intellectuals, academics, critics of the Bush administration, and former government members) have tried to make sense of what role the United States is playing in the world, especially after the September 11, 2001 terrorists attacks. Most, if not all, focus heavily on a group of individuals commonly referred to as "neoconservatives". Many also mention the role of these individuals in various think tanks that, besides being mouthpieces for neoconservative views, have had a tremendous influence on the Bush Administration's policies towards the Muslim world in general and the Middle East in particular. This is a profound issue that has birthed equally profound commentary on the "true" nature of the U.S. in the post-Cold War era. This issue of the College Voice, like the front cover unmistakably shows, will focus on evidences not well covered in the U.S. media concerning the real purpose(s) of the Bush Administration's war on Iraq. Thus, it focuses on the strong relationship between certain high ranking members in the Bush Administration and neoconservative ideology.

So what are the connections between the neoconservatives and the Bush administration? To answer this we must examine publications relating to both. This issue will focus on the neoconservatives most-oft mentioned and the think tank Project for the New American Century (PNAC), which produced a very influential report called *Rebuilding America's Defenses* in September 2000. This issue will also look at the connection between this report and the Bush administration's *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* to determine the seriousness of the arguments proposed by critics of both documents. This issue has placed special emphasis on the signatory individuals of the various documents found on the PNAC reports and their relationship with each other as well as their relationship with the White House, the Defense Department, and various corporations that work for them. Finally, this issue will use the war on Iraq as a case study to show to what degree a small group of dedicated individuals have influenced the most influential superpower in the world to put into action ideas and policies they have publicly espoused for the past decade. Before we can determine who influences what, where, when, and how, we must ask: who or what is a neoconservative?

# Who Are the Neoconservatives?

Adam Wolfson, the current editor of the conservative journal *The Public Interest* wrote, "Generally, the neoconservative label has been applied to a particular group of intellectuals who moved from what might be called a neo-liberal politics in the 1960's and 1970's to what became known as neoconservatism" and that despite "Until quite recently, neoconservatism was thought to be a spent force", it, "has made its peace with American democracy, and so long as it flourishes, so will neoconservatism." [1]



**Irving Kristol**

In fact, Drury explains that influential neoconservatives like Paul Wolfowitz and Carl Schmitt have carried certain Straussian views into the Bush Administration via the work of Strauss and his neoconservative apprentices: Allan Bloom, Norman Podhoretz, and Irving Kristol (all three of whom are considered fathers of neoconservatism).

The element of Strauss's works that concerns Drury most is his interpretation of Plato's notion of "the noble lie", which contends that it is justified and correct for the intellectual "elite" to use "noble lies" in order to lead and control the general masses (referred to as the "vulgar many").

She further believes that neoconservative-Straussians influencing the Bush administration, like Wolfowitz, are utilizing their own "noble lies" in order to justify war on Iraq and its subsequent occupation: "Leo Strauss was a great believer in the efficacy and usefulness of lies in politics. Public support for the Iraq war rested on lies about Iraq posing an imminent threat to the United States - the business about weapons of mass destruction and a fictitious alliance between al-Qaida and the Iraqi regime." [3]

Besides this, two things need to be clarified before

we can move on. First, not all neoconservatives may be Straussians at heart, but many of them have similar views they express through different think tanks like the Project for the New American Century, and have worked as a network to ensure that their views of American global power are achieved, whether there is a debate among the American populace (including other politicians and lawmakers) or not.



**Norman Podhoretz**

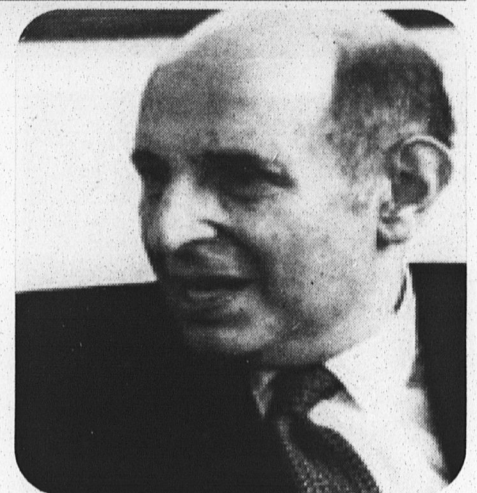
Second, neoconservatives ought to be distinguished from conservatives; despite the fact they may agree on a number of issues or policies.

Scott McConnell, a former neoconservative and current executive editor of *The American Conservative*, writes that, "a far larger number of moderate, centrist, or establishment-oriented Republicans who are not by temperament given to ideological battling", see the neoconservatives, "as dangerous zealots." [4]

## NOTES

1. Adam Wolfson, ed., *Conservatives and Neoconservatives*, *The Public Interest*, No. 154, Winter 2004

2. Danny Postel, *Noble lies and perpetual war: Leo Strauss, the neo-cons, and Iraq*, *openDemocracy.net*, October 16, 2003,



**Allan Bloom**

(See: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/debates/article-3-77-1542.jsp#>). This is an interview of Shadia Drury by Danny Postel

3. *Ibid.*

4..Scott McConnell, *Among the Neocons*, *The American Conservative*, April 21, 2003. [www.amconmag.com/04\\_21\\_03/cover.html](http://www.amconmag.com/04_21_03/cover.html)



**Leo Strauss**

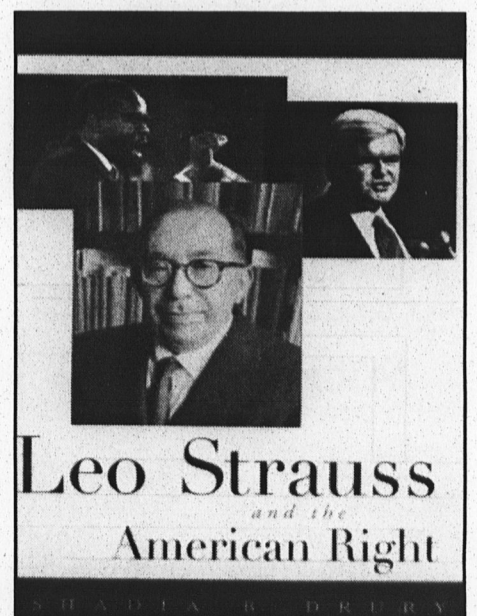
On the other hand, Shadia Drury, Professor of Political Science and Philosophy at the University of Regina, Canada, and one the leading scholarly critics of the neoconservatives, identifies neoconservatism from the work and teachings of political philosopher Leo Strauss (d. 1973), who far from being a lover of democracy, had a "profound antipathy to both liberalism and democracy." [2]



**Shadia Drury**

**For more information on Prof. Shadia Drury, her books, published articles, and online articles (including her response to various critics of her work on Strauss), see:**

<http://evatt.org.au/publications/papers/112.html>



**ISBN:**  
0312217838

# The Project for the New American Century

## PROJECT FOR THE NEW AMERICAN CENTURY

Elliott Abrams \* Gary Bauer  
 William J. Bennett \* Jeb Bush  
 Dick Cheney \* Elliot A. Cohen  
 Midge Decter \* Paula Dobriansky  
 Steve Forbes \* Aaron Friedberg  
 Francis Fukuyama \* Frank Gaffney  
 Fred C. Ikle \* Donald Kagan  
 Zalmay Khalilzad \* I. Lewis Libby  
 Norman Podhoretz \* Dan Quayle  
 Peter W. Rodman \* Stephen P. Rosen  
 Henry S. Rowen \* Donald Rumsfeld  
 Vin Weber \* George Weigel  
 Paul Wolfowitz

The Project for the New American Century [1], a Washington D.C. think tank, was formed in 1997 (founded by the son of Irving Kristol - William Kristol and Robert Kagan) and exists, according to its own statements, as "an educational organization whose goal is to promote American global leadership." To be more specific, the PNAC founding Statement of Principles begins with a complaint:



**William Kristol**

"American foreign and defense policy is adrift. Conservatives have criticized the incoherent policies of the Clinton Administration. They have also resisted isolationist

impulses from within their own ranks. But conservatives have not confidently advanced a strategic vision of America's role in the world. They have not set forth guiding principles for American foreign policy. They have allowed differences over tactics to obscure potential agreement on strategic objectives. And they have not fought for a defense budget that would maintain American security and advance American interests in the new century. We aim to change this. We aim to make the case and rally support for American global leadership."



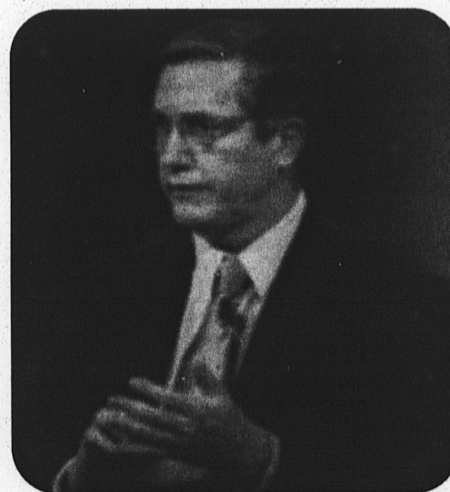
**Robert Kagan**

It then continues to describe "an opportunity and a challenge" brought about by the collapse of the Soviet Union.

"As the 20th century draws to a close, the United States stands as the world's preeminent power. Having led the West to victory in the Cold War, America faces an opportunity and a challenge... a foreign policy that boldly and purposefully promotes American principles abroad; and national leadership that accepts the United States' global responsibilities... America has a vital role in maintaining peace and security in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. If we shirk our responsibilities, we invite challenges to our fundamental interests. The

history of the 20th century should have taught us that it is important to shape circumstances before crises emerge, and to meet threats before they become dire. The history of this century should have taught us to embrace the cause of American leadership... Such a Reaganite policy of *military strength* and moral clarity may not be fashionable today. But it is necessary if the United States is to build on the successes of this past century and to ensure our security and our greatness in the next." (Italics mine)

Some of the high profile signatories of the founding Statement of Principles include Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, Donald Rumsfeld, Lewis Libby, Paula Dobriansky, Peter W. Rodman, and Norman Podhoretz. With exception of Podhoretz, all of the above hold influential positions in the Bush Administration. With this background it is easier to understand the significance of *Rebuilding America's Defenses*, which is the PNAC's most comprehensive, (now) widely read, and influential report.



**Bruce Jackson**

### NOTES:

1. <http://www.newamericancentury.org/>

For more on the Project for the New American Century see the following:

*Right Web*, a program of the International Relations Center, (began 2003), which "focuses on the influence of this architecture of power on the direction of foreign, military, and homeland security policies".

<http://rightweb.irc-online.org/index.php>

*The Project for the Old American Century (POAC)*, a "grass-roots organization that strives to protect and strengthen democracy primarily by disseminating unreported and underreported news stories from a perspective untainted by political or corporate sponsorship".

<http://www.oldamericancentury.org/>

*PNAC info*, a "site dedicated to drawing attention to the neoconservative foreign policy approach, and its consequences for America and the world".

<http://www.pnac.info/>

*The Christian Science Monitor*, Special Projects section, focuses on "Empire Builders: Neoconservatives and their blueprint for US power".

<http://www.csmonitor.com/special/s/neocon/index.html?s=spusa>

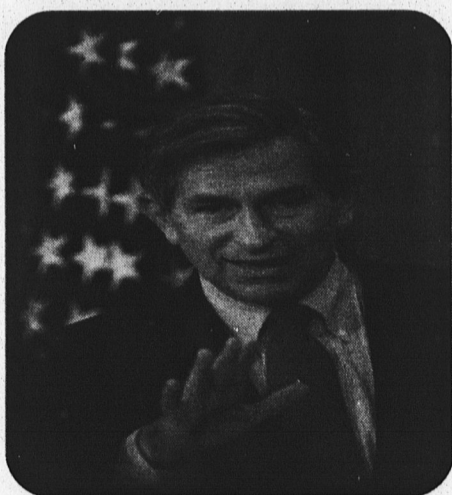
# “Rebuilding America’s Defenses”

## REBUILDING AMERICA’S DEFENSES

Strategy, Forces and Resources  
For a New Century

A Report of  
The Project for the New American Century  
September 2000

The report called *Rebuilding America’s Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New American Century* was published by the Project for the New American Century in September of 2000. The approximately 80-page report “borrows heavily” from papers written at the request of the PNAC by “outstanding defense specialists” and “proceeds from the belief that America should seek to preserve and extend its position of global leadership by maintaining preeminence of U.S. military forces.” The 27 listed “specialists” are virtually all neoconservatives, of whom nine, including Paul Wolfowitz, Lewis Libby, Abram Shulsky, Barry Watts, Stephen Cambone, Eliot Cohen, Devon Gaffney Cross, Mark Lagon, and Dov Zakheim are prominent members of the Bush administration.



**Paul Wolfowitz**

In the introduction the report makes clear that the PNAC is built “upon the defense strategy outlined by the Cheney Defense Department in the waning days of the [first] Bush Administration.”

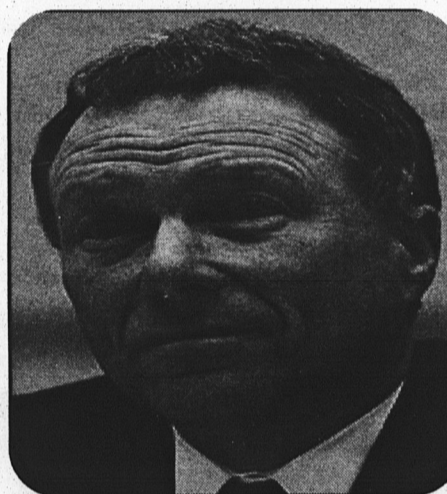
“The Defense Policy Guidance (DPG) drafted in the early months of 1992 provided a blueprint for

maintaining U.S. preeminence, precluding the rise of a great power rival, and shaping the international security order in line with American principles and interests. Leaked before it had been formally approved, the document was criticized as an effort by “cold warriors” to keep defense spending high and cuts in forces small despite the collapse of the Soviet Union.. the basic tenets of the DPG, in our judgment, remain sound.”

As a matter of fact, the *Defense Policy Guidance* (endorsed by Dick Cheney and Paul Wolfowitz) frightened other lawmakers. It became known for being a blueprint for U.S. global military supremacy that promoted unilateralism and pre-emptive strikes on any nation deemed political-economic competitor of the U.S. Reasonably alarmed, Senator Joseph Biden denounced the blueprint as “literally a Pax Americana” and Senator Robert Byrd called it “myopic, shallow and disappointing.” It was thereafter modified, replacing unilateralism and pre-emption with multilateralism through the United Nations. [1] (The original or purer version didn’t even mention the U.N. Security Council). Despite this reaction, the *Rebuilding America’s Defenses* report reapplied these same uncompromising ideas, this time through a think tank, which incidentally received very little public attention before the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.

Briefly, the 2000 report lists specific “requirements” necessary to preserve a “Pax Americana” (an American version of global peace). They are: “defend the American homeland”; “fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major theater wars”; “perform the ‘constabulary’ duties associated with shaping the security environment in critical regions”; and “transform U.S. forces to exploit the “revolution in military affairs.” In order to accomplish these “four core missions”, it states, “we need to provide sufficient force and budgetary allocations” so that the U.S. can and must “maintain nuclear strategic superiority”, increase active-duty troop strength, “reposition U.S. forces” all over the globe, “modernize the military forces selectively”, “develop and deploy missile defenses”, “control” space and cyberspace, transform the military to include

new technological weaponry, and significantly “increase defense spending” by 3.8% The rest of the report goes into considerable detail about the above issues and at the end lists all the participants. Sandwiching these “requirements” are repeated statements expressing the dire need to preserving and enhancing U.S. global military and cultural hegemony. It makes mention of what two years later would be called the “Axis of Evil”: “adversaries like Iran, Iraq and North Korea are rushing to develop ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons as a deterrent to American intervention in regions they seek to dominate.” This mentioning is not at all coincidental to President Bush’s State of the Union address, as we shall soon see.



**Lewis Libby**

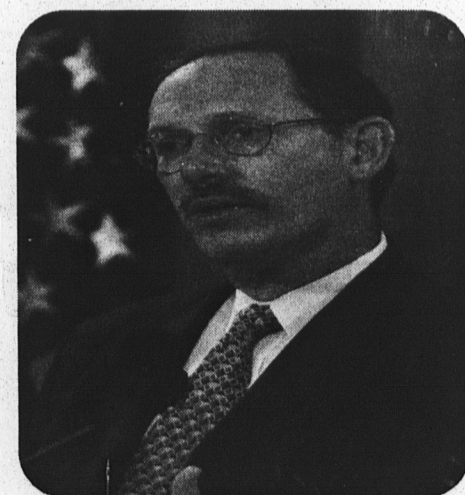
It is of some interest how dominating the globe is expressed throughout the report. By increasing defense spending and transforming the armed forces, America can “retain its military dominant status for the coming decades.” Or to put it in another way: “today the task is to preserve an international security environment conducive to American interests and ideals.” (Emphasis mine) This is to be done by “detering or, when needed, by compelling regional foes to act in ways that protect American interests and principles.” The forces that will carry out this lofty mission are referred to as “the cavalry on the New American frontier.” The report anticipates rivalry to this “American-led security order” (or hegemony) and considers preemption as one of the open options to “deter the rise of a new great-power competitor and defend key regions of Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East.” However, the desired change “is likely to be a long one, absent

some catastrophic and catalyzing event – like a new Pearl Harbor.” This last statement seems now to have been a frightening forecast of what happened exactly one year later from the publishing of this report, inviting charges from various critics of the current Bush Administration of purposely neglecting pre-9/11 warnings in order to justify the PNAC policies. [2] The accusations are further solidified by statements made by President George W. Bush and in statements found in the *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (released a year after the September 11 attacks), which lists the terrorist attacks as an “opportunity” in the same way the PNAC reportedly hoped “a new Pear Harbor” would be. The introduction also states, “we hope that the Project’s report will be useful as a road map for the nation’s immediate and future defense plans.” This hope, in actuality was a well founded one, as we shall see later, when we come to the connections between *Rebuilding America’s Defenses* and the *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Far from being a report on the defense of America, much of *Rebuilding America’s Defenses* is about offensive strategy to keep nations that don’t bow to the Pax Americana scheme, in line, militarily when (not if) it comes to it.

### NOTES:

1. See Barton Gellman, Keeping the U.S. First, Washington Post, March 11, 1992

2. One of the most comprehensive analyses of this claim comes from *The New Pearl Harbor* (Interlink Pub Group, 2004) authored by David Ray Griffin, a 30-year professor of philosophy and religion at the Claremont School of Theology in California.



**Dov Zakheim**

# COLLEGE VOICE

## Who We Are

### WHAT WE STAND FOR

**Purpose 1.** We, in the College Voice, stand for rational and informed views that encourage people to investigate for themselves the stories behind the political, social, and environmental events shaped by our times.

**Purpose 2.** We stand for speaking up for the oppressed and persecuted in all nations regardless of race, color, creed or gender. Very often, the oppressed among us remain voiceless. Therefore, we aim to give some of them a voice.

**Purpose 3.** We stand for revealing news and information lacking in the organized media that are pertinent to purposes 1 and 2.

### WHY WE STAND FOR WHAT WE STAND FOR

**Statement 1.** We believe that rational and informed views (the quality of information) are more accurate and significant than just any or all views (the quantity of information).

**Statement 2.** We believe that all human beings are equal even though we are influenced by different ideologies and trends. However, some of us are oppressed by others, and so we fit to expose the nature of oppression.

**Statement 3.** We believe that today, nationalism often obscures the greater and more honorable human functions of humanitarianism. One example of this obscurity is the self-censored views media corporations have on various subjects and events due to the fear of losing funding and support from narrow-minded groups of people. We believe it is important for us to follow the spirit of humanitarianism in place of nationalism.

**“Riches are not from abundance of worldly goods  
but from a contented mind.”**

- Prophet Muhammad [SAW]

**“The best teaching is that which corrects you.”**

- Ali Ibn Abu Talib [RA]

**“Let the beauty of what you love be what you do.”**

- Jalal ud- Din Rumi [RA]

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The College Voice recommends the following book to readers:  
*The Crisis of the Modern World,*  
by Rene Guenon

THE CRISIS  
OF THE  
MODERN WORLD

Rene Guenon

ISBN: 0900588241

# Myths about the War on Iraq

## **Myth: The US had no choice but to defend itself from Iraq**

The Bush Administration attacked Iraq not defend America but to assert more control in a region considered to be "vital" to its national interests, which, far from being a defensive policy, is militaristic. (Please refer to *Rebuilding America's Defenses* report and the *National Security Strategy of the USA*).

## **Myth: Iraq is better off now than under Saddam Hussein**

Whether it is or not depends on whom you ask, but ask people who live in Iraq, not President Bush, Tony Blair, or anyone who cares little for the tens of thousands of innocent dead Iraqis murdered by the US attack on their country and its chaotic occupation.

## **Myth: The US has liberated Iraq**

Liberation cannot exist under occupation. As long as Iraq remains occupied by the US-UK military it will not taste liberation.

## **Myth: Those who resist US occupation are terrorists**

Resistance to unwanted

occupation is not terrorism. Legally, international law acknowledges a people's right to resist occupation. Principally, if China attacked the US because it felt Bush was oppressing Americans and was a threat to China, violent resistance to the Chinese attack and occupation would not be considered terrorism, but exactly what it is, justified defense. Realistically, there are a dozen groups resisting the US occupation of Iraq which can't be simplistically lumped together. Some of them have also declared a jihad against Al-Zarqawi and Al-Qaida. Some prefer both a military resistance to US occupation as well as negotiating with them while others reject negotiations. Many take part in voting while others don't. Resistance to the US occupation of Iraq is fully justified, even though the methods of some groups is detestable.

## **Myth: If the US leaves Iraq there will be civil war there**

There is already a civil war in Iraq between various groups due largely to the US occupation, not the exaggerated "eternal" battle between Sunni and Shi'ah. In

fact, in most places in Iraq both sects had mixed with each other and had avoided religious conflict. However, the war, the chaos it continues to bring, and the hand-picked Iraqi leadership US occupational authorities (under Gen. Garner and Bremer) have chosen to govern Iraq are the main issues which have created the setting for sectarian strife to generate and increase. US troops there are exacerbating this situation. If they leave it may reduce sectarian violence between Sunni and Shi'ah militias because each is attacking the other over the methods they are employing to regain influence in Iraq from the US.

## **Myth: If the US leaves Iraq it will become a haven for terrorism**

Iraq has become a haven for terrorists *because* of the US attack and occupation. Many who fight against the US occupation don't share bin Laden's views and resist principally to avenge the destruction the US has brought to Iraq, the murder of their friends and family members, and the oppression brought about by the occupation itself. If US troops leave Iraq, terrorism will decline

because the main target will be out of the picture. Then, less Iraqis will be willing to tolerate the terrorists inside their country. President Bush's and Dick Cheney's belief that bringing the US troops back home will allow terrorists to establish an Islamic "Empire of terror" is both laughable and lamentable at the same time and reveals the high degree to which they wish to keep public opinion from reality.

## **Myth: If the US leaves Iraq terrorists will bring the war back to American soil**

Terrorists have already brought their war to American soil (blowback) and because of the US-UK war on Iraq have one more major reason to attack the US again. The facts also indicate terrorist incidents and recruitment have enormously risen due to the US-UK war on Iraq. The war is a great liability to the safety of the American people and has left them more hated and vulnerable to attacks by terrorists. Leaving Iraq will reduce terrorist activities because it will satisfy many Muslims and deal a blow to terrorist recruitment.

# Myths about Islam & Terrorism

## **Myth: Islam played a major in the September 11 attacks**

The attacks on September 11 were far more militaristic and political, than religious. Islamic law forbids the killing of innocent people and authorizes war only for defensive purposes. Muslims who justify these types of attacks do so with lofty political and military goals in mind and with an arrogance that mocks the spiritual teachings of Islam.

## **Myth: Islam promotes violence towards non-Muslims, especially Christians and Jews**

First and foremost, violence is deplored in the Qur'an and the collected sayings of the Prophet Muhammad [SAW] (the two major sources for the Islamic faith) except in self defense. Even in self defense cases there are considerable limits placed on the defenders to observe rules that forbid the killing of non-combatants (including the elderly, women, children, and clergy). Both sources also

encourage peace towards Jews and Christians who are nobly termed *Ahl-i-Kitab* (People of the Book), because they are recognized as communities who received scriptures from God. Violence towards them is prohibited and punishable under Islamic law. Those Muslims in Iraq or other parts of the Muslim world who justify attacking Christian and Jewish civilians that do not oppress Muslims are categorically violating what their own faith explicitly teaches.

## **Myth: The Taliban, Al Qaida, the Saudis, Iranis, the insurgency in Iraq ...etc., all represent Islam**

No single group, government, association or network is the representation of Islam. Islam is a way of life that transcends limits provided by organizations which purport to represent it. Those who truly represent it in this age are ordinary Muslims who live up to the spiritual and practical values it teaches but do not necessarily appear on CNN

or FOX News for all to see.

## **Myth: Muslims in America are suspiciously silent in condemning terrorism perpetrated by other Muslims, especially when they target Americans**

Muslim groups in America have long condemned terrorism and were the first to condemn the September 11 attacks. Several dozens of groups since then have continually condemned terrorism in public events, on their web-sites, in mosques, in interfaith conferences, in various local meetings, and in press releases. *The problem is visibility.* Muslims are denied coverage of their condemnations in the mainstream media for various reasons and are eclipsed by xenophobic voices in America who believe in drowning out Muslim voices in important matters such as national security, religious affairs, and foreign policy.

## **Myth: The world is now going**

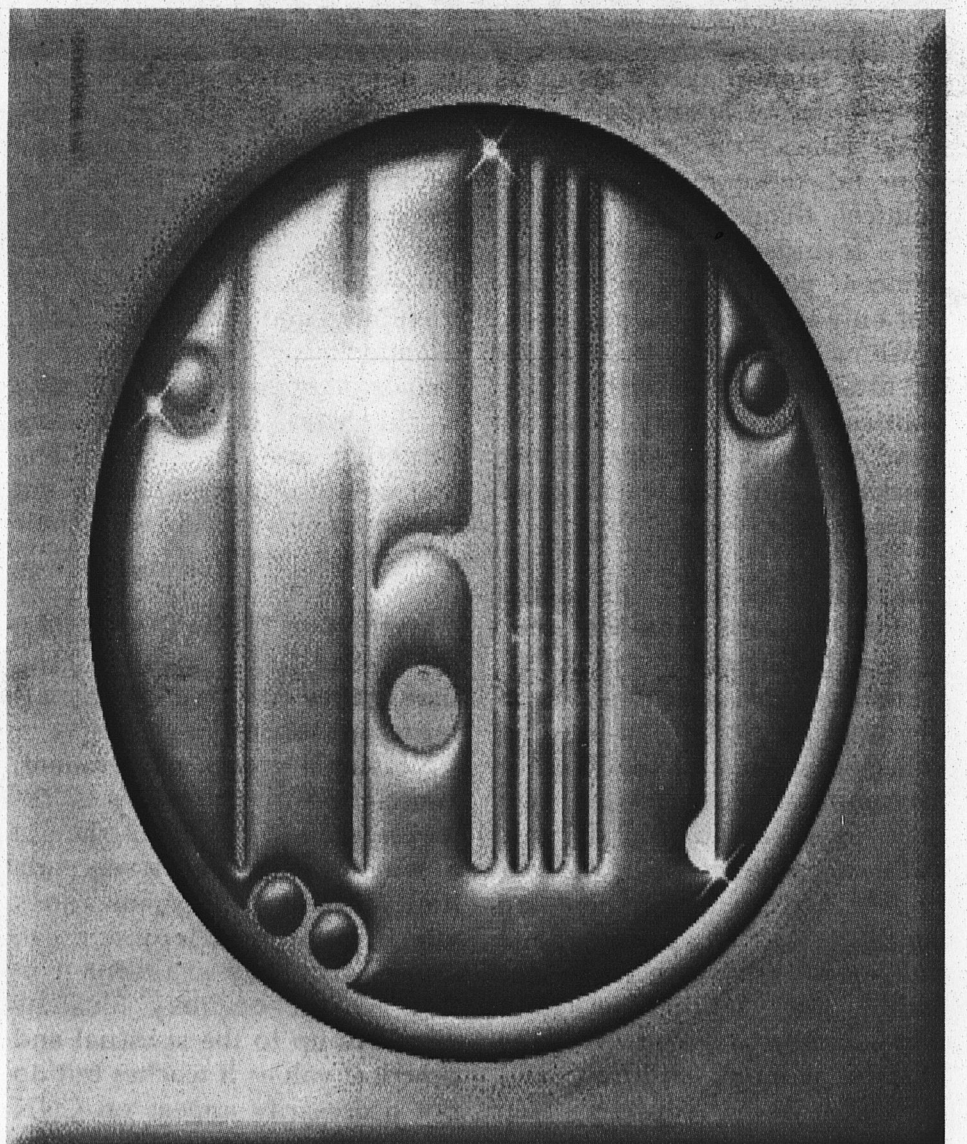
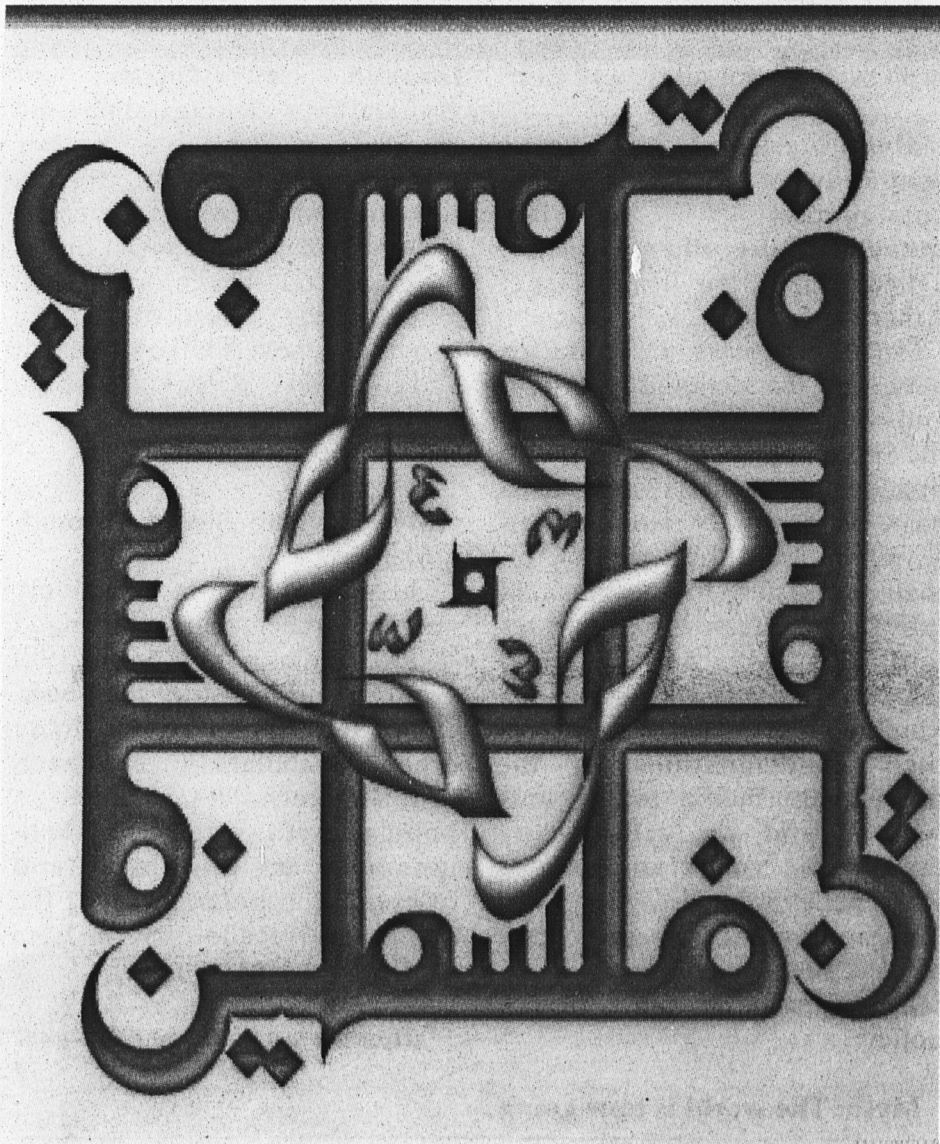
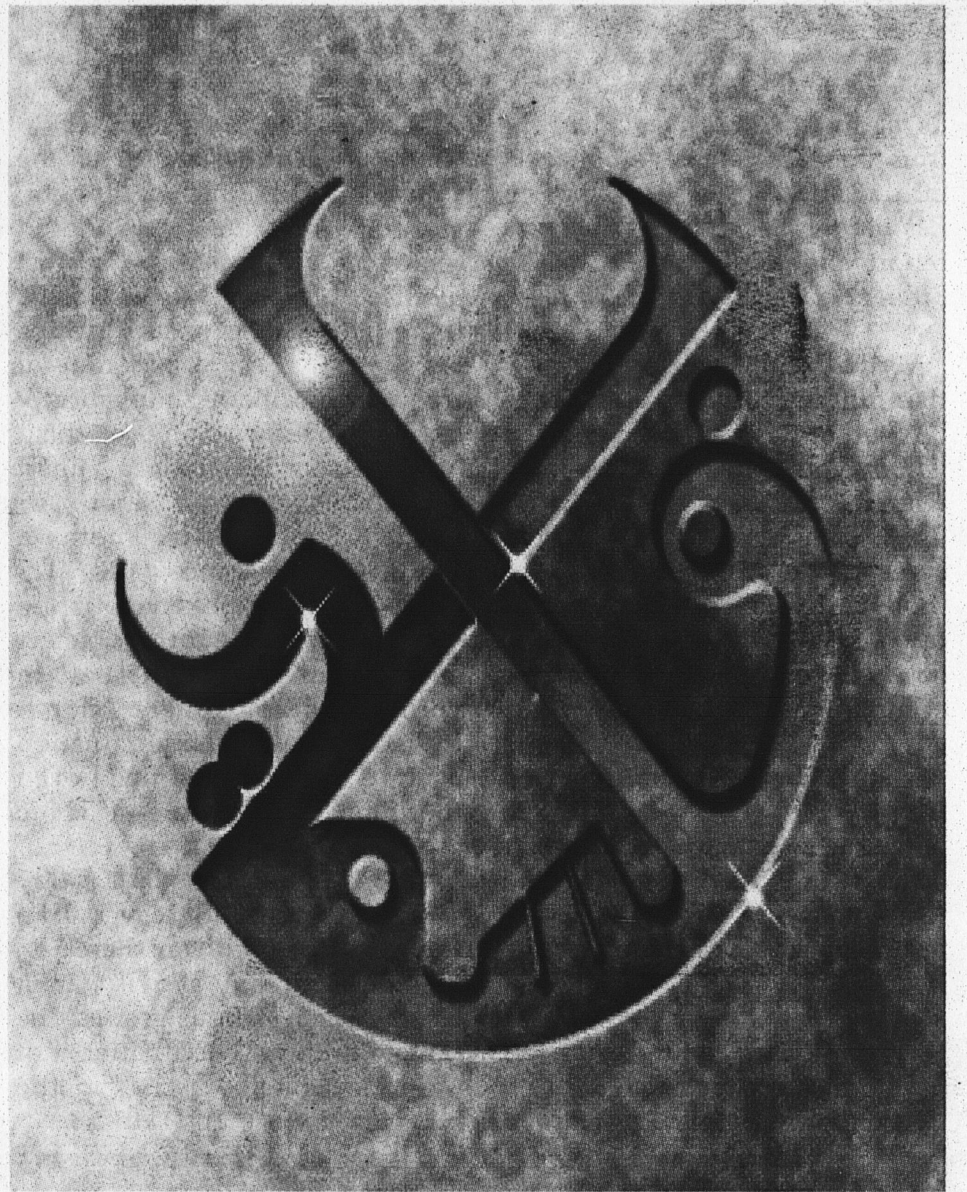
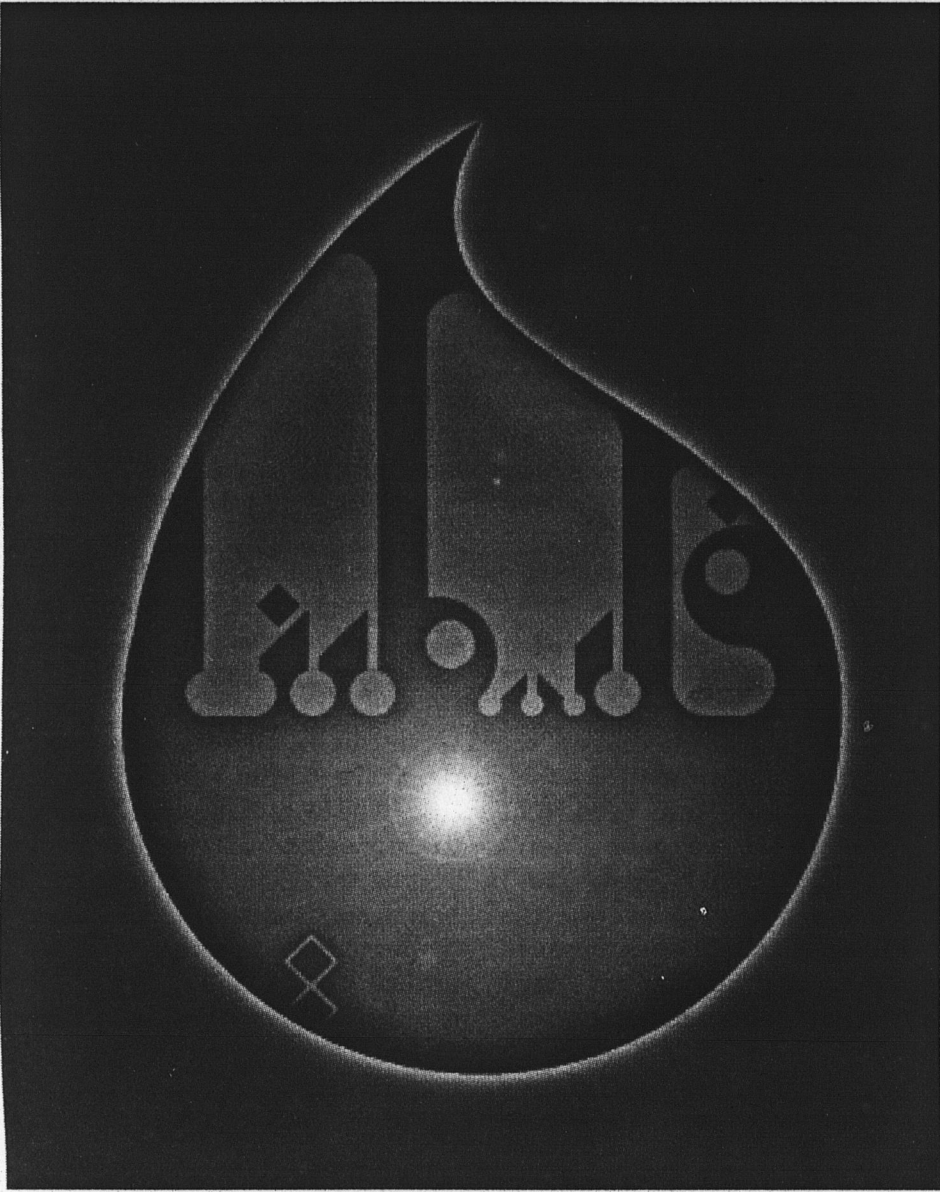
through a "clash of civilizations" where Islam and the West are fighting each other. Islam and the "West" are not fighting each other and there is no "clash of civilizations". Life is too complicated to entertain such generalities, which has convinced most scholars of Islam and the "West" to look elsewhere for answers concerning Islam in the "post 9-11 world".

## **Myth: Islam spread through violence**

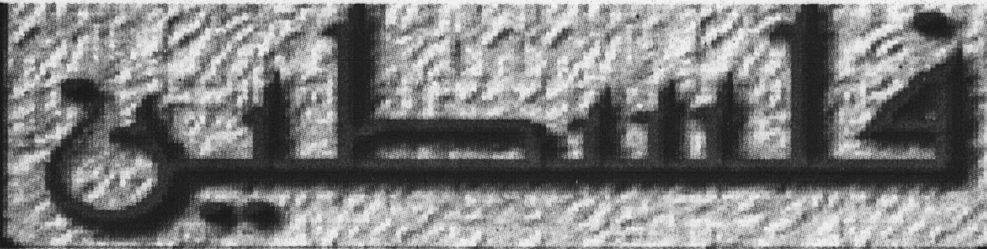
This myth was first effectively and comprehensively challenged by Sir Thomas Arnold in the 19th Century and has since then been completely debunked by many other scholars. However, unfortunately, it remains a popular myth sustained by both ignorance on one hand and orientalist scholarship on the other. See Website of Prof. Alan Godlas (Unv. of Georgia):

<http://www.arches.uga.edu/~godlas/>

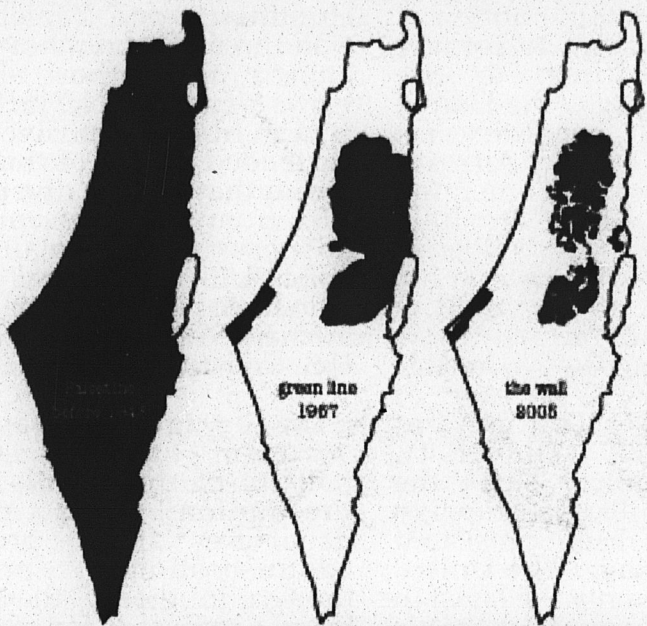
# PALESTINE THROUGH ART





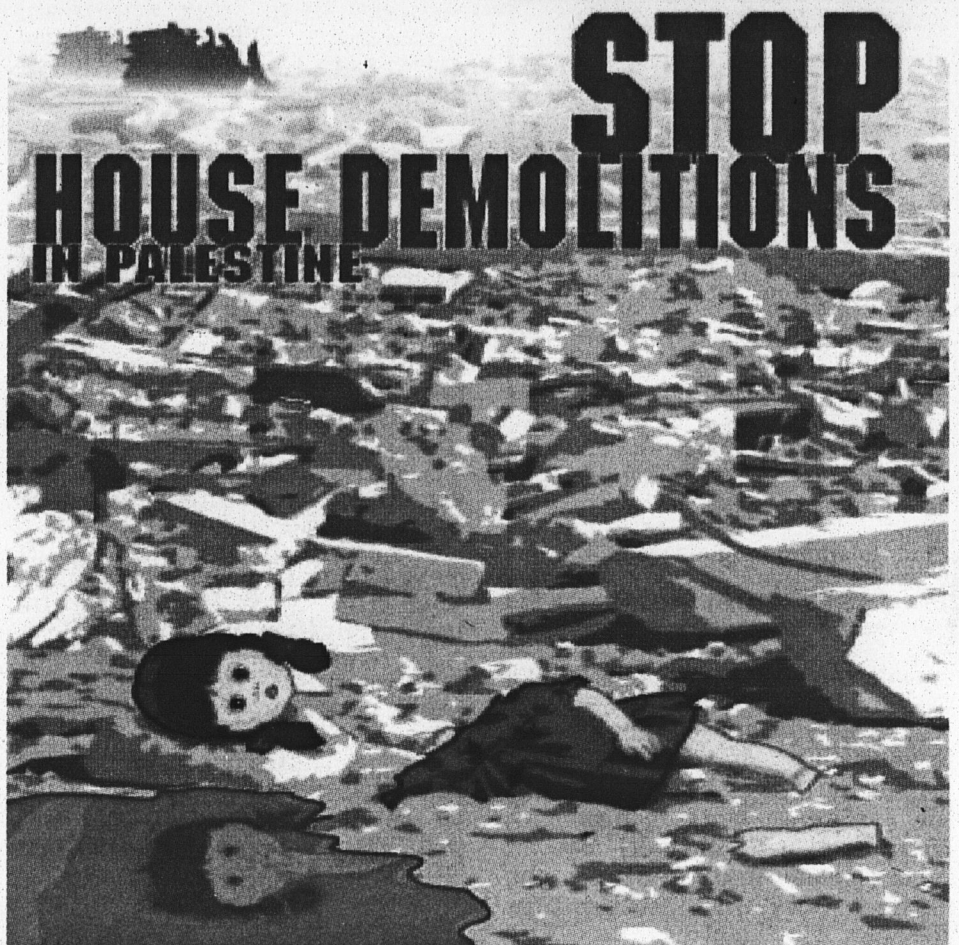


**NO TO BANTUSTANS!  
STOP ISRAELI APARTHEID!**



**TEAR DOWN THE WALL!**

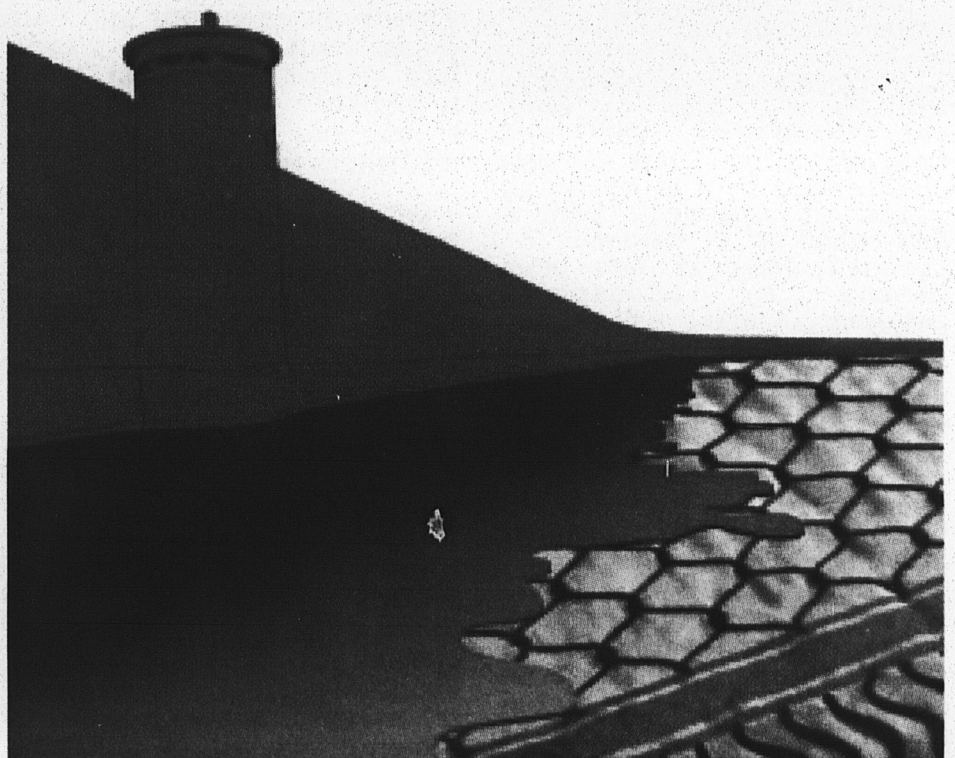
[www.teardownthewall.org](http://www.teardownthewall.org)



**STOP APARTHEID  
IN PALESTINE**

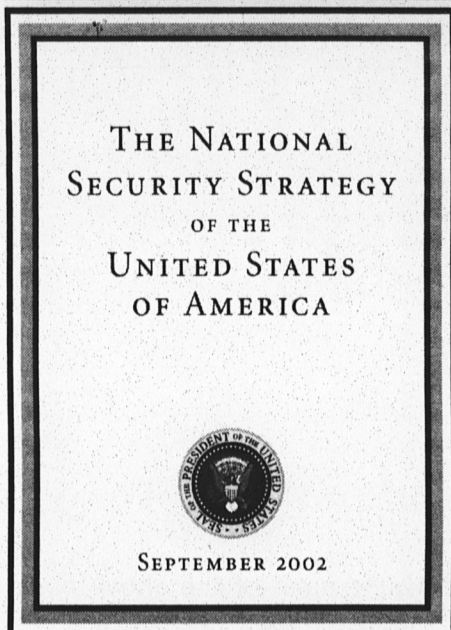


**Free Palestine  
TEAR DOWN THE WALL!**



**PALESTINE**

# The National Security Strategy of the USA



The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (or NSS) was released on September 17, 2002. The paper, which is approximately 35 pages long, has an introduction followed by an "overview" that mentions the eight "goals" of United States foreign policy. The introduction begins with the first statement below and ends with the second, which sums up the heart of the entire strategy.

"The great struggles of the twentieth century between liberty and totalitarianism ended with a decisive victory for the forces of freedom—and a single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy, and free enterprise."

"Throughout history, freedom has been threatened by war and terror; it has been challenged by the clashing wills of powerful states and the evil designs of tyrants; and it has been tested by widespread poverty and disease. Today, humanity holds in its hands the opportunity to further freedom's triumph over all these foes. The United States welcomes our responsibility to lead in this great mission". (Italics mine)

Just as in the PNAC report, the NSS also identifies the victory over the USSR as an opportunity for U.S. global leadership (not partnership or multilateralism). In the following "overview" section it pronounces, "The U.S. national security strategy will be based on a distinctly American internationalism that reflects the union of our

values and our national interests." This will be achieved by the following eight "goals":

1. champion aspirations for human dignity;
2. strengthen alliances to defeat global terrorism and work to prevent attacks against us and our friends;
3. work with others to defuse regional conflicts;
4. prevent our enemies from threatening us, our allies, and our friends, with weapons of mass destruction;
5. ignite a new era of global economic growth through free markets and free trade;
6. expand the circle of development by opening societies and building the infrastructure of democracy;
7. develop agendas for cooperative action with other main centers of global power; and
8. transform America's national security institutions to meet the challenges and opportunities of the twenty-first century.

These goals are then further explained in sequential order in the next eight sections of the document. Although declaring that, "Defending our Nation against its enemies is the first and fundamental commitment of the Federal Government", it assigns the section on terrorism only two pages and the section on enemies (like Iraq and North Korea) two and a half pages, while the section on economic growth alone is four and half pages long. However, words like terror, terrorism, and terrorists are peppered throughout the document (81 references in all). [1]

Though bold in its language, the NSS is far from a clear explanation of U.S. global foreign policy. For example, on the one hand the NSS mentions that, "In keeping with our heritage and principles, we do not use our strength to press for unilateral advantage. We seek instead to create a balance of power that favors human freedom: conditions in which all nations and all societies can choose for themselves the rewards and challenges of political and economic liberty." On the other hand, it states towards the end, "we will be prepared to act apart when our interests and unique responsibilities require." The question is, how do we determine what requires diplomacy and what requires unilateral action?

What does it mean by "unique responsibilities"? No part of the NSS clarifies this ambiguity. The NSS also states that, "The United States has long maintained the option of preemptive actions to counter a sufficient threat to our national security... the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively" and "America will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed." The report doesn't elaborate on what criteria are necessary to identify "emerging threats". "It is quite articulate", writes Robert Jervis, Professor of International Politics at Columbia University, "American policy since the end of the military campaign [in Iraq] has been consistent with it", adding, "The United States may be only the latest in a long line of countries that is unable to place sensible limits on its fears and aspirations." [2] Like in the PNAC report, the U.N. Security Council doesn't get mentioned. As a matter of fact, John Bolton had expressed the role of the U.N. itself shortly after he became Under-Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security:

"There is no United Nations. There is an international community that occasionally can be led by the only real power left in the world, and that is the United States, when it suits our interest, and when we can get others to go along.... When the United States leads, the United Nations will follow. When it suits our interests to do so, we will do so. When it does not suit our interests we will not." [3]

Finally, the most significant part of the NSS is the "war on terrorism" which "will be fought on many fronts against a particularly elusive enemy over an extended period of time." This war reveals "the clash inside a civilization, a battle for the future of the Muslim world. This is a struggle of ideas and this is an area where America must excel." Culturally speaking, this reveals more about what the NSS authors think of Islam, than terrorism and its threat to America. The State Department's fascination with defining Islam from a hostile Orientalist perspective is nothing new. Worse yet is to form actual policies towards the Muslim world from them. The ideological background to

the current attitude to Islam and Muslims from within the Bush administration can be traced to men such as Bernard Lewis [4], Samuel Huntington, and Daniel Pipes – all three of whom have been known to author skewed views of Islam. Nevertheless, "many fronts", "elusive", and "extended period of time" are words that further diverge the NSS from one of its primary purposes – to explain U.S. policies to the general public who have placed the president in charge of governing by the U.S. Constitution.

The vague "war on terrorism", as well as the policies of unilateralism and preemption is a radical departure from previous administration's policies, though in theory they have been expressed for over 30 years. The actual changes are explained by the NSS in the following way: "This Administration has proposed the largest government reorganization since the Truman Administration created the National Security Council and the Department of Defense." Besides this, many individuals have realized links between the NSS and the PNAC's *Rebuilding America's Defenses* that clarifies further the nature of the departure.

## NOTES:

1. Jay Bookman, one of the editors of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, remarks: "The reports repeated references to terrorism are misleading, however, because the approach of the new National Security Strategy was clearly not inspired by events of Sept. 11." (See: <http://www.accessatlanta.com/ajc/opinion/0902/29bookman.html>)

2. Robert Jervis, *Understanding the Bush Doctrine*, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 118, No. 3, Fall 2003

3. Phyllis Bennis, *Calling the Shots*, Olive Branch Press, New York, 2000, p. xxiii

4. Lewis is one of the chief scholars who advise the neoconservatives on Islam and was an advocate of making war on Iraq. Time magazine recently stated of him, "No scholar has had more influence than Lewis on the decision to wage war in Iraq." (Time, April 26, 2004)

# Connections between PNAC and the NSS of USA

As one can see, the same individuals appear (and reappear) connected to all three documents thus far mentioned (*Defense Policy Guidance, Rebuilding America's Defenses*, and the *National Security Strategy*). Also to be noted is that the ideas and policies they espouse (and the language they use to convey them) are expansionist, strategically offensive, and militaristic at heart. Though they agree on most overall views, they sometimes differ in how to implement them the most practical way. As mentioned before, virtually all of the individuals connected to these documents are neoconservatives who feel that a momentous opportunity (courtesy of the passing away of the bi-polar era) has come to America to bring the globe under a "new world order" where the United States is the one and only leader. To bring this to pass is the point of the documents and reports they publish. The recognition of this opportunity and the disappointment of feeling it slowly slip away during the 1990's have mobilized these individuals to form groups and organizations (like the PNAC) to persuade politicians and other people of power and influence to see it their way. In president George W. Bush we can see the success of the degree to which they have striven to make a difference.

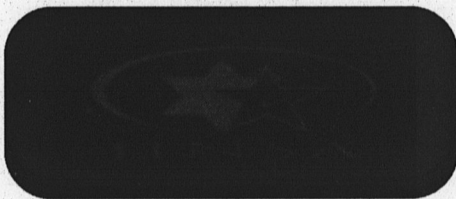


## The Connection of Individuals (Backgrounds)

The connections of individuals involved in making the best of the "opportunity" resemble a network rather than unrelated groups of people with merely similar ideas. We can begin with the PNAC and work our way through related think tanks and spread out to explore the connections they have with the government and various powerful corporations. Other "research institutes" (think tanks) with members involved with the PNAC include the following:

1. American Enterprise Institute (AEI)
2. Americans for Victory Over Terrorism (AVOT)
3. Center for Security Policy (CSP)
4. Committee for the Liberation of Iraq (CLI)
5. Coalition for Democracy in Iran (CDI)
6. Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

7. Empower America
8. Foundation for the Defense of Democracies (FDD)
9. Heritage Foundation
10. Hoover Institution
11. Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies (IASPS)
12. Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA)
13. Middle East Forum (MEF)
14. National Strategy Information Center (NSIC)
15. Rand Corporation

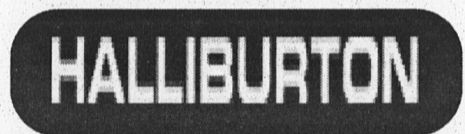


Common members who are/were actively involved in these think tanks and who are/were also in the current Bush administration are the following: (number/s represent the think tanks from the above list)

- Elliot Abrams (National Security Council, Senior Director) - 3, 9, 13
- Edward Aldridge (Department of Defense, Undersecretary for Acquisition) - 3
- Richard V. Allen (Defense Policy Board, member) - 6, 9, 10
- John Bolton (Undersecretary of State) - 1
- Paul Bremer (Presidential Envoy to Iraq) - 2, 6, 9
- Richard Cheney (Vice President) - 1, 12
- Eliot Cohen (Defense Policy Board, member) - 1, 4
- Paula J. Dobriansky (Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs) - 6
- Douglas Feith (Undersecretary of Defense for Policy) - 3, 6, 11, 13
- David Frum (former Speech Writer for the President) - 1
- Francis Fukuyama (President's Council on Bioethics, member) - 6, 15
- Jay Garner (U.S. Strategic Command, member) - 12
- Newt Gingrich (Defense Policy Board, member) - 1, 4, 6, 10
- Fred C. Ikle (Defense Policy Board, member) - 1, 3, 15
- Charles Krauthammer (President's Council on Bioethics, member) - 8
- Lewis Libby (Chief of Staff to Vice President) - 15
- Richard Perle (Defense Policy Board, member) - 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 12, 13
- Condoleezza Rice (National Security Advisor) - 6, 10
- Donald Rumsfeld (Secretary of Defense) - 7, 15
- Abram Shulsky (Pentagon for Office of Special Plans, Director) - 15
- Pete Wilson (Defense policy Board, member) - 3
- Paul Wolfowitz (Deputy Secretary of Defense) - 9, 15
- James Woolsey (Defense Policy Board, member) - 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12
- David Wurmser (Office of the Vice President) - 1, 11, 13

Dov S. Zakheim (Department of Defense, Comptroller) - 3, 6, 9

Among the corporations connected with the above we can include Lockheed Martin, the world's leading military contractor (Edward Aldridge: board of directors); Halliburton, an oil service and logistics company (Richard Cheney: former CEO); Northrop Grumman a leading weapons and intelligence technology maker (Paul Wolfowitz: former consultant, Douglas Feith: former attorney, Dov S. Zakheim: former advisor, and Lewis Libby: former advisor); SY Coleman Technology Inc (Jay Garner: former president); Chevron (Condoleezza Rice: former board member); Enron (Karl Rove: former shareholder); Bechtel (Donald Rumsfeld: negotiations with Iraq in the 1980's); and DynCorp, a security company (James Woolsey: former board member). These connections may seem trivial at first glance, but considering the war on Iraq, these trivialities have proven to be subjects of great concern and criticism for many analysts, reporters, intellectuals, and academics that see links between these corporations and the same men who urged war on Iraq. The corporate connections are realized in practice where dozens of them had donated huge sums of money to elect Bush in 2000, and in turn it seems, have won contracts in Afghanistan and Iraq. [1]



## The Connection of Ideas and Policies

Equally important connections have been made between the ideas and policies highlighted in *Rebuilding America's Defenses* and the *National Security Strategy*. Both documents:

- Mention Iraq and North Korea as rogue states ("two of the Axis of Evil")
- Make the case for unilateralism in leading the world
- Make the case for preëemptive warfare as official U.S. doctrine
- Make the case for maintaining an American-lead global security order
- Make the case for a ballistic missile defense
- Make the case for radically transforming the Armed Forces of the U.S.
- Make the case for maintaining and expanding NATO
- Make the case for expanding military bases overseas in the Middle East and Asia
- Make the case for an American controlled space and cyberspace

(STAR WARS and Carnivore)

Make the case for new technological weaponry (Bunker Buster and MOAB)

Make the case for significantly increasing the defense budget (3.8 %)

Dismiss the Kyoto Protocol, ABM treaty, and the International Criminal Court

Mention the end of the cold war as an opportunity and responsibility to do all of the above [2]

These are significant connections for two reasons. The first is because most of the above are only advocated by neoconservatives and distrusted by almost every other political-social wing found within the U.S. government and civil population. The second is because most of the above cases are, in practice, a radical departure from customary policies of the United States. Some of these desired policies are so militant and uncompromising that in their *National Security Strategy* form they are expressed in subtle terminology (and surrounded by statements drawing on exaggerated fears), though it is apparent what is being stated. A possible reason why such ideas were unabashedly expressed in *Rebuilding America's Defenses* may be that the authors were not expecting the negative attention it got in 1992 under the guise of Cheney's *Defense policy Guidance*. If this is true, then they appear to be correct, at least up until September 11, 2001. Overall, the connections bring us back to a statement found in *Rebuilding America's Defenses*, "we hope that the Project's report will be useful as a road map for the nation's immediate and future defense plans." Judging from the evidence provided above, hope is no longer necessary. Nowhere else is this more clearly realized than in the war on Iraq.

## NOTES

1. 21 one of them have donated over 100,000 and 14 over 1 million. See:

<http://www.publicintegrity.org/wow/report.aspx?aid=65>

2. Nicholas Lemann, reporter writing for the *New Yorker*, wrote, "Rice said that she had called together the senior staff people of the National Security Council and asked them to think seriously about 'how do you capitalize on these opportunities' to fundamentally change American doctrine, and the shape of the world, in the wake of September 11th."

See: [http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?020401fa\\_FACT1](http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?020401fa_FACT1)

# CASE STUDY: The War on Iraq

The official reasons for the war on Iraq are well known. However, every official position comes with hidden unofficial baggage. It is this unofficial baggage that clarifies why the official reasons were made in the first place. As the war began on March 19, 2003, President Bush confidently stated, "The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder." A month and a half later, on May 1, he announced an end to "major combat" and added, "The liberation of Iraq is a crucial advance in the campaign against terror. We have removed an ally of al Qaeda." Some of the official reasons [1] for the war were:

Iraq has chemical and biological weapons (Powell – September 8, 2002)

Iraq has imported aluminum tubes for nuclear development (Rice – September 8, 2002)

Iraq has ties to Al-Qaida (Rumsfeld – September 27, 2002)

Iraq is an urgent threat (Bush – October 2, 2002 and November 20, 2002)

Iraq Sought Uranium from Niger (Bush – January 28, 2003)

Iraq has drone planes that can deploy chemical and biological weapons (Bush – January 28, 2003)

Saddam has given orders to use his chemical weapons (Bush – February 8, 2003)

Iraq has long-range ballistic missiles (Bush – February 9, 2003)

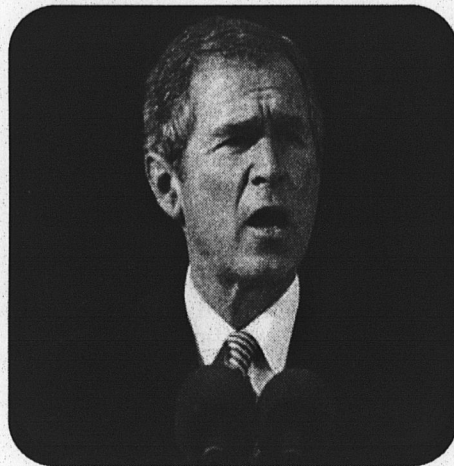
Iraq has reconstituted its nuclear weapons programs (Cheney – March 16, 2003)

Iraq had mobile biological weapons labs (Powell – May 22, 2003)

Saddam wouldn't allow U.N. inspectors back in (Bush – July 14, 2003)

The first nine were made before the war while the last two were made after it to justify the war. These reasons were used to express the imminent danger posed by Iraq to its own neighbors, U.S. Allies, and the U.S. itself. Contradictory to pre-"Operation Iraqi Freedom", on July 9, 2003, two months after the "mission accomplished" speech by President Bush on U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln, Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee, "The coalition did

not act in Iraq because we had discovered dramatic new evidence of Iraq's pursuit of WMD; we acted because we saw the existing evidence in a new light—through the prism of our experience on 9/11." [2] Nevertheless, every single claim listed above was later either proven false or at least, misleading.



**George W. Bush**

All of these reasons for war have been challenged from within the U.S. government itself. On July 15, Senator Carl Levin, speaking on the falsified intelligence concerning Iraq's acquisition of uranium from Niger, told the Senate that, "The uranium issue is not just about sixteen words. It is about the conscious decisions that were made, apparently by the NSC and concurred in by the CIA, to create a false impression. And it is not an isolated example. There is troubling evidence of other dubious statements and exaggerations by the intelligence community and administration officials." [3] A harsher stance came from Rep. Henry A. Waxman. The Special Investigative Division of the U.S. House of Representatives prepared a report at the request of Rep. Waxman that became "a comprehensive examination of the statements made by the five Administration officials most responsible for providing public information and shaping public opinion on Iraq: President George Bush, Vice President Richard Cheney, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of State Colin Powell, and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice." [4] The report concluded:

"Because of the gravity of the subject and the President's unique access to classified

information, members of Congress and the public expect the President and his senior officials to take special care to be balanced and accurate in describing national security threats. It does not appear, however, that President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Rumsfeld, Secretary Powell, and National Security Advisor Rice met this standard in the case of Iraq. To the contrary, these five officials repeatedly made misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq. In 125 separate appearances, they made 11 misleading statements about the urgency of Iraq's threat, 81 misleading statements about Iraq's nuclear activities, 84 misleading statements about Iraq's chemical and biological capabilities, and 61 misleading statements about Iraq's relationship with al Qaeda."

If we are to agree with this conclusion, (and an increasing number of high former Bush administration and government officials [5] have agreed or alluded to it), then what are the actual reasons for the war? The best place to search for these reasons is to examine letters and reports authored by PNAC members. But first, it is necessary to address a 1996 report named *A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm*, prepared by the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies



**Colin Powell**

(IASPS). [6]

The authors of this report, led by Perle, also included Feith and Wurmser. It was composed, writes William James Martin, "for the incoming Netanyahu government" and is "remarkable for its very existence because it constitutes a policy manifesto for the Israeli government penned by members of the current US

government." [7] The report advocates the removal of Saddam Hussein from power, which it says is, "an important Israeli strategic objective in its own right." The Israeli-American connection concerning Iraq is a strong one considering both nations hope to re-shape the Middle East to suit their own interests.

Two years later, on January 26, 1998 the PNAC sent a letter to President Clinton urging him to, "seize that opportunity, and to enunciate a new strategy that would secure the interests of the U.S. and our friends and allies around the world. [8] That strategy should aim, above all, at the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power", thus making regime change official U.S. policy towards Iraq in a time when containment/inspections was believed to be working. [9] Eighteen members including Perle, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Abrams, Rodman, Woolsey, and Bolton, who are now in the Bush administration, signed it. Then came another letter, on May 29, 1998, addressing House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, stating that, "the [Clinton] administration has failed to provide sound leadership, we believe it is imperative that Congress take what steps it can to correct U.S. policy toward Iraq... U.S. policy should have as its explicit goal removing Saddam Hussein's regime from power". [10] The seventeen members who signed on once again included the above individuals. These two letters provide us only proof that removing Saddam from power is one of the neoconservatives' major goals, but it doesn't answer why this is a goal. Perhaps the greatest evidence for the actual reasons for making war on Iraq comes from *Rebuilding America's Defenses*. Here are some of its specific views concerning Iraq:

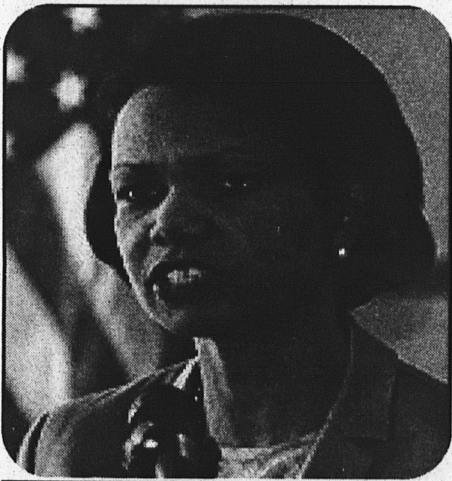
Indeed, the United States has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein.

(Italics Mine)

In the Persian Gulf region, the presence of American forces, along with British and French units, has become a semi-permanent fact of life. Though the immediate mission of those forces is to enforce the no-fly zones over northern and southern Iraq, they represent the *long-term commitment* of the United States and its major allies to a region of *vital importance*. (Italics Mine)

Terminating the no-fly zones over Iraq would call America's position as a *guarantor of security in the Persian Gulf* into question; the reaction would be the same in East Asia following a withdrawal of U.S. forces or a lowering of American military presence. (Italics Mine)

From an American perspective, the value of such bases would endure *even should Saddam pass from the scene*. Over the long term, Iran may well prove as large a threat to U.S. interests in the Gulf as Iraq has. And even should U.S.-Iranian relations improve, *retaining forward-based forces in the region would still be an essential element in U.S. security strategy given the longstanding American interests in the region*. (Italics Mine)



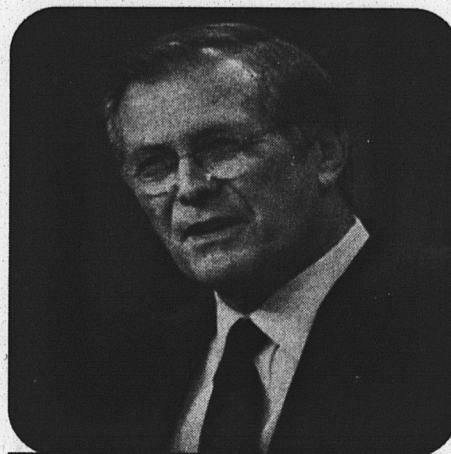
Condi Rice

It becomes clear from the above statements that making war on Iraq has a wider agenda (unofficial baggage) than the official accounts lead us to believe. A good source for explaining the legitimate reasons for war is an article written by journalist Robert Dreyfuss. [11] Titled *The Thirty-Year Itch*, the article uses Chas Freeman (former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia under Bush Sr.) and James Atkins (former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia under Ford) to bring light on the importance of Iraq to U.S. foreign policy. Atkins mentions the "Kissinger plan" which is "a long running strategic design" to "occupy Arab oil-producing countries." Henry Kissinger is a member of the Defense Policy Board in the current Bush

administration who once stated, "oil is much too important a commodity to be left in the hands of the Arabs." [12] Atkins, who worked for Kissinger in 1975, is, concerning the "Kissinger plan", quoted as saying "I thought it had been killed, but it's back." In a similar tune, Freeman is quoted as saying that the current administration "believes you have to control resources in order to have access to them." With connections some of the high members of the Bush administration have with oil companies it is not unreasonable to believe that the war on Iraq was made, at least partially, to gain a firmer control over Iraq's resources. PNAC co-founder Kagan certainly added to this mix when he said: "When we have economic problems, its been caused by disruptions in our oil supply [note the use of the term *our*]. If we have a force in Iraq, there will be no disruption in oil supplies." [13] An interesting piece of evidence was uncovered in this regard. On March 22nd 2004, CBS reported that journalist Ron Suskind obtained a document (among many others) from Bush former treasury secretary Paul O'Neil titled: "Foreign Suitors for Iraqi Oilfield contracts". The document, dated March 5, 2001 (four months before 9/11), Suskind said, "talks about contractors around the world from, you know, 30-40 countries. And which ones have what intentions... On oil in Iraq." [14]

Other explanations have also been mentioned, for example, Philip Zelikow, the executive director of the 9/11 commission, stated, "Why would Iraq attack America or use nuclear weapons against us? I'll tell you what I think the real threat (is) and actually has been since 1990 - it's the threat against Israel... And this is the threat that dare not speak its name, because the Europeans don't care deeply about that threat, I will tell you frankly. And the American government doesn't want to lean too hard on it rhetorically, because it is not a popular sell." [15] This position is not unreasonable either considering the ardently pro-Israeli views maintained by numerous high-level members of the Bush administration, especially Perle, who, it should be recalled, was the chief author of *A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm*, which recognized the military removal of Hussein from power as "an important Israeli strategic objective". Besides this, another link between the Bush

administration's war on Iraq and Israel appeared in a Washington Post article authored by Robert Kaiser on February 9, 2003. [16] Kaiser quotes a senior U.S. government official as stating, "the Likudniks are really in charge now" and Thomas Neumann, Executive Director of JINSA, as saying, "This is the best administration for Israel since Harry Truman."



Donald Rumsfeld

Bush's *National Security Strategy* has expressed the same urgency about Iraq, as have the reports, letters, and statements mentioned above. By the time it was released, Iraq was already designated as the first of the "axis of evil" "rogue" states. The NSS mentions rogue/hostile state(s) a dozen times where at least 6 times it is mentioned along with terrorism. This connection of words expresses one of the Bush administration's misleading claims that Iraq had a link to Al-Qaida. Even though the evidence was known to be misleading beforehand [17], it was nonetheless used to bolster the legitimacy of making war on Iraq. This reveals how important making war on Iraq is to the Bush administration. The people behind the NSS are the same ones mentioned throughout this whole essay. There is sufficient evidence here to believe the war on Iraq was premeditated well before 9/11 [18] for reasons stated in the *Rebuilding America's Defenses* report. Consequently, we can explain both why Cheney and Rumsfeld wanted to attack Iraq immediately after 9/11 and also why terrorism was somewhat ignored before 9/11. Richard Perle went one step further: "This is total war. We are fighting a variety of enemies. There are lots of them out there. All this talk about first we are going to do Afghanistan, then we will do Iraq... this is entirely the wrong way to go about it. If we just let our vision of the world go forth, and we embrace it entirely and we don't try to piece together clever diplomacy, but just wage a total war... our

children will sing great songs about us years from now." [19] If we take into consideration the PNAC letters, the *Rebuilding America's Defenses* report, Dreyfuss' article, Zelikow's statements, Kaiser's article, the NSS, and Perle's "total war" we are provided with a more lucid view of why war was made on Iraq, than the official account.

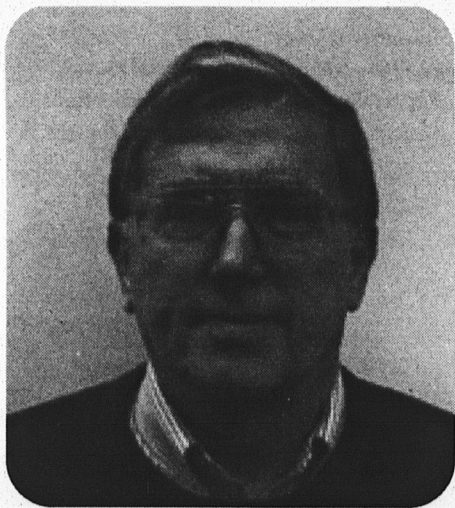
#### NOTES:

1. [http://www.house.gov/reform/min/pdfs\\_108\\_2/pdfs\\_inves/pdf\\_admin\\_iraq\\_on\\_the\\_record\\_rep.pdf](http://www.house.gov/reform/min/pdfs_108_2/pdfs_inves/pdf_admin_iraq_on_the_record_rep.pdf) and <http://www.cmep.org/Alerts/2003Aug1.htm> and <http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=16274>
2. Quoted from: <http://armed-services.senate.gov/statemnt/2003/July/Rumsfeld.pdf>
3. Quoted from: [www.cmep.org/Alerts/2003Aug1.htm](http://www.cmep.org/Alerts/2003Aug1.htm)
4. [http://www.house.gov/reform/min/pdfs\\_108\\_2/pdfs\\_inves/pdf\\_admin\\_iraq\\_on\\_the\\_record\\_rep.pdf](http://www.house.gov/reform/min/pdfs_108_2/pdfs_inves/pdf_admin_iraq_on_the_record_rep.pdf)
5. Richard Clarke, Roger Cressey, Rand Beers, Flynt Leverett, Karen Kwiatkowski, Sibel Edmonds, Paul O'Neil, Anthony Zinni.
6. <http://www.israeleconomy.org/strat1.htm>
7. <http://www.counterpunch.org/martin02142004.html>
8. <http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqclintonletter.htm>
9. Ex U.S. Marine and former Chief U.N. Weapons Inspector Scott Ritter has long argued that his team disarmed Iraq
10. <http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqletter1998.htm>
11. Robert Dreyfuss, *The Thirty-Year Itch*, Mother Jones, March/April 2003, pp 41 - 45
12. Quoted from: [www.counterpunch.org/iraqhostage.html](http://www.counterpunch.org/iraqhostage.html).
13. Jay Bookman, *The President's Real Goal in Iraq*, Atlanta Journal-Constitution, September 29, 2002
14. Quoted from: [www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/01/09/60minutes/main592330.shtml](http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/01/09/60minutes/main592330.shtml)
15. Emad Mekay, *Iraq: War Launched to Protect Israel - Bush Advisor*, Inter Press Service News Agency, March 29, 2004
16. Robert Kaiser, *Bush and Sharon Nearly Identical On Mideast Policy*, Washington Post, Feb. 9, 2003, page A01
17. CIA Director George Tenet disputed the reliability of sources concerning the link between Saddam and Al-Qaida.
18. O'Neil, ex treasury secretary and ex member of NSC, said Saddam was topic "A" 10 days after Bush was inaugurated into office. See: [www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/01/09/60minutes/main592330.shtml](http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/01/09/60minutes/main592330.shtml)
19. As quoted by journalist John Pilger. See: <http://pilger.carlton.com/print/124759>

# Conclusion

As far as the evidence concerns us, there are solid connections between the PNAC and the NSS. These connections include both names and specific policies these names advocate. The connections also clarify what role the Bush administration is playing in the "post 9/11 world".

The involvement of a highly influential group of individuals known as the neoconservatives have and are continuing to work the constitutional system of the United States to achieve objectives that seem far removed from what typical nation-states consider security objectives. What the neoconservatives are advocating and implementing is nothing less than imperial policies to achieve imperial objectives. This includes the pushing of the "benevolent hegemony" mentality on the American public through the use of fear (the NSS makes repeated mention of terrorism and WMD to further policies that do not guarantee safety and are at best ambiguous).



**Louis Fisher**

These policies, complete with weak justifications, have alarmed not only critics across the world (the U.S. is now the most hated nation in the world despite having been supported almost unanimously after the September 11, 2001

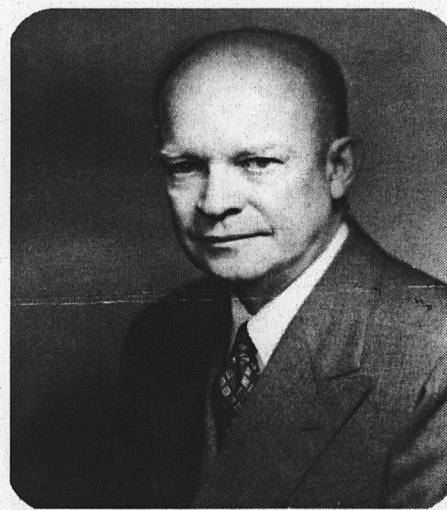
attacks), but even within the American conservative movement itself. This testifies to the radical departure of U.S. foreign policy from the perceived norms of international law and order, respected by other superpowers.

The case study (war on Iraq) makes clear that a relatively small group of individuals have, to a high degree, influenced the government to implement previously controversial views and policies listed throughout this work. Many would argue, quite naturally, that these views and policies remain to be controversial in nature (especially to foreigners who are negatively effected by them). However, as far as public approval is concerned, the lack of the American public in challenging the apparent weaknesses of these views and policies runs the risk of making them standard, by default.

What the war on Iraq ultimately provides us is the recognition of the fervor in which the neoconservatives in power have altered our very lives for the future in, as what I have tried to show, a very dangerous fashion. The danger, in this case, is the clear use of deception and the arrogant dismissal of international law as a means to achieve objectives that gain support only through the use of exaggerated fears. If the danger still seems unclear, we only need to be reminded that even among Western nations, the U.S. is seen as one of the most dangerous nations to world peace. Certainly, this counts for something.

Finally, both the PNAC and its influence on the NSS reveal the "institutional failures" taking place within the U.S. government. This is a far

greater threat to the U.S. than what the Rebuilding America's Defenses report and NSS have expressed. Louis Fisher, a senior specialist at the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, expressed the following sad but true conclusion:



**Dwight Eisenhower**

"U.S. political institutions failed in their constitutional duties when they authorized war against Iraq. The Bush administration never presented sufficient and credible information to justify statutory action in October 2002 and military operations in March 2003... For its part, Congress failed to insist on reliable arguments and evidence before passing the Iraq resolution. There was no need for Congress to act when it did. Instead of passing legislation to authorize war, members of Congress agreed to compromise language that left the decisive judgment with the President. Placing the power to initiate war in the hands of one person was precisely what the Framers hoped to avoid when they drafted the Constitution. Rather than proceed with deliberation and care, the two branches rushed to war on a claim of imminent threat that lacked credibility."

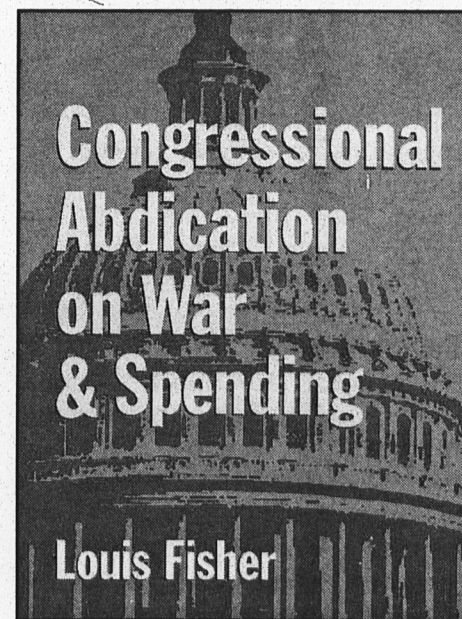
It would also be wise to

take the following statement of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his farewell address, into consideration:

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

**For more information on Prof. Louis Fisher, and his lecture, *How the U.S. Goes to War: The Iraq Resolution*, see:**

[http://www.newschool.edu/gflalumni/features\\_fisher.htm](http://www.newschool.edu/gflalumni/features_fisher.htm)



**ISBN:  
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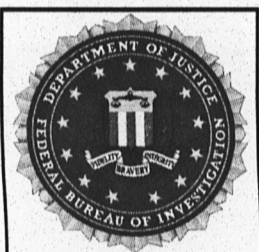
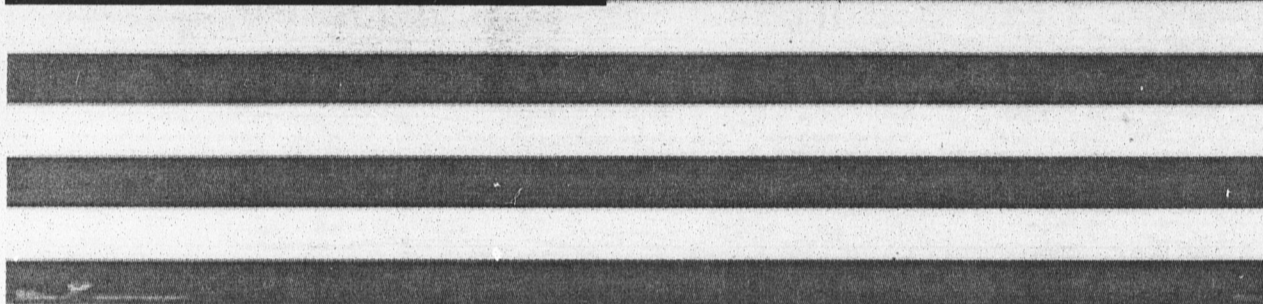
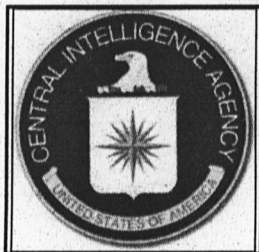
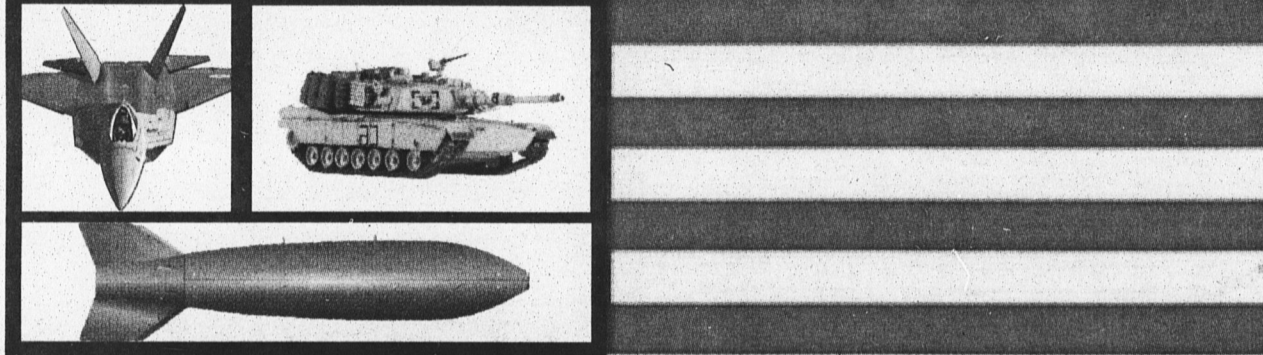
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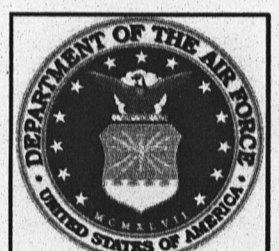
# Citizenship and Military Enlistment in the Near Future?



I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the **Empire** for which it stands: one Nation under god (of the **Anglo man**), indivisible, with Liberty and Justice for all (patriotic domestic subjects of the **Empire only**).



I, (your name here you silly subject you), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the **Empire of the United States** against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the **Neoconservatives**; and that I will obey the orders of the elected **Emperor of the United States** (whether Republican or Democrat) and the orders of the **Imperial officers** appointed over me, according to regulations and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. So help me god (of the **Anglo man**).



Power corrupts the best of us. Throughout history powerful nations and empires serve as repeated examples of how power causes men of influence (and now women also) to justify all sorts of things that the men of power themselves proclaim to abhor.

Yet the complex nature of international relations has obscured the logic and reasoning abilities of some of us to promote aggression in the name of defense, even as no clear evidence is provided except the word of a few people whom if we had done some basic research into their prior views and activities it would have explained far more about the war they initiated than their actual claims of national defense.

The Neoconservatives, that this issue of the College Voice has touched upon, have influenced millions of people domestically (in convincing them that Iraq was an immediate threat to them) and abroad (by attacking a nation that was no threat at all) and judging by how the American people have responded to this immense abuse of power, it has become absolutely clear that our nationalism has eclipsed our common human bond with the people of Iraq.

The relatively few exceptions aside, it doesn't seem to bother Americans that the primary victims of this abuse of power are the Iraqis, who are now portrayed as either "good" for tolerating an

attack on their country and people or "bad" for resisting the occupation of their land and ultimately, their lives. Is it wrong to say that those among us who talk of the negatives of pulling all troops out of Iraq for the sake of the Iraqis are hypocrites (or at least ignorant robots parroting government concerns without using independent reasoning), because they neither cared for the Iraqi people who suffered under a decade of US-lead sanctions (aprox. 1 million were reported to have died, mostly children), nor do they care about understanding the culture and history of Iraqis?

Indeed, they are hypocrites (or ignorant herds) who have failed to see the primary victims of the massive abuse

of power by their government. Many stood by their government as it "shocked and awed" Iraqis into surrendering over mythical WMD's, and then many expressed horror when the Iraqis started to resist the occupation. Today these people hide their guilt by snatching any argument the government gives them on why an aggressive war on Iraq is still honorable. The truth is clear and that is there is not one ounce of honor involved. The truth is US troops are dying in the service of dishonor or more clearly in the service of an empire that has long been corrupted by its power. The truth hurts and it should hurt those who chose to back a war of aggression. God bless the oppressed.