

REVIEWS: "SAVING TREES, STOPPING WARS" WJ FOOTE, THE GLEN PRESS, CHRISTCHURCH 2006

by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

WJ (Will) Foote wants a new national day to mark the date "when we really grew up". Gallipoli was "a military disaster caused by bone-headed politicians and top military brass, the same people whose only strategy was to push thousands more to their deaths in the mud of Flanders. Let's keep Anzac Day for remembrance. Let's keep June 8, 1987 as New Zealand Celebration Day, the day we stood up to be counted". That was when Parliament passed the law that made NZ nuclear-free.

This, one of Foote's few specific recommendations, is the essence of his latest book. We will stop wars, he says, if we don't fight them. As nuclear war would threaten the entire planet, the opting out of nuclearism is a good idea. And, if we want to celebrate our nationhood, what could better a declaration of independence from all that tired imperial posturing?

Foote is too wise to serve up too many prescriptions. Despite never straying from his single theme - that pacifism is humanity's last best hope - Foote's book is never didactic and never argumentative. His tone is unfailingly optimistic. Violence doesn't work. It's an ideal that is often expressed but seldom with the integrity contained within these modest pages.

Will Has Been A Peace Activist All His Adult Life

His experience spans from the years between the World Wars, a period when pacifism was abhorrent to the powers-that-were. As a young man, Foote was prepared to risk acceptance, security and popularity in order to do what he thought was right. For the best part of a century he's never stopped speaking truth to power. It's easy to forget that, although now pacifist sentiments are risk-free (who cares? who listens? what's at stake?), 60 years ago they could land you in prison (see *Jeremy's review of the documentary "Sedition: The Suppression Of Dissent In World War 11 New Zealand"*, by Russell Campbell, in PR 32, March 2006, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-120b.html>. Will was among the conscientious objectors locked up for several years. Ed.).

When you've seen the same mistakes being made, generation after generation, you could get frustrated, but there's no trace of that here. Foote must be a patient man. He's also unfailingly fair-minded. The result is a pleasingly conversational tone, as Foote draws on his experience to provide a context to his themes, to guide, to suggest further lines of inquiry, and then he leaves us to draw our own conclusions. His book is at once concise, economical and relaxed. It's not easy to imagine a better summary of pacifist thinking.

As he has a deft way of allying the idealistic with the pragmatic, Foote's take on domestic politics is interesting. He would like to see progressive MPs from outside the two main parties "stirring the pot within the Labour Party ranks". To join or to stay out? It's an old debate and it won't soon be resolved. Foote worries that, with no Greens (or, at the time of writing, Alliance MPs), "the party of the common people moves remorselessly to the Right".

Foote notes that there are potential allies on the Right. "They don't all grind the faces of the poor. Most want peace just as much as I do. They just go the wrong way about it". To make this point he quotes that prophet of Rogernomics, the property tycoon and iconoclast, Bob Jones. Jones proposed that NZ had no enemies, and like Costa Rica, it could do without armed forces. He ridiculed (in 1989) "war-games childishness". They're fair points. They remind us of the sometimes bitter split between the rationalist, neo-liberal wing of Tory opinion and its Muldoonist rival. Peace people do well to note the tactical advantages such ideological differences can present.

The bulk of the book is practical. Foote provides reading lists, hints at strategies, discusses ideas, and sketches historical explanation. His wry sense of humour is never far away. For many years Will Foote, a cricketer of note for decades, played in the Hawke Cup (second class competition) for Nelson and Wairarapa. His writing has the qualities of a good batsman who long ago saw off the opening attack. He's content to deflect and nudge his singles and put the odd loose ball away to the fence. The pace men breathed their fire but Will's still out there in the middle, 87 not out.

Saving Trees, Stopping Wars can be bought for \$20 from The Glen Press, 79 Lowry Avenue, Christchurch 8051.

Will Foote is a veteran and much valued member of the Anti-Bases Campaign, and until he was well into his 80s, a regular at Waihopai spybase protests from the outset. He is a prolific writer, and several of his books have been reviewed in PR, most recently "Going Uphill Backwards", reviewed by Robyn Dann in PR 26, October 2002, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr26-71.htm>. Ed.

REVIEWS: "THE ULTIMATE WAR CRIME" ROBERT ANDERSON, RG AND J ANDERSON BOOKS, TAURANGA, 2006

by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

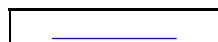
Depleted uranium (DU) is the substance that remains after natural uranium is enriched for weapons or reactor fuel. As a solid it is mildly radioactive. But DU is very heavy, which means it has a military use tipping armour-piercing shells, after which it ends up as vapour and then dust. Officials from the governments which use DU in this way say it is only a mild and temporary risk to health.

Robert Anderson, a retired science teacher living in Tauranga, thinks it is very dangerous indeed. Anderson's brisk survey deals mainly with Iraq and Afghanistan, where DU weaponry has been used. Anderson argues that conditions in these hot, dusty areas have conspired to render the use of DU "the ultimate war crime". He discusses symptoms both of soldiers and civilians which are comparable to those inflicted by the 1945 Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs and, since then, by victims of nuclear testing.

Lawyers have suggested that any weaponry that affects civilians or has effects that linger after the war is over is illegal. If so, and if DU is the cause of the many leukaemias and genetic disorders that have no other easy explanation, then Anderson surely has a case. So far the use of DU has not become a widely discussed topic. That could be because the chaos of post-invasion Iraq commands attention. When the dust (literally) settles, we might expect to hear more.

Officialdom is of course going to deny and deny again. They will always state that there will be no proven link between their deployment of depleted uranium and outbreaks of cancer and birth deformities. We keep going down that road. Smoking is not harmful. There is no such thing as global warming. In this instance, because it is linked to the projection of Bushite America's power over a highly combustible region, the stonewalling will be more resolute than ever.

They're not likely to be believed, not in the wake of all the lying to do with the weapons of mass destruction that the other guy was supposed to have acquired. At least one US Congressman has loaned his voice to the protestors. Dennis Kucinich worries that 2,000 tons of DU have been left in Iraq. Add that statistic to the 221,000 US veterans on disability pensions (Anderson puts the number even higher) and you have to think that Anderson is on to something. Who do you believe, the US Army or an old codger from the Bay of Plenty? The smart money would be on the old codger.



REVIEWS: “DIRTY WAR” A DOCUMENTARY (VIDEO) BY ALAN CARTER, 2005

by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

In 1991 popular opposition in the Philippines forced the Senate to cancel the US lease on its bases. Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base were huge, the main American presence in the vital Asia-Pacific area. The Americans had to decide what might replace the Philippines. Filipinos, whose client and corrupt ruling elite prefers to ignore the plight of the lower orders, were dumped with the problem of cleaning up the mess that the Americans had left behind. “Dirty War” looks at three interlocked themes: Philippine society, and military and environmental issues.

It’s mostly to do with the environment, because the Americans messed up. One reason that bases are sited offshore is to avoid regulation. Consider that the US military has successfully lobbied against exemption from various controls back in the US, and then take note of the history of its relationship with the Philippines. America bought the Philippines off the Spanish at the end of the 19th Century, at the conclusion of the Spanish American War, so the islands were literally their private property. In 1946 the Philippines was granted independence, but a legacy of exploitation and dependence had been established. As this coincided with the intensification of the Cold War, it’s not as if Washington had lost interest in the western Pacific. The US knew that it could rely on tamed Philippine governments. Amongst other things, it got a 99-year lease on the bases it was building.

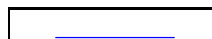
Of all polluters in the US, the military is the worst, so when this film documents the results of nearly a century of unfettered contempt for a distant people and their land, the information is almost as unsurprising as it is nasty. We are shown children with deformities; we are told there are no fish in Subic Bay. Toxic waste oozes from weapons dumps. The US has 2,000 bases in 140 countries; it spends \$US450 billion a year on making more guns and bullets, so the filth is global. The Philippines might well be the most abused of all the allies.

A spokesman for the Navy explains that, in striking a balance between the needs of the military and the environment, there must be “trade-offs”. Yet as the film notes, George Bush Himself said that “either you are with us or you are with the terrorists”. A Bush mindset that justifies any and all of its whims as part of its holy war against foreign “terrorism” does not pause to consider the plight of a distant archipelago of diminishing strategic value.

The Americans looked for a more dependable host and came up with Australia. Compared to the Philippines, John Howard’s Australia recommended itself as stable, reliable and “fairly bloody regular”. That’s the plus side. The negative is that the preferred site. Shoalwater Bay, near Rockhampton, is in a picturesque part of Queensland which the Aussies don’t look forward to filling with toxic waste.

Enter the inevitable local politicians talking up the need for a richer rates take. Enter the spin doctors with their soothing words. It’s not a base, it is being said, it’s just a place where a bunch of mates can land their planes. The residents are sceptical. They suspect that their town is regarded as an out-of-the-way hicksville, keen for attention and investment but short of political savvy.

The Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition (whose spokesperson, Hannah Middleton, appears in “Dirty War”), is organising the “No Bases, No War Games” actions at Shoalwater Bay in June 2007. Visit www.anti-bases.org for more details. Ed.



**“9/11 IN PLANE SIGHT”,
A Documentary (DVD) By William Lewis. Power Hour Production, 2004.**

**“LET’S ROLL 9/11”,
A Documentary (DVD) By Dylan Avery. Loose Change, 2006.**

**“THE BUSH AGENDA:
Invading The World, One Economy At A Time”
Antonia Juhasz. Duckworth, London, 2006.**

**“OVERTHROW:
America’s Century Of Regime Change From Hawaii To Iraq”
Stephen Kinzer. Times Books, New York, 2006.**

**“FUTURE: TENSE.
The Coming World Order”
Gwynne Dyer. Scribe, Melbourne, 2006.**

A couple of years ago, Robin Cook, a former UK foreign affairs minister, suffered a fatal heart attack when tramping in Scotland. Cook was comparatively young and fit. But isn't that the way it goes? Cook's death made the news because he was admired by some for the scepticism about Tony Blair's Iraq policy that had got him sacked, but we hear now that a better explanation is making the rounds in the Middle East. Cook was bumped off. Of course. Aren't they all? He can join President Kennedy, Princess Di and the rest, the ones Who Knew Too Much or were Too Good.

Kennedy and Di had powerful friends and enemies, so all sorts of motives can be invented for their demise. We can place sinister interests on the grassy knoll* in Dallas or in the Paris tunnel. For conspiracy buffs it's an entertainment, an aspect of celebrity worship. Was it the Mafia or Castro who had Kennedy killed? Who got Princess Di's chauffeur drunk? Will Hollywood stars Brad Pitt and Jennifer Anniston make up? * *The grassy knoll in Dallas was supposedly the site of the “real” assassin(s) of President Kennedy in 1963. The Paris tunnel was where Princess Diana died in the 1997 car crash. Ed.*

The more his musings confound common sense, the more the conspiracy theorist is validated. His wisdom is deep and subtle. It sees through the trite surface of things that lesser beings accept. There's an episode of the TV cartoon series *The Simpsons* when Springfield is faced with bad news. Homer knows that sinister forces are to blame. Marge thinks it was an accident. “How naïve”, sighs a condescending - and naïve - Homer.

Like thousands of public figures Cook, as a former politician, might have written the odd op. ed. or spoken to a few student seminars. It might flatter his memory for him to be grouped with the glamorous dead, but to imagine that The System needed him eliminated is unimaginatively dumb. There is, though, a serious way the conspiracy theorist blocks understanding: if all deaths of prominent people and all spectacular events have the same sinister cause, you can't cry wolf when you need to.

Conspiracy Theories

The surprise is that 9/11 has not excited conspiracy buffs more than it has. What other event has so many of the necessary ingredients? The big panics of the past, like the 1938 radio broadcast of HG Wells' *War of the Worlds*, were stories which audiences thought real. The Twin Towers reversed that, the usual response being that an image of planes smashing into New York skyscrapers must be a movie. When fact is more spectacular than fiction, and apparently features stereotypical heroes and villains of the moment, wild rumour is as certain as an explosion of fuel.

The laboriously punning title, “9/11 In Plane Sight”, could charitably be forgiven if it referred to the content of this DVD, but it doesn't, and that's a problem, because the conspiracy busters' central claim is that they can see something that The System has overlooked. Lots of things. They admit to the much-witnessed New York planes, but these weren't all that important. What the rest of us missed were the multiple signs that the planes didn't bring down the Towers, which were in truth lowered by a planned demolition. And the other two “supposedly hijacked” aircraft

were not in plane sight at all. In the DVD's alternative reality they didn't exist. The Pentagon was hit by a cruise missile, while United Airlines Flight 93, the plane that the unwitting world believes to have come down in the countryside, also disappeared. The Pennsylvania field that featured on TV news was really untouched. And according to "Let's Roll 9/11" the al Qaeda suicide bombers didn't exist either.

A stated dislike for Bushite America should not blind the conspiracist to mundane understandings. He can't grasp that even if US foreign policy might be up to no good that doesn't mean that Americans are uniquely villainous individuals. Neither does the bad guy win every time. The paranoid pessimism of the conspiracist, his insistence that everything is always worse than it seems, betrays him every time. With no paints in the palette but midnight black the picture can't ever be pretty. That might be the intention, but what results is not just unremitting, it's featureless. So when the DVDs frame the big question - WHY? - they become merely tedious.

The first answer is the one we all knew to expect: 9/11 was set-up by the US government to justify aggression. A belief that Bush has used 9/11 to advance his quest for global hegemony is hard not to hold - and a projection of American superpower should have been anticipated right from the start - but this does not make the conspiracists prescient. It's more like the old saw about how if you got enough monkeys on enough typewriters they'd eventually write "King Lear". More important than mere coincidence is prediction based on analysis, and here the conspiracists fire blanks. They reel off names - Afghanistan, Taliban, Iraq - but they don't say why Bush wanted these enemies.

Instead they pile up a random usual suspects enemies list. The evil forces connected to the State include "defence contractors" and Congress. The implication is that, like any scam artists, the former are in it for the money; the latter want nothing more than the ability to "legislate your freedoms away" by subjecting American citizens to bodyscans and body cavity searches.

In a moment what was purporting to be an analysis of imperialism morphs into a spoiled child whine. The subject matter might seem to be Noam Chomsky, but it's more like the musings of the fascist bomber Timothy McVeigh*. Indeed the film veers swiftly from 9/11 and the corrupt government to the more congenial territory of Oklahoma City. The conspirators want to establish some sort of link between the (apparently still undisputedly) home grown bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma and 9/11, but not even these nutters can do more than throw the names and words into the pot, words like "explosion" and "bomb", and mix like mad, hoping they'll bake something. * *Timothy McVeigh was executed for the 1995 bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, which killed more than 160 people. Ed.*

The narrator of "9/11: In Plane Sight" looks soberly at the camera and sounds like one of those "trusted" TV anchormen. "Let's Roll" has more fun. "I hope you're sitting down", the voice-over warns. It's got the boring Government stuff out of the way, so we know we're going to get the real gen. Under the Twin Towers was \$US160 billion in gold and/or the owner with the obviously Jewish name wanted the place torched as an insurance scam. Wait, there's more: big - and of course not investigated - insider trading in airline shares. Get it? And, listen up, the purpose of American foreign policy is "only to make trillions of dollars".

"Angry yet?", the unseen Timothy McVeighite voice asks as he prepares the punch line. "Tell total strangers. Ask questions". We're being harangued by the pub bore. We see a clip from a TV chat show, where some guy, captioned as "conspiracy theorist", is being interviewed by US talk show host, Geraldo Riviera. Foreign audiences need to know that Riviera's whole schtick is to be tacky. If Geraldo has you on the show, you're not supposed to be taken seriously.

Bush Is A Frontman For Washington Insiders

Conspiracists are prone to uncovering "hidden agendas", so Antonia Juhasz's title could give the impression that she's also off on a ghost busting mission. She isn't. She is accurate in a literal sense. For all his incoherent manner and cowpoke persona George Bush is frontman for powerful Washington insiders who have written down their aims.

Juhasz traces the "Bush Agenda" to 1992, the final year of his dad's presidency. That's when six men, who included Dick Cheney, now Vice President, and Donald Rumsfeld, now Defense Secretary, drafted Bush Senior's Defense Planning Guidance (DPG). Bush Senior was "setting the agenda" for his successors. Emboldened by the collapse of the Soviet bloc and his recent (first) Gulf War win, Bush was hoping to create a legacy. DPG was a blueprint for the projection of an unrivalled American power at one of those moments when anything seemed possible. DPG's agenda was to abort the prospect of a "peace dividend" by making sure that America kept up its big military spending. The authors argued that the US should be able to project overwhelming force anywhere any time. The authors envisioned a system in which "the world order is ultimately backed by the US".

Although it had no feasible military rival, America needed to “establish and protect a new order that holds the promise of convincing potential competitors that they need not aspire to a greater role or pursue a more aggressive posture to protect their legitimate interests. Second, in the non-defence area, we must discourage them from challenging our leadership or seeking to overturn the established political and economic order. Finally, we must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role”.

Note how the language slides from defence, the need for which is assumed. Thus the creation of a “world order” refers to the purpose of American military and defence policy. It’s to do with what’s meant to result, the imposing of a “new order”, a planet in which all and sundry accept that America is the sole superpower. It’s aimed as much at Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Group of Seven (G7) rivals as at countries like Russia or China. No-one needs to be reminded of America’s attitude to the mass of the planet that used to be called Second or Third World. That aspect of the “old order” hasn’t changed. The “new order” part is that the US might drop its First World North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and European Union (EU) mates of the last half century. Bush thinks the US now has the ability, and perhaps the need, to go it alone. That’s the agenda.

The CIA Spells It Out

The new order, which is usually called globalisation, is to do with economic supremacy, and it’s quite happy if it leaves in its wake what others might call disorder. It even expects it. In 2000 the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) noted that the policies which Bush and his mates were hawking would induce “deepening economic stagnation, political instability, and cultural alienation. They will foster political, ethnic, ideological, and religious extremism, along with the violence that often accompanies it” (“Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About The Future With Non-Government Experts”, approved for publication by the National Foreign Intelligence Board, under the authority of the Director of Central Intelligence, US National Intelligence Council, 2000-02, December 2000, cited by Juhasz, p5).

Four years later the CIA, the brain that guides Pentagon muscle, confirmed these predictions. “The gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ will widen... Globalisation will profoundly shake up the status quo, generating enormous ... convulsions”. The CIA concludes: “The key factors that spawned international terrorism show no signs of abating” (“Global Trends 2020: Mapping The Global Future”, National Intelligence Council’s 2020 Project, December 2004; cited by Juhasz, p298. The National Intelligence Council is a Federal agency which provides the Government with intelligence forecasts).

Between these two assessments, in January, 2002, four months after the plane attacks - though plans to attack Iraq were aired in the White House on September 12, 2001 - Bush addressed Congress: “In this moment of opportunity a common danger is erasing old rivalries... In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives... [T]he forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom”.

Central to all these “freedoms”, Juhasz remarks, is the one which is called “free trade”, a phrase which serves as “shorthand for a number of economic policies that expand the rights of multinational corporations and investors to operate in more locations, under fewer regulations”. “Free trade” is the freedom that defines and legitimises all the other freedoms.

It’s no news that businessmen run Washington - they always have - but their presence has morphed from being overwhelming to being absolute. Juhasz notes that “the President, the Vice-President, and the Secretaries of Defense, Energy, Treasury and Commerce are all former Chief Executive Officers (CEOs). The Secretaries of State, Labor, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation are all former corporate executives or directors”.

So, in an obvious sense, there doesn’t need to be a conspiracy. It used to be said that what was good for General Motors was good for America. These days GM might be down on its luck, but the sentiment remains: what’s good for corporate America is good for America. The essence of Bushite America is the emergence of a new elite within American capitalism. Juhasz finds its centre in four corporations: “Chevron, Halliburton, Lockheed Martin and Bechtel represent three key pillars of the Bush Agenda: oil, war, and building the infrastructure of corporate globalisation... Not only have their past and present executives directly shaped the Bush Agenda, but the companies directly profit from its implementation today”.

Iraq Is The Obsession

Juhasz shows how Iraq has come to be a Bushite obsession. Because it has large oil reserves and a strategic position, Iraq has long bothered both the American and British governments, so Juhasz reminds us that sometimes the new order resembles old orders. In the years after World War 1 the then imperial rivals, the US and the UK,

squabbled over who would get Iraq's oil. The West was content that an Iraqi government remained in office so long as the US-UK axis was in power: "The Iraqis, however, wanted the British out. In 1932, in a situation remarkably similar to that of present day Iraq and the United States, the British granted Iraq *nominal* independence while British troops remained stationed in the country. British officials maintained posts in all levels of the Iraqi government, and both the British government and British companies exercised control over key sectors of the Iraqi economy" (author's emphasis).

Iraq's pattern of veering between dependence and defiance culminated in Saddam Hussein's 1990 invasion of Kuwait (itself created as a client state of UK oil interests). Juhasz notes that "there are two main schools of thought as to why the United States did not stop the invasion of Kuwait before it began. The first is that Bush Senior believed that he and Hussein were working together, but Hussein had to make a show of aggression to impress both those inside and outside of Iraq of his seriousness. Bush did not actually believe that Hussein would invade Kuwait in defiance of US interests (even if those interests had not been stated) and those of most of Iraq's neighbours, and Hussein did not actually believe that Bush would stop him if he did invade. But once Hussein invaded Kuwait, the Bush Administration could not allow him to control both his own and Kuwait's oil and threaten Saudi Arabia, particularly since he had demonstrated that he could no longer be trusted in serving US interests. Hussein had to be removed. The other school of thought ... is that Bush allowed Hussein to invade Kuwait because it provided an excuse to remove Hussein from power, and the war with Iraq, in turn, provided the necessary excuse to bring a significantly increased US military presence into the region..."

This assessment is typical of Juhasz's restrained and thoughtful tone. She suggests that "a combination of the two arguments is also possible" and leaves the matter. Juhasz is similarly open-ended in discussing the debatable answers as to why Bush Senior's army did not go on to Baghdad and catch Hussein. Gwynne Dyer (see below) makes the case that Bush Senior, a product of the post-WW2 order, was cautious about leaving Iraq with no rooted government as the country would have become unpredictable and ungovernable. Bush Senior might not have launched Gulf War 2.

Juhasz is, however, sure that the current conventional wisdom about Bush Junior's policy is wrong. "It has been said so often that it is now repeated as gospel that the Bush administration had no plan for post-conflict Iraq. But the gospel is not correct. There was at least one clear plan - an economic plan - the blueprint for which was ready and in Bush Administration hands at least two months prior to the invasion". Of course it was. It was the plan for "free trade". And as Napoleon supposedly said, you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs.

As expressed in its Iraq clauses, the Bush agenda is commendably specific, consisting of 100 "Orders". These were published in 2003 by a certain L Paul Bremer 3rd. Once Hussein was overthrown, the US sent in an "administrator". The first choice, General Jay Garner, was fired in no time, scorned as a failure by a sycophantic mass media reciting lines drafted in Washington. His "failure" was that he urged two policies that made sense to most outside Washington but not to those inside it: a quick transfer of power to Iraqis so that the US would not come to be seen as an occupying force; and a more restrained, less ideological, economic prescription. A reliable toady, Paul Bremer, had to be flown in to draft a constitution for Washington's new, improved product.

Bremer's consultants, BearingPoint Inc. of McLean, Virginia (home of the Pentagon), picked up \$US250 million for writing it up, so it should be good. BearingPoint was spun off from KPMG, one of the "Big Four" accountancy transnationals - it used to be KPMG's management consultancy arm (BearingPoint is a sponsor of Local Government NZ.).

Blueprint For A Pure Neo-Liberal Economy

Bremer and BearingPoint's 100 "Orders" are a complete blueprint for running a purist neo-liberal economy. We heard in May 2006 of US Marines running amok and murdering civilians. They might have been comforted by Order 17, which grants legal immunity from Iraqi laws to Coalition forces - and to corporations, corporate subcontractors and their employees. Order 37 mandates a flat tax system, replacing Iraq's progressive tax system. Order 94 opens a previously closed banking system to allow complete and unrestricted foreign ownership.

The occupation is equally military and economic. Were Bush's purpose to be the establishment of "democracy", as he has always insisted, he would not be trying to remove the possibility of choice from a successor Iraqi government. The Orders are the laboratory of the "new order" and they exist to negate democracy (as the rest of us conceive it).

This did not preclude Bremer and BearingPoint from resurrecting business as usual when it came to their mates at Bechtel and Halliburton. They were guaranteed the very "old order" cost-plus contracts. These allow a company to

bill for a fixed percentage over and above whatever the work costs. The fattest pig at the trough, Halliburton, recent home of Vice-President Dick Cheney, has contracts worth over \$US11 billion (*in July 2006, the Pentagon cancelled Halliburton's huge logistic support contract and put it up for open bid, because of Halliburton's shoddy management, flagrant over-charging and general corporate arrogance in its dealings with the military. Ed.*).

The core of Bremer's constitution is Order 39 legislating "national treatment", a provision that would disallow an Iraqi government from any measure which might be deemed to protect domestic contractors from foreign competition. Yet it provides for foreigners to get preferential treatment. This enacts the complete neo-liberal freedom that, in the face of global protest, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has been unable to achieve. After this, his work brilliantly done, Bremer went back Stateside. Those who keep saying that Bush had no plan do not see that Bremer succeeded in putting in place one of the clearest and most complete plans in all of history.

Juhasz traces the "free trade" phase of the American agenda to the 1980s' Reagan-era Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Developing countries, trapped in debt to foreign banks, "had to adhere to a series of strict conditions that would reduce domestic spending while increasing capital available to pay back loans. The conditions were always the same, regardless of the country in question. They all followed the same corporate globalisation model: privatise government industries, eliminate restrictions on foreign ownership and investment, eliminate barriers to trade, eliminate government restrictions on foreign corporations, cut government spending, devalue the nation's currency, and focus development on exporting key resources such as oil, minerals, trees, agricultural products, luxury goods such as coffee and flowers, and the like".

Meanwhile the US was tying its neighbours, Canada and Mexico, into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). NAFTA, which was to be the template for the world, enacting SAP policy at governmental levels. The inevitable result of a deregulated continent was that only the biggest corporations, those with the lowest unit costs and most automated procedures, thrived. Juhasz picks Wal-Mart, the grossest of them all, as the icon of the new order. Wal-Mart has eliminated livelihoods in the US by ending competition in manufacturing and retail and by producing its goods in foreign countries. Throughout North America it has laid waste local towns. Yes, its products are cheap and nasty, but then, with its customers increasingly hard up, they need to be. By importing its wares from the cheapest sources Wal-Mart made its owners, the Walton family, multi-billionaires. Juhasz describes Mexican border towns as being cheap labour camps from which Wal-Mart and others export into the American market. Mexican enterprises cannot compete. As the only viable employer in a regional economy it has itself created, Wal-Mart can drive down wages all over again. Wal-Mart is an emblem of globalisation.

In 1997, during the Clinton presidency between Bushes Senior and Junior, a cabal of neoconservative intellectuals proclaimed their Project for the New American Century (PNAC). The first order of business, PNAC urged, was the removal of Saddam Hussein, who occupied a strategic space on top of lots of oil. A few weeks later an outfit called the Center for Peace and Security in the Gulf (CPSG) wrote to Clinton with the same demand. The two groups - and others with the same agenda that sprouted like toadstools on a dung heap - had interlocking Bush Senior and Junior Cabinet-and-Chief Executive Officer membership. One such, Richard Perle, who chaired CPSG, is best known for his 1980s-era promotion of a first-strike nuclear policy against the former Soviet Union.

Gwynne Dyer (see below) cites an agenda that would have delighted conspiracists, were they into reading. A thinktank penned "Rebuilding America's Defenses", which openly yearned for "some catastrophic and catalysing event - like a new Pearl Harbor". The flood of propaganda broke the dam when Clinton enacted the Iraq Liberation Act. This stated that "it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic (i.e. 'free trade' neo-liberal) government to replace that regime". Does this mean that Bush's agenda is not new?

Bush Junior is certainly brazen. Few would deny that he is different in degree from both his father and Clinton. Is he also different in kind? He is the first modern president to avowedly go it alone. It is hard to imagine that Clinton would have sought opportunities to insult the United Nations, as Bushite American officials do routinely. And Clinton's hacks, while free traders one and all, were not the neo-con zealots who poured hatred into the ears of Bush Junior. Perhaps the difference between the last two presidents is the difference between opportunism and fanaticism.

Oil Is The Drug Which The Empire Must Have At Any Cost

Juhasz might not be the first commentator to suggest that, at the black core of US policy, is oil, but not always is the connection between oil's part in informing foreign and domestic policy as succinctly analysed as it is here. All US governments have put the need for (what they deem to be) secure supply of oil as a first principle, and for the last three decades a sort of permanent oil crisis has preoccupied policy makers.

In 1970, Juhasz argues, domestic US oil production peaked. From then on the need for foreign supplies became increasingly urgent. Libya nationalised its oil in 1971 (making its ruler, Colonel Ghadaffi, part of the "Axis of Evil") and Iraq, a more important source, nationalised in 1972. This was the time of the "oil crisis", when the world's economies seemed permanently stuck in a bog of crude. Prices soared; so too - though they prattled endlessly of how sorry they were for the whole unavoidable mess - did Big Oil's profits. It is not a coincidence that the decade of the 1970s marked the end of a post-war expansion of the domestic economy. Thirty years of rising production and prosperity brought a booming Gross Domestic Product (GDP), strong trade unions, rising wages and greater equality. In the US the share of total wealth that the richest cornered for themselves fell by 10%.

In 1980 the Reagan presidency ushered in a decade in which the trend towards better living standards was more than reversed. In the 1980s the rich's share of national wealth went up by 20%, while the great bulk of the population were mired, and the poorest became poorer, even in absolute terms. The oil shock had been the catalyst for two historic shifts, long sought by transnational corporations: a global transfer of money and influence to the very richest Americans and their mates overseas, and, within America, from working families to corporations, the biggest of which were from the same all-too-familiar rogues' gallery.

The Bush agenda, largely written by oil men, is to make explicit the primacy of Big Oil in a historical moment which has seemed to leave the US with enhanced global power. Big Oil acts as the keystone for an imperial arch. The men around Bush were in most cases the men who advised his father. They have spent their working lives passing between Government and the corporations that get all the big federal contracts. The power elite, the men - and one woman, Condoleezza Rice - who literally have written the agenda, have made themselves known to us. The agenda is anything but secret. Juhasz's focus is the international aspect of Bushite arrogance. This does not mean that the agenda is not also concerned with keeping the locals in check. On the contrary, both Juhasz and Bush take this motive for granted.

How much more useful is this explanation, and how much more straightforward, than the conspirators' vague, generic rant about "defence contractors", insurance scams, inside traders and lost gold. How much more devastating and convincing as evidence is the real world. The conspiracists are unused to systematic analysis, and because they cannot see either the trees or the wood, they have to invent. They have picked up from the popular mass media (the same mass media that they now "denounce") a suspicion that the world might have complexities they had not imagined, but they have no idea as to how it works. Like Homer Simpson, they adopt a know-nothing cynicism as a shield against their ignorance being revealed.

Journalist Stephen Kinzer's detailed history, "Overthrow", which chronicles American adventures overseas, is an entertaining account, well written and full of anecdotes from the adventurers themselves. On a global scale, American mastery of technique and control of information often looks smooth, at least from a distance of time and space. On the ground, as they say, the plotters are, as likely as not, bunglers.

Kinzer picks several events as being significant, an interpretation that follows a historians' consensus. When the narrative has to do with US foreign policy, the role of the mass media, the biases of corporatocracy and their enemies, the conventional wisdom can be dangerous, a recital of unexamined assumption. It's not a worry here. Kinzer has made good choices.

In a section called "Covert Action", Kinzer relates four key interventions, chosen because in all of them the American role was decisive. They shared three other characteristics. In each case, Kinzer says, the presidents concerned were acting within US law. In each case (with one obvious exception) "reasonably democratic governments" were replaced by dictatorships. In all four cases, a hunger to control resources was a central motivation.

Iran

In 1953, when an uppity Iran had to be put down, the US did not need to send in the Marines. The British wanted to secure their oil, nationalised by Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh. Mossadegh had been much admired in some Western circles for his progressive government, so this was too much. He had to go down. The UK was scared that an invasion could provoke a Soviet response, so they asked for US help. With buckets of Yankee dollars, the CIA did the trick. Out went the Prime Minister and a burgeoning democracy. In came the Shah and his secret police.

Thieves fall out, especially if one of a pair has the big bucks and the big guns. Mossadegh had offered British oil interests a 50/50 split. After the Americans took over their coup, they had to settle for a 20% take. A US Supreme Court judge who had visited Iran both before and after the coup was not impressed. "When Mossadegh and Persia

(*the old name for Iran. Ed.*) started basic reforms, we became alarmed. We united with the British to destroy him; we succeeded; and ever since, our name has not been an honoured one in the Middle East”.

Notoriously, Americans tend to the Henry Ford view that history is bunk, so that, a generation later, when the Shah was deposed and the US Embassy in Tehran was overrun, in 1979, the kidnappers were wont to remind their baffled captives of the events of 1953. Iranian resentment had since been nurtured by the Shah's destruction of democracy and secular humanism. Mosques, which needs be were left alone, sheltered obscurantist clerics, who filled the vacuum.

Guatemala

It was much the same the next year (1954) in the Central American country of Guatemala. A progressive leader was ousted for trying to wrest some control over his country's tiny finances from a foreign corporation. President Jacobo Arbenz nationalised United Fruit, a US banana monopoly, on the basis of its stated revenues of around \$US1 million, only to find that the company deemed it unreasonable to suppose that United Fruit would tell the truth about such matters. Its real profits were 20 times higher, Arbenz was informed. He might have guessed they would be miffed. United Fruit had acquired its lands by taking them. So out went another promising democracy and in came another thug to make Guatemala safe again for banana profits.

President Dwight Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and his brother, Allen, Director of the CIA, were both shareholders of United Fruit and John was one of their lawyers. This would not have been a moral impediment to Dulles. A fundamentalist Christian, John Foster Dulles was untroubled by doubt. Like so many political careerists he had little experience of life beyond provincial Republicanism. Dulles, whose tenure in federal office coincided with the grotesqueries of Joe McCarthy*, saw a monster called Communism lurking in the shadows, encircling the bright city on the hill that was America. Arbenz wasn't keen on an American banana company, which made him a commie, which meant he had to go. * *US Senator Joe McCarthy, with his inquisitions and deranged accusations, became synonymous with the anti-Communist witch hunts and hysteria in the 1950s. Ed.*

There is a tendency to suppose that men like Dulles, with access to both Intelligence and “intelligence”, do not mean what they say. It suits great powers to have bogeymen to blame for the depredations they are said to force upon the guardians of the cities on the hill. We'd like you to be free and happy, the guardians say, but not yet. First we must be on watch against the bogeyman, so you'll have to forgive us for upping your taxes so we can buy more tanks. Priests and imams hunt for devils; official America nurtures a Communist threat. Indeed it is the very crudity of McCarthyist scapegoating, and its often farcical hysteria, that gave the whole phenomenon of conspiracy theory a kick start. If a superstition has the effect of justifying an elite class through metaphysics and irrational speculation, and if it comes to be believed by opinion leaders, then it's probably the creation of that elite.

Vietnam

Who can be sure if Dulles believed what he said? Ultimately it might not matter, because he would have said it anyway. Ten years later, after Vietnamese had forced from their country first a rapacious Japan, and then a sadly lingering imperial France, the world might have cut them slack. It might even have given them a hand. But as we know only too well, a different American president, Kennedy, from a different party, the Democrats, looked at Vietnam and saw again the bogeyman. If Dulles was the epitome of 50s' conservatism, Kennedy's main man, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, was supposed to be Dulles' nemesis. He was the essence of 60s' cool. According to the high priests in the West's governments and media, McNamara was a “technocrat”. His “buttoned-down” mind was said to be an awesome calculating machine, as cold and clear as a prairie winter dawn (in the excitement of the moment, metaphors got mixed).

The word from Camelot (*as the Kennedy era was dubbed, after the court of the mythical King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Ed.*), and later from his successors, Presidents Johnson and Nixon, was that “international Communism” was subverting South Vietnam, on orders from Russia. Faced with having to figure out how a lumbering Soviet Union could invisibly direct affairs from an improbable distance, the propagandists discovered a new puppeteer, China (Vietnam's traditional enemy).

Kinzer relates a 1963 CIA-sponsored coup in which the Americans deposed their own man, Ngo Dinh Diem, leader of South Vietnam. This event, Kinzer argues, marks the moment the US passed its point of no return. It had not been easy to find a leader to credibly claim a legitimacy to rival Vietnam's war leader, Ho Chi Minh. Diem didn't talk of independence or economic progress and he hadn't lifted a finger against invading Japanese or French armies, so he was safe. He wasn't a nationalist, but, best of all, and in fact his only qualification that mattered, he had defined himself as an anti-commie. At the time of need Diem was training in an American Catholic seminary - Christians

comprise about 10% of Vietnam's population - and he had to be flown back home to be installed as President. As President Lyndon Johnson (LBJ) put it: "Shit, Diem's the only boy we've got out there".

Diem was put in charge of South Vietnam (*the country had been partitioned into two independent States at the conclusion of the victorious Communist-led war of independence against France, in the 1950s. An election to decide reunification was promised but never held. Ed.*). In North Vietnam, Ho governed, and not even LBJ and McNamara claimed he did not have a mandate to do so. In the ravaged and arbitrary territory that was South Vietnam an undisguised puppet leader with no popular backing could have ruled - for perhaps a decade or two - only by terror. Diem didn't have it in him, seeming to want to come to some accommodation with Ho. As this could have lead only to a unitary Vietnam controlled by Ho, Diem had to go. He and his brother were shot dead by an Army chief.

Kinzer narrates the nasty details of direct US government collusion. As he tells it (and previous accounts agree), the murder of Diem was not in the script, so squabbles broke out both within and between South Vietnamese and American plotters. Thus it could have been said - as it is now being said about events in Iraq - that the Americans did not have a plan. Coup followed coup; the war spluttered.

Conspiracy or cock-up? Again it's the wrong question. There was an undeniable conspiracy, directed by the US Ambassador, to end Diem's government. The means might have been a cock-up, but as long as US complicity could not be proven, no-one in Washington would have cared. Some might have welcomed the mess. A bit of chaos along the way made it clear that the Vietnamese were now entirely subservient to an intransigent American goal. In modern administrative parlance it could be said that the US were the governance branch and the South Vietnamese were operations.

Chile

Kinzer's fourth example is the 1973 coup in Chile (*also on the fateful day of September 11. Ed.*). When General Augusto Pinochet led a military revolt against the government of Salvador Allende it was, in one sense, business as usual, the businesses in this case being the members of a Chile Ad Hoc Committee, which included ITT, Firestone Tire and Rubber, Bethlehem Steel, Bank of America, Ralston Purina and Dow Chemical. This was a step up from bananas, and Chile was a step up from Guatemala in that its citizens had an expectation of democracy.

Allende is often remembered as the first elected Marxist - though he is more accurately seen as a social democrat. His role possibly would have been analogous to that of New Zealand's first Labour Prime Minister, Michael Joseph Savage, in 1935. Whatever the shade of pink, from an American point of view he was unacceptable. The immediate crisis that led to his murder (some say he committed suicide when troops stormed the Presidential Palace) was Allende's nationalisation of a mining company on terms consistent with the best available information about the company's books. Here was the exact Guatemala scenario. But no matter what the trigger, the gun was primed to fire. Allende's election had been celebrated by Chile's American bank refusing a loan. Other banks were told not to advance credit. The World Bank suspended a livestock improvement grant.

Eisenhower had Dulles; Kennedy had McNamara; Richard Nixon had Henry Kissinger, a person often considered either a genius or an evil genius. Evil would be closer. Kissinger's exalted reputation cannot be explained by anything on the public record that he has said or done. Kissinger, Nixon's Secretary of State, is still around, selling influence, flattering the powerful, uttering deep platitudes (that always are just what the powerful want to hear). It is Kissinger's voice that brought him fame. His Germanic accent reminds Americans of brilliant professors from television cartoons.

Kissinger could be relied on to tell the President to act tough and build more bombs. Normally a place as uncool as Chile would not warrant his attention. "Nothing important", opined the good doctor, "can come from the South". As he had previously told the Chilean Ambassador, "I am not interested in, nor do I know anything about, the southern portion of the world from the Pyrenees on down". Ambition, opportunism and an obsession with the arid cliches of the Cold War made Kissinger an ideal organiser of Pinochet's coup. Kissinger and the CIA drafted the agenda. "Allende After The Inauguration" noted that if Chile were to suffer "continued economic decline", the country might collapse into chaos and "the military would have justification for intervening". CIA boss Richard Helms was happy to scratch the back of the man who was scratching the back of the President. Helms cabled Kissinger with the observation that "a sudden disastrous economic situation would be the most logical pretext for a military move". Soon Henry Hekscher, the CIA station chief in Santiago, joined the dots. "You have asked us to provoke chaos in Chile". he cabled. "We provide you with formula for chaos, which is unlikely to be bloodless".

Hekcscher was trying to cool his boss's ardour, not realising that chaos was the intention. In all four of the classic US operations - those in Iran, Guatemala, Vietnam, and now Chile - CIA chiefs in the field advised against violence, and

in all four cases they were ignored. This might to some extent have been an example of institutional memory and pragmatic local knowledge being brushed aside by the State's theologians (when experts differ from the less exalted, who allow themselves to be guided by intuitive hunch, the experts are almost always wrong). But a blanket know-nothing contempt for the experts, the gambit of one school of conspiracists, doesn't help either. The received expert wisdom isn't all stupid all the time.

Permanent Crisis Is The Goal

Far from being a careless by-product of imperial venture, permanent crisis is its goal. A client in need is a client indeed. What I call the corporatocracy wants peace and quiet as much as the credit card company wants borrowers to pay on time. Bush's planned foray in Iraq "without a plan" is merely the latest example.

It follows that discussion of these matters framed as a "cock-up or conspiracy?" dilemma misses the point. In the medium term, it doesn't matter what happens in the short term. If Guatemala allows United Fruit a free rein, the niceties that detain judges or lower-ranking CIA agents are a threat - or would be if they became known to a wider public - because the motive of imperial foreign policy is never the welfare of the dependency. In the middle of his account Kinzer's wanders into a perfunctory diversion. "What if?" there had been a different president? What if such a fact had been taken into account? It's as though Kinzer feels that he must appeal to liberal notions of individual agency. His conclusion is nearer the mark. He presents a formula: whenever ideology and economic interest coincide the US will act to secure its needs. You get the feeling that in all four cases the end result was not in doubt.

The United Fruits of the world can no longer act with impunity at home because democracy deters profits. Dictatorship is more efficient. To suppose that the US could have or should have fostered freedom in Guatemala or Vietnam is to reverse all the evidence. To the corporatocracy democracy is a risk that must be eliminated. Guatemala and Nicaragua (*the site of America's imperialist war of the 1980s. Ed.*) were not called "banana republics" for nothing.

So there is a fifth common element. In each country, once the CIA and the other agents of corporatocracy got stuck in, moral and material standards of living degenerated. Kinzer places the last century of US foreign policy in three periods. What he calls the imperial phase began in 1893 when Hawaii was forced into the process that ended with statehood. 1898 was a decisive year, as it was then that the US took over colonial Cuba and the Philippines by waging war against a Spanish empire in terminal decline (the US business conspiracists operating in Hawaii called themselves The Committee of Safety. They would have been unaware of Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety, from the 18th Century French Revolution. When you despise the guidance of history, you can look pretty stupid.) The US began the 20th Century by thereby announcing that the Americas and the Pacific were to be seen as within a US sphere of influence.

The second period, the tawdry era of Dulles and Kissinger, lasted until Bush's foray into Iraq. Before this present adventure, overt US force was always qualified. Kinzer provides two examples of direct American military invasion that pre-dated the collapse of the Soviet Union, but both, Grenada in 1983 and Panama in 1989, were within the American hemisphere (the first all-US coup was a 1909 foray into Nicaragua, an event which installed a century - and counting - of dependencies).

A Century Of Pax Americana And The Quest For Profit

If an American initiative to seize the moment and impose a *Pax Americana* on the world has been the impetus for the amBush of Iraq, so too was the first imperial phase the result of the restless search for profit. America pushed into the Caribbean and the Pacific, Kinzer suggests, because by the end of the 19th Century, the major businesses had saturated the domestic market. They needed new customers and new resources. So it is not surprising that 2003, the climax of this expansion, played like 1898.

"The tendency of modern times is toward consolidation. Small states are of the past, and have no future". This sentiment sounds contemporary; it has the flavour of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). In fact it was the 1913 opinion of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, uttered when most of today's small states did not yet exist. That is, Lodge wanted colonies to forget about independence, an unnecessary status if "the market" was to rule (appropriately, the history of the Lodge family is reminiscent of that of the Bushes).

Teddy Roosevelt, the imperial president, was a more impressive person than Bush, but his role was comparable. Like Bush he liked to swagger, affecting disdain for the wimps of Europe and the "futile sentimentalists of the international arbitration type". Here Teddy was pure George, yet neither the United Nations nor its forerunner, the

League of Nations, had been dreamed of. Roosevelt represented the high-water mark of international anarchy, the assumption that big powers could do what they wanted to the powerless, and he didn't want any do-gooders to get ideas that there might be better ways of living together on our small planet (*Roosevelt is back in fashion in today's America. For example, see Time, 3/7/06, which devoted its Annual Special issue on The Making of America to "Teddy". George Bush likes to let it be known that Roosevelt biographies are among his favourite reading. Ed.*).

In the critical year of 1898 an influential German newspaper complained that "Americans have never worried too much about diplomatic questions. Wild as their land is wild.... they go forward on the road they believe they must travel and do not care at all what Europe says". Americans were acquiring the "cowboy" tag - put aside over the last 50 years - that Bush is doing his best to restore.

Gwynne Dyer prefaces his analysis of US foreign policy with a remark by an academic. "In all of American public life", said Andrew Bacevich, "there is hardly a significant prominent figure who finds fault with the notion of the United States remaining the world's sole military superpower until the end of time". There's the rub. At a casual glance from overseas it seems sometimes that Bush is unpopular. Domestic critics accuse him of arrogance or ignorance or whatever. But listen closely and you notice that the criticism has to do with the style of his Administration. When it comes to the basics, the substance, America's role as world cop, Bush represents a consensus.

It is axiomatic to Americans that theirs is the best of all possible worlds. America represents democracy and opportunity in a way that no other land does. This is partly historic, stemming from the 18th Century War of Independence which enshrined Enlightenment principles. The moralism that others associate with America derives in part from its history as the embodiment of progressive values. To be American was to uphold life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This is indeed a great tradition.

The Doctrine Of American Exceptionalism

Americans came to believe that they could avoid the various miseries that afflicted Europe, which had to contend with a messy past. The doctrine of American Exceptionalism teaches that the US economy need not suffer the depressions that periodically engulf the rest of the world. Another doctrine, Manifest Destiny, declares that it is in the very nature of things that America is destined to be the best. These assumptions are ingrained in the national psyche. A century after an American invasion of Canada had been beaten back, a politician like Lodge could still call for the annexation of Canada as a deed that would be doing the Canadians a favour. If that was the prospect for the people across a river with a common heritage, where did all the other countries stand?

Secular and liberal Americans might find their President brash. They might wish he was more fluent, but when Bush says that the world needs American leadership, they don't argue. And when Bush confides that he checks out ideas with God, he might be deluded but he's not being hypocritical. Better than many commentators, Dyer, a Canadian now living in Britain, has the perspective to understand this history. He's also has some useful things to say about terrorism, a phenomenon which Americans find hard to see clearly. Obviously that's to some extent a result of the 9/11 trauma, but it's partly a function of America's blessed history.

Terrorism is the weapon of the weak, Dyer argues, and it never works against your own people. Terrorism's only chance is to trap a stronger opponent into reckless behaviour. Like many other observers, Dyer thinks that Bush's actions and words have done wonders for al-Qaeda, but he suggests that 9/11 was flukishly successful, that Osama bin Laden is unlikely to pull off another such outrage, and that, even if he were to manage it, this would not affect subsequent world history. Dyer knows the Islamic and Arab worlds well. He shows why bin Laden has never been able to hope for much help from the folks back home.

It has already become trite to note that the need to act against "terrorism" serves as a justification for aggression. "Terrorism" is the new "Communism". At a certain level this is of course true, but with a proviso. Terrorism, as practised at 9/11, and in Madrid and London and Bali, does exist, and its targets have the right to defend themselves. Harassing the Taliban in Afghanistan, as State sponsors of terrorism against innocents, was not the same thing as the later war on Iraq. "Communism", however, in neither its theory nor its practice - not that is as it has been defined by successive US presidents - has ever existed.

Conspiracy theorists have helped Bush by building up bin Laden's prestige. Conspiracists suppose terrorists or master criminals to be smarter than their victims. In their eyes, The Other, whatever is foreign to their own experience, is always a genius, fiendishly clever. The bin Ladens of the world are granted a moral and intellectual clarity that eludes the rest of us. Conspiracists (and their frequent allies from both the extreme Right and Left in the West) hear al-Qaeda's manic rants and obsessions and suppose them to be both acute and sincere. A good,

gossipy conspiracy with the right cast of characters will always gain widespread admiration. Witness the “Da Vinci Code” frenzy, which has millions of educated people believing an impossible series of things about the Catholic Church’s theology and organisation.

In many ways the conspiracists and the Bushmen are mirrors of each other. Dyer reminds us that Bush is being constantly egged on by the End-Timers, fundamentalist Christian zealots who believe that the world is about to end, with the saved (them) about to experience the bliss of Rapture and an ascension to Heaven, while the rest of us burn. So why not let God’s armies take down a few Hell-bound sinners in the meantime? End-Timers include Cabinet members. Fifty years ago the bigots’ language was more honest. “For us”, Dulles once pointed out, “there are two sorts of people in the world. There are those who are Christians and support free enterprise, and there are the others”.

By posing the big question, as do all the authors - Why Iraq? - Dyer offers a rational alternative to the manipulations of the religious nutcases. Dyer sees as self-evident the thesis of Juhasz and Kinzer that the dominant fact to take into account is a post-Cold War American desire to hold hegemony over the world. That was why Washington looked around for new scapegoats and came up with “rogue States”. Bushite insincerity is indicated by the fact that all the rogues were countries whose relations with America had not worsened for decades. Bush needed to pick a fight with one of them.

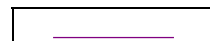
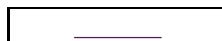
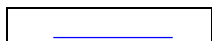
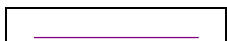
The candidates were North Korea, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Libya. The chosen rogue could not be so small that it was not seen as a credible threat, nor big enough to be too hard. You don’t need those body bags that TV reporters like to talk about. Iran was big enough to be ruled out on this score; North Korea, possibly nuclear and bordering China, was too dangerous a target.

Iraq: Illegality And Impunity

Iraq was ideal. It was the right middling size; its flat, desert terrain was manageable for swift troop advances; its army had been weakened by previous wars and by sanctions; its position is strategic, and its leader had already been demonised by Bush Senior. Dyer rejects the notion that a sheer need for oil was a factor, because states will always buy and sell for money. This does not necessarily mean that the politics and economics to do with oil were not a key reason for the choice, as Juhasz has made clear. Dyer’s focus is on military and geopolitical relations. He does not discuss finance or trade.

Most importantly for Bush, the Iraq War was illegal. Reasons were invented to justify the attack, and, after the event, a fig leaf was worn so that Europe would not lose face, but what Bush wanted above all else was the means to sideline the United Nations (and “old” Europe). Bush wanted to make an omelette as that meant he’d have to crack eggs. Dyer explains how the Bush agenda can be fully implemented only if there is no rival source - the United Nations is the only candidate - of legitimacy for a global police force.

Dyer argues that it was by declaring war to be illegal that the international bodies of the 20th Century deterred violence, not wholly of course, but enough to make the warmongers feel they had to justify themselves. If that impediment goes, if the big can act with impunity as they did in the days of Teddy Roosevelt, well yes, that could usher in catastrophe. What Bush needs to understand is that Kinzer could well have added a sixth common element to his accounts of American folly. Most of the chickens that Bush and his predecessors disturbed have not yet come home to roost.



Harold Evans, former magistrate (today's equivalent is a District Court judge), accomplished musician, peace campaigner and world-renowned "Father of the World Court Project", died after a long illness on Good Friday, 2006, aged 90. He was the son and grandson of Solicitors-General, a Royal Air Force officer during World War 2, the husband of a German admiral's daughter*, personal assistant to Peter Fraser (who was Labour Prime Minister from 1940-49) and Associate of New Zealand's Justice Northcroft at the Tokyo International Military Tribunal, which tried Japanese war criminals in the aftermath of the Allied victory, sending several to the gallows. * *Bringing home a German wife in the immediate post-war years was definitely not the done thing, particularly one whose father had been both an admiral and Hitler's naval attaché to Japan. There was a price for this – Harold lost his job as the Prime Minister's personal assistant. Ed.*

Father Of The World Court Project

After his retirement in 1979 he joined the Christchurch Peace Collective which, in 1986, organised the local visit of US international lawyer Richard Falk. This was life-changing and set Harold on a decade-long struggle to outlaw all nuclear weapons via an advisory opinion on their legal status from the International Court of Justice, in The Hague.

His many writings marshalled the legal and moral arguments to underpin the project, and by example he inspired many to join him. This amazing project succeeded in having resolutions passed at both the World Health Assembly in 1993, and the United Nations General Assembly in 1994, requesting two separate, but related opinions from the Court. Although it started as a one-man crusade, it attracted support from over 700 organisations worldwide; most of the 110 Non-Aligned States, and over four million individually signed declarations of public conscience. It was a testament to what one man could inspire and lead in its early years.

My first contact with Harold was in June 1979. I had not been back in Christchurch very long and was not aware of his reputation as an independent thinking magistrate who ruffled many collegial feathers by speaking out on a wide range of legal issues. Harold phoned to ask if he could join our newly formed Peace Collective. We had Owen Wilkes visiting at the time and he warned us that we should vet all potential members in case we were infiltrated. Ironically, it was Owen who gave Harold the "all clear" as he had been the judge who had given him a very lenient community sentence for a charge arising from the 1973 protest at the US military base at Christchurch Airport*. It was from this little group that Harold launched many of his open letters on issues of peace and nuclear weapons. He rarely spoke of his experiences at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal or as the secretary to Peter Fraser. It wasn't until we were sorting his papers for the Peace Collection in the University of Canterbury's MacMillan Brown Library that I discovered he had written to Labour Prime Minister Walter Nash in 1958 calling for immediate and unilateral suspension of nuclear testing and had questioned NZ support for the British during the 1956 Suez crisis. * *The Special Issue of Peace Researcher on Owen Wilkes – Number 31, October 2005 – can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html> Ed.*

He never shied away from contentious issues in court – for example, in 1967 he dismissed a case against a homosexual couple (*this was when homosexuality per se was illegal. Ed.*). In 1978 he wrote his first *Open Letter* opposing the appointment of former National Prime Minister Sir Keith Holyoake (1960-72) as Governor General and sent copies to all MPs in 1979. Over the next 20 years he published over 27 *Open Letters* or *Memoranda* at his own expense. They ranged from four to 170 pages covering topics such as visits by nuclear ships, the roles of the Anglican Church and the Queen in opposing nuclearism, the 1982 Falklands War, the 1981 South African Rugby Tour, the 1987 nuclear free legislation. He took every opportunity to educate others about nuclear issues; for example he published Lord Mountbatten's final speech, opposing nuclear weapons, in the *Press*.

It was Professor Richard Falk that sparked his enthusiasm for using international law and the World Court. He was so inspired, he followed Falk to Auckland. Later that year (1986) he met Sri Lankan Professor Christopher Weeramantry, and jurist and former Liberal MP Ted St John in Australia who convinced him of the case for the criminality of nuclear weapons. They became close friends and advocates for the cause.

He also discovered an article by Niall MacDermott, the Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists entitled "Are Nuclear Weapons Legal?". He asked these four experienced international lawyers to join him in his quest. The other two of his "six wise men", as he called them, were former Attorney General Dr Martyn Finlay and former Ombudsman Sir Guy Powles. It was their opinions which formed the basis of the *Open Letter* he personally delivered to the Prime Ministers of Australia and NZ in March 1987. He then sent it to all 73 UN member states with representatives in both countries. Most responses were negative or non-committal.

Ruffling The Feathers Of The Legal Fraternity

But Harold was undeterred – he set about garnering support from the NZ International Commission of Jurists, the Peace Foundation, and the NZ branches of Lawyers for Nuclear Disarmament and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). He began to receive significant media coverage both here and in Australia for his idea and in October 1987 published a full page advertisement in the *Press* to mark Nuremberg Day (*October 1, to commemorate the momentous post-World War 2 Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals by the victorious Allies. This spelt out the criminal responsibility of those who violate the laws of war and rejected the “I was only following orders” defence. Several defendants were hanged. Ed.*). It coincided with a five day legal conference in Christchurch and was a way of educating the 2,000 lawyers attending. It called for a permanent International Criminal Court, asked the lawyers to sign the appeal by lawyers against nuclear war and to support his new project. As usual, no support was forthcoming from the legal fraternity – many of whom were affronted by the use of *Open Letters* – “it was not the way lawyers worked”. Some local lawyers told me that they were shocked by his choice of attire – a windbreaker and small haversack instead of a lawyer’s suit and briefcase, and that “he didn’t embody the nuances, the etiquette, the unwritten characteristics of the profession”. It was precisely these characteristics that endeared him to the increasingly influential peace movement here.

It must have been a lonely and frustrating path for Harold at this time and he relied heavily on a small core group to give him feedback on his ideas and help him promote them. As a diplomat and lawyer, it was quite a challenge for him to learn to work cooperatively in our small groups. He frequently attended rallies and marches against visits by nuclear warships and nuclear testing – holding placards and speaking out publicly. He even wrote letters to the Swedish government in protest at the sentencing of Owen Wilkes to six months prison on Official Secrets Act charges, in the early 1980s (*although held in custody and incommunicado for several days when arrested by Swedish security police, Owen never actually went to prison. On appeal, he was given a non-custodial sentence, including being expelled from Sweden for ten years. See the Special Issue of Peace Researcher on Owen Wilkes – Number 31, October 2005 – which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html> Ed.*).

He was pleased when in June 1988, as a member of the Government delegation to the UN Special Session on Disarmament in New York, I promoted the World Court Project in my address to the delegates and began sounding out diplomats and leading international non-government organisations (NGOs) in the UN. At home, we gained unanimous support from the Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control and Sir Guy Powles, Ted St John and Harold addressed the Minister of Disarmament and the Committee. Despite this, the 1984-90 Labour government was not prepared to run with this alone.

It therefore became imperative to garner more national and international support. A small band of committed Kiwis gathered around Harold, inspired by his vision and enthusiasm. The doctors secured support from their international body in 1988. Harold travelled to the UK and convinced the International Peace Bureau (IPB) to take up the cause and then almost single-handedly convinced the fledgling International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA) to adopt a resolution in 1989. He returned via Malaysia where he addressed the Malaysian PPNW. They issued a joint appeal with lawyers to all the Heads of Government attending the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Kuala Lumpur.

Despite these resolutions being passed, none of these organisations committed themselves to the project with resources or enthusiasm. Harold became very frustrated with them and told them so. He had carried the campaign at great personal expense for many years and felt a growing sense of urgency for action. He tried again to convince lawyers to speak out and give support by distributing *Open Letters* to all 3,000 delegates attending the Commonwealth Law Conference in Auckland which included 250 judges and Law Ministers from around the world. Professor Weeramantry used his keynote address to challenge them to support the World Court Project. But there was still no response.

With the election of a National government in New Zealand in 1990, there was no hope of any Government action on the initiative and it languished for a while, until in 1991 Alyn Ware (head of the NZ branch of IALANA) and I found support from quite a few nations to take up the baton. To cut a very long story short, we were able to convince IPPNW, the IPB and IALANA to launch the project publicly in Geneva in 1992. Erich Geiringer, George Salmond and other NZ doctors played a key role in getting a resolution passed in the World Health Assembly in May 1993 and by October the 110 Non Aligned Movement (NAM) countries sponsored the UN resolution requesting the advisory opinion on threat and use of nuclear weapons. It caused a furore in the UN. The nuclear weapon states sent demarches to capitals and threatened UN delegates with cuts to aid and trade (*demarches – when powerful States send representatives to the capitals of less powerful States to persuade them to change their votes, policies, etc. “Persuade” is a diplomatic euphemism for naked bullying and threatening. Ed*). The pressure was too great and it was deferred until 1994. After intense lobbying by international NGOs, and committed leadership within the NAM, the resolution went through – and NZ, under a conservative Government, voted for it and spoke strongly at the Oral hearings at the Court in 1995.

“Contrary To The Rules Of International Law”

It took nearly 18 months for the judges to give their opinion, and it was one of the most exciting nights of my life to be with Harold and a crowd of politicians, the media and local well wishers as the outcome was faxed through from Rob Green* at the Hague. Although the judges dismissed the request from the World Health Organisation, it did not dodge the question from the UN. * *Kate pointed out in her eulogy at Harold's funeral that she owed her marriage to him. It was through the World Court Project that she met Rob, then the head of the British branch. Ed.*

Among other things, the Court advised that

... a threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law,

and

... there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to complete nuclear disarmament under strict and effective international control'...

We were disappointed that the Opinion was not as clear cut as it should have been. However, it has become a benchmark for a whole range of activities by NGOs and governments, including our own, to hold the nuclear weapon states accountable. The tenth anniversary of the Court's historic Opinion on July 8th was marked by a Mayors for Peace-sponsored conference at The Hague, and another to strategise about going back to the Court for another Opinion at the European Parliament. Alyn Ware, Rob Green and I took these opportunities to honour Harold's pioneering contribution.

In 1996, the National government awarded him a Queen's Service Medal for his contributions to the judiciary and the anti-nuclear movement. In 2001 Parliament passed a unanimous resolution endorsing the World Court Opinion and calling on all nuclear weapon states to pursue their obligations to bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament. In 2003 he received one of the eight inaugural Christchurch Peace City awards. In 2007 there will be an exhibition at the Canterbury Museum marking the 20th anniversary of the nuclear free legislation and the beginning of the World Court Project. It will feature Harold's contributions and will be a vehicle for New Zealanders and tourists alike to follow Harold's example of how they can also make a difference by acting on his favourite dictum – "think globally, act locally".

A "CRIMINAL'S" FOND MEMORIES OF A JUDGE

- Murray Horton

I never worked with Harold Evans as a peace activist nor saw him in action as such (although I did witness him appearing as one of the hundreds of my fellow Springbok Tour defendants arrested in Christchurch in 1981). No, I knew him in the early 1970s when he was a magistrate and I was a "criminal", appearing in the dock of the Number One Magistrates' Court with monotonous regularity (if you want to disabuse yourself of any illusions about how our class society works, spend a morning in the District Court). We had a lot of fun with several cases, most famously when I was charged with refusing to register for the then military service ballot for young men and claimed that I was exempt on the grounds of being a minister of religion (good old Pantheism). To the astonishment of the powers that be, he ruled that my church actually existed but, as he couldn't find any reference to prayer in my tenets of faith produced in evidence, he ruled that I didn't meet the legal definition of a clergyman and convicted me. However, he ruled that, as I was so determined to stay out of the Army (this was during the whole anti-Vietnam War struggle), he'd recommend I get favourable consideration from the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal. I did, and became an official coward, according to my ex-prisoner of war father. I have a vivid memory of going to the Court Theatre many years later and just as my then partner and I were going in, up popped Mr Evans the magistrate at my side and asked, with a mischievous grin "How's your church?". I well remember going to his chambers, in my capacity as a defendant, and noting that there was a piano there, which he apparently played at every opportunity (as a young man he had been torn between music and the law).

As Kate has mentioned, Harold (this Christ's College old boy was never "Harry") was a reforming magistrate. He refused to convict a man who had been transported in the boot of a Police car after being arrested, as his way of punishing the Police for this illegal and inhumane behaviour. I was only one of those from the progressive movement to appear before him in those tumultuous years (some of his colleagues were rather more keen to have me locked up), Owen Wilkes being the most high profile, as detailed in Kate's obituary.

The Fingerprints Case

Harold's most famous case involving a political activist was that of my original mentor, Keith Duffield (see my obituary of Keith in *Foreign Control Watchdog*, March 1979). In 1970, Keith was arrested at an anti-Vietnam War protest (I was

among the others arrested, so I witnessed what happened next, through the bars of a cell door). He was a little bloke with one leg withered by childhood polio but he was a handful. Adopting his policy of “total passive resistance”, he refused to let the cops take his fingerprints or photo, despite several of them using quite extreme force on him. To quote from an early 1970s profile that I wrote on Keith (it appeared both in *Canta*, the University of Canterbury student paper, and the shortlived NZ edition of *Rolling Stone*): “...The Police opposed bail because they wanted his fingerprints but it was granted. His case was that the Police could obviously identify him anyway and the magistrate agreed – ‘I never credited that a magistrate would be game enough or honest enough to support an individual against the State’. The magistrate, of course, was Harold Evans. The Police appealed to the then Supreme Court and won, Keith appealed to the Court of Appeal and lost, and was refused permission to appeal to the Privy Council in London. The 1960-72 National government paid Keith and Harold a backhanded compliment in one of its last legislative moves, making the taking of fingerprints mandatory for everyone arrested. While his case was grinding through the courts for several years, Keith was arrested at a protest at the US base at Christchurch Airport and the cops once again tried for half an hour to get his fingerprints, including using choke holds. They failed again – they never did get his fingerprints, or at least, not until he decided to let them do so.

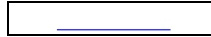
So, Harold Evans was no ordinary judge. He actually subscribed to the notion of justice as opposed to mindless administration of the law. And he used the law to get mightily up the noses of the powers that be, both in the criminal justice and the political Establishments. I saw him irregularly over the years but counted myself privileged to be invited to his 80th birthday party at Kate and Rob’s home. Harold’s is the only judge’s funeral that I’ve attended, and I’m pretty sure that it will be the only one. He was one out of the box. Rest in peace, Your Honour.

DEATH IN THE FAMILY

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

ABC expresses our condolences to **Nicky Hager**, a longstanding member and world expert on spy bases and Intelligence agencies, on the 2006 death of his mother, **Barbara Hager**, aged 75, in Wellington. I asked Nicky to write a couple of lines. Instead, he sent his four page funeral eulogy and asked me to do the choosing. So here's a tiny extract: "This was also the time when she became active in politics. She and our father were first National, then Labour supporters but in the late 1970s their home became a base for the Horowhenua Values Party – predecessor of the Green Party. In 1982 she became the first woman president of a political party in New Zealand". The eulogy tells a fascinating life story and if you'd like to read it, contact Nicky at nicky@paradise.net.nz.



A TERRIBLE IRONY

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

For many years now ABC has admired from afar the incredible courage (not to mention sheer bloody pigheadedness) of two Englishwomen, Lindis Percy and Anni Rainbow (who is in a wheelchair). They, in the name of their group, Campaign for Accountability of American Bases (CAAB), repeatedly and non-violently confront the massive US National Security Agency spybase at Menwith Hill, north Yorkshire, which is one of America's most important intelligence-gathering and military bases anywhere in the world. In the case of Lindis, she has been arrested dozens, if not hundreds, of times for trespassing on the base. Their regular hard copy newsletter and e-mails are dominated by reports of this ceaseless annoying of the Invisible Empire (which has included Lindis scaling the gates of Buckingham Palace with a protest message on one occasion when the Queen was entertaining President Bush at a State banquet).

Peace Researcher has reported some of these protests over the years and ABC activists have taken part in one (see *PR* 24, December 2001, "Two Old ABCers Visit The Land Of the Great White Dome: Warren And Melanie Thomson Visit Menwith Hill", by Warren Thomson, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/menwith.htm>) To learn more about Menwith Hill and the campaign against it, visit CAAB's excellent Website at www.caabuk.plus.com

It saddened us greatly to read the following on the front page of CAAB's September 2006 newsletter: "In the early hours of August 1, Anni Rainbow's eldest son Matthew was severely injured by a mortar attack in Basra. Matt died soon afterwards from the injuries. He had served in the British Army for 11 years, he was on his third tour of duty in Iraq and was due to return to the UK the following week... It is desperate for any parent to lose a child (whether civilian or military). It is doubly dreadful for Anni, given that she is a pacifist, a Quaker and has campaigned tirelessly for many, many years against war, weaponry and violence as a means of settling conflicts. Such pathos and the irony of this dreadful news happening to Anni escapes nobody". He left a wife and two very young kids.

ABC joins with CAAB in calling for the withdrawal of the British troops, and all other foreign invaders, from Iraq and the closure of US bases such as Menwith Hill that play such a central role in the war machine of the US Empire. How many more mothers, wives and kids will have to suffer such crushing losses until America and Britain and their various underlings (such as Australia) decide to stop invading other people's countries and putting their own soldiers in mortal peril?

