

SECTION 1  
UNDERSTANDING  
THE NEW WORLD ORDER

## 1.1 THE ECONOMIC ASPECT: UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD

Resisting Trident reaches much farther than just stopping the weapons system. It reaches to correcting the root problems which make war machines like Trident possible. This chapter will discuss the economic aspect of President Bush's New World Order, which is what that order is all about. But first a clarification on terminology. The word "imperialism" has rhetorical connotations which sometimes defy meaning. But in this handbook it is not used in the rhetorical sense. The word is used to convey its strictest dictionary meaning:

**imperialism (izm) n. 1. imperial state, authority, or system of government. 2. the policy and practice of forming and maintaining an empire in seeking to control raw materials and world markets by the conquest of other countries, the establishment of colonies, etc. 3. the policy and practice of seeking to dominate the economic or political affairs of undeveloped areas or weaker countries. [Webster's New World Dictionary (NY, Simon & Schuster, 1984) 2d college edition, p. 704]**

With that in mind, I will now describe how Bush's New World Order has this planet in an economic stranglehold. Rob Steven's article, "Imperialism Strengthened," describes Bush's New World Order as well as any I have read. [*Third World War*, pp. 6-10] In Section A below I shall be paraphrasing from that article.

### A. BUSH'S NEW WORLD ORDER: AN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Capitalism is a system where production is for profit. It has three basic stages: 1) borrowing money to invest from the banks, 2) setting up factories to extract raw materials and produce commodities, and 3) selling or marketing the commodity. When problems occur at any one of these stages, they interfere with profits and capitalism does not work. Capitalist imperialism is the ability of businesses to relocate their problems to another area and, consequently, the entire chain from production to consumer may stretch across the planet and take place in many countries. Bank loans would be obtained in some highly-developed country. Cheap wages, lax environmental and health regulations, and abundant raw materials would most likely be available in the Third World. If people in one location cannot afford high prices, the product is sold elsewhere. And so on it goes.

Capitalism is not to be confused with free enterprise where everyone has an equal chance to make a living. Only the large and powerful corporations have the ability to relocate problems and maximize profits. For that reason, it is only these corporations to

## **TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK**

which banks wish to loan money. So the powerful become more powerful and the weaker fall by the wayside. We are seeing this happen in the auto-making industry, the airlines, the food and other marketing chains, and, yes, even the banks -- we are seeing this happen in virtually every area of business, service, and trade.

Imperialism, according to Steven, has now reached its third level and has been dubbed the New World Order. Let me briefly describe all three levels.

### **1. *Level One: Classical Imperialism.***

Prior to World War II there existed a type of imperialism which had been in place for centuries. In what I shall call classical imperialism, an imperialist power controlled its colonies and did not share the wealth of its colonies with any other power. In essence, each of these powers held control over specific and separate areas of the world. If another power infringed upon that area there would be a war. World War II was an imperialist war, at least in the Pacific theater, because Japan tried to extend its colonial domain into areas dominated by Americans, Britains, and Dutch.

This classical system is how most people still envision imperialism. And because this system no longer exists, people are led to believe that imperialism no longer exists. In reality imperialism is stronger than ever today but in a different form.

### **2. *Level Two: Neo-Colonialism.***

After World War II, national liberation movements began to have political successes in gaining control of government in former colonies. Also after World War II, the Soviet Union emerged as a competitive superpower. Classical imperialism could no longer be enforced because the Soviet Union tended to back these liberation struggles. If the imperialist powers -- America, Japan, and Europe -- pushed too hard there was danger of major nuclear war. This was the Cold War era.

However, imperialist powers did intervene militarily as far as they could, and they succeeded in cultivating a ruling elite which was sympathetic to capitalist enterprises. Thus these Third World leaders -- enterprising ruling families, opportunist sheikdoms, ruthless dictators, and vested-interest presidents -- created a favorable business climate whereby foreign companies could exploit the best land, the cheap labor, and the valuable raw materials for their own profit. Production in this manner also perpetuated the lavish lifestyle in developed countries.

Nevertheless, direct military force by the dominant powers was dangerous in the Cold War era. A more circuitous form of intervention was preferred. So sympathetic indigenous forces were aided and supplied -- whether they be the ruling government or guerrilla insurgents, or another Third World country. Aid to the faction which served the giver's interest came from both sides of the iron curtain. In general, capitalist powers supported the upper class in the neo-colonies, whereas socialist powers backed the lower class. Under this system imperialist wars became regional battles between the upper ruling class and the rebelling lower class. Because of this the arms trade (euphemized as military aid) bloomed as a prosperous endeavor.

## UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION

In addition to the changed nature of imperialist wars, another difference between classical imperialism and neo-colonization is that the imperialist powers shared the benefit of the colonies. This was necessary in order to give the puppet colonial leaders some semblance of authority. Sharing was also brought about to some extent because the dominant powers cooperated in setting up the sympathetic colonial government. But possibly the biggest reason for the shared exploitation of colonies was the emergence of huge trans-national corporations with more capital than many of the smaller nations. As big business merged across political boundaries, those boundaries became less significant. And as these corporations gained control of the imperialist powers, those powers created policy favorable to corporate business and trade. This was the imperialism practiced during the Cold War.

### 3. *Level Three: The New World Order.*

The Cold War started thawing during the 1980s, and ended once and for all in 1991. Likewise, Soviet influence in the Third World diminished and finally sputtered out. Imperialism then went through another transformation, and the New World Order was conceived.

Heralding this New World Order was Japan's rise to equal the US in economic clout. Also the rise of giant banks, industry, and trading companies in Japan and Europe -- establishments so powerful that they could act globally on an equal with America's. The US is no longer the single super-imperialist power.

In addition to that, the US economy became so depleted by military spending during the Reagan and Bush administrations that the White House began pressuring its allies to assume a greater share of keeping sympathetic Third World governments in power. Policing the world is no longer a US monopoly.

Meanwhile the trans-national corporations continue to conglomerate to fewer, stronger, and more influential enterprises. Technical and economic collusion is becoming more pronounced as Third World countries lose their wealth to the First World at an increasing rate. And with the collapse of the USSR there is no longer a large power backing those who oppose this exploitation. On the contrary, the Soviet Union's successor, the CIS, seems anxious to side with America, Japan, Britain, France, and Germany in suppressing indigenous opposition.

Unlike the exclusive control of colonies in classical imperialism, and the reliance on US military strength needed for neo-colonialism, control of Third World countries in the New World Order is carried out by coalitions of military powers. Such coalitions have so far been led by the United States and work under the moral authority of the United Nations, which it controls, as a means of legitimizing imperialist activities. This political-military cooperation is gaining momentum.



## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

### 4. *The New World Order And The Third World.*

Liberation movements face new obstacles under the New World Order. First, they are not backed by a major power such as the USSR or the eastern European countries. Second, the military regimes which liberation movements are attempting to overthrow are not being backed by just one imperialist power, but by blocs of imperialist powers working together to protect their business interests and behavior. Seven aspects of that behavior prolong underdevelopment and incite unrest.

a. **Control of Production.** Monopolizing production by foreign investors is a widespread and growing practice. Only large corporations with ties to the banks can compete, thus local businesses are driven into bankruptcy.



b. **Export of Products.** As large companies gain control of production, they tend to grow or produce what can be exported to countries where the profit is greatest. The domestic market receives very little.

c. **A Skewed Growth Pattern.** Large companies choose a product which can be made more competitively than anywhere else. Competition is world wide and each country ends up with a narrow range of productivity.

d. **Balance of Payments Problems.** With only one or two special products being produced in an underdeveloped country, that country becomes heavily dependent on imports. Under the conditions existing, imports outweigh exports and the country cannot balance its trade revenues, or its national budget.

e. **Chronic Debt.** Since payments cannot be balanced, the underdeveloped country is continually and increasingly in debt. Loans are impossible to obtain because banks will only lend to big corporations which can compete and survive. Debt, and consequently development, is controlled by outside interests and manipulated to the advantage of those interests.

f. **Unemployment and Low Wages.** Unemployment, underemployment, and very low wages go together. Highly-competitive large corporations drive local companies out of business and provide imported commodities cheaper than can be produced locally. In this manner the New World Order destroys more local jobs than it creates. Those that are created are low-paying. Contrary to many claims, once a country opens to free trade and foreign investment, that country is driven to chronic underemployment and low wages.

## UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION

**g. Militarization of Politics.** Increasingly tight security is needed to prevent an underdeveloped country from revolting, and to prevent liberation movements from achieving political victories. As more people become disgruntled, liberation movements are more popularly supported. But the form of security has changed with the New World Order. With no more Soviet influence, preventing the spread of communism in the Third World is no longer a valid excuse for military intervention. Military intervention to preserve ruling regimes has become more pronounced, such as the "liberation" of Kuwait. If necessary, the US war machine can and will be brought into play to save a smaller ally. As Stevens says, "those kinds of wars have been called 'Third-World Wars' because they are wars against the Third World by coalitions of imperialist powers under the legitimizing banner of the United Nations. [*Third World War*, p. 11]

### **B. FREE TRADE: THE CORPORATE NOOSE**

Free trade has been in the forefront of public attention in recent years. It has been described as a boon for consumers and a stimulus for economic growth. That may be true as far as it goes, but what we have been hearing is the sunny side which only applies to those who live in developed countries. The purpose here is to expose the dark side of free trade.

According to Richard Barnett and John Cavanaugh, only a few hundred giant trans-national corporations dominate global commerce. Many of them are bigger and more powerful than most sovereign nations. Barnett and Cavanaugh say the "most disturbing aspect of this global system is that the formidable power and mobility of global corporations are undermining the effectiveness of national governments to carry out essential policies on behalf of their people." They go on to explain that business enterprises "that routinely operate across borders are linking far-flung pieces of territory into a new world economy that bypasses all sorts of political arrangements and conventions." And they conclude with the observation that national leaders "no longer have the ability to comprehend, much less control, these giants because they are mobile, and like the mythic Greek figure Proteus they are constantly changing appearances to suit different circumstances." [Barnett & Cavanaugh, pp. 14 & 27]

#### **1. *The Roots of Free Trade.***

Free trade is the instrument of these giant corporations. It might better be described as a license for big business to maximize profits with minimum government interference. Profit maximization creates a dark side of any free-trade agreement, and it plagues the poorer nations.

**a. The Group of 7 (G-7).** Free trade is spearheaded by the world's seven richest countries, known as the Group of Seven (G-7). Those countries are the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, and Japan. Combined they account for over 70 percent of the world's economy. At the G-7's 20th economic summit meeting in



## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

Naples, Italy during July 1994, a program called "Open Markets 2000" was proposed by the US -- an initiative aimed at maintaining and even accelerating global talks for trade liberalization.

Nevertheless, there is diplomatic rivalry among those seven richest nations. Japan and the US are feuding over what Americans see as Japan's failure to liberalize trade with the US. During the 1994 summit France, competing with the US for economic control of Europe, led opposition to the US proposal for global free trade by the year 2000. But that proposal was put on the agenda for next year. Also slated for next year's economic summit are proposals to overhaul cold-war institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.

There is also disagreement on who should belong and how many members there should be. According to the G-7's yardstick of industrial output to measure a nation's economy, Spain in 1992 exceeded Canada. And according to a different scale used by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, China is the second largest economy in the world and India comes in a number five.

Discussion goes on about G-7 membership but there seems to be an underlying reason why only industrialized countries are included. Although the G-7 does the overt strategizing for the world economy, and the annual economic summit is attended by the seven heads of state, the substance of their activity helps the international business community to maximize profits. Given the heavy lobbying in the US by large businesses, and the funding those businesses generate to put sympathetic candidates into office, it seems logical to assume that the agenda for G-7 meetings is influenced by the business community. "Open Markets 2000" substantiates that premise. It seems safe to assume that the other six member-governments are influenced in a like manner.

Although there is bickering and competition among the G-7 heads of state, there is a coherent strategy among the business leaders who seem to be pulling the strings. It is interesting to note that the G-7 makeup coincides geographically with the Trilateral Commission.

b. **The Trilateral Commission (TLC).** In the early 1970s the Council on Foreign Relations, which has existed since World War I under the aegis of the Rockefeller empire, published a position paper stating that it must "come to grips with strategy for modifying the behavior of all relevant actors in the international community -- individuals, governments, agencies within governments, elite groups, industrial firms, interest groups, mass societies, and other groups and organizations at the sub-national and trans-national level." [cited in *Year One*, p. 13] Business leader David Rockefeller of Exxon and Chase-Manhattan Bank, vocalized the corporate desire for a world without borders where transnational corporations would have no "interference from nation-states." He called for "a massive public relations campaign," a "crusade of understanding" to explain why nation states, with all their territorial bickering, must be phased out. [Quoted in Barnett & Muller, pp. 20-21; cited in Nelson, p. 22]

The Trilateral Commission (TLC) was founded by David Rockefeller and Zbigniew Brzezinski in 1973 under the aegis of the Council on Foreign Relations. TLC has a

## UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION

membership of some 300 "private" citizens made up of heads of trans-national corporations, bankers, politicians, and a few academics. They come exclusively from North America, western Europe, and Japan, and meet yearly at various capital cities. Regional headquarters of the TLC are set up in Paris, New York, and Tokyo.

The Ford administration was the transition administration under which the TLC was formed, although President Gerald Ford was not a TLC member. The subsequent Carter administration was inundated with 26 on-leave TLC members in key posts, although members are dropped from the roster while in public service. President Jimmy Carter was one and his National Security Advisor was TLC co-founder Zbigniew Brzezinski. [See Addendum-A for a partial listing.]

The TLC took a back seat during the 8-year Reagan administration because Ronald Reagan was more inclined toward the saber-rattling Committee on the Present Danger. Nevertheless, a free-trade zone in Mexico was established in 1982 and a free-trade agreement with Canada was completed in 1988. (Both to be discussed below.) But TLC member (on leave) George Bush brought trilateralism back to the Oval Office when he was elected President in 1988. At that time the concept of free trade started making headway. As the new US Trade Representative, Bush appointed Carla Hills, member of the board of directors for IBM, American Airlines, and Standard Oil. [See Addendum-A]



The Clinton administration is infested with on-leave TLC members, starting with President Bill Clinton himself. [See Addendum-A for a listing] Free trade has been a major item on the Clinton agenda. He has completed the NAFTA and GATT free-trade agreements and has taken significant strides toward bringing free trade to the Asia-Pacific region and the remainder of Latin America.

### 2. *The Effects of Free Trade.*

Martin Kohr also warned underdeveloped countries about jumping into a free-trade agreement. [*Third World War*, pp. 21-24] It is extremely dangerous to view free trade -- that is, freedom of operation in terms of importing, exporting and investment -- as good for all parties concerned. The inevitable downward spiral of a small or economically-depressed country which enters into an agreement with these powers has already been discussed. Some examples are in order.

a. **Environmental, Safety, and Health Considerations.** Free trade means weakened environmental standards, looser health and safety laws for both workers and consumers. For instance, under the 1988 free-trade agreement Canada challenged the US ban on importing and using asbestos, a ban which the Environmental Protection Agency estimated would save 1,900 lives by the year 2000. Canada's Quebec province has a substantial interest in the mining and manufacturing of asbestos. An October 1991



## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

decision by the US Court of Appeals upheld the Canadian objection on the ground that other alternatives less disruptive to industry had not been investigated.

Under GATT, existing US laws, from federal on down, which protect the public and the laborers will be subject to review and change to "harmonize" with lower standards practiced by other countries. Examples are pesticides and food contaminants. These less-restrictive standards are set by such industry-influenced organizations as Codex Alimentarius of Rome. Codex allows US-banned DDT and levels of other pesticides up to fifty times higher than what is allowed in the US. Under NAFTA or GATT, virtually any domestic law can be overturned or slackened if it is "trade-restrictive" or "trade-distorting" -- interpreted in the corporate world as profit-restrictive or profit-distorting. Ralph Nader says that GATT's new World Trade Organization has a target list of US laws regulating food safety, fuel efficiency, clean air, recycling, and many other matters including the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978. [Nader]

State laws will be even more at risk because they would face federal judicial review or sanctions from its own national government. Taking California as an example, it is estimated that some 90 state laws will have to be repealed to comply with GATT. Robert Strumberg, author of "Impact of GATT on State Law -- California," warns that "Free trade under GATT is not free. The loss of state lawmaking capacity is the price we will pay..." [cited in *Mercury News*, 3 October 1994, p. 13C] Judith Barish, director of the California Fair Trade Campaign, adds that "California's impressive record of social and environmental legislation is particularly at risk. Our state is the Ground Zero for the devastating effects of the GATT." [cited in *Mercury News*, 3 October 1994, p. 13C] Examples of state laws which conflict with GATT are auto emission standards, commercial quality standards for produce, small-business subsidies, warnings of health risk on products, and the unitary tax treatment of transnational corporations. Under the guise of impediments to free-trade (to be discussed below), big business can have laws repealed which interfere with their aim to maximize profits.

**b. Child Labor.** Most of this section is taken from an article by Lynn Kamm. [Kamm, pp. 10-11] The International Labor Organization estimates there are 200 million child laborers worldwide. Some 10 million of those are estimated by the US Labor Department to be working in export industries. Some other International Labor Organization statistics are:

- 95% of all child laborers are in poorer countries.
- 25% of child laborers in some regions are age 10-14.
- 50% of child laborers live in Asia.
- 33% of children in Africa are child laborers.
- Up to 26% of children in some Latin American countries are child laborers.

Transnational corporations maximize their profits to a great extent by using cheap child labor. Although poverty, cultural acceptance of children working, and scant educational opportunities are frequently cited to justify child labor; greedy employers, public indifference, government corruption, and social prejudice promotes acceptance of child exploitation.

## UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION

In 1974 the *U.S. Trade Act* was signed into law. It mandated that workers rights be a top negotiating priority in GATT negotiations, and one specific right was a specific minimum age for child workers. But GATT was negotiated, signed and ratified without any such provisions. One lame alibi is that poorer nations were able to block the issue from the agenda -- an unlikely event if the US had really insisted. A more likely reason, according to Bill Goold, a recognized authority on child labor, is that the Reagan, Bush, and Clinton administrations were more interested in currying favor with big business than spending any political capital for workers' rights. As far as worker's rights making any headway in the newly-established World Trade Organization established under GATT, Goold sees little prospect of success. He says that while US corporations give lip service to connecting workers' rights to trade laws, they "are very skillful and effective in orchestrating opposition to linkage without having to be out front doing so." [Kamm, p. 11]

### C. THE INSTRUMENTS OF FREE TRADE

The major free-trade agreements are the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. Another instrument is the Favored Nation Status between the US and another country. The Clinton administration has been expediting free trade agreements. These agreements have been described in various media articles but it would be helpful to bring all the data together at this point.

#### 1. *The North American Free-Trade Agreement (NAFTA).*

This economic treaty among the US, Mexico and Canada is not the first free-trade agreement for North America. A 12-mile strip of Mexico along its 2,000-mile border with the US, known as the maquiladora (assembly plant) zone, has been a free-trade zone since 1982. At the time that zone was established, the average pay for a factory worker was \$1.53 per hour. Now, with some 2,000 US factories relocated to Mexico, the pay has dropped to 60-cents an hour. Many of the half-million Mexican workers are children only 13-14 years old. The 12-mile free-trade belt has become an environmental nightmare with pollution causing major hepatitis outbreaks in neighboring Texas and Arizona. Some 67 deformed or retarded children have been born to factory workers at only one US factory. According to Ralph Nader, a "random study of US-owned factories in Mexico found not a single one that was in compliance with Mexican environmental laws." [Priest, p. 68] NAFTA will spread these conditions to all of Mexico. And as more companies move to Mexico the US will lose over half a million jobs.

Canada signed a free-trade agreement with the US in 1988. Since then, some 460,000 Canadian jobs have been lost as large US corporations absorb Canadian businesses. A Canadian government program to plant forest trees has been stopped because of it being an "unfair subsidy" to the timber industry. Under the terms of the 1988 free-trade agreement it is impossible for Canada to practice responsible forest management or control the lumber products being exported to the US. NAFTA expands on that previous agreement.

## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

NAFTA was approved by Congress on 17 November 1993 and took effect on 1 January 1994. On 10 January 1994 the US Supreme Court rejected a lawsuit which would have forced the President to conduct an environmental assessment before NAFTA became law. That let stand an appeals court decision which said the President has sole authority to negotiate treaties and without judicial interference. [*Public Citizen and Sierra Club vs. US Trade Representative*, 93-560] NAFTA will be in force for fifteen years unless abrogated with the prescribed time of notice.

It was not by chance that the Chiapas uprising started in early January 1994 when NAFTA went into effect. They know that NAFTA will make their entire country a maquiladora zone, and that deplorable working conditions and slave wages will spread. Chiapas leader, Commander Marcos, labeled NAFTA a "death certificate for the Indian peoples of Mexico." [Priest, p. 6b] In Mexico, NAFTA is known by its Spanish initials TLC. A Mexican political cartoon features a shabbily-dressed peasant screaming "TLC -- Tierra, Libertad y Comida (translated "Land, Liberty and Food). [Schrader, p. 25A]

In retrospect, a year after NAFTA went into effect, even advocates of the pact admit it was oversold regarding the jobs and wealth it would bring in all three countries. Terry Karl, director of the Center for Latin American Studies at Stanford University, says the people were defrauded on NAFTA "because to sell the pact politically its benefits had to be exaggerated, its promise had to be exaggerated, and its potential problems had to be downplayed. [cited in *Mercury News*, 4 February 1995, p. 7D]

Mexico has been particularly hard hit. Its economy is in recession, the peso has been devalued, and the government is seeking loans to stay afloat. Delal Baer, a political scientist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. says what happened "is that Mexicans actually purchased too much, they were buying too many of our goods as a result of trade liberalization. It was wonderful while it lasted for American exporters, but Mexico just couldn't keep buying and buying forever." [cited in *Mercury News*, 4 February 1995, p. 7D] US exports to Mexico in 1994 rose 17 percent over 1993, to \$114.5 billion.

It was predicted before devaluation of the peso that 1995 would see another 20 percent jump. Now, with American goods suddenly 40 percent more expensive in the Mexican economy, exports are expected to drop. It was also predicted that NAFTA would create 190,000 US jobs by 1998. Now jobs are expected to decline in 1995. US President Bill Clinton has offered a \$20-billion US credit package that could make Mexico even more dependent on the US. It will require that Mexico tighten its money supply and keep interest rates high, thus fueling a Mexican recession. As collateral for the loan, the US will have claim to the billions of dollars in Mexican oil sales -- Mexico's largest single-source of foreign revenue.

Meanwhile, because the devalued peso makes Mexican products cheaper in the US, Mexico's exports are expected to rise 25 percent (by \$16 billion) in 1995. This will cause a greater trade imbalance on the US side. Exacerbating the US unemployment figure, more illegal but cheap Mexican labor is expected to migrate to the US where there are better-paying jobs.

## **UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION**

a. **From NAFTA to AFTA.** Hardly had NAFTA gone into effect than the Clinton administration kicked off negotiations to expand that treaty to the entire western hemisphere into what could be called the Americas Free Trade Agreement (AFTA). Chile would be first -- a signal that countries can join one-by-one -- and the rest of Central and South America during the next decade. That would bring another 750 million consumers to the corporate marketplace dominated by the US which controls three-quarters of the western hemisphere's wealth.

A Summit of the Americas held in Miami, Florida during December 1994 was attended by 34 nations -- every nation in the hemisphere except Cuba. A date of 2005 was set to complete all negotiations toward a hemispheric free-trade zone. AFTA would replace NAFTA and five other free-trade agreements in Latin America. [See Addendum-B for details.] The 5-page Declaration of Principles and 23-page Plan of Action give lip service to human rights, environmental hazards, public needs and safety, and anti-drug trafficking but the provisions are vague and weak. The main theme is to create tariff-free borders. The centerpiece is free trade.

### **2. *The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).***

GATT presently comprises 124 nations. It was first signed by 23 countries in 1947. In the following year, 57 countries drafted the International Trade Organization charter which was defeated by the US Congress for fear of losing control over trade. 45,000 tariff cuts were adopted, however. The second round of talks in 1949 added 5,000 tariff cuts, and a third round in 1950 resulted in 8,700 additional cuts. A fourth round in 1956 added tariff cuts covering \$2.5-billion in trade. In 1960-61 the Dillon Round led to an additional 4,400 concessions covering \$4.9-billion in trade, and the 1964-67 Kennedy Round added more cuts covering a whopping \$40-billion in trade. A seventh round of talks, the Tokyo Round, during 1973-79 slashed tariffs on more than \$300-billion worth of trade.

The recently concluded Uruguay Round started in 1986 and agreement was reached on 15 December 1993 -- over seven years later. The impasse in this round epitomizes the increasing powerlessness of Third World countries. A back-room agreement among the industrialized powers resulted in a take-it-or-leave-it proposition for GATT members. No negotiations of terms was tolerated. If a lesser-developed country presented its side, it was put off as a "micro problem" amid an attempt to solve "macro problems." Industrialized nations forced poorer states to accept regulations which tightened the rules against those states. In exchange for allowing big businesses to maneuver more freely in and out of world markets, the smaller countries received vague promises about some better access to marketing at some unspecified future date.

As a result, the Uruguay round was more far-reaching than the previous seven which reduced tariffs only on manufactured goods. The final agreement at Uruguay also reduces tariffs on agricultural goods, intellectual property, and services; restricts impediments to trade; and creates the World Trade Organization. Let us look at these aspects.

## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

a. **Free Trade in Agriculture.** This applies to investment in farming and farm products. When local governments try to regulate the effect on the environment, the hazards of pesticides, the dangers of food irradiation, occupational safety, depletion of resources, and similar concerns, it may be declared a violation of the GATT agreement and thus set aside. Industrialized nations would be able to operate with impunity in the Third World.

b. **Free Trade in Intellectual Property.** Intellectual property covers everything from music, writing, and art to computer software and new-technology patents. GATT will liberalize control of intellectual property in some areas and tighten it in others, which ever is in the interest of the few countries which dominate GATT negotiations. GATT will cause Third World governments to police their own people in order to insure the monopolization of local talent and its creations by trans-national corporations.

c. **Free Trade in Services.** The US and other developed countries want to open capitalist opportunities in services such as banking, insurance, communications, media, professional services, tour agencies, accounting, advertising, etc. Currently these service industries form a greater share of the gross national product in the US and other developed countries than does manufacturing or agriculture. If included under free trade, the trans-nationalization of local service companies will spell the end of the last economic sector still indigenously controlled in the Third World.

d. **Impediments to Trade.** The Uruguay Round also addressed impediments to trade such as subsidies, "dumping" of goods at below-market value, counterfeiting, discriminating tax structures, and investment restrictions. Not all of the goals were achieved in the final agreement (services pertaining to films, audio, and ocean-going shipping are not included) but the results are still astonishing.

e. **The World Trade Organization (WTO).** The Uruguay Round also gives GATT more clout through creation of the WTO to mediate disputes and enforce GATT rules. An offending nation will have three choices: negotiate a settlement, change its laws, or face harsh trade sanctions. WTO tribunals will operate in secrecy without input from any organization or person below the national level.

Tariff cuts are to be implemented over time and fully effective by 2002. Still unsure about whether the US is giving away more than it receives, or just how much national sovereignty the US is relegating to the World Trade Organization, Congress on 1 December 1994 completed ratification of the 22,000-page GATT document and it was signed into law by President Clinton on 8 December 1994.

It is not generally known that GATT will cost US taxpayers an estimated \$20 billion over the next ten years -- some estimates are \$4 billion a year. Congress is bound by budget rules to make up for the revenues lost as taxes are phased out on hundreds of

## UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION

imports. Although Congress is supposedly forbidden to compensate by cutting social programs, if current practices are followed it will be the low-income bracket that makes up this difference.

### 3. *The Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum.*

APEC was formed in 1989 by the US to examine ways of cooperating toward economic growth. It has 18 Pacific-rim member countries -- Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, Malaysia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and US.

APEC would be a juicy plum for American business ventures. Asia contains two billion potential consumers, about \$1-trillion in infrastructure projects will be opened for bid during the next few years, and the average annual economic growth is projected to be 6- to 7-percent over the next decade. Also, in most APEC countries the US has a trade deficit. The US hopes to eliminate barriers and double exports over the next decade.

Some Asian-Pacific nations are wary. They fear that their developing industries will be overwhelmed by competition. Malaysia boycotted the November 1993 APEC summit in Seattle, Washington because it sees APEC as a plot to dominate the region. Thailand and Indonesia prefer that APEC be a consultative forum with no policy-making authority. China and the Philippines want their industrial capacity to mature more before committing to a free-trade agreement. Since APEC operates on consensus (100 percent agreement) even the smallest nation could block US aspirations. But with NAFTA and GATT negotiations out of the way, the Clinton administration is putting much effort on APEC.

In November 1994 the annual APEC summit was held in Jakarta, Indonesia. The forum promised to reduce trade barriers and have free-and-open trade-and-investment among APEC's industrialized members (Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, and US) by 2010, with full APEC economic integration by 2020. Specific guidelines were worked out at the November 1995 summit in Osaka, Japan.

Other goals agreed to in 1994 are to reduce economic disparities and promote social well being; to set up cooperative programs in education & training, science, and technology (including technology transfer); and to cooperate on environmental issues with the aim of sustainable development. The controversial questions of human rights and labor issues were deliberately ducked.

Malaysia and China are the main obstacles to US goals. Malaysia wants to form a free trade bloc in East Asia from which the US is excluded. Beijing is holding out until Washington helps China become a founding member of the new World Trade Organization under GATT, despite the Chinese closed market and state-supported industries.

### 4. *Most Favored Nations.*

The Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) Program awards the most favored nation status to help eligible developing countries by providing duty-free trade on specific products -- a form of unilaterally-bestowed free-trade arrangement. The United Nations

## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

Conference on Trade and Development proposed the concept in the mid-1960s. Sixteen donor countries (the EU counted as one donor) have now adopted their own versions of the GSP Program. Conflict with Article I of the GATT agreement has been overcome by a permanent waiver passed during the 1979 Tokyo round of negotiations, which allows more favorable treatment of developing countries. The GSP Program was authorized in the US by Title V of the Trade Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-618, 3 January 1975) and re-authorized by the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984 (P.L. 98-573, 30 October 1984).

The GSP Program is administered by the GSP Subcommittee of the interagency Trade Policy Staff Committee which in turn reports to the administration's Trade Policy Review Group. The GSP Subcommittee is chaired by the US Trade Representative and consists of members from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, Labor, State, and Treasury. Some 145 countries and territories now receive most favored nation status from the US for a wide range of selected products, not necessarily the same for each country. In practice it allows US-based transnational corporations to open factories in the recipient nation and then export the products duty-free to the US for marketing.

China, touted as the world's biggest and fastest-growing market, epitomizes the manner in which the preferential trade treatment is skewed toward business interests. During re-authorization of the GSP Program in 1984, Congress added new eligibility requirements which included observation of internationally recognized workers rights and effective protection of intellectual property (patents, copyrights and trademarks). When China's most favored nation status came up for renewal in 1994, the Clinton administration tried to get Beijing to clean up its human rights violations. However, when negotiations got down to the wire, the pressure of big business influenced trade renewal with China in spite of human rights abuses. Now the trade-renewal dispute with China is over piracy of intellectual property. US software firms alone have lost \$800 million in retail sales because of illegal copying of their work. This time the dispute involves business interests, and the US may take a harder line toward China.

### D. CORPORATE CONTROL OF FREE TRADE.

Members of the corporate community have monopolized the advisors and architects of free-trade agreements.

#### 1. NAFTA.

NAFTA was written by George Bush's business friends. In the secret drafting meetings there were over 1000 advisors from the corporate community -- only five represented environmental groups and none represented consumer, labor and health groups.

It appears that some environmental organizations which came out in favor of NAFTA have been co-opted by big money. As stated in *Integrities*:

The World Wildlife Fund, National Wildlife Federation, National Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense Fund, Defenders of Wildlife, the National Audubon Society and the Nature



## UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION

Conservancy have come out in support of NAFTA. That list is impressive. But Alexander Cockburn did some research on the subject and found that, previous to its endorsement of NAFTA, World Wildlife Fund had received a \$2.5-million check from Eastman Kodak, whose CEO founded NAFTA's biggest corporate lobby. National Wildlife Federation receives financial support from Dow Chemical, DuPont, Monsanto, 3M, Shell, Pennzoil and Waste Management. Audubon [Society] receives money from General Electric, Waste Management and pro-NAFTA Proctor & Gamble. The Nature Conservancy accepted more than \$2-million from NAFTA-supporter Coca Cola and lesser sums from Tenneco, Cargill, DuPont, Phillip Morris, Waste Management and Proctor & Gamble. This does not prove that big money produced the endorsements, but it makes one mighty suspicious! The Sierra Club, Greenpeace, and Friends of the Earth remain firmly opposed to NAFTA, and have criticized the other groups for their "play along" tactics.

### 2. *GATT and the WTO.*

The US strategy during GATT negotiations was crafted by James D. Robinson III, chief executive officer for American Express. As one of the world's biggest transnational corporations, American Express is seeking free access to financial markets worldwide. Daniel Amstutz, former senior vice president of Cargill, drafted GATT's agricultural agreement. Cargill has an enormous financial stake in reducing agricultural restrictions around the globe. Official negotiators of GATT were advised by over 1,000 representatives from the business world.

The secret tribunals which will decide what domestic laws violate free-trade agreements are heavily influenced by industry. And Codex Alimentarius, which has been vested by NAFTA and GATT to set acceptable levels of food contaminants for most of the world, is also top-heavy with industry representatives. Out of 28 US delegates to CODEX, 16 come from food or agri-chemical transnational corporations -- including three from Nestles and one each from Coca Cola, Pepsi, Hershey, Ralston Purina, Craft and CPC International. Nestles sends delegates from many nations and is better represented than most countries. This is the makeup of the institution which sets the standard to which our health and environmental laws must adhere.

GATT establish the World Trade Organization which will have more power to settle disputes among members. Some foresee that it will be more powerful than the United Nations. It has been described as a global corporate utopia in which local citizens, labor unions, environmental groups, and consumer advocates are powerless. It will operate in a secrecy which hides conflicts of interest, economic straits imposed on poor countries, inadequate workers' rights, and devastating environmental practices. Karen Lehman of the Institute for Agricultural and Trade Policy said, "[Free trade] will have more power to determine what we eat, how we handle our garbage, whether we handle other people's garbage ... than our own legislature." [Cited in Dawkins and Muffett]

Ralph Nader, in his 10 October 1994 article in *The Nation*, points out that 51 leaders of major news organizations and journalism groups urged President Clinton to

## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

open World Trade deliberations to the public and press. Nader says that five anti-democratic areas of concern are "a lockout of the press and the public from WTO tribunals; suppression of the briefs and other documents presented by governments that are parties to disputes before these tribunals; denial of citizens' right to petition; the absence of conflict-in-interest standards for the tribunals' three trade specialists, who act as judges and may simultaneously pursue private business careers; and a prohibition of any independent appeals of WTO tribunal decisions. The perfunctory internal appeals process within the WTO is secret." [cited in Nader]

### E. THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK.

Like GATT, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are controlled by the developed and industrialized nations, principally the United States. The IMF finances large-scale economic changes and the World Bank funds individual development projects. These organizations have been described as the capitalist world's premier economic fraternities. Membership gives access to billions of dollars in loans, but those loans have many conditions attached. The new member country must agree to strict IMF "reforms," one of which is to move to a free-market economy under the IMF's harsh free-market restrictions. This is the arena in which capitalist countries excel.

An August 1992 *Los Angeles Times* dispatch quotes a report saying that the "economic policies advocated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are contributing to a Third World environmental crisis that is undermining the very development strategies the international leaders seek to promote." [*Mercury News*, 31 August 1992, p. 2A] Using the Philippines as an example, the article says that lending policies stress a borrowing country's industrial development at the cost of depleting natural resources.

It is naive to say that the IMF and World Bank are working against goals to develop a country because no such goals ever existed except as public relations propaganda. Walden Bello, executive director for the Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First), said that since its inception in 1944 "the World Bank has been a closely held and controlled arm of US foreign policy, largely free from constraints of legislative, judicial or popular influence." He points out that "what has changed over time is the level of bitterness and distrust with which the Bank is viewed by those who are targeted for 'development.' For them the Bank's structural adjustment policies have brought despair and devastated living standards. For environmentalists, the recent increase in the Bank's lending program, from \$20 billion in 1991 to \$25 billion in 1992, has signaled an increased capacity to wreak havoc on nature." [Bello, p. 20] Bello cites three sophisticated and blunt mechanisms by which the US uses the World Bank as a political weapon. They apply likewise to the IMF which is also controlled by the US. First, the Bank provides a means to punish or reward countries for their degree of cooperation with US policy. Second, it is used to bring Third World countries into a US-dominated international capitalist economy. And third, the Bank is used as a collection agency for debts owed American banks, but at the expense of Third World living conditions.

## **UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION**

### ***1. A Means of Punishment and Reward for a Country's Degree of Cooperation with US Policies.***

A 1982 Treasury Department report says the US had its way in 12 out of 14 major World Bank decisions. [Treasury Department, "Assessment of US Participation in the Multinational Banks in the 1980s," Consultation draft, 21 September 1981, Chapter 3; cited in Bello, p. 21] The cut off of Bank funds to Chile heralded the fall of Allende in 1973. The same tactic was used against Nicaragua during the 1980s. Any country defined as an enemy by the US would lose World Bank funding.

On the other end of the stick, the World Bank has been used to help countries such as China, when diplomatic relations are tenuous, if it serves US interests. Over \$8.5 billion in World Bank loans went to China during the 1980s, a period when it would have been impossible to promote such aid through Congress. World Bank loans to ten countries considered vital to US interests -- Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Tunisia and Turkey -- total over \$7 billion. And because its share towards those loans is only \$60 million, the US realizes over a hundred-fold increase in dollar impact by channeling them through the World Bank.

### ***2. A Means of Bringing Third World Countries Into a US-Dominated Global Capitalist Economy.***

It was the noble goals for the World Bank and IMF formulated by the liberals of the mid-1940s that has led world opinion to believe that those institutions were a means of helping poor countries develop. But the conservatives who actually designed the two institutions had no such illusions. From the start it was their intention to promote a post World War II international economic order based on capitalism and controlled by the United States.

Bringing the Third-World people into the capitalist scheme was not meant to give them an equal place. Theirs would be the role of production at cheap wages earned in unhealthy conditions while their environment and lifestyle deteriorate. Towards the capitalist goal of free trade, "development" loans had strings attached which encouraged an export economy -- specialization in a product for sale elsewhere and away from a self-sustaining economic structure. All the bad effects of such free trade on the local people -- cheap wages, devalued currency and cutting social-needs to make their export product more competitive, giving control of the economy to foreign investors, little regulation of imports needed for manufacture -- have been described above. But forcing free trade and an export economy onto the local people is done by attaching conditions to the only source of funding they have.

### ***3. A Means of Collecting Debts for US banks at the Expense of Third World Living Standards.***

Under the Reagan administration of the 1980s, the World Bank and IMF cast off the last of its pretensions about humanitarian goals. They became first and foremost a means of policing US interests. One of their functions was to collect debts. Between

## **TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK**

1984 and 1991 some \$155 billion flowed from poor countries through the IMF/World Bank to primarily US banks. This drain is depressing living standards in debtor countries and bringing immense suffering to poor people -- particularly in Latin America and Africa. Health, dietary and educational needs are dwindling while natural resources are being ravaged to meet interest payments. If countries won't cooperate with the World Bank/IMF collection structure they are given a bad rating which essentially bars them from obtaining loans from any source. In this manner the US keeps the Third World under control while protecting its own banks.

So we can see that when a Third World country joins the IMF or World Bank in order to obtain financing for economic improvement and development projects, it is moving into the clutches of capitalist powers. Russia and twelve other former Soviet republics were formally admitted into the World Bank and IMF in April 1992. Although Russian President Yeltsin has proclaimed that he will not allow the West to dictate his economic reform, reality will unfold as the future moves on. The World Bank and the IMF served capitalism well during the neo-colonialist period. They will become even more unfettered under the New World Order. Third World countries would be smart to heed Walden Bello's warning that "the World Bank is an integral part of the system of Northern domination of the South. Abolishing it, not reforming it, must be the Southern agenda." [Bello, p. 25] The same is true of the IMF.

### **F. CONCLUSION**

In his 1993 annual report to the General Assembly, United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said: "The gap between the world's richest and poorest countries is widening, yet that shocking fact is more often than not greeted with indifference.... No task is greater or more urgent than to impress upon the economically leading nations that the world cannot ultimately prosper if the poorest continue to suffer and decline. To illustrate that growing disparity, in 1960 the richest 20 percent of the world's population held 60 percent of the world's wealth. Today it holds 83 percent. That same 20 percent also consumes 80 percent of the world's resources.

If conditions are to improve for our impoverished brothers and sisters, and this planet is to be kept livable for our future generations, free-trade as it exists today must be changed. Perhaps the best way to do that is to remove the corporate monopoly so that wiser decision-making is possible. That will open the door to true economics when all people's good shall be each person's rule.

Failing that, the Council on Foreign Relations dream of controlling the world will be realized.

\* \* \* \* \*

# UNBRIDLED EXPLOITATION

## REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 1.1

- Barnett, Richard J. and Cavanaugh, John; "The TNC's Web of Control," *Impact: Asian Magazine for Human Transformation* (P.O. Box 2950, 1099 Manila, Philippines) June 1994, pp. 14-15 & 27.
- Barnett, Richard J. and Muller, Ronald E.; *Global Reach: The Power of Multinational Corporations* (NY, Simon & Schuster, 1974).
- Bello, Walden, "The Role of the World Bank in US Foreign Policy," *Covert Action*, Winter 1991-92, pp. 20-25.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros; The UN Secretary General's 1993 annual *Report on the Work of the Organization* to the United Nations General Assembly.
- Dawkins, Kristin and Muffett, William Carroll; *Catholic Agitator* (632 N. Britannia St., Los Angeles, CA 90033) January 1993.
- GAO/GGD-95-9 -- *International Trade: Assessment of the Generalized System of Preferences Program*, a US General Accounting Office report, November 1994.
- Huckaby, Sandi; "N-A-F-T-A," *Catholic Agitator* (632 N. Britannia St., Los Angeles, CA 90033) January 1993.
- Impact: Asian Magazine for Human Transformation* (P.O. Box 2950, 1099 Manila, Philippines), March/April 1995, pp. 5-10 & 21-23.
- Integrities* (Integrities Foundation, 3015 Freedom Boulevard, Watsonville, CA 95076), Fall 1993.
- Kamm, Lynn; "Child Labor Feeds Global Market Profits," *National Catholic Reporter*, 27 January 1995, pp. 10-11.
- Mattern, Douglas; "New Economics for a New Century: Change Greed and Disparity Between Rich and Poor," *The Human Quest*, May-June 1993.
- Mercury News* (San Jose, CA), Home Edition, various issues.
- Nader, Ralph; "Drop GATT," *The Nation*, 10 October 1994 -- reprinted in *Oklahoma Peace Strategy* (2912 N. Robinson Ave., Oklahoma City, OK), December 1994, p. 19.
- Nelson, Joyce; "The Trilateral Spin on NAFTA," *Covert Action*, Winter 1993-94, pp. 22-26.
- Pacific Research*, publication of Australia National University, February 1995, pp. 20-21.
- Parade* (newspaper Sunday supplement), "The Trilateral Commission," 27 March 1977.
- Priest, Ruth; "Maybe Mexican Rebels Understand NAFTA," *Mercury News* (San Jose, CA), Letters to the Editor, 6 January 1994, p. 6B.
- Schrader, Esther; "Upheaval Gives Mexicans a Fertile Field for Satire," *Mercury News* (San Jose, CA), 29 April 1994, p. 25A.
- Third World War* (Christian Conference of Asia, 57 Peking Rd., 4/F Kowloon, Hong Kong; December 1991).
- Webster's New World Dictionary* (NY; Simon & Schuster; 1984), 2nd College Edition.
- Year One* (1933 Park Ave., Baltimore, Maryland) January-February 1977.

## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

### ADDENDUM-A TO CHAPTER 1.1

Some of the trilateralists in the Carter administration were Jimmy Carter (President), Zbigniew Brzezinski (National Security Advisor), Walter Mondale (Vice President), Cyrus Vance (Secretary of State), W. Michael Bloomenthal (Secretary of Treasury), Harold Brown (Secretary of Defense), Warren Christopher (Deputy Secretary of State), Richard N. Cooper (Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs), Richard Holbrooke (Under Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs), and C. Fred Bergsten (Assistant Secretary of Treasury for International Economic Affairs). [*Parade*] Andrew Young (Ambassador to the UN) was also a trilateralist. [Nelson, p. 23]

Some TLC advisors to President Carter were Lane Kirkland (Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL/CIO), Harry Owens (Director of Foreign Policies Studies at the Brookings Institution), Leonard Woodcock (President of the United Automobile Workers), Robert Roosa (partner with Brown Brothers, Harriman & Company), and J. Paul Austin (Chairman of Coca Cola Company). [*Parade*]

Some trilateralists in the Bush administration were George Bush (President), Brent Scowcroft (National Security Advisor), Carla Hills (US Trade Representative), James Baker (Secretary of State), Robert Mosbacher (Secretary of Commerce), and Michael Boskin (Council of Economic Advisors Chairman). [Nelson, p. 26]

Trilateralists on the September 1993 TLC membership list who went into the Clinton administration are Bill Clinton (President), Warren Christopher (Secretary of State), Bruce Babbitt (Secretary of Interior), Peter Tarnoff (Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. (former Deputy Secretary of State), Graham Allison (Assistant Secretary of Defense for Plans and Policy), Richard Holbrooke (Ambassador to Germany), James R. Jones (Ambassador to Mexico), Walter F. Mondale (Ambassador to Japan), Strobe Talbott (Ambassador at Large and Special Advisor to the Secretary of State on Newly Independent States and Russia), David Gergan (assistant to the President on communications), Joseph S. Nye (Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, CIA), and Alan Greenspan (Chairman of the US Federal Reserve System). [Nelson, p. 23]

US corporations represented in the TLC include American Airlines, AT&T, Bank of America, Boeing, Coca Cola, DuPont, General Electric, IBM, Owens Corning Fiberglass, Proctor & Gamble, Shell Oil, Black & Decker, General Foods, and Westinghouse. [Nelson, p. 26]

This listing in this Addendum is not complete for the US and does not delve into TLC membership in other countries. For a more complete treatment of trilateralism please consult the references.

### ADDENDUM-B TO CHAPTER 1.1

An Americas Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) which is planned to be in place by 2005 would subsume six other agreements: (1) NAFTA, an existing free-trade agreement among Canada, Mexico, and the US; (2) the Group of Three, a free-trade agreement by 1995 among Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela; (3) Mercosur, a common market to be in place by 1995 among Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay; (4) Andean Pact, a common market by 1995 among Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela, although the border dispute between Peru and Ecuador may affect this; (5) Caricom, a potential common market among 13 Caribbean countries, excluding Haiti and the Dominican Republic; and (6) the Central American Common Market which would eliminate regional tariffs among Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

## 1.2 MILITARY STRATEGY: SECURING AMERICA'S INTERESTS

Military ambitions pre-date recorded history. And military doctrine is driven by technology. New discoveries invariably find their proving grounds in a martial application. Such was the case from the discovery of metal to nuclear energy. Since World War 2, and the advent of the military-industrial complex, the progression of military applications has been significant in the area of protecting America's economic adventurism. It has stunted the development of alternative forms of conflict resolution.

When studying US military strategy one must understand the meaning "national interests" and "national security." As we saw in Chapter 1.1, the overriding national interest is economic. From that it follows that it is business interests that need security. Therefore, the term "national interests" can be translated to "business interests," and "national security" to "corporate security." With these definitions in mind let us proceed to a discussion of US military strategy.

During World War 2 we had a War Department (Army) and a Department of Navy, which also includes the Marines. The Air Force was later split off from the Army and all military branches were unified under the so-called Department of Defense. The Pentagon was built and chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was rotated among the Army, Navy and Air Force.

With the interaction of technology and the need to integrate operations, lower-echelon "unified commands" became more common. Each theater of operations around the globe now has a Regional Commander-in-Chief over all the US military in that theater.

In 1991 the unified "Joint Strategic Command" replaced the Air Force's Strategic Air Command to control all nuclear forces. Earlier, all special operations were unified under a "Special Operations Command."

So we can see that the trend is shifting from emphasizing the specialized functions of each military branch, to integrated operations that meet the military needs of geographic regions. This chapter will trace the evolution of US military strategy through the 1980s and during the post-cold war period of the 1990s. Current US strategy will then be analyzed. Finally, what the Pentagon envisages for the 21st century will be discussed.

### A. EVOLUTION OF MILITARY DOCTRINE DURING THE 1980s

The Vietnam air war and automated battlefield sparked an avalanche of military technology. Many activities which have been practiced by the military for decades had to be better defined with the advent of new sensing devices, communications methods, data processing, etc. The first attempts were specific isolated applications such as Air-Land



## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

Battle in Europe and Constructive Engagement in Africa and Asia. As the need for closer interaction among the military branches was recognized, unified commands were set up. Finally it became apparent that the array of modern military forces is so complex that focus on long-term planning and force integration of forces was needed. To study these issues the Pentagon inaugurated The Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy.

### 1. *Discriminate Deterrence.*

The term "Discriminate Deterrence," coined by The Commission On Integrated Long-Term Strategy, includes a wide spectrum of responses from low-intensity conflict on the covert side to fighting a thermonuclear war on the visible end. The Commission stated in its January 1966 report:

Our strategy must be designed for the long term, to guide force development, weapons procurement, and arms negotiations. Armaments the Pentagon chooses today will serve our forces well into the next century. Arms agreements take years to negotiate and remain in force for decades.

Our strategy must also be integrated. **We should not decide in isolation questions about new technology, force structure, mobility and bases, conventional and nuclear arms, extreme threats and Third World conflicts. We need to fit together our plans and forces for a wide range of conflicts, from the lowest intensity and highest probability to the most apocalyptic and least likely.** [*Discriminate Deterrence*, p. 1 -- emphasis added]

Actually, we have seen this range of military activity over the past half-century. Immediately after World War 2, low-intensity conflict was practiced in the Philippines when the US sent military advisers to help the Filipino government counter Hukbalahap guerrillas. Later it was used to overthrow Allende in Chile, and for many other applications. The cold war hysteria, however, caused more public awareness of the nuclear aspect. More recently in the Balkans, low-intensity conflict was employed to help Iran arm the Bosnian army. The spectrum of activities is not new. But forces integration and long-term planning have taken on a new dimension.

### 2. *Special Operations.*

Each military branch has employed special operations forces for decades. US Navy special operations submarines spied on the Soviet Union and recorded sonic signatures of Soviet submarines. Others were pulled together to meet specific crises, such as the failed rescue of hostages from Iran in April 1980. The latter fiasco caused the Pentagon to set up a commission to study special operations issues. But the 1983 attack on Grenada and the 1985 hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise liner sparked congressional interest.

## *MILITARY STRATEGY*

On 14 November 1986 "Congress enacted Public Law 99-661, Section 1311 to revitalize special operations and correct deficiencies identified in the nation's ability to conduct special operations." [GAO/NSIAD-94-105, p. 10] The US Special Operations Command was established during April 1987. By March 1988 most special operations forces had been assigned to the Command. Public Law 99-661 mandated ten activities over which the Command would have authority:

- **Direct Actions.** Short-duration strikes and other small-scale offensive actions to seize, destroy, or damage a specific target; or to destroy, capture, or recover designated personnel or material. (Example: the invasion of Panama to capture Manuel Noriega; sending forces to Somalia.)
- **Special Reconnaissance.** Obtain and verify information concerning the capabilities, intentions, and activities of an actual or potential enemy; or secure data concerning meteorological, hydrological, geographic, or demographic characteristics of a particular arena. Includes target acquisition, area assessment, and post-strike reconnaissance. (Example: use of Predator unmanned aerial vehicles over Bosnia; locating Scud launchers and other targets in Iraq.)
- **Unconventional Warfare.** A broad spectrum of military or paramilitary operations, usually of long duration, predominantly conducted by indigenous or surrogate forces that are organized, trained, equipped, supported, and directed in varying degrees by an external source. Includes guerrilla warfare, ambushes, and other direct offensive, low-visibility, covert or clandestine operations; as well as indirect subversion, sabotage, intelligence collection, and evasion or escape. (Example: helping Iran smuggle arms to Bosnia; US military retirees training Croatian and Bosnian soldiers; helping local soldiers combat drug smugglers in South America; helping peasants grow non-drug-related crops.)
- **Foreign Internal Defense.** US special forces train, advise, and otherwise assist host nation military and paramilitary forces. (Example: helping to train Arab troops; training Bosnian officers under the US "Train and Equip" program.)
- **Counterterrorism.** Application of highly-specialized capabilities to fight terrorism abroad; including hostage rescue, recovery of sensitive material, and direct action against terrorist infrastructure. (Example: the US F-111 raid on Libya; firing Tomahawk cruise missiles at Iraq in retaliation for an assassination plot against ex-President Bush.)
- **Civil Affairs Operations.** To establish, maintain, influence, or strengthen relations between US and allied military forces, civil authorities, and people in friendly or occupied country/area. (Example: dispatching troops to California to help quell the Los Angeles riot after the Rodney King verdict.)
- **Psychological Operations.** To support other military operations and actions to favorably influence the emotions, attitudes, and behavior of a foreign audience on behalf of US interests. (Example: mass media techniques.)

## *TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK*

- **Humanitarian Assistance.** Conducted to supplement the efforts of host nation authorities in relieving or reducing the results of natural or man-made disasters, or other endemic conditions such as human pain, disease, hunger, or privation that might present a serious threat to life or loss of property. (Example: helping African governments control epidemics, reduce industrial pollution, and conserve natural resources; teaching Cambodians and Afghans to clear mine fields; assisting at domestic and foreign natural disasters.)
- **Theater Search and Rescue.** To recover distressed personnel during wartime or contingency operations. (Example: rescue of the downed F-16 pilot in Bosnia.)
- **Other Activities.** As specified by the President or Secretary of Defense. These could include actions against manufacturing plants for chemical-biological-nuclear weapons, information warfare, counter-drug activities, countermine activities, security assistance, and more. (Example: coordinating western and Arab troops preparing for war in Kuwait, sending US troops to Haiti in 1994 to prepare country for UN peacekeepers; combating domestic drug running.)

Pentagon reluctant to implement all of the Congressional mandate prompted new legislation. Public Law 100-180, enacted in December 1987, directed the Defense Secretary to provide adequate resources for the Special Operations Command; and established a "Major Force Program-11" budget category for special operations. Public Law 100-456, Section 712 made the Special Operations Command responsible for submitting budget proposals and program recommendations, and for exercising authority over its budget.

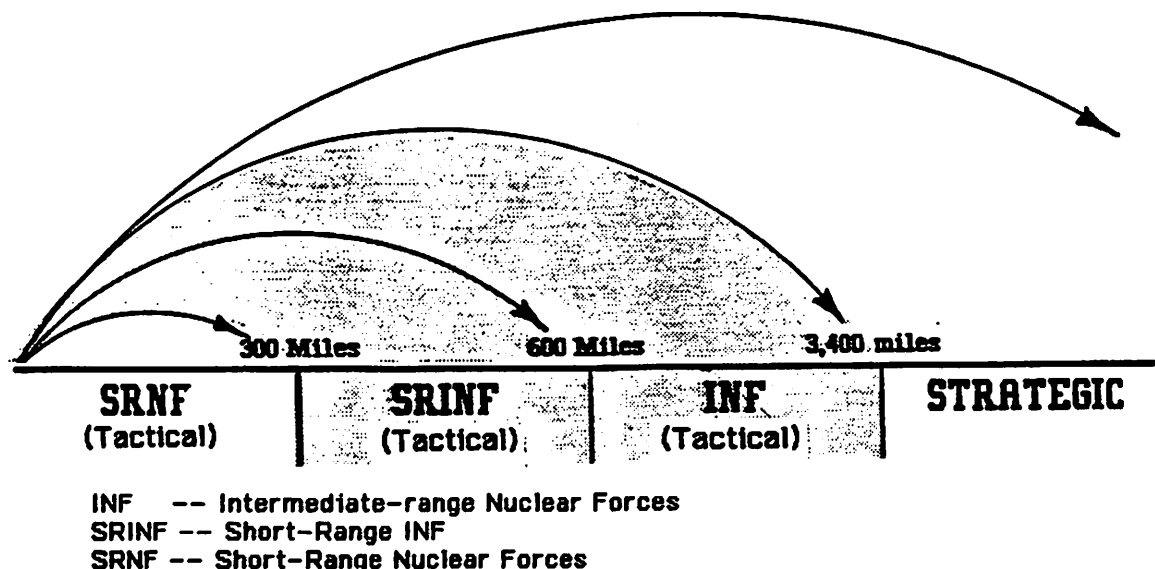
Special operations forces are specially trained over the spectrum of their responsibilities to conduct operations in worldwide support of the five US regional commanders-in chief, American ambassadors, and other government agencies. The Command's headquarters is at MacDill Air Force Base in Florida. There are three service components: the Army Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg, North Carolina; the Naval Special Warfare Command at the Naval Amphibious Base, Coronado, California; and the Air Force Special Operations Command at Hurlburt Field, Florida. Also at Fort Bragg, North Carolina is a sub-unified Joint Special Operations Command. The Special Operations Command's annual budget exceeds \$3 billion and its personnel exceeded 48,000.

The Command has already ordered 55 CV-22 tiltrotor cargo aircraft adapted to special operations from the Marine Corps V-22 Osprey, 24 MC-130 Combat Talon II transport aircraft, and 13 specially modified C-130 aircraft with rapid-fire guns and precision sensors. Procurement from now to the end of the decade will be for small ships and miniature submarines designed for special operations. The Command is also interested in the Army's "21st Century Land Warrior" program to give the individual soldiers advanced computers and displays, sensors, advanced weaponry, and protective armor.

The Special Operations Command deserves close scrutiny because, as will be seen below, it could be the precursor of 21st Century warfighting strategy.

# MILITARY STRATEGY

FIGURE 1.2-1  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS CLASSIFICATIONS



Tactical nuclear weapons are designed for use in a theater of operations (regional war).  
Land-based INF and SRINF have been removed by the INF Treaty.  
Strategic nuclear weapons are designed for total thermonuclear war between superpowers.  
Strategic weapons are restricted by the START-1 and START-2 Treaties.

## B. SHIFTING EMPHASIS DURING THE 1990s

Although discriminate deterrence covers a wide spectrum of military activities, focus on specific areas of the spectrum may shift as world conditions change. It is the purpose of force integration and long-term planning to make these shifts smoothly and timely. With the end of the cold war a shift in focus was mandated when President George Bush announced a "new world order."

### 1. The Reed Panel.

After the aborted Moscow coup during August 1991, Air Force General Lee Butler, director of US nuclear targeting, convened the Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff Advisory Group, composed of 21 nuclear experts from the Carter, Reagan and Bush administrations and chaired by Thomas Reed, Air Force Secretary under President Reagan. The Reed panel, as it was called, issued a 44-page secret report which was leaked to the *Washington Post*. It proposed a "comprehensive nuclear targeting plan for the post-Cold-War era," which has been described as the most sweeping revision of US strategic targeting since the dawn of the nuclear age. [*Mercury News*, 6 Jan 92, p. 14A]

a. **Halve the Strategic Triad.** The Reed panel recommended that the administration cut strategic warheads to about 5,000 -- a level substantially below what

## *TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK*

is allowed by the START-1 Treaty. This, the panel contended, would be enough to deter a massive attack by Third World countries and former Soviet republics, and would still bolster America's world-leadership status. Further cuts in the future may be in order but the panel warned that US inventories should always be larger than those of Britain, France, and China combined. The Reed panel calls for this strategic warhead reserve to be used as needed.

**b. Cover All the Bases.** The Reed panel also suggested that a set of plans be drafted to mount strikes against "every reasonable adversary" with either nuclear or conventional weapons. [*Mercury News*, 6 Jan 92, pp. 1A & 14A] Contrary to the traditional public thinking that nuclear weapons are only to deter a nuclear attack, the Reed panel added several other purposes:

- **Preserve US prestige and dissuade nuclear proliferation.** Maintaining a substantial number of strategic nuclear weapons will aid in maintaining US prestige and prevent other countries, such as Germany and Japan, from developing nuclear arsenals.
- **Rethink the 1979 pledge.** It may be necessary to depart from the promise not to use nuclear arms against non-nuclear countries. The Reed panel predicted that America will have to use strategic nuclear arms more and more to deter use of chemical or biological weapons by smaller countries, or other hostile actions by those countries.
- **Protect America's Interests.** In his briefing to the nuclear targeting director, Reed said the US "must keep nuclear weapons to protect its fundamental interests ... (including) a healthy and growing US economy. If the United States moves from superpower to being an equal, others may decide to become equals as well." Reed said that American arms could deter annihilation of states such as Israel and Taiwan, the seizure of critical raw materials such as oil, or foreign domination of a segment of space. [*Mercury News*, 6 Jan 92, p. 14A]
- **Create a Nuclear Expeditionary Force.** To fulfill all of the above, the Reed panel recommended establishing a nuclear expeditionary force armed with a few strategic air-launched and submarine-launched weapons, as well as tactical nukes. In his briefing, Reed said this force would be primarily for use against China and Third World countries. This means that strategic bombers and Trident submarines designed for total thermonuclear war are to be given a tactical role in regional wars.

### *2. The Bush Initiatives: Trimming the Fat.*

Prior to the Reed Panel's recommendations there had been moderate headway in removing obsolete and defective nuclear weapons in both the tactical and strategic areas. The INF Treaty eliminated ground-based intermediate-range tactical nuclear missiles. The START-1 Treaty, signed during the sunset days of the Soviet empire, removes old, obsolete strategic weapons and does nothing to prevent a US first-strike capability. The four former Soviet countries which had strategic weapons eventually ratified START-1, which is described more fully in Appendix-G.

## *MILITARY STRATEGY*

**a. Bush's September Initiatives.** In the wake of the INF and START-1 Treaties President Bush progressively implemented the Reed panel's doctrine. On 27 September 1991 he announced several "unilateral" cuts in accordance with the Reed panel recommendations.

- **Withdraw and destroy all remaining ground-based tactical nuclear weapons worldwide.** That involves 850 Lance missiles and some 1300 nuclear artillery shells. But that does not make Europe nuclear-free. Remaining are some 900-1,300 nuclear gravity bombs which can be delivered by fighter aircraft.
- **Remove all Navy tactical nuclear weapons.** Depth charges will be destroyed but nuclear Tomahawk cruise missiles and bombs will join others in storage to make a stockpile of some 500 nuclear Tomahawks and over 1000 nuclear bombs. They could easily go to sea again.
- **Take strategic bombers off 24-hour strip alert.** Air-Launched Cruise Missiles (ALCMs) and Short-Range Attack Missiles (SRAMs) will be stored and still available.
- **Remove from alert all silo-based missiles scheduled to be dismantled under START-1.** This involves 450 Minuteman-2 missiles for which common sense and budget restraints dictated removal anyway.
- **Cancel the follow-on nuclear short-range attack missile (SRAM-2).** This program was hopelessly mired in development problems.
- **Drop plans for a rail-mobile MX missile.** Again a common-sense and cost-savings move because after 20 years of study a secure mobile mode has not been found.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to match US reductions. However, all of the affected weapons were already built or in serious difficulty, and promised no further profit for military contractors. Neither did they play a useful part in the Reed panel's doctrine. As Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz admitted, "the main thrust of this initiative is to get rid of weapons that are no longer necessary." [PCDS Briefing Paper, "The Bush and Gorbachev Nuclear Arms Cuts Proposals"]

Along with his September 1991 initiatives, President Bush also announced formation of the new Joint Strategic Command (StratCom) to replace the Air Force's Strategic Air Command to control all nuclear forces. The commander-in-chief of StratCom will rotate every two years or so between a Navy admiral and an Air Force general. This provides the command structure to carry out the Reed Panel formula for both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.

**b. State-of-the-Union Concessions.** The USSR finally collapsed in December 1991 and the CIS emerged. During his 28 January 1992 State-of-the-Union Address resident Bush announced more "unilateral" cuts:

- **Halt B-2 bomber production at 20 planes.** Congress had for three years refused to fund more than 15. Bush squeezed in five more planes.
- **Cancel the small ICBM -- "Midgetman."** The Pentagon has never wanted this missile. Midgetman was mandated by Congress.

## *TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK*

- **Cease production of warheads for sea-based missiles.** The Mark-5/W-88, 475-kiloton warhead for Trident-2 was in production, and it was at a standstill due to warhead safety problems and serious production problems at Rocky Flat.
- **Cease production of MX missiles.** Congress had already refused to fund more silo-based MXs and the rail-mobile scheme was gone.
- **Cease production of advanced cruise missiles.** 461 of the planned 1,000 were produced. The trend toward highly accurate conventional weapons, obviated the need for advanced cruise missiles.

Again, only troubled, obsolete, or unneeded programs were stopped. And the US nuclear inventory came closer to the Reed Panel's model.

c. **Bush Challenges Yeltsin.** President Bush then said during his State-of-the-Union speech: "I have informed President [Boris] Yeltsin that if the Commonwealth [of Independent States] will eliminate all land-based, multiple-warhead ballistic missiles, I will do the following:... eliminate all [MX] missiles.... reduce the number of warheads on Minuteman missiles to one,... and reduce the number of warheads on our sea-based missiles by about one-third. And we will convert a substantial portion of our strategic bombers to primarily conventional use...." [*Mercury News*, 29 Jan 92, p. 10A] Let us examine these one at a time.

- **Eliminate all MX missiles.** The existing fifty carry 500 Mark-21/W-87, 330-kiloton warheads, which meet all safety requirements and can be installed one-each on the 500 Minuteman-3 silo-based missiles. Besides enhancing safety, this is a good tradeoff for having the CIS eliminate multiple warheads on their strongest, most reliable, and most accurate strategic weapons. In addition, with the Russian land-based ICBMs removed, no one could perceive a need for so many US warheads.
- **Reduce warheads on Minuteman missiles to one.** Eliminates unsafe warheads and arms Minuteman-3s with MX warheads. Again a good tradeoff as the CIS would be weakening the strongest leg of its strategic triad.
- **Reduce warheads on sea-based missiles by about one-third.** That was the first time mention has ever been made of reducing the Trident capability. The best way to do that is to also cut the number of submarines and missiles.
- **Convert a substantial portion of the strategic bombers to primarily conventional roles.** With their weapons removed, these bombers are now essentially in storage. Converting most of them to conventional use fits the Reed panel doctrine for regional wars.

d. **Yeltsin Calls Bush's Hand.** Russian President Yeltsin immediately met Bush's bid and raised the ante -- cut strategic warheads to somewhere between 2,000 and 2,500. This led to signing the START-2 Treaty which is described in Appendix-G.



## *MILITARY STRATEGY*

### *3. Regional Scenarios: Seven Wonders of the Pentagon World.*

Classified documents calling attention to frightening war-planning considerations were anonymously leaked to the *New York Times* in February 1992. They proposed seven scenarios for US military activities during the next decade.

- Another war with Iraq.
- War with North Korea.
- Simultaneous wars with both Iraq and North Korea.
- A resurgent Russia launching a major military offensive against the Balkan States.
- A coup in the Philippines endangering US citizens.
- A narcotics terrorist plot against the government of Panama.
- The emergence of a new rival superpower.

Pentagon officials confirmed existence of the documents but, when pressed for more details on the military threats, Defense Secretary Cheney said: "I think I need for diplomatic reasons, if no other, to avoid specifying individual nations." [*Mercury News*, 18 Feb 92] Nevertheless, this planning fits well into the Reed Panel's suggested doctrine.

When Senator Sam Nunn, then Armed Services Committee chairman, asked why these top-level documents were not made available to his committee, then Vice-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral David Jeremiah, said they were classified. It is frightening when a congressional committee, whose constitutional purpose is to oversee the Pentagon budget, and which is authorized to go into executive session to hear classified information, is denied that information. Such denial puts democratic processes on hold.

### *4. The Pentagon's Bottom-Up Review.*

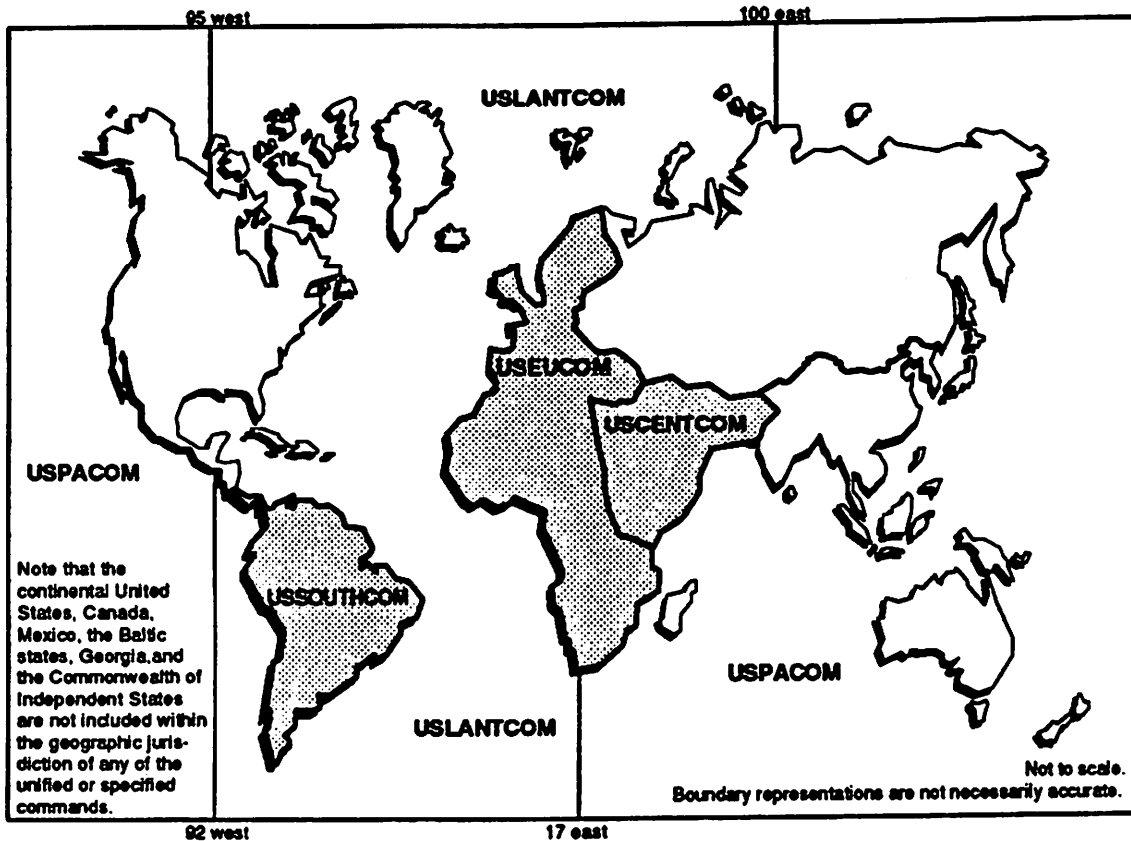
As the first Secretary of Defense in the Clinton administration, Les Aspin, vacillated on whether the US should be able to fight two wars simultaneously or one at a time. In October 1993 he ordered a comprehensive review of America's nuclear strategy from the bottom up -- not just strategic weapons but also tactical; not just targeting but also the threat from terrorism, renegade nations, and nuclear proliferation; not just to deter a nuclear threat but also chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. The review would consider the size of the nuclear arsenal as well as how it is deployed.

The Bottom-Up Review, completed in early 1994, upheld the requirement to be able to fight two regional wars almost simultaneously. It also addressed the requirements for intervention in smaller conflicts or crises, and forces deployed overseas.

Congress became concerned that the Pentagon had not fully examined the Bottom-Up Review assumptions and attached a rider to the fiscal year 1995 Pentagon budget directing the Secretary of Defense to do so. He was to report back to Congress in May 1995.

# TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

FIGURE 1.2-2  
U.S. REGIONAL COMMANDS -- 1992  
Source: JMNA-1992, p. 44



- USCENTCOM -- US Central Command
- USEUCOM -- US European Command
- USLANTCOM -- US Atlantic Command
- USPACOM -- US Pacific Command
- USSOUTHCOM -- US Southern Command

**Changes to the geographic areas depicted which resulted from the Bottom-Up Review:**

- In early 1966 the waters adjoining Central and South America were transferred from the US Atlantic Command to the US Southern Command.
- In early 1996 large portions of the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean were transferred from the US Pacific Command to the US Central Command.
- Some time after 1 June 1997 the Carribean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and an additional portion of the Atlantic Ocean will be transferred to the US Southern Command.

## **MILITARY STRATEGY**

### **5. Commission on Roles and Missions.**

This congressional mandate led to an "independent" Commission on Roles and Missions of the US Armed Forces to sort out the various military functions and define who is responsible for them. The Commission's final report, *Directions For Defense*, was delivered to Congress and the Pentagon in May 1995.

Early on, the Commission decided to focus on the regional commanders-in-chief needs to carry out joint operations and various support activities -- not on the capabilities of the individual branches of the military. The result was several proposals to improve joint military operations along with suggesting that more of the support work be contracted to private businesses.

The Commission made over a hundred specific suggestions, the core of which is being implemented by the Pentagon along four lines: being prepared for joint military strikes, having the forces and equipment to strike, and ensuring force modernization and efficient support structures.

**a. Being Prepared for Joint Military Strikes.** In early 1996 the Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman published *Joint Vision 2010* (see below) expressing his thinking on joint operations. More emphasis was assigned to modeling and simulation capabilities at the Joint Warfighting Center in Norfolk, Virginia. Likewise for the Pentagon's Joint Training, Analysis, and Simulation Center. Another center was established with the sophisticated name of Joint Command, Control, Communications Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance Battle Center. Accordingly, global boundary lines of the US commands are being redrawn for better regional-war efficiency.

Regarding equipment, steps are being taken to make aerial refueling tanker aircraft and electronic warfare aircraft interoperable with US allies and coalition partners. Likewise for uniformity in air-support for ground troops and surface ships.

**b. Having the Forces and Equipment to Strike.** Current activities are in the study mode. One study is of deep-attack systems -- the appropriate mix of weapons; timely and effective command, control, communications, computers, and intelligence (C<sup>4</sup>I) architecture; procedures for integrating and employing deep-attack systems; and determining the adequate force structure and weapons tradeoffs.

One special Integrated Task Force was established in October 1995 to develop this C<sup>4</sup>I architecture. Another special Pentagon task force is reviewing the size, organization, and responsibilities of reserve units; insuring that they perform to adequate standards; and that they are effectively integrated with the active forces.

**c. Ensuring Force Modernization and Efficient Support Structures.** Several but not all of the Commission's suggestions are being pursued here. Throughout 1996 a Pentagon-wide Integrated Process Team will identify which functions can be contracted to commercial firms, while eliminating obstacles to and developing strategies

## *TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK*

for such contracting. Along a parallel line, streamlining the logistical support is also underway. Finally, the Defense Secretary's office will issue a policy memorandum to consolidate and co-locate the procurement offices of joint and closely-related aircraft programs.

### C. THE NUANCES OF CURRENT U.S. STRATEGY

In Chapter One of his 1996 report to the President and Congress, Defense Secretary William Perry outlines US strategy. Overarching everything is the National Security Strategy which is global in scope. Sub-headed under that are the Regional Security Strategies. Enforcing the National Security Strategy is the role of National Military Strategy.

#### 1. *U.S. National Security Strategy.*

"To protect and advance US interests, the American government must be able to shape the international environment, influencing the policies and actions of others." [Perry-1996, p. 2] As we saw in Chapter 1.1, US interests are really big business interests. In Perry's words, the essence of national security is to manipulate the world order to benefit those interests. To accomplish that the US must have its fingers in many pies.

Thus the US National Security Strategy is called one of engagement and enlargement -- **engagement** abroad in the areas of greatest economic interests while encouraging allies and friends to pick up part of the tab; and **enlarging** global free-market enterprises in which the United States is a master at competing. Perry itemizes the three strands of US National Security Strategy which can be translated as follows:

- Enhance US security through a strong military and by cooperative security agreements.
- Promote US prosperity by creating global free trade -- the activity, in which the US excels, that maximizes corporate profits.
- Protect, consolidate and enlarge the global community of "free-market democracies" -- the authoritarian governments in which cheap labor and exploitative trade can flourish. One instrument used is the International Military Education and Training program to help newly "democratic" countries to establish civilian-military relationships.

National Security Strategy is the broad brush stroke. It is fine-tuned for the various global regions.

#### 2. *U.S. Regional Security Strategies.*

Each region of the world has unique conditions to which US strategy must adapt, and its special combination of security treaties and free-trade agreements. Defense Secretary Perry states: "The security relationships established by the United States and its allies and friends during the Cold War are essential to advancing America's post-Cold War agenda. To meet the unique challenges of the post-Cold War era, the United States

## *MILITARY STRATEGY*

seeks to further strengthen and adapt those partnerships and to establish new security relationships in support of US interests. [Perry-1996, p. 3] Chapter 1.1 has already outlined "America's post-Cold War agenda" and "US interests." Let us look at how the US strategy is applied to the various regions.

**a. Europe.** America's foothold in Europe is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Since the end of the cold war it has been hard to justify NATO's function and the US has pushed to extend NATO's influence in two main ways. First, NATO has instituted a Partnership for Peace program to encompass central and southeastern European countries -- mostly countries which were formerly part of the Soviet bloc. Second, NATO has changed its rules to authorize out-of-area operations, such as the Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Both of these measures have alienated Russia, undermined the goodwill which has sparked the START Treaties, and bolstered the influence of Russian hardliners. In short, NATO activities are moving the world closer to another cold war.

**b. East Asia-Pacific.** This region is experiencing such unprecedented economic growth that the 21st century has been dubbed "The Century of the Pacific." That is why the US is so keen about the Asian-Pacific Economic Conference. Asia is also an area where oppression and forced labor run rampant. That is why the strategy of "Constructive Engagement" is practiced.

Constructive Engagement is the means by which human rights violations can be overlooked when they interfere with profits. It states that the US doesn't condone human rights violations, but neither is it going to restrict its trade policy because of a single issue. But it is a different story when the issue is China pirating software and other electronic copyrights which hurts American businesses. Even then the administration has to study which Chinese imports to levy sanctions against -- it must be careful not to jeopardize the cheap forced labor US firms enjoy in that country.

A companion strategy in the East Asia-Pacific region is "Preventive Defense." This is practiced by security agreements such as those with Japan and South Korea, confidence-building measures such as joint exercises in the Pacific, and other agreements such as the one which persuaded North Korea to stop its nuclear weapons program.

**c. Middle East.** US interests in this region are obviously oil and arms sales. Any threat to the free flow of oil is met with an immediate and decisive military response, as illustrated by the war with Iraq. Toward enhancing the free flow of oil the US has vigorously pursued a Mid-East peace plan. Under the guise of enforcing peace the US has established a huge arms market in both Israel and friendly Arab states.

**d. South Asia.** The main strategy here is to establish defense relationships which will prevent a major India-Pakistan encounter. Stability in the region is essential to developing economic interests there and in adjoining areas.

## *TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK*

**e. Western Hemisphere.** The overarching US objective in this region is to sustain military and economic stability. This is necessary in order to extend the North American Free Trade Agreement to other Central and South American countries.

**f. Africa.** The US presently has no significant or permanent presence in Africa. But the US does have significant interests in countering state-sponsored terrorism, drug trafficking, and proliferation of weapons and weapons technology -- particularly weapons of mass destruction such as chemical weapons in Libya.

Africa also has potential for developing free-market economies. Toward that end the US is seeking to "empower" African states and organizations so they can resolve their many conflicts. Again the door is open for weapons sales and military advisers.

### *3. U.S. Military Strategy.*

Defense Secretary Perry pointed out that "the Department of Defense will field and sustain the military capabilities needed to protect the United States and advance its interests. The United States is the only nation capable of unilaterally conducting effective, large-scale military operations far beyond its borders." [Perry-1996, p. 4] Perry lists the most prominent of threats to US interests:

- Attempts by hostile powers to gain hegemony in their regions through aggression or intimidation.
- Internal conflicts among various groups that threaten innocent lives, force mass migration, and undermine stability and international order.
- Threats by potential adversaries to acquire or use weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical or biological) and their delivery systems.
- Threats to democracy and reform in the former USSR, Central and Eastern Europe, and elsewhere.
- Subversion and lawlessness that undermine friendly governments.
- Terrorism.
- Threats to US property and economic growth.
- Global environmental degradation.
- The illegal drug trade.
- International crime.

To counter these threats and support the National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement, the Pentagon has integrated the Reed Panel recommendations, the Seven Wonders of the Pentagon World, and the recommendations of the Bottom-Up Review into four complementary military missions: (a) ability to fight and win two regional wars almost simultaneously, (b) forward deployment of troops and supplies, (c) contingency operations, and (d) countering the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We shall look at them one at a time.

**a. Ability To Fight And Win Two Regional Wars Almost Simultaneously.** It is hoped that flaunting US military strength will deter any regional dictator from

## **MILITARY STRATEGY**

stepping out of bounds. But if that fails the US is capable, through security treaties or just plain economic might, to bring its allies into a coalition aimed at decisively and quickly defeating that dictator.

Then the strategy calls for providing post-war stability. Unfortunately, that stability only works one way, as the sanctions on Iraq after the Persian Gulf war illustrate. Hundreds of elderly, women, and children are dying from lack of basic needs, but the sanctions which cause this keep Saddam Hussein from interfering with Big Oil.

According to military strategy the US must have the military power and commitment from allies to carry on two major operations of this type nearly simultaneously. The nuclear expeditionary force recommended by the Reed Panel certainly factors into that capability, as does the tactical Trident of the US ally, Britain.

**b. Forward Deployment Of Troops And Supplies.** In order to carry out that first mission, US troops and supplies must be immediately available. Although the US has cut down considerably on overseas bases, there are still about 100,000 fully-equipped US troops in the Asia-Pacific region and about 109,000 in Europe.

An Army heavy-brigade set of equipment is prepositioned in Kuwait. A heavy brigade set is also being established in South Korea and another is planned for Southwest Asia. In Qatar a heavy brigade and division base is being set up which includes a tank battalion set of equipment. Still another heavy brigade set is afloat in six merchant ships near Indonesia. They can be immediately dispatched to Korea or the Persian Gulf with 15 days supply of everything from tanks to bandages. The Army also has two container ships carrying a 30-day supply for early use of the entire contingency corps.

Air Force planes are deployed at critical locations along with stocks of the preferred munitions for their area. Three ammunition ships are being modernized to supply the Air Force early in conflict.

Naval carrier task forces, Marine Expeditionary Units (special operations capable), along with Tomahawk-capable ships and submarines are sent to potential trouble spots. To support the Marine units for 30 days are three squadrons (13 ships total and growing) of maritime prepositioning ships in the Mediterranean Sea, Indian Ocean, and the Western Pacific.

It was this prepositioning that allowed the US to respond so quickly in October 1994 when Iraqi units massed on the Kuwait border.

**c. Contingency Operations.** Contingency operations fall between peacetime forward deployment and full-scale regional war. Examples are:

- **Smaller-scale Combat Operations** such as enforcing the no-fly zone over Iraq.
- **Peace Operations** have two prominent types: "Peacekeeping," such as in Bosnia and Herzegovina where all major belligerent parties consent to preserving or maintaining the peace; and "Peace Enforcement" to compel compliance with resolutions or sanctions and do not require the consent of belligerents. Peace operations also include observer missions such as in



## TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK

the Sinai and in the border region between Peru and Ecuador during 1995; and training the staff for UN operations such as in Haiti and Angola, which began in 1995.

- **Other Key Missions** is a catch-all category to pick up other non-traditional uses of the military. These missions include: "humanitarian and refugee assistance" both foreign and domestic; "combating terrorism" which includes striking suspected terrorist bases in other countries; "noncombatant evacuation operations" such as removing Americans from Liberia in 1990, from Somalia in 1990, from the Philippines after the eruption of Mount Pinatubo in 1991, and Rwanda in 1994; and "counter-drug operations" which began in September 1989.

**d. Counterproliferation Initiative.** This mission was launched in December 1993, pursuant to a presidential directive, to address the spread of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Besides the five declared nuclear powers, the Pentagon estimates that at least 20 other nations have or are attempting to acquire nuclear, chemical or biological weapons, along with the means to deliver them. The Pentagon outlines seven areas in which it approaches this mission:

- **Deterrence.** By continually estimating the intentions of a country possessing nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons the US adopts declared policy, force structure and other political/diplomatic/military signals that would intimidate an aggressor.
- **Intelligence.** Continually spying on suspicious countries and assessing their threat. For example, US Navy patrol planes in the Middle East carry a Specific Emitter Identifier to identify and track ships carrying nuclear, biological or chemical cargoes.
- **Missile Defense.** Ability to prevent or limit contamination by any cruise missile or ballistic missile which might be carrying nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons.
- **Passive Defenses.** Battlefield devices to detect, protect against, and decontaminate from chemical or biological weapons.
- **Counterforce.** The ability to seize, disable, or destroy arsenals of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons -- or their delivery system -- prior to use without "unacceptable collateral damage" (meaning civilian deaths which cannot be covered up). An example is the underground chemical munition plant in Libya which may soon be attacked. Also on the high-priority list to watch are Iran, Iraq, and North Korea.
- **Effective Power Projection.** Basically this means to keep US troops out of areas where nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons might be used.
- **Defense Against Covert Threats.** Seek capabilities to detect and disarm nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons that may be smuggled into the US.

The ultimate weapon to back up these military missions is America's nuclear bomb. Commanding Admiral Henry Chiles of the US Strategic Command, which controls all

## *MILITARY STRATEGY*

the US nuclear forces, said in mid-1995 that his forces deter attacks "from any direction, not just from Russia, in an era of weapons of mass destruction." He referred to nuclear weapons as "blunt instruments of last resort" which allow the President to deal from strength, and added: "We're... America's insurance policy." [Cited in *Mercury News*, 1 June 1995, p. 12A]

### D. PLANS FOR THE 21st CENTURY

Two concepts are emerging to cause serious rethinking on how to conduct a war. First of these is long-range, precision-strike weapons coupled with sophisticated sensors and very effective command and control systems to destroy the enemy from a distance. The second is information warfare.

#### 1. *Joint Vision 2010.*

In early 1995 the Pentagon set up five "Revolution in Military Affairs" task groups to study warfighting after 2010. Their studies suggested smaller, highly mobile, better dispersed, and very lethal military units. Using advanced communications these units could call for precision missile or aircraft strikes to help subdue their opponent. These forces would strike deep into enemy territory to destroy missile emplacements, munitions storage, transportation devices, communications, etc.

To shape the military force structure, equipment, and tactics called for by the Revolution in Military Affairs task groups, the Pentagon in early 1996 announced a new strategy called "Joint Vision 2010." This strategic plan rests on four key pillars: Dominant Maneuver, Precision Engagement, Focused Logistics, and Full Dimension Protection.

**a. Dominant Maneuver.** Allows dispersed land, sea, air, and space forces to control all aspects of the battle and accomplish their mission. Dominant Maneuver will build on joint operations from widely scattered locations.

**b. Precision Engagement.** Provides the proper mix of forces and weapons to rapidly engage or destroy the enemy at long range. Joint commands and flexibility are the key.

**c. Focused Logistics.** Integrates information-gathering technologies and transportation techniques. Requires rapid tracking and shifting of supplies to keep highly mobile and dispersed forces equipped.

**d. Full Dimension Protection.** Provides the full spectrum of capabilities needed to protect all US forces, assets, and facilities so that complete superiority over the battlefield can be achieved.

## **TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK**

The Pentagon admits they do not have these capabilities now, but intend to achieve them. Additional personnel and funding has been poured into the Joint Warfighting Center at Fort Monroe, Virginia to run war games, simulation exercises, and live exercises that will flesh out the strategy and needs of "Joint Vision 2010." The US Defense Science Board is funding studies of 21st century warfare and the logistics needed to support it. Computer simulations such as TACWAR and NIMBLE DANCER are refining methods to fight two wars nearly simultaneously.. Broad technology concepts will be refined by the Pentagon's Advanced Concepts Demonstration Program. And military commanders will be retrained to think of small, precise, surgical operations rather than massively overwhelming the enemy.

Army plans are to have sensor-clad super warriors which can monitor everything on the battlefield. The Air Force is moving toward pilotless fighter planes. And the Navy envisions unmanned and minimally-manned vessels such as the arsenal ship. All of this will be made possible through enhanced communications and Information Warfare.

### **2. Information Warfare.**

The official definition of information warfare is secret but it is usually described as protecting one's own information-gathering systems while destroying or disrupting the opponent's. Some say that harnessing concepts into useable tools will create a revolution in military thinking, and they view information warfare as a means to overcome an enemy without firing a shot. Others say information warfare is merely a refinement of intelligence-gathering, electronic warfare, psychological operations, security, cryptography and deception. Nevertheless, research and development funding in this area has tripled in five years and the Air Force Rome Laboratory in New York has formed a team to focus on information warfare implications.

The more exotic concepts of information warfare envision enemy commanders in underground bunkers watching their forces advance victoriously on the battlefield, while in fact those forces were really routed during the early stages of combat. Those commanders had been led into all the wrong decision by bogus information.

### **E. CONCLUSION**

During the Persian Gulf war, we fell victim to an intense propaganda campaign fabricated from deception and falsehood. Yellow ribbons and patriotic banners flew from many door posts. Today we are taken in by more subtle but equally convincing mind control -- the delusion that the nuclear menace is gone and that the world is in good repair. Nothing could be more wrong.

The military solution from Korea to Bosnia, from Panama to Somalia, has consistently failed. Some of those conflicts were eventually stopped by political solutions which could have occurred much sooner. The war with Iraq is still awaiting that solution.

Joint Vision 2010 is really the same progression of channeled vision down the neanderthal path of military thinking. Real vision must take in a wider field of choices which will lead to a benevolent mutation in the evolution of world order.

\* \* \* \* \*

## MILITARY STRATEGY

### REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 1.2

BASIC Research Report 96.1 (British American Security Information Council, 1900 "L" Street NW, Suite 401, Washington, D.C.), April 1996.

Cheney-1993 -- *Annual Report to the President and the Congress*, by Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense, January 1993.

*Defense News* (6883 Commercial Street, Springfield, Virginia 22159), various issues.

*Discriminate Deterrence*, report of the Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, US Government Printing Office, January 1988.

GAO/NSIAD-94-105 -- *Special Operations Forces: Force Structure and Readiness Issues*, US General Accounting Office report, March 1994.

GAO/NSIAD-94-145 -- *Strategic Missiles: Issues Regarding Advanced Cruise Missile Program Restructuring*, US General Accounting Office report, May 1994.

GAO/NSIAD-95-56 -- *Bottom-Up Review: Analysis of Key DOD Assumptions*, US General Accounting Office report, January 1995.

GAO/OCG-93-9TR, *National Security Issues*, transition series report by the US General Accounting Office, December 1992.

JMNA-92 -- *1992 Joint Military Net Assessment*, unclassified version approved by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, 21 August 1992.

*Mercury News* (San Jose, California), various issues.

Perry-1996 -- *Annual Report to the President and the Congress*, by William J. Perry, Secretary of Defense, March 1996.

PCDS Briefing Paper, "The Bush and Gorbachev Nuclear Arms Cuts Proposals," Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security (3780 Lake Road, Denman Island, British Columbia, Canada VOR 1T0), December 1991.

PCDS Briefing Paper, "Preparation for Nuclear War Continues," Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security (3780 Lake Road, Denman Island, British Columbia, Canada VOR 1T0), December 1991.

PCDS Update 25 -- Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security (3780 Lake Road, Denman Island, British Columbia, Canada VOR 1T0), December 1991.

Powell, General Colin L.; "The New Military Strategy," *Mercury News* (San Jose, California), 31 January 1993, p. 1C.

Schmitt, Eric; "Head of US Nuclear Forces Plans for World of New Foes," *New York Times*, 25 February 1993, p. A1.

Warnke, Paul C.; "Not Far Enough," *Mercury News* (San Jose, California), 6 October 1991, pp. 1C & BC.

*TRIDENT RESISTER'S HANDBOOK*