

Globalisation and War

Theses on the political economy of the "war against terror"

Authors: Leo Mayer, Fred Schmid, Conrad Schuhler

Preamble

The "war against terror" the US-government declared, especially the aggression against Iraq, has raised a number of questions in the movements for peace and against globalisation: Questions concerning the connection between the evolution of neo-liberal globalisation and military actions of the metropolises against the Third World; questions about the nature of today's imperialism and about the reasons for and the character of the conflict between the USA and the main European powers France and Germany. Finally questions about the perspectives and tasks of the peace-, social and anti-globalisation-movements.

These theses are our contribution to this discussion. We are expectant of your – positive or critical – reactions and suggestions.

As these are only theses we decided to forego profound analyses and detailed presentation of facts. For these information we refer to the other isw-publications, especially the scientific study No. 1 "Macht der Multis", the isw-reports No. 40 "Weltschiff NATO", No. 42 "Verbrechen Wirtschaft", No. 44 "Armee für alle Fälle", No. 46 "Abschwung oder Absturz", No. 49 "Krise oder Krieg", No. 52 "Globalisierung und Gewerkschaften"; the isw-special No. 15 "Krieg ums Erdöl", the economy-infos No. 34 "Pleite des Kapitalismus" und No. 35 "Bilanz 2002 – Ausblick 2003", the isw-info No. 1 "How globalisation is leading to a global economic crisis" (available for download on our homepage www.isw-muenchen.de) and finally the IGM/isw-study "Schöne Neue Siemens Welt".

Munich, Mai 2003

Impressum

isw-information 2 – Mai 2003

Herausgeber: isw – institut für sozial-ökologische wirtschaftsforschung e.V.
80630 München, Johann-von-Werth-Str. 3, fon: 089/130041, fax: 089/168 94 15, email:
isw_muenchen@t-online.de, www.isw-muenchen.de
Konto: Sparda-Bank München, Konto-Nr. 98 34 20 (BLZ 700905 00)

Verantwortlich im Sinne des Presserechts: Fred Schmid, c/o isw e.V.
Eigendruck im Selbstverlag

1.

The successful aggression of the USA and their allies against Irak has strengthened the conviction of the US-government that they can secure their global hegemony through wars, protectorates and military dictatorships. All western governments and leading political forces have agreed with the basic US-ideology: that the West is legitimated through its civilisatory superiority to decide on punishment and, if necessary, destruction of other cultures and nations. With the Iraq-war a new order of dominance is declared that is meant to extinguish international law and the existing international regulations. The neo-liberal globalisation has unmasked itself as pure colonialism.

The military version of the neo-liberal globalisation has prevailed in Iraq. Therefore it remains a constant threat and will be practised in the future. Choosing military means is in fact no sign of the strength of the global capital, but indicates its profound weakness: economically imperialism is in midst of a lasting crisis, its civilisatory power is used up. In the poor countries imperialism causes daily more poverty, misery, suppression and death. Even in the metropolises the number of victims is growing – they are being dumped as "not useful for modernisation", with anti-terror-laws they try to repress every political resistance. In the metropolises as well as in the periphery the global capitalism is unable to build up the promised civil society. To reach a just and peaceful world imperialism has to be overcome.

2.

In the past two decades, especially after the vanishing of the "socialist world system", the capitalist globalisation is rapidly advancing. The world-wide trade expands much faster than the world-wide production. The liberalised financial markets are connected to a world-financial-market, where international transactions and speculation can be carried out within seconds. Driven by the technical progress and the capitalist competition a transnational productive- and service-capital developed to be the domination structural factor of the world-wide economy.

This transnational capital has reached such dimensions that it can only globally realizable. The whole world is transferred into a unrestricted room for trade, spending and production. The big transnational companies that control the world-wide market are predominant in this process. They are the forces that enforce the capital amalgamation and connection of countries and regions. Now they are more and more internationalising the process of incrementation and integrate it in a global network of development and production. These global networks are the expression of the international socialisation of the production and the urge of the productive forces to organise on a world-wide level.

The society-model of global capitalism is the neo-liberalism, in which all public transactions and values are dominated by the primateship of capitalist realizeablisation and the "global ability to compete". People who can not be utilised according to this principle are excluded or marginalised as not efficient or not aqble to take part in modernisation. Social polarisation and reduction of democratic rights in the countries and use of military means against others are integral parts of the neo-liberal concept. The world-wide hegemony of neo-liberalism is possible because it fits in with the needs of the transnational capital during the transformation to a a high-technological way of production and to transnational relations of production.

Even financial and economical crises are functional in the logic of neo-liberalism, if thereby an opening of closes economic regions is caused and open markets are created as the transnational capital requires them.

On the one hand we have to observe the hegemony of neo-liberalism in the political and military institutions, but on the other hand we notice that it has reached a crisis of acceptance and functioning. The neo-liberal organised metropolises are stuck in economic crisis since years, and the obviously devastating results of neo-liberalism for great parts of humanity and nature have induced global protests.

3.

The process of globalisation takes a course of an asymmetric and "excluding integration". Mainly involved in this process are the capitalist metropolises and the industrialised countries. The greatest part of the direct spending takes part within the world-market triade

USA, EU and Japan. Especially between the USA/Canada and the EU the interweave of capital is very close, as it becomes obvious especially in the flow of direct spending and the resulting network of relations between companies and subsidiary companies (exchange of capital-stocks through direct spending), but as well in the close connection of the financial markets. These connections are tendentially resulting in a transatlantic economic zone. A comeback of protectionism therefore seems improbable. It would result in amputation of the respectively dominating transnational companies. The sales of their subsidiary companies in the USA or in the EU are much more than the complete export in the respective region. The US-market as well as the EU-market are crucial for the multinationals.

In the periphery with more than three quarters of the world population flow about one third of the direct spending. This is enough to integrate the countries of the Third world in the network of realization of the transnational companies. They do not only exploit the raw materials and energy there, but build up facilities for cheap production, elongated workbenches, and organise delivery departments as well as centres for scientific research and development. Oases of production and resources are growing there – the circumstances dictated by the transnational capital – surrounded by economical fallow land and desert. This surrounding territory including the people that live there is not useful according to the realization interest of the TNC. Because of the integration of these countries and regions in the production- and exchange-system of the multinationals an independent, politically controlled development of this national economies is impossible.

Usually these countries are forced to focus their economy on the production of an exchange surplus to pay their foreign debts. Therefore the neo-liberal dominance leads to a destruction of all independent production, even the subsistence-productions.

The oases of productivity and profitability in the countries of the periphery are surrounded by vast deserts of human misery. But even inside the "oasis" only a small group of privileged employees enjoys a relatively high standard of living. The majority of the people lives here in slums as well and has to fight daily to survive.

4.

The transnational capital is trying to reduce the expenditure in great measure. With the strategy of "global sourcing" advantages are utilised world-wide. With their dominant power of spending and production the transnational companies can bring regions or even nations in position against one another. With a policy of optimising the national production factors the "national competition country" competes with others to win multinationals or subsidiary companies for their location. The multinationals therefore can reduce their expenditure and realize higher production profits. These are completely taken by them or their owners – mostly institutional investors. In difference to former times of "social partnership" the employees do not get a share of the economic productivity gain. The stagnation of the real wages of the employees in the past two decades is an expression of this development. The gap between production facilities and demand with purchasing power is getting wider, as it becomes obvious in the current global economic stagnation and crisis. This contradiction is increased by high-tech-investments.

In the 90ies this disparity between production and market was compensated by different factors: With the implosion of the East-European and the Soviet-Socialism and the annihilation of non-capitalist forms of production new possibilities of territorial market-expansion appeared. This expansion into other countries was accompanied by expansion inside the capitalist countries, e.g. privatisation of national facilities and parts of the social security systems. The utilisation of high-tech in great measure and the new-economy-euphoria induced an additional boom of spending and consumption. A unbelievable readiness to consume on credit of the private households in the USA additionally heated the boom of the US-economy. This "boom on credit" was mainly financed by the rest of the world, as becomes obvious through the gigantic trade deficit, but the USA as engine of the boom managed to take the whole world-economy in tow. De facto the global demand was increased by the Keynesian means of "deficit spending". Near the millennium these factors were partly exhausted: The new territories were capitalised according to their demand capacities, the high-tech-boom ended in an over-production crisis, and – last not least in connection with the Wall-Street-crash – the capacities of the private households to indebt themselves are worn out. Only in the privatisation of communal services and social security systems there is an additional realization potential for the global capital. Mainly the problems of sale and realization are growing and intensify the stagnation tendencies. The transnational companies react with extensive programmes to lower the "break-even-point", reduction of expenditure and reducing of the number of employees. As speakers for the

institutional investors put it: "If the markets are exhausted, then the profit must be reached by reducing the costs." Thereby the problem with the gap concerning the demand on employees is acerbated. Globally more and more people become "useless", i.e. they are not needed as workers.

5.

The process of capitalist globalisation reaches its limits: the limits of the world market, the resources, the ecology and the endurance of the people. Resistance is growing.

The limits of the market become obvious in the current stagnation of the world economy. It is probable that this is not a passing drop of the economy, but a "Japanisation", a longer lasting stagnation of the global economy. But the consequences of the armament-keanesianism in the USA are hard to calculate: a permanent war economy, destruction and rebuilding in the attacked countries, and the expenditure for armament and other government spendings connected with this.

The limitation of the natural resources shows especially on the key-resources petroleum and gas: While their quota in the global energy-balance-sheet grows in the coming years and the global consume of energy increases, the peak of the global petroleum production is already passed. Especially the oil-springs owned by the metropolises – North-American and north-sea oil – will be exhausted in about ten years. The providing for the metropolises that are dissipating energy and oil depends more and more on "enemy oil". The historian Paul Kennedy (Rise and Fall of the great powers") writes: "The USA are getting more and more dependent on the oil-import every year. From the point of view of the Pentagon, of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, that is the one Achilles-heel the United States have. Everywhere else they are strong and invincible." (Wirtschaftswoche 30.1.2003)

The process of globalisation produces world-wide poverty and misery: The gap between industrial countries and periphery becomes a "global Apartheid". Of the riches in resources and energy in the countries of the periphery only a very small leading clique and some privileged employees profit in the productive islands. The rest drowns in misery or can keep barely alive. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Grand Old Man of the strategists of US-imperialism, sees the "problem of poverty" as follows: "New is that the poorest parts of the world population live today under circumstances, in which they are painfully aware of their relative poverty, and therefore get a feeling of hostility and envy against the rich. This is the This is the grounds for political unrest, that can become a growing danger for the rich societies." (Handelsblatt, 28.1.2003)

But in the metropolises themselves the gap between rich and poor, the army of globalisation-losers, is growing: More and more people are being marginalised because of the neo-liberal globalisation, have to make a living from insecure jobs or are already unemployed. The number of "working poor", people living on welfare and in poverty, is growing.

The misery of the globalisation-losers develops more and more to resistance and protest: partly in terror that produces anarchy and chaos (Al Quaida) or desperate terrorist acts as e.g. in Palestine, but increasingly as well in action and movements against the multis and the international financial capital and in demand the riches of the land for the inhabitants.

World-wide the anti-globalisation-movement is growing and works together with the social- and the peace-movement.

The neo-liberal globalisation therefore is confronted with a growing crisis of acceptance, its legitimacy is dwindling. The resistance is growing. The slogan of the World Economic Forum this year in Davos, "create confidence", marks the defensive of the apologists of neo-liberalism. The slogan of the World Social Forum: "A different world is possible", gains resonance.

6.

The "war against terror" is the reactionary way out of the crisis of acceptance of the neo-liberalism. It marks the end of the attempt to react politically on the world-wide social problems. The global capital does not answer the dramatically deepened social gap and the monstrous impoverishment with a global Marshall-plan or a global redistribution-programme, but with military attacks. The "war against terror" is the protection and continuation of the globalisation with military means.

Facing all the misery the capitalist globalisation causes, it is impossible to continue only with the economic power of dollars and euros. It has to be stabled with the currency of war, bombs and missiles. The "invisible hand of the market" accompanied by police-

handcuffs inside the metropolises and the steel-plated fist to the outside. Thomas L. Friedman, chief-columnist of the New York Times and ex-assistant of Madeleine Albright, the Secretary of Defense of president Clinton, wrote already 1999: "To make the globalisation work America must not refrain from acting as an almighty superpower, that it in fact is. The invisible hand of the market will never work without the visible fist. McDonalds cannot prosper without McDonnell Douglas, the producer of the tactical aircraft F-15. The visible fist secures the victory of the technology products from Silicon Valley all over the world. This fist are the army, the navy, the air force and the marine-corps of the United States." (New York Times, 28.3.1999)

Three years later – in September 2002 – the Bush-government declares in the "National Security Strategy of the United States" that "To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively". In this paper is declared: "Today, the United States enjoys a position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence. ... Finally, the United States will use this moment of opportunity to extend the benefits of freedom across the globe. We will actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world." (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssintro.html>)

With the "enduring war against terror", the "crusade against evil" (Bush) the USA began to realise their imperialist doctrine. The "Crusade against evil" is a propaganda-slogan for the military protection of the globalisation. The war becomes the major category of world policy, a "normal" instrument to secure and increase the world-market-organisation of the multinationals. The global factory needs a global works harmony at every location, a global order is necessary to secure the use of the key-resources, to secure the islands of productivity and the delicate spun network of the multinationals all around the world. The reaction to suppression and poverty and the disintegration of society in vast regions of the world will be kept in place by the military cudgel. Brzezinski: "The crucial question that is to be answered by the international community in the next twenty years, is the Question if we can implant a real global order or if the world drowns in anarchy." (a.a.O.)

This "Pax Americana" will be installed by "World Order Wars" (Robert Kurz) in form of a permanent military interventionism all over the world. This means building a global political-military dictatorship in the interest of the global capital.

7.

Central Asia and the Gulf-region have central strategic relevance for the US-plans of world supremacy. These are the regions with the main energy-resources in the world. If the USA can restructure the Near East according to their plans. the oil-supplies would be under control of western oil-multinationals, in the first line Anglo-American. The power of the OPEC would be broken, the oil-provision rising economic powers like China or India would run through the cash-register of these multinationals. The oil-bills of the future would still be written in dollar and therefore back up the position of the dollar as world currency. The triple deficit of the USA – private households, national budget, trade deficit – could be continued with less problems. The former CIA-chief and advisor of the Pentagon Woolsey summarized it as follows: Two thirds of the known oil-reserves are found at the Persian Gulf. The problem is not only America's dependence on this oil, but the dependence of the whole world. In the short run we are basically vulnerable, because the Saudis can very fast reduce or increase the amount of oil that is produced as they own more than half of the world-wide "swing capacity". Therefore the Saudis have decisive influence on the price of oil. We have to take away this weapon from the Near East."

The Iraq plays a key role in this strategy: with the second largest reserves in the world this country has itself the capacity for a swing-producer. Nowhere on the world oil can be produced cheaper. A re-privatised oil-industry in Iraq under control of the western multinationals – e.g. like the international syndicates in the region of the Caspian sea – would diminish the influence of the Saudis and the OPEC on the oil-price. The London Institute for Energy Studies states: "If the oil-industry of Iraq is privatised, you can forget the OPEC." (AZ, 10.4.2003) James Woolsey, lobbyist for US-oil-companies and Minister of Information in the Iraq transitional government, in January 2003: "We begin with the Iraq one has to begin at the core of a problem."

Furthermore the Iraq plays an important geo-strategic role for the control of the whole area. The only gaps in the semi-circle of pro-western countries with many US-military-bases from the Mediterranean to the west-frontier of China are Syria and Iran. Both are in the sighting-line of the US-war-planers. In Iraq the US-army plans to erect four military bases.

At this frontier between Europe and Asia there is an intersection of potentially "global peer competitors" of the USA: China, Russia, India and Europe. After the end of the "Cold War" the Pentagon wrote in its "No-Rivals-Plan" (Defense Planning Guidance) that "must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role." And: "must sufficiently account for the interests of the advanced industrial nations to discourage them from challenging our leadership or seeking to overturn the established political and economic order." The war against Afghanistan together with the presence of US-military-bases especially in the republics of the former Soviet Union are means to accomplish the strategic goal of the USA to keep potential rival powers in check.

8.

The transnational companies have a common interest concerning the further formation and securing of the world market and their global network. According to this interest the USA works as a general service agency for the global re-structuring and control. At the same time they are intensely competing against each other on this global market. For this competition they mobilise – if possible – the political power of their "mother countries". Only the military superpower USA is able to enforce a global order in the interest of the TNC. "Besides of all differences of interests the politically and economically powerful in this country as well need to be backed up by the USA", writes the politic-professor Joachim Hirsch, Frankfurt. "They are the only ones who are able to guarantee private property, market economy and access to resources, regions for spending and trade in the unstable regions of the world. That leads to a very complex relation of cooperation and conflict between the countries of the capitalist centre." The conflicts are result of the competition between the multinationals on the world market. Especially in times of stagnation this "war of companies" to win higher quotas on the world market escalate. "Global players" as well try to use the economic and political potential of their nations optimal for their interests. The significance of their countries is to be optimized to exercise influence on the global economy as good as possible. The "mother country" is for the "global player" as well a vital political and economical base. Here usually are concentrated the sensitive parts of the enterprise: Finances, research and development and the administration. The nations therefore have even in the times of globalisation an important strategic purpose. On the one hand they are to provide ideal locations for the enterprise, on the other hand their agents in the international institutions decide on the regulation of the global economy. Without these agents, without nation and political parties, the transnational companies would be unable to function; they are their political instruments.

With the development of internationalisation the transnational companies connect their power more and more with other countries and alliances of countries. They do not only subdue their home country, but try to win political power in as many countries as possible. Their power originates in the world-wide control of production, credits and finances, therefore they can evade the influence of single countries. The more internationalised a company becomes, the easier it can use "global sourcing" to play one country against another. The capital of the growing capital-fusions originates from different national sources. Furthermore the international production-networks connect all three parts of the triade – USA, Europe and Japan. This has the consequence that the dominant nations have to keep in mind the interests of all transnational capital-groups, their national groups and the foreign as well.

This dialectic of similar and differing interests can be shown exemplary at the Iraq-conflict. By securing its own oil-interests in the Near East the Bush-administration did consequently secure the oil-flow for all capitalist metropolises, but under the dominance of the USA. Therefore after the successful war in the first line oil-multinationals get their share and US-companies get the main part of the rebuilding. This is but a small part of the "oil-grant". Other factors are more important: The USA have stopped French and Russian oil-companies that had already contracts with the Saddams Iraq. Furthermore they secured themselves a position that makes it possible for them to take major influence on the price of oil and thus on the economic situation of Russia. Germany as well, having no oil-springs of its own, will be more dependent of the USA than before. Therefore it is not surprising that especially these three countries – France, Germany and Russia – were taking position against the unilateral action of the USA and in favour of a multilateral operation against Iraq.

Here it is necessary to warn against the misunderstanding that the governments are just helping hands or agents of the transnational monopoly capital. The government is a social relation that is dominated by different class powers. These are next to different capital factions – not-transnational monopoly capital, middle classes, agriculture – the pressure of the opposition forces. State policy is the final result of the struggle between these forces and

therefore differs in the metropolises in the era of globalisation as well. Of course the interests of the transnational monopolies build the frame in which government policy is able to act. A policy that basically contradicts these interests could only be enacted after the revolution – to say it neutral: the change – of the dominating economic order.

9.

In the conflict about the "war against terror", i.e. the military securing of the capitalist globalisation, the differences between the "only world power" and the capitalist middle powers escalated. These conflicts are complex and originate in two bundles of reasons: first the differences in the interests of the transnational capital, as explained in thesis 8; second the strategic-tactical questions of warfare and the connect leading will of the hegemon USA.

It is agreed that the "invisible hand" of the (world-)market needs every more often the plated fist. This became obvious in the joint action in Yugoslavia/Kosovo and Afghanistan. Chancellor Schröder then stressed in accordance with Bush, that these wars were defending "our values", "our lifestyle": "We are defending civilisation".

"Only after the 11th of September 2001 the USA changed with their universal declaration of war on "terrorism" and so called "rogue-countries" their strategy to a "normality of war" that knows no limits, no particular addressees and no end. Now the administration (the imperialist government) of the USA has combined the reaction to the assault with the transition to a military-political implementation of a system of US-world-hegemony that is at its core, facing the changes in world-policy after the end of the East-West-conflict, aimed at achieving the unimpeded economic and political dominant position of the USA." (Frank Deppe, Krieg als Normalität, manuscript, p. 4)

The war-block inside the US-administration, the representatives of the military-industrial complex and the oil-industry, now saw the chance for a rigorous military march through. The USA were political, economic and military on the peak of their power – they had the hegemony in every respect. Nearly the whole world announced their more or less unlimited solidarity. This moment the bellicists, the war-faction, used to cause a precedence that the USA can restore world-order with the military cudgel without bothersome coordination-procedure with allies and the UNO; if necessary alone or in a coalition of volunteers.

During the war against Iraq the European key-powers France and Germany changed from "unlimited solidarity" to open resistance against the bellicists in the White House and the Pentagon. They demanded greater power in the leadership of the process of military globalisation ("partners in leadership"). They feared to be degraded to mere vassals in the rigorous military action of the USA, even more since their plans for a GASP- and Euro-army were not very far developed while the US-war-machinery since Bush and 9-11 was expanded in great measure. Germany and its partners demanded a different mix of political and military actions: First, because they are unable to compete with their armament; second because they think the costs of a mainly military control of the world were too high. These are besides financial-economic costs – war-, destruction-, occupation- and rebuilding-costs, fear of consequences for the global economy – political costs as well, especially the fear that the whole process gets out of control and through new acts of terrorism, uprisings and use of nuclear weapons ends in a barbarisation of the world society. Another reason was that they had to take into account the public opinion, a growing resistance against war in Europe.

10.

After the successful attack on Iraq the military hegemony of the USA is stronger than ever. On the other hand the legitimation of the world-sheff is in question as never before. The opinion of the world opposes them, their political-ideological claim to leadership is eroding. The loss of cultural hegemony and legitimation again fasten the spiral of state-terror and military violence. The permanent war with the whole world threatens to lead to imperial overstretch. The USA undertake too much with their attempt to control the whole world by military means. The rapid rise of the spendings on armament and military, the development of new weaponry and the erection of a new network of military bases (building fortresses), the direct costs of war and occupation already catapulted the household-deficit to new dimensions. In two and a half years of Bush-government the billions of surplus were replaced by new deficits. The whole country now is a total debt-economy and depends on

the permanent flow of cash from other countries. If this credit-stream stops, this can cause a fatal chain-reaction that leads to a collapse of the whole stock-exchange- and financial system. For the EU-powers a devaluation of the dollar and a massive drop of the world currency would be no cause for a change of their economical position or a gain of political power. The transatlantic economic network and the reciprocal dependency meanwhile is to close. A collapse of the US-economy would take the anyway weak European economies down as well.

Strategists of the US-imperialism with a realistic analysis see the danger of the "imperial overstretch" and try to develop countermeasures. Brzezinski, who analysed in his book "The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives" the unconstrained global power of the USA and declared a "a new type hegemony", warns: "At the moment the power of the USA may be strong enough to keep global unrest under control. But in the long run America cannot always act on its own. It may have the pole position, but globally it is not omnipotent. We need partners, and more than any other we need Europe as a partner." (HB, a.a.O.)

Through the distribution of the war booty and the rebuilding, restructuring and securing of the region the USA will force Europe back into line and ask their tribute to the empire. According to US-plans Europe and the UNO have the part of procuring at least a minimal legitimisation for the US-approach, at least with the people in the metropolises. With the political class in Germany – government, opposition and media – one can already view eager attempts to synchronise the German with the US-American policy.

Indeed capitalist Europe needs the USA. It is completely unrealistic to think that the EU could gain the military potential to guarantee the world order in the interest of the transnational capital in the immediate future. In step with building a military intervention-force of their own the EU may gain more influence in leading and strategy of the global imperialism or get their part in leadership. New NATO-intervention-forces, EU-interventions-forces, the restructuring of the German army to an intervention-force leading to the "defending of the country at the Hindukush" (Struck) supplement each other – besides all differences – in the bigger picture of an imperialist world-order strategy.

11.

The "pax Americana" in Iraq brings no peace, neither for the country and nor for the region. Drunken of the success of the "Blitzkrieg" the US-bellicists already take the next aims: Syria and the Iran. They want to proceed with their "war against terror" step by step – it is going to be a war without end. The list of "rogue-countries" is long, the "axis of evil" reaches up to the Far East. The USA themselves declared that they are in a fourth world war (Woolsey) – with the Cold War as the third. The leaders of the USA with their tremendous war machinery are the gravest danger for humanity. They declare every country that does not surrender to the "Lords of the world" and their plans for world-order to be an enemy. Interventionist wars, even including the use of mass-destruction-weapons, and breaking international law are means to establish the US-hegemony. For mankind it becomes a vital question to find out how to stop this coalition of war.

Politicians, media, even parts of the new anti-war-movement raise and nourish expectations on the "civil power Europe": It should be strengthened – military as well - as a counterforce. This hope is misleading, a well-armed EU would increase the danger of war. The EU and its member-countries will not principally oppose the US-plans of war. The transnational capital of Europe as well, being tightly connected with the US-economy, needs the growth and security of the neo-liberal globalisation for their interest in profit and realisation, if necessary secured with military means. In the first line the economic heavy-weight Germany, with its high exports and the high grade of internationalisation of the transnational companies located in this country especially dependent on the military service of the USA. The often cited "community of values" with the USA is reduced on the US-doctrine of bringing "free entrepreneurship", "free markets" and "free trade" into every part of the world. If demanded through military intervention, if necessary employing nuclear weapons.

This identity of interests originates the idea of the NATO-intervention-force as well, that in the first line will be supplied with EU-forces. The building up of an EU-intervention-force and the restructuring of the German army from the ability to "defend the country" to an intervention-force that reaches up to the Hindukush agrees with the logic of the new US-military doctrine of global preemptive military attacks. With this military power Europe the US-machinery would not be stopped, but in union with them the world would be robbed and structured according to the interests of the transnational capital furthermore. The European political class hopes to gain a bigger share in planning and enacting of future

raids and world-order-wars through a bigger military potential of their own. This does not exclude work-sharing or limited single actions in acknowledged "backyards" and zones of influence – both under the propagandistic title: "taking world-wide responsibility".

For this future wars already sacrifices are demanded of the people. Demagogic and in the shadow of the protests against the Iraq war Chancellor Schröder demanded a rise of the German spending on armament and military. Preparations for war and aggression and a social declaration of war to the own people, these are two sides of the same medal.

Germany already is in the midst of the "war against terror". Altogether 10.000 German soldiers are employed on the Balkan, at the Hindukush and in the Gulf region to secure the capitalist flow of goods, production and finances. Even during the attack on Iraq Germany was an important part of the US-war-machinery. Catchwords as the right to fly over the country, AWACS-supervision and direction, ABC-search-tanks in Kuwait, ships of the German navy accompanying US-transport-ships on the way to the Gulf show the effective contribution of Germany to this war. This part will be strengthened in the future. The war on Iraq was not finished when the Pentagon announced its largest investment abroad to enlarge the military training area in Grafenwöhr. In this training area, the biggest of the US-army in Europe, tank formations trained for the war on Iraq, including shooting with depleted uranium ammunition. From here the expedition corps started for their mission at the Gulf. Germany is the biggest base of the US-army abroad, the world-wide biggest deployment area and supply-base for US-aggressions.

Hope in the peace movement

The only hope to stop war and barbarism is the international peace movement. During the Iraq war it had a great revival and was able to organise the biggest mass-action in younger history. It made visible that the world public is opposed to this war. It was spoken of a "second world power". Against the barbarism of this war it posed the culture of peace. The USA lost the legitimacy of their hegemonial policy. They are standing at the pillory of the public opinion of the world.

After the fast military success now the USA now try together with their allies to win the public opinion of the world back again. Cheering Iraqis are used to legitimate war as a means to abolish dictatorships. They try to re-establish war as a means of policy, for the spreading of "freedom and democracy", the missionary extension of the "American way of life". Especially with the propaganda of "short" and "clean" wars with perfectly aimed chirurgical strikes and few casualties of civilians.

With that they try to make us forget that

- monsters like Saddam and Usama bin Laden originate from the laboratories of the US-government;
- the USA are allied all over the world with blood-thirsty dictators, if it is fitting in with their interests;
- in the case of Iraq the embargo already cost the life of half a million children;
- the war was against international law, cost the life of thousands of civilians and contaminated the country through the use of uranium ammunition with the result of ten thousands of genetic deformations;
- the infrastructure was completely destroyed, millions of people were robbed of clean drinking water and medical care and were degraded to petitioners to the occupation forces;
- the country now has the status of an US-oil-colony, in which the US-authorities– again in contradiction to international law – organise the plunder of the national resources and treasures of art.

It is the task of the peace movement to stand up against the cynical propaganda of "just wars", "humanitarian invasions" and the subsequent justification of military interventions. The international law must not be perverted and changed in the interest of the aggressors. In tribunals and with patient explanations the war against Iraq has to be accused as an aggression that violated international law and that the persecutors of war crimes and their allies have to be accused in front of the pillory of the world public in Den Haag. Such a tribunal could be the UNO-plenary assembly, judging on request of the member countries the aggression as act against international law.

The conflict about the war on Iraq have shown the strength and weaknesses of the UNO. It was unable to stand up against the aggression of the superpower and prevent the succeeding of the law of the fist. On the other hand the world organisation has shown strength and authority as it could not be moved – even by unprecedented pressure – to give its blessing for the "right of the strongest". Even the UN-Security Council, dominated by the powers of the metropolises, thus became a tribunal over the aggressor. The USA suffered political and moral defeat in front of the world public. The UNO has played an important

part in the deligitimisation of the USA and their allies. Now the USA try to let the UNO go the way of the League of Nations. Opposing this the peace movement should revive the idea and the Charta of the United Nations to a real utopia of a peaceful coexistence of the people. The principle of banishing violence and of the sovereignty of the nations that are the core if the UN-Charta today are the most important imperative.

After the mass actions, the world-wide demonstrations of millions of people against the US-war in this inter-war-period information and explanation are the main task for the peace movement. Explanation of the reasons and backgrounds of the current wars. Information on the connection of globalisation, war and the reduction of social and democratic rights. This could be the base for a fast and effective mobilisation against coming wars. But in the first place this is necessary to make the anti-war-mood a political factor that evolves to active action for peace.

In the conflict about the war on Iraq the peace movement became international and worked together with other movements. Thus a global network of the peace movement, anti-globalisation movement, old and new social movement grew. This network has to made stronger and closer. Here the information on the role of the multis and their political-military main agent, the US-imperialism, is fundamental. The multis try to subjugate the whole world under their interests and thus bring down the last remaining barriers, e.g. restrictions of genetic manipulation. They are trying to secure their global network of exploitation, their world-wide access to resources and human productivity with military means. And the same companies are spreading the slogan "there are more important issues than social peace" and try to destroy the social security networks and erode the rights of the unions to get more room and monetary power in the global "war of companies".

The crucial political-military factor of power for the realisation of the interests of the transnational capital is the US-imperialism, the heart of the block of war. It is the ain danger for peace in the world. The US-hegemony block and attack as representatives of the oil-, automobile-, armament- and pharma-complex every world-wide agreement on ecology and climate control as well, e.g. the Kyoto-protocol, because it opposes their strategy of wasting energy. They are the main force propagating rigorous agreements on investments, opening and security | the interest of the transnational companies at the WTO- and GATS-negotiations.

With their massively incinerated security-hysteria the USA have begun to realise the big-brother-administration Orwell foresaw.

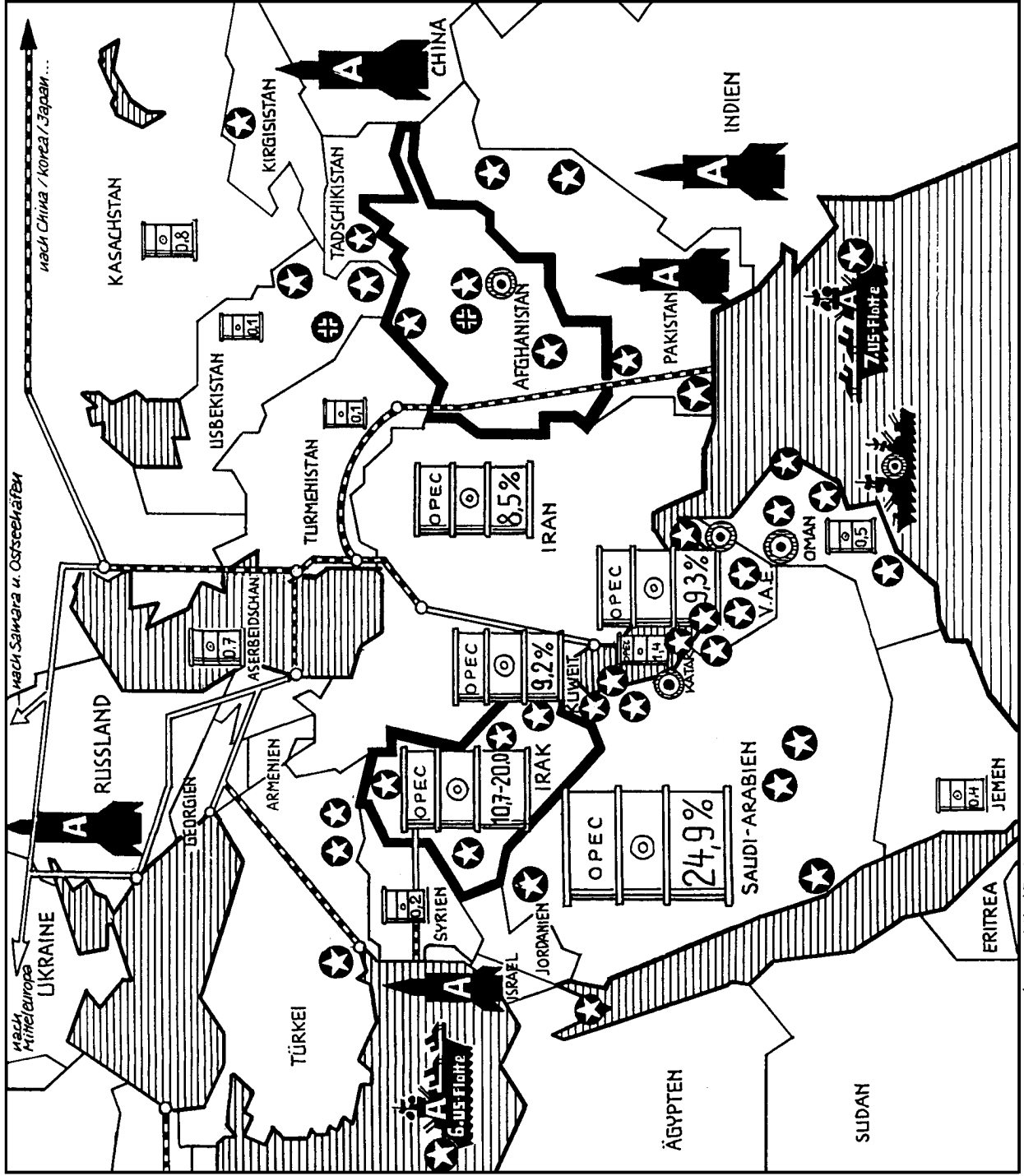
This block of war must be isolated in the world, every support for war- and occupation-regimes has to be refused. All over the world the grounds for military interventions have to be declined. Germany must not longer be the turning point and deployment base for coming wars of the USA and their allies. Air-Force bases like Ramstein and the training area Grafenwöhr have to be closed down.

Germany itself has to call back all soldiers out of the Gulf region and the NATO-protectorates in Afghanistan and the Balkan at once. The restructuring of the German army into a global intervention force ready for preemptive attacks has to be stopped. It is a contradiction to German constitutional law. Only through disarmament and a renunciation of violence Germany and European contribute their share to an international order of peace.

The war coalition led by the USA-Administration currently is able to subdue every country to their wishes. This aggressiveness is no sign of strength but in fact the last rearing of an outlived order, a inhumane logic. "The American way of life can not be kept alive", the Indian authoress Arundhati Roy writes. "Because this way of life does not accept that there are others in the world except America. Power luckily does not last unlimited. Some time this mighty empire, like others before, will undertake to much and implode. Even now the first fissures show. The war against terror spreads its nets and the hard of the American companies bleeds. A world that is ruled by a handful of greedy bankers and entrepreneurs whom nobody elected, cannot last."

A new order already is surfacing and wins creative power. It is expressed through millions of people who stand up against war. Who do no longer accept that the whole world is for sale. Who fight against global apartheid and for social justice. These millions are united by the slogan "Another world is possible" – a world of peace and human solidarity.

Gepanzerte Faust am Öl-Hahn.



☆ US-Basen
 ⊕ Britische Basen
 ⊕ Bundeswehr-Basen
 ⚡ Ölstaat: Anteil an Welt-Ölreserven in %
 ⚡ auch bei Flugzeugträgern
 ⚡ Atomwaffen;
US-STÜTZPUNKTE
 TÜRKEI
 Incirlik (Air-Base)
 Havadikiz (Air-Base)
 Bahceli (Air-Base)
 AGYPTEN
 Scharwa el Scheik (Navy)
 SAUDI-ARABIEN
 Arar (Air-Base)
 Prince Sultan (Air-Base)
 Es Kham Vilgde (Air-Base)
 Dschidda (Air-Base)
 KUWEIT
 Camp Doha (Army)
 Ali Al Salem (Air-Base)
 Kabala (Air-Base)
 Camp Antfan (Army)
 Ahmed Al Jaber (Army)
 BAHREIN
 Makawa (Navy)
 Sheik Isa (Air-Base)
 KATAR
 Al Udeid (Air-Base)
 AS Sayliyah (Army)
 V. A. E.
 Jebel Ali (Navy)
 Al Dhafra (Air-Base)
 OMAN
 Masua Al (Air-Base)
 Seeb (Air-Base)
 Masila (Air-Base)
 Thumait (Air-Base)
 USBEKISTAN
 Chirabud (Air-Base)
 Kokald (Air-Base)
 KIRGISISTAN
 Bisdakek (Air-Base)
 TADSCHIKISTAN
 Duschanbe (Air-Base)
 AFGHANISTAN
 Kabul (Air-Base/Army)
 Kandahar (Air-Base)
 Masar-i-Scharif (Air-Base)
 Bagram (Air-Base)
 PAKISTAN
 Peschawar (Air-Base)
 Islamabad (Air-Base)
 Balbandin (Air-Base)
 Pasni (Air-Base)
 IRAK (← geplant)
 Baskur
 H-1
 Talli
 Bagdad (Air-Base/Army)

⚡ in Betrieb
 ⚡ projektiert
 ÖLFIPELINES
 IRAN (← geplant)
 Baskur
 H-1
 Talli
 Bagdad (Air-Base/Army)