

The Campus Antiwar Network (CAN) is an independent, democratic, grassroots network of campus- and school-based antiwar committees. The points of unity of CAN are:

1. We stand opposed to all US wars of aggression
2. We stand opposed to the occupation of Iraq
3. We support the right of the Iraqi people to self-determination
4. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Iraq
5. We demand that the US government pay reparations to the Iraqi people
6. We stand opposed to the oppression of the Palestinian people and the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip
7. We stand opposed to racist scapegoating and all attacks on civil liberties
8. We demand money for education, jobs and healthcare, not war and occupation!

Campus Antiwar Network

The potential to stop the US's war machine shouldn't be underestimated. As historian Howard Zinn put it, "There is a basic weakness in governments -- however massive their armies, however wealthy their treasuries, however they control the information given to the public -- because their power depends on the obedience of citizens, of soldiers, of civil servants, of journalists and writers and teachers and artists. When these people begin to suspect they have been deceived, and when they withdraw their support, the government loses its legitimacy, and its power."

Building a movement today that stands opposed to the occupation of Iraq and to the future wars that the Bush administration will pursue can make all the difference in the months and years to come. Every teach-in, speak-out, protest, and rally can help galvanize the doubts that millions have about Bush's "endless war" -- and turn them into active opposition.

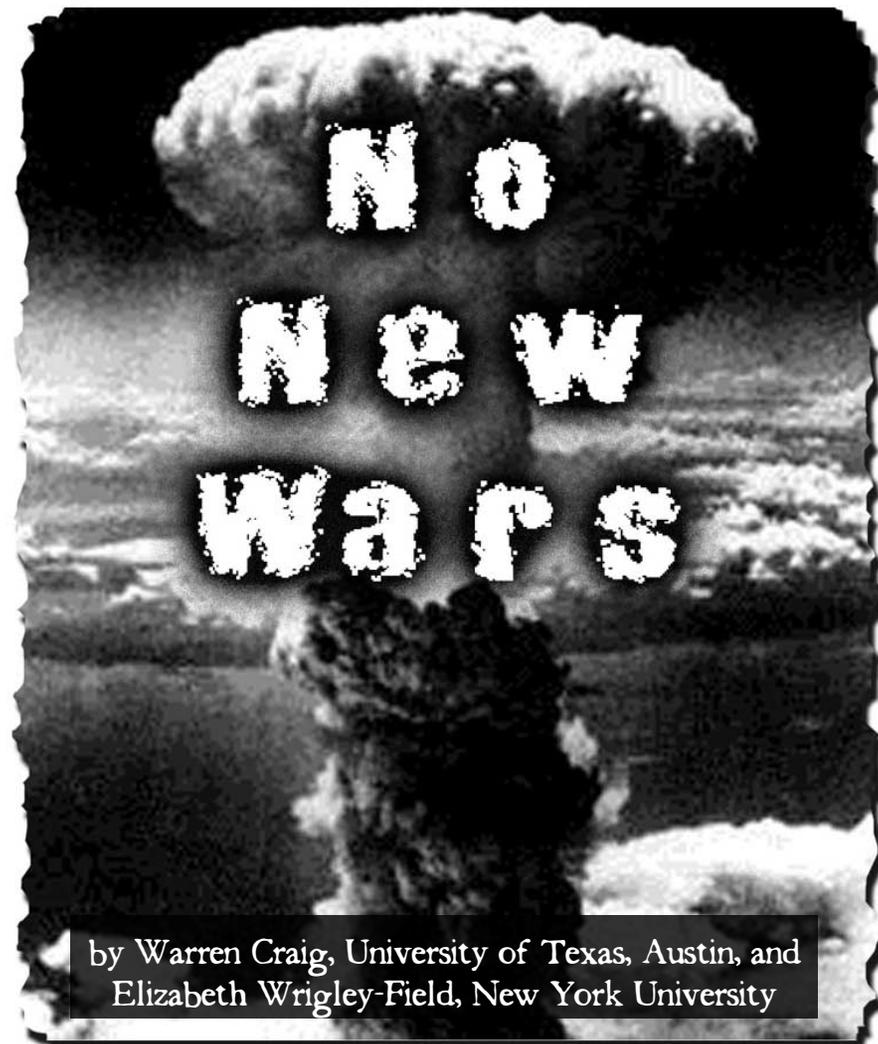
Students have always been at the forefront of movements for social change -- from the Vietnam antiwar movement to the revolutions that toppled the authoritarian governments of Eastern Europe. Today, as Bush threatens multiple wars on multiple targets all over the world, building a broad student antiwar movement couldn't be more important.

That's why the Campus Antiwar Network exists -- as part of a movement that can play a crucial role in keeping the many wars that the Bush administration wants to wage from ever becoming a reality.

So get involved today, because together we
CAN stop Bush's wars!

CAMPUS ANTIWAR NETWORK

WWW.ANTIWARNETWORK.ORG



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NO MORE WARS

"It is different than the Gulf War was, in the sense that it may never end. At least, not in our lifetime. The way I think of it is -- it's a new normalcy."

-- Vice-President Dick Cheney on the "war on terror," Washington Post, Oct. 19, 2001.

In the two years since 9/11, Bush has used the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon to whip up hysteria and racist fear across the country as a pretext for invading and occupying Afghanistan and Iraq. Now he's making more threats, against countries including -- but certainly not limited to -- Syria, Iran and North Korea. In fact, Bush's foreign policy strategy as laid out in his National Security Strategy paper in Sept. 2002 -- the "Bush Doctrine" -- guarantees more wars to come.

The Bush Doctrine says that the U.S. will target countries that harbor terrorists or possess weapons of mass destruction. But the Iraq war -- for which the Bush administration fabricated an Iraq-Qaeda link and used shoddy evidence to claim that Iraq had weapons it didn't -- demonstrated that the U.S. will use these as excuses for war when the facts don't match up.

The real motivation for war was explained by Jay Bookman in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution: "The official story on Iraq has never made sense. . . It is not about weapons of mass destruction, or terrorism, or Saddam, or UN resolutions. This war is intended to mark the official emergence of the U.S. as a full-fledged global empire, seizing sole responsibility and authority as planetary policeman."

In fact, Iraq was only the first step in a broader war to expand U.S. power throughout the world. "The mission begins in Baghdad but it does not end there," wrote William Kristol and Lawrence Kaplan in the Financial Times. "Were the U.S. to retreat after victory into complacency, new dangers would soon arise. War in Iraq represents but the first installment."

The National Security Strategy document lays out a plan to use the U.S.'s "position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence" to "dissuade potential adversaries from . . . surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States."

Or as Herbert Hertzberg wrote in the New Yorker, "The vision laid out in the Bush strategy is a vision of what used to be called, when we believed it to be the Soviet ambition, world domination."

This explains the necessity of US military and economic pressure in the Middle East -- because given its vast oil reserves, controlling the Middle East is essential to controlling the world. Even though the US gets most of its oil from Latin America, especially Venezuela, the logic of the Bush Doctrine demands that it control Middle Eastern oil as well -- if only because it prevents potential competitors, such as Europe, Russia, and, especially, China, from controlling it instead.

And to prove the point, Bush is openly disregarding the opinions of the rest of the world. As Undersecretary of State John Bolton put it, "There is no United Nations. There is an international community that occasionally can be led by the only real power in the world and that is the United States." The Iraq invasion asserted the US right to unilateral war whenever it wants -- further

According to the Financial Times, the U.S. is considering "a surgical air strike against the North Korea's Yongbyon nuclear facilities" -- a move that would almost certainly escalate into an all-out war.

Why risk forcing a war? In part, because the administration fears that a more heavily armed North Korea would be able to deter a U.S. attack -- whereas the Bush Doctrine is aimed at preventing any deterrents to U.S. force.

But in addition, the U.S. hopes to use the North Korea crisis as a means of keeping the country isolated from surrounding Asian markets -- South Korea and Japan in particular -- with hopes of slowing the process of economic integration in the region, which favors China at the expense of American corporations and investors.

In this sense, the Bush administration has a strategic interest in keeping the Korean crisis burning -- as a justification for its aggressive policy towards all of Asia.

Bush's belligerent policy will only energize the arms race in the region as Asian nations, particularly China, look to beef up their weapons capacity to prevent a US attack. And at worst, Bush could find himself igniting a nightmare war, with consequences too terrifying to imagine.

Can these wars be stopped?

Issuing threats and ultimatums left and right, the arrogance and brazenness of the Bush administration is incredible. As Jay Garner, Bush's former colonial overseer of Iraq, sneered, "We ought to be beating our chests every day. We ought to look in the mirror and get proud and stick out our chests and suck in our bellies and say: 'Damn, we're Americans.'"

But Bush would do well to take a lesson from his dad. Following the first Gulf War, Bush Sr. watched his popularity ratings skyrocket only to find himself out of a job a year later as the economy plunged.

The U.S. occupation of Iraq has already fueled a "classic guerrilla-type campaign" against the Americans, as US Central Command head General John Abizaid put it. One officer stationed in Iraq told the Christian Science Monitor that "the level of morale for most soldiers that I've seen has hit hot rock bottom." And, as of this writing, the only weapons of mass destruction that have been found in Iraq are those used by the U.S., leading many to question the credibility of Bush's case for war.

Meanwhile, at home, Bush faces growing economic insecurity, with nearly every state in a severe budget crisis. And as Bush spends billions on the military, he is cutting deeply into desperately needed social services like education, Medicare, and child welfare.

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Meanwhile, student-led protests against the regime in June were cheered on by the Bush administration as the "beginnings of people expressing themselves toward a free Iran" -- as Bush put it -- even as the U.S. military simultaneously suppressed protests in neighboring Iraq.

But the Iranian students know better than to trust the U.S. It was, after all, the U.S. that engineered a bloody coup in 1953 that installed a repressive pro-U.S. monarchy led by the Shah of Iran. And it was the U.S. who funded Saddam Hussein's Iraq in the 1980's to invade Iran, provoking a long and disastrous war for both countries.

Today the U.S. government has no more interest in democracy for Iran than they had for the 25 years that they backed and funded the Shah. By invading and occupying Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. has in effect surrounded Iran, and the Bush administration hopes that American military presence, along with a few not so subtle threats, will pressure the Iranian regime into collapse. But if that doesn't happen, a war cannot be ruled out -- no matter how horrific the costs.

North Korea

Similarly, a war with North Korea would be catastrophic. U.S. military officials estimate that as many as one million civilians could die in the first few days of an all-out war.

But this hasn't stopped the Bush Administration from creating a crisis with that country, pushing the U.S. and North Korea closer and closer to a horrifying war. In March 2002, the Pentagon leaked its Nuclear Posture Review, which affirmed the U.S.'s long-standing policy of using nuclear weapons against North Korea in the event of war. And after labeling North Korea part of the "axis of evil," Bush has repeatedly threatened to overthrow the regime of Kim Jong-il.

If Bush's threats were designed to spark a response, he got more than he bargained for. In January, North Korea withdrew from the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and Kim Jong-il has publicly asserted, on a number of occasions, his desire and willingness to produce nuclear weapons -- and to use them in the event of a U.S. attack. North Korea is presently reprocessing nuclear fuel rods, which could potentially be used to create weapons-grade plutonium, and announced in August that it would begin testing nuclear weapons.

Kim's moves are calculated to deter U.S. aggression; he has pledged to abandon his nuclear aspirations in exchange for a U.S. peace treaty. But the Bush team seems determined to keep the crisis going.

This past spring, U.S. troops conducted joint-war games with South Korean military -- a move described by the North Korean press as a dress rehearsal for invasion. In June, the US announced a redeployment of US troops in South Korea, which would "theoretically position the United States to mount a preemptive attack against the North," according to the New York Times. To underline the point, US undersecretary of state John Bolton has made several calls for the use of "pre-emptive military force" against North Korea and other states.

increasing US power in relation to other countries, because US demands are now implicitly backed up with the threat of force.

In short, Bush has used 9/11 as a pretext for rewriting the rules of world politics -- using a doctrine of "preemptive regime change" to invade and occupy any country that doesn't fall in line with U.S. interests -- which can only mean more wars, more destruction, and a more dangerous world.

We can't underestimate the horror of these wars. Some estimates now put casualties of the Iraq war at 10,000 -- not to mention the destruction of water, sewage, electrical and health systems.

And future wars might be even more brutal. The U.S. military budget, at \$399 billion, already equals that of the 15 next largest military budgets combined. But that hasn't stopped Bush's military planners from seeking more destructive weaponry. The Pentagon's secret Nuclear Posture Review document, leaked to the New York Times in March 2002, calls for "developing nuclear weapons that would be better suited for striking targets in Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Syria, and Libya." And in early August -- the same week as the 58th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki -- 150 Pentagon scientists and officials met at the Offutt Air Force Base to begin to build "workable" nuclear weapons for use.

No one knows who the next target will be. But the Bush administration has made it clear who is in their crosshairs: Iran, Syria, and North Korea, just to name a few. This pamphlet aims to educate activists about why Bush is targeting these countries -- and why we need to oppose the wars Bush is planning for the future.

Syria

Although not in the "axis of evil," Syria is a prime contender for a future US war target -- a member, along with Cuba and Libya, of the "junior varsity axis of evil," a Bush administration official explained. The Bush administration has been threatening Syria since the war on Iraq began. "We've changed the geostrategic situation in the Middle East. Syria can either wake up to that fact, or not," one administration official told the New York Times on April 15. "It is up to Syria to decide whether to become a part of the new Middle East that we are shaping."

War with Syria is a logical next step under the Bush Doctrine after war with Iraq. Syria is a thorn in the side of the US because it will not consistently do US bidding. It opposed the war on Iraq, for example, from its temporary position on the UN Security Council. Moreover, while Syria is a much more difficult military target than Iraq was, it would also be easier to attack than Iran would. So it is a logical target in a campaign to redraw the map of the Middle East in US military and corporate interests.

During the early weeks of the war on Iraq, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld ordered that contingency plans for a war with Syria be reviewed following the fall of Baghdad. Ultimately, the White House, facing the challenges of occupying Iraq and Afghanistan and the threat of opposition at home, privately nixed the Pentagon's plans -- for the moment.

But government officials in the Bush administration and in Congress have continued to lay the groundwork for a future war. In April, the US closed an Iraqi oil pipeline to Syria, in a \$1 billion blow

to the Syrian economy. And senators Rick Santorum (R-Penn) and Barbara Boxer (D-Calif) are sponsoring the Syria Accountability Act, which, if passed, would impose economic sanctions on Syria. These measures mirror the 12-year economic devastation wreaked on Iraq by the US before that war began -- although as Santorum says, "My guess is that it will not take us 12 years with Syria."

And the administration is making many of the same accusations against Syria that they used to justify their war in Iraq.

For one thing, Bush said on April 13, "We believe there are chemical weapons in Syria. . . We're serious about stopping weapons of mass destruction." But Syria is not a signatory to the chemical weapons convention, nor has the UN called for its disarmament, meaning that if Syria does possess chemical weapons, they are legal under international law. And many other countries in the Middle East are believed to have such weapons -- including Israel and Egypt, the two biggest US aid recipients.

Some commentators speculate Bush may eventually claim that Iraqi weapons of mass destruction traveled to Syria before or during the war -- to justify war with Syria, and cover for the embarrassing lack of weapons in Iraq. But there's no evidence to support this, and it becomes clearer all the time that the weapons Bush claimed were in Iraq never were.

Another accusation Bush is leveling against Syria is that Syria aids "terrorist" groups in Palestine -- although as, the State Department notes, Syria has not been linked to a single terrorist act since 1986.

It's worth remembering that the US is quite selective in who it considers "terrorist." In its day, the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela's anti-apartheid group that currently runs South Africa, was considered "terrorist" by the US -- while Osama bin Laden was considered a "freedom fighter."

Finally, we know from Bush's falsified link between Iraq and al-Qaeda that he isn't above lying about terrorism to justify his wars.

The last accusation Bush's administration has made against Syria is that it aided Iraq during the war. Rumsfeld claimed that military supplies, including night-vision goggles, were being shipped into Iraq from Syria -- though he stopped short of saying the Syrian government was involved. Wolfowitz accused Syria of sending soldiers to fight in Iraq, and several officials have accused Syria of harboring Iraqi fugitives. In fact, it might be hard for Syria to prevent travel over the 400 miles of desert border it shares with Iraq.

The administration has offered little or no evidence for each of these claims. But antiwar activists should also question the US right to attack countries for defending Iraq against an unjustified US invasion.

All of these accusations show the Bush administration groping for an excuse to attack Syria sometime in the future, just as it latched onto any excuse to wage war on Iraq. A war with Syria would potentially be even more destructive, with lies and hypocrisy underlying Bush's case for war every step of the way.

Iran

With Iraq under U.S. occupation, many think that the Bush administration is also setting the stage for a war with Iran. According to the New York Times, Bush administration officials have suggested that "American actions in Iraq could also serve as a blueprint for Iran."

Even though they still haven't found weapons in Iraq, Bush administration officials are using the same excuse to justify a more aggressive policy toward the Iranians. "Our strong position is that Iran is preparing to produce fissile materials for nuclear weapons," said White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer in May, without a shred of credible evidence to back it up. As New York Times columnist Maureen Down put it, "By the time the CIA delivers its report [on Iraq], it will be time to investigate how our intelligence was hyped in a prelude to a strike against Iran."

According to the Financial Times, Donald Rumsfeld is "spearheading efforts to make 'regime change' in Iran the official policy of the Bush administration. Rumsfeld has threatened to "aggressively put down any attempt to remake Iraq in Iran's image" (as if the U.S. isn't trying to remake Iraq in an image of its own choosing!).

It's worth considering that Iran is not only the world's fourth-largest producer of oil, it is the biggest and most populous country on the Persian Gulf -- a key land bridge between Asia and Europe -- which makes it a strategic pivot point in global politics. Moreover, Iran has increasingly expanded its economic and military ties with Western Europe, Russia, India, Japan, and China -- all the while thumbing its nose at the U.S.

For the hawks in the Bush Administration, this means that Iran stands in the way of American designs to dominate the Middle East. And they fear that Iran could someday become a "peer competitor" -- something explicitly forbidden by the Bush Doctrine. This, and not some far-fetched fear about weapons, is the real reason why so many in Washington are now openly calling for "regime change" in Iran.

"The only point left as far as the Bush administration is concerned is whether to attack Iran from the outside or undermine from the inside," remarked one Iranian professor to the New York Times on June 20.

The dominant thinking is to support opposition groups inside Iran, in hopes of destabilizing the regime. According to the Washington Post, the Pentagon has

considered courting the Mujaheddin-e Khalq (MEK), an Iraq-based opposition group listed as a terrorist organization by the State Department. The Post remarked that the Pentagon was "impressed by the military discipline and equipment of the thousands of MEK troops," and "began to envision them as a potential military force for use against Tehran, much like the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan."