

An unmatched record of lawlessness and criminality

*The Crimes Of Empire:
Rogue Superpower and World Domination*

Carl Boggs

Foreword by Peter McLaren

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John McFall

'This is a book about criminal behaviour.....a contempt of the law that runs deep inside the structural unconscious of U.S. society.' The crimes in question are *The Crimes Of Empire*, enumerated in the U.S. historical record and piling up. Many of these, but far from all, of course, are documentable, verifiable and freely available in the public domain. The term 'war crime' is often hastily, sometimes emotionally used in a pejorative and rhetorical way to smear enemies and opponents, leading to a discounting or diminution of the historical meaning and import of the term. Such usage is *not* found in this study. The usage in this work relates to issues of international legality in the affairs among nations according to historical legal precedent. The focus of U.S. international war crimes and outlawry in *The Crimes Of Empire* is rooted not in random episodic events of recent notoriety such as Guantánamo Bay or Abu Ghraib jail – serious violations of international law as they are – or even the activities of a few deviant sadists there, or increasingly elsewhere; rather the criminality is located in the history of U.S. imperialism itself, particularly over the last 200 years with the formation of the modern republic, and the post W.W.II rise to superpower.

Systemic transgressions of international law

Such a focus would seem 'crazed' to most American readers since war crimes are something *others* – bad guys – do. Not so. An American, Professor Boggs, demonstrates in a tempered conceptual deconstruction and devastating empirical critique that American criminality and its multitude of transgressions in international law are in fact *systemic*. Taking on the established myths of

American identity, documenting these crimes, and revealing the U.S.'s actual real life behaviour, in particular its foreign policy exceptionalism, an abundance of historical and present day evidence of war crimes is uncovered. The evidence is indeed so damning and conclusive 'that no impartial observer could possibly ignore or refute it'. The author's aim is to raise public interest in questions of American Empire and its flagrant criminality in the hope that the people living in the midst of empire may exercise their democratic political leverage as to its future course.

The third in a trilogy of US imperial power, to be followed soon by a fourth book on nuclear politics, *The Crimes Of Empire* is a brilliant, authoritative and enlightened piece of anti-imperialist critique. A scholarly work of the highest political science the book's bibliography and sources are invaluable for reference and further investigation. It takes its place among the work of other prominent antiwar critics such as Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Michael Parenti, William Blum and Chalmers Johnson. Not a knee-jerk, peacenik abhorrence of all things war, but an independent, overarching critique of imperial logic, superpower morality and its many crimes, especially its rejectionist refusal to participate in an evolving international consensus. The result is 'an unmatched record of lawlessness and criminality'. A primary concern of *The Crimes Of Empire* is an increasingly militarist U.S. behemoth, so out of balance with world opinion in its outlook and lawless international behaviour, that it represents a threat to civilisation, and ultimately the planet.

The Crimes Of Empire is a major step towards understanding the *systemic* nature of U.S. crime and outlawry as part of an enduring historical *pattern* within an anti-imperialist conceptual framework, incorporating history, politics, culture (including psychology), and international relations. The primary focus of investigation relates to international law and the serial violation of it by the U.S. and detailed in the following seven chapters: international crimes against peace; warfare against civilians; war crimes by proxy; (use of) weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and illegal weapons; treaty violation; counterfeit war-crimes tribunals justice; torture and other atrocities. Typically, the characteristics endemic to an imperial order are legitimated domestically through 'a fierce national exceptionalism, super patriotism, militarism, and racism', and a circumscribed corporate media and political culture in 'strict denial'. Nearly twenty years ago Gore Vidal could say on never being invited back for American Election night commentary that, 'No First World country has ever managed to eliminate so entirely from its media all objectivity – much less dissent.' Given the dramatic worsening of this state of affairs, *The Crimes Of Empire* is a much needed assessment and counter to the prevailing mythologies, and the ruling taboo within the narrow ideological

and intellectual culture of mainstream American media and politics regarding enlightened criticism of U.S. foreign and military policy.

The book begins with the promise of a new international era of co-operation, an end to military aggression, human rights proliferation, civilised rules of battlefield engagement, national self-determination and sovereignty for nations following the barbarism of two world wars leading to a particular 'moral *Zeitgeist*' that transformed accepted norms of global behaviour. Briefly flourishing in the immediate 1945 aftermath, it soon disappeared as the fog of the Cold War set. (Note also these quantum developments in the speedy turn to global empire: the creation of the National Security State, 1947; Israel, 1948; and the Korean War, 1950.) The crowning legal achievements formed in this new crucible, *inter alia*, were the U.N. Charter and Geneva Conventions – the *primary* legal sources used by Professor Boggs in evaluating the U.S.'s war crimes record. Much of the *Zeitgeist* remains embedded, however partial and inadequate, in international law. Despite these shortcomings the vast majority of nations would hold to these conventions, treaties and laws. However U.S. geopolitical goals and its increasingly militarist behaviour positively militate against this.

The U.S. (with approximately 243 overseas interventions since Jefferson) 'most consistently stands outside the enlightened *Zeitgeist*'. The U.S.'s permanent war economy, National Security State, 'ceaseless pursuit of global hegemony', 'corporate-driven globalization', and the (manufactured) dangerously destabilising 'war on terror' (i.e. permanent war) drive the U.S. in its quest for Pax Americana. Such unilateral exceptionalism has led to a dangerously 'lopsided global equation' where naked superpower trumps all legality. Furthermore, at a critical and fast changing geopolitical juncture, the U.S. as a rogue state is once again redefining its global power, role and reach in order to dominate the world – approximately 1,000 (known) bases in some 170 countries.

The characteristics of U.S. exceptionalism

Within the overall historical imperial context the enduring characteristics of U.S. exceptionalism in militarism and warfare have taken the following trajectory: serial violation of international agreements; dubious moral claims as pretexts for intervention; ruinous 'wanton destruction' (U.N. Charter) of whole nations; an unparalleled level of criminality facilitated by vastly superior technology and economic wealth; a veritable conveyor belt of manufactured demonic enemies; the targeting of smaller poorly defended countries; the leading stockpiler and developer of WMD; no official recognition, reparation, or apologies of past crimes (no Americans have ever been prosecuted for war

crimes, a few local episodes apart); and a political, media, academic, and cultural fortress across the public sphere that keeps the U.S. public in an ignorance firmly in 'the ideological grip of national *denial*'.

On further historical investigation of the modern republic's militarism and warfare, there emerges 'an ongoing pattern' of wholesale outlawry going back to the nineteenth century catalogue of Indian massacres – tens of millions slaughtered and whole languages and cultures obliterated. In the westward expansion an authoritarian regimen 'propelled by a mixture of colonialism, racism, capitalism, and militarism', resulted in the comprehensive historical erasure of terrible crimes, the production of many myths romanticising the genocidal past, and the creation of a new modernising, civilising, and legitimating ideology of 'messianic nationalism' for a 'God-given mission of building a new civilisation for the modern world.' This was inculcated into the popular consciousness and 'incorporated into the political culture, [and] shared especially by the upper circles of politicians, business elites, the military, and Christian institutions.....one of the most impressive propaganda achievements ever.'

This was facilitated by the fraudulent use and abuse of many treaties and numerous laws such as the Indian Removal Law and the Discovery Doctrine (if you 'find' the land you keep it) – all legitimated ideologically by 'superior' ethnocentric notions of being 'civilised' while Indians were godless 'savages' and so on. Military forts were set up in tribal lands (the West Bank today) as colonial commissioners issued multiple edicts that 'the Indians must now conform to the white man's ways', and justified by Manifest Destiny – the nineteenth century, celebratory, American nationalist, master narrative of liberty and empire incorporating the earlier seventeenth century fundamentalist Pilgrim's great Providential spiritual notion of the new world 'City On The Hill' as a beacon for God's chosen people. (This is not to denigrate the many progressive, genuine and wholesome aspects of American culture and society rooted in the popular consciousness: individual freedom, democracy, libertarian principles, non-imperialistic patriots and non-Moral Majority type tolerant religious belief. Too often genuine popular ideals are cynically used by elites and twisted through mainstream discourses to a media-mislead and history-starved U.S. populace – perhaps nowhere more blatantly so than in the carefully chosen and grotesquely named, Operation Iraqi Freedom. Note the acronym if we change the last word to Liberation.)

The cost of the U.S.'s continued pursuit of global hegemony is a shamelessly unparalleled criminal 'trail of broken treaties' (over 400) from the late eighteenth century to today. Such outlawry covers the full spectrum of international co-operation in human affairs – national sovereignty, the

environment, human rights, trade and finance, WMD, security and intelligence, maritime, space, health. For a nation 'conditioned to conquest and warfare', the Bush-neocon, 'war on terror' years were not an aberration, rather a profoundly destabilising acceleration of the U.S.'s historic lawlessness.

That the U.S. 'has arrogated to itself' the sole 'right' to carry out military aggression in flagrant disregard of world opinion and the 'contemporary moral *Zeitgeist*' validates Noam Chomsky's long-standing point that 'Contempt for the rule of law is deeply rooted in U.S. practice and intellectual culture'. On the eve of the Iraq war Bush could say, 'I don't care what the international lawyers say, we are going to kick some ass.' (I kill, therefore I am.) This, Professor Boggs comments, was merely a reflection of a deep-seated national exceptionalism and shared political *consensus*. Congress even passed a law in 2002 allowing for invasion contradicting the U.N. Charter mandating Security Council approval. 'Pre-emptive' war 'might be illegal but it was nonetheless *legitimate*'!

Weapons of mass deception

Further examples of war crimes discussed in the book include the pre-picking in the 1990s of Ahmed Chalabi to head the CIA invented Iraqi National Congress. Along with a mountain of other evidence that the Iraq war was planned years in advance, this amounts to 'criminal intentions spanning three presidencies'. Worth deeper investigation is the Rendon Group, from the self-proclaimed 'information warrior', John Rendon. A CIA-contracted PR firm with business in 91 countries that had the contract to prepare the US public for war and manage public perceptions through it. In the lead up to the Iraq war we find that the news media itself functioned as a deliberate part of the war effort within a wider co-ordinated *strategy*. The *New York Times* – the 'ideological paradigm for American media and political culture' – is a case in point. Here, we discover, a litany of embedded journalists, an 'award-winning reporter', Pentagon operatives, propaganda, disinformation, reports with 'no factual grounding,...no foundation even in CIA and other intelligence data'. Naked geopolitical objectives are uncovered at every turn in a long litany of evidence pointing to *systemic* criminality to wage war beneath the usual verbiage of an evil external threat and 'national security'.

In short, U.S. outlawry is being normalised amid abundant evidence of 'a vast criminal enterprise' – i.e. Nuremberg prosecutable 'crimes against peace'! (Recall establishment patrician and fellow Skull and Bones man John Kerry's candid incredulity at the Machiavellian Bush Gang when caught off camera but on mic in the 2004 Presidential Campaign: 'These guys are the most crooked,

you know, lying group I've ever seen.') After no WMD, Iraq, unending war, the 9-11 Commission travesty etc., is it any wonder millions around the planet don't buy the official 9-11 evil bogeyman in a bat cave with a laptop story from the same crowd? ¹

The American way of war

Contrary to both official and popular mythology, civilians and related targets have always been 'integral' to U.S. military strategy, not alien to the American character and way of war at all. The sheer numbers of civilian dead since 1945 from U.S. military operations – between 8–30 million depending on estimates – the tens of millions more maimed and displaced (2 million in Pakistan alone at present), point to a mass 'collective denial' of 'epidemic' proportions in the political culture. Professor Boggs takes us through the many violations pertaining to the Geneva Conventions and Nuremberg Charter using indiscriminate warfare.

To select just a few, we find that the practice of 'aerial terrorism' has been central to U.S. military strategy. Not until the final months of W.W.II were the rules of warfare so 'mercilessly transcended' as dozens of German urban centres and 66 of the 'subhuman' Japanese defenceless cities were firebombed into incineration with, including the atom bombs, over a million dead. The practice was thoroughly embraced and expanded in Korea with as many as 4 million dead in 'scorched-earth' policies. In Vietnam, '8 million tons of bombs' in wholesale 'carpet bombing' were dropped. Millions dead and often permanent environmental damage was done to health and livelihoods as '19 million gallons of toxic herbicides', and indiscriminate use of napalm and Agent Orange were unleashed on Vietnam. The infamous Phoenix Program of assassination and terror with an estimated 70,000 Vietnamese deaths replete with sadistic torture chambers. Whole populations designated as 'reds' in 'search and destroy' and 'kill 'em all' missions – 'body counts' a ghoulish index of battle success. 'Counter-insurgency' and guerilla warfare blur the line on who is the enemy, a 'terrorist', an 'insurgent' etc. leading to countless more civilian deaths. This was the specialisation of Obama's choice, General Stanley McChrystal, between 2003 and 2008, when he directed the Pentagon's Joint Special Operations (JSO) Command, which operates special teams in overseas assassinations.

¹ See Dr David Ray Griffin, *The New Pearl Harbor: Disturbing Questions About the Bush Administration and 9-11*, (Olive Branch Press, 2004) and *The New Pearl Harbor Revisited: 9/11, the Cover-up and the Exposé*, (Olive Branch Press, 2008). See also 'State Crimes Against Democracy (SCAD)', by professors Peter Phillips and Mickey Huff at <www.mediafreedominternational.org/> and <www.globalresearch.ca>.

A cultural illiteracy among soldiers is widespread.² The old 'war is hell' rationalisation has led to untold crimes of obedience. The infamous My Lai Massacre – the tip of the iceberg – underneath, a *pattern* of atrocities and cover-ups. The military 'code of silence' and stonewalling were the standard institutional response to further investigation.

Weapons of Manifest Destiny

In weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the U.S. 'remains by far the biggest champion'. WMD falls under the following treaties: Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABMT), Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), Outer Space Treaty (OST), Comprehensive Test ban Treaty (CTBT) and relevant statutes in the Geneva Conventions. That a U.S. jury was told in 2006 to include 'airplanes used as missiles' as WMD highlights the arbitrariness surrounding definition of WMD. Professor Boggs identifies *five* distinctive types of WMD: nuclear, biological, chemical, high-order conventional, and sanctions – of which, only biological and chemical are explicitly outlawed. On all five counts, and in multiple instances, the U.S. is guilty of using and proliferating WMD. The U.S.'s exceptionalism extends to serial blocking, bribing, threatening, rejecting, obstructing, and voting against measures in the U.N. to control WMD – defending its sovereign 'right' to manufacture, use, and deploy WMD against *universal* criteria.

A characteristic feature of the US and WMD is that it is always at least one technological step ahead of its future targets. For example: the gun and canon versus the bow and arrow; the atom bomb versus conventional ordinance; sophisticated WMD versus peasant armies; and now soon, if not already, in the twenty-first century, to be in the world's face with 'first-strike' nuclear and next generation technowar from outer space. In Iraq the U.S. is guilty of using WMD – depleted uranium (DU) tipped ordinance, white phosphorous ('Willie Pete'), cluster bombs – in the *blitzkrieg* of Fallujah (the Iraqi Dresden). The city's males aged between 15-45 were ordered not to leave the town for a week while it was raised to the ground and Manifestly Destinized into a toxic and cancerous DU dust bowl. One marine reflecting on Fallujah was quoted in the *LA Times*: 'It's too bad we destroyed everything, but at least we gave them a chance for a new start.' The epidemic of grossly deformed babies, mothers afraid to have children, rocketing cancer rates, and the ruin to future generations of this genotoxic weapon is unconscionable. And

² See <<http://therealnews.com>> for a revealing interview with Josh Stieber, a former soldier in the company which attended the dead and wounded in the recent Wikileaks 'light 'em up' video of the helicopter gunship massacre in Iraq 2007.

in Afghanistan – the U.S.'s second longest war in the supposed Holy Grail quest for former CIA asset and clandestinely funded collaborator against the Soviets, Osama Bin Laden³ – more technowar fantasies are realised by the Pentagon terror entrepreneurs as the U.S. plays empire on the cheap with thousands of civilians caught up in multiple predator drone atrocities from 30,000 feet, ⁴ operated by Playstation generation kids 10,000 miles away. (And in the case of their covert use in sovereign Pakistan, direct from Langley, Virginia.)

DU – used in the first Gulf War, the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and tested in bombing ranges the world over⁵ – fits the war crime category of 'wanton destruction' under the Geneva Convention. Furthermore, 'DU should fall under the rubric of the CWC', though the U.S. can afford to wait till 2023 as their resistance to signing any binding treaty has kicked the issue into touch till then. Similar blocking tactics have also been employed for various biological weaponry relevant under the BWC – all regular hallmarks of U.S. behaviour at the U.N. The 'power projection capability' afforded by WMD 'are now so strategically central to maintaining Empire, such weapons seem nowadays to represent a *non-negotiable* element of U.S. foreign and military policy.' This *pattern* of behaviour extends to everything in international law, most egregiously in the delaying and gutting of the Genocide Accords until a 'sovereignty' clause was inserted for protection against possible prosecution of U.S. citizens in defiance of *universal* political discourses and legal codes.

From the liberal architects of technowar in Vietnam to the Bush Gang, the U.S. is guilty of genocide from the native Indians to Indochina to Iraq – the latter covered under the 1948 U.N. Genocide Convention. The Russell Tribunal in 1967 charged the U.S. with waging genocidal war in Vietnam. ⁶'Superpower immunity from legal action', and not flaws in the Convention (despite minor technical shortcomings), have protected U.S. war planners from ever being brought to justice. More double standards prevail in the various recycled forms of 'victors' justice', from the Balkans to Iraq and from Nuremberg to The Hague – so *ad hoc*, selective and 'legally one-sided as to deny legitimacy'. And so on down the line.

Subcontracted warfare

Proxy warfare is one of the most sinister features and 'the generally *preferred*

³ Who has probably been dead since 2001. See Dr. David Ray Griffin, *Osama Bin Laden: Dead or Alive?* (Olive Branch Press, 2009).

⁴ There are approximately 1,000 in operation now.

⁵ See the Australian documentary by David Bradbury and Peter Scott, *Blowing In The Wind*.

⁶ Member of that commission, Ralph Schoenman, has an excellent weekly radio show at <<http://takingaimradio.com>>.

method' of U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War. This could be done largely out of the media's gaze to achieve economic and geopolitical agendas in tandem with the interests of corrupt local elites – especially in the Americas. Illegal funneling of funds, weapons and drugs; covert operations and support in multiple forms to death squads, ruthless dictatorships and the orchestration of multiple coups d'état; networks of torture centres, secret body dumps and crematoria; the targetting of popular and civic oppositional movements; clearing indigenous peoples from their land – many buried in mass graves; punitive economic sanctions; training given to over '60,000 operatives' at the infamous School of the Americas (conveniently renamed - as is Blackwater) in methods of counterinsurgency, guerilla warfare and civic subversion amounting to a systemic catalogue of war crimes under international law.

Deserving of special attention is the 'client-state outlawry' of America's Middle Eastern imperial outpost, Israel – 'surely the most egregious case of U.S. war crimes by proxy' and example of lawlessness in the post-war era. A veritable microcosm of the U.S. behemoth, Israel, a secret nuclear power, and funded (officially) an average of \$3 billion annually by the U.S., has committed serial violations of the Geneva Conventions, the U.N. Charter, multiple U.N. resolutions, and is a *non*-signatory to many international treaties, most notably WMD and the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Currently, the U.S. and its garrison state (or is it the tail wagging the dog on this one?) are hypocritically and shamelessly targeting Iran, a NPT signatory, for destruction. The U.S.'s greatest champion of the 'war on terror', Israel is an increasingly dangerous and regionally destabilising outlaw in its own right, acting with military impunity in multiple instances. Its contemptuous greater Israel ambitions are likely to prove a source of future regional troubles and an ever increasing public relations and strategic problem for Washington.

Full Spectrum Dominance

A general schema of the trajectory of U.S. imperial ambitions seems to closely correspond with their historical development, especially in economic and technological superiority and its canny relation to competing powers. The particular and exceptional tough messianic nationalist zeal during the 'first foreign wars' of Western expansion, which lead to the closing of the frontier in 1890, gave the U.S. its first and foremost prize – *land*. Soon after, U.S. imperialism took to the seas in the successful Spanish-American War for empire. Helped incalculably by the inter-imperial fratricide of European competitors during W.W.II, and their own fast developing technowar capabilities, much of it delivered from the *air*, the U.S. emerged as a real

superpower post-W.W.II. The 'final frontier', it seems, is control of *space* and the Pentagon's plan for 'Full Spectrum Dominance' of land, air, sea, and space.

Any hopes that Obama might reverse 200 years of American imperial logic and history is probably asking a bit much. That he might reverse the Bush Doctrine and its criminal agenda is *not*. His presidential style is far more genteel and urbane than the outright cowboy primitivism of Bush and the flagrant 'bomb bomb bomb, bomb bomb Iran' tendencies of the warhead, McCain.⁷ The following trends, however, seem to confirm Professor Boggs' interim assessment that the 'hope and change' hysteria ultimately 'lack[ed] empirical grounding.' Obama's record of troop escalation; retention of the Patriot Act and the whole Bush police state infrastructure; *increased* funding for National Missile Defence (NMD); authorising extra-judicial assassinations of U.S. citizens in foreign lands (almost everyone else is fair game of course); the 'terrible precedent' in granting legal immunity to the Bush torturers – over 100 uninvestigated post-9-11 detainee 'deaths' – on the grounds that they 'carried out their duties in good faith upon legal advice' (Obama's words); i.e. Eichmann-was-only-following-orders style admonishment.

Lipstick on the pig

Although the new Obama administration represented a modest progressive departure from the Bush policies, the trend towards war with Iran points to the rabid neocon-AIPAC infiltration of the power structure. Washington, at least in terms of military and foreign policy, it appears, is still largely a neocon operation. Among his new Cabinet, the financial, defence, foreign, and Chief of Staff appointments in particular, are representative of more 'continuity'. At a time when an end to the wider imperial and police state policies of Bush was never so needed, real popular desire for change has been *de facto* railroaded into the symbolic dead end of corporate identity politics. An accomplished hypnotist who makes people feel good, brand Obama successfully appealed to the mass inculcated infantilism present in the majority of the American public, and even much of the 'postmodern liberal intelligentsia'. The slick Madison Avenue marketed left-cover facelift for the empire the camouflaged mailed fist within the brand-new velvet glove. The pop idol campaign and presidency proved, alas, only a placebo. Despite the attractive new shade, it seems 'you can't put lipstick on a pig' after all. (Filled more with pageantry akin to royalty, the office of the presidency itself is increasingly a front man role and exercise in style over substance. Real power lies behind it, and *de facto*, elsewhere. After all, there is an empire out there to be run.)

⁷ Sing it to to the Beach Boys' 'Ba ba ba, Ba Barbara Ann'.

The deeper you look at the U.S. a dangerous Jekyll and Hyde structure and character appears – a pathology akin to the criminal ‘structural unconscious’ addressed in the foreword to the book. For example: democracy at home – empire abroad; total military force – bankrupt moral force; free market economics – Keynesian warfare state; democracy – oligarchy; liberal-democratic illusion – postmodern corporatism; republic – empire; democracy for us – client puppet government for you; free enterprise – bailout; Wall Street – main street; civil rights – Patriot Act; concentrated state power – decreased civil rights; gunslinger cowboy – constitutional lawyer; Born In The U.S.A. – *not* born in the USA; no WMD for you – plenty for us; we’re the good guys – you’re the bad guys; free fire zones abroad – free speech zones at home; peace loving – war making; and replete with crime, double standards and hypocrisy in the ‘too big to fail and too big to jail’ systemic world financial fraud, and so on. Its ideological cover is wearing increasingly thin. The U.S. is fast becoming an ideological phantom! And the Orwellian doublethink laden in U.S. ruling motifs are no less noxious despite the new shade of ‘lipstick on the pig’.

Madness in high places

The Crimes Of Empire is a necessary cognitive dissonance-inducing antidote for the vanquishing of the ever more dangerous ruling hegemonic and warped *Weltanschauungskrieg* ideology of the Pentagon phantom, whose putrescent spectre inhabits the political unconscious of the whole of a dangerously militarist and pseudo-nationalist U.S. society. It is given eternal life in a beholden ‘lap-dog’ media and walks rife in the bureaucratic ‘scientific bomb cult’ military-industrial-intelligence-community – a vast secret hydra of interlocking bureaucracies (with private connections) vastly over funded for the benefit of empire at the cannibalistic expense of the republic, and ultimately the world.

The U.S. Empire is an increasingly unstable western military and financial geopolitical amalgam of domination and control under U.S. hegemony of the majority of the planet and its resources for the unfettered free reign of corporate globalisation. A neo-liberal, neo-colonial, predatory finance, central bank warfare model, the diminishing returns of which, at least in the short-medium term, are becoming plainer for all the world to see. (Its unsustainable fiscal problems notwithstanding, the U.S. appears to be heading for a collective nervous breakdown.)

It appears the U.S. National Security State in its widest economic, military, intelligence and corporate sense is *driving* this anti-democratic hegemonic agenda, and pursued largely without congressional or public

awareness. (Do any of our political class really know, or want to know what we are doing in Afghanistan?) The recent revelations regarding The Joint Unconventional Warfare Task Force Execute Order, signed on 30 September 2009, sanctioned a major expansion of clandestine military operations in both hostile and friendly countries. Popular Congressman, Ron Paul, has openly stated in recent months that there has been a CIA coup in America! Daniel Ellsberg, who says the coup began on 9-11, has said that Obama is deceiving the American public as Kennedy, LBJ, and Nixon did through Vietnam. The 2011 exit date is 'false' and 'Vietnamistan' lies ahead (as the leaked cables of November 2009 from Afghanistan Ambassador Eikenberry – another former general – show). General Stanley – 'We have shot an amazing number of people, but to my knowledge, none has ever proven to be a threat' – McChrystal's surge is likely to be a costly failure.⁸ Ellsberg went on, 'Ambassador Eikenberry's cables read like a summary of the Pentagon Papers for Afghanistan!' Such trends – and there are hundreds more – only reinforce Professor Bogg's prescient argument in his *Imperial Delusions* (2004) of an out of control and criminal 'power structure....increasingly addicted to militarism and war'.

In your face from outer space

The official 'war on terror' and the concomitant, unofficial black-ops shadow programme – recall Rumsfeld's press announcement of a \$2.3 trillion black hole of 'missing' funds in the Pentagon's accounts on, conveniently, September 10 2001 – is a cover for empire. The bonanza this entails for the proliferating mercenary private military contractors (PMCs) such as Blackwater – illegally operating in Iraq and elsewhere with *de facto* diplomatic immunity – is nothing short of a licence for wholesale international neo-piracy. It is sociopathic gangster capitalism gone global. (The new 'no-bid contract' prostitutes can kill freely for a living, while Mickey Mouse secretly drives a tank.) The many operations carried out on the basis of it are not only dangerous and destabilising, but are *illegal* under both U.S. and international law.

Furthermore, a final and all encapsulating example of the dangerously Strangelovian U.S. character, its contemptuous outlawry and naked geopolitical ambition, is the objective to scrap, or 'renegotiate' the 1967 Outer Space Treaty (OST), which specified that space should be reserved for entirely peaceful uses. Ominously, a recent U.N. resolution (despite being) signed by 138 nations designed to short-circuit any further arms race in outer space, was not signed by the U.S. and Israel alone. The next generation Star Wars, National Missile Defense (NMD) programme (motto: 'In your face from outer

⁸ <www.nytimes.com/2010/03/27/world/asia/27afghan.html>

space') is a 'Trojan horse' for the coming illegal weaponisation of space. This involves nuclear fuelled and armed satellites orbiting the earth as part of the wider strategic imperial aim of 'Full Spectrum Dominance'. The 'first-strike' capacity in the programme is central to the Pentagon's quest for 'space hegemony' – a sinister strategy for *earthly* domination.

U.S. outlawry has reached dangerously unprecedented levels. *The Crimes Of Empire* injects much needed discussion of this into the public discourse and extensively documents U.S. war crimes first and foremost from a legal point of view, which any unbiased reader can discern. The moral, political, and wider social implications contained in the analysis transcend a mere legal critique and the failure and systemic subversion of the fledgling post-war *Zeitgeist* by the U.S.'s *über*-outlawry is dissected brilliantly. As most Americans prefer 'to look the other way', the evidence points to the inevitable conclusion that the unparalleled criminality of the U.S. leads right to the top. This is a must read for those who wish to see the real democratic practice of international law and a new *Zeitgeist* united.

Addendum

The recently sacked (likely a neocon manoeuvre) ex-director of national intelligence, retired Admiral Dennis Blair, told Congress in February last year, that the world-wide economic crisis is the single greatest threat to the national security of the United States, trumping even global terrorism and the proliferation of WMD. Here's a thought for our unruly, yet often likeable cowboy cousins as we look from this *side* of the pond over to the 'City On The Hill'. As Robert Burns might say:

O, wad some Power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!
It wad frae monie a blunder free us,
An' foolish notion.....'
The best laid plans.....o' empire...

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