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**Fear-based Security:  
The Political Economy of 'Threat'**

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**Fear: Fueled by Politics, Righteousness, & Profit**

"This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. ... So, first of all, *let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself*—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror ... In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."<sup>1</sup>

As others have note, the messages that the world lives with during President Bush's presidency are in direct opposition to the much-quoted "Nothing to Fear but Fear Itself" first Inaugural Address by President F.D. Roosevelt in 1933. Nothing between the messages of Bush and Roosevelt are comparable—the emphasis on truth, the call for courage rather than fear, and perhaps more compelling is the rhetoric of a nation 'as a good neighbour'. Likewise, a highly criti-

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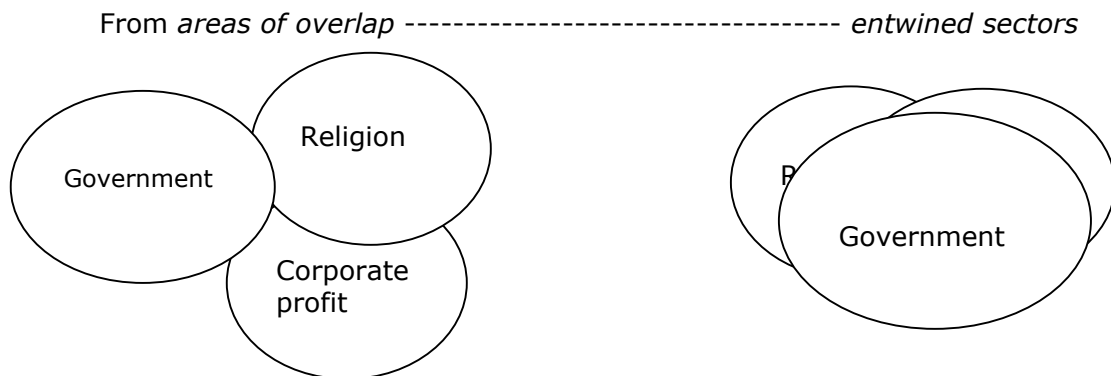
1. "Nothing to Fear but Fear Itself", Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5057/>

cized speech given by Clinton at Georgetown University following 9/11 reveals an un-Bush-like rhetorical approach.<sup>2</sup> He was accused of having placed some of the 'blame' on America. Quoting a few snippets, he stated:

"... the ultimate purpose of terrorism is not to win military victories anyway but to terrorize, to make you afraid to get up in the morning, afraid of the future, and afraid of each other. ... no terrorist campaign has ever succeeded, and this one won't if you don't give it permission. ... We have to win the fight we're in but we also have to create more partners and reduce the terrorist pool. ...Then we have to be smart enough to get rid of our arrogant self-righteousness so that we don't claim for ourselves things that we deny for others."<sup>3</sup>

More important than the speech itself was the intolerance of critics who have read into this speech a *disloyalty* to America. To criticize, is to be anti-American, and in Bush's terminology, you are with us or against us, with no middle ground for critique. While rhetoric may be seen to be only words, the specific words that are chosen are important in framing an issue and determining the response and then justifying the consequences. Bush's rhetoric is deliberate—handed to him perhaps—but essential to an over-all plan.

This paper is about a convergence of fear-making 'machines'—driven by a overlap of motives that are political, corporate and religions. While it can be argued that there has always been an overlap of these interest groups, the evidence suggests that rather than an overlap of distinct groups, the groups themselves coalesce. If pictures lend any further clarity:



Shortly after the attacks of 9/11, I was asked to prepare a paper on *Policing with a National Security Agenda* which was intended as a paper to catalogue some of the immediate responses to 9/11 and also some of the most significant consequences for identified segments of the population arising from those responses—responses both in Canada and internationally. In that paper I chronicled the *opportunism* that characterized so many aspects of the international responses to the

2. Although, what might have followed operationally is unknown.

3. Remarks as delivered by President William Jefferson Clinton, Georgetown University, November 7, 2001

attacks. In agreeing to write this paper, I saw it as an opportunity to revisit some of those issues and see whether the three years in-between had brought clearer thinking and more reasoned responses. There was a sense that some of the immediate government responses might in fact be 'cooled' as time progressed beyond the visual horror of the tumbling towers. That does not appear to be happening. The nature of the threat and the potential 'gains' to be derived from exploitation of any potential threat has meant that rather than a gradual rationalizing of the responses, the opposite is true. I also argue and attempt to show that rather than single acts of turning the attacks into an opportunity to get additional resources, powers or technological 'toys',<sup>4</sup> the main institutions (politics, religion, corporate) within the United States have incorporated 9/11 fundamentally into their long-term strategies—into their business and operational plans.

The advantage of topics like terrorism, organized crime or any other ill-defined concept is that it can metamorphose into a very different degree and type of threat under the pens (or the computer equivalent) of writers representing either different disciplines or different vested interest—or both. In addition to presumed need for changes, opportunism abounded! In government, officials speak of 'windows of opportunity'—i.e. moments in time that allowed for new policies or laws to be passed which the public or the opposition would not normally have agreed to. The planes through the towers left in their wake windows of opportunity for many agencies, and in some cases for individuals to benefit with new powers, resources or mandate and in the case of a few academics, new reputations to be made. From down in the pit at ground zero, out to the far reaches of the globe, agencies and individuals looked to capitalize on terrorism.

All national security matters have been traditionally cloaked in secrecy. How does one know if Canadian *or any countries* responses will work effectively to curb the threats from organized crime/corruption/terrorism if one does not know accurately what those threats are? It has been called a propaganda war and one does not want to mess with the desired tone of the message. As Bush has said, 'you are with us, or you are with the terrorists'.<sup>5</sup> In this address to the Congress, September 20, 2001, Bush launched what was to be a continuing theme:

"We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime."

This Congressional speech began the long series of 'fear' speeches which, told the American people and the world that there was much to be afraid of—and the answer lay in amassing power and being able to destroy preemptedly whatever

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4. The example I have used of the most blatant opportunism was the former Metropolitan Toronto Police Chief trying to justify the purchase of a much desired helicopter on the grounds of fighting terrorism.

5. Globe & Mail, September 21, 2001, A1

appeared to have the potential of being, *or of becoming*, a threat to the United States. It outlined a vision for a strong American leadership in the world, a leadership that would project America's power and influence in a fear-ridden world. The message of fear has become a mantra that is intended to impact the thinking and the actions of the American people—and the world.

“Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom – the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time – now depends on us. Our nation – this generation – will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.”

We see invariable in any ‘moral panic’ situation the role played by ‘experts’ in framing the debate and justifying the responses. The attacks on the United States produced all sorts of experts. Following Stanley Cohen’s classic ‘moral panic’<sup>6</sup> sequence, we continue to be treated following 9/11 to warnings of some impending or potential terrorist acts—warnings that can only provoke fear but offer no actual ability for the ordinary citizen to respond rationally. In many cases, the hype of the panic overshadows the lack of credentials of those who offer the most vociferous opinions. The threat is seen to be *foreign* but *inside* our communities and is hence perceived to be both a betrayal and deadly. As Bush stated in January 2002:

“States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world....”We’ll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world’s most destructive weapons.”<sup>7</sup>

More immediately following 9/11, we were warned via a colour-coded terrorism-risk scheme of the amount of fear we should experience—at what point we should wrap our houses in duck tape. In February of 2003, after President Bush’s Homeland Security Council raised the national threat level from yellow to orange due to what they termed “a high amount of ‘chatter’ being intercepted by intelligence agencies”, a Departmental release urged Americans to take steps to prepare for a possible attack. What can the average American do ‘to prepare’?

Answer: “U.S. Fire Administrator David Paulison’s advised that Americans should buy duct tape and plastic sheeting to be prepared to protect themselves and their homes in the event of a biological, chemical or radiological attack.” Major home improvement stores, especially in the New York and Washington areas, reported selling out of duct tape the following day.<sup>8</sup> When one wasn’t duct-taping their homes, what could one do for protection? As Frank Pearce observed, in separate

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6. Stan Cohen (1980), *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, Martin Robertson, Oxford, (1972 first edition).

7. “Answering the ‘Wolfowitz (Bush) Doctrine’ on American Empire”, by Jon Basil Utley, August 24, 2001, <http://www.antiwar.com/rep/utley4.html>

8. “Duct tape sales rise amid terror fears”, by Jeanne Meserve, *CNN*, February 11, 2003.

speeches Vice-President Cheney, House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, and President Bush all asked the American people to “maintain their normal level of economic activity”—basically ‘go shopping’.<sup>9</sup>

In March 2005, the Department of Homeland Security identified, for the American people, dozens of ‘plausible and devastating’ sites for future terrorist attacks. No terrorist groups are identified in the documents, rather the ‘enemy’ is referred to as the ‘Universal Adversary’.<sup>10</sup> Quoting the agency: “The agency’s objective is not to scare the public and they have no credible intelligence that such attacks are planned”. As a victim’s wife said in the 9/11Report: “The clock is ticking on the next attack”.<sup>11</sup>

Given this hype and the political fall-out that would occur if politicians and ‘experts’ were to underestimate the likelihood of another attack, ‘knowing’ what the real threats are becomes impossible. One is not particularly convinced by the comments of the former Canadian Minister of Justice, Anne McLellan, in response to the various criticisms of the ‘reach’ of the proposed anti-terrorism bill: “Gosh, you know, I wish you were in my shoes for 24 hours. I wish you know what I know...”<sup>12</sup> Anyone who has worked with the police in any capacity, knows how useful this claim to ‘special, secret’ knowledge can be, when wider circulation of the information might do no harm and prompt very different responses from people sitting in similar ‘shoes’.

The fact remains however, that there may be nothing ‘new’ about the cause, the scale, or the individual fear that has been generated by the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks. What are profoundly different are the specific target and the media attention that it generated. And yes—citizens in North America and perhaps western nations do fear that they are vulnerable in a way that had been reserved for other citizens in whose lives terrorist acts are possibly even common. Perhaps rather than a ‘new era’ of ‘new’ terrorist threats, the lesson to be derived from the attacks ought to have been an awareness of the pre-existing insecurities, encouraging an appreciation of the atrocities occurring world-wide and the social, economic and political responses that fuel ongoing acts of violence.

The loudest voices during the early period immediately following the attacks tended to support the more extreme interpretation. Under this belief system, countries agreed to significant changes with little opposition in order to fight the scourge of terrorism and with little consideration given to whether or not the changes would relate in any real way to greater security—and hence called for an all-out ‘war’ against terrorists that was in many cases translated into draconian

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9. Frank Pearce, “Sacrifice, Crime, Corruption and Capitalism” article written for the Winter 2005 *Nathanson Centre Newsletter*, pp. 14-16.

10. “U.S. Report Lists Possibilities for terrorist Attacks and Likely Toll”, by Eric Lipton, *New York Times*, March 16, 2005.

11. *9/11 Report: The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, St. Martin’s Paperbacks, 2004. p. xxxiii

12. Kent Roach, *September 11: Consequences for Canada*, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003. See footnote 77 page 224, in reference to text on page 75.

laws, broadened policing powers, military enhancements and closer alignment with the United States.

There is an irony in the position taken by the high profile human rights advocates from both the United States and Canada. In the United States, we saw, heard and read, in a quick-off-the-mark media blitz by Michael Ignatieff, (Professor of the Practice of Human Rights at Harvard University) expressing his support for the Iraq war. In his view (one of his 'competing' views) preemptive strikes are on occasion appropriate when: *the moral justification for preemption proceed from our verifiable, imminent evidence of attack*. When the basis for this evidence was shown to be lacking he stated:

"One of the things that must disturb anybody like me [Note, he doesn't say that it *did* disturb him] who supported the war in Iraq was the ways in which the case was made to the American and British peoples. I would not accuse either government of deliberate, outright lying or deception, but the case was not as candid as it should have been."<sup>13</sup>

While his stated opinions already get too much coverage, further comments of his demand exposure because they are indicative of the convoluted self-aggrandizing thinking that has permeated the issues around terror. Having stated that one needs *irrefutable knowledge of imminent danger*, he argues that there has been too much emphasis on 'motive' for going to war and not enough on 'consequence'. He goes on to say that he is aware that oil, Halliburton and "an endless number of motives" were part of the 'mix' but that for him:

"I had made the human rights judgment that 26 million Iraqis would be better off as a consequence of these acts. My judgment was based on the consequences rather than the intentions."<sup>14</sup>

The view from Harvard might be a little different than the view from Baghdad. Those 26 million Iraqis may have suffered some moments of doubt while being 'shocked and awed'. The 'shock and awe' strategy did not however just affect Iraq but rather promoted fear around the world—fear for the civilians on the ground; fear for who next might be a target of such awesome power; and fear for what type of retaliation might follow.

In Canada, Liberal backbencher and human rights lawyer/scholar and advocate Irwin Cotler, (currently the Attorney General) was one of the speakers during 2001 at the *Security of Freedom U of T Workshop* following September 11<sup>th</sup>.<sup>15</sup> Determining where Cotler might draw the line in terms of anti-terror legislation and enhances powers is hard to say. Within the same article, he expressed a

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13. Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs: *Worldview Breakfast Program*, "The Lesser Evil: Hard Choices in a War on Terror" Michael Ignatieff, Edited transcript of remarks, January 23, 2004.

14. Ibid.

15. R. Daniels, P. Macklem, and K. Roach (2001), *The Security of Freedom: Essays on Canada's Anti-terrorism Bill*, U of T Press.

concern with the breadth of the legislation but then refers to the “new transnational super-terrorism” and at another point uses the phrase “transnational super-terrorist suicide bombers”.<sup>16</sup> As the Attorney General of Canada he declared in April 2005 that he was expanding the use of control measures (house arrest, electronic monitoring, etc) for suspected terrorists to include Canadians as well as foreigners in those cases where there was not enough evidence to convict them of a crime. Citing a need for fairness and equality, the argument is that Canadian citizens should be treated the same as foreigners—a righting of an obviously unjust situation that the UK has also corrected.

How far have we shifted since 2001? At that time, Cotler referred to the large number of people he had defended from repressive regimes and he said that he had resorted to a “checklist” of essential due process safeguards:

- the right to know the particulars of the offence and charges laid (hence no over-broad or vague offences);
- the basic right to information including the right to know the nature of the adverse evidence, the right to access the evidence collected against him or her (hence no suppression of information), the right to be able to confront witness testimony, and the right to be able to rebut adverse evidence;
- the right to retain and instruct counsel, and the right to confer with counsel before a police interrogation, during the trial, and at any other critical stage in the proceedings against him or her;
- the protection of the right to counsel and solicitor-client privilege/confidentiality;
- the right to remain silent;
- the right against self-incrimination.
- the right to protection against coercive interrogation;
- the right to a fair and public trial.<sup>17</sup>

Now, one might agree that these ‘essential’ protections could be ignored under very extraordinary circumstances. Therefore, underlying much of the controversy, lies the unanswered question as to whether or not the attacks in New York and Washington signaled an era of profoundly different terrorism—i.e. more irrational, more frequent, and more massively destructive. This is the preferred message of some politicians, some media, some academics, and of course the entire US Homeland Security group. Academics debate the issue and review each other’s work negatively or positively based on these competing beliefs. For example in Canada, two University of Toronto academics Kent Roach and Wesley Wark disagree on the nature of the terrorist situation. Wesley Wark refers to “the new security environment” and criticizes Roach for failing to appreciate these new ‘realities’.<sup>18</sup>

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16. “Does the anti-terrorism bill go too far? No: we need powerful new tools to fight the new global terror threat”, by Irwin Cotler, *Globe & Mail*, November 20, 2001. See also: Roach p. 81.

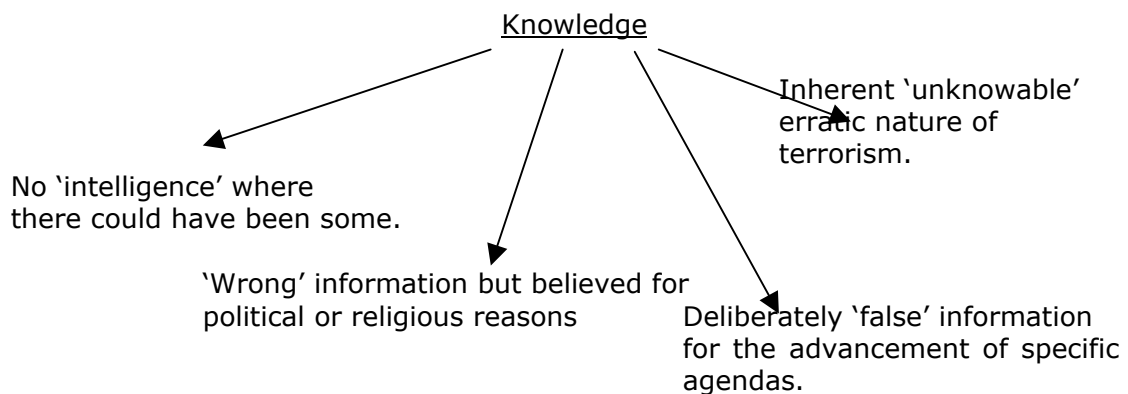
17. “Thinking Outside the Box: Foundational Principles for a Counter-Terrorism Law and Policy” by The Hon., Dr. Irwin Cotler, P.C., M.P, *November 9, 2001*.

18. Kent Roach is the author of *September 11: Consequences for Canada*, McGill-Queen’s University press, 2003. Wesley Wark reviewed this book for the *Globe & Mail*, Saturday, July 12, 2003.

### Searching for the 'Truth'

It is perhaps to Michael Foucault that one ought to turn to understand the tight relationship between power and knowledge or power and truth-claims. Against the notion that 'truth' is somehow neutral, Foucault argues that discourses produce 'truths' and each society has a regime—or a 'general politics' of truth for determining *who*, *when*, and *how* statements can be made that count as true.<sup>19</sup> Trying to piece together the overlapping quilt of discourses that bring information to the general public (of course the public is itself a non-neutral body) requires venturing into realms that may appear to be far afield from a more narrow look at threats and terrorism.

In trying to make sense of all of the layers of discourse surrounding the post 9/11 security environment, it appears there are four bodies of interpretation as illustrated below.



These four streams may appear to be distinct but they merge and overlap and in so doing confirm the basic Foucauldian and Mertonian premise: You find what you look for and you look where the conventional knowledge regimes or direct self-interest tell you is appropriate. These regimes include divergent orientations—including politics, religion, business, and law.

The 'easy' streams may appear to be the outside two. However, even these are rift with politics. The first one speaks to actual intelligence gaps regarding what was known and what should have been known and what actions should have been taken—not just in New York and Washington but in Spain, Morocco, Bali or wherever. Having this intelligence might have produced a different international political picture.

The far-side stream is merely meant to acknowledge that intelligence regarding terrorism may in fact always be inadequate due to the near-limitless opportunities for terrorist acts given: sufficient motivation; the individual inadequacies of the intelligence officers; the limits to the availability or capability of technology; the

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19. Michael Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Ed. Colin Gordon, Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980. See also Alan Hunt and Gary Wickham, *Foucault and Law: Towards a Sociology of Law as Governance*, Pluto press, 1994, London.

'fluctuating' commitment to manage and analyze what is too often a glut of 'information' enroute to 'intelligence; and, the constant potential for 'wrong' information that diverts resources away from other targets. In policing literature this is referred to as 'noble-cause' corruption where the analyst or police officer *knows* something to be true and therefore speeds the process along by fabricating or destroying the evidence or simple by ignoring other leads in favour of the preferred suspect. On occasion when these intelligence gaps are exposed, we might be too inclined to assume an institutional (or individual) conspiracy, while in fact the involved agency officials might merely have been inept, lazy, or naive!

### Politics and 'Truth'

The difficulty arises that hidden within these intelligence 'gaps' will be vested interests and advantageous omissions with the result that information is altered, 'created' or ignored and is not a 'gap' in any real sense. For example, what was the situation before and after the US attacks, and before and after the war against Iraq? A series of Commissions and Inquiries have looked at what 'went wrong'. Bush's Commission, led by Judge Laurence Silberman and former Sen. Charles Robb, that investigated the role of Pre-Iraq War Intelligence, acknowledged 'serious flaws' in the operation of the nation's intelligence agencies. Silberman noted that the C.I.A., while disputing the relationship between Hussein and Al Qaeda, were however "absolutely uniform and uniformly wrong" about the weapons of mass destruction. The Commissioners concluded:

"Our collection agencies are often unable to gather intelligence on the very things we care the most about."<sup>20</sup>

What was not acknowledged was any judgments on how the President and his Cabinet used or misused the information it received about Iraq's weapons programs. Critics contend that the administration had a longstanding plan for launching an invasion of Iraq regardless of what the intelligence agencies produced. According to one of the Commissioners:

"... investigators examined every allegation "to see if there was any occasion where a member of the administration or anyone else had asked an analyst or anyone else associated with the intelligence community to change a position they were taking or whether they felt there was any undue influence. And we found absolutely no instance."<sup>21</sup>

### How can we determine 'intent' to deceive?

**First**, examining the 'question' is often more important than the 'answer'. When you choose to hold an Inquiry, the political input might relate to the mandate that is assigned to that 'fact-finding' body. The Bush Commission Report—which

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20. "Commission gives U.S. intelligence failing grade; 'dead wrong' on Iraq", by Katherine Shrad, *CBC News*, April 13, 2005, <http://www.cbc.ca/cp/world/050331/w033178.html>

21. *ibid*

claimed it found no evidence that Bush officials pressured intelligence analysts to slant their reports—points out in a footnote to their Report that:

“Our review has been limited by our charter to the question of alleged policymaker pressure on the Intelligence Community to shape its conclusions to conform to the policy preferences of the Administration. *There is a separate issue of how policymakers used the intelligence they were given and how they reflected it in their presentations to Congress and the public.* That issue is not within our charter and we therefore did not consider it nor do we express a view on it.”<sup>22</sup> (emphasis mine)

In the lead-up to the attacks on Iraq, we have notes scribbled by Rumsfelt to his people asking basically for anything and everything that could be used to justify a switch from Afghanistan to Iraq: “go massive—sweep it all up—things related and not”.<sup>23</sup>

**Second**, another way might be to see what happens to the people who ‘mess up’—or depending on the objective, deliver an alternative facilitating product:

“The Bush administration's honoring and promotion of key officials answerable for the flawed intelligence, provides insight into the priorities of a White House seemingly uninterested in accountability.”<sup>24</sup>

As questioned by a government nonproliferation expert with experience dealing with intelligence analysts:

“The commission focuses on how and why the dogs barked [and got it wrong]. The real point, however, is: why didn't someone look out the window? And why have no policymakers taken responsibility, anywhere, for drastically wrong assessments on Iraq?”<sup>25</sup>

**Third**, an additional ‘test’ might be to detect how seriously the so-called ‘fact-finding’ inquiries are taken? During the Senate hearings into his ‘candidacy’ for the position of the new Director of the National Intelligence agency, John Negroponte who Bush has put forward to head this agency, stated that he had read only ‘the executive summary’ of the Senate intelligence committee's 500-page report on the intelligence failures regarding WMDs in Iraq. Unfortunately there was no Executive Summary—only a summary of recommendations. When asked

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22. “WMD Commission Continues the Stonewall for Bush”, by David Corn, April 1, 2005, <http://www.commondreams.org/cgi-bin/print.cgi?file=/views05/0401-33.htm>

23. *Hijacking Catastrophe: 9/11, Fear, and the Selling of American Empire*, Kineticvideo.com, media Education Foundation.

24. “Presidential Commission Finds U.S. Spy Agencies at Fault”, by Scott Harris, *Between the Lines*, April 7, 2005 at 05:21 AM. See also: “A Final verdict on Prewar intelligence is Still Elusive”, by Todd Purdum, *The New York Times*, April 1, 2005. Condoleezza Rice became Secretary of state; Stephen Hadley, National Security Advisor promoted; Wolfowitz former Deputy Defense Secretary becomes the President of the World Bank.

25. “WMD Commission Continues the Stonewall for Bush”, by David Corn, *Common Dreams News Center*, April 1, 2005, <http://www.commondreams.org/cgi-bin/print.cgi?file=/views05/0401-33.htm>

whether he had read the 618-page report on WMD intelligence failures recently released by the Commission created by Bush, Negroponte replied: "A lot of it and the recommendations".<sup>26</sup> *A lot of it?* As one critic argued:

"A Democratic senator should have thundered, "If you really want to do this job right, don't you think you should have taken a few hours and read the entire reports on the most recent big screw-up of the intelligence establishment?"<sup>27</sup>

**Fourth**—revelations that much of the 'intelligence' came to the CIA via a defector controlled by the German intelligence service, with the code-name "Curveball" might have alerted them to potential dangers regarding his credibility!

## Rhetoric for Action

"Washington—a city of denials, spin, and political calculations. They may speak English there, but most citizens still need an interpreter to understand its ways and meanings."<sup>28</sup>

Part of the propaganda involves a 'new' vocabulary—the use of familiar words but with meanings that are *opposite* from what any dictionary might suggest. Two words are key *Security* and *Democracy*.

## Security

Much has been written about the quest for security. As Errol Mendes states:

"In this new battlefield between crime and war, the governments and citizens of the leading democratic societies in the world raced to enact new legislation or strengthen existing legislation that aimed at providing enhanced security to its citizens".<sup>29</sup>

The only difficulty is that no one knows exactly what security is or where it resides!

The demand is for 'greater' security, 'more' security, 'better' security—or just plain security. This demand is problematic—as described by Mariana Valverde:

"'Security' is not something we can have more or less of because it is not a thing at all...[it is] the name we use for a temporally extended state of affairs characterized by the calculability and predictability of the future... The impossibility of guaranteeing security is rooted in the fact that like justice, and like democracy, 'security' is not so much an empirical state of

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26. "Negroponte & Bolton: Beating the Democrats", by David Corn, *The Nation*, April 12, 2005.

27. <http://intelligence.senate.gov/iraqreport2.pdf>

28. *The Nation*, April 12, 2005. P. 1

29. *Between Crime and War: Terrorism, Democracy and the Constitution*, Special Issue, National Journal of Constitutional Law, Vol. 14.1 Thomson/ Carswell, 2002. Editor-in-Chief's Introduction, page 1.

affairs but an ideal—an ideal in the name of which a vast number of procedures, gadgets, social relations, and political institutions are designed and deployed”.<sup>30</sup>

Valverde refers to the US criminal law scholar Jonathan Simon who argues that in the US immigration and poverty have increasingly been ‘governed *through* crime’. We are now seeing a trend internationally of ‘governance through security’—whereby all forms of governing i.e. immigration procedures for example, are determined mainly through the ‘security’ lens. She says:

“When politicians wave abstractions around like flags—abstractions like ‘security’ or for that matter ‘freedom’—citizens should be immediately suspicious.”

<sup>31</sup>

Hence—everything that anyone ever wanted rid of—is now linked to terrorism. Money laundering is linked to terrorism. Likewise organized crime and drug trafficking are linked to terrorism—most everything is linked to terrorism! A sense of the ‘dangerous other’ lurks behind some of the most current rhetoric, policies and legislation.

The emphasis on ‘security’ did not start with September 11—it did however become a subject that tolerated no debate or critique after that date. In the post cold-war environment, phrases such as “new security issues”, “non-traditional security threats”, “transnational crime threats”, and “regional security issues” were used to express a broadening of the notion of insecurities. There was a tendency for cynics and critics to see some of the wider use of “security” rhetoric (i.e. the sweeping of former serious ‘crimes’ into the national security net) as an attempt on the part of national security agencies (CIA, CSIS, MI5, etc.) to secure their organizational futures. There may have been some truth to these suspicions. However, any degree of blatant, calculated self-interest in the plotting for additional resources is in some ways less problematic than the spread of a believe in the unproven effectiveness of the various enforcement ‘wars’—on crime in general; on organized crime; on drugs; and now most specifically on terrorism.

Prior to September 11, ‘war’ discourse argued that the criminal activity incidental to the end of the Cold War was international, extraordinary, and *new* and hence requires the shifting of existing resources to those organizations left starving for a mandate and resources: the military, security services, intelligence agencies. Swept up in this grab for additional powers, or to maintain their existing resources, or to appease a constituency, were the usual suspects: law enforcement, politicians and the media. Since September 2001, terrorism supplements all other lesser threats with a slightly different perspective that focuses more on the nature of the border and the symbolic and/or real reasons for maintaining one’s border.

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30. “Governing Security, Governing Through Security”, in: R.J.Daniels, P. Macklem and Kent Roach (2002), *Security of Freedom: Essays on Canada’s Anti-terrorism Bill*, U of T Press, p. 85.

31. Ibid. p. 89

The 'terrorist' enemy has become the 'dangerous foreigner in our midst'—with the 'policing' task being to identify, remove, and incapacitate these persons.

However, at the same time during the late 1980's and 1990's that national security was being broadened—a new form of security i.e. 'human security' was being declared the focus of Canadian foreign policies. The broader notion of human security was actively advanced by Canadian officials. The emphasis was placed on recognizing that the focus on *human security* required "new" responses that were equally broad—that looked to root causes and social solutions. The Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, then Minister for Foreign Affairs in a much-quoted speech at York University in 1996 called for:

"...a response that links security, economic and social development and governance and that addresses the real problems of particular regions and states". (1996 York University Speech)

Now, as Michelle Lowry describes, there are several competing notions of what human security is—and a government position that has shifted considerably over time.<sup>32</sup> I would argue that a change in Foreign Affairs Ministers, plus September 11<sup>th</sup> has served to revert the Canadian 'security' focus from 'human security' (with the responses appropriate to human security) to 'national security' (with the traditional national security responses). The word security is customarily located beside the word "threat". The traditional response in the West to a "security threat" is a military response. Lowry argues that in fact the Government position shifted even while the words 'human security' were still being used. She quotes from the 2002 Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's website that maintains that the major threats to human security had become terrorism, drug trafficking and the illicit trade in small arms:

"... this new generation of threats shows no respect for national borders and inevitably becomes the source of our own insecurity."<sup>33</sup>

Hence, protection of Canadian borders becomes a human security *and a* national security issue. However, human security priorities are now defined much the same as national security priorities. What is lost is the 'original' concern for root causes. In addition, there is little appreciation that a national security focus might actually be in direct contrast with human security interests. Canadians should not see a government response based on more policing powers and greater surveillance to necessarily impact positively on their security needs—perceived or otherwise. Peter Manning documents this trend to obtain 'security' based on responses to the images or icons or 'visual data' rather than from a deeper or context-based

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32. "Creating Human Insecurity: The National security Focus in Canada's Immigration System", by Michelle Lowry, *Refuge*, Vol. 21 #1, November 2002. 28-39.

33. "What's New: Human Security in Action" [http://www.humansecurity.qc.ca/whatsnew\\_action-e.asp](http://www.humansecurity.qc.ca/whatsnew_action-e.asp), (accessed 28 July 2002).

knowledge of what occurred and why. How many of the past September 11 initiatives are either symbolic or actually designed for ulterior purposes?<sup>34</sup>

These shocks to the banality of everyday existence, threats from a distant and mysterious source, produce what Howard P. Becker called "a normative reaction to normlessness," and sustain the underlying paranoid potential of American mass politics. ... these vague fears are amplified and exaggerated daily by the mass media, in particular television, and there are few if any contrary voices that reduce or minimize such fears.

### Democracy

President Bush uses the word *democracy* in most of his post-Afganistan/Iraq speeches. In an interview with a former CIA operative, Philip Agee, we learn about the new American program, which has become known as "Project Democracy"—a project rife with contradictions. As he describes it, this project seeks to promote free, fair, transparent democratic elections in such a way that it would assure that power went to the elites and not to the people. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice discusses at some length in an interview with *The Washington Post*, the US 'push' for democracy.<sup>35</sup> Some may see this as being at odds with the constant message imbedded in virtually every speech of Bush and his senior government officials that the 'larger purpose' in the US international strategy is to: "... to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world."<sup>36</sup> To quote at length from Lieven:

"In principle, the desire to spread democracy in the world is of course not a bad thing. But there are two huge problems with it. One is that because this element of American messianism is so deeply rooted in American civic nationalism, in what has been called the "American Creed", and in fundamental aspects of America's national identity, it can produce - and after 9/11 did produce - an atmosphere of debate in America which is much more dominated by myth than by any serious look at the reality of the outside world. Myths about American benevolence, myths about America spreading freedom, myths about the rest of the world wanting America to spread freedom, as opposed to listening to what the rest of the world really has to say about American policies."

The second feature that cuts across this American messianism, however, is what I have called the "American antithesis", that is to say, those elements in the American nationalist tradition which actually contradict both American civic nationalism and the American Creed. These elements, which are very strong in parts of

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34. Peter Manning, "Three Modes of Security", February 7, 2003. Draft of paper with minimal references prepared for a panel presentation on private security at a conference, "In Search of Security," sponsored by National Institute of Justice and the Law Reform Commission of Canada, scheduled for Montreal Feb. 19th-23rd, 2003.

35. "Rice Discusses US Push for Democracy", *Voice of America*, March 26, 2005.

36. "Bush Calls Democracy Terror's Antidote", by Jim VandeHei, *Washington Post*, March 9, 2005.

America, include national chauvinism, hatred of outsiders, and fear and contempt of the outside world. This is particularly true in the case of the Muslim...."<sup>37</sup>

In contrast to the 'delivery' of democracy abroad, the barricades around the government officials and the policing of protest movements in North America, prompted one observer to report:

"One man started the time-honored peace rally call-and-response chant, "What does democracy look like? This is what democracy looks like." The boo-inducing irony is that in the era of George W. Bush, anyone who petitions the government is locked out of the discussion. Sadly, at the moment, *this* is what our democracy looks like."<sup>38</sup>

So, democracy becomes a problematic term of political expediency. But that is not the only new meaning for an old concept. When is a person neither a prisoner of war with the protections of such a designation nor a criminal with the due process 'rights'—apparently when classified as an 'unlawful combatant' and is sent either to Cuba Guantanamo Bay or off to worse places under the rendition program. In fact, when is torture not torture—when it is 'extreme rendition'. Back in Canada, following 9/11 600 US National Guard troops and US defence department helicopters lined the Canada-US border. Apparently, those 'military-like' responses were intended to speed up movement through the border.

"This is not militarizing our border with Canada. It's the longest peaceful wonderfully co-operative border."<sup>39</sup>

Democracy would logically involve the need for an informed public—who could then play a role in determining policies. Seemingly no distortion of evidence since 9/11 is so shocking that the public in general raises up with horror. The discovery of the 12 year old plagiarized student paper that formed the bases of a UK and US security brief that marched the 'coalition of the willing' off to war was disgusting but did not result in the outcry one might have anticipated. Deliberate fabrication or merely faulty information?

A more recent example, perhaps merely amusing, is the information that the US capture of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, dramatically flashed across television screens pictured crawling out of an underground hole in the ground 'like a rat', was in fact staged. Hussein had been captured a few days previously in what was termed a modest home in a small village and that the hole in the ground was a staged use of a deserted well. This example serves to reveal the on-going program of misinformation.<sup>40</sup> Quoting the *New York Times*

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37. Q&A Asian Source Interview with Anatol Lieven, December 2, 2004  
[http://www.asiasource.org/news/special\\_reports/lieven.cf](http://www.asiasource.org/news/special_reports/lieven.cf)

38. "Democracy in action: A dispatch from the front line," by Barb Guy, *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 28, 2005.

39. US Attorney-General, *Globe Mail*, December 3, 2001, P.1

40. "Ex-Marine Says Public Version of Saddam Capture Fiction", *United Press International*, March 8, 2005.

"Under the Bush administration, the federal government has aggressively used a well-established tool of public relations: the prepackaged, ready-to-serve news report ... In all, at least 20 federal agencies, including the Defense Department and the Census Bureau, have made and distributed hundreds of television news segments in the past four years, records and interviews show. Many were subsequently broadcast on local stations across the country without any acknowledgement of the government's role in their production.... It is a world where government-produced reports disappear into a maze of satellite transmissions, web portals, syndicated news programs and network feeds, only to emerge cleansed on the other side as 'independent' journalism."<sup>41</sup>

The Government Accountability Office maintained that these government-made news segments constituted improper 'covert propaganda' rather than 'information' segments. The Justice department instructed the agencies to ignore the G.A.O.'s findings and concluded that the segments were legal "whether or not an agency's role in producing them is disclosed to the viewers".<sup>42</sup>

Some of the most powerful rhetoric is accompanied by pictures. No pictures were more powerful than the falling towers—unless it was the daily pictures in the *New York Times* for over a full year of the victims with the short descriptions of how fine and loved they were in life. *The New York Times*, April 12, 2005 provides us with the type of rhetoric that *may* begin the justification for the 'next' war—this time against Iran. I shall quote at length from this piece because the segment presents all of the basics for justifying an aggressive US response: a sense of urgency; the accusation that no matter what Iran says 'it cannot be trusted' because of past acts; the role of 'experts' with pictures; the concern that some other jurisdiction may arrive at their own solution—the European strategy via negotiations are discounted but the concern that Israel might act pre-emptively is deemed to be worrying to the US:

"Spreading photographs of Iranian nuclear sites over a lunch table at the Bush ranch in Texas on Monday, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel urged President Bush to step up pressure on Iran to give up all elements of its nuclear program, ...Mr. Sharon said Israeli intelligence showed Iran was near "a point of no return" in learning how to develop a weapons.... However, Mr. Sharon gave no indication that Israel was preparing to act alone to attack Iranian nuclear facilities, a prospect that Vice President Dick Cheney, who was at the lunch, raised publicly three months ago.... Israeli officials declined to describe the evidence they presented, or say whether the photographs were from Israeli or American sources, commercial satellites, or from agents on the ground in Iran.... Mr. Sharon's extended conversation - bolstered by the Israeli photographs and intelligence presented by his chief military aide, Brig. Gen. Yaakov Galant - showed

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41. "Under Bush, a New Age of Prepackaged TV News", by David Barstow and Robin Stein, *New York Times*, March 13, 2005.

42. *ibid* p. 3 of 11

tension between Israel and its biggest ally over how much time is available to deal with the issue."<sup>43</sup>

The scenario sounds frighteningly familiar. The main alternative strategy to war is discounted. As a senior American diplomat stated: "If you think that they've been running a secret weapons program, which is what we believe and the Israelis believe, than what kind of inspection system could work?" As Michael T. Klare<sup>44</sup> argues, there are many national security professionals in Washington who are truly worried about Iran's nuclear program, just as there were many professionals who were genuinely worried about Iraqi weapons capabilities. However, the 'other' factors including oil will play a role in Iran as they did in Iraq. These other factors and all of the diverse individuals and agencies that have a 'piece' of those interests add to the impossibility of determining any one explanation for governmental responses. There are elements in Washington that look at real or imagined threats abroad with great favor. Jon Basil Utley refers to the 'Beltway Bombers'—the vast number of diverse groups in and around Washington who benefit economically and politically from war or any 'great new threat'.<sup>45</sup>

### **Religion and "Truth": We've got the Holy Spirit's wind at our backs!**<sup>46</sup>

This paper will not do justice to the topic of the role of the religious right in US politics and policies. However I want to 'flag' the powerful religious group do in fact reach deep into Washington and impact the rhetoric that 'clarifies' for the public the concept of good and evil and determines which groups are expendable. U.S. policy is among many other things sold as a moral crusade to counteract terrorism by spreading freedom. There is a significant body of literature that documents the links between the top echelon in President Bush's executive and fundamental religious groups—linked by big money and the fact that a growing number of congressmen owe their elections to the machine. One such group are the Dominionists (apparently also called 'Reconstructionists') who are intent on "winning back America for God".<sup>47</sup>

One of their main activities—other than Christianizing the world, is fighting for the abolishment of environmental protection acts and the repeal of Clean Air and Endangered Species Acts—calling global warming the "greatest hoax ever perpetuated on the American people".<sup>48</sup> With what results? In April 2005, the new

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43. "Sharon Asks U.S. to Pressure Iran to Give Up Its Nuclear Program", by David E. Sanger, *New York Times*, April 13, 2005.

44. "Oil, Geopolitics, and the Coming War with Iran", by Michael T. Klare, *Information Clearing House*, April 11, 2005.

45. "War Benefits the 'Beltway Bombers'", Jon Basil Utley, Chairman of Americans Against World Empire.

46. "The Crusaders: Christian evangelicals are plotting to remake America in their own image", by Bob Moser, *Rolling Stone*, April 8, 2005. It helps that Dominionists have a direct line to the White House. The Rev. Richard Land, top lobbyist for the 16-million-member Southern Baptist Convention, enjoys a weekly conference call with top Bush advisers including Karl Rove. Quote is by Land. He takes particular aim at the threat posed by John Lennon, denouncing "Imagine" as a "secular anthem" that envisions a future of "clone plantations, child sacrifice, legalized polygamy and hard-core porn."

47. *ibid*

48. "Without a Doubt", by Ron Suskind, *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, October 17, 2004.

Energy Bill, approved by the House Committee, is claimed by critics to make significant changes to the Clean Air Act. A specific provision, authored by Representative Joe L. Barton, Republican of Texas, chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee would allow communities whose air pollution comes from hundreds of miles away to delay meeting national air quality standards until their offending neighbors clean up their own air. According to critics of the Bill, the consequence include:

"... an invitation for local communities that have not met air quality standards to use the extra time to put off reducing emissions from sources inside their own borders. They say Mr. Barton's provision could delay improvements by 10 years as one area waits for another, which waits for another - a prospect that Mr. Barton disputed. "Bottom line, no longer will there be any incentive for states or municipalities to clean up more air pollution, and the E.P.A. has no ability to force them to do it," said Representative Tom Allen, a Maine Democrat whose motion to kill the Barton provision failed by a 29-to-19 committee vote, largely along party lines."<sup>49</sup>

The bizarre question: "What would Jesus drive" has now become "WWJDrive" in the literature. Apparently this 'campaign' was organized and sponsored by the Evangelical Environmental Network (EEN), a biblically orthodox Christian environmental organization. Unlike some of the other evangelical groups, this group does care about the environment and seemingly does not share the view that environment destruction as evidence of the coming Apocalypse. As their site states:

"We believe the Risen Lord Jesus cares about what we drive. Pollution from vehicles has a major impact on human health and the rest of God's creation. It contributes significantly to the threat of global warming. Our reliance on imported oil from unstable regions threatens peace and security. Obeying Jesus in our transportation choices is one of the great Christian obligations and opportunities of the twenty-first century."<sup>50</sup>



49. "Change to the Clean Air Act Is Built into New Energy Bill", by Michael Janofsky, *New York Times*, April 16, 2005.

50. Discussion Initiated by the [Evangelical Environmental Network](#) & [Creation Care Magazine](#) because transportation is a moral issue.

The evidence indicates that these are not 'fringe' policy makers but rather are the key politicians that surround Bush and dominate the voting on major issues. The list is long but key figures include House Majority leader Tom DeLay, Senate Environment and Public Works Committee Chair James Inhofe, US Attorney John Ashcroft, Senate Majority leader Bill Frist—and as they say, very possibly George Bush.<sup>51</sup>

There is however some evidence that Bush may be trying to distance himself from the religious politics of DeLay following DeLay's statements that were perceived to be threats against judges in general but most specifically the Judge in the Schiavo case in Florida.<sup>52</sup> DeLay is referred to as the patron saint of the far right's anti-judiciary campaign. What makes DeLay particularly poisonous is the other scandals that surround him and some of his religious colleagues:

"The values alleged so far in this scandal - greed, hypocrisy, favor-selling, dissembling - belong to no creed except the ruthless pursuit of power. They are not exclusive to either political party. But the religious trappings add a note that distinguishes these Beltway creeps from those who have come before: a supreme righteousness that often spirals into anger and fire-and-brimstone zealotry that can do far more damage to America than ill-begotten golf junkets."<sup>53</sup>

There are claimed to be 1,500 Christian radio stations and over 250 Christian TV stations. Religions used to be 'private' and one did not ask those running for office to reveal their personal beliefs. When those belief become no longer 'personal' but form the basis for government policy for the strongest country on earth, questions may need to be asked. As Suskind states:

"it sounds startling but the great unasked questions that need to be posed to the 231 US legislators backed by the Christian Right and to president Bush himself... Do you believe we are in the End-Time? Are the governmental policies you support based on your faith in the imminent Second Coming of Christ?"<sup>54</sup>

There are a number of aspects to the strong right-wing religions that affect notions of fear—and one is the distrust of science. As the Dominionists state: "The most humble Christian is more qualified for office than the best-educated pagan." As reported in the *Globe & Mail*, this belief is being put into action. According to the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), a non-government advocacy group they have documented dozens of alleged cases where their organization argues "the Bush administration has sacrificed scientific integrity in the interests

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51. "The Road to Environmental Apocalypse", by Glenn Scherer, *Grist Magazine*, October 27, 2004.

52. "Get Tom DeLay to the Church on Time", by Frank Rich, Op-Ed Columnist, *New York Times*, April 17, 2005. "As he flew off to the pope's funeral in Rome, the congressman left behind a rabble-rousing video for a Washington conference on 'Confronting the Judicial War on Faith' staged by a new outfit called The Judeo-Christian Council for Constitutional Restoration."

53. Ibid.

54. "Without a Doubt", by Ron Suskind, *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, October 17, 2004.

of big business, big oil, and the religious right".<sup>55</sup> During December 2004, the UCS bypassed Washington and wrote to Canadian Prime Minister (Paul Martin) directly in order to warn Canada that the US Ballistic Missile Defense program was "based on flawed science and a dubious plan to weaponize space".<sup>56</sup>

Anatol Lieven in *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism* observes that the 'American Creed': liberty, constitutionalism, law, democracy, individualism, and the separation of church and state is being replaced by 'hyper-nationalistic attitudes' which translate into irrational fears of outsiders, an obsessive belief in the treachery of American 'elites'—however only elites of a certain sort. Money alone is not feared, however New England intelligentsia 'elitism' is deemed to be dangerous.<sup>57</sup>

### **Corporate Interests and 'Truth'**

Corporations feed into this scenario in at least three ways: first, as promoters of what is increasingly seen to be essential corporate generated technology to fight terrorism and/or to add to our security via increased surveillance; second, as lobbyists to governments for foreign policies that are advantageous for their control of international markets—oil being a major market but not the only one; and finally for their 'piece' of the massive re-construction budgets.

### **Securitization via Technology**

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has expressed increasing concern at what they argue to be the 'dangerously' powerful surveillance-industrial complex.<sup>58</sup> While the ACLU is particularly concerned with the efforts of government to encourage or mandate the collection of information on citizens—in a private-public mix of surveillance activities—the reverse may also be true. More probably and more dangerous is the mutual interests between government and business that perpetuate a false belief in a diverse array of technological strategies and devises with the business interests conscripting governments with their propaganda and promises regarding the delivery of 'security'.

There appeared immediate after 9/11 to be an overriding belief in technology as the answer to these 'security' concerns. There was a readiness on the part of the public to accept the logic of technology and use it as a panacea to insuring personal security. The Canadian Solicitor General, in commenting on the installation of additional scanners at Canadian airports, remarked that not every passenger would be finger-printed. Finger printing will apply to those on whom information is received prior to arrival, and the new measures "will be limited to people

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55. "No Faith in Science", by Carolyn Abraham, *Globe & Mail*, April 9, 2002 pp F1, F8-9.

56. "No Faith in Science", by Carolyn Abraham, *Globe & Mail*, April 9, 2005. F9.

57. Anatol Lieven, *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American nationalism*, Oxford University Press, New York 2004.

58. See: *The Surveillance-Industrial Complex: How the American Government is Conscripting Businesses and Individuals in the Construction of a surveillance Society*, ACLU Publication by Jay Stanley, August 2004.

deemed to pose security threats.”<sup>59</sup> Illegal immigrants will be targeted, but so will many other people who will fit the profiles drawn up by law enforcement officials. The acknowledged role of racial profiling did not unduly alarm either the advocates of these policies or the general public.

The Cover Story in *Business Week* in November 2001<sup>60</sup>, involving data mining and the linking of data traces on dispersed computer databases, argued that the software would enable the FBI to apprehend terrorists:

“A key challenge will be developing sophisticated software to sift the databases, pinpointing likely terrorists and suspicious behavior. Working together, a team of criminologists and software developers would need to design profiles of potential evildoers...”

But then the article went on to warn that governments are notorious in abusing their power to collect personal information, and that information collected for one purpose may end up being used for other purposes. As Harvard Law school Professor Laurence H. Tribe stated: “It’s possible that through a tyranny of small decisions, we could make a nightmare society”.<sup>61</sup>

The secretary of transportation in the US recommended aggressive use of facial recognition technologies in airports. How reliable is facial-recognition technology? It depends on who you ask. Vendors of the technology acknowledge some glitches in the system but that these are being fixed. Some airlines are beginning to experiment with biometric technology by suggesting to their customers that they would be processed swiftly if they agree to have biometric data stored on them in the airline database, and they would be issued cards that they would use every time they go through the check-in line. Those who refuse would have to undergo a more elaborate security check by the airport authorities.

After documenting the high failure rate of various biometric technological systems such as facial-recognition<sup>62</sup> Zureik and Hindle conclude:

“The combination of Public fear, lobbying efforts of the industry, and linkages between political and economic interests, have catapulted the industry to center stage in the fight against terrorism—and industry that until 11 September was a marginal player in the security field.”<sup>63</sup>

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59. *Globe & Mail*, 12 October 2001.

60. “Privacy in and Age of Terror”, by Mike France and Heather Green, *Business Week*, November 5, 2001.

61. *Ibid*

62. With facial recognition, false alarm, i.e., when the system falsely identifies someone as a terrorist, meaning that the system accepts incorrectly an identity, that person now has a major problem. It is estimated that the system will generate 9,999 false alarm for every one real identity.

63. Zureik and Hindle, *Studies in Political Economy*, Spring/Summer 2004, p. 118.

The old military-industrial complex has grown to become the overwhelming military-industrial-congressional establishment.<sup>64</sup> As Peter Manning writes:

“At the local level, the illusion is that high tech-information based security can increase collective well-being by its presence and what is symbolized. It represents the mystified hope that such devices can prevent and circumnavigate external threats... By playing out the dramaturgy of high tech security, elevating its centrality and importance, using its terms of reference of new expenditures, justifying searches, and new machinery in airports, modern politics obscures the risks and costs of security... Agents of control, governmental experts insecurity and private corporations ... who promote and sell high tech devises—machines that read retinas, explosive detectors, ‘smart cards; ... electronic protections around airports and computer-based data promote the illusion. The public eager for reassurance accepts the efficacy of such innovations.”<sup>65</sup>

### **Reconstructionists (corporate rather than religious)**

Perhaps one of the most recent involvement of corporations into the security-generating industry is on the form of government-partnerships in massive reconstruction efforts following wars or disasters or both. Referred to as ‘disaster capitalism’,<sup>66</sup> these activities are seen by critics such as Naomi Klein as the remaking of the international community into a likeness of America (democratic and market-oriented). She chronicles the formation of the White House created Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization—an operation that draws up post-conflict plans for the reconstructions operations of countries that are not yet in conflict:

“It's not reconstruction at all—it's about reshaping everything. If anything, the stories of corruption and incompetence serve to mask this deeper scandal: the rise of a predatory form of disaster capitalism that uses the desperation and fear created by catastrophe to engage in radical social and economic engineering. And on this front, the reconstruction industry works so quickly and efficiently that the privatizations and land grabs are usually locked in before the local population knows what hit them.”<sup>67</sup>

The head of this new reconstruction body is Carlos Pascual who apparently boasted about “changing the very social fabric of a nation”. A case in point would be the Tsunami hit regions where entire coastal areas have been wiped clean—waiting now for tourist development in the form of resorts, hotels, casinos and shrimp farms where once there were small coastal subsistence-level fishing communities. To the reconstructionists, all these coastal areas are now open land! Condi Rice apparently referred to the Tsunami as a “wonderful opportunity”—and

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64. “Answering the ‘Wolfowitz (Bush) Doctrine’ on American Empire”, by Jon Basil Utley, August 24, 2001, <http://www.antiwar.com/rep/utley4.html>

65. Peter Manning, “Security in High Modernity: Corrupting Illusions” (p.3 draft CONFIRM STATUS)

66. “The Rise of Disaster Capitalism”, by Naomi Klein, *The Nation*, May 2, 2005.

67. Ibid.

it is, for the World Bank, for IMF, for consulting firms, for engineering companies, and for international financial institutions.

### Legislative Fall-Out

The environment in which the anti-terrorism legislation and the related or unrelated powers that are included in the US Patriot Act were debated (or not debated) is essential to understanding the speed and content of the new powers and more general responses. It is possible to trace the 'blaming' exercise for the World Trade and Washington attacks from original statements by the US government about Good vs. Evil and God vs. the Devil to a quick shift to looking off-shore to firm up an alliance of international support and to identify the 'axis of evil'—with the assertion that everyone who did not 'join' was therefore to be seen to be on the opposing team.

It was not long however before the finger was pointed closer to home and focused on the 'open and dangerous' Canada-US border. Only after a full year was there any open acknowledgement that some of the failing might be even closer to home and internal to US institutional failures—with perhaps even some policy considerations. Each of these stages of 'blame-making' was accomplished by the rhetoric that identified the weak-links *external* to the US that was seen to be causing specific harm to the US and followed by pressures and demand for policy and legislative changes. US Homeland Security was to be 'secured' far and wide from the confines of the United States.

Analysis of the Patriot Act (*Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism*) are numerous and I shall not discuss the Act in any detail, except to say it has over 1000 sections and was passed by the Senate on October 11, 2001 and by the House on October 12, 2001. It was passed without amendment and the general assumption was that, given the quick turn-around time, most of the members who voted (98-1) had never read the Act. Some of the most controversial sections were to expire by the end of 2005. The review of these sections is ongoing.

One general criticism has been that the Act makes the same mistake that the FBI and CIA, as well as international and domestic intelligence agencies, make—a desire for quantity rather than quality in information gathering.<sup>68</sup> It is of note, however, that some of the *most* controversial post 9/11 powers do not appear as part of the Patriot Act but rather are powers that the Bush administration gave themselves. In the same *New York Times* edition, that outlined what powers that ought to be reconsidered due to their impact on civil liberties, immigrants, and massive and pointless data collection exercises, a second article outlines Bush's plans to give the government access to hundreds of millions of international banking records in an effort to trace and deter terrorism!"<sup>69</sup>

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68. "Revising the Patriot Act", *The New York Times*, Editorial, April 10, 2005.

69. "US Seeks Access to Bank Records to Deter Terror", by Eric Lichtblau, *The New York Times*, April 10, 2005.

### Consequences for Canada

The consequences that flow from 9/11 extend far beyond any strict fear of terrorism. The arguments in favour of our two countries harmonizing<sup>70</sup> our policies and powers and increasing the militarization of border and immigration policies, *bleach out* and draw in political interests and corporate interests—if not *as yet* religious interests.

A vying for toughness of response pitted the Canadian Federal government against the expectations, desires, or demands from the United States. Within Canada, how those additional powers were justified is argued by Kent Roach to be as dangerous as the additional powers.<sup>71</sup> The Canadian Federal government officials argued that it was via the 'Charter-proof' and pro-human rights anti-terrorism legislation that security would be enhanced. Roach sees not only the dangers in these justifications but also the dangers in what he terms 'this narrative approach' to law making—i.e. responses favouring the increasingly powerful victim groups and 'quick-fixes' via the enactment of criminal laws. The attacks in the United States produced victims—but the law ought not to be a "popularity contest between the accused and the victim, because the victim will win every time".<sup>72</sup> Roach's point is that the vivid images from 9/11 and the daily narratives in the *New York Times* ought not to justify abrupt termination of all due rights and protections.

Canada's strongest political lobby organization is said to be the CCCE (Canadian Council of Chief Executives).<sup>73</sup> The CCCE is a not-for-profit, non-partisan organization composed of the CEOs of Canada's leading enterprises whose mission is to build a stronger Canada economically and socially. This organization launched a new initiative called the "North America Security and Prosperity Initiative" (NASPI). In 2003, CCCE took 100 Canadian business leaders to Washington to meet with US officials including Tom Ridge, Secretary of Homeland Security. The number one interests of the Canadian delegation would have been trade. However, as the Ambassador to Canada Paul Cellucci had already told Canadian officials "Security will trump trade"—and hence, any economic advantages that Canadian business lobbyists want would be tied to enhanced security measures—as largely dictated by the United States. The task therefore for NASPI is to get the Canadian government to fulfill whatever notions of greater security that might be issued from US Homeland Security.

"Homeland" is increasingly being defined as "North America". What follows are some of the significant changes in Canada that can be seen as resulting in part from US pressure —and critics might suggest that some of the changes are unrelated in any real sense to an increase in security:

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70. "Harmonize" means Canada conforming to the US policies.

71. Kent Roach, *September 11: Consequences for Canada*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

72. Roach, page 82.

73. *The CCPA Monitor* published by Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, "Bowling to US 'security' demands will make Canada less secure", by Tony Clarke, February 2005.

- Establishment of a new Ministry for Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness (closely modeled on US Homeland security Agency)
- Passing of our own anti-terrorism legislation (Bill C-36)
- Implementation of the 'Smart Border Accord'—harmonizing our visa, immigration and refugee policies.
- Signing the "Safe Third Country Agreement"—refugees denied status in the US cannot go on to claim refugee status in Canada. Refugees must apply in the first 'safe' country that they enter.

Of perhaps even greater concern is Canadian oil, water, cultural materials, and decisions regarding future immigration to Canada and aid to foreign jurisdictions—all are being held hostage under the 'security' umbrella. The militarization of the American economy will not stop at the border if natural resources are deemed to be essential for the 'security' of the US.

In April 2005, the Task Force on the Future of North America –a tripartite project of the Council of Foreign relations in the US, the Mexican Council of Foreign Relations and the Canadian CCCE (co-chaired by the former Deputy Prime Minister John Manley) released their report. As commented on by the Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives the recommendations include:

- a North American energy pact that would help meet U.S. energy needs but put at risk Canadian energy security in the areas of water, oil, natural gas and hydro-electricity;
- a North American security perimeter, incorporating air, land, and sea boundaries with a harmonization of immigration and refugee policies with the U.S. and Mexico that would literally erase our ability to set policy in these areas;
- a 'North American' passport;
- eliminating current NAFTA exemptions for culture and certain sectors of agriculture;
- the creation of a trilateral threat intelligence centre that would have Canadian policing and intelligence services working in close collaboration with the CIA and the FBI;
- a common North American external tariff which would imply the loss of an independent Canadian trade policy and have the U.S., Mexico and Canada speaking as a single bloc at international trade negotiations.<sup>74</sup>

Profound changes have been suggested and many implemented—justified by terrorist fear—but having much more to do with profit, influence and domination. There has been an unheeded call for an audit to determine the full extent of the impact US Homeland Security has had on Canada.<sup>75</sup>

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74. *The CCPA Monitor* published by Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, "Confidential Task Force Document reveals true business agenda for Canada", April 2005. The Task Force seeks to have these recommendations in place in less than five years.

75. Daniel Drache, *Borders Matter: Homeland Security and the Search for North America*. Fernwood publishing, 2004.

The 'policing' of terrorism by necessity involves collaboration between criminal enforcement and national security intelligence policing, as well as collaboration on occasion with the police of foreign jurisdictions. In Canada the RCMP used to be responsible for both criminal law enforcement as well as national security work. These functions were separated for clearly outlined reasons. Separating the function of collecting intelligence on threats to security, from the function of enforcing the law, recognized the distinctive character of each function, and the distinctive controls appropriate to each. It was recognized that while effective security intelligence required the security intelligence agency to work closely with the government in order to receive direction and report findings, enforcement of laws required the police agency to be independent of government interference in specific investigations.<sup>76</sup>

The creation of the national security system in 1984 resulted in the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) and the RCMP being assigned distinct mandates. The primary mandate of the CSIS being to collect, analyze, report, and retain information and intelligence relating to 'threats to the security of Canada'.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, the RCMP is responsible for security enforcement and protective security. The mandate of the RCMP is "to enforce laws, prevent crime, maintain peace, order and security."<sup>78</sup> Thus, while RCMP investigates individuals who may be engaging in criminal activity, the CSIS investigates and analyses security threats.

However, post the end of the cold-war, CSIS increasingly became involved in the control of organized crime and transnational crimes, and now post September 11 'national security' has also become an important part of the RCMP's efforts. Commissioner Zaccardelli stated following September 11, that national security would be a priority for the RCMP—perhaps leaving CSIS to wonder at its own mandate! For instance, the creation of Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams (INSETs) is aimed at collecting and sharing intelligence information relating to the operation of terrorist groups in Canada that pose a threat to national security.<sup>79</sup> There would clearly be overlaps between the RCMP and CSIS relating to 'national security' and identifying 'threats to national security'.

The test case for all of this overlapping of mandates and the sharing of 'national security intelligence' across borders is Maher Arar. The Arar Case is currently the subject of a National Inquiry in Canada. Once this Inquiry makes its report, a

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76. "On Course: National Security for the 1990s", 1991, p. 5. The report was the government's response to the Report of the House of Commons Special Committee on the Review of CSIS and the Security Offences Act.

77. Sections 2 and 12 of the CSIS Act. The other duties of the CSIS are to provide security assessments in support of the government's clearance program (S. 13), to provide information and advice in support of governmental citizenship and immigration programs (S. 14) and to assist in the collection of foreign intelligence in Canada (S. 16).

78. RCMP Act.

79. "Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams", RCMP website: [http://www.rcmp.gc.ca/security/insets\\_e.htm](http://www.rcmp.gc.ca/security/insets_e.htm). Indeed, these concerns have led many to demand independent review and oversight of the RCMP similar to one that CSIS is subject to.

number of 'new' policing strategies and collaborations will be further revealed. The basic details are widely known and agreed to:

- September 26, 2002, Arar—a citizen of Canada, traveling on a Canadian passport—was detained by US Immigration and Naturalization officials at New York's Kenny airport while returning to Montreal from a holiday in Tunisia.
- October 7 or 8, 2002, US officials deport Arar to Syria
- US officials appear to have gained information from some Canadian officials regarding Arar being a potential terrorist.
- August 2003, reports come to Ottawa that Arar is being tortured in the Syrian jail
- October 6, 2003—after 375 days in jail, Arar returns to Montreal
- October 2003—questions are put to Foreign Affairs, RCMP and CSIS—no one claimed knowledge nor involvement in the "Arar affair"
- January 28, 2004, Public Safety Minister Ann McLellan calls for an Inquiry
- June 21, 2004, inquiry begins
- July 6, 2004 A report released at the Inquiry confirms that the RCMP were in contact with US authorities from the time of arrest in NY to his deportation to Syria
- September 2004 Documents that were released claim that CSIS were unaware that the US planned to arrest and deport Arar
- The 'public inquiry' turns out to be largely *in camera* as the government argues the secrecy is necessary for 'national security reasons'
- The RCMP have proven to be less than cooperative to the Inquiry and information released indicates a pattern of withholding information that has the potential to reflect badly on their performance.
- March 30 2005, US flight records confirm Arar's account of the 2002 that that transported him to Syria. According to the aviation records the same Gulfstream jet made several such trips to countries known as rendition destinations.

While this is only one case—it is one case among hundreds or thousands. This case emphasizes the dangers of the invisible processes that have come into play post 9/11 and it highlights the enforcement strategy called rendition. These clandestine operations, in which terror suspects are held by agents of one country and then sent to other countries, such as Egypt, Jordan, Uzbekistan and Syria, for questioning and often torture, are called renditions.

September 11 did not mark the beginning of this US strategy whereby suspects are shipped to foreign jurisdictions that have more strenuous 'interrogation' practices, non-inhibited by rights considerations. According to Michael Sherar, who apparently set up the Washington rendition process in the 1996-1999 period, said that originally it was only used for people who were already in the justice system and sending the person abroad to be interrogated was seen to protect the US from revenge and remove the person from the streets.

Post 9/11, rendition took an even more aggressive form. The 9/11 Commission revealed that 70 people had been rendered before 9/11.<sup>80</sup> The CIA was clearly 'outsourcing' interrogation to countries where they knew the individual would likely be tortured. As described by Anthony Lewis:

"Reading through the memoranda written by Bush administration lawyers on how prisoners of the 'war on terror' can be treated is a strange experience. The memos read like advice of a mob lawyer to a mafia don on how to skirt the law and stay out of prison. ... Americans who put physical pressure on captives can escape punishment if they can show they did not have an 'intent' to cause 'severe physical or mental pain or suffering'...."<sup>81</sup>

What has already come out of the Inquiry is a picture of Canadian police under great pressure not to be seen to be either weak or uncooperative to the US officials. There was also pressure within Canada to 'show' that the border issues between Canada and US had been taken care of via greater cooperation between Canadian and US law enforcement agencies. The key question for the Arar Inquiry was whether Canada was a knowing and willing partner to this rendition process—were Canadian officials knowingly sending Arar to Syria to be interrogated via torture?

Can we be reassured by the response to a letter written to the Ministry for Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness regarding the rendition process? What follows is her response:

*Thank you for your correspondence of October 1, 2004, concerning the removal of terror suspects from the United States. I apologize for the delay in responding.*

*In January 2004, Canada and the U.S. came to a formal understanding to address issues concerning removals of our nationals to third countries. Officials reached this agreement after the Prime Minister's first conversation with President Bush on December 15, 2003, when the two leaders identified this issue as a priority.*

*This understanding outlines a clear channel of communications between Canada and the U.S. in such cases. It defines procedures for notification at a senior level, and provides for expeditious consultation on any such case.*

*In situations where U.S. authorities are considering the involuntary removal of a Canadian national from U.S. territory to a third country, and in the equivalent situation for American nationals in Canada, principal points of contact from both countries would be notified and consulted.*

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80. Testimony given by Garry Loepky, Deputy Commissioner of the RCMP to the Arar Inquiry, July 6, 2004.

81. "Making Torture Legal", by Anthony Lewis, *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 51, Number 12, July 15, 2004.

*No two countries work more closely to ensure the safety of their citizens than Canada and the U.S. This understanding is an unprecedented step, and reflects the close and deep bond shared by our two countries.*

*I appreciate having had your concerns on this important issue brought to my attention.*

*Yours sincerely,  
A. Anne McLellan*

### **Points for Optimism**

A number of writers have noted that in both the United States and in Canada the political and business elites appear to be out of synch with the citizenry. Since the adoption of the USA Patriot Act by Congress, 342 cities and four states have moved to reject or refuse to recognize it. In 2004, Des Moines, Iowa, became the second Iowa community to pass a resolution condemning certain sections of the USA Patriot Act. The resolution included seeking redress from federal officials.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, New Hampshire's General Court (state legislature) is debating a Bill that would declare that the USA Patriot Act shall not be recognized in the state of New Hampshire:

"The USA Patriot Act blatantly violates both the constitutions of New Hampshire and of the United States. Because of this violation, the USA Patriot Act poses a greater threat to the security and freedom of the residents of both New Hampshire and of the United States."<sup>83</sup>

In Northern California's Redwood Curtain:

"...a simple denouncement just doesn't go far enough. To cooperate with the act, the City Council says, is criminal. Starting this month, a new city ordinance would impose a fine of \$57 on any city department head who voluntarily complies with investigations or arrests under the aegis of the Patriot Act, the anti-terrorism bill passed after September 11. Arcata's law is mostly symbolic, since federal law trumps any local ordinance. Still, the notion of civic disobedience is drawing plenty of attention."<sup>84</sup>

The citizens in Canada and in the United States were shocked by images out of Iraq prison and the publicity around the renditions are seen as the uncivilized behaviour of an out-of-control regime. In various *op ed* pieces and radio commentaries, Canadians have shouted 'no' to the proposals put forth by our 'elite' mandarins (CCCE) regarding their recommendations that call for a "seamless movement of goods, full labour mobility and energy security" shared by US,

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82. "New Hampshire State Legislature Hearings: Reject USA Patriot Act", *NewsWithViews*, March 14, 2005, <http://www.newswithviews.com/BreakingNews/breaking32.htm>

83. *ibid*

84. "California Town Rebels Against Patriot Act," by Michelle Locke, *Associated Press*, May 17, 2003.

Mexico and Canada.<sup>85</sup> Any argument that Canadians are safer the closer we are to the US, is interpreted by many as blatant business-profit rhetoric without even the pretense of contributing in any real way to greater security.

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85. "Beyond Missiles: Canada and the US, must push toward the seamless...", Canadian Council of Chief Executives, March 4, 2005.