
The Mother of All Battles

The Endless U.S.-Iraq War

Jeff Archer

ALTERNATIVE PUBLISHING

Archer, Jeff, 1947-
The Mother of All Battles
ISBN 978-0-9763366-1-7

First published in 2008 by
Alternative Publishing
8130 La Mesa Blvd. PMB 436
La Mesa, CA 91941 USA
lekkerspikkels@msn.com

Copyright © 2008
Jeff Archer

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be
reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form
or by any electronic, mechanical or other means,
now known or hereafter invented without permission
in writing from the publisher. No translation of this
book is allowed without the written permission of
the author and publisher.

Typesetting and design by Alternative Publishing
La Mesa, California, USA

Printed in USA

Cover photo: Bruno Stevens/Cosmos/Aurora Photos

Technical Assistance:

Husayn Al-Kurdi
Ann Moniz-Archer
Ali Baghdadi
Ibrahim Ebeid
Evan Ginzburg,
Frank Morrow
Bryan Walsh

CONTENTS

PHOTOS AND ILLUSTRATIONS	5
PREFACE	7
PART ONE: THE STORM	11
The Anatomy of a Massacre	15
This Eye-Rainian Mess	19
Camel Jockeys and Sand Niggers	20
What Did April Say?	26
The Closed Door	34
No Dissent	41
A State of Permanent Human Bondage	44
Nothing But Shit Strewn Everywhere	55
America's Best Kept Secret	67
Saddam Outfoxes Schwarzkopf	72
PART TWO: THE EMBARGO	77
Up from the Ashes	81
Gunpowder Out of Wheat	84
Dirty Tricks with Money	89
Bush's Last Stand	92
Somalia and Iraq Shared Similar Strategies	97
The Forgotten "Day of Infamy"	103
A Non-Returned Gesture of Goodwill	107
Gotcha	110
Blame It on the Bulls	117
The Forgotten Years	125
PART THREE: OCCUPATION AND RESISTANCE	131
The Butcher of Baghdad: Babies Killed, People Boiled in Acid, Human Shredding Machines, Gassing His Own People, and Whatever Else Sells Newspapers	140
The Crazies Take Over	152
Curveball and the Trucks	160
The U.S. Has Loosed Its Terrible Swift Sword on Iraq	165
Bush's Poodle	187
Anything to Fit Their Agenda	189
Rope-a-Bush	192

Nuke 'Em Til They Glow	200
Estimates Based on Estimates	215
Hell No, This Is Iraq	218
Women and Gays Don't Count	227
Saddam Hussein's Greatest Legacy:	
December 2003 to December 2006	235
Saddam Hussein: Symbol of Stand Against U.S. Aggression	256
 AFTERWORD	 265
 APPENDIX I: Transcript of Meeting Between Saddam Hussein and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, July 25, 1990	 267
APPENDIX II: Key Judgements (National Intelligence Estimate, October 2002)	275
APPENDIX III: Letter to the United Nations from Iraqi Foreign Minister Naji Sabri Describing the Acceptance of Return of UN Inspectors to Iraq: November 2002	281
APPENDIX IV: The Buildup to the Iran-Iraq War	288
APPENDIX V: Interview With Salah al-Mukhtar, Former Iraqi Ambassador to India and Vietnam, September 2005	295
APPENDIX VI: Bargains and Offers Rejected by Saddam Hussein	305
APPENDIX VII: Iraqis Incarcerated at Abu Ghraib Prison	310
APPENDIX VIII: U.S. Marine Corps Historical Publication FMFRP 3-203	323
APPENDIX IX: Iraq on the Record	328
APPENDIX X: Dr. Curtis Doebbler on Saddam Hussein's Trial: Officials "not able or willing to provide for respect for the basic rules of law"	354
APPENDIX XI: United Nations Report on the Legitimacy of the Trial of Saddam Hussein	359
APPENDIX XII: Speech by Saddam Hussein at the Amman Summit in Amman, Jordan, 24 February 1990	368
APPENDIX XIII: Iraq the War Card — Orchestrated Deception on the Path to War	373
 REFERENCES	 378
 INDEX	 388

PHOTOS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

- p. 25 top: Metacomet — Public Domain
- p. 25 bottom: William Apes — Public Domain
- p. 43: San Diego demonstration — Chris Martin
- p. 45: Al-Urooba School — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 47: Baby milk plant — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 49 top: Nineveh Province graveyard — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 49 bottom: Destroyed village — International War Crimes Tribunal
- p. 51: Amiryah victims — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 54: George Bush/family values — International War Crimes Tribunal
- p. 56: Trophy photo — Wameeth Mansour
- p. 57: Beheaded Iraqi soldiers — Wameeth Mansour
- p. 59 top: “Fruits of victory” burned body — Wameeth Mansour
- p. 59 bottom: “Fruits of victory” head — Wameeth Mansour
- p. 66: One of the “half million assholes” — Wameeth Mansour
- p. 71 top: Ramsey Clark — International War Crimes Tribunal
- p. 71 bottom: “Many came but few reported” — International War
Crimes Tribunal
- p. 75: Casualty of “target-rich environment” — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 83: Before and after reconstruction — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 86: Embargo suffering — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 96: Journalist Ali Baghdadi at Al-Rashid Hotel — Ali Baghdadi
- p. 104 left bottom: “Savagery” by Layla al-Attar — Ibrahim Ebeid
- p. 104 right bottom: Layla al-Attar — Ibrahim Ebeid

- p. 119: Coronado demonstration — Wameeth Mansour
- p. 129 top: No-fly zone propaganda — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 129 bottom: Baghdad Observer June 11, 1995 — Baghdad Observer
- p. 137 top: Old Baghdad — Wameeth Mansour
- p. 137 bottom: New Baghdad — Dahr Jamail
- p. 158 top: Ramadi destroyed house — Dahr Jamail
- p. 158 bottom: Plate of food — Dahr Jamail
- p. 159 top: George Bush Elite Force Aviator — KB Toys
- p. 159 middle: Operation Forward Command Post — KB Toys
- p. 159 bottom: Uday Dead on Arrival — Herobuilders
- p. 164: Mobile biological weapons lab — Jorge Zamudio
- p. 176 top: Mass graveyard in Fallujah — Dahr Jamail
- p. 176 bottom: Fallujah victory rally — Dahr Jamail
- p. 194 top and bottom: Iraqi resistance attacks — www.albasrah.net
- p. 199: Mohammed Sahaff — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 209: Captain Eric May — Captain Eric May
- p. 214: Hassan Taha al-Rawi — Deck of 55 cards
- p. 224: Kids near mortar — Dahr Jamail
- p. 225: Shattered skull — Dahr Jamail
- p. 226 top: Sewage lake — Dahr Jamail
- p. 226 bottom: Penalty of force sign — Dahr Jamail
- p. 229 top: Saddam Hussein and wife in school — Ibrahim Ebeid
- p. 229 bottom: Saddam Hussein at girls school — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 238: Suicide bomber — Dahr Jamail
- p. 241: Surrounded boys school — Dahr Jamail
- p. 243: Petrol lines — Dahr Jamail
- p. 255: Saddam Hussein — Iraqi News Agency
- p. 264: Dr. Curtis Doebbler — Dr. Curtis Doebbler

PREFACE

On January 16, 1991, all U.S. news media were pre-empted and the world saw a fireworks display from Baghdad. All sorts of anti-aircraft artillery were lighting up the sky. The world had never seen anything like this live and in color.

President Bush addressed the world in a somber way and told of the importance of stopping Iraq's "naked aggression." On the other side of the world, President Saddam Hussein stated, "The mother of all battles has begun."

The following day, the Western press ridiculed Saddam Hussein for making such a statement. In their eyes, the U.S. would soon kick the Iraqis out of Kuwait and the "mother of all battles" would be finished. They were wrong. Six weeks after the beginning of the hostilities, a cease-fire was signed. Iraqi troops were no longer in Kuwait, but the mother of all battles was far from finished.

I spent the 42 nights of Desert Storm at an Iraqi-American's produce store. Night-after-night, I asked questions to most of the Arab customers who entered the business. At the time, I had little knowledge of the Arab world or its culture, so I received a great basic education.

The more I heard and saw from the media, the more it did not make sense. Contradictions were common, yet no one seemed to discuss the variations in the news items. My newly-found Arab acquaintances were furious over the coverage. "Why are they talking like this?" or "Why do they make Iraqis look like savages?" were common queries.

On June 10, 1991, the U.S. held a parade in New York to commemorate the victory over Iraq. More than four million people cheered the troops and tons of ticker tape fell from the skyscrapers. Victory was official.

From that time until March 2003, however, the battle still raged. During these years, it was one-sided: the U.S. bombed and fired missiles at Iraq and killed a few thousand people with the hardware, despite there being no official war occurring. Add to that the two million or so people who died because of the effects of the most deadly and encompassing embargo in history and it was evident that the battle was still in its formative stages.

In 1994, the Iraqi government began to organize a civilian resistance.

Taha Ramadan, the nation's vice president, and Izzat al-Douri, a high-ranking Ba'ath Party official, were the main designers and implementers of this civil defense program. Few people noticed.

In 2002, with an invasion by the U.S. imminent, thousands of Iraqi civilians marched in a parade in Baghdad displaying their AK-47s and the names of the units they represented. Pictures of the event were published, but few commented. To the West, this was merely Iraqi propaganda.

After the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, another victory was declared. On May 1, 2003, George Bush II participated in a staged event and appeared on an aircraft carrier, the USS Abraham Lincoln, that displayed a huge banner proclaiming "Mission Accomplished." He, like his father, proudly stated that victory had been achieved.

After May 1, 2003, a few dozen U.S. military people were killed in Iraq, despite major combat missions being halted. Bush again made a bold statement. On July 2, 2003, when a reporter asked about the deaths of the soldiers, Bush challenged anyone who had the audacity to attack U.S. forces and said "bring them on." Since then, more than 4,000 U.S. soldiers have been killed in Iraq, as well as a couple of thousand U.S. mercenaries. About 100,000 U.S. military people have been seriously injured, many with permanent brain damage or lost limbs.

This is a rarity in that two public victory statements about Iraq have been made, yet the fighting is still occurring. I don't know of any country that has declared victory twice and still remained at war.

Those who ignored the organizing of Iraqi civilians to resist an invasion are not ignoring this program today. Many of the resistance fighters on the battlefield today are graduates of the education they received from 1994 to March 2003. Those who laughed at Saddam Hussein's statement "the mother of all battles has begun" are not laughing today. The battle still rages.

The Mother of All Battles

*“In times of universal deceit, telling
the truth is a revolutionary act.”
— George Orwell*

PART ONE

THE STORM

“No country threatens us. We threaten the world.”

— W.E.B. DuBois

“Where the hell is Grenada?” many Americans asked in October 1983 when they read or heard that the United States had invaded that Caribbean military powerhouse. When most tried to find out where the country is, or why the U.S. invaded, they were left without answers. For a few days, we saw the country’s name in the newspapers, then it quickly departed.

The one consistent, yet vague, answer given to the U.S. public was that the invasion was necessary to stop the Reds (Moscow, not Cincinnati) from encroaching on U.S. territory. That was good enough. No more questions were asked.

Despite the small size of Grenada and the limited discussion about the invasion, the implications are staggering. They were the beginning of a U.S. foreign policy of aggression that is strongly in place today.

The U.S. government conducted experiments in deception and they worked. For instance, under the excuse of “national security,” the press was not allowed to cover the events. The media grumbled, but the incident was soon forgotten. This test was to see if there would be outrage from the media, but none came.

The use of overwhelming force came into play. Much more military might was thrust on Grenada than was necessary to do the job. This set the stage for future invasions by using old stocks of weapons so manufacturers of military equipment could fill their order books with the next

generation of armaments, greatly enhancing the military-industrial complex and its foothold on the American economy.

Government lies abounded. The public was told that the island of Grenada was about to be used by Soviet communists to invade other countries in the Western Hemisphere. For an excuse, the U.S. government pointed to Cuban troops on the island and the construction of an airport. In reality, there were about 50 Cuban engineering advisers in Grenada who were helping the country build an airport for tourists.

Another justification for the invasion was the safety of a few hundred American students who attended university in Grenada. This flimsy notion was dispelled when the first planeload of students returned to the U.S. The media were well-represented at the airport and when the first person left the plane, he was quickly asked, "Did you think your life was in danger?" The reporter inferred that the government of Grenada was about to harm its foreign guests. A befuddled student answered, "The only time I felt my life was in danger was when the American bombs started dropping." That interview never was shown again.

The similarities of the invasions of Grenada and Iraq are alarming. One was a dress rehearsal for the other. Jonathan Steele covered the Grenada invasion once the press was allowed to enter the country after being shut out for five days. The October 11, 2003 edition of the British newspaper *The Guardian* ran an article by Steele in which he reminisced about his Grenada experience and he put it into context with post-2003 invasion Iraq. According to Steele:

Reporters who covered Grenada in that distant autumn of 1983 saw the same abuse of human rights, the same postwar incompetence, and same primitive failure to understand a foreign culture which the U.S. "war on terror" was later to produce.

None of us was allowed into Point Salines, the airport which the U.S. took over as its occupation headquarters. But looking across rows of barbed wire we caught glimpses of detainees being heralded into wooden crates. A single tiny window in each crate gave the luckless prisoners a view of armed guards in sandbagged watchtowers. It was the prototype of Guantanamo Bay's Camp X-Ray.

The aspect of dehumanization by imperialistic soldiers never changes.

In Fallujah, Iraq, a city north of Baghdad, incidents occurred to set the stage for future violence. U.S. troops trashed a school and when Iraqis entered the building after its debasement, they saw racist and bigoted messages written on blackboards. The statements included, "We love pork," and "Baghdad Taxi Company" (with a drawing of a camel). The door of the principal's office was adorned with a drawing of a penis and a scrotum.

Grenada was no different. After the invasion, the Cuban Embassy's door was embellished with the enlightened statement, "Eat shit, Commie faggot." The initials AA were left under the statement as a signature. This autograph stands for "All American" and it was commonly used in graffiti messages left by the 82nd Airborne Division.

Shortly after the Grenada invasion, a Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) moderator asked an African journalist what he thought of the invasion. The reporter answered, "If killing an ant with a sledgehammer is honorable, so be it." Those few words were more ominous than the originator could have dreamed. Since he uttered them, the United States has brutally attacked various other "Third World" countries in its quest for world domination — Libya, Panama, Iraq, Somalia, Serbia and Afghanistan. In addition, it has come close to using its military might against the nations of Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Haiti, Syria and Sudan.

Iraq, a country of about 20 million people at the time, fell into the U.S. crosshairs and was destroyed in 1991. The problem with that progressive Arab country was that it did not adhere to the wishes of the United States. It paid a high price in 1991 and a still-higher price in 2003. Despite the twice-over destruction of Iraq, many of its citizens remained proud and steadfast. Prior to the 2003 invasion, U.S. administration officials stated that the Iraqi people would welcome American troops with flowers and candy. The Iraqis did not hear George Bush II's prediction and they greeted the soldiers with bullets and RPGs instead.

The Anatomy of a Massacre

When the first bomb fell on Iraq at 2:00 a.m. on January 17, 1991, the United States began the military implementation of years of deceit and dirty tricks to attain a permanent foothold in the Middle East. George Bush I enlisted, coerced and paid 27 other nations to help massacre Iraq, depriving these newly-won allies of any ethical high ground.

If you look at some of the countries involved in the anti-Iraq coalition, you will see that they varied greatly in their reasons for becoming involved in the slaughter. Few came on board because they considered it the right

thing to do. As with the “alliance of the willing” that participated in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, many of the “allies” of the 1991 campaign participated only to receive a payday from Washington.

Egypt, a long-time backer of Iraq, initially declined. After George Bush I told the Egyptians he would forgive a \$7 billion debt, the once Iraq-friendly Egyptian government changed sides. Syria entered the alliance because of long-time animosities between its president, Hafez al-Assad, and the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein. Coincidentally, Syria was on America’s list of countries that support terrorism, but that did not affect Bush. Al-Assad’s payday came after the cease-fire was signed between Iraq and the U.S. The Bush administration turned a blind eye to Syria’s sending more than 30,000 military personnel to Lebanon, leaving Syria with a tremendous amount of influence in that country. Ironically, the Bush II administration called for the exit of Syrian troops from Lebanon and threatened Syria with military force if the troops remained. The difference between then and now is that Syria’s former president Hafez al-Assad died and his son, Bashar, inherited the presidency of Syria. The young al-Assad did not share the same animosity with Iraq as his father and the two countries were experiencing flourishing trade and political relations up to the time of the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. Because it did not support U.S. intervention, Syria had to pay a price instead of being given preferential treatment as it was in 1991.

Saudi Arabia, a country not known for its progressive government, quickly sided with the U.S. when Bush falsely proclaimed that Iraqi troops were stationed in Kuwait, just across the Saudi border, waiting to pounce on them. On September 11, 1990, Bush told a joint session of Congress:

We gather tonight witness to events in the Gulf as significant as they are tragic. One hundred and twenty thousand Iraqi troops with 850 tanks had poured into Kuwait and moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia.

The Defense Department outdid Bush with an estimate of 250,000 Iraqi troops and 1,500 tanks. Bush’s and the Pentagon’s ominous warnings were based on falsehoods.

Pictures taken by Soyuz-Karta, a Soviet commercial satellite agency, of Saudi Arabia on September 11, 1990, and of Kuwait on September 13, 1990 portrayed a different scenario. They showed no Iraqi presence near the Saudi border and only a small percentage of the U.S. administration’s estimate of the number of troops.

In December 1990, the *St. Petersburg Times* of Florida purchased these photos from the Soviet agency. They were analyzed by experts who concluded that the U.S. estimate was based on lies. According to Peter Zimmerman, who served with the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the Reagan administration: "The Pentagon kept saying, the Iraqi troops were there, but we do not see anything to indicate an Iraqi force in Kuwait of even 20 percent the size the administration claimed."

Jean Heller wrote a report for the *St. Petersburg Times* in January 1991 about the quandary. The national media ignored the report and refused to publish it despite the newspaper's editors approaching the Associated Press twice and the Scripps-Howard News Service. According to Heller:

The troops that were said to be massing on the Saudi border and that constituted the possible threat to Saudi Arabia that justified the U.S. sending of troops do not show up in these photographs. And when the Department of Defense was asked to provide evidence that would contradict our satellite evidence, it refused to do so.

I think part of the reason the story was ignored was that it was published too close to the start of the war. Secondly, and more importantly, I do not think people wanted to hear that we might have been deceived. A lot of the reporters who have seen the story think it is dynamite, but the editors who have seen it seem to have the attitude, "At this point, who cares? If the war ends badly with a lot of casualties, more than the administration had led us to expect, you might hear of this story again."

Coincidentally, the same photos that failed to show proof of an Iraqi buildup portrayed an American presence that was not supposed to be in Saudi Arabia at the time. Zimmerman said:

We could see five C-141s, one C5A and four smaller transport aircraft, probably C-130s. There is also a long line of fighters, F-111s or F-15s, on the ground. In the middle of the airfield are what could be camouflaged staging areas.

Several countries did oppose the overwhelming force that was brought against Iraq, but they paid a price for such a lack of pro-U.S. sentiment.

Aid was quickly cut to Jordan. Its leader, the late King Hussein, was under strong pressure from his country-people not to support the U.S. and he followed their lead, even though he was at one time, and again later became, a U.S. ally and informant in the region. When told about the cessation of aid, King Hussein stated, "We're not that cheap." In the years after Desert Storm, King Hussein was brought back on board the U.S. ship of influence in the Middle East. Jordan became, and still is, the main area for U.S. intelligence and other operations in the region. For a short time, however, King Hussein asserted his independence from the United States and stood up for the principles and ideals of his people.

Yemen was hard hit by the immediate severing of U.S. aid after it voted in the United Nations against the use of force against Iraq. Cuba, a long-time U.S. "enemy," was chastised after it voted the wrong way in the United Nations against "U.S. interests."

The U.S. version of democracy is selective — you are allowed to vote freely, as long as the vote is in favor of the U.S. A few years after the Gulf War, an incident occurred that depicted this U.S. murky view of democracy. The first democratic elections were held in the Serbian portion of Bosnia. When the results were announced, then U.S. Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright quickly negated the election. When she was asked by the press what made her decide to annul the results, she stated, "The wrong side won." In occupied Iraq, we see the same manipulation of democratic ideas occurring. In the first year of control, U.S. authorities shut down many newspapers and magazines for printing stories that were critical of the occupation.

The concept of the U.S. using the United Nations as a forum was a sham. Until November 1990, the U.S. considered the UN a useless organization that catered to Third World interests. The U.S. was quite vocal about its distaste for the UN and had refused to pay a substantial amount of money owed to the organization. Then, in an about-face, shortly before a November 1990 vote on the Iraq issue, the U.S. forked over \$187 million to the UN. This "enlightened" action only constituted a small portion of what it owed to the world agency.

Much of the U.S. seemed to have gone mad during the five weeks of massacre in 1991. We watched as politician-after-politician talked favorably about what was happening. At times, it appeared that a vast portion of the U.S. political establishment was euphoric when describing the destruction. Unfortunately, we did not see the millions of people, both inside and outside the U.S., who were aghast at such actions. Government ministers from France, Italy and Turkey resigned in disgust, but the U.S.

media did not deem their opposition newsworthy. There was a virtual news blackout of dissent. We were not being told what was happening, and what we were being told was mostly lies because the U.S. military controlled the media. Shortly after the cease-fire was signed, Norman Schwarzkopf publicly humiliated the U.S. media by explaining how they printed everything exactly the way the military described the conflict.

“No more Vietnams!” we heard as the slaughter was occurring. This definitely was not Vietnam. Iraq was a developing country that happened to be America’s chosen enemy in exorcising the ghost of Vietnam. After the cease-fire, even some ardent supporters of Desert Storm felt empty and confused. As one caller to National Public Radio stated on March 5, 1991, “The United States isn’t going to save its soul by a massacre in the desert.”

Despite the seemingly simple victory over Iraq in 1991, the U.S. has seen the Vietnam analogy resurrected. After the 2003 invasion of Iraq, a strong resistance took hold and many now see “another Vietnam” taking place for the U.S. as the number of deaths of U.S. soldiers steadily increases.

The U.S. used all its experience in deception and its advanced weaponry that was built up over the decades in demolishing Iraq, despite international law stating the military force can only be used to reach a military objective. In this case, the military objective would have been to remove the Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The “allies” could have reached that goal with a fraction of the force used, but instead, the U.S. threw everything it had at Iraq.

After the slaughter, George Bush had the audacity to encourage the Iraqis to revolt and topple Saddam Hussein. He had no knowledge of Iraqi or Arab culture and he thought that a good beating by the United States would automatically turn the Iraqis against their president.

The only result of Bush’s call for an uprising was more bloodshed. Certain factions in Iraq (Kurds and pro-Iran Shi’ite Muslims) were given false hope by the United States and they paid a heavy price for U.S. deception. Many Iraqis supported Saddam Hussein before the hostilities and their allegiances did not change after the cease-fire.

This era is now being recalled by the U.S. as one in which the Iraqi government massacred tens of thousands of innocent Shi’ite Muslims. However, the U.S. does not state that the Shi’ites, not the Iraqi army, began the uprising and the vicious fighting affected both sides. Many Iraqi army personnel and civilian workers were brutally killed by the Shi’ite insurgents. Photos came from Iraq showing Shi’ite executioners working overtime using scythe-like instruments to chop the heads off individuals

as they were tied to tables. At one point, the insurgents of the north and south controlled 16 of Iraq's 18 provinces. The Bush administration considered it a matter of time until Baghdad fell.

Little-by-little, the Iraqi forces regained control of the country in brutal fighting. When the smoke cleared, the Shi'ites and the Kurds lost. The blame for all this chaos and bloodshed can be placed directly in the hands of the U.S. administration.

Coincidentally, the U.S. used the excuse of mass graves in southern Iraq as a reason for eventually toppling Saddam Hussein. For years, we heard of them, but after the illegal invasion of Iraq in March 2003, these mass graves came to the forefront. The news headlines read of the discovery of many mass graves. Eventually, the number of bodies found was put at 400,000. However, on July 18, 2004, British Prime Minister Tony Blair admitted to the British public that this was an inflated figure. There were about 5,000 bodies, not 400,000 in these graves. And, almost 100% were males of military age, meaning they were participants in the insurrection against Baghdad, or Kurdish fighters from the north of Iraq who died in the 1990s during a Kurdish civil war, not civilian casualties massacred by Saddam Hussein. Further forensic studies showed that many of the bodies were casualties of U.S. bombing in 1991.

The American lack of knowledge of the Arabic language played right into the hands of the administration. Pete Williams, the White House spokesman at the time, showed pictures of thousands of demonstrators in Baghdad as the insurrection of 1991 reached its peak. He told of how rare demonstrations were in Iraq and mentioned that the Iraqi people were turning on their president. This could have been the official story if a few Arab-Americans did not step forward with the truth. Yes, there were demonstrations, but the protestors were displaying signs and posters demanding that the Iraqi government put a stop to the uprisings in the south and north of Iraq. Because few Americans can read Arabic, another convenient lie came into place in American folklore.

When photos of devastation in Iraq began to emerge, Bush tried to blame all of the destruction on Saddam Hussein, but the Iraqis did not buy the explanation. They knew all the devastation to the infrastructure of the country was caused by U.S. bombs, not Iraq's retaliation against the Kurds and Shi'ites. Blatant attempts at deceiving the world were put forth by the U.S. For instance, the U.S. government showed photos of destroyed buildings and attributed the destruction to the Iraqi military. Under scrutiny, many of these depictions were proven to be false. A common ploy was a U.S. government spokesperson showing a part of Baghdad that

was bombed by the U.S. and telling the world that it was an area of Basra that was destroyed by Saddam's troops. This deception was quickly halted when enough people (photographers, journalists, etc.) came forward and pointed out the inaccuracies.

Desert Storm and its aftermath virtually eliminated a country on this Earth. Iraq was left without fresh water and electricity. The first United Nations inspection team to visit Iraq after Desert Storm said the country had reverted to a "pre-industrial society."

This Eye-rain-ian Mess

No matter where you were in the United States in the early evening of January 16, 1991, someone would enter and herald, "We're bombing Baghdad." In the ensuing hours, most Americans were glued to their television sets or were listening to radios, trying to make sense of the varying reports.

On the one hand, we heard the retired generals and the press attempting to decipher the military implications, while, on the other hand, we listened to former United States Attorney General Ramsey Clark call for the "total disarmament of the United States." Little did we know at the time that the voices of dissent soon would be silenced in the media.

The television networks cancelled their regular programming and devoted air time to Desert Storm. They were as confused as the public.

Most people, even war proponents, were surprised to hear that the U.S. was bombing Baghdad. The "allies" were trying to evict Iraqi soldiers from Kuwait, but Baghdad is hundreds of miles from the Iraq/Kuwait border. In the next few days, the U.S. administration told of the "military necessity" of bombing Iraq. General-after-general went in front of microphones and used military jargon that they may not have understood themselves to legitimize the destruction occurring in Iraq. What the public was not told was that the real mission was to annihilate the country of Iraq by destroying its infrastructure, making it impossible for that nation to function efficiently for the next few decades.

The most enigmatic aspect of the early days of Desert Storm was the lack of knowledge of America's designated enemy. A U.S. Marine, stationed at Camp Pendleton in California, was scheduled to ship out to Saudi Arabia the following day. On nationwide television (CNN News), he was asked what he thought about his future entry into battle. He answered, "I want to go and straighten out this eye-rain-ian (Iranian) mess." Many thought Iran was the adversary. When people mentioned Iran in-

stead of Iraq in their talking about the war and they were questioned about the error of nationalities, a common reply was, "You know what I mean. They're all the same." All these incorrect and bigoted remarks by the public did not go unnoticed. For the first time, the ignorance of the U.S. public about foreign affairs was laid bare for the world to see. Prior to Desert Storm, the technology of broadcasting news instantly to the world had not been perfected. The administration took notes about the uninformed replies of its citizens and used the same mental deficiencies to its advantage (to a much more encompassing degree) a dozen years later under the junta of George Bush II.

The media were not much better than the American public in their accuracy of reporting nationalities. When Iraq launched its first Scud missiles at Israel, announcers often said an "Israeli" Scud missile was fired. A few called the projectiles "Iranian Scuds." One announcer, in an effort to cover all corners, mentioned an "Israqi Scud." And these were the professional media people speaking.

Everyone expected to see the majority of the conservative element in the United States support intervention in the Middle East, but the left-of-center so-called liberals, for the most part, also supported Desert Storm. Lack of knowledge of the Middle East again came into play as the liberals did not want to appear "unpatriotic." The U.S. administration was well aware of this deficiency on the part of the liberal and intellectual communities and it performed a brilliant task of converting would-be opponents to its side.

Camel Jockeys and Sand Niggers

Desert Storm was not fought exclusively in Iraq and Kuwait. The home front provided much distrust and animosity against Arab-Americans and the ensuing ill mood helped the U.S. government baffle the American people about the real nature of the slaughter.

This campaign held similarities to almost every U.S. military incursion since 1945. All but one of the U.S.-designated enemies since the end of World War II have been countries governed and populated by non-Caucasians. Each enemy carried its own form of racist nomenclature. The North Koreans and North Vietnamese were "gooks." The Dominican Republic and Grenada were populated by "niggers." In 1986, former b-movie-actor-turned-president, Ronald Reagan, switched hemispheres when he ordered the bombing of Libya, a country filled with "camel jockeys." Bush I carried on the U.S. tradition in 1989 by ordering the invasion of Panama,

ruthlessly killing thousands of “spics and niggers” in five days, as well as burning thousands of homes to the ground in Operation Just Cause.

The U.S. armed forces used many new weapons in Panama. Pictures exhibited by Panamanian coroners showed remains of bodies which would make even hardened warmongers ill. For instance, mercury bullets were used to kill civilians. A mercury bullet penetrates the skull and leaves only a small insertion, not killing the recipient immediately. Once inside the skull, mercury seeps into the brain, causing an agonizing death. Another type of experimental bullet used in Panama was the fragmentation bullet, which leaves only a tiny hole. Again, death is not immediate. After being in the skull for a few seconds, the bullet explodes, blowing the brain to pieces.

The U.S. government’s official statement about Panamanian casualties was confusing, listing the number of Panamanian deaths at 202, despite pictures of mass graves that showed hundreds of bodies. To add to the deception, in August 1992, an investigating committee, working on behalf of the Bush administration, altered the number of deaths. The new figure was set at 60 Panamanian deaths. The media were absent in questioning the revised estimate, so it went down in U.S. folklore as fact.

When the administration was queried about the burning of Panamanian homes, denial again ensued. A reporter asked Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams about the allegations. He stood straight-faced and said he knew nothing of such actions. That was the end of discussing the issue. The media took notes of Williams’ statement and then put their pens away. For those interested in the truth, a substantial amount of videotape was brought back to the U.S. showing the systematic burning of homes by American soldiers. A few years after the debacle, a documentary movie appeared called “The Panama Deception.” It also showed footage of the burning homes. The documentary received awards from the film industry, yet U.S. government officials discounted it as propaganda.

Panama, like Grenada, had much to do with the destruction of Iraq. In Grenada, the U.S. experimented with the ostracizing of the press and it worked. Despite mild objections by the media, all was forgiven by December 1989. Then, as with Grenada, the press was excluded from coverage. Again, more complaints, but no action by the media.

The Panama invasion, like that of Grenada, included disproportionate force. However, in Panama, the U.S. had a testing ground with live targets for its new generation of weapons, such as the Stealth airplane and “smart” bombs and missiles. This was a rehearsal for a wider conflict.

With two successful invasions behind it, shutting out the media and

using overwhelming force, the U.S. was ready to take its act to the Middle East, an area in which it had played many dirty tricks, yet still did not have a physical presence. Iraq, with the second-largest petroleum reserves in the world, was the perfect target.

Since the mid-1980s, the U.S., with the collaboration of the Kuwaiti government, began to take actions that would isolate Iraq and degrade its economy. The U.S. had other great weapons in its arsenal that were never listed in *Jane's Fighting* publications — xenophobia and ethnocentrism.

Iraq was easy pickings for the United States to portray as an enemy because of its culture and people. It seemed almost effortless for the American people to hate Iraq's Arab population. Iraqis are dark-skinned and they dress different from Americans. The Islamic religion was virtually unknown in America, and, to many, it was an affront on the "Judeo-Christian heritage" that many Americans considered the main building block of the U.S. Even Iraqi foods were contrary to those of typical American cuisine.

After August 2, 1990, the propaganda machine began to work overtime. Coincidentally, few Americans could point out Kuwait on a map, and fewer still had any knowledge of the country.

Despite the opinion of many Americans that Iranians and Iraqis are "all the same," the truth is far different. Most Iranians are certainly not Arabs, but are of Persian stock, while most Iraqis are Arabs. Racially and culturally, Persians and Arabs do not share the same origins.

The racist term "camel jockey," when used to describe an Iraqi, would be laughable if the results did not produce the number of Iraqi deaths attributed to racist thought patterns. There are few camels in the Baghdad area of Iraq and many Iraqis have never seen a camel except in books or on television. During Desert Storm, I visited a shop owned by an Iraqi-American. When I entered, he looked dismayed. "What's wrong, Tony?" I asked. He replied, "Someone stuck his head in the door and called me a 'camel jockey,' then he ran away. I'd never seen a camel in my life until I went to the San Diego Zoo."

In the U.S., there is a substantial Iraqi American presence in Michigan and southern California. Over the years, these expatriates have joined the melting pot of cultures that make up the country. When the probability of military action against Iraq became stronger, Iraqi-Americans were shocked to discover the attitudes of many Americans toward them. They were suddenly relegated to "sand niggers" and they were subjected to acts that are supposedly illegal in the U.S. Many businesspeople had windows smashed and their vehicles vandalized. A California store owner had the

tires from his car stolen three times in a two-week period. Arab-Americans (it did not matter if they were Iraqi, Saudi, Syrian, Egyptian or Lebanese), and even Iranian-Americans were questioned by the FBI. Most were aghast because they had been living in the U.S. for decades and they considered themselves to be Americans. They wanted to know why they were being questioned while Americans with other ethnic backgrounds were not.

George Bush did not listen to the Iraqi-Americans about their allegiance to the U.S. A common site was an Iraqi-American-owned business with its windows boarded. Many Iraqi-Americans in southern California had to shut down their businesses for good because of the actions taken against them by bigoted individuals during Desert Storm.

Most Iraqi-Americans had family in Iraq, but during Desert Storm, it was impossible for them to find out the conditions of their relatives because the U.S. demolished all forms of communication within Iraq. The U.S. administration did nothing to help the Iraqi-Americans and, by its silence, endorsed atrocities against them.

History does repeat itself. We saw the same ethnocentrism and bigotry released in 1991 repeated in 2003 with the illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq by the U.S. However, there are precedents from antiquity that mirror those actions.

William Apes was a Native American author and activist for Native causes. In 1836, he gave a speech in Boston to the descendents of the Puritans who had decimated the once-proud Wampanoag tribe of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. His speech was not an attempt at diplomacy. Apes gave the citizens an historical look back at the 17th century and his message stated that the American population should take note of the atrocities and not let them ever happen again. The presentation was called "Eulogy on King Philip." King Philip (Native name Metacomet) was the leader of the Wampanoag tribe when it went to war against the Pilgrims. The tribe did not want war, but, much like the two U.S. wars against Iraq, it was forced on them. The comparisons are intriguing.

In Desert Storm, we saw thousands of dead Iraqis on the "Highway to Hell," and similar scenes were shown in 2003 while American troops were marching toward Baghdad; bodies piled up on top of each other with insects attacking the corpses. In describing the plight of Native Americans centuries ago, Apes wrote:

It is, however, true that there are many who are said to be honorable warriors, who, in the wisdom of their civilized

legislation, think it no crime to wreak their vengeance upon whole nations and communities, until the fields are covered with blood and the rivers turned into purple fountains, while groans like distant thunder, are heard from the wounded and tens of thousands of the dying, leaving helpless families depending on their cares and sympathies for life; while a loud response is heard floating through the air from the ten thousand Indian children and orphans ...

And do you believe that Indians cannot feel and see, as well as white people? If you think so, you are mistaken. Their power of feeling and knowing is as quick as yours.

Substitute the word "Iraqi" for Indian in Apes' words and the similarities are evident. The Wampanoag, just like the Iraqis, were forced to disarm. King Philip complained to the Pilgrims that they were ruining the fields of his people. He took his case to the court of the foreigners. According to Apes:

Philip's complaint was that the Pilgrims had injured the planting grounds of his people. The Pilgrims, acting as umpires, say the charge against them was not sustained; and because it was not, to their satisfaction, the whites wanted that Philip should order his men to bring in his arms and ammunition and the court was to dispose of them as they pleased.

These events are almost identical to Iraq's complaints of Kuwait stealing its oil and the UN ordering Iraq to disarm.

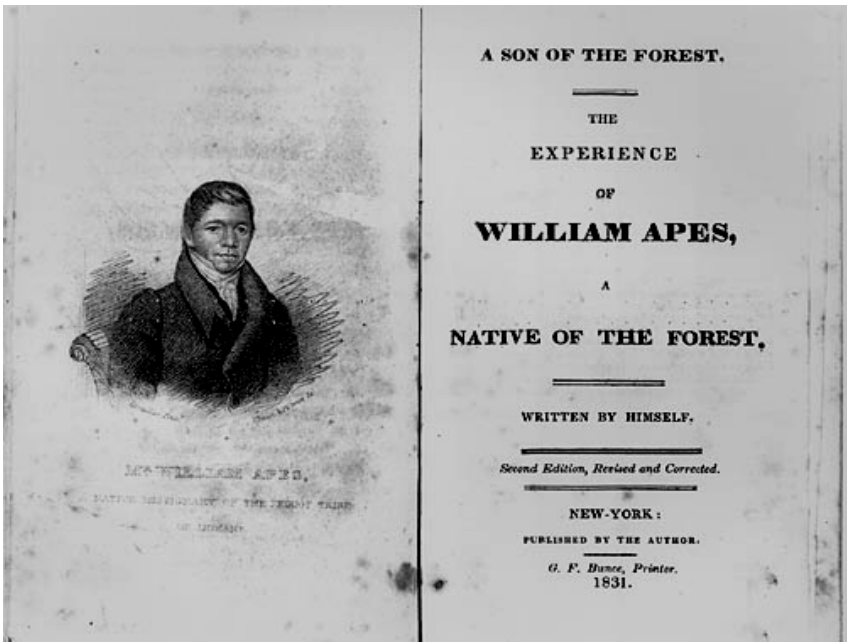
After a two-year war, the Wampanoag tribe was slaughtered. Philip was killed and his body parts were distributed and put on display in various towns of southern New England. A Native American had sold out and told the Pilgrims where to find Philip. Apes explained, "Treachery, however, hastened his ruin; one of his men, by hope of reward from the deceptive Pilgrims, betrayed his country into their hands."

The methods of finding and killing Philip are analogous to those used in the murder of Uday and Qusay Hussein. A Hussein distant family member told the Americans where they were. After killing the two, the U.S. then displayed their shot-up bodies to the world. Almost four centuries



Left: King Philip, native name Metacomet, led the first large-scale resistance movement in North America against European settlers.

Bottom: Native American author William Apes on the inside of his classic work *Native of the Forest*.



separate the two incidents, yet the same method leading to capture (treason) and the gory exhibit of bodies are used today to depict “victory.” And, the same reason, bigotry, was the fuel that fired the ire of the Americans to destroy the dark-skinned enemies in Massachusetts and in Iraq.

What Did April Say?

Another deceitful incident that hurt Iraq was the activity of April Glaspie, the former U.S. Ambassador to Iraq. She met with Saddam Hussein on July 25, 1990 to discuss the future of Kuwait and Iraq.

Before we discuss her meeting, let’s look at background information that led to the point where Iraq was on the verge of invading its Arab neighbor to the south. For many years, the country known as Kuwait was culturally, geographically, racially and economically a part of the area known as Iraq today. Iraq has been identified by different names over the centuries and has been a part of various empires, but present-day Kuwait was always a province of Basra, the southernmost component of Iraq.

In the early part of the 20th century, the British laid the boundaries that led to the current Middle East. Many of those overran traditional cultures and identities, making the area a hotbed of violence from then until the beginning of the 21st century. Today, it looks like the conflicts created by these borders may yet spill over into the next century. The Kuwaiti-Iraqi border created hostility and mistrust. Despite the British placing of stooges in power in Iraq during their 20th century occupation of the country, two of the quisling governments protested the status of Kuwait as an independent country.

Until 1990, the Ba’ath government of Iraq and the emirate of Kuwait held an uneasy truce. At times, both countries experienced amiable relations, but at others, there was an aloofness. The common denominator was that both were populated by Arabs and both used this brotherhood to keep peace.

In 1980, Iran and Iraq went to war. The two countries fought a bloody eight-year conflict that ended in a stalemate. Iran wanted to spread its own Islamic revolution throughout the Middle East and Iraq was the only country in the area that could stop the territorial designs of Iran. Iraq was the buffer that stopped the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, including Kuwait, from falling into Iranian hands. Unlike the hostile attitude of neighboring countries brought on by U.S. intervention in the area, during the 1980s, Iraq’s Arab neighbors stood solidly behind the country that was sacrificing its soldiers to keep the independence of Gulf Arabian coun-

tries. In the 1990s, with forceful persuasion by the U.S., countries like Saudi Arabia, U.A.E., Qatar, and others turned against their once former ally. Kuwait, with much U.S. assistance, was the first to betray Iraq and others followed. Some, however, such as Yemen and Jordan, kept cordial relations with Iraq because the people of these countries forced their leaders not to ostracize the Iraqis.

By the end of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq's economy had been greatly weakened. The incidents leading to Desert Storm began to emerge.

Kuwait lent money to Iraq during the war. The money was allocated for the defense of Kuwait, as well as that of Iraq, and the Iraqi government did not expect to be hard-pressed to repay the loans after the hostilities ended, especially because much of the money was used in thwarting Iran from invading Kuwait.

Soon after the cease-fire, Kuwait demanded repayment. Saddam Hussein was shocked that Kuwait would apply so much pressure after his country had spent eight bloody years defending Kuwait from Iranian aggression. When Iraq attempted to discuss the matter of repayment with Kuwait, the Kuwaitis became ever more insistent about immediate remission. The Iraqis did not know at that time that the CIA and Kuwait had already instituted measures to further undermine the Iraqi economy.

After Iraq crossed the Kuwaiti border on August 2, 1990, many aspects of this anti-Iraq scheme came out in the open. The Iraqis found a copy of a letter dated November 22, 1989 and marked "Top Secret and Private" that was sent by Brigadier Ahmed Al Fahd (Director General of the State Security Department of Kuwait) to Sheikh Salem Al Sabah Al Sabah (Minister of the Interior of Kuwait). The letter mentions the collusion of the CIA and the Kuwaiti government and their plans to undermine the Iraq economy. Here are a few highlights:

In accordance with Your Highness's orders, as given during our meetings with you on October 22, 1989, I visited the headquarters of the United States Intelligence Agency, together with Colonel Ishaq Abd Al Hadi Shaddad, Director of Investigations for the Governorate of Ahmadi, from November 12 to 18, 1989. The United States side emphasized that the visit should be top secret in order not to arouse the sensibilities among our brothers in the Gulf Cooperation Council, Iran and Iraq ...

We agreed with the United States side that visits would

be exchanged at all levels between the State Security Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, and that information would be exchanged about armaments and social and political structures of Iran and Iraq ...

We agreed with the American side that it was important to take advantage of the deteriorating economic situation in Iraq in order to put pressure on that country's government to delineate our common border. The Central Intelligence Agency gave us its view of appropriate means of pressure, saying that broad cooperation should be initiated between us, on condition that such actions are coordinated at a high level.

This letter proved the Iraqi allegations of a definite U.S. plan to keep Iraq's economy weak so Kuwait could benefit. The release of this letter put a different look on the events of August 2, 1990 and the following few months. Iraq did not enter Kuwait simply to stake claim to Kuwait's oil. It did so to stop Kuwait and the U.S. from permanently damaging its economy.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz quickly spread the word about the U.S.-Kuwait collaboration but the agenda was written by Bush I and barely a peep was heard about the damning evidence. The world was hearing about "naked aggression" and "another Hitler." In an October 24, 1990 letter to the United Nations, Aziz highlighted the actions of the U.S. and Kuwait that led to the eventual occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. Many crucial points are brought up, so it is important to publish the entire letter:

I am sending you a copy of a letter dated November 22, 1989, from the Director-General of the State Security Department to the Minister of the Interior of the former Kuwaiti regime. This dangerous document proves the existence of a conspiracy between that government and the government of the United States to destabilize the situation in Iraq.

I mentioned this conspiracy in a letter dated September 4, 1990, that I addressed to foreign ministers around the world. In that letter, I explained the historical background and the machinations of the Kuwaiti leaders against Iraq as follows:

“We must therefore conclude that the leaders of the former regime wished to pursue their plots until Iraq’s economy was destroyed and its political system destabilized. It is impossible to believe that a regime like that formerly in power in Kuwait could have embarked on such an ambitious conspiracy without the support and protection of a great power. That power can only be the United States.”

I also made the following remarks in my letter:

“It is evident from my historical account and from the description I have given of events, that the disagreement was not simply about economic or border questions. We had many differences of that nature over 20 years, and we always tried to maintain the best possible relations with the former leaders of Kuwait, in spite of their contemptible behavior and their despicable attitude toward Iraq. The fact of the matter is that there was an organized conspiracy, in which the former leaders of Kuwait deliberately took part with the support of the United States, to destabilize Iraq’s economy and undermine its defense capabilities against the imperialist aims of Israel and acts of aggression on part of the Arab world. To achieve that, it was necessary to undermine Iraq’s political system and to strengthen the hegemony of the United States over the region, especially over its oil resources. In fact, as President Saddam Hussein declared at the Baghdad summit, and as I indicated in my letter to the Secretary-General of the Arab League, it was a war against Iraq.”

This document proves, clearly and unequivocally, that the CIA and the intelligence services of the former government of Kuwait were in league with each other in plotting against the national security, territorial integrity, and national economy of Iraq.

I should be grateful if you would kindly circulate this letter and the appended text as official Security Council documents.

Months before the beginning of Desert Storm, Tariq Aziz had exposed Kuwait's duplicity. Instead of looking at the facts, however, much of the world allowed George Bush I to revamp them and portray a different scenario — one in which the Iraqis invaded Kuwait for no reason other than greed and the acquisition of Kuwaiti oil.

Logic would tear holes in this assessment. Iraq already had the world's second-largest oil reserves, so it did not need to grab those of Kuwait. Iraq's economic existence had been threatened by the U.S. and Kuwait, but it seemed no one was listening.

In 1989, another strange scenario emerged. Iraq began to lose oil from its wells in the Rumailah oil fields, located in the Iraq/Kuwait border area. Iraq discovered that the Kuwaitis had installed a slant drilling operation on the border, enabling them to drill under the boundary and steal Iraqi oil. At the time, the Iraqi government assessed the oil losses at \$2.7 billion, but after discovering the enormity of the operation, losses were reappraised to about \$14 billion. The stealing of Iraqi oil was well-documented by Iraq. On July 15, 1990, Tariq Aziz, in a letter to the Secretary of the Arab League, described the theft in detail.

Because of the cooperative relationship between Kuwait and Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War, Saddam Hussein was aghast at the Kuwaiti's change of heart once the hostilities ceased. Iraq began to find pieces of the puzzle and put them together. The findings were corroborated after August 2, 1990 when the Iraqis found evidence in Kuwait, such as the top secret letter previously mentioned.

Prior to August 2, 1990, the Iraqis had enough facts to present to the Arab world showing Kuwaiti involvement in undermining their economy. To Iraq, this was the beginning of a U.S. intrusion into the area that would not be reversed once put into action. In a speech in Amman, Jordan on February 24, 1990, Saddam Hussein told those assembled of the imminent danger of allowing the U.S. to become involved in regional affairs. (See Appendix XII for entire speech.) Remember, at the time, the Soviet Union was in existence and was considered a world superpower. The Iraqi president stated:

The country that exerts the greatest amount of influence on the region, on the Gulf and its oil, will consolidate its superiority as an unrivaled superpower. This proves that if the population of the Gulf — and of the entire Arab world — is not vigilant, this area will be ruled according to the wishes of the United States.

Despite this ominous prediction, the Arab world did not take much notice. Most of the countries in the region could not envisage a permanent U.S. presence that would dictate U.S. policy to them. Events since 1990, much to the chagrin of regional Arab countries, proved Saddam Hussein's statement accurate. Today, countries such as Qatar and Kuwait are virtual U.S. possessions, and others, such as Syria, cannot breathe without the threat of U.S. annihilation.

Kuwait, against the wishes of its oil-producing partners in OPEC, began to pump much more oil than its agreed quota, bringing the price of oil down on world markets. Every time Kuwait's actions forced a decrease in the price of oil, Iraq lost millions, if not billions, of dollars, further eroding its economy.

The situation became more tense and Saddam Hussein called for a meeting with April Glaspie, the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq. On July 25, 1990, they met and Saddam explained his country's plight to her. He discussed Kuwait's breaking of OPEC agreements and that his country was in desperate need of money to help rebuild its infrastructure that was damaged in the eight-year Iran-Iraq War. (See Appendix I for full transcript.)

After listening, Glaspie then assured Saddam that the U.S. was on Iraq's side and that the U.S. was in sync with the desires of Iraq to rebuild. She explained:

I think I understand this. I have lived here for years. I admire your extraordinary efforts to rebuild your country. I know you need funds. We understand that, and our opinion is that you should have the opportunity to rebuild your country. But we have no opinion on Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border dispute with Kuwait.

Saddam Hussein then complained that the U.S. was blocking most orders his government had placed with the U.S. He said:

There is nothing for us to buy from America. Only wheat. Because every time we want to buy something, they say it is forbidden. I am afraid that one day you will say, "You are going to make gunpowder out of wheat."

Those words were quite prophetic. After Desert Storm, with a full embargo in place, Iraq could not import food, so it had to create more agriculturally-based business. In June 1992, U.S. military jets, with their

afterburners, destroyed 23 Iraqi wheat fields.

Getting back to the Saddam Hussein-April Glaspie meeting, she responded to Saddam's complaints about lack of access to American markets with, "I have a direct instruction from the president to seek better relations with Iraq."

The U.S. administration maintained that it was Iraq's business and not that of the U.S. in the matter of Iraq's dispute with Kuwait. On July 26, 1990, the day after the Saddam-Glaspie meeting, the press asked Margaret Tutweiler, U.S. Department of State spokesperson was, "Has the United States sent any type of diplomatic message to the Iraqis about putting 30,000 troops on the border of Kuwait? Has there been any type of protest communicated from the United States government?" She replied, "I'm entirely unaware of any such protest."

On July 31, 1990, John Kelly, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, testified to Congress that the "United States has no commitment to defend Kuwait and the U.S. has no intention of defending Kuwait if it is attacked by Iraq."

These messages are not ambiguous, but they were false. Bush had plans ready to destroy Iraq and the crossing of the Iraq-Kuwait border was an appropriate excuse to implement Bush's designs.

During the war propaganda buildup of the next few months, the subject of the Saddam-Glaspie meeting was kept under wraps. Few Americans knew of the incident. Adding to the intrigue, Glaspie seemingly disappeared after her London statement. From August 4, 1990 until May 1991, no government official mentioned her or could account for her whereabouts. A few reporters worked up the nerve to ask, but they were ignored.

In May 1991, April Glaspie appeared before the U.S. Senate. Questions were not asked about where she had been for the prior nine months, and the public will probably never know.

During her report to the Senate, she told of warning Saddam Hussein not to take action against Kuwait. Most of the senators believed her because she alleged that the transcripts of her meeting with Saddam were altered by the Iraqi government. (The CIA admitted that the transcripts were accurate and that Glaspie had not issued such a statement to Saddam Hussein.) After her testimony, the Senate virtually granted Glaspie hero status.

In July 1991, Senators Clayborne Pell of Rhode Island and Alan Cranston of California came up with a totally different scenario from the one Glaspie presented. They read the contents of secret messages from

Glaspie to the U.S. government and assessed that Glaspie blatantly lied to the U.S. Senate.

Pell and Cranston appeared on national television and called Glaspie's testimony deceitful and shameful. They vowed to get to the bottom of the incident, all the time lambasting Glaspie and her testimony before the Senate. Pell and Cranston announced that they were putting the machinery in motion for a full investigation to begin in September 1991. By mid-October, there was no word of an investigation.

On October 11, 1991, I called Senator Cranston's office in Washington D.C. When I asked about the impending investigation, there was silence. After a brief pause, I was hesitatingly told that they knew nothing about it and I was advised to call the Foreign Affairs Committee.

I took the recommendation of Cranston's office and called the committee. After I gave a brief description of the incident, I asked, "Is there any information available?" The woman, who would not identify herself, snapped "*Nope!*" After a moment's pause, she tersely added, "There was a meeting scheduled and then postponed *indefinitely*." Then, she abruptly hung up.

Somehow, the administration squashed the only chance we had of learning the truth behind the Glaspie affair. The question that will never be publicly addressed and answered is: "Did April Glaspie give Saddam Hussein a green light for invading Kuwait out of incompetence (i.e. was the Arab-Arab statement her own?) or was she instructed to say that by the U.S. administration?"

April Glaspie is a shady character at best. According to the U.S. administration, in 1992, she accepted a position at the University of San Diego. Her phone number was listed, yet there never was an answer when it was called, and, there was no answering machine.

In June 1993, the U.S. involvement in Somalia turned from a "humanitarian" mission to one that attempted to capture the newly-demonized Mohammed Aidid. There was much bloodshed. Shortly before the public denigration of Aidid, Glaspie was re-assigned to Somalia. She wrote the new script.

Soon after the Somalia debacle, Glaspie again disappeared, only to turn up in the Rwanda area, where the slaughtering of more than a million people was just getting underway. Prior to her stint in Iraq, Glaspie was stationed in Lebanon during that country's bitter and bloody civil war.

Is the fact that Glaspie happens to appear in areas in which there is violence shortly after her debut a matter of chance, or, possibly the prelude to destruction?

The Closed Door

Negotiation as a tool to settle the crisis that emerged when Iraq crossed the border into Kuwait on August 2, 1990 was disallowed by the U.S. From August 3, 1990, the diplomatic door was slammed shut and nobody could pry it open, despite the efforts of many to negotiate a settlement. You might recall that there was a term being spread between August 3, 1990 and the start of Desert Storm: "The Nightmare Scenario." This term was used to describe George Bush's worst vision: Iraqi troops pulling out of Kuwait.

Most Americans view August 2, 1990 as the date that the Iraq-Kuwait crisis began, but Iraq knew long before that Kuwait was involved with undermining its economy and political structure. Saddam Hussein asked on February 23, 1990 in Amman, Jordan, "Aren't American ships still patrolling the Gulf even though the war between Iran and Iraq is over?"

The U.S. military presence in the Gulf, combined with the information that Iraq had acquired concerning Kuwait's techniques in trying to undermine the Iraqi economy, led Iraq to believe it was targeted, but Iraq thought a diplomatic conclusion could be reached. On March 3, 1990, Saddam Hussein met with King Hussein of Jordan in Baghdad. When the conversation turned to the problems between Kuwait and Iraq, Saddam Hussein told his Jordanian counterpart, "In time, reason and goodwill would finally prevail in this matter." Shortly after, Saddam Hussein met with Senator Robert Dole and explained his country's plight to the American lawmaker. When Dole returned to the U.S. and met with George Bush I, he told the president that Saddam Hussein is "the kind of leader the United States can easily be in a position to influence."

Before the Iraqi intervention in Kuwait, most Arab countries were concerned about problems that may arise from an invasion. However, the American public was unaware of the months of negotiation that Iraq had conducted in attempting to defuse the situation. At that time, the American press rarely covered events in the Middle East unless they involved Israel. When Iraq crossed the border of Kuwait, most Americans considered it an unprovoked act of aggression. The ignorance of the American public about the Middle East allowed Bush to turn U.S. public opinion against Iraq.

Another bit of misinformation fed to the American public concerned the linking of the Palestinian's plight to Iraq's pulling out of Kuwait. In August 1990, Saddam Hussein stated that he would withdraw troops from Kuwait if discussion of the Palestinian question could begin. He was look-

ing to the future and wanted to address major problems in the Arab world that had been put out of sight by much of the Western world. Immediately, we heard the term “no linkage.” The Bush administration told the American public that Saddam Hussein was using this as a ploy and that he had never championed the Palestinian cause before. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Throughout early 1990, Yasser Arafat was a frequent visitor to Baghdad and he and Saddam Hussein worked on the two biggest issues of contention in the Middle East — the Palestinian problem and the Iraq-Kuwait dilemma.

On May 24, 1990, King Hussein of Jordan told Saddam Hussein, “At the next (Arab) summit in Baghdad, I intend to demand financial aid not only for Jordan, but also for the PLO.” Saddam answered, “Leave it to me — I’ll force them to pay.”

On the agenda at the May 28, 1990 summit in Baghdad was the disparity between rich and poor Arabs. Saddam Hussein strongly inferred that the rich countries of the Gulf were not pulling their weight in helping the less fortunate, such as Jordan, Iraq and the Palestinians. When the subject of money arose, he said:

Brothers, let me tell you an old legend that perhaps some of you know. One day, disaster struck a little village, and all the villagers were asked to contribute something toward repairing the damage. In the village there lived a very poor man who had no possessions, and the other inhabitants decided not to ask him for anything. But the poor man approached them and said that he would feel ashamed not to contribute. He gave the other villagers the only thing he possessed — a copper pot. Well, at this summit, that poor man is Iraq, but we shan’t fail in our duty. We shall give \$50 million to Jordan and \$25 million to the PLO. That should help to exert moral pressure on those who might be tempted not to contribute. You all know the sacrifices we have accepted over the years while others fail to respect their agreements.

Saddam Hussein had always worked closely with Yasser Arafat. In fact, he helped convince the Palestinian leader to adopt a more moderate stance in dealing with the U.S. When the U.S. public was told that Saddam was only using the Palestinian issue as a ploy, they were told another lie. His-

tory shows that the Ba'ath government worked right up until the March 2003 invasion of Iraq in helping the Palestinians. Even the more recent assistance received negative press in the U.S. The administration mentioned that the Iraqi government paid a stipend to the families of suicide bombers, therefore, Iraq supported terrorism. In reality, the Iraqi government paid benefits to the families of all those Palestinians who died at the hands of the Israelis during the Palestinian intifada. Saudi Arabia also contributed to those families, yet the Saudis were not depicted as terrorists because the U.S. still had troops stationed there.

After his capture in December 2003, Saddam Hussein was not allowed to talk to a lawyer for months. When he eventually was visited by Khalil al-Dulaymi, the Iraqi lawyer who represented Saddam in court, despite all that had happened since March 2003, the conversation quickly turned to the Palestinians. Saddam Hussein told al-Dulaymi:

The Palestinian issue is an issue of all Arabs. Whoever fritters it away is like someone who fritters away his honor and dignity. They made lots of attempts with me. They sent me letters care of Arab and international leaders and public personalities. They said, "All we want from you is one word; we don't need an agreement now." They wanted me to indicate a willingness to recognize their so-called state "Israel." But I refused with all my power, in spite of the fact that they told me that recognition of the Zionist entity would mean the end of the embargo, and a return to normal relations with the United States.

But I understand that whoever fritters away the soil and territory will fritter away everything; his honor and dignity. After that, there won't be any red lines for him. It is a deadly chain reaction. It only needs some place to start and then the path of concessions will just carry on with no end.

Despite Iraq's efforts to reach an agreement with Kuwait, the Emirate continued to demand money from Iraq. Leaders of other Arab countries were becoming concerned that the situation could become more volatile and most were surprised at Kuwait's insistence on immediate payments.

On July 28, 1990, King Hussein of Jordan spoke with Sheikh Sabah, the Kuwaiti foreign minister. The king was perplexed at Kuwait's attitude

and he told the foreign minister about his concern that Iraq may take military action. The Kuwaiti response was curious because Iraq had not yet invaded the Emirate and, in theory, the U.S. had no defense agreement with Kuwait. Sheikh Sabah told King Hussein, "We cannot bargain over an inch of territory. It is against our constitution. If Saddam comes across the border, let him come. The Americans will get him out."

Iraq maintained that the U.S. was collaborating with Kuwait to undermine the Iraqi economy and Sheikh Sabah's statement inferred knowledge of future U.S. military intervention. When Iraq crossed the border of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the whole world focused its attention on the Middle East. Unfortunately, Iraq's military intervention was the first information to which most Americans were exposed in the Iraq-Kuwait dispute, making it possible for the U.S. administration to create its own version of the incident. Hardly anybody knew about the fruitless discussions that led to the invasion.

Saddam Hussein's strategy was to garner world attention to his plight and then withdraw from Kuwait and start earnest negotiations. He had no idea of the magnitude of the U.S. plan to turn the world against Iraq.

Shortly after Iraqi troops crossed the Kuwaiti border, King Hussein talked with Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi president mentioned that most problems could be resolved at a scheduled mini-summit to be held in Cairo, Egypt on August 4. He then said he did not want any condemnation by an Arab country of the invasion prior to the meeting. King Hussein took the role of mediator and said he would talk to the other Arab nations. He foresaw few problems.

One of the first calls King Hussein made was to the Egyptian leader, Hosni Mubarak. After the king explained the situation, Mubarak replied, "I'll support you."

On the same day, August 2, 1990, King Hussein called President Bush to explain the latest developments in negotiations. He wanted to obtain Bush's commitment that he not pressure Arab countries to issue communiqués criticizing Iraq's actions for at least 48 hours. At the time of the call, Bush was on an airplane from Washington D.C. to Colorado. The Jordanian leader told Bush, "We (Arabs) can settle this crisis, George ... we can deal with it. We just need a little time." Bush's reply was, "You've got it. I'll leave it to you."

King Hussein thought he was dealing with an honorable person, and, when the conversation ended, he took Bush's word that he would do nothing for 48 hours. Bush did not wait 48 seconds to start thwarting the efforts of a negotiated settlement.

While the Arab world was awaiting the mini-summit in Cairo, scheduled for August 4, George Bush was already lining up allies to condemn Iraq, despite his promise to King Hussein to remain quiet for 48 hours. On August 3, 1990, Saddam Hussein issued a communiqué announcing he would begin to withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait on August 5. He was confident that the mini-summit scheduled for August 4 would reap benefits for everyone. Saddam, as well as the entire Arab world, was unaware of the American chicanery that was occurring.

On August 3, 1990, Bush met with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell. The topic was the option of military force against Iraq. Powell told Bush, "If you finally decide to commit to military forces, Mr. President, it must be done as massively and decisively as possible."

Meanwhile, on August 3, in Amman, Jordan, matters worsened. King Hussein met with his foreign minister, Marwan Al Qasim, and stated, "I have very good news. Saddam Hussein has told me he's going to pull out of Kuwait." The foreign minister was a little more up-to-date on the situation and he wasted no time telling the king, "You haven't heard, but the Egyptian Foreign Ministry has just put out a statement condemning the Iraqis for invading Kuwait."

King Hussein realized he had been duped by Bush. Egypt was an Arab country that held much influence and its condemnation could destroy all possible negotiations. The king did not know at the time that Bush had already called Mubarak and cancelled a \$7 billion Egyptian debt in return for Mubarak's condemnation — a debt George Bush had no right to forgive under U.S. law.

An irate King Hussein called Mubarak and asked, "Why did you release that communiqué? We had an agreement not to do something like that until the mini-summit took place." Mubarak answered, "I was under tremendous pressure from the media and my own people. My mind is not functioning." King Hussein angrily told Mubarak, "Well, when it starts functioning again, let me know."

Egypt's condemnation virtually shut the door on diplomacy. The August 4 mini-summit was cancelled and King Hussein told his brother, Prince Hassan, "The Arabs ought to have proved that they could settle the conflict themselves. We shouldn't have failed. Anything can happen now. We must expect the worst."

Meanwhile, events were occurring in the Soviet Union that would help isolate Iraq in the international arena. On August 3, U.S. Secretary of State, James Baker met with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Edward Shevardnadze. It is curious to see that Bush had promised King Hussein

48 hours of silence on August 2, yet less than 24 hours later, the U.S. Secretary of State was in the Soviet Union to discuss the Iraq-Kuwait issue. Baker urged his counterpart to assist in issuing a joint U.S.-Soviet statement condemning Iraq's actions. Shevardnadze responded, "We insist that the Soviet Union won't accept any gunboat diplomacy on your part." Baker assured him, "There won't be any unilateral action by the U.S. unless American citizens are in danger." Shevardnadze made clear his government's stance by stating, "Above all, no military operations."

Shevardnadze's diplomatic, but weak, response assured Baker that the Soviets would not interfere with U.S. war plans. Despite Shevardnadze's "no military operations" statement, the U.S. was already lining up its military machine to travel to the area.

The diplomatic initiatives and the Iraqi statement of August 3 calling for the beginning of a withdrawal of Iraqi troops on August 5, 1990, have become the most under-reported aspects of this period. Without U.S. deceit, the situation could have been solved. Few people ever read about these occurrences.

Yasser Arafat traveled to Baghdad on August 5 and met with Saddam Hussein. Despite the setbacks, both were still optimistic about a negotiated settlement. Saddam told Arafat, "A political solution is absolutely essential." The PLO leader answered, "I completely agree."

Saudi Arabia still was not convinced that American troops should be stationed in the Middle East. As late as August 8, 1990, King Fahd was blaming Kuwait for the problems. He stated, "I have a lot of criticisms to make of them (the Al Sabah family who rules Kuwait). They didn't pay their debts. They are largely responsible for this crisis." Shortly after, however, Fahd allowed the unlimited incursion of American troops on Saudi soil.

On the same day as King Fahd's condemnation of Kuwait, Bush made a declaration that received much more media coverage than the king's and set the tone for the future. In six days, he had made enough backroom deals to be able to proclaim, "A line has been drawn in the sand."

Yasser Arafat was now traveling all over the Middle East trying to put together a meeting that could ease the tensions. He tried to convene a meeting in Baghdad, but the U.S. persuaded some sides that it would not be in their interests to attend. On August 10, Arafat stated, "It's a mistake. If the delegation had gone to Baghdad, it could have reached a solution that would have settled the Gulf crisis."

By now, King Hussein knew that he and others who tried to negotiate peace had been double-crossed by the United States. On August 13, in

Baghdad, he lamented:

Every day that passes brings us closer to war, and those who claim that an Arab solution is a dead letter forget that it was feasible during the first week of the crisis until the Americans put a stop to it.

By August 15, the American administration knew it had cornered Iraq and it was only a matter of time until a final plan for slaughter was designed. On that day, an advisor to Bush summed up the administration's attitude. He told the president, "It's true we've promised to consult Congress if there's a war. In other words, we'll phone them just after the first bombs have been dropped."

To add to the deceit, Bush made a statement the following day (August 16) that heralded the beginning of a U.S. military presence in the Gulf. He told the press, "We're there to protect Saudi Arabia against aggression and nothing more. And we'll withdraw when they request."

During this aspect of the U.S. military buildup, the U.S. administration stated that Iraq was preparing to invade Saudi Arabia. Iraq denied all the allegations and it stated it had no territorial designs on the kingdom. Most military analysts said that Iraq could have taken over Saudi Arabia within two or three days if it desired. Even General Schwarzkopf admitted that if Iraq attacked Saudi Arabia prior to December 1990, American troops would have been massacred and there would have been a "Dunkirk-like exodus" of American military personnel from the Gulf. Unlike the U.S., Iraq was honest about its intentions. It was only interested in straightening out its differences with Kuwait. (See the previous section "Anatomy of a Massacre" for information of satellite photos exposing U.S. lies about Iraqi troop buildup near the Saudi border.)

Over the next few months, many attempts to negotiate a settlement arose. Every one was obstructed by the U.S.

On November 30, 1990, hope appeared. In what seemed to be a complete change of attitude, George Bush put forth a plan for negotiations. He proposed that Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz come to Washington for talks and that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker travel to Baghdad for discussions with the Iraqi government. His invitation was for talks "at any time before January 15, 1991" (the date the United Nations had affixed for allowing military force to oust Iraqi troops from Kuwait).

The optimism was short-lived. Bush had no intention of allowing such talks to take place. When the Iraqis came back with dates of January 3 and

January 12, Bush said they were too close to the January 15 deadline, despite his original offer to meet “at any time before January 15.”

In a compromise effort, Tariq Aziz and James Baker met on January 9, 1991 in Geneva, Switzerland. Aziz wanted to negotiate, but Baker only handed a letter to Aziz warning the Iraqis that the U.S. was prepared to annihilate Iraq. Despite other last-minute attempts for peace from King Hussein, Yasser Arafat and others, there was no way of obtaining a non-military settlement. George Bush had closed the door for negotiation and locked it months before.

Pérez de Cuéllar met with Saddam Hussein just prior to the start of hostilities and the Iraqi president designated the U.S. as the aggressor when he told the UN secretary-general,

The Iraqis will never withdraw in the face of death. Bush will therefore be pushed day by day into a corner, and he will be obliged to resort to arms because he who is busy preparing the requirements for the use of arms could not find alternatives to avoid the use of arms.

No Dissent

Desert Storm gained pre-event publicity on a never-before-seen scale, however, only the pro-war side was highlighted. The U.S. administration portrayed those who were opposed as un-American and unpatriotic. There were also inferences that those who did not want war were slightly mentally deficient.

The U.S. was built on dissent but the Bush administration deemed objection against military intervention in Iraq an irritant, not the safeguard of freedom. The number one spokesman for the U.S. in the international arena, Secretary of State James Baker, put the dampers on any variance of opinion concerning Desert Storm. He sent his message to the American public just prior to the outbreak of the slaughter when newspapers across the U.S. ran the headline, “Baker Urges Americans Not To Dissent.”

This message was successful. Few people questioned the fact that a U.S. Cabinet member advocated taking away a freedom on which the U.S. was founded: freedom of speech. Baker’s statement was not taken lightly by Bush II, as his administration fine-tuned the message and those who opposed the March 2003 invasion of Iraq were painted with an even more devastating brush. “Either you are with us or against us” became the catch-

phrase of the day. In other words, one who opposed invading Iraq was a traitor.

There were loud voices from those who disapproved of the massacre, both during and after the 1991 hostilities. Former U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, who was interviewed just after the announcement that Baghdad was being bombed, called for the “total disarmament of the United States.” He traveled to Iraq at the height of the U.S. bombing and returned only to be silenced in the U.S. media.

In Iraq, Clark collaborated with NBC producer John Alpert, who had worked for that national television network for 12 years. Alpert returned to the U.S. with eight hours of uncensored film that showed the destruction and death that U.S. bombs had inflicted upon Iraq. Until that point, the public was seeing only Nintendo-like attacks on Iraqi military targets. Alpert’s footage showed burned charcoal-like bodies of men, women, babies and the elderly. It also showed the destruction of Iraq’s infrastructure — the sewage system rendered useless, no electricity, no medicine, towns leveled to the ground, etc. In essence, he brought back video of events the U.S. government said were not happening.

When he returned to NBC, Alpert thought he had the scoop of the century. His superiors agreed and NBC made time to show the horrors of the bombing. At the last minute, the president of NBC News, Michael Gartner, cancelled the presentation and called Alpert, who stated, “He called me and said, ‘I’m sick and tired of you guys making trouble in the Third World. I’ve had enough. We’re severing our relationship.’” The only people who saw the footage were those who ordered it through small alternative media companies.

Soon after the Gulf War, Gartner was released of his duties at NBC. An investigative piece ran in which a van was alleged to be dangerous and defective. It showed the van blowing up on impact with another object. Subsequent investigation proved that NBC rigged the van with explosives before the impact to ensure its destruction. The scandal included the resignation of Gartner, who chose not to televise the truth about Iraq, yet was the perpetrator of the production of a contrived incident.

Radio talk show hosts screened their calls and those opposing Desert Storm were not broadcast. Pro-Desert Storm comments were aired 24 hours a day. When confronted with the discrepancies in objectivity, many stations said that an anti-Desert Storm call was “political” and they did not broadcast political calls. Most stations stated that an “I support the troops” message was not political, allowing a multitude of pro-war voices to be heard without dispute.

The opposition to all opposition of the slaughter reached the sports arena as well. Many U.S. sports teams wore logos of the U.S. flag before and during Desert Storm. Seton Hall University was no exception, however, one player chose not to wear the insignia. Marco Lokar, an Italian citizen, stated that he opposed all war and his conscience would not allow him to wear a U.S. flag on his team's apparel.

His teammates understood and never pressured him to wear a flag or logo, but the fans and public did not share the same open-minded attitudes. When the Italian entered the court, fans threw tomatoes at him, making it virtually impossible for him to play.

Lokar withdrew from Seton Hall and returned to Italy. As he boarded the plane to return to his homeland, he said, "I thought America was supposed to be the land of free speech."

The disallowing of dissent took a firm hold. There was no public forum for opposing views, despite millions of U.S. citizens being disgusted every day with what little they saw taking place.

The U.S. government experimented with its citizens' freedom of expression during Desert Storm. It kept pushing the limits and the public never said "enough is enough." Neither did the media. This was a widely-practiced public acquiescence to a large-scale government-induced pro-



10,000 people demonstrated in San Diego, California, to no avail.

gram of censorship in the U.S. The program has been upgraded and is firmly in place today with no signs of abatement.

A State of Permanent Human Bondage

The goal of Desert Storm was to destroy the country of Iraq under the guise of liberating Kuwait. In February 1991, during the height of U.S. bombing, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark visited Iraq and reported his findings. At that time, few photos had come from Iraq showing the devastation. Most reporters left Iraq on the eve of the bombing campaign and spent their time in Saudi Arabia listening to the daily propaganda given by the U.S. military. They became so bored that they began to interview each other.

What Clark saw was not a pretty site. He stated:

The effect of the bombing, if continued, will be the destruction of much of the physical and economic base for life in Iraq. The purpose of the bombing can only be explained rationally as the destruction of Iraq as a viable state for a generation or more.

Clark's message was not widely reported. After all, the U.S. version of events stated that the only reason for the aggression was to remove Iraqi soldiers from Kuwait. The lack of coverage of what was occurring in Iraq was convenient for the U.S. because it allowed the destruction of Iraq to continue with no world outcry.

After the bombing ceased, pictures began making their way to the outside world. When this information reached the U.S., the administration called it lies and propaganda. At other times, it accused Iraq of destroying its own institutions and blaming it on U.S. bombs. Once people from outside Iraq began to visit the country, the blatant U.S. lies were exposed. The following is a list of the numbers of facilities destroyed during the 42-day bombing campaign. It was compiled and published by the Iraqi Reconstruction Bureau:

- Schools and scholastic facilities — 3960
- Universities, labs, dormitories — 40
- Health facilities (including hospitals, clinics, medical warehouses) — 421
- Telephone operations, communication towers, etc. — 475

- Bridges, buildings, housing complexes — 260
- Warehouses, shopping centers, grain silos — 251
- Churches and mosques — 159
- Dams, pumping stations, agricultural facilities — 200
- Petroleum facilities (including refineries) — 145
- General services (shelters, sewage treatment plants, municipalities) — 830
- Houses — 10,000 to 20,000

In April 1991, a fact-finding team from Greenpeace visited Iraq and nobody was prepared for the display of massive devastation. When Greenpeace issued its report, it said Iraq had been bombed back to a pre-industrial era. The report added, “New technology did not make the U.S. military better at preventing destruction, it just made it more efficient at destruction itself.”

The U.S. press ignored most of the reports by various groups that visited Iraq after Desert Storm. The few words reported, along with the absence of photos, assured a lack of public outcry condemning the slaughter.



The Al-Urooba Intermediate School for Girls was bombed on January 31, 1991.

The massacre should not have surprised those who followed incidents leading to Desert Storm. As early as September 1990, a high-up military person mapped the plans for the invasion. On September 16, 1990, General Dugan stated that the proposed plans for combat included the destruction of the Iraqi civilian economy and infrastructure. At that time, no one could envisage the U.S. attacking Iraq because the Iraqi soldiers were in Kuwait and the U.S. demanded their exit. Most people thought, if there was to be a war, it would be conducted in Kuwait, not Baghdad. General Dugan was immediately removed from office. The Bush administration negated Dugan's claims and discredited him. In hindsight, we see that Dugan's testimony was about the only truth we heard from the U.S. government or military at that time. He let the cat out of the bag, but government damage control quickly led the people to believe he made up the scenarios he predicted.

For the first week of Desert Storm, everyone seemed to be mesmerized by the "smart bombs" going down chimneys and smashing through the windows of weapons warehouses. When the odd person asked about civilians being hit, the standard response was, "We're not targeting civilians." What we were not told was that 93% of the bombs dropped were "dumb bombs" and the civilian infrastructure of Iraq was being destroyed. Only about 30 to 40% of the dumb bombs hit their targets. The others randomly created havoc by killing civilians and destroying Iraq's cities and towns.

After Desert Storm, some military people admitted the real nature of the attacks. Air Force General Tony McPeak stated on March 20, 1991, "I've got photographic evidence of several where the pilot just acquired the wrong target." When asked why that information had not come forth earlier, he added, "It ain't my call. I made some recommendations about this; it got turned around, quite frankly."

Those who questioned the U.S. government's reports of only hitting military targets had their fears verified on January 22, 1991. Pictures of a destroyed baby milk factory in the region of Abu Ghraib were broadcast worldwide. Many people were aghast at the bombing of a civilian industry crucial for the existence of youngsters.

The Pentagon immediately went into high gear to try to dispel the protests of those who questioned such barbaric actions. The administration stated that it was a biological weapons plant. Colin Powell said

It is not an infant formula factory, no more than the Rabta chemical plant in Libya made aspirin. It was a biological

weapons facility, of that we are sure — and we have taken it out.

The administration came up with the excuse that “Baby Milk Factory” signs around the plant were written in English and Arabic and they had just been mounted after the bombing to try to make people think it was a baby formula factory. The American public bought the excuse.

The public never researched to discover that many signs in Iraq included both English and Arabic versions because of the substantial English-speaking population who worked in Iraq prior to Desert Storm. The sign at the baby milk factory had been in place for several years prior to its bombing. Peter Arnett of CNN stated after Desert Storm that the same factory and sign were evident in a documentary that CNN produced in the late 1980s.

Nestlé of Switzerland is a leading producer of infant foods. A spokesman for the company said, “We know this was a state-built infant formula plant.” Company officials said they had regularly observed its construction in the past, “because we like to be aware of the competition.”



Bombed baby milk plant was called a “biological weapons facility” by Colin Powell.

U.S. audiences rarely heard or saw what other countries reported concerning Desert Storm. A British TV show, "Panorama," was broadcast on March 25, 1991 which included an interview with General Leonard Perroots, a consultant to U.S. intelligence in Desert Storm. He addressed the bombing of the baby milk factory and he quickly put the matter to rest as he said, "We made a mistake."

The bombing of the baby milk factory put the world on alert that the information broadcast at the daily military briefings was untruthful. At that time, those who opposed Desert Storm were shocked at the widespread destruction in Iraq. They wondered how the U.S. public, which usually would have treated such barbaric designs with disdain, had acquiesced to cheering such actions. The answer lies in the demonizing of Iraq and its president, Saddam Hussein.

In George Bush's Thanksgiving speech to U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia in 1990, he stated:

Every day that passes brings Saddam one step closer to realizing his goal of a nuclear weapons arsenal, and that's why more and more your mission is marked by a real sense of urgency. You know, no one knows exactly who they may be aimed at down the road, but we know this for sure, he's never possessed a weapon he didn't use.

At the time of his speech, Bush knew that Iraq was at least five years away from developing its first crude atomic weapon, yet he made it sound as though Iraq was on the verge of obtaining a comprehensive nuclear arsenal. In further speeches, he suggested that in six months, Iraq would be a nuclear threat to the world. The myth of an Iraqi nuclear warehouse was a prime excuse for Bush II invading Iraq in 2003. And, to this day, many U.S. citizens believe Iraq possessed nuclear weapons.

Even after the bombing of the baby milk factory, the U.S. denied bombing civilians or buildings used in civilian industries. When the Iraqi government stated that a village or suburb was hit, the U.S. government would say the Iraqis weren't telling the truth. Because of the demonizing of Iraq, most Americans thought all Iraqi information consisted of lies.

On January 31, an independent source announced that the U.S. was bombing civilians. The Jordanian Foreign Ministry stated that coalition planes had bombed oil trucks and civilians moving along the highway from Iraq to Jordan. Again, the U.S. denied the allegations, but some eyes were being opened.



Top: On February 10, 1991, U.S. missiles destroyed a graveyard in Nineveh Province.

Bottom: Many villages were in ruins after being hit by U.S. missiles and bombs.



On February 5, 1991, an official in Basra described “a hellish nightmare” of fires and smoke so dense that eyewitnesses say the sun had not been clearly visible for days at a time; that the bombing was leveling entire city blocks; and that there were bomb craters the size of football fields and an untold number of casualties.

On February 7, the military still denied that civilians were being targeted. When asked about the allegations, General Richard Neal told the press, “It’s a target-rich environment and there’s plenty of other targets we can attack.”

While Neal was making his statement, Ramsey Clark was traveling throughout Iraq but his assessment differed greatly from that of the general. In describing the reality in Iraq, Clark stated:

Over the 2,000 miles of highway, roads and streets we traveled, we saw scores, probably several hundred, destroyed vehicles. There were oil tank trucks, tractor trailers, lorries, pickup trucks, a public bus, a mini bus, a taxi cab and many private cars destroyed by aerial bombardments and strafing. We found no evidence of military equipment or supplies in the vehicles.

Along the roads, we saw several oil refinery fires and numerous gasoline stations destroyed. One road-repair camp had been bombed on the road to Amman (Jordan). As with the city streets in residential and commercial areas where we witnessed damage, we did not see a single damaged or destroyed military vehicle, tank, armored car, personnel carrier or other military equipment, or evidence of any having been removed.

Basra was probably the hardest-hit city during Desert Storm. There was evidence of weapons that are normally used against military personnel having been deployed in civilian areas of Basra: cluster bombs. Clark saw this evidence and reported:

Small, anti-personnel bombs were alleged to have fallen here (Basra) and we saw what appeared to be one that did not explode imbedded in the rubble. We were shown the shell of a “mother” bomb which carries the small fragmentation bombs.

When he left Iraq in February 1991, Clark gave an overview of the situation:

United States annual military expenditures alone are four times the gross national product of Iraq. The use of highly-sophisticated military technology with mass destructive power against an essentially defenseless civilian population of a poor nation is one of the greatest tragedies of our times.

A few days after Clark left Iraq, an incident occurred that astonished the world. On February 13, a pair of Stealth F-117 bombers dropped two 2,000-pound laser-guided bombs on a concrete building in the Amiryah section of suburban Baghdad. The case-hardened bombs were directed to penetrate the steel reinforced roof and detonate inside. It was a civilian bomb shelter.



Victims of the Amiryah Bomb Shelter attack

The reports of the number of civilians killed in the building — more than half were children — ranged from 400 to more than 1,000. Because the bodies were so badly burned and melted, no one will ever know the exact total.

The U.S. administration first proclaimed that the target was an Iraqi command-and-control post and the dead were Iraqi military personnel. The cameras eventually showed charred bodies of women and children, so the U.S. story had to be revised. The administration then said that the building was a military target in which Saddam Hussein placed civilians to protect the military personnel. Dick Cheney, then the U.S. Secretary of Defense, stated, “Saddam might be resorting to a practice of deliberately placing civilians in harm’s way.”

The U.S. government scrambled to try to explain the massacre of so many people inside a civilian bomb shelter. General Neal stated the government’s case as he said, “From a personal point of view, I’m outraged that civilians might have been placed in harm’s way, and I blame the Iraqi leadership for that.” Unfortunately, many Americans believed Neal’s twisted excuse of blaming the Iraqi leadership for the incineration of hundreds of people by deadly superbombs.

Within a few hours, the truth emerged. The Amiryah bomb shelter was built for civilian defense during the Iran-Iraq War. The engineer who designed it appeared on television and told the world there was no way it could be a military asset.

After the lies were put to rest, it became evident that the U.S. had either mistaken the target as a military venue, or it had deliberately destroyed it knowing it was a bomb shelter. Since February 14, 1991, the subject of the bombing of the Amiryah bomb shelter has been left unspoken in the U.S.

Those inside the bomb shelter died horrific deaths. First, a 2,000-pound bomb crashed through the shelter, creating a massive tunnel in which the second 2,000-pound projectile entered. Then, both exploded, leaving a huge hole. Those who died saw the first bomb and had a few seconds of life left before the second burrowed its way into the shelter and discharged.

Despite the ensuing international outcry about the destruction of the Amiryah shelter, the U.S. did not cut back on the bombing. Actually, the bombing of the Iraqi infrastructure increased. According to Greenpeace in a report called *On Impact*:

Despite numerous statements of U.S. military leaders that the Iraqi army had been defeated, as well as some confi-

dence that contact between Baghdad and the front in the south had been severed, communications targets, mostly serving civilian functions, continued to be struck and re-struck to the end. In fact, according to *Air Force Times*, during the final ground phase, "Baghdad was targeted for some of the heaviest bombardments since January 17."

In April 1991, the outside world saw Iraq for the first time since it had been destroyed by U.S. bombs and missiles. The nightmarish pictures started to appear. They showed a country that was bombed so heavily that the most common sites were craters and twisted, melted and devastated structures.

Ramsey Clark made another trip to Iraq to document the devastation. Once there, he noticed an ongoing operation that was meant to terrorize the population:

On our second night there, and several other times, at about 2:30 a.m., U.S. jets flew over the city (Baghdad), deliberately creating an enormous sonic boom that sounded as if the bombing had started again. The next morning, people would describe how their children had awakened in terror.

Clark chronicled the civilian industries that were demolished during the bombing of Iraq:

Twenty minutes outside the city (Baghdad), in Al Taji, we saw the country's largest frozen meat storage and distribution center; one of two main centers for the entire country, which also included a laboratory for testing meat quality. It had been completely obliterated by the bombing. The center held 14,000 tons of frozen meat. The plant had been bombed three times, at 8:00 a.m., 3:00 p.m., and 8:00 p.m., and workers inside the plant had been killed.

All over Iraq, Clark saw the same mindless destruction. In Babylon, he visited a textile weaving plant that was totally destroyed. The plant was bombed at 3:00 in the afternoon and two women were killed working at their stations. Dr. Al Qaysi, an Iraqi medical official, put everything in

perspective when he stated:

No home remained untouched, no family unharmed, if not through death in the war, through malnutrition, disease, or new-found poverty. This is a return to colonialism. The U.S. is asking for terms like another Treaty of Versailles. Iraq is dependent on the outside world to repair its infrastructure and I fear Iraq will be in a state of permanent human bondage.

The Iraqi Minister of Trade, Mohammed Mahdi Saleh, realized the enormity of the task of trying to rebuild Iraq, particularly with the encompassing trade embargo in place. Despite the U.S. administration maintaining that Iraq was able to import humanitarian goods, there was virtually no way to obtain food, medicine, and parts to repair destroyed machinery. Saleh stated, "If it was possible, the Bush administration would have prevented the air from coming in."



George Bush's version of "family values"

Nothing But Shit Strewn Everywhere

The atrocities committed in Desert Storm did not apply exclusively to civilian destruction. More than 100,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed in five weeks, the majority during the 100-hour ground war. You may say, "This is war and people get killed." That's true, but tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers were killed by illegal weapons in a most brutal manner that contradicted international laws that apply to war.

When then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, was asked about the number of deaths the Iraqi military suffered, he said, "I don't have a clue and I don't plan to undertake any real effort to find out." This is the same man who stated several months after Desert Storm that his goal was to "make the world scared to death of the United States."

Prior to the start of the ground phase, many countries were trying to dissuade the U.S. from attacking. Moscow came up with a peace plan that Bush called "a cruel hoax." Bush kept saying that the only objective was for Iraqi troops to leave Kuwait. When one reporter asked him how the Iraqis could retreat while they were still being heavily bombed, Bush answered, "That's for them to find out."

On February 22, 1991, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater played his own "cruel hoax." He stated, "The United States and its coalition partners reiterate that their forces will not attack retreating Iraqi forces." Despite all the efforts to bring a peaceful conclusion, none was accepted by the U.S. Saddam Hussein ordered a retreat of Iraqi troops from Kuwait on February 25, 1991. This order, with Fitzwater's earlier statement, appeared to be the beginning of the end of violence in Kuwait and Iraq.

Bush looked at it another way. He now had his chance to slaughter tens of thousands of defenseless soldiers and one of the most barbaric massacres in history began.

On February 25, 1991, at a junction of roads leading from Kuwait City, U.S. Marine aircraft, flying close support for ground troops, arrived and saw a five-vehicle-wide stream moving on the highway out of Kuwait City. The vehicles were occupied by Iraqi military personnel (mostly unarmed) and civilians of many nationalities.

The Marines allowed the vehicles to get out of the city and then laid down an aerial barrage of anti-armor mines across the road, making it impossible for the vehicles to move ahead. There were miles of vehicles and thousands of passengers who were not able to move. Kill zones were assigned to groups of eight aircraft sent into the target area every 15 minutes. According to Major General Royal N. Moore, commander of the

Marine Air Wing 3, "It was like a turkey shoot until the weather turned sour."

By the morning of February 26, the 2nd Marine Division and its augmenting armored brigade (the Tiger brigade) of the Army's 2nd Armored Division, arrived on the scene. Other ground division followed. Now, the slaughter on what has become to be known as "The Highway of Death" began in earnest.

U.S. troops observed thousands of Iraqis trying to escape up the highway. They attacked the defenseless soldiers from the high ground, cutting to shreds vehicles and people trapped in a miles-long traffic jam. Allied jets repeatedly pounded the blocked vehicles. Schwarzkopf's orders were "not to let anybody or anything out of Kuwait City."

On February 27, the first words hit the outside world about this carnage, however, it still would be a few more weeks until photographs of the destruction made their way to the public, and then only a few were seen. A pool reporter with the 2nd Armored Division wrote:

As we drove slowly through the wreckage, our armored personnel carrier's tracks splashed through great pools of bloody water. We passed dead soldiers lying, as if resting, without a mark on them. We found others cut up so badly; a pair of legs in its trousers would be 50 yards from the top half of the body. Four soldiers had died under a truck where they sought protection.



A "trophy" photo for U.S. soldiers with the obligatory cigarette placed in mouth



These beheaded Iraqi soldiers also had their pants pulled down.

The Iraqi retreat extended north of Jahra, where the two main roads going into Iraq split at al-Mutlaa. Because the main road was so jammed, Iraqi troops were being diverted along a coastal route. These soldiers suffered the same fate as those on the Highway of Death. According to a U.S. Army officer on the scene (the coastal road):

There was nothing but shit strewn everywhere, five to seven miles of just solid bombed-out vehicles. The Air Force had been given the word to work over the entire area, to find anything that moved and take it out.

Surrendering Iraqi troops were also slaughtered. According to a media pool report of February 27:

One Navy pilot, who asked not to be identified, said Iraqis have affixed white flags to their tanks and are riding with turrets open, scanning the skies with their binoculars. The flier said that under allied rules of engagement, pilots were still bombing tanks unless soldiers abandoned the vehicles and left them behind.

The first British pilots to arrive at the scenes of slaughter returned to their base. They protested taking part in attacking defenseless soldiers, but, under threat of court martial, they eventually took part in the massacre.

According to a report by Greenpeace:

Aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier USS Ranger, air strikes against Iraqi troops were being launched so feverishly ... that pilots said they took whatever bombs happened to be closest to the flight deck. S-3 Viking anti-submarine patrol aircraft were brought into the bombing campaign, carrying cluster bombs. The number of attacking aircraft was so dense that air traffic control had to divert planes to avoid collisions.

On March 10, the scenes at the coastal road were still horrendous. Reporter Michael Kelly described them:

For a 50 or 60-mile stretch from just north of Jahra to the Iraqi border, the road was littered with exploded and roasted vehicles, charred and blown-up bodies ... I saw no bodies that had not belonged to men in uniform. It was not always easy to ascertain this because the force of the explosions and the heat of the fires had blown most of the clothing off the soldiers, and often too had cooked their remains into wizened, mummified, charcoal-men.

General McPeak took great pride in the slaughter. He said, "When enemy armies are defeated, they retreat. It's during this phase that the true fruits of victory are achieved from combat, when the enemy's disorganized." Less than a week after the White House spokesman assured the world that U.S. forces would not attack a retreating Iraqi army, most of the army was destroyed while it was retreating.

When the operation was completed, Iraq was stuck with the bill. One of the conditions of the cease-fire was that Iraq had to pay Kuwait \$50 billion in reparations for damage caused by the U.S. With the beginning of the oil-for-food program, the first 15% of all revenues taken in by Iraq went to Kuwait.

The most appalling aspect of this end to Desert Storm was the bravado of the U.S. government and the top military officers. They ordered this



More examples of General McPeak's "fruits of victory"



unnecessary slaughter and took glee every time they publicly spoke of it. Powell and McPeak gained the military accolades that had eluded them a couple of decades earlier in Vietnam.

In addition to the Highway of Death carnage, an incident occurred that has since been forgotten by most of the world. On the first two days of the ground war (February 24 and 25, 1991), U.S. troops, using tanks and earthmovers that had been specially-fitted with plows, buried thousands of Iraqi soldiers alive.

Three brigades of the 1st Mechanized Infantry Division (the Big Red One) used the tactic to destroy trenches and bunkers that were defended by about 10,000 Iraqi soldiers. These combatants were draftees, not seasoned troops such as the Republican Guard.

The assault was carefully planned and rehearsed. According to U.S. participants, about 2,000 Iraqis surrendered and were not buried. Most of the rest, about 8,000, were buried beneath tons of sand — many trying to surrender. Captain Bernie Williams was rewarded for his part in the burying with a Silver Star. He said, "Once we went through there, other than the ones who surrendered, there wasn't anybody left."

According to a senior Army official who, under anonymity, was questioned by *The Spotlight* about the tactics, the use of earthmovers is standard procedure in breaching obstacles and minefields. The heavy equipment precedes armored and infantry units to level barriers, then the vehicles can move quickly through enemy defenses. The official stated that any Iraqi troops who remained in their bunkers would have been buried and killed. He added, "This is war. This isn't a pickup basketball game."

Colonel Anthony Moreno, commander of the 2nd Brigade, said, "For all I know, we could've killed thousands." A thinner line of trenches on Moreno's left flank was attacked by the 1st Brigade, commanded by Colonel Lon Maggart. He estimated that his troops alone buried about 650 Iraqis alive.

After the cease-fire, in an interview with *New York Newsday*, Maggart and Moreno came forward with some of the first public testimony about the burying alive of Iraqi soldiers. Prior to their interview, then Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney, never mentioned the atrocities, even when he submitted a report to Congress just prior to the interviews.

The technique used in burying the soldiers involved a pair of M1-A1 tanks with plows shaped like giant teeth along each section of the trench line. The tanks took up positions on either side of the trenches. Bradley fighting vehicles and Vulcan armored personnel carriers straddled the trench line and fired into the Iraqi soldiers as the tanks covered them with piles

of sand.

According to Moreno, "I came through right after the lead company. What you saw was a bunch of buried trenches with peoples' arms and things sticking out of them." Maggart added, "I know burying people alive sounds pretty nasty, but it would be even nastier if we had to put our troops in the trenches and clean them out."

The attack contradicted U.S. Army doctrine, which calls for troops to leave their armored vehicle to clean out trenches or to bypass and isolate fortified positions. Moreno admitted that the assault was not according to policy:

This was not doctrine. My concept is to defeat the enemy with your power and equipment. We're going to have to bludgeon them with every piece of equipment we've got. I'm not going to sacrifice the lives of my soldiers — it's not cost-effective.

The most disturbing aspect of the incident was the secrecy involved. When *Newsday* broke the story, many were taken by surprise. According to members of the U.S. House and Senate Armed Forces Committees, the Pentagon had withheld details of the assault from the committees. Senate Chairman, Sam Nunn, was unaware of the assault and after he was notified, he stated, "It sounds like another example of the horrors of war." Quickly, the incident was forgotten.

The killing of defenseless soldiers and civilians did not end with the cease-fire. On the morning of March 2 (two days after the cease-fire was announced), a convoy of Iraqi vehicles was reported moving through the demarcation point of allied operations on Highway 8 about 50 kilometers west of Basra.

According to a pool reporter from the UPI, a platoon of the 24th Infantry Division reported that the "massive Iraqi convoy ... had just shot a couple of rockets at it." The *Washington Post* added that the convoy of 700 wheeled vehicles and 300 armored vehicles "opened fire in an effort to clear a path toward a causeway across the Euphrates." Lt. Chuck Ware, the battalion commander, received permission to return fire and the battalion received backup from Army artillery and 20 U.S. Cobra and Apache helicopters.

The ensuing fighting was one-sided and several thousand Iraqis (civilian and military) were killed in two hours. There were few Iraqi survivors. According to a *Washington Post* report on March 18, 1991:

U.S. tanks were shooting Iraqi tanks off heavy equipment trailers trying to haul them to safety. Bradley fighting vehicles shattered truck after truck with 25mm cannon fire as Iraqi civilians and soldiers alike ran into the surrounding marshes.

Lt. Col. Ware said, "They shot first, we won big." Another U.S. officer stated, "We really waxed them."

This massacre took place after the cease-fire was announced. At the time, it was thought that the convoy was not aware of its position; therefore it ran into the U.S. Army personnel. All the equipment was being transported on trucks — it was not in position to use in battle — so the U.S. forces had nothing to fear in terms of casualties. Some Iraqi soldiers were lying down on the vehicles and sleeping or obtaining a suntan.

When the post-cease-fire massacre occurred, the U.S. news agencies mentioned a "skirmish" between Iraqi and U.S. troops and said there were no U.S. casualties. They did not mention the slaughter.

The information made it appear that the unlucky Iraqis had taken a wrong turn somewhere and happened to run into a trigger-happy group of soldiers. The truth, however, is much more diabolical.

In May 2000, *The New Yorker* published an article by Seymour Hersh called "Overwhelming Force." Hersh spent years tracking down some of the participants in the slaughter, which was given the moniker the "Battle of Rumaila."

Instead of a wayward convoy of Iraqis who had the bad luck to shoot at U.S. forces, Hersh paints a picture of U.S. General Barry McCaffrey intentionally giving wrong location information to his superiors so he could concoct a battle with the hapless Iraqis who, in reality, were exactly where they were supposed to be according to the "safe" routes of return designated by the U.S.

According to the article:

McCaffrey's insistence that the Iraqis attacked first was disputed in interviews for this article by some of his subordinates in the wartime headquarters of the 24th Division, and also by soldiers and officers who were at the scene on March 2nd. The accounts of these men, taken together, suggest that McCaffrey's offensive, two days into a cease-fire, was not so much a counterattack provoked by enemy fire as a systematic destruction of Iraqis who

were generally fulfilling the requirements of retreat; most of the Iraqi tanks traveled from the battlefield with their cannons reversed and secured, in a position known as travel-lock. According to these witnesses, the 24th faced little determined Iraqi resistance at any point during the war or its aftermath; they also said that other senior officers exaggerated the extent of Iraqi resistance throughout the war.

The slaughter may have been forgotten and never discussed if not for an anonymous letter sent to the Pentagon that accused McCaffrey of a series of war crimes. The letter stated that McCaffrey's division began the March 2nd assault without Iraqi provocation and it included information only an insider would know. An investigation ensued, but, eventually, McCaffrey was exonerated.

Despite the prospect of an inquiry, McCaffrey openly bragged about his unit's performance in the massacre. He told another general's battalion that the 24th Division had carried out:

“absolutely one of the most astounding goddamned operations ever seen in the history of military science ... We were not fighting the Danish Armed Forces up here. There were a half million of those assholes that were extremely well-armed and equipped.”

Some participants of the battle say that Iraq did not fire the first shot. Others maintain the Iraqis shot first, but only once. Authorities differed on the time between the supposed Iraqi shot and the beginning of the U.S. actions. Some say it was about 40 minutes, while others say the time lapse was close to two hours. Either way, it was evident that if Iraq did fire a shot, there was no follow-up or change of formation for the convoy. It still went forward with its equipment not in place for battle.

Soon, a call came asking for every available unit to come to rescue the U.S. troops. Sergeant Stuart Hirstein and his team rushed to the site. When Hirstein arrived, he said there was no attack and no imminent threat from retreating Iraqi tanks. According to Hirstein:

Some of the tanks were in travel formation, and their guns were not in any engaged position. The Iraqi crew members were sitting on the outside of their vehicles,

catching rays. Nobody was on the machine guns.

Despite the intelligence that stated the Iraqis were no threat, and the doubts of other officers about an Iraqi attack, McCaffrey still wanted to go to battle. There were more discussions and Captain Bell, who had been involved with the talks before the U.S. “counterattack,” believed that McCaffrey moved his brigades to the east of the original cease-fire line to provoke the Iraqis. He added that there is a huge difference between a round or two fired in panic and McCaffrey’s determination that the Iraqis were “attacking us.” He added, that “is pure fabrication.”

Hersh described the beginning of the hostilities that wiped out thousands:

The 24th Division continued pounding the Iraqi column throughout the morning, until every vehicle moving toward the causeway — tank, truck, or automobile — was destroyed

McCaffrey was triumphant at battle’s end. “He was smiling like a proud father,” John Brasfield told me ...

... A couple of evenings later, Pierson was driving toward the causeway. “It must have been a nightmare along this road as the Apaches dispensed death from five kilometers away, one vehicle at a time. I stopped as a familiar smell wafted through the air ... It was the smell of a cookout on a warm summer day, the smell of seared steak.”

After the battle, a captured Iraqi tank commander asked again and again, “Why are you killing us? All we were doing was going home. Why are you killing us?”

Shortly before his troops flew back to Fort Stewart in the U.S., McCaffrey told them he had never been:

“more proud of American soldiers in my entire life as watching your attack on 2 March ... It’s fascinating to watch what’s happening in our country. God, it’s the damndest thing I ever saw in my life. It’s probably the single most unifying event that has happened in America since World War II ... The upshot will be that, just like

Vietnam had the tragic effect on our country for years, this one has brought back a new way of looking at ourselves.”

McCaffrey weathered the storm and received his fourth star in 1994. In 1996, he retired from the Army and was appointed by the Clinton administration as the director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, more commonly known as the U.S. Drug Czar.

Hersh’s article received much pre-publicity in 2000 and many people were anticipating the piece. Then, a couple of days before *The New Yorker* was to appear on the stands with the article, a press conference was called to address the issue. A Clinton spokesman took to the podium and criticized the article. He called it “old wine in a new bottle.” In the space of about five minutes, an article that should have been read by the American public was dismissed as rubbish by the Clinton administration. The curious aspect of this denigration is that the article had not yet appeared. Normally, an administration tears apart something in the press *after* it is published. This fact alone should have piqued the interest of the public. However, the opposite occurred. Within a couple of days of its publishing, few spoke of the article again. It became a non-issue.

The entire article is a must-read for anyone who wants to know the truth about how the U.S. military conducted itself in Desert Storm. Not all the personnel were as bloodthirsty as McCaffrey, and Hersh interviewed participants who opposed the decision to slaughter thousands of Iraqis who could not fight back. It is available online at many websites. Punch in the name of the article on a search engine and you will be able to find the entire piece.

Marlin Fitzwater’s statement that retreating Iraqi troops would not be attacked was an outright lie, yet neither he nor the administration paid a price for the deceit. Up to 100,000 retreating Iraqis were slaughtered *after* he made the proclamation to the world. Among the retreating Iraqi soldiers were civilian men, women and children of various nationalities. Their deaths were, according to various U.S. military officers, the “spoils of war.”

The U.S. public’s applauding the killing of defenseless Iraqis after a cease-fire agreement indicated a turning point in the use of military force. Until the slaughter of Desert Storm, a portion of the U.S. public rose up when atrocities, such as Mai Lai in Vietnam occurred. This acquiescence led to the acceptance of the killing of many people in Serbia a few years later, and the ultimate prize, Iraq’s destruction in 2003.



One of the “half million assholes” General McCaffrey referred to in what he called, “absolutely one of the most astounding goddamned operations ever seen in the history of military science.”

America's Best Kept Secret

The most powerful forces in Desert Storm were not the bombs or missiles dropped on Iraq. Without firing a shot, the U.S. media ensured the country's destruction. Their acquiescence to U.S. government demands stopped all discussion of a negotiated settlement of the crisis. Schwarzkopf said it all on the day after the cease-fire. At a press conference, he laughed as he told the journalists that they printed everything, without scrutiny, just the way the administration said it.

If the media tried to find the truth, or gave both sides a chance to be heard, there is a possibility that there would not have been a Desert Storm. The U.S. public had no idea why Iraq went into Kuwait or the history of the area. To this day, because of biased media coverage, the American public, for the most part, thinks Saddam Hussein was attempting to take over the world.

During Desert Shield, the buildup to the massacre, there was much talk about impending military action. For months, we heard many voices, however, those who supported military action dominated the debate.

Politicians told the U.S. public outrageous lies about the situation. The press was remiss in challenging these untruths, so more and bigger lies followed. The media, the military, politicians and administration officials were exempt from having to tell the truth.

It would take thousands of pages to chronicle the deficiencies of the media in their lapdog role during Desert Shield and Desert Storm, but one portion of history was ignored by the U.S. press — former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark's formation of a war crimes tribunal and the following trial and judgement against the U.S. government.

In February 1991, Ramsey Clark visited Iraq during the height of allied bombing. He returned with much videotape and tales of horror of Iraq's civilian population being bombed, despite the U.S. government's denial. U.S. television stations did not show any videotape and Clark's message went unheard and unseen.

Shortly after the cease-fire, Clark formed a Commission of Inquiry to travel to Iraq to see if there was enough evidence to put the U.S. government on trial for war crimes and crimes against peace. The Commission found a wealth of evidence and returned to the U.S.

For the next nine months, Clark and various members of the Commission traveled worldwide to gather further evidence of war crimes. The results were overwhelming. People came forward to give evidence of atrocities perpetrated against Iraq's population, its military, the environment,

and citizens of other countries. Whenever the Commission took evidence, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or the Middle East, the media of many countries were in attendance. Despite the large attendance at meetings, the U.S. media were absent.

On February 29, 1992, in New York City, the International War Crimes Tribunal convened to try George Bush, Dan Quayle, James Baker, Dick Cheney, William Webster, Colin Powell, Norman Schwarzkopf and others on 19 charges of crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, and other criminal acts and high crimes. The Martin Luther King High School auditorium was filled to capacity (more than 1,500) and many others lined up outside to hear the proceedings over loudspeakers. The broadcast media of various countries carried the trial live, but, despite the attendance and international coverage, U.S. press disregarded the event.

The panel consisted of 21 people from assorted countries and it ruled on the following 19 counts:

1. The U.S. engaged in a pattern of conduct beginning in or before 1989 intended to lead Iraq into provocations justifying U.S. military action against Iraq and permanent U.S. military domination of the Gulf.
2. President Bush from August 2, 1990, intended to prevent any interference to his plan to destroy Iraq militarily and economically.
3. President Bush ordered the destruction of facilities essential to civilian life and economic productivity in Iraq.
4. The U.S. intentionally bombed and destroyed civilian life, commercial and business districts, schools, hospitals, mosques, churches, shelters, residential areas, historical sites, private vehicles and civilian government offices.
5. The U.S. intentionally bombed indiscriminately throughout Iraq.
6. The U.S. intentionally bombed and destroyed Iraqi personnel, used excessive force, killed soldiers seeking to surrender and in disorganized flight, often unarmed and far from any combat zones and randomly and wantonly killed Iraqi soldiers and destroyed materiel after the cease-fire.
7. The U.S. used prohibited weapons capable of mass destruction and inflicting indiscriminate death and unnecessary suffering against both military and civilian targets.
8. The U.S. intentionally attacked installations in Iraq containing dangerous substances and forces.
9. President Bush ordered U.S. forces to invade Panama resulting in the deaths of 1,000 to 4,000 Panamanians and the destruction of thou-

- sands of private dwellings, public buildings and commercial structures.
10. President Bush obstructed justice and corrupted United Nations functions as a means of power to commit crimes against peace and war crimes.
 11. President Bush usurped the Constitutional power of Congress as a means of securing power to commit crimes against peace, war crimes and other high crimes.
 12. The U.S. waged war on the environment.
 13. President Bush encouraged and aided Shi'ite Muslims and Kurds to rebel against the government of Iraq causing fratricidal violence, emigration, exposure, hunger and sickness, and thousands of deaths. After the rebellion failed, the U.S. invaded and occupied parts of Iraq without authority in order to increase division and hostility within Iraq.
 14. President Bush intentionally deprived the Iraqi people of essential medicine, potable water, food and other necessities.
 15. The U.S. continued its assault on Iraq after the cease-fire, invading and occupying at will.
 16. The U.S. has violated and condoned violations of human rights, civil liberties and the U.S. Bill of Rights in the U.S., in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere to achieve its purpose of military domination.
 17. The U.S., having destroyed Iraq's economic base, demands reparations which will permanently impoverish Iraq and threaten its people with famine and epidemic.
 18. President Bush systematically manipulated, controlled, directed, misinformed and restricted press and media coverage to obtain constant support in the media for his military and political goals.
 19. The U.S. has by force secured a permanent military presence in the Gulf, the control of its oil resources and geopolitical domination of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf region.

When the trial concluded, there was a verdict. According to the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal:

The Tribunal panel concluded an afternoon of testimony by finding U.S. President George Bush and his associates and allies guilty of war crimes, crimes against peace and crimes against humanity. They based this decision on clear violations of international law. The Tribunal panelists included internationally-known civil rights activists, le-

gal workers and freedom fighters. Some have served in the governments of their countries, others in prisons; some have done both. They reflect a diversity of cultures, nationalities and ideologies. When it came time to vote a judgement, they were unanimous. The crowd broke into shouting and applause as Attorney Deborah Jackson of the U.S. read the verdict: Guilty on all 19 counts of war crimes.

How could a trial held in the U.S. against the U.S. government be ignored by the press? The subject alone should have piqued the media's curiosity. The blackout was not due to lack of notice from the International War Crimes Tribunal — many press releases were sent and many phone calls were made in an attempt to gain publicity.

I tried to discover why there was a lack of coverage. First, I talked to Irv Cass, news director of Channel 39, an NBC affiliate in San Diego, California. He explained, "There could be a variety of reasons why we didn't cover it. We get news from a variety of sources, such as AP, NBC Network and CNN."

Could Associated Press (AP), the agency from which thousands of television stations, radio stations, and newspapers gain their information be the culprit? According to Adrienne Weil Parks of the AP office in New York, the AP has a clean record on this issue. She said, "Sure. I put all their (Tribunal) stuff on the wire. Believe me, I've put them out."

Three major wire services (AP, UPI and Reuters) were given much information from the Tribunal. UPI admitted to receiving the information, but could not verify if it was sent over the wires. Reuters did send the story. According to Art Spiegleman of Reuters, "We sent out the story a couple of days before it (the trial) took place."

At least two of the three major wire services announced the War Crimes Tribunal, leaving the media one less excuse for not running the story. Paul Ahuja was the press director for the Tribunal. He mentioned some publications that did not cover the story because of its controversial nature. Ahuja recalled a conversation with Sidney Schanberg of *Newsday* in which Schanberg told him, "I can't cover this story. I'd get fired."

The *New York Times* was just as squeamish. Staff at the publication told Ahuja, "This story is editorial suicide."

Ramsey Clark was critical of the press coverage of Desert Storm and the lack of coverage of the Tribunal. He said, "The press has totally defaulted. It began with Grenada." His reference of Grenada alluded to the



Left: Ramsey Clark at International War Crimes Tribunal on February 29, 1992 at the Martin Luther King High School in New York

Bottom: Packed house International War Crimes Tribunal: many came, but few reported.



U.S. government's blackout of press coverage of the invasion of the island by U.S. forces in 1983. Clark added, "They (the press) complained for a while, but they soon forgot."

During Desert Storm, Clark was vocal about his opposition; however, he and many other opponents were totally shut out by the media. Clark said, "The press led the American people to celebrate a slaughter."

Clark called the media remiss in attempting to get the facts. He stated:

The morning of January 15, 1991 was the saddest moment for American journalism. There, at the cashier's desk (at the Al-Rashid Hotel in Baghdad), checking out were the journalists. Here you have the press, whose duty it was to cover the facts for the public, checking out.

According to Clark, the journalists used the excuse of imminent danger for their exit. He said, "It's like a fireman saying, 'Hell, that's a big fire. I'm not going in there.'"

Saddam Outfoxes Schwarzkopf

After the cease-fire of February 28, 1991, most U.S. war observers turned their attentions away from the hostilities. Bush, however, was still trying to get rid of Saddam Hussein. Some very interesting actions occurred that could have come out of a James Bond novel.

On March 3, 1991, General Schwarzkopf met with eight Iraqi officers, led by General Sultan Hashim Ahmad, to sign the cease-fire agreement at the Iraqi city of Safwan. On TV, we saw a gruff-looking Schwarzkopf staring down the Iraqi delegation. There were no socializing formalities: he would dictate the agenda and the Iraqis would listen. His harsh look may have been attributed to the Iraqis not recognizing him. They thought he was an enlisted man because they had never seen a general as obese as Schwarzkopf.

Shortly after the signing, dual insurrections emerged in Iraq. In the north, various Kurdish factions rose up, while southern Shi'ite hostilities began, with much help from Iranians who crossed the Iran-Iraq border during Desert Storm. At one time, 16 of Iraq's 18 provinces were in the hands of insurgents. Then, the Iraqi government regained the advantage and both uprisings ceased.

The main reason for the Iraqi government's comeback may have been the use of helicopter gunships. Many analysts attributed the helicopters as

the force that turned the tables on the insurgent groups. Then, they elaborated by pointing at Schwarzkopf's decision at Safwan on May 3, 1991, to allow the Iraqis to use helicopters.

Once again, Schwarzkopf was in the public eye. In interviews, he explained that his decision was humanitarian in nature. He told the pundits that Iraq's road system was destroyed by U.S. bombing and that he thought it would be okay for the Iraqis to use helicopters for transportation, but they double-crossed him by using them to put down the insurrections in Iraq. He publicly stated, "I was suckered," making the Iraqis appear to be liars. He came out of this looking like a benevolent victor trying to help Iraq get itself back on its feet. As with much information about Desert Storm, what you saw was not real.

In fact, it appears that Schwarzkopf was a willing partner in allowing the helicopter flights. He thought that Iraqi helicopter forces were going to lead a revolt against Saddam Hussein. In a press conference, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater described the helicopter issue as "a side, oral discussion, nothing in writing." At the time, the transcripts of the meeting were classified. In 1992, they were declassified and showed that Schwarzkopf's public accounts of the incident were way off and that Fitzwater lied about the chronicling of the meeting. According to the transcript:

Ahmad: This has nothing to do with the front line.
This is inside Iraq.

Schwarzkopf: As long as it is not over the part we are in, that is absolutely no problem. So we will let the helicopters, and that is a very important point, and I want to make sure that's recorded, that military helicopters can fly over Iraq. Not fighters, not bombers.

Ahmad: So you mean that even the helicopters ... armed in the Iraqi skies, can fly. But not the fighters? Because the helicopters are the same, they transfer somebody ...

Schwarzkopf: Yeah. I will instruct our Air Force not to shoot at any helicopters that are flying over the territory of Iraq where we are not located. If they must fly over the area we are located in, I prefer that they not be gunships,

armed helos, and I would prefer that they have an orange tag on the side, as an extra safety measure.

Schwarzkopf had been tipped off that soon after the signing of the cease-fire agreement, an attack against Saddam Hussein would take place in Baghdad. Saudi intelligence passed the information to Washington, who, it seems, gave it to Schwarzkopf. The way the discussion between him and Ahmad took place left little for anyone to question. However, Baghdad knew exactly what had occurred.

Laurie Mylroie pieced the parts together in an article called "Iraq's Real Coup: Did Saddam Snooker Schwarzkopf?" published on June 29, 1992. She stated:

Iraqi opposition sources told me before Desert Storm began, in January 1991, that Salah Omar Takriti, a London-based Iraqi close to the Saudi leadership, claimed to have a list of Iraqi military officers willing to plot a coup. Among them was Salah's cousin, Hakam Takriti, head of Iraqi Army Aviation — the helicopter squadrons, which include about 120 gunships among the estimated 350 helicopters.

Saudi intelligence — which cooperates closely with U.S. agencies, could have passed to the Americans Salah's reports of a possible coup attempt. If the Americans took such reports seriously, Schwarzkopf would have been informed and might have taken steps in the cease-fire talks to make sure that the coup plotters' helicopters were free to assault Baghdad. But the coup never came, and the helicopters were used to crush the revolt.

The U.S. did not check the backgrounds of those supposedly plotting to overthrow Saddam. This lack of knowledge of Iraqis continued for years, hence people like Ahmed Chalabi and his ilk became rich from U.S. dollars by lying to the U.S. government and telling the officials what they wanted to hear.

This was the case with Hakam. Knowing nothing about the man, the U.S. took the words of people who stated he would lead a coup against Saddam. In fact, Hakam was a loyal insider in the Iraqi government. According to Mylroie, a source stated, "If the West is depending on people

like Hakam, we will have Saddam for the next 1,000 years.”

The U.S. error in this case cost many people their lives and created much destruction, but not for the U.S. The Shi’ite and Kurdish insurrections began at the behest of the Bush administration with promises for help from the American side. No help came. Iraqis of all persuasions fought and killed each other over this U.S. promise. It is doubtful that either revolt would have occurred had the U.S. not promised to intervene.

Norman Schwarzkopf triumphantly marched in New York City in a huge victory parade as the homecoming hero. Then he wrote his memoirs. However, the events of March 3, 1991, in which he was easily outsmarted, were never mentioned. Prior to the March 3 signing, the press asked what Schwarzkopf thought of Saddam Hussein’s knowledge of military strategy. Schwarzkopf let out a boisterous laugh. A few days later, Saddam had the last laugh.



Another casualty of the “target-rich environment” in Desert Storm

PART TWO

THE EMBARGO

“Iraq has been put in a situation in which it must choose between sacrifice and slavery.”

— Saddam Hussein

“If it was possible, the Bush administration would have prevented the air from coming in.”

— Mohammed Saleh: Iraqi Minister of Trade

On August 6, 1990, the UN affixed economic sanctions on Iraq. Once the Iraqi troops left Kuwait, whether voluntarily or under force, the sanctions were supposed to be lifted. This never happened.

Immediately after the February 1991 cease-fire ending the Gulf War, the U.S. changed the rules of compliance. All sorts of provisions were added by the U.S. for Iraq to be sanctions-free. However, these amendments were put in place for only one reason: for the Iraqi people to overthrow their president.

According to Paul Lewis, in a *New York Times* article of March 22, 1991, called “After the War; UN Survey Calls Iraq’s War Damage Near-Apocalyptic:”

Ever since the trade embargo was imposed on Aug. 6, after the invasion of Kuwait, the United States has argued against any premature relaxation in the belief that by making life uncomfortable for the Iraqi people it will

eventually encourage them to remove President Saddam Hussein from power.

The real reason for the air-tight embargo was known to many shortly after the February 1991 cease-fire, yet U.S. politician-after-politician stated that the only reason the embargo was not lifted was because Iraq had not complied with UN resolutions. This fable endured for 12 agonizing years.

The U.S. kept moving the goal posts. In addition to adding stringent rules for proving Iraq had destroyed its weapons of mass destruction, various other stipulations were unilaterally introduced. Lewis added:

The United States draft says Iraq must accept the boundary agreement it made with Kuwait in 1963 but subsequently rejected. And it empowers the Security Council to guarantee that frontier with "all necessary means," a phrase that would permit the use of military force against any violator.

In addition, it calls for deployment of a United Nations military observer force along the frontier to monitor possible cease-fire violations and establishes a special fund to pay compensation for damage caused by Iraq's annexation of Kuwait.

Because of U.S. power on the UN Permanent Security Council, the additional items were included without debate. Iraq was ordered to pay Kuwait \$50 billion in reparations for the damage that was thrust on Kuwait by U.S. bombs and missiles. In addition, it had to alter its long-standing border. Many Iraqis who lived in the area of the border had to move because the new demarcation landed them in the country of Kuwait.

With all the regulations in place, the CIA advised the Bush administration that Saddam Hussein's days were numbered and that the Iraqi people would overthrow him within six months. They were wrong.

One aspect that the U.S. had not factored was that of Iraqi pride. Within months of the devastation of the country, Iraqi citizens had many things up and running. Bridges were repaired; the electrical grid was brought up to almost 100%. But, the water system was still in shambles. The bombing of Desert Storm destroyed all the equipment used to purify drinking water. Chlorine, a major chemical used in water purification, was not al-

lowed into Iraq because the U.S. deemed it a “dual-use” item, one that could be used for civilian purposes as well as to manufacture chemical weapons. To this day, Iraq’s water system has not recovered and lakes of raw sewage are still visible.

Despite the integrity and ingenuity of the Iraqis, the embargo took a heavy toll on the people. Comprehensive studies allege that between one-and-a-half million to two million people died because of the results of the sanctions. Most were the most vulnerable in the population: the young and the elderly.

The “average” Iraqi also felt the trauma. Many middle-class families who led comfortable lives were forced to sell household items and acquire second or third jobs. Every level of life was affected in Iraq.

In 1997, the UN authorized an “Oil for Food” program for Iraq. This helped the Iraqi people somewhat, although it was not as benevolent as the West stated. For instance, Iraq saw none of the money from its oil sales. The funds were put into an escrow account run by the UN. The first 15% of oil sales went to the Kurdish area of Iraq for “reparations.” The next 15% went to Kuwait to compensate for damage Iraq did not perpetrate. Then, salaries of UN personnel were taken out. After all these payments, the remainder of the money went to purchase food. The UN had to authorize these purchases as well.

Experts have called the Iraqi implementation of the Oil for Food Program the best mass food distribution program in the history of the world. Each Iraqi citizen, even those in the U.S.-protected Kurdish area, received a ration card that ensured a month’s worth of basic food needs. There were hundreds of food distribution centers to serve the public.

By the end of the 20th century, Iraq was making progress despite the embargo. Many countries put pressure on the UN to lift the sanctions. Others re-opened their embassies in Baghdad and the Iraqi government had hundreds of trade contracts in-hand to implement when the embargo would be lifted. The U.S. was upset that Iraq did not implode and that the nation was getting back on its feet. From 2000 onward, the real pressure from the U.S. to invade Iraq began.

The embargo against Iraq was the most stringent in history. Even the sanctions proponents were surprised at how deadly the results were. All Iraq suffered at all levels. Education was a major casualty. In 1973, when the Ba’ath Party began to implement its education reforms, about 35% of Iraqis could read and write. By the late 1980s, the U.N. declared Iraq “illiteracy free.” The embargo years chopped away at Iraqi literacy as it decreased to about 70%. If the embargo was lifted according to the terms

set and not sabotaged by the U.S., Iraq would have quickly regained its status of being free of illiteracy.

The Iraqi experience of sanctions proved that they are silent killers. The U.S. took notes on this episode and has advocated sanctions against nations it does not like. On the positive side, other nations who may have been neutral about applying embargoes saw the Iraqi results and, at times, have made the U.S. back down on its call for sanctions. The Iraqi experience laid bare the horrendous effects of sanctions for the world to see.

**... adhesive paper ... aluminum foil ... ambulances ...
amplifiers ... ashtrays ... auto polish ... axes ... bags ...
baking soda ... balls for children or sport ... baskets ... bath
brushes ... beads ... broilers ... benches ... books (all
categories) ... bowls ... boxes ... carts ... cellophane ...
candles ... cameras ... carpets ... cars ... detergents ... drills
... dust-cloths ... dishwashers ... chessboards ... dresses ...
envelopes ... flashlights ... flower pots ... fans ... gauges ...
generators ... hairpins ... hammers ... hoses ... lawn mowers
... leather ... light bulbs ... magnets ... magnesium ...
microphones ... mirrors ... mugs ... music cassettes ...
musical instruments ... nail files ... napkins ... notebooks ...
oil cans ... oil gauges ... oil lamps ... pails ... painters'
brushes ... paper clips ... paper for printing ... pins ... plates
... pulleys ... putty ... razor blades ... razors ... reels ...
roasters ... rubber ... rugs ... rulers ... sandals ... sandpaper
... saws ... scales ... screws ... seals ... seats ... shampoo ...
sheers ... shelves ... shoe polish ... shoes ... shovels ... silver
polish ... skirts ... soap ... socks ... spark plugs ... spatulas
... sponges ... staplers ... stoves ... suits ... sun hats ... swim
suits ... switches ... telephones ... tents ... thermometers ...
threads ... timber ... timers ... tissue paper ... toasters ...
toilet paper ... tongs ... toothbrushes ... toothpicks ... towels
... toys ... trash cans ... triods ... trousers ... trowels ... trucks
... trunks ... TV sets ... typewriters ... vacuum cleaners ...
valves ... vans ... Vaseline ... vases ... venetian blinds ...
ventilators ... videotapes ... waffle irons ... wagons ...
wallets ... wallpaper ... washing machines ... wastepaper
baskets ... watches ... water pumps ... wax ... welders ...
wheelbarrows ... wheels ...**

Items the U.S. denied Iraq from importing

Up From the Ashes

The year 1991 was one of the most disastrous for Iraq in its several-thousand-year history, but the U.S. administration did not anticipate the miraculous rebound Iraq would make in the first couple of years following the country's annihilation..

Bush thought the destruction of tens of thousands of buildings (including 4,000 schools and 20,000 houses), as well as rendering useless the sewage, electricity, and water facilities in Iraq, would bring the Iraqis to their knees. When that did not work, he put a noose around the country to stop anything from entering. Still, the Iraqis stood proud. As a last resort, Bush ordered the destruction of their crops (See Gunpowder Out of Wheat in the next section), but the Iraqis did not succumb.

When the defiance of the Iraqi people became evident. Bush experienced another setback in his imperialistic plans — the Iraqi people were rebuilding their country at a fast pace with no outside help.

An article called "The Wrong Conclusion," from the *Baghdad Observer* of July 19, 1992 explained Bush's quandary:

When the cease-fire was announced in the U.S.-led aggression against Iraq, boastful U.S. politicians appeared on TV networks around the world to say that they have achieved what had been meant to be a deadly blow to roll Iraq back to a pre-industrial era.

During the U.S.-led aggression, the unprecedented 30-state coalition embarked on destroying almost all of the country's infrastructure, including water and power supply networks which bore the brunt of assiduous air attacks. Consequently, all that had been the pivot of Iraq's life system had come to a standstill.

U.S. experts and technicians placed their bets and succeeded in misleading the world into believing that it would not be less than 10 years before Iraq could re-operate its war-torn power plants or provide its people with potable water.

But to the 30-country coalition's disappointment, Iraq's relentless drive of reconstruction dubbed all ill-put cal-

culations as wrong. Within the span of less than one year, 90 percent of Iraq's pre-war generation capacity was restored and the war-devastated oil industry came back to normal at a speed which surprised all its enemies. What was intended to be a complete collapse surely backfired.

Power alone will surely fail to justify U.S. actions as the world policeman. As the battle is not over yet, determination to counterbalance the Western hegemony is the only way for freedom-seeking countries to destroy the myth of the stick-wielding superpower.

Make no mistake, there was nothing easy about Iraq's rebuilding. The embargo was in place and Iraq could import nothing, not even toilet paper. Despite this anomaly, ingenuity prevailed as Iraqi engineers devised ways of using spare or damaged parts for the country's reconstruction efforts.

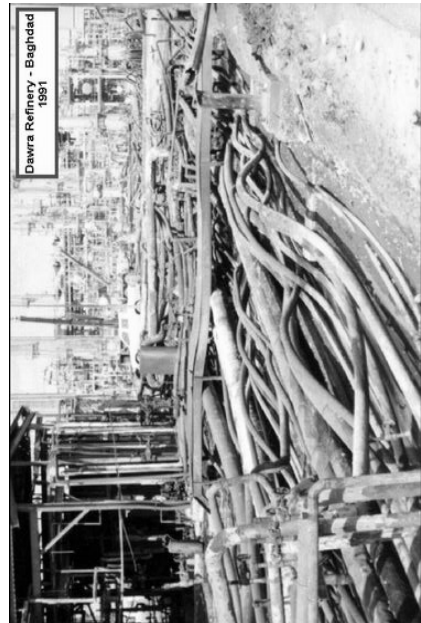
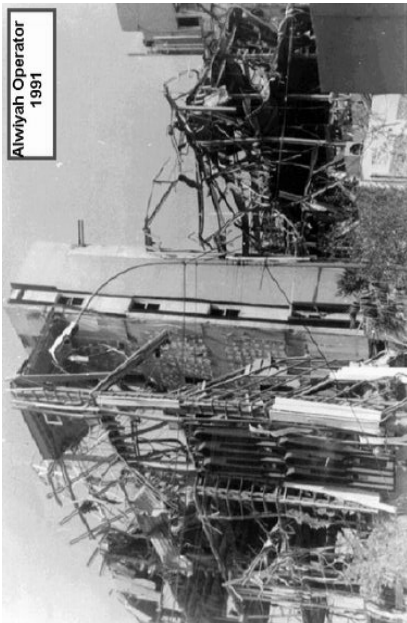
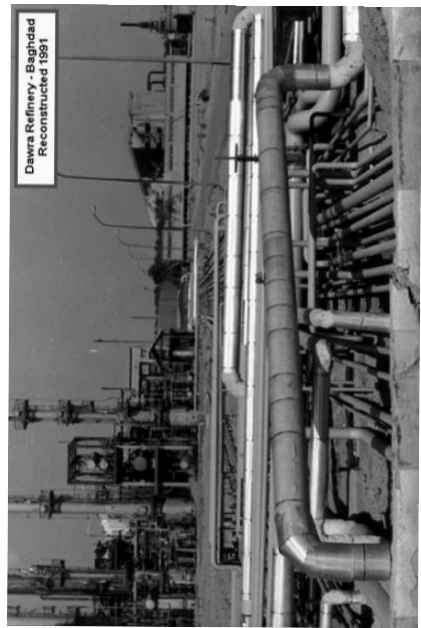
By June 1992, progress had been made in the repairing of sewage and water systems. In the same month, it was reported that engineers and technicians were working around the clock to repair water networks as well as tackling the shortages of running water. Director-General of the Water and Sewage Department, Dr. Adnan Aziz Jabro, stated that big strides were being made in maintaining and modifying drinking water networks, relying 100 percent on Iraqi expertise.

Jabro said that in the first half of 1992, the capacity of waste water treatment plants in Baghdad had escalated to more than 20,000 cubic meters a day. He added that plastic pipes had been laid down for rain and sewage water in Baghdad.

In addition to repairing damaged parts of the network in Baghdad, some 210 water reservoirs were installed. Several thousand meters of water networks had been installed since the end of Desert Storm.

By September 1992, all reconstruction programs were in full swing. The Ministry of Transport and Communications formed four committees to address the maintaining, repairing and manufacturing of replacement parts for the transport and communication system.

Some 5,000 telephone lines of the al-Sahiya Telephone Exchange and 5,000 others of the Bab al-Mu'adham Exchange had been repaired by Sep-



tember 1992. Both exchanges were totally destroyed during the bombing of Desert Storm.

By the end of 1992, repairs were almost complete on the major microwave communications systems in Iraq. Outside experts had predicted that it would have taken many more years to achieve the restoration.

Iraq's ingenious methods enabled the country to get back up and running, although at a much less degree of efficiency than prior to Desert Storm. Only Iraqi parts and Iraqi labor were used in the reconstruction. Two U.S. administrations were baffled by the resurrection of Iraqi society.

Despite the miraculous recovery of Iraq after Desert Storm, the embargo began to erode the repair work. Once replacement parts were worn out, there were no equivalent parts for them. But, despite all the shortages and the inability to replace crucial items, until March 2003 Iraq experienced a functional society, something that has evaded the country since the 2003 U.S. invasion.

Let's compare the Iraqi repairing of the damage inflicted in 1991 to that of the U.S.-led team in 2003. Within two months of the cease-fire in 1991, most of Iraq had electricity almost 24 hours a day. Five years after the March 2003 U.S. invasion, most of Iraq had electricity for only a few hours a day, sometimes only a few hours a week. The U.S. had no embargo against it and it is the richest country in the world, yet it could not do in five years what Iraq did in one year to repair the country.

Gunpowder Out of Wheat

After the embarrassing activities of the U.S. in believing there would be a coup against Saddam Hussein after Desert Storm, the administration still held its hopes. So far the score was 0 for 2 in its attempts to dislodge Saddam. When the non-existent plot for the Iraqi helicopter brigade became evident, Bush called for the Iraqi people to do the job. On worldwide television, he said, "It's up to the Iraqi people to take matters into their own hands." When that did not work, the administration went back to the planning board, but the thought was still prevalent that Saddam's time in Baghdad was soon to be terminated.

The effects of the embargo placed on Iraq were about to take disastrous effects. Bush was told by the CIA that the devastation Iraq would endure would be the catalyst for Saddam's ouster within six months. In addition, on April 8, 1991, the U.S. instituted a "no-fly zone" in which Iraqi aircraft were forbidden to fly from the 36th parallel northward. For the most part, this area was Kurdish. The administration took for granted that tight-

ening the already strangling noose on Iraq would surely prompt the Iraqis to get rid of Saddam.

Despite the predictions, circumstances in Iraq began to stabilize. The U.S. administration thought the incredible damage inflicted on Iraq would make the populace turn against its government, but the opposite took place. The Iraqis began a reconstruction effort that was nothing short of miraculous. Rebuilding Iraq, under an encompassing embargo, became an act of national pride. Within five weeks, most of the electricity in Iraq had been restored. Many bridges and buildings were fixed and life again became somewhat “normal.” However, the drinking water system was still in shambles. Even to this day, much of Iraq has to use polluted water. Every time Iraq tried to import chlorine to clean up the system, the U.S. negated the requests using the reason that chlorine could be used to manufacture chemical weapons.

Under terms of UN Resolution 687, Iraq had to destroy its arsenal of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons as well as the facilities to manufacture them. Once that occurred, the embargo should have been lifted, but it soon became evident that the embargo would stay in place despite compliance by the Iraqis.

The first UN inspectors arrived in Iraq in June 1991. When they embarked from the plane, Iraqi officials immediately protested. They charged that the U.S. contingent consisted of spies, not weapons inspectors. Quickly, the U.S. countered that Iraq was again lying and no one could trust them. They maintained that there were no spies on the team.

One of the first to get off the plane was David Kay, a CIA operative. The U.S. denied any connection between him and the CIA. Years later, when Kay was commissioned to write a comprehensive report about the non-existent Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, he was called a “former CIA operative” by the mainstream press. In 2004, that was okay because few remembered the Iraqis’ assessment of 1991 that Kay was a spy. Those who may have recalled the incident, for the most part, remembered the U.S. accusing the Iraqis of lying. Scott Ritter, the former head of the UN inspection team has revealed much information about this period. After the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, Ritter stated that all the U.S. members of the UN inspection team from 1991 to 1998 were spies and their job was to undermine the Iraqi government and get rid of Saddam, not to conduct neutral and fair inspections. In addition, when Iraq consented to have the UN return inspectors to the country in November 2002, Kofi Annan publicly stated that he would guarantee that no spies would be in the new team. When he said that, many people were curious to know the reason.

Few realized that the 1991-1998 inspection team was laden with spies.

Hindsight shows us that the next hurdle Iraq would have to jump would be with the UN inspection team. The battles between the UN and Iraq over inspections were about to begin. But, the rules were lopsided and not in favor of Iraq.

By the end of 1991, instead of being threatened by assassination coups, Saddam Hussein was leading parades commemorating the reconstruction of various projects in Iraq. At times, he spoke to 100,000 people assembled in Iraq's national stadium in Baghdad. All the U.S. attempts at ridding the country of its president backfired.

By the beginning of 1992, it appeared that things were running smoothly. Non-U.S. inspectors were inspecting and the spies were spying. Iraq knew who the spies were and the scenario resembled a "Spy vs. Spy" plot from



All of Iraq suffered during the embargo.

Mad Magazine. Iraqi personnel assisted the UN and weapons were being dismantled. In addition, factories that were considered “dual use” (the ability to make military or civilian goods) were monitored with cameras by the UN. They viewed every square centimeter of the factories and were on for 24 hours a day. If Iraq tried to shut them off, it would have constituted a breach of Resolution 687. In all the years of hearing U.S. officials say that Iraq was reconstituting its weapons of mass destruction, the accusers never mentioned the intense foolproof camera systems installed in Iraqi factories.

Events in July 1992 brought the possibility of an all-out U.S. bombing campaign close to fruition. The UN called for an inspection of the Iraqi Agricultural Ministry and the Iraqis refused the request. They maintained that there was no information about weapons in the Ministry, only information about crops.

George Bush took to the airwaves and denigrated the Iraqis, calling them liars and saying they were not willing to keep up their end of the bargain. A possible military conflict was in the making.

In the U.S., the public heard that the Iraqis were hiding military secrets concerning weapons of mass destruction and that plans were underway to bomb the building as well as a few dozen military targets. The Iraqis stood firm and announced that the U.S. could bomb them, but they would not part with their pride.

What the people of the U.S. did not hear was that on the first day of the standoff, Iraq had invited Arab and foreign correspondents and ambassadors in Baghdad to visit the building and inspect it themselves.

After 23 days, the UN agreed to allow only neutral (no U.S. or British) inspectors inside, so another military strike was averted. Bush was so upset when the UN came up with the compromise, he stuttered and openly showed his anger when he was interviewed by the press. On the same day, U.S. media showed a relaxed Saddam Hussein swimming with friends in the Euphrates River.

The U.S. had lost a round in keeping Iraq servile to Western powers, but the reason the U.S. was so adamant in having the building inspected had nothing to do with weapons. There was no military information in the Agriculture Ministry: the U.S. wanted to know about Iraq’s agricultural plans.

In June 1992, events occurred in northern Iraq that set up the confrontation at the Agriculture Ministry. The U.S. and Britain burned virtually all of Iraq’s wheat production by sending planes in at very low altitudes over fields of wheat and barley and dropping thermal flares, causing

fires that destroyed the crops.

From May 27 until June 13, 1992, U.S. F-16 jets and British Jaguars demolished 23 wheat fields in the Ninawa Governate of Iraq. At the time, Iraq protested to the UN and the world. The U.S. denied the allegations. On June 19, 1992, the U.S. Department of State announced that no British or U.S. aircraft had done anything to harm the crops. Shortly after the proclamation, the Iraqis produced a videotape of a U.S. jet burning a wheat field. The U.S. changed its story. On June 20, 1992, the U.S. Department of Defense announced that U.S. aircraft had dropped some igneous flares over Iraqi territory because of "faulty pilot performance." According to the U.S. explanation of the incidents, it was extreme coincidence that all the planes involved had different reasons for their locations, but they all dropped the same load that just happened to hit wheat fields.

The Iraqi government did not buy the explanation. It responded:

The radar surveillance alleged by the U.S. Department of Defense is an assertion that is totally devoid of truth. It is clear from the foregoing that the sorties flown by American and British aircraft did not amount to one or two isolated incidents, but were an ongoing operation in which aircraft flew at very low altitudes for the purpose of setting fire to wheat and barley fields with thermal flares and afterburners which, at such very low altitudes, emit a flame that sets fire to heaps of grain and ears of barley and wheat ready for harvest. It is also to be noted that British and American aircraft did not drop thermal flares in their previous overflights, before the harvest season. All of these factors confirm the deliberate and premeditated nature of the actions carried out by aircraft and that there is a precise directive to pilots to ignite fires in fields of wheat and barley for harvest.

According to these facts, it is abundantly clear that these acts of aggression are an integral part of the suspect policy pursued by the United States and Britain in order to reinforce the economic embargo against Iraq not only by measures taken outside Iraq's borders, but also by the destruction of what food the Iraqis are able to produce inside Iraqi territory in order to cope with the embargo imposed.

With hindsight, we see that the Agriculture Ministry was a target for U.S. spies to discover Iraq's plans for planting crops. When the confrontation became worldwide news, the ploy of telling the public that the Iraqis were hiding weapons was a convenient swerve.

Before Desert Storm, Iraq imported much of its food. When the embargo took hold, Iraq had to supply all of its own food. Theoretically, the Iraqis could import food, but they had no money for purchases because the country could not sell oil to generate revenues. In addition, the U.S. bullied countries willing to sell Iraq food, so very few foreign countries would even take an order.

During the Iran-Iraq War, the U.S. was happy to supply Iraq with anything it needed to keep its infrastructure functional. Machinery, electronics, automobiles, building materials and many other items were readily available. Once the war ended, so did Iraq's ability to buy items from the U.S. Little-by-little, the U.S. negated sales that were commonplace before the end of 1988. The U.S. received the benefits it desired from Iraq's defending the oil in the Gulf for eight years and not allowing it to get into the hands of the Iranians.

When Saddam Hussein met with April Glaspie, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq at the time, on July 25, 1990, she talked of great economic relations between Iraq and the U.S. A perplexed Saddam then brought up the fact that most orders were now being negated by the U.S. side. He told Glaspie:

There is nothing left for us to buy from America except wheat. Every time we want to buy something, they say it is forbidden. I am afraid that one day you will say, "You are going to make gunpowder out of wheat."

His prediction was accurate. Almost two years after his statement to Glaspie, the U.S. destroyed Iraq's wheat production.

Dirty Tricks with Money

It is well-known that much Iraqi money was counterfeited after the illegal U.S. invasion of 2003. Both the new Saddam-less dinars and the former currency with the Iraqi president were fair game.

The biggest culprit was Ahmed Chalabi, international con-man par excellence. He had warehouses full of counterfeit bills of both eras. Eventually, he was caught, but he was never tried or fined for his crimes of staggering magnitude. Chalabi did not put his effort into gaining pocket

change. His operation laundered billions of dollars worth of dinars..

There was a counterfeit scheme in Iraq in the early 1990s that was much more devastating than Chalabi's shenanigans. It hit the country hard and everyone suffered. It was a tightly-guarded operation run by the U.S., but every Iraqi was aware of it because it affected the lives of all.

Shortly after Desert Storm, the U.S., along with other accomplices, flooded Iraq with billions of dollars worth of counterfeit Iraqi dinars and U.S. dollars. The results were staggering, taking down further the worth of the already weak dinar.

Eventually, the Iraqi government discovered the bogus money scheme and began to print new money. All retail businesses in the country were equipped with special machines that could verify or negate the authenticity of the notes.

It took about a year or so for the country to be rid of the bogus money. The newly-printed Iraqi dinars were much more difficult to copy.

Coincidentally, some of the countries who joined the U.S. in passing the false money were hurt in the long run because the non-counterfeit dinars they held became useless after the introduction of Iraq's new currency.

Wameeth Mansour is an Iraqi-American who lived in Baghdad during the 1990s. He saw the implementation of the program to eradicate the funny money. According to Mansour:

Everybody in Iraq knew of the scam. It was well-known to the Iraqi public. At the time, various countries came to mind who may have assisted in the scheme, notably Iran. The average Iraqi knew that Iran, although it did not print the notes, did help in getting them to Iraq.

I saw firsthand a person get arrested for trying to pass on these notes. He was in an outdoor market trading dinars for U.S. dollars. This was a commonplace occurrence. He was standing only a few feet from me when he handed a bunch of dinars to a proprietor and, out of nowhere, came the police, who quickly handcuffed him.

Herbert A. Friedman is an expert on psychological operations. He runs a website, www.psywarrior.com, on which he discusses various psychological operations. One highlighted the counterfeit money scheme in Iraq in the 1990s. He stated:

There is a reason to believe that at the same time the 4th Group was making imitations of the Iraqi currency, the CIA was forging their currency. Prior to the 1991 Gulf War, Iraq's currency was prepared abroad, by Thomas de la Rue of England and, presumably, another country. According to *Triumph Without Victory, U.S. News and World Report*, 1992, page 190, in an operation called "Blink, Saddam, Blink," Washington persuaded the two countries that had produced the Iraqi currency to: "print counterfeit Iraqi currency, which was distributed to the Kurdish leaders, who flooded the market with worthless bills."

The June 8, 1992 issue of *Newsweek* ran a piece about the counterfeiting scheme. Ray Wilkinson, in Amman, Jordan at the time wrote:

Can a blizzard of bank notes succeed where Desert Storm failed? Some of those still working to topple Saddam Hussein evidently think it's worth a try. In a campaign Iraq denounces as a CIA plot called "Laundry," counterfeit Iraqi and U.S. dollars are flooding into the country across all of its borders. The Iraqis say fake dollar bills have been dumped from American helicopters; U.S. intelligence sources say it's an all-Arab operation led by the Saudis. Whoever is at the helm clearly knows his business.

Soon after the deluge of fake money, the Iraqis became aware of the differences in their legitimate currency and the bogus bills. On May 17, 1992, the *New York Times* commented:

The (Arab) officials, who insisted on not being identified, said the countries behind the separate counterfeiting operation included Western nations, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel. "People joke about it and some have become experts in telling which denominations are printed in Israel, the United States or in Saudi Arabia," said an Iraqi who insisted on not being identified.

The June 8, 1992 edition of *Time* magazine mentioned the counterfeit

scheme. According to the article, "Paper Tiger?":

Is the U.S. leading a second invasion of Iraq? Some Iraqis think so. But this time, they say, the invading force is a flood of counterfeit bank notes — Iraqi dinars as well as American \$100 bills. In a letter last month to United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Baghdad accused the U.S. of making a bid to undermine Iraq's economy by directing efforts to smuggle in counterfeit money from several neighboring countries, including Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

The U.S. not only tried to deprive Iraqis of goods from outside their country, but from within as well. The previously-mentioned destruction of Iraq's wheat crops by U.S. planes occurred simultaneously with the funny money program. Also, at the same time, the U.S. members of the UN inspection team were spying on every aspect of Iraqi life. Most people knew that after the 1991 Gulf War cease-fire that Iraq was unable to import goods. Few realized that relentless pressure was placed on Iraq 24 hours a day from within by various underhanded means.

Bush's Last Stand

Bush was upset that the Agricultural Ministry standoff ended without violence. His anger soon subsided because he discovered that the "no-fly zone" implemented in the north of Iraq could come in handy in the future. It gave the U.S. total dominance of the skies of northern Iraq for spying as well as bombing Iraq by concocting stories that Iraq was violating UN resolutions.

On August 26, 1992, Bush designated another no-fly zone, this time in the south of Iraq where Iraqi planes were forbidden from flying below the 32nd parallel. He stated that he wanted to ensure that the Shi'ite population of Iraq would not be attacked from the air by the Iraqi government.

Over the next 11 years, we would see how these zones were used to kill many Iraqis and destroy buildings, crops and animals. They were never used to "protect" Kurds and Shi'ites from the Iraqi government.

If we look at the geography of these zones, they portray an Iraq almost identical to the one being proposed by many U.S. politicians today that would divide the country into three sections: Sunni, Kurdish, and Shi'ite. Most observers consider the current movement of dismembering Iraq a

solution for halting the country's violence. If you look back to 1991, many of those today who advocate such a move were involved with the Bush I administration. In all probability, the original no-fly zones were set up exactly for the reason of remodeling Iraq into three sections that would be subservient to Washington under a nominal leader who took orders from the U.S. administration.

From the advent of the no-fly zones until March 2003, the U.S. stated that if Iraq targeted its planes with radar, they would be bombed. Hundreds of times during this period, the U.S. did bomb Iraq in what some people called a "low-level war." In other words, hostilities did not end with the signing of the cease-fire agreement at the end of Desert Storm.

The biggest piece of false propaganda that the U.S. disseminated was that their planes were flying over Iraq legally, according to agreements, and that if a missile was fired at them, or if the planes were painted by radar, the Iraqis were at fault. Politician-after-politician mentioned how Iraq was trying to shoot down U.S. aircraft. They did not state that the U.S. planes were flying over sovereign Iraqi territory and legally had every right to be targeted.

Bush tried everything to re-ignite the Gulf War, but he failed. He was whipped by Bill Clinton in the 1992 presidential elections, making him a powerless figure from November 1992 to January 20, 1993, the day of Clinton's inauguration as president. Despite his "lame duck" status, Bush still wanted to take one more shot at the Iraqis.

On January 13, 1993, the U.S. had sent planes into Iraq to bomb surface-to-air missile sites. The media began to revamp its Desert Storm footing. The public saw videotape, supplied by the Pentagon, showing pinpoint accuracy of bombs dropped on missile sites. We did not see the one that got away and hit a house in the south of Iraq that killed two people.

Despite Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams' admittance of destroying a building that was not targeted, Dick Cheney maintained that no such incident occurred. He still told the old lie that the U.S. did not inflict destruction on the civilians of Iraq. On January 14, 1993, Cheney was interviewed by CBS and he said:

This is the same kind of gibberish we heard from Saddam Hussein during the course of the war itself. We went after military targets. We struck only military targets.

After the bombing raid of January 13, it appeared that all the old me-

chanics were in place for the U.S. to bomb Iraq and have no opposition from the rest of the world or the media. The press, who complained about the handling of the media during Desert Storm, was back in its lapdog role.

Like a junkie who needs a fix, the U.S. public quickly embraced the nonstop media coverage in anticipation of Desert Storm II. The people again believed the lies about Iraq and they demonstrated their hatred toward the country.

On January 13, 1993, most television stations pre-empted their programming to report the bombing raids in southern Iraq. On San Diego's Channel 10, an ABC affiliate, a local entertainment program was interrupted by the news from Iraq. After the news bulletin, the regular program resumed. The female presenter of the show "San Diego Today" said, "It seems he does something like this every two years. I hear their economy is bad. Maybe that's why he did it." Her male counterpart added, "Actually, some countries do this when their economy's bad. They start a war."

Within minutes of the announcement of the bombing, two entertainment presenters, not news reporters, said that Iraq had started a war. The U.S. illegally violated Iraqi air space, dropped bombs and shot missiles at Iraqi targets, yet the scenario was portrayed as that of Iraqi aggression.

More drivel came forward as the day went on. The Phil Donahue Show featured guests who discussed the recent bombings. The *London Times* correspondent, James Bone, said that Saddam Hussein should be assassinated. He stated, "We should bomb every building we think he's in. We should bomb where he eats lunch." Donahue countered, "What about the kids who may be playing hopscotch near where he eats lunch or the women selling clothing?" Bone responded, "We killed 100,000 as collateral damage, what's a few more?"

Donahue began to take calls from the viewers. One caller advocated Saddam's assassination because "he'll use atomic or chemical weapons against our troops." Another caller agreed that Saddam should be eliminated because "he will take over the world." Coincidentally, one caller began, "I disagree with the bombing," and he was cut off. Donahue asked, "Caller, are you there?" Suddenly, another voice came on the line.

Later that day, a San Diego television station interviewed sixth grade students and asked them what they thought of Saddam Hussein. The demonizing of Iraq and Saddam Hussein was embraced by virtually the entire fabric of U.S. society.

The newspapers reported the administration's side of the story, even embellishing the reports with editorial comments when editorializing was

in poor journalistic form. One writer called Nizar Hamdoon, the Iraqi ambassador to the United Nations, “a fast-talking snake oil salesman.” Evidently, he was unaware of Hamdoon’s background. Until 1987, he was the Iraqi ambassador to the U.S. In late 1992, he was summoned by Baghdad to take over the UN ambassadorship. Pierre Salinger, former press secretary to President John Kennedy, had this to say about Hamdoon:

For many years, he (Saddam Hussein) had a remarkable observer working for him, his ambassador in Washington, Nizar Hamdoon, a respected diplomat who maintained regular contact with many high-ranking officials. A month after the beginning of the crisis (September 1990), the *Wall Street Journal* even called him “the best foreign ambassador ever posted to the United States.”

On January 17, 1993, the U.S. launched another missile attack on Iraq in which an alleged nuclear research facility was the target. But, one missile exploded just outside the Al Rashid Hotel in Baghdad. Desert Storm observers will recall that the hotel was an unofficial headquarters for journalists during the conflict. This time, the hotel was filled with guests from many Arab countries who were attending a conference.

Immediately, the U.S. administration accused Iraq of lying and stated that the missile was an Iraqi projectile. A few minutes later, an Iraqi soldier emerged from the crater created by the missile with a metal part that contained the serial number of the motor of the missile and where it was manufactured: Williams International, Jacksonville, Florida. Series 9039 NOOO19-89-c-0204.

Once the evidence was displayed, the administration changed its story and said the missile was hit by Iraqi anti-aircraft fire. Later, the U.S. again changed its story. It maintained the missiles had been reprogrammed inaccurately from a previously-planned strike on Baghdad.

Ali Baghdadi is a Palestinian-American political activist and journalist who was in the Al Rashid Hotel when the missile struck. He was attending the International Popular Islamic Conference with guests representing Moslems worldwide including the U.S. and Europe. Baghdadi recalled:

I was drinking tea in the hotel’s coffee shop. After dinner, I was supposed to sit by the garden and talk with other delegates, but a friend asked me to stay for awhile with him and drink tea.

Suddenly, an explosion took place. We didn't know what it was. All the rooms in the hotel became very dark with dust and the smell of explosives was everywhere. We were told that a missile hit the hotel.

The Iraqi Minister of Religious Affairs came and took us to a hotel shelter. We gathered there and he led us through an underground door and we went to the Al Mansour Hotel for the night.

The next day, we came back. At 6:00 a.m., Iraqi women engineers were present and they started working to repair the damage. The missile missed the foundation of the hotel by about a meter or so. When I went to my room on the 15th floor, the windows were twisted.



Journalist Ali Baghdadi inspecting damage created by missile at Al-Rahsid Hotel

The following day, January 18, saw many people voice opposition to the missile attack. The Arab League condemned the actions and King Hussein of Jordan was so upset that he could barely hold back his disgust in front of television cameras.

Demonstrators in Moscow, holding posters of Saddam Hussein, called for Russia to intervene militarily on Iraq's behalf. That evening, the Russian ambassador to the U.S. contacted the administration and asked that no more raids be made against Iraq.

On the day of Bill Clinton's inauguration as president, the French fired a parting shot at George Bush. They were unhappy with the way Bush was handling his personal vendetta against Iraq and on January 20th, the French Foreign Minister, Roland Dumas, stated he hoped the inauguration of President Clinton would ease tensions with Iraq. He added, "The arrival of a new president in the White House should open up a new phase in this crisis with Iraq." Unfortunately, actions depicted in his upbeat statement never came to fruition.

One thing was made clear in January 1993. The U.S. population was ready for immediate resumption of anti-Iraq propaganda. This fact did not go un-noticed by Bill Clinton or George Bush II. It became a major weapon in the U.S. arsenal for the next 10 years.

Somalia and Iraq Shared Similar Strategies

One may ask, "What does Somalia have to do with Iraq?" The answer is, "Plenty." In 1993, the U.S., under the guise of a "humanitarian" mission, invaded and occupied Somalia. As with Iraq, the world's leading military superpower used its weapons to kill innocent people in their own country. Also, the U.S. demonized Somali leader Mohamed Aidid much in the same manner that it discredited Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Aidid and the forces allied to him fought the U.S. presence, leading to the U.S. decision to leave Somalia.

During the so-called "peacekeeping mission" in Somalia, the U.S. labeled Aidid the bad guy and offered \$25,000 for his death or capture (inflation ran rampant and by 2003, Saddam Hussein was worth \$30 million). The fighting escalated, coming to a crescendo when 18 U.S. soldiers were killed in an attempt to capture Aidid. The next day, videotape showing Somalis dragging the dead body of a U.S. serviceman through the streets drew harsh condemnation from the U.S. government. Bill Clinton talked about how this was repugnant and stated that civilized people do not act in this manner. However, he did not mention the thousands of

dead Iraqi soldiers who were mutilated and put on display by U.S. troops during and after the first Gulf War. He also did not bring up the fact that about 3,000 Somali civilians were killed in the same battle in which 18 Americans died.

His successor, Bush II, had no problem showing the butchered bodies of Uday and Qusay Hussein, Saddam's sons, to the world via television. And, more than three years later, videos of their father's dead mutilated body were inundating Internet sites, all without a peep of protest from Bush. The public display of dead foreigners is applauded as proof of U.S. superiority, yet the showing of one dead U.S. soldier is "uncivilized."

Eventually, the U.S. gave up trying to capture Aidid. His resistance persuaded the U.S. to coin new phrases while discussing foreign intervention: "Doing an Aidid" and "Crossing the Mogadishu line."

The facts differ from the scripted account. Aidid was the elected leader of Somalia, but he was opposed by European governments. He had nearly consolidated his hold against dictatorship-era holdouts when the UN/U.S. stepped in and committed mass violations of the rights of Somalis, including trying to disarm them and shut down free speech.

After years as an Italian colony, Somalia gained independence in 1960. Siad Barre assumed control of the country and created a dictatorship. Aidid spent the late 1960s and early 1970s in prison for planning a coup against Barre, who eventually freed him and made him ambassador to India, Sri Lanka and Singapore.

Aidid then helped form the United Somali Congress (USC) which deposed Barre. Ali Mahdi proclaimed himself USC president of the Republic of Somalia.

In June 1991, Aidid was elected chairman of the USC by a two-thirds vote, but Ali Mahdi refused to step down as president. By October 1991, Mahdi had formed a government of eight ministers, and the Italian government promised massive financial support. Aidid then declared his faction of the USC to be the legitimate government of Somalia, and Mahdi declared war on Aidid and his bloc.

Aidid's militia forces quickly defeated those of Mahdi, confining Mahdi's supporters to a small area of Somalia's capital, Mogadishu. Aidid could have captured the remainder of Mahdi's territory, but he declined. Instead, he concentrated his efforts on expelling what remained of Siad Barre's army in southern Somalia. Robbery by Barre's army was the main reason for famine in that region.

The main difference between Aidid's faction and that of Mahdi was that Mahdi supported an Italian-style democracy, while Aidid favored the

traditional tribal form of government known as *kritarchy*.

Various Somali clans sided with Aidid. On March 30, 1993, the four tribes of northwest Somalia adopted the traditional Somali constitution, the *Xeer*. On June 4, two more clans, from the northeast and the center of Somalia, adopted the *Xeer*. Violence decreased as the clans adopted a peaceful government.

The United Nations opened an office in Mogadishu a few months after Aidid routed Mahdi's forces. UN representatives Mohamed Sahnoun realized he was too late to mediate between the two factions and concentrated on reducing the famine in southern Somalia. The UN Security Council wanted a more visible role and fired Sahnoun.

At this time, April Glaspie, the former U.S. ambassador to Iraq, who was instrumental in creating the scenario that led to Desert Storm, reappeared. She was sent to Somalia to re-write the script and turn a so-called "humanitarian" mission into a "get Aidid" venture.

Sahnoun's successor then declared Somalia an anarchy, Aidid a bandit, and attributed the problems to firearms possession. Under U.S. pressure, the UN then embarked on a military occupation of Somalia and a full disarmament of its population.

The UN decried Somalia's lack of ability to govern itself, not mentioning that only foreign subsidy was able to keep former dictator Siad Barre in power and that foreign governments rejected the Somali majority's choice of government (Aidid's) in favor of someone who acquiesced to their desires (Mahdi). For a period before foreign governments began to interfere, Somalia had been capable of governing itself.

The UN's illogical and expensive campaign resulted in more violence as the Somali tribes fought to preserve their right to bear arms.

On June 5, 1993, UN troops attempted to shut down Aidid's radio station because it was broadcasting "propaganda" (anti-UN messages). Somali militiamen repelled the attack.

The Somalis' successful resistance of the UN attack led the U.S. to begin an expensive, bloody, five-month manhunt for Aidid. Dozens of U.S. troops and thousands of Somalis were killed. In October 1993, the U.S. ended the search for Aidid.

During the weeks from June 5 to October 3, 1993, UN/U.S. forces inflicted 6,000 to 10,000 casualties on the Somali resistance, stated Eric Schmitt in the December 8, 1993 edition of *The New York Times*. Schmitt corroborated the account with U.S. military intelligence, relief workers, UN officials and the U.S. special envoy to Somalia. U.S. Major General Anthony Zinni estimated that two-thirds of the casualties were women

and children.

Only a small portion of the money spent by the UN on “relief efforts” (hundreds of millions, possibly billions of dollars) benefited Somalis. Most of the money was spent on the UN/U.S. effort itself, according to the November 28, 1993 *Los Angeles Times*. Foreign businesspeople profited extensively from such items as fast-food sales to occupying soldiers; a nine-million-dollar sewage system in the UN/U.S. headquarters; and helicopter flights for Western officials.

In March 1994, U.S. and other Western troops withdrew from Somalia, and by March 1995, the remaining African and Asian U.N. troops pulled out. The *News and Observer* reported, “The city has been generally quieter since UN forces left in early March, although there is sporadic factional fighting.”

In June 1995, the United Somali Congress-Somali National Alliance (USC-SNA) called a congress at which Aidid was ousted as chairman and replaced by former comrade Osman Hassan Ali Otto, who called for a return of UN troops to help “rebuild” Somalia. Aidid refused to recognize the congress, accusing it of being foreign-manipulated. His supporters then elected him president of Somalia.

In September 1995, in a major military move, Aidid and 600 militiamen seized the southern Somali city of Baidoa. Some groups reported heavy fighting and much looting, while travelers from Baidoa said the takeover involved little bloodshed.

Fighting in the capital of Mogadishu erupted again in October 1995, as Mahdi’s supporters fired at a banana ship to keep it from docking. Somalia’s banana export industry was tied to Aidid, and Mahdi had banned banana ships from Mogadishu’s port.

One very important result emerged from the failed UN occupation of Somalia: the successful eviction of the powerful armies of the West. Somali soldiers were unpaid militiamen volunteers who fought to defend their communities.

In July 1996, Mohamed Farrah Aidid died while fighting in Somalia. He was demonized by the U.S. government and had a price put on his head. Despite the overwhelming propaganda that discredited him, some considered Aidid to be a true freedom fighter who took on the U.S. and helped expedite the exit of the U.S. military from Somalia.

Aidid was buried on a small plot he owned near the line that divides Somalia’s first city, Mogadishu. A long funeral procession wound through the streets and the city was somber. There were no clashes between rival militias as combating sides forgot their differences in paying respect to the

man who solidified the opposition to foreign forces on Somali soil.

On October 3, 1996, celebrations were held in Somalia commemorating the deaths of the 18 American servicemen who died three years earlier. The U.S. State Department called the celebrations “an affront to the American people.” Spokesperson Nicholas Burns stated: “We haven’t forgotten the deaths of those 18 people and it is uncivilized to celebrate the deaths of people who were there to bring peace and stability to Somalia.” The soldiers were killed during an attack on an Aidid stronghold. Burns failed to show the contradiction of calling a military assassination attempt a “peacekeeping operation.”

After 1996, Somalia made little headline news and very few reports came from the African nation. In 2004, The UN recognized a powerless puppet government that existed only on paper, similar to the “government” of Iraq that hides behind the walls of the Green Zone in Baghdad.

A force called The Council of Islamic Courts began to set up local governments and Somalia began to experience more stability than it had in many years. By December 2006, the Council was in control of most of the country. Then, Ethiopia, an ally of the U.S., with a much stronger military than that of the Council, invaded Somalia on the side of the stooge government. Within a couple of weeks, the Council was forced to retreat and the UN-backed government entered Mogadishu as rulers of the country.

Prior to the Ethiopian invasion, the UN-installed government called for peace and reconciliation talks with the Council. They were desperate. Just a few weeks later, after the arrival of the Ethiopian soldiers, the newly-powerful government rejected peace talks and vowed to hunt down all the members of the Council.

On January 8, 2007, the U.S. became militarily involved by bombing Council fighters under the guise of hunting terrorists. Just a few weeks prior, the Council ran most of the country and the citizens, for the most part, praised their presence. In theory, the Council wanted to implement Islamic law as the law of the land, but their version was very benign and respected the views of those who chose not to live according to Islamic law. In fact, most secular Somalis praised the stability the country was experiencing.

But, this was not what the U.S. wanted in Somalia. A stable, peaceful state in Somalia would run counter to U.S. interests because the government would not have been in America’s pocket. The U.S. prodded Ethiopia to invade. Look back at the news reports of the time and you will see that many included the term “Christian government” when discussing

Ethiopia.

It took a decade, but the U.S. achieved its goal of dominance in Somalia and subjecting the majority Moslem population to a Christian occupation. As Native American Chief Pontiac said about Anglos who killed many of his people in the 18th century, "They come with Bible in one hand and sword in the other."

Somalia has undergone many of the same techniques used against Iraq in having its country dismembered and re-assembled by the U.S.:

- Demonizing its leader
- Overwhelming force
- Teaching the locals a lesson in Christian compassion
- Placing a bounty on the head of a leader
- Heavy use of commandos in kidnapping operations
- Keeping local factions at odds with each other
- Companies grabbing the loot that was meant for humanitarian aid
- April Glaspie involved with behind-the-scenes U.S. shenanigans

In the past few years, the U.S. has used a method of surrounding certain "enemies" to keep them at bay. This way, no direct military action is necessary, but the U.S. can control an entire region. And, if military intervention is on the books, it will be much easier to attack using nearby countries as a launch pad.

A presence in Iraq puts the U.S. in control of future efforts against Syria, Iran, Palestine and Lebanon. Many former Soviet states signed on with the U.S. for pocket change and allowed U.S. military troops in their countries. Russia is now surrounded by U.S. surrogates. With renewed good relations with Pakistan, the U.S. now has military personnel near China.

Somalia was a part of this current method of surrounding U.S. enemies. The Horn of Africa is crucial in the U.S. quest for world hegemony. Ethiopia is firmly in the U.S. camp and it appears that Somalia may follow that route. If you look at a map, you will see that Ethiopia borders Sudan, a thorn in the side of the U.S. Somalia borders Ethiopia and now the U.S. will have much closer sea access to the Horn of Africa if its plans for Somalia come to complete fruition.

In just a few weeks, the Council of Islamic Courts went from running most of the country to an entity that is being hunted by the former powerless government. The Council has initiated resistance. They have been in this position before. If the Council is eliminated, the necessary amount

of chaos on which the U.S. thrives in dominating foreign countries will return.

By mid-2008, the Council of Islamic Courts had rebounded and heavy fighting again became normal for the Somalis. Somalia is in a position that is ideal for U.S. strategic interests. If the Council remains a formidable foe, there will be violence in Somalia for years to come. If the resistance is defeated, there will be chaos on the streets because the Somali people do not recognize the powerless government that was forced on them.

The Forgotten “Day of Infamy”

Many countries have one or two days a year that indicate a national tragedy. In the U.S., December 7, 1941, the day the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, is labeled a “day of infamy.” Almost 60 years later, September 11, 2001 surpassed December 7 as a rallying cry for U.S. solidarity.

Iraq, a country much smaller than the U.S., and never as large a player on the international scene, can claim several days of infamy: January 17, 1991 (the beginning of Desert Storm); February 14, 1991 (the destruction of the Amiryah Bomb Shelter); March 20, 2003 (the start of the U.S. illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq); and April 9, 2003, (U.S. forces enter Baghdad) among others. But, one date that gains little international attention is imbedded in the hearts and minds of most Iraqis: June 26, 1993.

On that date, the U.S. military, under the command of Bill Clinton, ordered 23 Tomahawk guided missiles to demolish the headquarters of the Mukhabarat, the Iraqi intelligence services, in central Baghdad. Twenty of the missiles hit the agency complex, while “only” three missed their targets.

A jubilant Clinton took to the airwaves and proclaimed victory. He was happy that only three projectiles missed their mark. One could think he was addressing the public about the score of a sporting event.

Of the three that missed, one destroyed the home of Layla al-Attar, killing her and her husband, and blinding her daughter.

Layla al-Attar was the director of the Iraqi National Art Museum and a leading Arab artist who was revered in Iraq and the Arab world much the same as Norman Rockwell was in the U.S. In addition, she was a spokesperson for international peace, for the inner peace of women, and for resistance against U.S. hegemony. Layla al-Attar symbolized Iraq.

When news of al-Attar’s death broke, Iraq mourned. A special person

who transcended political ideology and represented all of humankind had been assassinated.

During the Gulf War, her home was almost totally destroyed by U.S. missiles. Two years later, shortly after the completion of the house's reconstruction, an "errant" missile finished the job that its cousin had only partially performed in earlier years.

Although never proven, it is quite easy to give credence to the theory that Layla al-Attar was the target of a missile, not merely a casualty of "collateral damage" from a misguided projectile. Every Iraqi believes she was marked, but shortly after her execution, the rest of the world forgot.

Outside the Arab world, Layla al-Attar was on the verge of becoming a top international artist. European art galleries were beginning to highlight her work. In the U.S., however, she was virtually unknown. Little international outrage was heard when she was killed.

The reason behind the attack was as bogus as any given during the Bush I years. Clinton stated that information was in-hand that showed Iraqi operatives were behind an aborted assassination attempt on former President George Bush in April 1993 at a ceremony praising him in Kuwait. Clinton added that Saddam Hussein ordered the attempt on Bush's life. At the last minute, those who were to carry out the attack were apprehended and Clinton had to teach the Iraqis a lesson.



Left: "Savagery" by Layla al-Attar

Bottom: The late Layla al-Attar



The big lie still persisted. Those arrested were merely drug and alcohol smugglers. In the aftermath of the June 26 missile attack, one-by-one the mythical would-be assassins were released from Kuwaiti jails, but, the U.S. media did not consider this information newsworthy. It was not as exciting as assassination plots and missile attacks.

On November 1, 1993, the *New Yorker* published an article by Seymour Hersh titled "A Case Not Closed." Hersh went into detail about the entire event and basically showed there was no validity to Clinton's claim.

Why did Clinton order this attack? At the time, Republicans and pro-war Democrats criticized him for being "weak" on Iraq and other invisible threats against the U.S. Clinton had to earn respect. What better target than Iraq, a defenseless country that was isolated because of U.S. propaganda?

According to Hersh:

Three of the million-dollar missiles missed their targets and landed on nearby homes, killing eight civilians, including Layla al-Attar, one of Iraq's most gifted artists. The death toll was considered acceptable by the White House. Clinton administration officials acknowledged that they had been "lucky," as one national security aide put it, in that only three of the computer-guided missiles went off course.

Thus, on a Saturday in June, the president and his advisors could not resist proving their toughness in the international arena. If they had truly had full confidence in what they were telling the press and the public about Saddam Hussein's involvement in a plot to kill George Bush, they would have almost certainly ordered a far fiercer response than they did. As it was, confronted with evidence too weak to be conclusive but, in their view, perhaps not weak enough to be dismissed, they chose to fire missiles at night at an intelligence center in the middle of a large populous city.

Over the years, many people have uttered, "Saddam tried to kill Bush's father," in defense of Bush's 2003 invasion of Iraq. In March 2008, the story took another turn as an unlikely organization admitted the plot was a hoax: the Pentagon.

The March 23, 2008 issue of *Newsweek* ran an article called “Saddam’s Files,” written by Michael Isikoff. It stated:

President Bush said lots of things about Saddam Hussein in the run-up to the Iraq War. But few of his charges grabbed more attention than an unscripted remark he made at a Texas political fund-raiser on Sept. 26, 2002. “After all, this is a guy who tried to kill my dad at one time,” Bush said. The comment referred to a 1993 claim by the Kuwaiti government—accepted by the Clinton administration—that the Iraqi Intelligence Service (IIS) had plotted to assassinate President George H.W. Bush during a trip to Kuwait that spring ...

But curiously little has been heard about the allegedly foiled assassination plot in the five years since the U.S. military invaded Iraq. A just-released Pentagon study on the Iraqi regime’s ties to terrorism only adds to the mystery. The review, conducted for the Pentagon’s Joint Forces Command, combed through 600,000 pages of Iraqi intelligence documents seized after the fall of Baghdad, as well as thousands of hours of audio- and videotapes of Saddam’s conversations with his ministers and top aides ...

... But the Pentagon researchers found no documents that referred to a plan to kill Bush. The absence was conspicuous because researchers, aware of its potential significance, were looking for such evidence. “It was surprising,” said one source familiar with the preparation of the report (who under Pentagon ground rules was not permitted to speak on the record). Given how much the Iraqis did document, “you would have thought there would have been some veiled reference to something about [the plot].”

Despite the Pentagon coming clean after 15 years of the public believing a myth about the nonexistent assassination attempt, not too much has changed in the perception and reporting of those times. In April 2008, weeks after the Pentagon announced the Kuwaiti hoax, the National Defense University, an organization connected to the U.S. Department of Defense, published a report called *Choosing War: The Decision to Invade*

Iraq and Its Aftermath,” written by Colonel Joseph J. Collins, a retired U.S. Army officer.

Collins’ assessments were not accurate and at times, differed greatly from the facts. One of them stated: “Since the Republicans had last been in power, Saddam had tried to assassinate the elder Bush.” No one challenged Collins’ statement, despite the Pentagon’s earlier declaration. It appears that no matter how many people debunk this lie, it has a life of its own and will go down in history as fact.

A Non-Returned Gesture of Goodwill

On March 13, 1995, two U.S. citizens (William Barloon and David Daliberti) were captured inside Iraq. Both worked for U.S. civilian contractors and maintained they lost their way trying to visit a friend in Kuwait.

At that time, the Iraq/Kuwait border was heavily reinforced by a deep ditch with towering fences on each side. The pair was well inside Iraq and it would have been almost impossible for them to have accidentally wandered into Iraqi territory.

They were taken to Baghdad and tried on charges of espionage. The couple received a sentence of eight years in prison. The Clinton administration then began its cover-up efforts. Spokespeople said the Americans were not spies because they did not have road maps with them at the time of their arrest. Most of the U.S. public believed the administration’s assessment. There is one aspect that few people took into consideration: spies do not go on a mission with roadmaps. They have memorized exact locations. If a spy used a roadmap, he/she would be put in the same category as Inspector Clouseau of Pink Panther notoriety.

With two of its citizens, accused spies, in Iraqi hands, one would think the U.S. would have been a little humble in its attempts to get them released. No such luck.

According to Douglas Jehl, author of “Americans in Iraq Given 8-Year Term,” in the March 26, 1995 edition of the *New York Times*:

The swiftness and severity of their punishment prompted strong condemnation from the Clinton administration, which had warned only on Friday that Iraq could serve no purpose in holding the men.

On March 27, 1995, the ante was raised. Steven Greenhouse wrote an

article for the *New York Times*, “U.S. Vows to Press Hard on Iraq to Free Americans,” in which he said:

Two Republican presidential candidates, Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana and Patrick Buchanan, said that the United States should consider using military force to release the two men.

For the entire time this story gained headlines, the U.S. press called Barloon and Daliberti “hostages.” There is a substantial difference in meaning between the words “hostages” and “prisoners,” but the subliminal message created by calling them hostages raised the ire of U.S. citizens.

On March 30, 1995, the Iraqi government allowed a Polish diplomat and a reporter for CNN to visit the pair in prison. They stated that the prisoners were in good health.

On July 17, 1995, Bill Richardson, at the time a U.S. congressman, visited Baghdad to try to obtain the release of the pair. Saddam Hussein granted a pardon and allowed them to leave Iraq.

Despite the act of goodwill on behalf of the Iraqi government, the U.S. continued a barrage of insults toward the country. Warren Christopher, the U.S. Secretary of State at the time, assured the public that the U.S. promised nothing in return for the pair’s release.

Bill Richardson returned to the U.S. as a hero and was in the media spotlight, but his statements about Saddam Hussein changed immensely and he made many jokes about the Iraqi president.

During the negotiations, Richardson crossed his legs and had the bottom of one shoe pointing right at Saddam, who left the room and returned to see Richardson with both feet on the floor. Saddam’s aides explained to Richardson that the bottom of a shoe was one of the gravest insults in the Arab world. A similar effect would occur if someone negotiating with the U.S. president held his middle finger aloft during the conversation. When Saddam returned, the negotiations continued. He was gracious enough to leave the room and allow his assistants to quickly explain this aspect of Arab culture to the congressman.

When interviewed by PBS, Richardson mentioned the incident. Then he made fun of the affair and said he thought his life may have been in danger and that his Iraqi hosts may have imprisoned and tortured him for the gaffe. Richardson and the program host laughed and made fun of the Iraqis.

Over the next few years, Richardson made many disparaging remarks

about Saddam Hussein:

- “This allowed Iraq to starve its own people and blame the sanctions for their suffering. Under the oil-for-food program, we have taken this excuse away from Saddam.” (March 1999)
- “ ... and multilateral sanctions are central to our efforts to contain Saddam.” (March 1999)
- “But I also believe it is important that Saddam’s oil revenues be used to relieve the suffering of the Iraqi people rather than by Saddam Hussein for his own criminal purposes.” (December 2002)
- “Well, Saddam Hussein, you can never predict what he is going to do, but it is obvious that he is going to put his foot forward; he is going to say, ‘We have no illegal weapons.’” (December 2002)

Very few national leaders would have released two convicted spies with nothing to show in return. There were no “thanks, Saddam” messages coming from the U.S. Instead, Iraq received more threats and many denigrating remarks from the person who visited the country to secure the release of the two prisoners. Until the obvious became clear, Richardson maintained that Iraq had stockpiles of doomsday military equipment.

One aspect of this scenario was not put in place until long after Richardson’s visit to Iraq. While he was negotiating with Saddam Hussein, cinemas, bus stops, schools and other venues were being blown up in Baghdad by terrorists. The perpetrators were eventually caught. They were members of the CIA-backed Iraqi National Accord (INA), a group of Iraqi exiles who attempted to create chaos in Baghdad in an effort to ripen discord and sow the seeds for a coup against Saddam Hussein and the Ba’ath government. These events are highlighted in the next section, “Gotcha.”

The leader of the exile group was Ayad Allawi, who later became a U.S.-appointed prime minister of Iraq. By the time the terrorist attacks in Baghdad were thwarted, about 150 Iraqi civilians were killed. This reign of terrorism was financed and supported by the U.S. administration.

While Iraqi civilians were being killed by a U.S.-sponsored program, Richardson gained the release of two U.S. prisoners held in Iraq. The current version of Western history of this time makes Saddam Hussein look like the bad guy and Richardson the good guy. The facts contradict the history.

There was one moment in which Saddam Hussein claimed verbal victory over Richardson. Laura Blumenfeld wrote an article, “A Little Diplo-

macy Goes a Long Way,” for the *Washington Post* of December 13, 1996. She stated:

After 90 minutes, Saddam granted a pardon. They took pictures and Richardson joked, “This picture is going to cost me some votes.” The Iraqi president retorted, “And you think I look good — posing with you?”

Gotcha

George Bush set lofty goals for his “War on Terror.” At a press conference in November 2001, he stated:

A coalition partner must do more than just express sympathy. A coalition partner must perform. All nations must do something. It’s important for nations to know they will be held accountable for inactivity. You’re either with us or against us in the fight against terror.

He then went on to explain that any country giving safe haven to a terrorist, even if it does not support the terrorist’s intent, is just as guilty as a nation that sponsors terrorism. There was no ambiguity.

Since that time, Bush has coerced countries to perform duties against their own will in the guise of fighting terrorism. He has made up terrorists who don’t exist and threatened countries because of mythical figures. Thousands of people worldwide are in secret prisons because of Bush’s “war on terror.”

Despite the tough talk about not abetting terrorists, Bush was a collaborator with terrorists. There are two world-class terrorists who will never come to justice because they are protected by the U.S. Most U.S. citizens have never heard of one: Luis Posada. The other, Ayad Allawi, is vaguely remembered as a former prime minister of the “new” Iraq.

Posada’s list of actions is long and comprehensive. His career highlight was orchestrating the blowing up of Cubana Flight 45 on October 6, 1976, in which all 73 people on board died, including 24 members of the Cuban national fencing team.

Other atrocities attributed to Posada include the planning of the bombing of Cuban hotels, cafés and dancehalls. In cahoots with portions of the Cuban exile community in Miami, Florida, Posada was involved with bombings and assassinations against Cuban interests in Venezuela, Guatemala

and other countries.

It appeared that Posada would face justice when he was arrested and put on trial in Venezuela, but he escaped and was on the run until 2005, when he was apprehended in the U.S. Posada claimed asylum and a judge ruled he could be deported, but not to Venezuela or Cuba, countries that want to incarcerate him for the destruction of the airliner, but the U.S. administration did not allow this to happen.

On April 26, 2006, Posada applied for U.S. citizenship. He has a good chance of becoming a U.S. citizen, allowing him to spend the rest of his life outside a jail cell.

The U.S. “war on terror” does not apply to terrorists who work on the side of the U.S. Luis Posada was a CIA asset for years. He and the CIA worked hand-in-hand on many projects. When asked if he felt any guilt about his hotel and café bombings, he replied, “I sleep like a baby.”

Posada stayed out of the public eye for a while, but he emerged on May 2, 2008 at a party in his honor. According to a *Los Angeles Times* article of May 7, 2008, “Luis Posada Carriles, a Terror Suspect Abroad, Enjoys a ‘Coming-Out’ in Miami,” written by Carol J. Williams:

The dapper octogenarian in a crisp blue suit, his face smoothed by plastic surgery, swanned from table to table in the candlelit banquet hall, bestowing kisses and collecting accolades.

An aging movie star being feted by fans? A veteran politico taking his bows?

No, the man being honored by 500 fellow Cuban Americans at a sold-out gala was Luis Posada Carriles, the former CIA operative wanted in Venezuela on terrorism charges and under a deportation order for illegally entering the United States three years ago.

Posada, 80, has mostly kept a low profile since his release from a Texas prison a year ago and a federal judge’s dismissal of the only U.S. charges against him — making false statements to immigration officials ...

...Posada, still under a supervision order with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, entered the ban-

quet to a standing ovation, his face beaming and minus the scar from a 1990 attack by gunmen in Guatemala.

Let's take a look at another terrorist who eventually became Iraq's prime minister. On May 28, 2004, when the U.S. government announced that Ayad Allawi would become Iraq's interim prime minister, most people asked, "Who?" Before this time, he was unknown to the U.S. public.

Ayad Allawi was an Iraqi exile living in London. When he first moved to London, he was a member of Iraq's Ba'ath Party. Shortly after, he changed sides and sold his services to the British spy agency MI6. Later on, he collaborated with the CIA as well.

In the mid-1990s, the Clinton administration had placed the assassination of Saddam Hussein at the top of its agenda, albeit in a covert manner. The plan was for Iraqi dissidents to meet in the north of Iraq (at the time under the protection of U.S. forces) and march to Baghdad. The U.S. was to supply air power and weapons.

Allawi was the man for the job. He was in charge of a U.S.-sponsored Iraqi expatriate group called the Iraqi National Accord (INA). The first part of the operation was to create havoc in Baghdad. For months in 1995, INA agents blew up bus stops, cinemas and stores in Baghdad. At least 150 civilians were killed and many more injured.

Syndicated columnist Eric Margolis of the *Toronto Sun* was one of the few journalists who wrote about the plan. In his column, "The Bay of Camels," of August 25, 1997, he stated, "Terrorism is bad, it seems, when used against Americans or Israelis, but fine when used against Iraqis."

The title of Margolis' column was a mockery of the "Bay of Pigs" invasion by Cuban dissidents backed by the U.S. that turned into an embarrassing defeat. The Iraqi debacle in 1996 had similar implications, yet gained little publicity.

The Iraqis discovered who was behind the terrorist attacks and arrested INA agents in Baghdad. In addition, Iraqi special agents had already infiltrated the would-be insurgents. The scheduled invasion was doomed before it began. Infiltration by Iraqi government assets, along with a decision by the U.S. not to supply air cover, made it a non-starter.

At the time, a civil war was raging in the north of Iraq between the two largest Kurdish factions. One of their leaders, Massoud Barzani, asked Saddam Hussein for help in putting down his rivals. The payoff for Iraq was that Barzani alerted the Iraqis to the huge CIA operation in Irbil, in the north of Iraq. Iraqi troops destroyed the CIA program and helped Barzani take over Irbil, then they returned to Baghdad.

After the failed coup, Allawi was protected by the U.S. and he fled to England, although he was still a major behind-the-scenes player involved in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Many know of the escapades of Ahmed Chalabi and his group, the INC, but Allawi was just as important to the U.S. and he continued his work for the CIA after the failed strategy to get rid of Saddam.

On November 13, 2004, *The Spectator*, a British publication, ran a feature by Andrew Gilligan called "The Strongman of Baghdad." According to the article:

Unlike his main rival in Iraqi exile politics, the banker Ahmed Chalabi, he (Allawi) was low-key and persuasive, hinting at highly placed contacts inside the regime who were ready to turn the West's way. Not for the last time, Ayad Allawi was telling the British, and later the U.S. government exactly what they wanted to hear, and the CIA millions started to pour in.

The INA's most controversial operation during this period was a campaign of what can only be termed terrorism against civilians. In 1994 and 1995, a series of bombings at cinemas, mosques and other places in Baghdad claimed up to 100 civilian lives ...

In 1996, with massive CIA backing, Mr. Allawi finally got to mount his coup. It was a complete fiasco, not entirely helped by his decision to announce the supposedly top-secret operation to the *Washington Post*. Even before this, Saddam's secret police had secretly seized the sophisticated encrypted satphone sent into Iraq to communicate with the coup plotters and were using it to feed disinformation to the CIA. Once the coup had been crushed and all the plotters arrested, the special line came to life one last time. It was the Iraqis, kindly ringing up the CIA to let them know it was all over.

The "ringing up the CIA" to which Gilligan refers consisted of an Iraqi officer calling a CIA agent in Amman, Jordan, who was anxiously awaiting word of how the operation was progressing. When the CIA operative answered, the Iraqi officer said, "Gotcha!"

Allawi continued to rake in the revenues from the British and American intelligence agencies. He, like Chalabi, continued to turn out the most outrageous allegations about Saddam Hussein and Iraq. The more preposterous, the better. Gilligan added:

Undaunted, Mr. Allawi kept up his contacts (and income) with the spooks and an even thirstier less discriminating audience, the British press. At top-secret meetings in London hotels, murmured conversations with selected extra-gullible hacks would produce exciting headlines in top right-wing newspapers. It was the INA, in July 2000, which fed the *Sunday Telegraph* the sensational scoop that Saddam had deployed crack "Mata Hari" teams of killer belly-dancers to Britain to assassinate his political opponents, a story which continues to be remembered with tears of real joy whenever Iraq-watching journalists gather to reminisce.

Allawi's acts of terrorism, lying, and bilking the U.S. and Britain of millions of dollars were well-rewarded: he was appointed Iraq's prime minister. As the leader of a quisling government, Allawi had virtually no support and the people of Iraq did not respect him. Even Saddam Hussein's opponents who lived in Iraq their whole lives despised Allawi.

The U.S. spent millions of dollars listening to advice on Iraq, but those they asked for information always gave them the wrong information. Not one penny was spent on listening to the opinion of Iraqis in Iraq, not exiles living in luxury who had no idea of Iraqi attitudes. Gilligan summed it up:

The trouble, you see, with wafting in a British passport-holder from Wimbledon as your chosen leader is that he has no genuine political capital in Iraq to spend, no popular support to withstand the inevitable crises.

Let's go back to the 1996 "Bay of Camels" debacle and look at how then President Bill Clinton handled the affair. He had to take some military action against Iraq, yet he could not admit that the U.S. ran the world's largest CIA operation in Irbil and that it had been completely knocked out.

On September 3, 1996, Clinton told the press:

Three days ago, despite clear warnings from the United States and the international community, Iraqi forces attacked and seized the Kurdish-controlled city of Irbil in northern Iraq. The limited withdrawals announced by Iraq do not change the reality. Saddam Hussein's army today controls Irbil and Iraqi units remain deployed for further attacks.

These acts demand a strong response and they have received one. Earlier today, I ordered American forces to strike Iraq. Our missiles sent the following message to Saddam Hussein: when you abuse your own people or threaten your neighbors you must pay a price.

There was not one word about the CIA operation or that the Iraqi army defended against an assassination attempt. The most curious aspect of Clinton's explanation was the area in which the missiles were sent. If Iraqi troops were "abusing" the Iraqi people in Irbil in the north of Iraq, logic would say that a military response would have been conducted in the north. But, Clinton added:

First, we are expanding the no-fly zone in southern Iraq. This will deny Saddam control of Iraqi airspace from the Kuwaiti border to the southern suburbs of Baghdad and significantly restrict Iraq's ability to conduct offensive operations in the region. Second, to protect the safety of our aircraft enforcing this no-fly zone, our cruise missiles struck Saddam's air defense capabilities in southern Iraq.

Iraq did not conduct "offensive operations" in the south. It was in the north. A few reporters asked why the south of Iraq was whacked when the Iraqi troops were in the north. Clinton gave a feeble excuse and the press bought it.

The reason Clinton sent any cruise missiles was because of the outcry from Congress to retaliate, but, he could not tell the truth. At the time, the press had no information about the huge CIA operation that had been destroyed.

The operation was not un-noticed by Congress. Most members knew of the CIA operation, but were tight-lipped. After the fiasco, the Democrats tried to downplay the event, while the Republicans countered.

A document from the House Republican Policy Committee, called "U.S. Intelligence Debacle Worst Since the Bay of Pigs," was released on October 8, 1996. According to the report:

In early 1996, President Clinton signed a secret directive authorizing a covert CIA operation to unseat Saddam Hussein. He and his CIA director, John M. Deutch, pinned their hopes on a cadre of Kurdish and Iraqi agents operating inside Iraq with undercover U.S. support. In America's largest covert operation since the successful CIA campaign against the Soviets in Afghanistan, Deutch personally promised the effort would succeed "within a year."

But the Clinton-Deutch scheme in Iraq began to come apart in June 1996.

First, the CIA attempt to infiltrate the Republican Guard was uncovered. Reminiscent of the "exploding cigar" fiascoes targeting Fidel Castro in the early 1960s, one of the missions that Clinton approved was to plant a small bomb in one of Saddam Hussein's palaces. It went off, but not while Saddam Hussein was there.

... With hundreds of American-supported Kurds and Iraqis dead or imprisoned, Bill Clinton dishonestly declared victory before a credulous American public who did not know (and could not have known) what actually happened in Iraq.

Though it was the Republicans who brought out the real facts about the debacle in Irbil, they did not do so for altruistic reasons or to enlighten the U.S. public about situations in Iraq. The report was a partisan swipe at a Democrat president. In fact, before the situation turned sour, most Republicans supported the idea of trying to have Saddam Hussein overthrown from within.

The main U.S. asset, Allawi, was quickly transported out of Iraq with most of the U.S. agents. The Iraqi stooges, who thought they were being well-protected, were left defenseless against the Iraqi troops and they paid a hefty price.

Posada and Allawi are in the major leagues of terrorists. But, the U.S. has protected both. Posada probably will become a U.S. citizen and Allawi now splits his time between an expensive, well-guarded house in Jordan and another residence in London. Some working class Moslem may get arrested in his house in the U.S. and accused of being a terrorist because of his reading material, but two of the world's most notorious terrorists are protected by the same administration that said there will be no safe haven for any terrorist in the world.

Coincidentally, the FBI has downgraded the Mother of All Terrorists, Osama Bin-Laden. The current explanation of crimes for his being on the FBI Most Wanted list is:

Osama Bin Laden is wanted in connection with the August 7, 1998 bombing of the United States Embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya.

What about 9-11? The reason for the invasion of Afghanistan was that the country would not hand over Osama Bin-Laden, the "mastermind" of 9-11, to U.S. authorities. Now, the FBI says it does not have enough evidence to charge him with that crime.

A 2006 U.S. government report stated that there was no link between Saddam and Bin-Laden. It added that Saddam Hussein held Bin-Laden in contempt and assured that no Al-Qaida operatives were allowed to enter Iraq. The FBI admits it has no proof that Bin-Laden was behind the 9-11 attacks in the U.S. The truth is immaterial. Iraq and Afghanistan are still both under brutal occupations.

Blame It on the Bulls

Few people remember the embargo that Iraq endured from August 3, 1990 to May 2003. The sanctions were forced on Iraq by the U.S. with little debate or thought of their long-term effects. They remained in effect long after Iraq complied with UN resolutions.

On August 3, 1990, the U.S. pushed a sanctions resolution through the UN. After the cease-fire of March 1991, they were kept under the conditions that Iraq could not have them lifted until it destroyed certain weapons, called weapons of mass destruction (WMD), which included chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, as well as missiles whose range exceeded 150 kilometers. The UN sent inspectors to verify the destruction of the weapons, as well as placed cameras in every Iraqi factory to monitor

the activities 24 hours a day. Altering a camera in any way would be cause for immediate resumption of hostilities by the UN. During the embargo years, many U.S. officials accused Iraq of “reconstituting” its WMD program, yet not one mentioned the 24-hour-a-day eye-in-the-building that would have immediately exposed such activities.

At the time, two assessments were in place in the U.S.: (1) Iraq would never destroy all its WMD, and if it tried, it would take years, and (2) Under such strict observation, the people of Iraq would rise up and overthrow Saddam Hussein within six months.

Saddam’s tenure surprised the U.S. administration, so, after about a year, the stated objective was to keep the embargo in place in perpetuity. Then Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, stated, “The embargo will stay in place until there is not one Ba’ath Socialist left in Iraq.” Few people picked up on his comment at the time, but it was concise and accurate.

By the end of 1992, Iraq began to say, “We’ve destroyed all the weapons. Lift the embargo.” The U.S. had spread so many lies about Iraq that no one, even those of the so-called “left” or the peace community, believed Baghdad. The lies and the silence of the media about the devastating effects of the sanctions resulted in genocide.

On January 20, 2006, Scott Ritter, former head of the UN inspection team in Iraq, told the Bush Crimes Commission:

But I can say again the policy of regime change was the dominant policy of the United States of America from 1991 to 2003. The United States government never intended to disarm Iraq because a disarmed Iraq was counterproductive to a policy of regime change because if Iraq was disarmed sanctions would have to be lifted. The United States needed to maintain the embargo even though it possessed the definitive data that proved that Iraq was complying with its obligations to disarm.

The U.S. administration portrayed the embargo as a benign instrument to ensure that Iraq would not import weapons. In fact, it was an airtight device designed to keep anything from coming into Iraq. For instance, Iraq’s water supply was destroyed during Desert Storm and raw sewage flowed through the streets. The country needed chlorine to purify its water, yet it was unable to import the necessity because the U.S. designated chlorine as a “dual-use” item; one that had legitimate civilian appli-

cations as well as those that could be used to make WMD.

By 1995, Iraqis were dying at a fast rate because of the severity of the embargo. About 750,000 people had already died because of the lack of food, medicine, or other items that were not allowed to be imported.

In 1995, it was virtually impossible to get anyone in the U.S. mobilized to condemn the embargo. The peace groups were dormant.

In San Diego, a group called the Iraqi-American Friendship Society did take the extra step. It called for several demonstrations to make the people aware of what was occurring in Iraq. The group consisted of a core of about two dozen Iraqi-Americans and the same number of non-Arab U.S. citizens. When the group tried to form alliances with established “anti-war” organizations, it was snubbed. Some feigned ignorance, while others outright said, “We won’t touch that.” They had been co-opted by U.S. propaganda.

One nationally-known activist who fought the Cuban embargo stated, “I won’t work on the Iraqi embargo because of the way they treat women in that country.” When told that Iraq was a secular country and that women were held in higher esteem than in other Arab countries, she said, “Well, they still all wear veils.” It was impossible to enlighten the general public about the devastation of the Iraqi embargo when peace and pro-Cuba groups held such attitudes.

The Iraqi-American Friendship Society held a demonstration in 1995 when Bill Clinton traveled to Coronado (a seaside resort bordering San Diego) and spent a couple of days visiting a friend. The news people were



Demonstrators in Coronado, California in 1995 opposing U.S. embargo against Iraq

all over the place. The group walked through Coronado and ended up in front of the house where Clinton was staying. Two news vans flanked the 50-or-so demonstrators, yet not one media person had the imagination to ask why a bunch of people were displaying an Iraqi flag in front of the house. In 1995, marching down a U.S. street with an Iraqi flag was not exactly in vogue.

The evening news showed Clinton walking on the beach with his friend. There was not one word about a bunch of Arabs and other U.S. citizens with signs condemning the embargo, all the time flying the Iraqi flag.

For those Democrats who forget history and blame the genocide of Iraqis solely on the Republicans, let's discuss Operation Desert Fox. In December 1998, Bill Clinton ordered a four-day barrage of missiles and bombs on Iraq. The UN inspectors were pulled from the country prior to the fireworks, contrary to the revisionist history that Saddam Hussein ordered them out.

At the end of the attacks, Clinton declared victory. He said that U.S. missiles had destroyed WMD in Iraq. Today, we know that Iraq did not possess one gram of unauthorized substances in December 1998, so all the missiles and bombs destroyed the civilian infrastructure. Few complained about that.

The house of Saddam Hussein's daughter was completely demolished in the actions. No one was in the house when it was struck. Also, the main warehouse that stored rice for Iraq was destroyed. Few on the left criticized the demolition of such non-military targets.

Many Iraqis were killed in the four-day constant bombardment. Knowing what we know today, the actions could arguably be assessed as first-degree murder. Instead of people calling it that, we saw the smiling faces of politicians claiming success.

In 1995, the UN, with much pressure from countries alleging that the average Iraqi was suffering from the embargo, devised the "Oil for Food" program. In theory, the Iraqis could sell oil, but the revenues could only be used to purchase food and medicine for the people.

In reality, the program became a cash cow for Kuwait and Iraq's Kurdish area. Iraq saw no money. Once an order was shipped, the money was paid to an escrow account handled by the UN. First, 30% of the revenues was sent to Kuwait for war reparations. Then, 15% was sent to the Kurdish areas. Then, UN salaries and administrative costs were paid. Finally, Iraq received credits for the remainder of the money.

The program did help Iraqis eat. Once underway, many experts called the Iraqi implementation of the program "the finest food distribution pro-

gram” in history. Each area of Iraq was treated equally and about 90% of the Iraqi public eventually used the program’s monthly rations to be able to eat or feed their families.

On the other hand, the program, meant to diminish the suffering of Iraqis, became a nightmare for Iraq. The 15-member UN Security Council was put in charge of authorizing Iraqi purchases. If only one member dissented, an order would be rejected. Hundreds of orders were negated by the U.S. that the other 14 Security Council members had authorized. The U.S. stopped everything from toilet paper to pencils from going to Iraq.

Before I mention the most preposterous negation of an order, let’s look at actions that preceded it. For years prior to 1993, not one case of hoof-and-mouth disease had occurred in Iraq. Then, the UN ordered Iraq to destroy the factory that manufactured vaccine for cattle, designating it a facility that could be used for dual use manufacturing. The Iraqis had never manufactured anything other than vaccine at the venue, but, begrudgingly, they complied and blew up the building.

By 1996, the country was experiencing an epidemic of hoof-and-mouth disease. Little meat was available for the population and every day the situation escalated.

In 1998, Bill Clinton ordered cruise missiles fired at targets in Afghanistan and Sudan. He went on TV and explained that he was targeting militant Moslems who planned the blowing up of two U.S. embassies in Africa. Then, he mentioned that al-Qaeda training bases in Afghanistan were hit. Next, he stated that a Sudanese factory, El Shifa Pharmaceutical Industries, was destroyed because it was making chemicals that could only be used to manufacture VX nerve gas.

For the next few weeks, the missile attack on Afghanistan stayed in the news. The destruction of El Shifa, however, quickly disappeared from the media. Soon after, it was discovered that El Shifa was not working on chemical weapons, but on a 100,000-liter order for animal vaccine for Iraq. The order was approved by the UN and would have been a tremendous asset for Iraq in its fight against hoof-and-mouth disease. This incident received scant press, but was one of the most devastating attacks against Iraq perpetrated by the U.S.

William Cohen, at the time U.S. Secretary of Defense outdid himself in describing the plant and its operation. According to a *Washington Times* article of 2004, “Clinton First Linked al-Qaeda to Saddam:”

Mr. Cohen elaborated in March in testimony before the September 11 commission. He testified that “bin Laden

had been living (at the plant), that he had, in fact, money that he had put into this military industrial corporation, that the owner of the plant had traveled to Baghdad to meet with the father of the VX program.”

In reality, the plant was owned by Salah Idris. Osama Bin-Laden held no financial interest in the company and he did not live on the premises as Cohen stated. According to an August 22, 1998 CNN report:

As Sudan stepped up its criticism of the U.S. missile attack against a Sudanese pharmaceutical factory, a lawyer for the factory owner said Saturday that the owner had no ties to Osama bin Laden, the terrorist the United States blames for the African embassy bombings.

Ghazi Suleiman, the attorney for Salah Idris, owner of El Shifa Pharmaceutical Industries Co., said Idris did not know bin Laden and said the factory produced only drugs, not chemical weapons.

“I think the Americans are under bad information and they are not well briefed,” Suleiman said. “I think it would have been prudent before destroying the plant to come and investigate the site.”

The U.S. knew that the plant was making the animal vaccine for Iraq and not chemical weapons. Behind the scenes, the U.S. paid the plant owner for damages, but the order for animal vaccine for Iraq was destroyed along with the factory.

Desperate for cattle, the Iraqis ordered 15 live bulls from France to assist in increasing its stock. The U.S. negated the order, calling live bulls “dual-use” items. On January 4, 2000, Saeed Hasan, the Iraqi ambassador to the UN, wrote a letter of complaint to the organization:

The most recent farce relates to contract No. 600787, made by the Minister of Agriculture with a French company for the import of 15 live bulls in order to improve the quality of livestock resources. On 29 November 1999, the United States put this contract on hold on the pretext that the bulls were dual-use.

The fact that live bulls could be considered dual-use items is a blatant example of the contempt shown by the representative of the United States for the authority of the United Nations, the procedural requirements of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) and for resolution 1051 (1996), which defines dual-use. We say nothing about the United States contempt for the lives of the Iraqi people, a subject that has been dealt with exhaustively. The United States demonstrates the greatest disdain for the international community and the United Nations, which adopted the distribution plan and agreed upon the humanitarian materials it covered. This attitude reflects the superficial manner of thinking that leads to such situations as this and indicates that the United States has no objective standards for civilized international relations.

By the beginning of 2004, it was evident to anyone, except a few die-hard administration supporters, that Iraq had no WMD when the U.S. invaded in March 2003. Also, it was vividly clear that these weapons were destroyed more than a decade earlier, not on the eve of the invasion. Even David Kay and Charles Duelfer, two former inspectors who maintained Iraq had WMD just prior to the 2003 invasion, admitted their errors in judgement. Because they were so adamant about the WMD existence, Bush put them in charge of scouring Iraq for any proof, yet they came up empty-handed. After Kay's initial report, Bush still mumbled about Iraq's WMD and Kay said, "The president should realize that denial is not just a river in Egypt." He added, "The Iraqis tried to come clean in 1995, but we just wouldn't believe them."

From 1993 to 2003, the world was living a lie by keeping the embargo in place. Millions of lives and billions of dollars could have been saved if the U.S. adhered to its end of the agreement and accepted Iraq's fulfillment of its required duties.

The U.S. did not care if Iraq had destroyed its WMD. It had a policy of overthrowing Saddam Hussein, even if it meant the deaths of many people, mostly the young and elderly. Even today, this fact is being ignored or distorted to the benefit of both Republicans and Democrats.

Scott Ritter, the former head of the UN inspection team in Iraq, was an outspoken opponent of the illegal March 2003 invasion of Iraq. He may know the Iraqi people and the country better than most U.S. citizens.

Prior to the hostilities, Ritter predicted a long and violent resistance to the occupation at the same time pro-war spokespeople were forecasting a welcome of the U.S. troops with flowers and candy.

On October 9, 2004, *The Guardian* newspaper of Britain published an article by Ritter called "The Source Duelfer Didn't Quote." In it, he gave details about the recent report from Duelfer and stated that Iraq had absolutely no plans to resurrect its weapons program. Ritter also made it quite clear that the U.S. intentionally made the Iraqi people suffer under false allegations. According to Ritter:

Duelfer's report slams the door on that line of thinking, since it is now clear that Iraq had in fact disarmed in compliance with security council resolutions. One of the tragic ironies of the decision to invade Iraq is that the Iraqi WMD declaration required by security council resolution 1441, submitted by Iraq in December 2002, and summarily rejected by Bush and Blair as repackaged falsehoods, now stands as the most accurate compilation of data yet assembled regarding Iraq's WMD programs (more so than even Duelfer's ISG report, which contains much unsubstantiated speculation). Saddam Hussein has yet to be contradicted on a single point of substantive fact. Iraq had disarmed; no one wanted to accept that conclusion.

No member of the U.S. Congress or any other government agency has yet to admit to the facts. Democrats and Republicans alike still debate about the nuances of the 2003 invasion without mentioning that after 1993, the world was living a falsehood perpetrated by the U.S.

The 2003 invasion devastated Iraq, yet not every person in the country could say that he/she was subjected to the results of warfare. During the embargo, every Iraqi citizen suffered. After March 2003, they did not forget the embargo. In all probability, every one of the tens of thousands of resistance fighters in Iraq had a parent or grandparent who died because of lack of medicine that could not be imported; or a younger brother or sister who died because of malnutrition; or an uncle or a cousin who is mentally or physically disabled because of the embargo.

Nine-eleven is a convenient excuse that people used to justify an attack on Iraq. After all, 3,000 people in New York died on that day. On the other side of the world, anywhere from one to two million Iraqis died because of the sanctions. Multiply the effects of 9-11 by 500 to 700 and you

will get a better idea of the outcome of the embargo on Iraq.

During the embargo years, many of the U.S. military people now in Iraq were playing video games that depicted the “dirty Arabs” as the enemy. They did not miss a meal because their country was under illegal sanctions. Their family members did not drop off like flies because there was no medicine in the country for what would normally be non-life-threatening diseases. These people today are facing Iraqis who are equivalent in age, but not in life experience. The mix is quite volatile.

Some have accused the Ba’ath regime of not distributing the food and medicine gained in the oil for food program equally among the Iraqi people. This was another fabrication to demonize the regime. Two directors of the program (Dennis Halliday and Hans Von Sponeck) quit in disgust at U.S. actions that tried to halt shipments to Iraq. They told the truth, but when they spoke out, both were put on a list of people whom the U.S. will not allow on its soil because they stated that the oil for food program was administered equally and comprehensively by the Iraqi side. Many international experts agreed and said the Iraqi effort represented the finest and most efficient mass distribution of food ever implemented.

Today, those who created the unbelievable inhumane conditions in Iraq are still calling the shots. Former Iraqi government officials who complied with UN resolutions have either been killed or are in prison.

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called the March 2003 invasion of Iraq illegal. Normally, one who has been designated a criminal must pay a price for his/her actions as well as compensate the aggrieved. Today in Iraq, it is just the opposite. The criminals are still torturing innocent civilians in prisons and they are still breaking down doors of blameless people and looting their houses.

The Forgotten Years

On July 23, 2002, a meeting of Tony Blair and his senior government ministers took place in which they discussed the issue of whether Iraq should be invaded. Much was discussed that would not be available to the public, however, on May 1, 2005, the notes of the meeting, dubbed “The Downing Street Memo,” were published by the *Sunday Times* of London. War opponents thought they had the “smoking gun” that would prove the invasion was pre-planned and the talk of wanting to negotiate was just a smokescreen to deceive the people. It proved that the decision to invade Iraq was made long before the debate began at the UN.

With this memo came information that was as damning as Bush’s at-

tempt to make the intelligence fit his agenda. Almost one year before the official start of the war in March 2003, U.S. and British planes were already bombing myriad targets in Iraq, not just those regular marks in the “no-fly zone” that had been attacked for years. Telecommunication facilities and many more venues in the Iraqi infrastructure were under attack beginning in May 2002, in what Britain and the U.S. called “spikes of activity.”

Michael Smith of the *TimesOnline* wrote on June 19, 2005:

The increased attacks on Iraqi installations, which senior U.S. officers admitted were designed to “degrade” Iraqi air defenses, began six months before the UN passed resolution 1441, which the allies claimed authorized military action.

The Liberal Democrat peer Lord Goodhart, vice-president of the International Commission of Jurists and a world authority on international law, said the intensified raids were illegal if they were meant to pressure the regime. “Putting pressure on Iraq is not something that would be a lawful activity,” said Goodhart.

At first, it appeared that the memo and the information about the early start of the air war would damage Bush, but the agenda for justice was buried in officialdom. The mainstream media called the memo “old news.”

This revelation of intense bombing in 2002 reminds us of the time between March 1991 and March 2003 in which the public was led to believe there was no war occurring. There definitely was a war; a one-sided one in which only the U.S. was allowed to go on the offensive.

The world was somewhat aware of the devastating embargo against Iraq during the 1990s, but few people were knowledgeable of the no-fly zones. For 12 years, British and U.S. planes flew over Iraqi territory under the guise of protecting the Kurds and Shi’ites of Iraq from being attacked by Saddam Hussein’s troops. Contrary to popular belief, these areas were not authorized by the UN, despite many journalists calling them the “UN-imposed” no-fly zones.

The zones were used for the U.S. and Britain to bomb Iraq at will. There was no need to protect Kurds and Shi’ites. The protection that the U.S. and Britain professed was used to kill more than a thousand Iraqis

from 1991 to 2003. Contrary to the stated cause, the no-fly zones became killing fields for U.S. and British bombs and missiles.

According to an article in the *Washington Post* of December 22, 2002, written by Peter Baker, the south of Iraq was under constant bombing. On December 1, 2002, four Iraqis were killed by U.S. bombs, including a 23-year-old mechanic, Mohammed Sharif Reda. Baker stated:

The air raid sirens sound most every day, twice, sometimes more. They are followed by the sound of jet planes soaring overhead. Then the soft puffs of anti-aircraft fire off in the distance.

The attack on December 1 destroyed a pair of large vehicles parked in an oil company courtyard in the center of Basra. U.S. military spokesmen said they hit an air defense facility, not an oil company. But something obliterated the vehicles here and everyone questioned believes it was the Americans.

“Every day, every day all the time. Why?” cried Reda’s widow. “I ask you, ‘Why is America bombing?’”

On August 13, 1999, the *New York Times* ran a story titled, “With Little Notice, U.S. Planes Have Been Striking Iraq All Year.” The piece stated:

It is the year’s other war. While the nation’s attention has focused on Kosovo, American warplanes have quietly, methodically, and with virtually no public discussion, been attacking in Iraq.

Over the past eight months, American and British pilots have fired more than 1,100 missiles against 359 targets.

The media, however, did not ignore the U.S. propaganda of the time. Here’s a real use of illogic that was reported nationwide. On January 25, 1999, U.S. Marine General Anthony Zinni spoke to the press at the Pentagon and stated that Iraq violated the no-fly zones five times in one day. The no-fly zones were not authorized by any international organization. In other words, they were illegal according to international law but Zinni

twisted the subject enough to make people feel sorry for the U.S. pilots. Zinni's remarks were reported by various agencies just as he gave them and in the context he used. Not one reporter had enough common sense to ask how Iraq could violate its own territory against illegal intrusions by British and American planes.

The list of atrocities committed by the U.S. and Britain in the no-fly zones goes on and on. Not only humans suffered from the attacks. On September 29, 1999, *Peacework* reported:

Targets are often bizarre. In a recent visit to Mosul in northern Iraq's "no-fly zone," we saw flocks of sheep which had been blasted to eternity with the small child shepherds who tended them. There were two such flocks at Ba'sheeqa, ten minutes drive from Mosul, site of another bizarre, poignant bombing this week.

On Tuesday morning, St. Matti's Monastery was damaged by missiles fired by British and American planes with a "number of people killed and injured" say Iraqi and Western agencies.

Hearing the bombing of St. Matti's, I recall my visit last May. The blasted flocks of sheep lay on the plain below the mountain. I climbed to this revered outlook to see if there could possibly have been any "legitimate" targets which could have explained the mis-fired missiles killing tiny shepherds and their sheep. The plain was flat and barren as far as the eye could see.

At one time, U.S. bombs were killing so many sheep that the Iraqi government gave reports of the dead animals after a U.S. raid. Every time an incident was brought up, it was quickly dismissed. "These are Iraqi lies," the U.S. administration constantly reminded the public.

There are many instances when the U.S. attacked Iraqi food supplies. The killing of sheep was intentional. As was the destruction of Iraq's largest rice warehouse during the Clinton-ordered bombing of December 1998. As was the destruction of 23 wheat fields in 1992 by U.S. and British jet afterburners. As was the destruction of the date harvest in Basra in 1995 by millions of insects dropped from U.S. planes on the crops. The U.S. tried to starve Iraq from without and within.



Propaganda flier dropped on the citizens of southern Iraq. A sinister Saddam Hussein holding a bloody Iraq and the message states: "Military fiber optic cables are tools used by Saddam Hussein and his regime to suppress the Iraqi people."

THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER

Sunday, June 11, 1995

Editor-in-Chief: Najji al-Hadi

No. 0287 Price 50 dinars

Iraq's cooperation with UN must be rewarded, says Russia

Moscow, June 10, 1995

Russia has announced the withdrawal of its inspectors from the UN Council on Iraq. The inspectors were to be replaced by UN inspectors. The UN Council on Iraq is a body that monitors Iraq's compliance with UN resolutions. The UN Council on Iraq is a body that monitors Iraq's compliance with UN resolutions. The UN Council on Iraq is a body that monitors Iraq's compliance with UN resolutions.

The spokesman announced that Russia would not be taking any more inspectors to Iraq. The spokesman announced that Russia would not be taking any more inspectors to Iraq. The spokesman announced that Russia would not be taking any more inspectors to Iraq. The spokesman announced that Russia would not be taking any more inspectors to Iraq.

The spokesman announced that Russia would not be taking any more inspectors to Iraq. The spokesman announced that Russia would not be taking any more inspectors to Iraq. The spokesman announced that Russia would not be taking any more inspectors to Iraq. The spokesman announced that Russia would not be taking any more inspectors to Iraq.



President Jacques Chirac

Chirac, Major propose sending reaction force to Bosnia

Paris, June 10, 1995

President Jacques Chirac of France is meeting with British Prime Minister John Major at Paris on Saturday for talks about the rapid reaction force they proposed in order to bring the conflict in Bosnia to a halt. The proposed force would be made up of troops from the UN Security Council and other countries. The proposed force would be made up of troops from the UN Security Council and other countries.

Chirac and Major are discussing the possibility of sending a rapid reaction force to Bosnia. Chirac and Major are discussing the possibility of sending a rapid reaction force to Bosnia. Chirac and Major are discussing the possibility of sending a rapid reaction force to Bosnia. Chirac and Major are discussing the possibility of sending a rapid reaction force to Bosnia.

Iraq pins hope on next SC report to UN Council

Baghdad, June 10, 1995

Iraq is pinning its hopes on the next report from the UN Security Council on Iraq. The report is expected to be released soon. The report is expected to be released soon. The report is expected to be released soon. The report is expected to be released soon.

The report is expected to be released soon. The report is expected to be released soon. The report is expected to be released soon. The report is expected to be released soon. The report is expected to be released soon. The report is expected to be released soon.

Iran protests to UN against air violations

Tehran, June 10, 1995

Iran has protested to the UN against air violations by the US and other countries. Iran has protested to the UN against air violations by the US and other countries. Iran has protested to the UN against air violations by the US and other countries. Iran has protested to the UN against air violations by the US and other countries.

56 PKK members killed in Turkey

Ankara, June 10, 1995

Fifty-six members of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) were killed during a military operation in Turkey. Fifty-six members of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) were killed during a military operation in Turkey. Fifty-six members of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) were killed during a military operation in Turkey.

The Baghdad Observer of June 11, 1995, shows Saddam Hussein's picture flanked by two articles stating that Iraq had destroyed its WMD. So much for the propaganda that Saddam wanted to fool the world into thinking Iraq still maintained WMD.

PART THREE

OCCUPATION AND RESISTANCE

*“We will embroil them, confuse them,
and keep them in the quagmire “
— Mohammed Sahaff, April 2003*

The lead-up to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq was laden with lies, deceit, bribes, attempted bribes and so many ludicrous incidents that a fiction writer would be envious of the plot. Unfortunately, the scenario was real and deadly.

The U.S. government stated that Iraq was about to attack its neighbors. Then, the east coast of the U.S. would eventually be a target for Iraqi bombers. The ante was upped even more as Condoleezza Rice told the world:

The problem here is that there will always be some uncertainty about how quickly he (Saddam Hussein) can acquire nuclear weapons. But we don't want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud.

We do know that he is actively pursuing a nuclear weapon. We do know that there has been shipments going into Iraq, for instance, of aluminum tubes that are really only suited for nuclear weapons programs.

Shortly after Rice made her allegations, numerous sources came forth to dispel her statement about aluminum tubes by pointing out that the aluminum tubes could only have been used for standard rockets and were in no way able to be used for nuclear weapons programs. Dick Cheney told the U.S. public that Iraq was thinking of bombing the east coast of the U.S. because the Iraqi government purchased road maps from Australia. Then, he said that Iraq had a fleet of drone airplanes to perform the task. When these allegations hit the world press, Iraq showed the world its dastardly drone aircraft: three or four drones made from balsa wood that had a range of about 20 miles. They were used for mapping purposes.

Despite these absurd allegations, most people did not see or hear about the quick rebuttals, so the original messages stuck in their minds. A major problem of these horrendous lies being thrust on the public was the so-called “opposition” party, the Democrats. Instead of jumping on the lies and holding the administration accountable, most remained mute during the buildup to the March invasion.

The U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, was, to many U.S. citizens, held in high esteem. To them, he was the one “clear thinker” of the Bush administration. When he began to put forth incredible stories about Iraq, many who would have opposed an invasion, took his word as truth and eventually supported the war.

The world saw Powell at the UN making all sorts of allegations. One time, he questioned why an Iraqi building had a roof. Another time, he showed a satellite photo of an Iraqi convoy and asked what the Iraqis were moving. Shortly after each incident, reporters in Iraq went to the scenes of Powell’s queries. For the roof, the building manager said, “We have a roof to keep the sand and rain out of the building.” The convoy was approached by the press and shown that it consisted of tomatoes. Few questioned how the U.S. Secretary of State could make such outrageous remarks about convoys and roofs and not be lambasted by the press.

On February 5, 2003, Powell made his most dramatic appeal for war. The world watched as he spoke at the UN and accused Iraq of many violations of agreements and then added that the Iraqis had a fleet of mobile biological weapons factories. (See Curveball and the Trucks in Part Three.) He received accolades from the entire U.S. government and those all over the world who wanted Iraq to be invaded. There was one problem, however, he lied. Today, we all know about the deceit and Powell has called this performance “the lowest point in my life.”

The White House considered Powell’s speech the crown jewel for making the case for war. On February 5, 2003, Powell’s statement appeared on

the official White House website. It was called “Denial and Deception” in reference to the Iraqi government. We know now that the only denial and deception came from the U.S., yet the article is still listed today. The original big lie is now part of “official” history in the U.S.

Three days before Powell laid out his agenda of lies at the UN, Saddam Hussein was interviewed by former British Labour MP Tony Benn, who asked him, “Mr. President, may I ask you some questions? The first is, does Iraq have any weapons of mass destruction?” Saddam Hussein replied:

Most Iraqi officials have been in power for over 34 years and have experience of dealing with the outside world. Every fair-minded person knows that when Iraqi officials say something, they are trustworthy. A few minutes ago when you asked me if I wanted to look at the questions beforehand I told you I didn’t feel the need so that we don’t waste time, and I gave you the freedom to ask me any question directly so that my reply would be direct.

This is an opportunity to reach the British people and the forces of peace in the world. There is only one truth and therefore I tell you as I have said on many occasions before that Iraq has no weapons of mass destruction whatsoever. We challenge anyone who claims that we have to bring forward any evidence and present it to public opinion.

Today’s revisionists blame Saddam Hussein for trying to hoodwink the world into thinking Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (WMD) after the country destroyed them. On February 2, 2003, he made it clear that Iraq was free of banned weapons. Many times prior to this statement, officials from the Iraqi government publicly made the same assertions. Because the British and U.S. governments lied about Iraq’s compliance to UN resolutions, they created the fabrication that the Iraqi president was not forthright in denying the existence of the weapons. Facts show that he and his spokespeople for more than a decade publicly declared Iraq free of WMD, yet history has again been rewritten by the British and the U.S. governments and press to reflect a lie that created the destruction of Iraq and the deaths of many Iraqis as well as U.S. and British soldiers. The victors again rewrote history. But, in this case the victory statements were

premature. The real war began after the declarations of triumph by the “coalition of the willing.”

Circumstances became even more bizarre. George Bush gave Saddam an ultimatum: leave Iraq within 48 hours or face a massive invasion. This was another lie. The invasion of Iraq began about a dozen hours before Bush’s “get out of Iraq” decree expired. The U.S. thought it had Saddam Hussein and his sons in its crosshairs and decided to bomb an area where U.S. intelligence said Saddam was holding a meeting. The bombs and missiles arrived and killed innocent people. Neither Saddam nor his sons were there.

On April 9, 2003, the world awoke to see a statue of Saddam Hussein being destroyed in Baghdad. Bush equated this to the toppling of the Berlin Wall. What the press did not do was to show the entire context of the statue’s demise.

There were few Iraqis at the scene. The U.S. rented an audience by bringing in a few outsiders, including Ahmed Chalabi and his crew. When pictures of the setting were scrutinized, it showed that most of the people were from the press corps (the U.S. military rounded them up from local hotels) and U.S. military.

How about the heart-rendering picture of a muscular Iraqi breaking the base of the statue with a sledgehammer? He was Iraqi weightlifting champion Kadhim al-Jubouri.

Four years after his image was seen worldwide, al-Jubouri had a change of heart. According to the article, “The Regrets of the Man Who Brought Down Saddam,” published on March 19, 2007, by *The Guardian*:

Now on the fourth anniversary of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, he (al-Jubouri) says, “I really regret bringing down the statue. The Americans are worse than the dictatorship. Every day is worse than the previous day.”

Yet he now says he would prefer to be living under Saddam than under U.S. occupation. He said, “We no longer know friend from foe. The situation is becoming more dangerous.”

Another widely-published picture showed an Iraqi tying a chain around Saddam’s neck for the tanks below to pull down the statue. The person who affixed the chain was Ibrahim Khalil. On the fifth anniversary of the toppling of the statue, Khalil echoed similar statements to those of al-

Jubouri. According to the article “Khalil Regrets Toppling of Statue of Saddam,” published on April 9, 2008 by Agence France Presse:

Ibrahim Khalil, who five years ago took part in the iconic toppling of a giant statue of Saddam Hussein in central Baghdad, said on Wednesday he now regrets taking part in the hugely symbolic event.

“If history can take me back, I will kiss the statue of Saddam Hussein which I helped pull down, “Khalil told reporters on the fifth anniversary of the statue’s toppling. “I will protect the statue more than my own self.”

On the fifth anniversary of the toppling of the statue in Firdoos Square, the area was almost deserted. There was a ban on vehicles imposed by the Iraqi and U.S. authorities to prevent resistance attacks. Every April 9, the square is off-limits to most Iraqis. The original plan was for George Bush to ride in a victory parade at Firdoos Square on the first anniversary of the destruction of the statue. He envisioned a couple of million Iraqis cheering him on while he waved from his limousine. Hundreds of millions (possibly billions) of people saw the original photos of Iraqis assisting the U.S. in tearing down the statue of Saddam Hussein, yet few read the follow-up articles of four and five years after the fact.

On July 3, 2003, George Bush was asked at a press conference about Iraqis resisting the U.S. occupation. He said, “There are some who feel that conditions are such that they can attack us there. My answer is ‘bring them on.’” A few months after that statement, a large-scale resistance was underway and U.S. casualties were mounting. On a video released by a resistance group, a spokesperson stated, “Mr. Bush said to ‘bring them on,’ and so we have in such a way that he could not imagine.”

On July 22, 2003, the world was again shown the brutality and inhumanity of the occupation of Iraq. Saddam Hussein’s sons, Uday and Qusay, were killed in a six-hour raid on the house in which they were staying. The military actions lasted six hours and consisted of hundreds of U.S. soldiers accompanied by helicopters. Thousands of rounds of ammunition as well as rockets and missiles struck the house. When the fireworks were over, the bullet-ridden bodies of the Hussein brothers were taken to a morgue and their gory pictures were shown on television to the world. What the U.S. did not allow to be shown was the body of Qusay’s 14-year-old son who was also chopped to pieces.

The U.S. is the same country that lambasted Somalis for showing pictures of citizens dragging a dead U.S. soldier through the streets of Mogadishu. The Somali actions were called despicable and horrendous. However, with the Hussein brothers, the words changed and the U.S. bragged to the world about their demise.

When the U.S. captured Saddam Hussein in December 2003, they heralded the event as the beginning of the demise of the Iraqi resistance. Just the opposite occurred. Instead of the Iraqi public considering Saddam a “spent force,” many rallied in his support. Demonstrations broke out in praise of the Iraqi president. Even though the U.S. tried to denigrate Saddam and said that he was found in a “spider hole,” the Iraqi public did not believe the scenario. In fact, Saddam Hussein was captured in a friend’s house. (See Saddam Hussein’s Greatest Legacy in Part Three.)

The public display of a disheveled Saddam angered even some of the Iraqis who opposed him. Lack of knowledge of Arab culture again hurt the U.S. and made the Iraqi public even more resistant to the occupation.

From 2004 on, the resistance grew. But, there were new entities that sprung up that made Iraq a violent nation. Those to whom the U.S. entrusted power, many Iran-supporting Shi’ites, escalated the violence by allowing death squads to take over parts of the country.

Prior to the March 2003 invasion, Baghdad was the crown jewel of the Arab world. It had endured occupations, wars, natural disasters and embargoes, yet it always remained the capital of the Arab world. The U.S. occupation changed all that.

From 2004 onward, the city of Baghdad became a venue of ethnic cleansing in which tens of thousands of citizens were killed or had to flee the city. Month-after-month saw the escalation of the destruction. By supporting the death squads, the U.S. made it possible to destroy the capital.

Today, Baghdad is in shambles. Five years after the invasion, electricity still remained a luxury that most citizens only had for a couple of hours a day. The previous neighborhoods have changed. What has not been destroyed, looks entirely different. Many sections are defended by citizen militias and 28 areas of the city have been surrounded by 12-foot-high concrete walls.

Baghdad is no longer Baghdad and there is little to show that the future will bring the city back to its former greatness.

The U.S. gambled that the Iraqis would welcome its soldiers as liberators. They lost the gamble. But, the big losers are the Iraqis who bore the brunt of lies and deceit as well as missiles, bombs, bullets, rockets, and chemical weapons.



Top: Old Baghdad

Bottom: New Baghdad



“Iraq is a long way from here, but what happens there matters a great deal here. For the risks that the leaders of a rogue state will use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons against us or our allies is the greatest security threat we face.”

— Madeleine Albright, Feb. 18, 1998

“He will use those weapons of mass destruction again, as he has ten times since 1983.”

— Sandy Berger, Clinton National Security Adviser, Feb. 18, 1998

“Saddam Hussein has been engaged in the development of weapons of mass destruction technology which is a threat to countries in the region and he has made a mockery of the weapons inspection process.”

— Nancy Pelosi, (D-CA) Dec. 16, 1998

“There is no doubt that Saddam Hussein has reinvigorated his weapons programs. Reports indicate the biological, chemical and nuclear programs continue apace and may be back to pre-Gulf War status. In addition, Saddam continues to redefine delivery systems and is doubtless using the cover of a licit program to develop longer-range missiles that will threaten the United States and our allies.”

— Letter to President Bush, signed by Sen. Bob Graham (D-FL) and others, Dec. 5, 2001

“We know that he has stored secret supplies of biological and chemical weapons throughout his country.”

— Al Gore, Sept. 23, 2002

“We have known for many years that Saddam Hussein is seeking and developing weapons of mass destruction.”

— Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) Sept. 27, 2002

“I will be voting to give the President of the United States the authority to use force — if necessary — to disarm Saddam Hussein because I believe that a deadly arsenal of weapons of mass destruction in his hands is a real and grave threat to our security.”

— Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) Oct. 9, 2002

“He has systematically violated, over the course of the past 11 years, every significant U.N. resolution that has demanded that he disarm and destroy his chemical and biological weapons, and any nuclear capacity. This he has refused to do.”

— Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA) Oct. 10, 2002.

“In the four years since the inspectors left, intelligence reports show that Saddam Hussein has worked to rebuild his chemical and biological weapons stock, his missile delivery capability, and his nuclear program. He has also given aid, comfort and sanctuary to terrorists, including al-Qaeda members. It is clear, however, that if left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will continue to increase his capacity to wage biological and chemical warfare, and will keep trying to develop nuclear weapons.”

— Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-NY) Oct. 10, 2002

“We are in possession of what I think to be compelling evidence that Saddam Hussein has, and had for a number of years, a developing capacity for the production and storage of weapons of mass destruction. Without question, we need to disarm Saddam Hussein. He is a brutal, murderous dictator, leading an oppressive regime ... He presents a particularly grievous threat because he is so consistently prone to miscalculation. And now he has continued deceit and his consistent grasp for weapons of mass destruction ... So the threat of Saddam Hussein with weapons of mass destruction is real ...

— Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) Jan. 23, 2003

Statements of various Democrats prior to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. Today, most maintain that they are opposed to the U.S. occupation of Iraq and some campaigned in 2006 and 2008 on an anti-war platform.

**The Butcher of Baghdad
Babies Killed ... People Boiled in Acid ...
Human Shredding Machines ...
Gassing His Own People ... and Whatever Else
Sells Newspapers**

How was life in Iraq before Desert Storm? This is a subject that has been well-hidden from the U.S. public.

The entire country was electrified. Healthcare was free and education was universal and free from preschool to Doctoral and Post Graduate studies. Women held a much higher status in Iraqi society than women in other Arab countries.

Food was inexpensive and readily available. Because of the abundance of food, people from surrounding countries shopped in Iraq. The Iraqi government supplied either low-interest or no-interest home loans and also offered land at no cost for those who promised to work the property. More than a million Egyptians and hundreds of thousands of people of other nationalities participated in this agrarian reform program, one of the most successful the world ever saw. It had been a decade since a case of malnutrition had been reported in Baghdad, yet, after Desert Storm, malnutrition was in force in epidemic proportions, causing the deaths of many.

Before Desert Storm, an average salary in Iraq was about \$4,000 a year. When factored into prices for consumers, as well as services supplied at no or low cost by the government, it was a comfortable income. One Iraqi dinar was worth three U.S. dollars. After the conflict, one U.S. dollar amounted to the value of about 1,500 dinars. Over the years, this figure had gone as high as 2,000 dinars to the dollar, or as low as 1,200 dinars to the dollar. Prices of goods, when they were available, escalated over 1,000%. Other items that were in abundance, such as gasoline, were given away free by the government to help the ordinary citizen cope with the post-war devastation.

Iraq was an innovator in the role of women in Arab society. The Ba'ath Socialists, much to the chagrin of a few of its Arab neighbors, made the emancipation of women one of their primary goals after coming to power.

In contrast to virtually every other country in the region, Iraq had a secular government and there was religious freedom. In Iraq, there were Jews, Christians, Muslims of all denominations, pagans, devil-worshippers and non-believers. This assortment of religious beliefs does not exist in

many Middle Eastern countries.

Iraq was on the verge of becoming far and away the most modern and technically advanced nation in the region. This progress was something that the U.S. did not want any Arab country to possess, and it eventually became the reason for Iraq's annihilation.

The main thrust of propaganda against Iraq was thrown at its leader, Saddam Hussein. For the American audience, U.S. government demonizing of a person has always been effective, and the Bush I administration escalated this process to the point of absurdity with Saddam Hussein. The program worked brilliantly.

If one looks at the facts, they do not match up to the U.S. propaganda. It is difficult to believe that a world leader who had been in power for as long as Saddam Hussein, and had not been labeled "another Hitler" previously, could have turned into a demon of such magnitude overnight. He and his government were well-respected by most Arab nations. Countries of both the West and the Soviet bloc enjoyed mutual and profitable relations with the Ba'ath government. Iraq's presence in the United Nations was held in esteem and it was involved with many international dealings, both financially and diplomatically.

On January 13, 1991, the presiding Secretary General of the United Nations, Pérez de Cuéllar, visited Baghdad and met with Saddam Hussein. The visit was arranged to try to avert war, but Pérez de Cuéllar had no peace plan. He attempted to convince Saddam Hussein to pull troops out of Kuwait without addressing Iraq's problems with the Kuwaiti government. The former Secretary General was close to retirement and his visit was more of a face-saving gesture than an actual overture to peace. He did make one statement, however, that is poignant and the world never heard as he told Saddam, "I know your courage and generosity. I have followed the Iran-Iraq War and the initiatives you made from your side to end the war."

This was not the same Saddam Hussein whom the U.S. public heard and read about in the American media. The label "Butcher of Baghdad" was affixed to the Iraqi president by George Bush and the U.S. media, who never found a trite cliché they did not admire, whether true or false. The collaboration of media and government made this slogan a mainstay in the American vocabulary. The moniker was created by a huge lie involving the participation of the U.S. government, the Kuwaiti government, and an American public relations firm.

Shortly after Iraqi troops crossed the border of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, stories emerged of Iraqi soldiers taking babies in Kuwaiti hospitals

and throwing them on the floor to die. According to reports, the soldiers ripped the babies from the incubators and then sent the incubators to Baghdad. Saddam Hussein was stuck with the title "Butcher of Baghdad."

On October 10, 1990, a 15-year-old Kuwaiti girl, known only as Nayirah, appeared before the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. She was in tears as she told of watching 15 infants being taken from incubators in Al-Adan Hospital in Kuwait City by Iraqi soldiers who "left the babies on the cold floor to die."

A media frenzy followed Nayirah's testimony. For the next few days, politician-after-politician damned the Iraqis. Congressman Duncan Hunter of California led the barrage of hate. He appeared on national television and called for war, all the time citing Nayirah's testimony.

The truth of this incident was made public in January 1992. By then, it was too late. Iraq had been destroyed and was in the grip of an encompassing embargo that would keep it in servitude for years to come.

John MacArthur, publisher of *Harper's Magazine*, unveiled reality in an op-ed piece in the *New York Times*. Nayirah never saw the incident she described in Congress because she was living in the U.S. at the time it supposedly occurred. Her identity was kept secret because she was the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to the United States, Saud al-Sabah.

In addition, her testimony was scripted by the public relations firm Hill & Knowlton, to whom the Kuwaiti government paid \$12 million to create a scenario to demonize the Iraqi leadership and people.

After MacArthur's exposure of the deceitful actions of the Kuwaitis and Hill & Knowlton, CBS Television ran a program concerning the incident. A woman, speaking on behalf of Hill & Knowlton, was asked if the lie was worth all the destruction in Iraq and she replied, "Yes, because it brought democracy back to Kuwait." A perplexed interviewer responded, "When has Kuwait ever had democracy?" There was no reply.

Before Nayirah's testimony, the discussion in Washington was whether the U.S. should "liberate" Kuwait by force or whether diplomacy should run its course. After the appearance of Nayirah, it was assumed that the U.S. was facing a bunch of savage beasts, not human beings. The time for philosophical debate had passed. In his *New York Times* piece, MacArthur stated:

Before the war, the incubator story seriously distorted the American debate whether to support military action.

Amnesty International believed the tale and its ill-con-

sidered validation of the charges likely influenced the seven senators who cited the story in speeches backing the January 12 resolution authorizing war.

Because the resolution passed the Senate by only six votes, the question of how the incubator story escaped scrutiny — when it really mattered — is all the more important. (Amnesty International later retracted its support of the story.)

A little reportorial investigation would have done a great service to the democratic process.

Another incident occurred just after the beginning of hostilities that echoed of the Nayirah fiasco. On January 20, 1991, the U.S. public saw an interview with a man who claimed he was Saddam Hussein's bodyguard. He then went into detail of how one of Saddam's recreational pursuits was to watch people burn to death in acid. The anonymous figure was graphic about the description. Again, revulsion was felt by the people of the U.S. toward Saddam Hussein.

Not one media person questioned the authenticity of the person interviewed. It was later discovered that he was a Saudi, not an Iraqi. Even the Saudi government, when questioned about the legitimacy of the person, said that he was "a conspiracy theorist" who may not have possession of all of his mental faculties. The Saudis asked not to be affiliated with the fabricator.

These two incidents should have been enough to make the media skeptical about stories of horrendous torture under Saddam Hussein. They weren't.

In the buildup to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, Saddam had changed torture methods and he now used industrial shredding machines to do away with his enemies. The leading supporter of this allegation was British Labour MP Ann Clwyd. On March 18, 2003, days before the military actions began, the British newspaper *The Times* ran an article written by her titled, "See men shredded, then you say you don't back war."

Three days before the invasion, Clwyd spoke in the House of Commons and described how male prisoners in Iraq were dropped into a machine "designed for shredding plastic," and their minced remains were "placed in plastic bags" and later used as "fish food." She alleged that sometimes, the victims were dropped in the machines feet-first so they

could briefly view their own mutilation before death.

Australian Prime Minister Howard used the story to his great advantage. He supported the war and was about to send troops, despite overwhelming opposition from his public. After the story appeared in *The Times*, he addressed his nation and said he wanted to stop the ongoing crimes of the Ba'ath regime in Iraq including the "human shredding machine" that was used "as a vehicle for putting to death critics of Saddam Hussein."

Others used this story for anti-Saddam fodder. Andrew Sullivan of the *Sunday Times* of Great Britain stated that Clwyd's report showed "clearly, unforgettably, indelibly" that "the Saddam regime is evil." *Daily Mail* columnist Melanie Phillips described the shredder in which "bodies got chewed up from foot to head." In *The Telegraph*, Mark Steyn criticized the anti-war movement with these words:

If it's a choice between letting some carbonated beverage crony of Dick Cheney get a piece of the Nasiriyah soft-drinks market or allowing Saddam to go on feeding his subjects feet-first into the industrial shredder for another decade or three, then the "peace" activists will take the lesser of two evils — i.e., crank up the shredder.

The last statement shows the ludicrous methods some pro-war journalists utilized to get their messages across. The benign assessment of Cheney's involvement has been shown to be far off the mark. During the occupation of Iraq, many stories have come forth about the economic shenanigans Cheney pulled in efforts to grease the palms of his friends. Not just a soft-drink concession, but billions of dollars were allocated for various companies; dollars that have blood on them because they were only attained after killing hundreds of thousands of Iraqis.

Pro-war journalists used many colorful and creative words to describe this shredding machine. According to Trevor Kavanagh, political editor of the British daily *The Sun*:

British resistance to war changed last year when we learned how sadist Saddam personally supervised the horrific torture of Iraqis. Public opinion swung behind Tony Blair as voters learned how Saddam fed dissidents feet first into industrial shredders.

As in the case of the Kuwaiti incubators being sent to Baghdad in 1990, the shredders did not exist. Both stories galvanized a public to support the slaughter (through military action and sanctions) of more than two million people and the destruction of a country.

Asked about her sources of information, Ann Clwyd said that she interviewed an Iraqi in northern Iraq. She was eventually asked who the person was and if he was telling the truth. Clwyd told journalist Brendan O'Neill of *The Spectator*, "We heard it from a victim; we heard it and we believed it." When O'Neill asked her if anything was done to check the victim's statement against other witness statements or other evidence for a shredding machine, she replied, "Well, no."

The incidents supposedly took place at Abu Ghraib Prison, an institution made world famous by prisoner torture, torture perpetrated by the U.S. against Iraqi inmates. When all was said and done, the shredding incidents that received worldwide publicity amounted to the uncorroborated story of one person interviewed in northern Iraq. This, in itself, is hardly evidence for sending a country to war.

O'Neill began to track down people who could either validate or deny the legitimacy of shredders being used to kill prisoners. He found an Iraqi doctor who worked at the hospital attached to the prison at Abu Ghraib in 1997 and 1998. The doctor's job was to attend to those prisoners who had been executed. He told O'Neill, "We had to see the dead prisoners to make sure that they were dead. Then we would write a death certificate for them."

The doctor refuted any stories about the shredding machines. O'Neill asked him if he ever attended or heard of prisoners who had been shredded. He replied, "No." Then, he was asked if any of the other doctors at the prison spoke of a shredding machine used to execute prisoners. The doctor responded, "No, no, never. The method of execution was hanging; as far as I know, that was the only form of execution used at Abu Ghraib."

Another odd incident occurred that at first confirmed the shredder account, but quickly was exposed as a ruse. An individual named Kenneth Joseph came forth and said he went to Iraq to be a human shield, but once in the country, he heard so many horror stories, that he left, with 14 hours of videotaped interviews, and then became a war proponent. On March 21, 2003, the UPI ran a story in which Joseph said what he had heard in Iraq "shocked me back to reality," and that Iraqis' "tales of slow torture and killing made me feel ill, such as people put in a huge shredder for plastic products, feet first so they could hear their screams as their bodies got chewed up."

Quickly, his testimony came under fire. Carol Lipton, an American journalist, investigated his story and said, "none of the human shield groups whom I contacted had ever heard of Joseph." She noted that not one photo or any segment of the 14 hours of videotape had ever been shown. Johann Hari, a pro-war columnist with the *Independent* would have liked to have believed Joseph's account, but, after investigation, he could not. Hari said Joseph "was probably a bullshitter."

With pressure on her to show proof of the shredders, Clwyd, on June 18, 2003, wrote another article for *The Times* with, what she said, was solid proof. Clwyd said she was shown a book by a FOX News reporter that she described as a "chillingly meticulous record book" from the prison. She was asked if she could say who compiled the book and she said, "No, I can't." When asked where it was at the time, she said, "I don't know." Then, when asked the name of the FOX reporter who showed it to her and she answered, "I have no idea." Finally, she was asked if she read the entire book, and she responded, "No. It was in Arabic."

When asked about the Ba'athists using a shredder on humans, a spokesman for Amnesty International said, "We checked it with our people here, and we have no information about a shredder." Widney Brown of Human Rights Watch said, "We don't know anything about a shredder, and have not heard of that particular form of execution or torture."

The Nayirah story and the shredder fable used similar methods to create comparable results. Both used lies to pursue an agenda, a policy that led to two invasions of Iraq and the killing of more than two million people.

The difference in the stories is that no one had to pay \$12 million for a public relations firm to concoct the shredder story. A witting dupe used the words of one anonymous witness and the account of one probable "bullshitter" to galvanize the opinions of millions.

To anyone who would still believe the shredder story today, one underlying factor should be proof enough that it never occurred. If there was a shredder, the U.S. forces would have found it at Abu Ghraib Prison and there would have been picture-after-picture of it being shown in every newspaper and magazine in the world. Journalistic silence, in this case, is the overwhelming proof of the fantasy of the shredder.

Perhaps the most damaging and damning incident for the Iraqi leadership was the gassing of Halabjah, a Kurdish town, in 1988. Halabjah came under attack with chemicals and the world saw the tragedy as people were strewn on the streets. The media did not pay a great amount of attention to the incident and it quickly was replaced in the international press.

In the buildup to Desert Storm, Bush I took the Halabjah gassing out of the closet and he made great strides in gaining support for a military conclusion to the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. All of a sudden we heard him tell the world, "He gasses his own people."

That statement was made so many times by administration officials that it became a household cliché. The problem is that no one ever checked out its authenticity. A few months after Desert Storm, Greenpeace published an in-depth study called *On Impact* about the reasons for the Gulf War massacre and how, in the future, war should be a last option instead of a first choice. A portion of the report covered the demonizing of the Iraqi leadership. It brought out many lies Bush used to persuade the world to support military intervention. Then, it addressed the Halabjah incident and threw doubt on whose military forces attacked the town with chemical weapons. *On Impact* quoted two writers from the U.S. Army War College who wrote a book called *Iraqi Power and Security in the Middle East*. They concluded:

The first attack occurred at Halabjah in north-central Iraq. All accounts of this incident agree that the victims' mouths and extremities were blue. This is consonant with the use of a blood agent. Iraq never used blood agents throughout the war (Iran-Iraq War). Iran did ... hence, we concluded it was the Iranians' gas that killed the Kurds.

This short statement is devastating in many aspects. If doubt is cast on who gassed the Kurds, many people in American politics will not come out smelling squeaky clean on the issue of integrity. A considerable number of persons stated: "I would not support a war except that Saddam gassed his own people."

A document from the U.S. Marine Corps contradicted the popular belief of Saddam Hussein being the perpetrator of the gassing incident at Halabjah. On December 10, 1990, a little over a month before Desert Storm began, a document titled *Marine Corps Historical Publication FMFRP 3-203* was released. The main topic was "Lessons Learned: Iran-Iraq War." Appendix B referred to "Chemical Weapons." (See Appendix VIII of this book for the entire Marine Corps Historical Publication appendix on Chemical Weapons.)

The report went into the Iraqi use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq War and concluded that Iraq used mustard gas, a non-lethal agent, to disperse human waves of Iranian soldiers. Then, it approached the gassing

of the Kurds at Halbjah:

Similarly, we find no evidence whatsoever that the Iraqis have ever employed blood gasses such as cyanogen chloride or hydrogen cyanide.

Blood agents were allegedly responsible for the most infamous use of chemicals in the war — the killing of Kurds at Halabjah. Since the Iraqis have no history of using these two agents — and the Iranians do — we conclude that the Iranians perpetrated this attack. It is also worth noting that lethal concentrations of cyanogen are difficult to obtain over an area target, thus the reports of 5,000 Kurds dead in Halabjah are suspect.

It is unlikely that the U.S. Marine Corps would tell its troops, who were about to face combat, a lie perpetrated by propaganda. It was okay for Bush to con the world, but the Marines attempted to research the incident and get its people ready for battle.

The fact that the U.S. Marines “concluded” that Iran gassed the Kurds of Halbjah was not the only striking portion of this document. It questioned the number of deaths. Researchers have come forward who state that several hundred bodies were found, not 5,000.

By 2002, various individuals had time to dissect the reality of Halabjah and in the buildup to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, many came forward to challenge the “he gasses his own people” statement. Included in the naysayers were retired CIA analysts, retired military personnel, journalists and others. They uncovered much proof to show that Iran may have gassed the Halabjah Kurds.

Stephen Pelletiere was the CIA senior analyst on Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War. From the gassing incident at Halabjah until today, he maintains that it was Iranian gas that killed the Kurds. On January 31, 2003, the *New York Times* published a commentary by Pelletiere called “A War Crime or an Act of War?” The article dispelled many myths about the “he gasses his own people” statement:

The accusation that Iraq has used chemical weapons against its citizens is a familiar part of the debate. The piece of hard evidence most frequently brought up concerns the gassing of Iraqi Kurds at the town of Halabja in March

1988, near the end of the eight-year Iran-Iraq war. President Bush himself has cited Iraq's "gassing its own people," specifically at Halabja, as a reason to topple Saddam Hussein.

But the truth is, all we know for certain is that Kurds were bombarded with poison gas that day at Halabja. We cannot say with any certainty that Iraqi chemical weapons killed the Kurds. This is not the only distortion in the Halabja story.

I am in a position to know because, as the Central Intelligence Agency's senior political analyst on Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war, and as a professor at the Army War College from 1988 to 2000, I was privy to much of the classified material that flowed through Washington having to do with the Persian Gulf. In addition, I headed a 1991 Army investigation into how the Iraqis would fight a war against the United States; the classified version of the report went into great detail on the Halabja affair.

Pelletiere mentioned many other aspects of the battle in which Halabjah was positioned between the Iraqi and Iranian forces. He also delved into the importance of Halabjah's location because of water systems and the nearby Darbandikhan Dam. Pelletiere added:

And the story gets murkier: immediately after the battle the United States Defense Intelligence Agency investigated and produced a classified report, which it circulated within the intelligence community on a need-to-know basis. That study asserted that it was Iranian gas that killed the Kurds, not Iraqi gas.

The agency did find that each side used gas against the other in the battle around Halabja. The condition of the dead Kurds' bodies, however, indicated they had been killed with a blood agent — that is, a cyanide-based gas — which Iran was known to use. The Iraqis, who are thought to have used mustard gas in the battle, are not known to have possessed blood agents at the time.

These facts have long been in the public domain but, extraordinarily, as often as the Halabja affair is cited, they are rarely mentioned.

Pelletiere's piece raised only a few eyebrows, yet it was comprehensive and accurate. The administration had already put forth so much propaganda that the truth was not going to be approached by the mainstream media. Pelletiere's account should have been the pivotal subject on all the talk shows and in the print media, but it was largely ignored. He concluded:

Before we go to war over Halabja, the administration owes the American people the full facts. And if it has other examples of Saddam Hussein gassing Kurds, it must show that they were not pro-Iranian Kurdish guerrillas who died fighting alongside Iranian Revolutionary Guards. Until Washington gives us proof of Saddam Hussein's supposed atrocities, why are we picking on Iraq on human rights grounds, particularly when there are so many other repressive regimes Washington supports?

The basic facts of what happened in Halabjah have been corroborated by the CIA, the U.S. Army War College, and the United States Intelligence Agency. Mohammed al-Obaidi, a university professor in the United Kingdom, who was born and educated in Baghdad, brings up these facts as well as the more recent assessment of the U.S. government that it was Iranian gas that killed the Kurds in his article of December 20, 2004, titled "What Happened in Kurdish Halabjah?" that was published by various Internet media:

Iran overran the village and its small Iraqi garrison on 15 March 1988. The gassing took place on 16 March and onwards; who is then responsible for the deaths — Iran or Iraq — and how large was the death toll knowing the Iranian army was in Halabja but never reported any deaths by chemicals?

Having control of the village and its grisly dead, Iran blamed the gas deaths on the Iraqis, and the allegations of Iraqi genocide took root via a credulous international press

and, a little later, cynical promotion of the allegations for political purposes by the US State Department and Senate.

After 15 years of support to the allegations of HRW, the CIA finally admitted in its report published in October 2003 that only mustard gas and a nerve agent was used by Iraq.

The CIA now seems to be fully supporting the US Army War College report of April 1990, as a cyanide-based blood agent that Iraq never had, and not mustard gas or a nerve agent, killed the Kurds who died at Halabja and which concludes that the Iranians perpetrated that attack as a media war tactic.

The late Jude Wanniski was relentless in his pursuit of the truth about Iraq. He was an unlikely ally because he was a conservative author and journalist and at one time the associate editor of the *Wall Street Journal*. However, he possessed unbreakable integrity and truth meant more to him than a political stance.

Wanniski wrote hundreds of thousands of words about Iraq and challenged any journalist who relayed the falsehoods of Iraq to clarify his/her research. None responded. In addition, he issued the same invitation to every U.S. politician who had denigrated Iraq using false information. The result was the same as with the journalists.

On February 18, 2004, Wanniski wrote a column called "Defending Saddam, not President Bush." He stated:

One of the things history shows us over and over again is that men and women who were thought to be EVIL incarnate in their own day — and had to be exterminated — are not so bad in hindsight. I've told my family and friends these last several years that I really wish information would be unearthed to show that Saddam Hussein did all the evil things he has been accused of doing, so I could shed my defense of him. Until that happens, I am stuck with him.

Jude Wanniski was on top of the Iraq issue like no one else. I have

written about the date of July 18, 2004 being one of extreme importance because Tony Blair announced to the world that 5,000 bodies had been found in mass graves in Iraq, not the 400,000 he had told the world in November 2003. Before this statement had time to be uploaded to the Internet, Wanniski sent me this message: "I suppose you saw that Downing Street now says '5000' bodies have been unearthed, not 400,000. JW."

The relentless search for truth was paramount with Wanniski. He died at his computer while writing an article about Iraq on August 29, 2005. The world lost an incredible human being who defied his own acquaintances with his principled stand.

There are a couple of issues that should make anyone with an inquisitive mind question the story-line of various U.S. administrations about Halabjah. First, many pictures and videos have been shown of Iraqi planes and helicopters in the air that supposedly unleashed the gas on the Kurds. The problem with this scenario is that the gas was dispersed by artillery, not from the air. Artillery rounds were found to be the culprit, not bombs.

Second, not one person from the Iraqi military has come forth to say he was involved with the operation: not one pilot, nor a supply person, nor a truck driver, nor a clerk. There was, and probably still is, a huge amount of cash awaiting an Iraqi military participant in the gassing of the Kurds who will come forward. The oft-said statement that "Saddam would kill him or his family" is no longer relevant. This lack of someone claiming the bounty is probably the best evidence to refute the general impression that "he gasses his own people."

The Crazies Take Over

When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, the world hailed the end of the Cold War. The U.S. and the Soviet Union would have billions of extra dollars to spend on education, health care, infrastructure upgrades, and job creation. The term used in the U.S. was the "peace dividend."

While most of the world was celebrating a future of universal peace, the U.S., with little fanfare, began to write the last chapter of its book on taking over the planet. The results are evident. The Cold War is still being enacted, but with different players. The decades-old battle of East vs. West has turned 90 degrees to a North vs. South confrontation. The North represents mainly the U.S., with Europe being basically a neutral observer, and the South is comprised of developing nations, most of whom are populated by people of color.

The 1990s were crucial in the development of U.S. global hegemony. Little-by-little, the pieces began to fall as America extended its tentacles to every corner of the Earth. At times, there were direct military interventions or military threats. Sometimes, military hardware did not have to be pulled out of the warehouses because economic intrusion did the job.

The U.S. learned that by surrounding potential “enemy” countries, it could control its greedy interests without going to war. Just look at a map. Russia is almost surrounded by former Soviet republics that have signed military agreements with the U.S.; Iran has borders with Iraq and Afghanistan, two countries the U.S. is occupying. Ethiopia is another U.S. ally and it borders Sudan, a possible U.S. adversary. North Korea is the last link in countries bordering China. The U.S. does not care if North Korea has nuclear weapons, it only wants to control North Korea and have a military influence near China.

Today, the U.S. has a military presence in more than 140 countries. The UN consists of 192 national members, leaving a minority of countries without a U.S. military footprint.

How did the “peace dividend” turn into a nightmare for various countries that the U.S. has attacked since the demise of the Soviet Union? Members of a once little-known group have been behind the push for world domination.

In 1997, “The Project for the New American Century (PNAC)” unveiled its agenda. It was quite simple: the U.S. should take over the world by military means during the 21st century. According to the group’s Statement of Principles:

We need to accept responsibility for America’s unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity, and our principles.

The group may not have been well-known in 1997 but among its charter members were Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, Donald Rumsfeld, Elliot Abrams, Gary Bauer, Elliot Cohen, William Bennett, I. Lewis Libby, and Zalmay Khalilzad.

Most were members of the Reagan administration at various levels. They were young conservative activists who helped write some of the diabolical policies of the Reagan years. Their power receded slightly under George Bush I and more with Bill Clinton. In fact, the Republican Party of the early 1990s shunned them and nicknamed them “The Crazies.”

Shortly after the group was formed, it began a campaign of letter-writ-

ing to members of the U.S. government in which it put forth its ideas of military domination. Iraq was at the top of the list of candidates for military actions. On January 26, 1998, the PNAC sent President Clinton a letter recommending the removal of Saddam Hussein. Among other suggestions and assessments, it stated:

Given the magnitude of the threat, the current policy, which depends for its success upon the steadfastness of our coalition partners and upon the cooperation of Saddam Hussein, is dangerously inadequate. The only acceptable strategy is one that eliminates the possibility that Iraq will be able to use or threaten to use weapons of mass destruction. In the near term, this means a willingness to undertake military action as diplomacy is clearly failing. In the long term, it means removing Saddam Hussein and his regime from power. That now needs to become the aim of American foreign policy.

New members had come on board since the group's formation. Among those who signed the letter to Clinton were Richard Perle, John Bolton, and William Kristol, all people who had major roles in determining the future Bush policy toward Iraq.

When George Bush II was appointed president of the U.S. in 2000, The Crazies came out of hiding. They were given the new moniker of "neoconservatives" or "neocons" and Bush immediately began appointing them to positions in the new government. They were the same names, but with different titles. Rumsfeld was secretary of defense and Cheney was vice-president. Wolfowitz became Rumsfeld's assistant. Elliot Abrams was given another title, but his duties were the same as under Reagan: keep a low profile but initiate and implement vile activities.

Despite the Republican election losses of 2006, The Crazies still called the shots, especially in foreign policy. They surrounded Bush and pumped their ideology to him and he, in turn, passed it on to the public.

These people may be crazy, but they are not stupid. They have found and exploited the ethnocentric nerve that runs through many Americans.

There are many ways in which the U.S. controls foreign nations. Let's look at Egypt, for example. The Egyptian armed forces are mainly supplied by the U.S., but restraints are placed on the independence of the Egyptian military by limiting stocks of spare parts as well as controlling Egyptian military communications. If the Egyptian army ever becomes a threat to

Israel, the spare parts shipments would cease.

The main task for Egypt's military is to protect Hosni Mubarak, the country's president. He is in the pockets of the U.S. and he must remain in power without opposition.

Controlling Egypt does not consist exclusively of keeping tabs on its military power. The country must rely on outside help to feed its rapidly-growing population. The U.S. supplies more than four million metric tons of wheat a year to Egypt through aid programs that must be approved by the U.S. Congress. Many of those who vote to retain the aid programs are staunch supporters of Israel. Mubarak knows this and he does not rock the boat. If he did, his country would quickly suffer a devastating famine.

Many Democrats criticized the Bush administration about its foreign policy, but their record is not much better. To ensure the continuation of the embargo against Iraq in the 1990s, Clinton spokespeople consistently lied about Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. When asked if the embargo was worth the lives of half a million or more Iraqi children, Madeleine Albright, Clinton's secretary of state, unhesitatingly answered "Yes."

Bush II merely escalated the xenophobia and ethnocentrism that grip much of the U.S. He heightened the concept of world domination by a notch or two. Clinton was more subtle about U.S. hegemony.

Omar Barghouti, an independent Palestinian political analyst, stated:

We are witnessing the ominous rise of the most powerful empire ever to exist. Judging from consistent media reports and opinion polls, the rest of the world seems to view it as a menacing rogue state that is arrogantly bullying other nations, east and west, north and south, into unqualified submission to its self-declared designs for world domination and incontestable economic supremacy.

He has aptly stated how the rest of the world sees the U.S. — a view totally opposite to that shared by most Americans. Barghouti added:

A century and a half after officially abolishing slavery in the U.S., the new-old masters have a diabolical agenda to resurrect it, except this time on a worldwide scale.

The U.S. has copied the former imperialist actions of Great Britain by forcing countries to relinquish their raw materials. Today's treasures, instead of gold, cotton and spices, can be explained in one word: oil. This

commodity is not merely a raw material for fuelling the economies of the world, but it has become the number one item for power and bragging rights. Hence, Iraq had to be invaded by the U.S. for a show of power. According to Robert E. Ebel, director of the energy program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies:

Oil fuels military power, national treasuries, and international politics. It is no longer a commodity to be bought and sold within the confines of traditional energy supply and demand balances. Rather, it has been transformed into a determinant of well-being, of national security, and of international power.

Michael Klare, professor of peace and world security studies at Hampshire College, added:

Controlling Iraq is about oil as power, rather than oil as fuel. Control over the Persian Gulf translates into control over Europe, Japan, and China. It's like having our hand on the spigot.

It becomes even more clear why the U.S. had to invade Iraq: for total domination, not the ouster of a regime or the destruction of invisible weapons. The Portuguese writer and Nobel laureate, Jose Saramago, said: "We are marching against the law of the jungle that the United States and its acolytes old and new want to impose on the world."

Even former UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali, who more than once supported U.S. hegemony in UN affairs, now sees the entire picture. He said:

Multilateralism and unilateralism are just methods for the United States: they use them *a la carte*, as it suits them. The United Nations is just an instrument at the service of American policy.

Millions of Americans hold the UN in contempt and maintain that the New York-based agency is attempting to impede U.S. sovereignty. They speak of a "one-world government" in which the UN rules every country. In reality, the opposite is occurring. The U.S. uses the UN when it can for legitimacy, and, when the members oppose the U.S., the Americans ac-

cuse them of not doing their job and then pursue their own agenda. The acquiescence of the American people to their government's (Democrat and Republican parties) policies has led to a point in history that is very dangerous for the rest of the world.

U.S. military might is overwhelming. While the rest of the world was talking of the peace dividend following the Cold War, the U.S. just kept on increasing its war machine. However, France, Belgium and Germany are behind an effort to create a strong European military, aloof of NATO. The U.S. has told them it is not necessary, but forward-thinking Europeans think otherwise. They can see their countries being future Iraqs within decades.

Another event is happening that will slow down the U.S. power grab. In Iraq, the people are fighting back. For decades, the U.S. had been able to conduct wars against various Third World countries with little loss of life on the U.S. side, while dealing out massive amounts of death and damage to the opponents. In Panama and Grenada, the U.S. death toll was a couple of dozen. In Somalia, again a few dozen. In the campaign against Serbia, the U.S. did not lose one service person. The irony of the Serbian campaign is that the former president of Serbia, the late Slobodan Milosevic, went on trial in the Hague for killing al-Qaida-trained Muslim insurgents in Serbia, while U.S. soldiers received medals of merit for employing the same actions against al-Qaida-trained Afghanis.

Iraq broke the mold of the U.S. attacking countries without having to suffer thousands of casualties. The U.S. lost about 100 military personnel before Bush declared victory over Iraq on May 1, 2003. That was a small price to pay. But, the Iraqis did not appreciate the U.S. actions and began a formidable resistance. Several thousand U.S. military people have died and more than 80,000 have been severely injured with lost limbs, blindness and brain damage.

The momentum is beginning to change. Many nations have taken notes on the Iraqi resistance strategy. In the entire history of warfare, a determined guerilla movement has always eventually worn out a militarily superior force. However, the U.S. is still in denial of the real reasons of its calamity in Iraq. Even with the Democrats' victory in the 2006 elections, Bush still threatened any country that did not kiss his backside. The Democrats, instead of creating an anti-imperialist movement, have said they will maintain the status quo on the basic issues of homeland security and foreign affairs. It will take more misadventures, such as that of Iraq, to convince U.S. politicians to re-think their policies of world domination.



The city of Ramadi was the recipient of PNAC ideology.





Toys offered to U.S. kids to commemorate "Iraqi freedom"

Top: George Bush, Elite Force Aviator

Right: Operation Forward Command Post

Bottom: Uday Hussein Dead on Arrival



Curveball and the Trucks

A couple of 15-year-old vehicles made world headlines in 2002. At first, the U.S. and British administrations heralded them as conclusive proof of Iraq concealing biological weapons. We all heard of the Iraqi “mobile germ factories” that traveled the highways of the country to keep from getting discovered. Dick Cheney said that inside these vehicles the most devastating germs were being manufactured and the Iraqis were going to pelt the east coast of the U.S. with a deadly brew that would kill millions. Cheney maintained that these germ weapons would be carried by secret drone aircraft that Iraq was developing.

Actually, there were a few drones being manufactured in Iraq and the Iraqis showed them to the world. They were made of balsa wood, had a range of about 25 miles and were used for mapping purposes. The east coast of the U.S. was a few thousand miles out of their range.

The actual importance of the two vehicles, alleged to be biological weapons factories, is minuscule, but their use for propaganda and the subsequent discovery that they were only used to pump hydrogen into weather balloons, put them on center-stage in world affairs.

The April 12, 2006 edition of the *Washington Post* ran a feature article, “Lacking Biolabs, Trailers Carried Case for War,” that brought back the subject that the administration would rather the world forget. According to the piece:

On May 29, 2003, 50 days after the fall of Baghdad, President Bush proclaimed a fresh victory for his administration in Iraq: Two small trailers captured by U.S. troops had turned out to be long-sought mobile “biological laboratories.” He declared, “We have found the weapons of mass destruction.”

The claim, repeated by top administration officials for months afterward, was hailed at the time as a vindication of the decision to go to war. But even as Bush spoke, U.S. intelligence officials possessed powerful evidence that it was not true.

A secret fact-finding mission to Iraq — not made public until now — had already concluded that the trailers had

nothing to do with biological weapons. Leaders of the Pentagon-sponsored mission transmitted their unanimous findings to Washington in a field report on May 27, 2003, two days before the president's statement.

The administration wasted no time in turning the issue around. At a hastily-called press conference, presidential spokesman Scott McClellan accused the media of unfair reporting. He did not answer questions about whether Bush knew of the results of the team of experts. If Bush did not know the information, McClellan would have quickly come forth with a reply. In this instance, silence seemed to be damning.

In addition to not being forthright with the issue, McClellan demanded an apology from the press for running the article. According to the Associated Press article "White House Defends Stand on Iraqi Trailers:"

McClellan dismissed the *Post* article and a report based on it that aired on ABC News Wednesday morning as irresponsible. He said ABC News should apologize and took issue with the way the *Post* story was written.

In 2002, these trucks took on a life of their own. They became dastardly vehicles to be used to cause a cataclysmic event in the U.S. that would be unprecedented in history. During this time, the Iraqi government had publicly stated that the trucks were used to fill weather balloons with hydrogen, but the U.S. public was told that you can't trust the Iraqis because they lie and the U.S. doesn't.

By November 2002, reports of these trucks, fueled by White House propaganda, began appearing in newspapers and magazines. Even the UCLA School of Public Health jumped on the bandwagon to create paranoia. On November 17, 2002, it ran an article from the *Los Angeles Times* called "Inspectors to Scour Iraq for Mobile Weapons Labs." It was published in the "Bioterrorism" section of its website. Here are a few gems from the article:

- Rumbling along Iraq's highways or threading their way through crowded streets, these mobile weapons labs may look like ice cream trucks, motor homes or 18-wheeler tractor trailer trucks, officials and experts say. But their cargo is believed to be germ agents such as anthrax, botulinum toxin and aflatoxin that theoretically could kill hundreds of thousands in an attack.

- Dubbed “Winnebagos of death,” the anonymous vehicles are hard to locate, even with sophisticated sensors.
- If the labs evade detection, U.S. intelligence analysts fear, the officers or scientists who operate them might try to use germ agents in a desperate counterattack or spirit the materials away to sell to terrorists or foreign governments.
- If such materials fall into the hands of a group such as Al Qaeda, that would turn the military campaign into what “could be the greatest proliferation disaster in history,” said Daniel Benjamin, a former National Security Council official and co-author of *The Age of Secret Terror*.
- The British and German governments, and the CIA and Pentagon, have all asserted the existence of the mobile labs in separate reports this year.

Here’s what Colin Powell said of the two trucks in his infamous deluge of lies he told the world in February 2003 at the UN:

- Iraq’s mobile BW program began in the mid-1990s — this is reportedly when the units were being designed.
- The source was an eyewitness, an Iraqi chemical engineer who supervised one of these facilities.
- Iraq manufactured mobile trailers and railcars to produce biological agents, which were designed to evade UN weapons inspectors. Agent production reportedly occurred Thursday night through Friday when the UN did not conduct inspections in observance of the Moslem holy day.
- An accident occurred in 1998 during a production run, which killed 12 technicians — an indication that Iraq was producing a BW agent at that time.

The CIA issued a report on May 28, 2003, without the knowledge of the secret team’s assessment of the truth behind the trucks, that smacked of the same preposterous allegations made by almost every pro-war reporter or politician in the Western world. Here is the overview of the report titled “Iraqi Mobile Biological Warfare Agent Production Plants:”

Coalition forces have uncovered the strongest evidence to date that Iraq was hiding a biological warfare program.

The design, equipment, and layout of the trailer found in late April is strikingly similar to descriptions provided by a source who was a chemical engineer that managed one of the mobile plants. Secretary of State Powell's description of the mobile plants in his speech in February 2003 to the United Nations was based primarily on reporting from this source.

Both Powell and the CIA cite an Iraqi chemical engineer who supposedly worked on the trucks and also told of 12 deaths. This source was discredited long before either Powell or the CIA used his bogus testimony.

An Iraqi who defected to Germany in 1999 was the originator of these falsehoods. His given nickname was "Curveball," a designation of his slippery and swerving testimony. After the Germans heard the lies, they contacted the CIA with the information, but told the U.S. intelligence organization that he could not be trusted and said they would not give any credence to his information. The Germans described Curveball as a person not living in Iraq and as an "out of control" and mentally deranged alcoholic. One CIA report stated that Curveball was "a con artist who drove a taxi in Iraq." This description was not seen by many because the neocon Office of Special Plans overrode CIA information when it deemed it necessary to keep the war plans on schedule.

Curveball was a drunken liar who was paid to say things that the U.S. wanted to hear. He gained an easy payday for a while and then was taken off the payroll when it was discovered he was a fraud. The U.S. failed to listen to the Germans about Curveball's dubious character.

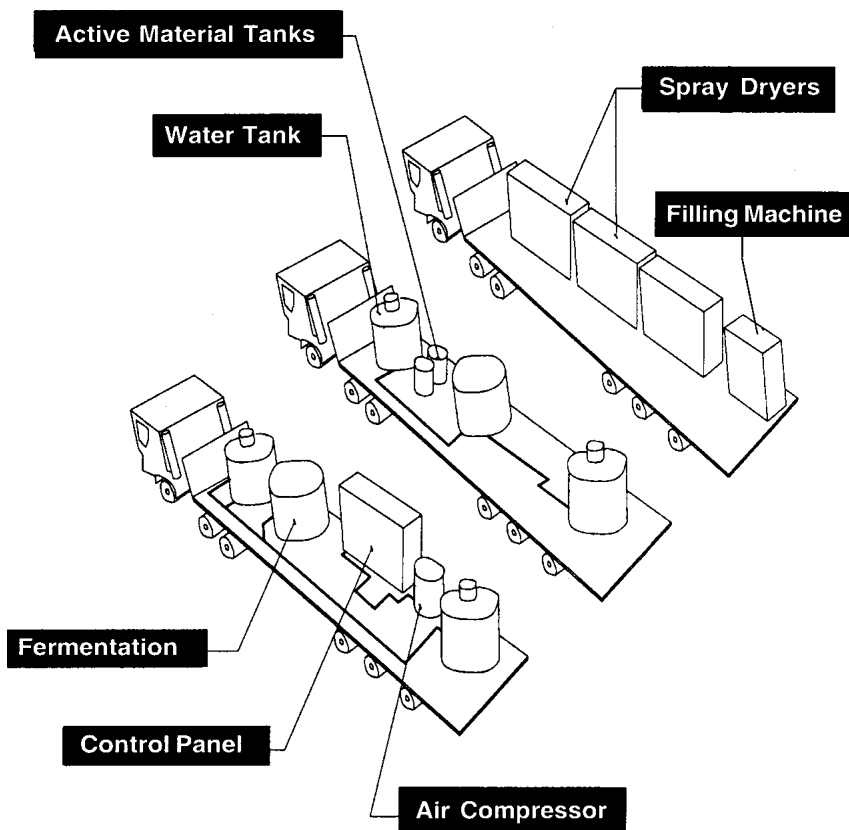
On June 15, 2003, British newspapers wrote the truth about the two trucks and caused great embarrassment to Tony Blair because he went along with the U.S. script on the use of the vehicles. According to the *Observer*, in an article titled "Iraqi Mobile Labs Nothing To Do With Germ Warfare, Report Finds:"

An official British investigation into two trailers found in northern Iraq has concluded they are not mobile germ warfare labs, as was claimed by Tony Blair and President George Bush, but were for the production of hydrogen to fill artillery balloons, as the Iraqis continued to insist.

A British scientist and biological weapons expert, who has examined the trailers in Iraq, told the *Observer* last

week, "They are not mobile germ warfare laboratories. You could not use them for making biological weapons. They do not even look like them. They are exactly what the Iraqis said they were — facilities for the production of hydrogen gas to fill balloons."

Never have two old beaten up trucks gained the mythical status of the two Iraqi vehicles used for producing hydrogen. Millions and millions of dollars were spent on propaganda that elevated their standing to that of world-threatening devices that could kill millions of people instantly. An unknown Iraqi drunkard had his 15 minutes of fame and improved his finances immensely because of the trucks. More than a million Iraqi lives were lost because of the lies used to describe them.



One of the non-existent three-truck units Powell lied about in February 2003 at the UN

On March 13, 2007, ABC News ran a story about Curveball. Despite people knowing of his real identity and calling for caution in 2003 about his testimony, the ABC report shocked much of the U.S. population because they had never heard of Curveball.

Powell got much mileage from Curveball's lies at the UN in February 2003 when he told the world of the dastardly Iraqi mobile biological weapons factories. During the March 13, 2007 ABC News report, the commentator mentioned Powell's assessment of the old story turned new. According to ABC News, "Powell said he is furious with what happened and his former chief of staff says he feels deceived."

The perpetrator became the victim. Powell could have refused to bring up the mobile biological weapons factories (years later, he said he was not convinced with the information), but he put on an Academy Award performance in front of the world. That presentation led to the destruction of a country and the deaths of more than a million Iraqis and thousands of U.S. military personnel. These facts did not bother him as he worried only about his image and legacy.

While speaking to the UN in February 2003, Colin Powell told the world that Iraq's mobile BW program began in the mid-1990s and that was the time the trucks were being designed. In reality, they were sold to the Iraqi army by the British firm Marconi Command and Control in 1987 as trucks to carry and fill weather balloons.

The U.S. Has Loosed Its Terrible Swift Sword on Iraq

During the Gulf War, the U.S. public saw a video clip that was repeated many times. In it, a U.S. helicopter pilot was ready to shoot an Iraqi with a missile. It was nighttime, but the pilot had night vision equipment and, as he was about to push the button to annihilate the Iraqi soldier, who could not see his adversary, the pilot exclaimed, "Say hello to Allah!" Then, the video shows an explosion. The "Say hello to Allah" statement became standard fare in America's psyche.

No one complained about broadcasting the event, yet it is improbable that any TV outlet would have broadcast a foreign soldier stating "Say hello to Jesus!" if the roles were reversed. That would have been considered in bad taste.

On September 12, 2001, George Bush declared the United States was about to embark on a "crusade" against terrorism. Many people mentioned

to him that the new enemies were mostly of the Islamic faith and that American Moslems and millions of followers of Islam from around the world who decry terrorism were highly offended at the choice of the word “crusade” to designate a future war. He had to be told that a “crusade” is indicative of a holocaust against Moslems.

Shortly after, Bush retracted the word and said he had nothing against Islam or the followers of the religion. The retraction was hollow. In March 2004, a Bush-Cheney campaign letter praised the president for “leading a global crusade against terrorism.” When questioned by the press about the accuracy of the allegations, Bush-Cheney campaign chairman Marc Racicot acknowledged the letter and its statement and said its intent was “focused upon the single-minded efforts of the president ... to undertake a mission to liberate people and protect the cause of freedom.”

Since the September 2001 statement and subsequent retraction, Bush has exceeded this gaffe by words and deeds. In 2003, while Bush was still feigning fairness in the Israeli/Palestinian issue, he met with Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas. In the meeting, Bush told the Palestinian leader that actions must be taken quickly to implement the one-sided roadmap that the American administration had drawn up. The president told Abbas, “God told me to strike at al-Qaida and I struck them. And He instructed me to strike out at Saddam, which I did. And now I am determined to solve the problem in the Middle East.”

Shortly after Bush’s meeting with Abbas, the book *The Faith of George W. Bush* arrived on bookstands. It was written by Stephen Mansfield, an author whose specialty is Christianity, and describes incidents in a positive manner that would make even many Christians dubious of Bush’s statements. The book was reviewed in 2003 by Paul Harris for *The Observer* newspaper of Great Britain. Harris wrote:

Among Mansfield’s revelations is his insistence that Bush and Tony Blair have prayed together. Blair has previously denied this. Mansfield, however, says that while there were no witnesses, aides were left in little doubt as to what had happened. He told *The Observer*, “There is no question they have shared scripture and prayed together.”

The Faith of George W. Bush reveals much about the influence of Christianity on Bush in areas where religion is normally kept aloof from governmental duties. Shortly before he announced his candidacy for the presidency, Bush told a Texas evangelist, “I can’t explain it, but I sense my

country is going to need me. Something is going to happen ... I know it won't be easy on me or my family, but God wants me to do it."

Before the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, reporter Bob Woodward asked Bush if he had sought his father's advice. He told Woodward, "You know, he is the wrong father to appeal to in terms of strength. There is a higher father that I appeal to."

When Woodward's book *Plan of Attack* was published in 2004, many people were surprised at Bush's obsession with Christianity in determining his agenda. However, if one had watched and listened to Bush during his 2000 presidential campaign until the publishing of Woodward's book, he/she would not have been so amazed.

"Good versus evil" has always been a part of George Bush's message. This concept is part of Manichaeism, a religion conceived in the third century in Babylon. However, many U.S. Christians today have incorporated the belief that reality is divided into absolute good and absolute evil. Bush has not been deficient in realizing that his "good versus evil" message is accepted, without question, by millions of U.S. citizens.

Stephen Zunes is a professor of politics and chair of the Peace and Justice Studies Program at the University of San Francisco. In *Foreign Policy in Focus*, on June 28, 2004, he spoke of the danger of such an inflexible attitude:

The day after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, President Bush declared, "This will be a monumental struggle of good versus evil, but good will prevail." America was targeted — according to President Bush — not on account of U.S. support for Arab dictatorships, the large U.S. military presence in the Middle East, U.S. backing of the Israeli occupation, or the humanitarian consequences of U.S. policy toward Iraq but simply because they "hate our freedom." Despite the Gospels' insistence that the line separating good from evil does not run between nations but rather within each person, President Bush cited Christological texts to support his war aims in the Middle East, declaring, "And the light (America) has shone in the darkness (the enemies of America), and the darkness will not overcome it (America shall conquer its enemies)."

Even more disturbing, Bush has stated repeatedly that he

was “called” by God to run for president. Veteran journalist Bob Woodward noted, “The president was casting his mission and that of the country in the grand vision of God’s Master Plan,” wherein he promised, in his own words, “to export death and violence to the four corners of the Earth in defense of this great country and rid the world of evil.”

Despite all the Bush denials of conducting a holy war, within a year of the occupation of Iraq, subtleties were abandoned and religious terms were commonly used to depict not only the invasion of Iraq, but various scenarios throughout the Middle East. Gary Leupp, Professor of History at Tufts University, was not remiss in putting together the pieces of the puzzle. On April 21, 2004, in an article titled, “Things Fall Apart,” he wrote:

As illogical as this whole pattern of behavior might be; as obvious as it is to anyone paying attention that the premises of the Iraq War were duplicitous; as “troubling” (the recently preferred journalistic term) as the consequences are; those steering the Bush administration’s foreign policy count upon the strength of *religious fundamentalism* in this country to produce the needed support for policies in the Middle East that can be depicted as divinely-blessed assistance to Israel, and even the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy.

We heard Bush administration officials state, “We are not against Islam. This is not a war against Islam.” This statement is as hollow as any made by administration spokespeople.

Many American citizens are equally as duplicitous when it comes to their attitudes toward knowledge of Islam and its followers. Time-after-time, we hear statements such as, “I have nothing against Moslems, but _____” After the “but” comes a tirade.

In the United States, many people look at Islamic governments and scoff at them because they use the Koran as the basis for law. We have all heard Christians laugh about Islamic social mores, but most of the time, those who laugh have misinterpreted the message. Coincidentally, many of the same Christians who denigrate the concept of a country run by the laws and values of the Koran would not think twice about the Bible being the fundamental law of the U.S. To them, secular means “non-Islamic.”

Christian broadcaster Pat Robertson once aired footage of a trip he and his son made to the Ganges River in India. They both laughed at the Indians bathing in the river, people whose religious texts demand that each Hindu perform this ritual at least once during his/her lifetime. Robertson turned to his son and, speaking about Hindu religious beliefs, asked, "How can they believe this stuff?" That's a strong statement from someone who deceives the public by claiming to cure people in various parts of America by praying on his TV program, usually just before he asks for donations for God. It would not be illogical to assume that Hindus would have a difficult time believing that a man, whose mother was a virgin, could walk on water.

The actions of the U.S. administration since September 11, 2001 have led to the deaths of tens of thousands of Afghanis, more than a million Iraqis, and the deaths of people of other nationalities who were caught in the crosshairs of U.S. militarism. Almost 100% of those killed have been Moslems.

One aftereffect of the events of September 11, 2001 that could not have been envisioned previously is the almost immediate escalation of God in determining one's patriotism. Overnight there was an inundation of items stating one's loyalty to "God and Country:" T-shirts, decals, jackets, coffee mugs, blankets, billboards, balloons, comic books; you name it and it was there. Despite the diversity of the items, there were common depictions on each: an American flag and the statement "God Bless America," or "In God We Trust."

Before September 11, 2001, the equating of patriotism and God was usually in the hands of a few right-wing religious zealots. On September 12, 2001, all bets were off. The majority of Americans quickly aborted their thinking process and jumped on the "God and Country" bandwagon.

The Internet has done wonders for the dissemination of information, however, it has also become a haven for mindless rants that can be sent to millions with the click of a button. Below, I have included a message I received that unfortunately indicates the thinking of millions of Americans today. Of course, when I tried to respond, I received a reply that stated "cannot deliver." These messages are sent through proxy servers and cannot be answered, but one has to read them if he/she opens them. The following addressed the issue of school-led prayer at sporting events:

This is the United States of America, a country founded on Christian principles ... Christian churches outnumber all others better than 200-1. So would you expect

somebody chanting Hare Krishna? If I went to a soccer game in Baghdad, I would expect to hear a Muslim prayer. If I went to a ping-pong match in China, I would expect to hear someone pray to Buddha. But what about the atheists ... What about them? We're not asking them to be baptized. Just humor us for 30 seconds. If that's asking too much, bring a Walkman or a pair of ear plugs. Go to the bathroom. Visit the concession stand. Call your lawyer ...

... God bless our service men who are fighting to protect our right to pray and worship God.

If it were not for the fact that millions of people buy into this mindless ranting, it could be considered humorous. The statement infers that if the U.S. did not invade Iraq, prayer in the U.S. was in danger. And, one could assume from the barrage that there were no female soldiers in Iraq (the use of the term service *men*). Evidently, the writer had not read the feature articles about the Jessica Lynch saga that the U.S. government twisted to serve the administration's agenda.

The writer discussed religious messages before sporting events in foreign lands. He/she (the writer did not leave an identity) is so ethnocentric that he/she does not realize that the United States is one of the few countries in the world that conducts prayers before sports matches. The vast majority of countries begin sporting events with the dropping of either a ball or puck in the middle of the playing field, or an official shouting, "Play!"

I bring these Internet messages up because they are in vogue and widely spread. The unfortunate aspect is that if believers in God who are moderate and private in their beliefs read enough of them, they could well be transformed into zealots who would adhere to the God and Country theme. In this case, ignorance is power for the message senders.

School prayer became a new cause celebre for the U.S. In 1963, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a teacher-led prayer at the beginning of the school day was unconstitutional. After grumbling, most people accepted the ruling. In the past few years, some schools in predominately Christian areas have attempted to bring prayer back by disguising it as voluntary or calling it a non-sectarian prayer. This, like many other things, all changed after the incidents of September 11, 2001.

Argument-after-argument was heard about the merit of performing a

daily school prayer. The proponents failed to realize that it was illegal. Supreme Court rulings since 1963 have always sided with the secular decision. This time, however, there was a difference. Those who wanted a public school prayer began to equate the opponents to turncoats and traitors. An argument that was always religion versus secularism now became one about the degree of patriotism one possesses. If you support school prayer (a Christian one), you are a patriot and if you do not, you are an enemy of the U.S.

With all the implications of trying to bring prayer back into public schools as a patriotic message, no one anticipated an event that took place on June 26, 2002 — the Ninth Circuit Court issued a decision that the words “under God” in the U.S. Pledge of Allegiance were unconstitutional. Forget school prayer. Now, there was a new, and much more volatile issue to confront.

Almost overnight, the decision was condemned. On June 27, 2002, virtually the entire U.S. Congress pledged to the flag and shouted the words *under God* for the TV cameras.

In less than one year, the United States was changed from a country with a Christian majority who mostly kept their religious views to themselves, to a bloodthirsty bunch of fanatics who aptly fit the term “the tyranny of the majority.”

With a new bogeyman to contend with, the Christian majority did not care for the rights guaranteed to non-Christian Americans. They now made the argument that worship to a Christian god was a patriotic gesture.

The Pledge of Allegiance to the American flag was written in 1892 by Francis Bellamy, a Baptist minister who eventually was kicked out of his church because he was a socialist and gave sermons extolling the virtues of that political philosophy.

The original Pledge was: “I pledge allegiance to my flag, the Republic for which it stands, one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.” Over the years, other words have been inserted, the most famous being “under God,” placed in the Pledge in 1954.

During the Eisenhower administration, the Knights of Columbus, a fraternal organization comprised of Roman Catholics, ran a campaign to add the words “under God,” not because of the origins of the United States, but as a statement against the dreaded atheistic Communists of the Soviet Union. However, many Americans today believe the words were always in the Pledge and they were meant to define the American identity, not as an opposition to the U.S. cold war enemy.

If you go back to the time of the original Pledge of Allegiance, it is not difficult to see that it was a statement of solidarity and equality, not a nationalistic decree. The U.S. Civil War was not far in the background of 1890s America. After the Civil War, various attempts were made at integration throughout the nation. This experiment ended in the late 1880s with the imposition of pro-segregation laws in many southern states. Black Americans were no longer slaves, but they were facing a new evil: segregation.

By 1892, much of the country was again divided on race. Bellamy wrote the Pledge as an assurance that the United States should remain one country and not again have states that would split from the Union. He also declared the equality of all Americans with the words “with liberty and justice for all.”

Ethnocentrism is an ugly offshoot of the combining of “God and Country” into the Pledge of Allegiance. It has evolved from a statement of human rights to a xenophobic and ethnocentric declaration with Christian overtones.

In 2003, George Bush appointed General William Boykin to coordinate the hunt for Osama bin-Laden. Boykin was a regular speaker at evangelical Christian meetings all over the U.S. Many times, while in uniform, he stated that God was on his side. His view of the “war on terror” is that it is a battle against Satan. When speaking about a Somali warlord whom he beat in battle in 1993, Boykin said, “My god was bigger than his. I knew that my god was a real god and his was an idol.” In speaking about the Somali adversary, Boykin failed to mention that his god had blessed his troops with the most modern and deadly tanks, missiles, helicopters, artillery and other military hardware. Not many Moslems found solace in the appointment of Boykin to head an organization designed to target those of the Islamic faith.

When the scandal about the U.S. mistreatment of Iraqi POWs at Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad first broke, the public was exposed to many unfamiliar names. General-after-general made statements, all exonerating themselves and blaming others. However, Boykin’s name eventually reappeared. On May 11, 2004, it was reported that Boykin had given a top Pentagon official in the summer of 2003 advice on “softening up” the Iraqi prisoners. On the orders of Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, Boykin flew to Guantanamo, where hundreds of Moslems were being held in prison without even the basic rights of the Geneva Convention. Boykin met Major General Geoffrey Miller, who was in charge of the camp that had a reputation for brutality, and ordered him to fly to Iraq and extend

the methods to the prison system there. Suggestions have been made that Boykin was behind the strategy of the use of sexual and physical abuse on the prisoners. These allegations once again brought to the forefront the possibility that many people may regard the war on terrorism as, in fact, a war on Islam.

The May 20, 2004 edition of the British newspaper *The Guardian*, carried a story titled, "The Religious Warrior of Abu Ghraib" that linked Boykin's fanatical Christian views with his military duties. Author Sidney Blumenthal stated:

Boykin staged a travelling side-show around the country where he displayed pictures of bin-Laden and Saddam Hussein. "Satan wants to destroy this nation, he wants to destroy us as a nation, and he wants to destroy us as a Christian army," he preached. They "will only be defeated if we come against them in the name of Jesus."

There can be little doubt that he envisages the global war on terror as a crusade. With the Geneva Convention apparently suspended, international law is supplanted by biblical law. Boykin is in God's chain of command. President Bush, he told an Oregon congregation last June, is "a man who prays in the Oval Office." And the president, too, is on a divine mission. "George Bush was not elected by a majority of the voters in the U.S. He was appointed by God."

In discussing the issue of dehumanizing foreign "enemies," Chris Toensing, editor of *Middle East Report* stated:

This will be taken as proof that what happened at Abu Ghraib is evidence of a broader culture of dehumanizing Arabs and Muslims, based on the American understanding of the innate superiority of Christendom.

As more embarrassing news slid out from behind the administration's closed doors about the Abu Ghraib operation, it became evident that hatred against Islam was a part of the mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners, from the top of the military command to the lowest-ranked guards. Many stories came forth about U.S.-held prisoners being denied the ability to pray

or practice their religion. According to Saad Naiff, a former prisoner at Abu Ghraib prison, "Once we were saying prayers for the death of a prisoner, and we were chanting, so they kept food from us for a day and a half." Sometimes, prisoners were forced to refute Islam and pray to Jesus. If they did not, they were tortured.

Reports of the actions of Spec. Charles A. Graner became daily features in the U.S. news media. He was shown in various poses denigrating Iraqi prisoners, all the time with a smile on his face. After the release of the first set of photos depicting U.S. military personnel involved with torturing the Iraqis, Graner was questioned by another soldier in his company, Spec. Joseph M. Darby, who reported the photos to higher authorities. He asked Graner, a Pennsylvania prison guard in civilian life, about the pictures. Graner told him, "The Christian in me says it's wrong, but the corrections officer in me says, 'I love to make a grown man piss himself.'"

Graner's actions definitely do not indicate an act of Christianity, however, they do reflect the anti-Moslem sentiment that many soldiers displayed. (See Appendix VII: "Iraqis Incarcerated at Abu Ghraib Prison," for in-depth accounts of prisoners being tortured and belittled for their belief in Islam).

A logical person would think that the exposure to the U.S. public about Abu Ghraib would make them somewhat empathetic toward the plight of Moslems, however, the reverse occurred. Jokes were made about the prisoners piled on top of each other. Politicians and media people said that they had seen worse at college hazing parties. Some even went as far as accusing the prisoners of wrongdoing and that the U.S. military police were the victims. Rush Limbaugh, talk-show host guru for the right-wing fanatical element in the U.S., said this about the Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib:

They are the ones who are sick. They are the ones who are perverted. They are the ones who are dangerous. They are the ones who are subhuman. They are the ones who are human debris, not the United States of America and not our soldiers and not our prison guards.

The sad aspect of rants like this is that millions of Americans believe every word that Limbaugh says. If they had no opinion of Moslems before this bigoted statement, they certainly would join the Islamophobia camp afterwards.

Michael Savage is another right-wing talk-show host with similar eth-

nocentric and racist views as those of Limbaugh. In May 2004, he told his audience:

I tell you right now — the largest percentage of Americans would like to see a nuclear weapon dropped on a major Arab capital. They don't even care which one ... I think these people need to be forcibly converted to Christianity. It's the only thing that can probably turn them into human beings.

The concept that a Christian god was on the side of U.S. military personnel in Iraq while they fought the Moslem devils was not expressed only in quotes from radio talk-show hosts. The U.S. Marines paid homage to the deity on the eve of the second battle of Fallujah in November 2004. According to Colonel Gary Brandi:

The Marines that have been killed over the last five months have been killed by a faceless enemy. The enemy there has a face, and it's call Satan, and it lives in Fallujah.

Agence France Presse covered events leading up to the second battle of Fallujah. The piece was titled "Marines Turn to God Ahead of Anticipated Fallujah Battle."

The article discussed Marines swaying to Christian rock music and asking Jesus Christ to protect them. The loudspeakers blared, "You are the sovereign. Your name is holy. You are the pure spotless lamb." First Sergeant Miles Thatford said, "It's always comforting. Church attendance is always up before the big push. Sometimes, all you've got is God."

According to the article, "Marines perceive themselves as warriors fighting barbaric men opposed to all that is good in the world." The chaplain told the Marine worshippers they were stationed outside Fallujah to bring the Iraqis "freedom from oppression, rape, torture and murder." He then added, "We ask God to bless us in that effort."

The U.S. public cheered the ensuing brutal offensive against people who were occupied and thrust into slavery by the occupation forces. Everything was thrown at the citizens of Fallujah, including chemical weapons (phosphorus bombs) that melted people alive. Yet, the U.S. public thought the Marines were in Fallujah to liberate the people.

Instead of decreasing the religious rhetoric when dealing with foreign entities, the Bush administration encouraged and financed Christian groups



Top: In the first Battle of Fallujah in April 2004, the city's football stadium was converted to a mass graveyard for more than 800 Iraqi women and children.

Bottom: People of Fallujah cheer the exit of U.S. troops from the city in April 2004. In November of the same year, they weren't so lucky after the U.S. demolished the city.



not only to give humanitarian aid, but to spread the Christian message as well.

On October 11, 2006, the *Boston Globe* ran an editorial called “Is Foreign Aid Christian?” Here are a few items mentioned in the editorial:

- Foreign aid from the United States should be used for humanitarian purposes and to advance the foreign policy of the nation ... The Bush administration is shortchanging both objectives by channeling much of its aid money through Christian groups.
- But all (Christian groups) have an overriding purpose — to convert people to Christianity — and the government needs to distribute the money with a skeptical eye.
- President Bush, however, issued executive orders early in his administration to encourage religious groups to seek foreign aid grants. No longer would they have to keep religious activities in a separate room from work supported by federal aid, and they do not have to tell recipients that attendance at religious services is optional. The message from Bush was that aid and proselytizing could mix.
- In theory, any religious group is eligible for aid, but from 2001 to 2005, 98.3 percent of the aid was funneled through Christian organizations.
- Medical missionaries have every right to mix the message of the Gospels with the latest treatments, but the U.S. government should not subsidize their work unless it comes without religious content. The United States should be exporting its historic insistence on the separation of church and state, rather than allowing them to be intermingled far from home.

In the buildup to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, George Bush traveled the world to recruit countries to get on board the war bandwagon. He picked up a few microscopically-sized island nations of the Pacific region and several of the cash-strapped former Soviet bloc countries. However, when it came to the larger nations of the West, many said “no thanks.”

Germany could not be coerced into joining the “alliance of the willing.” Its chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder, did not waver. By October 2006, Schroeder was the former German chancellor. An excerpt from his book, *Decisions: My Life in Politics*, was published by the German weekly *Der Spiegel* on October 21, 2006. He attributes Bush’s almost fanatical religiosity as a major reason for his country’s non-participation. According to the article:

While meetings with Bush at that time (Bush's 2002 visit to Berlin) were friendly, he could not reconcile himself with the feeling that religion was the driving force behind many of the president's political decisions.

"What bothered me, and in a certain way made me suspicious, despite the relaxed atmosphere, was again and again in our discussions how much the president described himself as 'God-fearing,'" Schroeder wrote, adding he was a firm believer in the separation of church and state.

"We rightly criticize that in most Islamic states, the role of religion for society and the character of the rule of law are not clearly separated," he added. "But we fail to recognize that in the U.S.A., the Christian fundamentalists and their interpretation of the Bible have similar tendencies."

Schroeder was not the only leader of a country who received a sermon from George Bush. In January 2004, Bush met with Canadian Prime Minister, Paul Martin, in Mexico. Martin was not prepared for what he was about to hear. Bush let the prime minister know that he believed himself to be on the side of God and that he was tending to God's mission. Lawrence Martin of the newspaper *Globe and Mail* stated:

The Canadian side, while aware of the president's penchant for religiosity, had been expecting to talk more about softwood lumber than the Ten Commandments. The Canadians didn't expect the morality play. Nor did they expect that, almost in the same breath, Mr. Bush would be filling the air with the f-word and other saucy expletives of the type that surely would leave the Lord perturbed. Nor did they anticipate a pointed attack on French President "Jack Cheerack," as Mr. Bush called him, for his views on the Middle East.

Mr. Martin was somewhat taken aback by what he heard. After the meeting, he was barely out of the door before he was asking someone in his entourage what was to be made of all the God stuff.

Shortly before his meeting with Martin, Bush had publicly criticized John Kerry for using the same f-word that Bush liberally used in his meeting with the Canadian leader. Kerry was approached by the press and asked why he was criticizing Bush when he voted to give him authorization in 2002 to invade Iraq. Kerry replied, "I didn't realize he was going to fuck it up so bad." Later, Bush told the press he was offended by that word in Kerry's statement.

Before the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, many U.S. Christian groups were salivating at the chance to go to Iraq after the hostilities and introduce the country to Christianity. Shortly after Bush declared "victory" on May 1, 2003, Iraq was flooded with Bibles from various Christian groups. But, where were these groups prior to March 2003 when Iraq was under a stifling embargo? Few knew anything about Iraq and many cheered on the March 2003 invasion.

U.S. Christians mistakenly thought Iraqis did not know about Christianity and this was their opportunity to tame the savages, much like European expatriates cleansed the Western Hemisphere of 30 million Native Americans over hundreds of years beginning in 1492. What the crusading zealots did not know is that before the March 2003 invasion, about three percent of Iraq's population practiced Christianity. In fact, the Chaldeans (Iraqi Christians) maintain they were among the first practitioners of the religion.

Iraqi Christians were not fond of U.S. Christians coming to Iraq after the invasion. In May 2005, the head of Iraq's largest Christian community, Patriarch Emmanuel Delly, scathingly attacked the evangelical Christians who had taken their crusade to Iraq.

On May 19, 2005, Delly told Al-Jazeera news that Iraq did not need Christian missionaries because its churches dated back long before Protestantism. He objected to the aspect of trying to convert Moslems and said, "You can't even talk about that here."

According to Delly: the evangelists attract poor youths with displays of money and then "take them out in cars to have fun. Then, they take photos and send them here, to Germany, to the U.S. and say, 'Look how many Moslems have become Christian.'"

Delly is a strong opponent of the U.S. invasion of Iraq. When asked if he had contact with U.S. authorities, he said: "Frankly, I try to avoid meeting them as much as possible. They are the occupiers. The occupied don't want to be occupied. That's human nature."

Nationally-known evangelist Pat Robertson was openly hostile toward Iraq prior to the March 2003 invasion. He accused the U.S. administra-

tion of being soft on Iraq. Yet, his group had thousands of Bibles to take to Iraq once the U.S. destroyed the country.

The late Jerry Falwell, another icon of the evangelical citizenry of the U.S., was in on the venture as well. In 2002, he said that, according to his interpretation of Christianity, Mohammed was a terrorist.

By the autumn of 2002, with an invasion of Iraq imminent, various U.S. Christian groups had placed orders for tens of thousands of Bibles written in Arabic. They bragged about the number they had on hand.

After the invasion, Iraq was flooded with Bibles and U.S. citizens teaching the Iraqis the errors of their ways. Their goal was to save the morally-corrupt Iraqis and get them away from their religion of Islam. The missionaries paid a price for their intervention. In March 2004, four U.S. Baptist missionaries were killed in Iraq. The following month, seven South Korean Presbyterians were kidnapped, but eventually released. Two months later, a South Korean evangelical Christian was beheaded.

Today, proponents of evangelical Christianity have been self-appointed to change everyone in the world and make them adhere to their version of the faith. Imagine a hoard of foreign Moslems arriving in the U.S., with thousands of copies of the Koran, publicly stating they were about to save the population of the country by converting them to Islam. Within hours, there would be many new cells erected at the Guantanamo prison and the Moslems would have a one-way all-expenses paid trip to Cuba.

Campus Crusade (there's that word again) for Christ is an outfit based in Orlando, Florida. The group is well-known and little-criticized because most people assume they perform honorable tasks. The name of the organization sounds benign, however, its work is far from harmless. On its website, it heralded dozens of pictures of Bible-thumping in Iraq. Also, there is the obligatory "Send us your money" message. Here are a few statements from its "Bibles for the Middle East" section:

- People in this part of the world are desperate for such materials. 2004 was declared the Year of the Bible throughout the Arab world and interest is high. Thousands of people are seeking to receive a copy of the Bible.
- So, with a new year before us and so many opportunities on the horizon, would you consider a gift of \$50 to get 25 Bibles in the hands of people in spiritually dark countries? Whatever you could do would be a tremendous blessing during a time of great spiritual hunger.
- People in these nations are hungry for God's Word. Our staff are willing to risk their lives to deliver it.

Another section, called “Iraq Schoolbags,” offers the following statements:

- Praise God with me. Because thanks to your prayers and gifts, the doors are open to share the love of Christ with the next generation of Iraqis — young boys and girls who are open to new ideas and who are the future teachers of their nation.
- Continuing a strategy first launched last year, their goal is to distribute 100,000 school bags to these little ones, each fitted with urgently needed paper, pencils and other school materials, along with evangelistic children’s books. In this way, just weeks from now, thousands of future Iraqi leaders will have the opportunity to come to know Christ.
- I’m sure you praise God with me for this excitement and for the fact that, thanks to this distribution, a generation of Iraqis is finally hearing the Truth about Christ.

Iraq’s Christians have been in existence for almost 10-times longer than the U.S. The country is well aware of Christianity. Until March 2003, Iraqi Christians and Moslems lived in peace. Neither side tried to convert the other. Even Jews lived in harmony with Moslems and Christians in Iraq.

Today’s Iraq is totally different. Sectarian violence has pitted various sects of Islam against each other and the Christian community has suffered immensely. Churches have been blown up and a high percentage of Iraqi Christians have fled the country. These atrocities occurred because of the intervention of the U.S.

Christian evangelists who travel to Iraq to save the “savages” are merely taking a cue from their masters in Washington. They think Iraqis have never heard of Christ and must be taught to see the light. In reality, most Iraqi Christians and Moslems are probably more knowledgeable about Christianity’s history than the light-skinned invaders from the Florida group.

The message sent that Christianity would prevail in U.S. military actions did not solely include Iraqis. U.S. troops were punished if they did not adhere to a Christian agenda.

Spc. Jeremy Hall came under fire because he wanted to start an atheist discussion group while on duty in Iraq. There were many Christian-oriented groups at the time that met during off-duty hours with no opposition from the U.S. Army.

Hall’s group was halted before it held its first meeting. Major Freddy

Welborn was offended at the idea of an atheist group and stopped Hall from holding a meeting.

Eventually, Hall decided to sue on the grounds of the Army violating his rights to be an atheist.

According to an the Associated Press article, "Atheist Soldier Says Army Punished Him," written by John Milburn and published on March 5, 2008:

A soldier claimed Wednesday that his promotion was blocked because he had claimed in a lawsuit that the Army was violating his right to be an atheist.

Attorneys for Spc. Jeremy Hall and the Military Religious Freedom Foundation refiled the federal lawsuit in Kansas City, Kan., and added a complaint that the blocked promotion was in response to the legal action.

In addition to having his rights not to have a religion violated, Hall was denied a promotion because of his atheism. The article continued:

According to the lawsuit, Hall was counseled by his platoon sergeant after being informed that his promotion was blocked. He says his sergeant explained that Hall would be "unable to put aside his personal convictions and pray with his troops" and would have trouble binding with them if promoted to a leadership position.

There is nothing in any U.S. Army training manual that attributes the willingness to pray as a requirement to be promoted to a rank of leadership. These new unwritten regulations are becoming a part of U.S. military doctrine. In addition to Hall's being discriminated against, another aspect of bigotry came to the forefront in the lawsuit:

The lawsuit alleges that (Secretary of Defense) Gates permits a military culture in which officers are encouraged to pressure soldiers to adopt and espouse fundamentalist Christian beliefs, and in which activities by Christian organizations are sanctioned.

Hall's attorneys say Fort Riley (Hall's home base) has per-

mitted a culture promoting Christianity and anti-Islamic sentiment, including posters quoting conservative columnist Ann Coulter and sale of a book, *A Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam*, at the post exchange.

A Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam, written by Robert Spencer, is a collection of out-of-context and inaccurate depictions of the religion. Here are a few items he mentions:

- Muhammad did not teach “peace and tolerance”—he led armies and ordered the assassination of his enemies
- The Qur’an commands Muslims to make war on Jews and Christians
- The much-ballyhooed “Golden Age” of Islamic culture was largely inspired by non-Muslims
- What is known today as the “Islamic world” was created by a series of brutal conquests of non-Muslim lands
- The Crusades were not acts of unprovoked aggression by Europe against the Islamic world, but a delayed response to centuries of Muslim aggression
- The jihad continues today: Europe could be Islamic by the end of the twenty-first century
- Ex-Muslims must live in fear even in the United States

Material like this normally is reserved for right-wing hate organizations or for fundamentalist Christian readers. It is unsettling that U.S. military bases on which soldiers who will be deployed to Iraq offer the book for sale.

Coulter makes Spencer look like a Moslem-lover. Here are a few of her views on Islam:

- We’ve killed about 20,000 of them, of terrorists, of militants, of Al Qaeda members, and they’ve gotten a little over 3,000 of ours. That is where the war is being fought, in Iraq, that is where we are fighting Al Qaeda. Sorry we have to use your country, Iraqis, but you let Saddam come to power, *ha-ha*, and we *are* going to instill democracy in your country.
- Making the rash assumption for purposes of discussion that Islam is a religion and not a car-burning cult, even a real religion can’t go bossing around other people like this.

- I am often asked if I still think we should invade their countries, kill their leaders, and convert them to Christianity. The answer is: Now more than ever!

In the midst of the 2004 presidential campaign, Bush made a public statement that gained little attention in the press but was a momentous declaration beyond any logical reasoning and made his designation of three countries as the “Axis of Evil” a weak-kneed declaration. He said that the U.S. would be the sole owner of outer space.

Although not exactly directly involved with the deadly fiasco on the ground in Iraq, it definitely could be considered an extension of U.S. policy toward Iraq. The reasons given for invading Iraq could be encapsulated into the assessment that the U.S. had the right to pre-empt any threat it saw in its fight against terror. Bush now had expanded the territory for U.S. imperialistic designs many times over.

The U.S. media almost totally ignored Bush’s statement about outer space, but foreign sources reported on the event and were quite taken aback not only by the statement, but by the ignoring of it by domestic media.

On October 19, 2006, *The Register*, a British publication, ran an article called “U.S. Stakes Claim on Space.” The author, Lucy Sherriff, stated:

The U.S. has claimed “dibs” on the Universe with its new space policy. The document, signed by President Bush, was released on a Friday, just before a long weekend in the States. This, in itself, has caused a bit of a stir, but no more so than the tone and content of the document.

In it, the U.S. government allocates itself rights to access and use outer space without anyone else getting in the way. It also sets security at the heart of the space agenda, frequently citing its right to use outer space as part of its national defense.

The document then warms to its military theme. The first fundamental goal of the program is not given as being to explore the solar system or better understand the Universe, but: “To strengthen the nation’s space leader-

ship and ensure that space capabilities are available in time to further U.S. national security, homeland security, and foreign policy objectives.”

The implications are immense and disastrous. Bush was not speaking of defensive weapons, but offensive projectiles that could create deadly havoc on Earth. He added that the U.S. has the right to destroy any space object from another country. When finished, the system will be much like the U.S. current spy satellite network: there will be portions linked to each other so the entire globe will be monitored and a satellite will be able to launch a weapon that can hit any target within 15 minutes. There will be no opposition in space to stop this scenario.

Ronald Reagan wanted a “Star Wars” program. After billions of dollars were spent in design and some manufacturing, it was concluded that the program would not work. Most people thought the fiasco was terminated.

The U.S. military and successive administrations, however, have kept the idea alive. Unknown to most U.S. citizens is the fact that hundreds of billions of dollars have been spent on further implementations of a space weapons program.

In May 2005, Sean Gonsalves of the *Cape Cod Times*, attended a two-day seminar, called “Full-Spectrum Dominance,” on the militarizing of outer space at the 1,000-acre estates of Airlie Conference Center in Warrenton, Virginia. According to Gonsalves:

Top defense experts, scholars, diplomats, and a handful of reporters were in attendance and for hours on end we heard presentations from the likes of retired Air Force General Chuck Horner, who was the air commander during the 1991 Persian Gulf War; Dr. Everett Dolman, Associate Professor of Comparative Military Studies at the U.S. Air Force’s School of Advanced Air and Space Studies; Dr. Theodore Postol, MIT Professor of Science, Technology and National Security, just to name a few.

“Full Spectrum Dominance” comes right out of U.S. military doctrine, as outlined in documents such as “Full Spectrum Dominance and Air Force Space Command Strategic Master Plan FY06,” which states that the U.S. military goal is to fight war “in, from and through space.”

Most people thought that a space-based defense system was just that: weapons to defend the U.S. from incoming missiles. That concept has nothing to do with the reality of the U.S. weapons-in-space idea. Gonsalves explained:

As you read this, defense officials are developing plans to put weapons in space, things called hypervelocity red bundles, which insiders call “Rods from God,” whose purpose is to penetrate subterranean targets.

Our policy-planners and so-called leaders are provoking China and Russia in their pursuit of God-like powers to dominate the Earth, which is the most dangerous form of idolatry imaginable.

Meanwhile, most Americans have never heard of this stuff as conservative Christians, who seem to be hogging the national microphone, debate about same-sex marriage and stem-cell research.

Another insider term for the “Rods from God” program is “Divine Intervention.” The U.S. administration leaves no stone unturned in its quest for combining the word of God and patriotism. The combination of God and hi-tech weapons in space may have a disastrous effect for all living things on Earth.

Even the title to this section represents the Christian god going to battle to rid the world of opposition. On March 20, 2003, the announcement was made that the U.S. had just begun offensive actions against Iraq. MSNBC, a national broadcasting company, announced to the world, “The U.S. has loosed its terrible swift sword on Iraq.”

During the U.S. Civil War, the Union (North) soldiers sang the song called *Battle Hymn of the Republic* as a combat cry. Here is the beginning of the song:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the
Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of
wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift
sword;
His truth is marching on.

In the future, U.S. military operations, such as those taken against Iraq and Serbia, will be able to be completed from outer space in a few days without one U.S. military person being involved in the target country. By pushing buttons in an office in Washington D.C., a small group of people will be able to take out concrete bunkers that are considered impenetrable with today's weapons. There will be no need for "boots on the ground" to occupy a country because the entire infrastructure of the nation and its leadership, as well as a much of its population, will be destroyed from outer space. The official designation for such a scenario will be "Divine Intervention" carried out by "Rods from God."

Bush's Poodle

George Bush had an unlikely ally who gave unflinching support for the invasion of Iraq: British Prime Minister Tony Blair. From the beginning talk of invading Iraq, Blair's party (Labour) was, for the most part, adamantly against an intrusion. Blair outdid even the most war-mongering Conservative members of British Parliament in promoting the war. Because of Blair's seemingly total acquiescence to Bush, he earned the nickname, "Bush's Poodle."

In the previous section, it was shown that Bush and Blair had prayed together while meeting and discussing Iraq. Not to be outdone by his master in Washington, Blair invoked the name of God as well. On March 24, 2006, CNN ran an article titled "Blair: God Will Judge Iraq War." According to the piece:

British Prime Minister Tony Blair says God and history will judge whether he was right to go to war with Iraq, according to a transcript of a television interview to be broadcast Saturday.

When asked about sending troops to Iraq, he said, "That decision has to be taken and has to be lived with, and in the end there is a judgement — well, I think if you have faith about these things then you realize that judgement is made by other people."

When asked to explain what he meant, Blair replied, "If you believe in God, it's made by God as well."

Blair's statements did not sit well with parents of British soldiers who had been killed or maimed in Iraq. According to Reg Keys, whose son Tom Keys was killed in action in Iraq:

Does he think God's on everybody's side? I mean, for me, we're in the 21st century, we're a scientific nation of people. Does he honestly believe that God has anything to do with war? And I just feel the people who will be the prime minister's judge and jury are the families of the bereaved, both British and Iraqi.

A curious aspect of Blair's speaking about God's input to the war was his political party affiliation. The Labour Party is to the left of U.S. Democrats. Many Brits were aghast at his proclamations about God and combining them with pro-war statements. Blair then out-blundered himself a few days later. According to a report by Al-Jazeera News on March 28, 2006, in an article titled, "Blair: Western Values at Stake in Iraq:"

Iraq and Afghanistan are decisive battlegrounds for values the West believes in, so the West must get involved, the British prime minister has said.

Tony Blair, in a speech to the Australian parliament on Monday also said that there was a danger of the United States retreating into isolationism.

Calling the anti-American feeling seen in parts of world politics "madness," Blair said, "The danger with America today is not that they are too much involved. The danger is they decide to pull up the drawbridge and disengage. We need them involved."

At a time when the U.S. administration maintained that it was not the goal of the U.S. to alter cultures, but only to stop terrorism, Blair came out publicly in favor of cultural change in non-Western countries. When the U.S. negates charges of ethnocentrism, it is a hollow response, yet even Bush was not as blatant as Blair in declaring a Pax Americana/Britannia.

Blair was reverting to times past when Britain ruled the world. In today's Britain, very few people would advocate backtracking to the days

of gunboat diplomacy. Despite the anti-imperialist mood in Britain, we saw a Labour Party leader, of all people, calling for the sun never to set on the Axis of Hegemony (U.S./Britain) empire.

By the time Blair made his ethnocentric plea, he had already announced that he would not run for another term as prime minister. If he did, even a sewer rat with the promise of a sumptuous banquet would not have voted for him. His political career was finished.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Bush showed how to keep the power despite public outcry and a Democrat-controlled Congress. With a short time left in his presidency, Bush had his back against the wall, but he became even more adamant that his ludicrous views should dominate. Blair followed in his footsteps.

Anything to Fit Their Agenda

The preposterous lies about Iraq from 1990 until today have created a cottage industry in which a substantial number of Iraqis have become rich by fabricating information. People such as Curveball, Ahmed Chalabi, Ayad Allawi, and others, have reaped great financial benefits from the coffers of the U.S. and Britain. Unfortunately, the methods of gaining their financial goals cost the lives of millions of Iraqis and thousands of soldiers of various nationalities.

But, not all the thieves were well-known international con people. This story is about a virtually unknown Iraqi woman who chose to create a false scenario in which she looked like a heroine who survived years of torture and imprisonment at the hands of the Ba'ath government in Baghdad.

A January 2005 issue of *Esquire Magazine* included a story of horror, torture, rape, murder, lies, corruption and outright willingness on the part of U.S. authorities to believe anything that would further their anti-Iraq agenda. The author is Sara Solovitch and the introduction to the article read:

In all of Iraq, Jumana Hanna was the bravest witness of the horror of Saddam's regime, telling the Americans of torture, rape and mass murder. In Washington, Hanna became a potent symbol of Iraqi liberation, and the Bush administration brought Hanna and her children to the United States for their protection. Then the author discovered the really horrible truth.

Let's start with Hanna and her incredible story of human endurance that was chronicled by the *Washington Post* in a feature article in 2003.

According to Hanna, she wanted to marry a man of Indian origin. But, Saddam forbade all foreigners from being married in Iraq. Hanna was a successful businesswoman who attended Oxford University in Britain from 1982 to 1984, where she earned her Masters Degree in accounting. At one time, Hanna owned a retail establishment in which Saddam's wife shopped, so she approached the regime to gain permission to marry her fiancé.

Hanna was granted an appointment with Saddam Hussein's son, Uday. For two hours, she waited in a room for the meeting and then a few men emerged who put a black hood over her head and dragged her away.

For the next three years, she was interred at Loose Dogs Prison. She was repeatedly raped, sodomized, beaten, given electrical shocks and endured almost every method of torture ever devised.

Iraqi officials killed Hanna's husband-to-be. In the prison, she saw women, other than herself, being tortured. She maintained that women as young as 16 years old were electrocuted and buried alive. Some were eaten alive by dogs. In all, she said there were about 120 prisoners buried in the prison yard.

Shortly after Paul Bremer took charge of Iraq, Hanna met him and told her story. He was moved to tears. She was presented to U.S. officials and treated like a modern-day heroine.

One incident occurred that could have cast doubt on her story, but U.S. officials soon halted any questions of Hanna's account. A respected Baghdad gynecologist examined Hanna to verify the numerous wounds and scars she allegedly had. After the checkup, the doctor said he saw absolutely no signs of torture or bodily damage. Hanna immediately stated that he was the same doctor who ordered the deaths of women at the prison. U.S. authorities claimed he was incompetent and did not take his findings into consideration.

In the U.S., Hanna met with all the big wheels of the Bush junta. Paul Wolfowitz told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Her courage in coming forward to offer U.S. officials what is very likely credible information would help the coalition root out Ba'athist killers."

Hanna was riding a crest of popularity and notoriety, so she decided to have a book written about her former life. After researching, she chose Sara Solovitch, who met her for the first time on August 24, 2004.

Solovitch said she was immediately taken in by this wonderful human being. Hanna's story mesmerized the scribe.

Once underway, Solovitch began to notice some variances in the story.

She was curious why someone who graduated from Oxford University spoke almost incomprehensible English. At first, she thought of contacting Oxford, but quickly decided against it, assessing that trauma may have been the cause for Hanna's occasional inconsistencies or lack of fluency in English.

The U.S. had tried to find the remains of the 120 prisoners whom Hanna mentioned, but to no avail. Once the digging began, inclement weather halted the operation. Eventually, the digging resumed and word came out that bones were found. Solovitch breathed a sigh of relief, but only temporarily. When the results of the discovery of bones came back, things changed. The bones were from a cow. No human remains were ever found despite intense digging.

Now, Solovitch had to call Oxford University. She discovered that Hanna never attended the institution and Oxford did not offer an accounting program.

In Baghdad, Solovitch discovered the truth about Hanna's life. She did spend some time in prison, but for a legitimate reason. Hanna bilked many Iraqis out of substantial sums of money under the guise of an agency that handled Iraqi immigration to the U.S. No one ever received the documents she promised.

Her husband was not dead. His cousins told Solovitch everything about Hanna's life. No torture; no dead husband; only a person running a fraudulent scheme that earned her a few months in prison.

Her story should have been scrutinized from the beginning. When she said it was illegal for a foreigner to marry in Iraq, no one checked this information. It was a lie from the beginning. Marriage was open for foreigners in Iraq in the 1990s.

The January 22, 2005 edition of the *Washington Post* ran a retraction concerning its original article praising Hanna. It said:

For from being a story about the indomitability of the human spirit, Hanna's tale now seemed to open a window on the coalition's naiveté — the willingness to believe almost anything that fits their agenda.

Solovitch described her feelings after her research found the truth:

I went into this project anticipating that I would be working with a genuine hero. Now, I believe that she is at best a pathological liar, at worst, a highly intelligent con artist. Jumana took advantage of all of us.

Hanna was able to take advantage of those who were ripe to be duped. In the case with Iraq, no lie was too big and, over the years, the fabricated stories took on lives of their own as journalist-after-journalist wrote their sensational and macabre stories of events that never occurred.

Rope-a-Bush

On a steamy night in 1974 in Zaire, Muhammad Ali fought George Foreman for the World Heavyweight boxing title. This was the most-publicized event in the history of boxing. The media followed both fighters daily and broadcast their training sessions and posed myriad questions. Ali was in his element in front of the cameras, while Foreman tried to keep a lower profile.

The undefeated Foreman was the odds-on favorite. He was the reigning champion and younger and stronger than his opponent. In addition, he was mainstream America's challenge to the brash, draft-dodging Ali. When Foreman won the boxing gold medal at the 1972 Olympic Games, he sat in his corner and waved a small American flag.

For the first seven rounds, Ali stayed on the ropes and blocked Foreman's punches. The fight announcers were bewildered. "Why is he doing this?" they pondered. "Why doesn't he fight back?" By the end of the seventh round, many broadcasters were openly saying that Ali was over the hill. Foreman had pummeled him for seven rounds and taken away much of the former champ's strength.

The eighth round began with the "experts" thinking it was just a matter of time until Foreman floored the braggart. Ali took to the middle of the ring for the first time, danced like the Ali of old, and knocked out Foreman. The shock was heard around the world.

It quickly became evident that Ali had planned what all the world saw. When interviewed, he called his strategy "rope-a-dope." Within a day, all the sportswriters who predicted his demise were praising his foresight and intelligence.

The illegal invasion and ensuing occupation of Iraq hold many similarities to the Ali-Foreman fight. A seemingly quick U.S. military victory in March and April of 2003, with fewer U.S. casualties than anybody predicted, ended with a victory statement on May 1, 2003 by George Bush standing under a huge banner stating, "Mission Accomplished."

The pro-war pundits were euphoric. They told of how the Iraqi Republican Guard, who were supposed to defend Baghdad, disappeared before a definitive battle.

Just weeks prior, the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz, stated: "We will welcome the Americans in Baghdad. Unfortunately, we've run out of candy and will have to substitute bullets." The West laughed. The press said that Aziz was only a puppet for Saddam and that he would make any foolish statement to placate his boss.

The pundits reported the one-sided victory, but few asked "why?" Why did the Republican Guard disappear? Why was there no one to be found in the Iraqi government? Why was there little opposition to the occupation of Iraq for a few weeks? The answer lies in a plan that had been implemented a few years before the March 2003 invasion that organized a resistance to the occupation. Iraqi officials knew full well that their dilapidated military was no match for the U.S. and if they stood head-to-head, the entire military and government would have been destroyed.

On April 8, 2003, Mohammed Sahaff (The Iraqi Information Minister) made a statement to the press that produced even more laughter than that of Tariq Aziz. He was talking about Baghdad becoming the graveyard for many U.S. soldiers. Sahaff stated: "We will embroil them, confuse them, and keep them in the quagmire." Both Aziz and Sahaff made accurate statements because they knew of the planned resistance.

Within a few weeks of Bush's victory announcement on May 1, 2003, Iraqis began firing back at the U.S. military, only this time on their terms, using ambushes and guerrilla tactics. The U.S. is infatuated with assessing names to any military action. In Iraq, there have been hundreds of "operations." If we compare the similarities of Muhammad Ali's boxing tactics to those of the planned Iraqi resistance, an accurate moniker would be "Operation Rope-a-Bush."

Condoleezza Rice said that U.S. forces faced similar resistance in Japan and Germany after World War II. Quickly, articles came forward that not one American soldier was killed by either the Japanese or Germans during their occupations. Rice obtained her information from a bogus website that published a hoax describing a strong German resistance called "The Werewolves." No such entity existed.

Telling the truth was not an option for Rice. According to Daniel Benjamin, writing for *Slate*, on August 29, 2003, in an article called "Condi's Phony History:"

National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice embellished the message with what former White House speechwriters immediately recognize as a greatest-generation pander. "There is an understandable tendency to look back on



Top and bottom: U.S. bases in Iraq are under constant resistance attack.



America's experience in postwar Germany and see only the successes," she told the Veterans of Foreign Wars in San Antonio, Texas, on Aug. 25. "But as some of you here today surely remember, the road we traveled was very difficult. 1945 through 1947 was an especially challenging period. Germany was not immediately stable or prosperous. SS officers—called 'werewolves'—engaged in sabotage and attacked both coalition forces and those locals cooperating with them—much like today's Baathist and Fedayeen remnants."

Don Rumsfeld was not to be outdone and he elevated the subject ever further. Speaking on the same day and at the same venue as Rice, he stated:

One group of those dead-enders was known as "werewolves." They and other Nazi regime remnants targeted Allied soldiers, and they targeted Germans who cooperated with the Allied forces. Mayors were assassinated including the American-appointed mayor of Aachen, the first major German city to be liberated. Children as young as 10 were used as snipers, radio broadcasts and leaflets warned Germans not to collaborate with the Allies. They plotted sabotage of factories, power plants, rail lines. They blew up police stations and government buildings, and they destroyed stocks of art and antiques that were stored by the Berlin Museum. Does this sound familiar?

Getting back to reality, Benjamin wrote:

It's hard to understand exactly what Rumsfeld was saying, but if he meant that the Nazi resisters killed Americans after the surrender, this would be news. According to *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*, a new study by former Ambassador James Dobbins, who had a lead role in the Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo reconstruction efforts, and a team of RAND Corporation researchers, the total number of post-conflict American combat casualties in Germany—and Japan, Haiti, and the two Balkan cases—was zero.

The tactics of the resistance have proven deadly to the occupiers and to those Iraqis who work for the foreigners. At the end of 2006, it was reported that 12,000 Iraqi policemen had been killed since the formation of a new police organization by the occupiers. To take this in context, imagine 144,000 American police people killed in three years. The U.S. has about 12-times the number of people of Iraq, so the 144,000 figure would be relative to what occurred in Iraq. If one cop gets killed in America, there is nationwide publicity and mourning.

The pre-planning of the resistance has not gone without publicity. But, the U.S. government and media obscure the reality of the resistance and keep the public unaware of its roots. Former Iraqi Republican Guard generals who are part of the resistance have given interviews about its inception. Scott Ritter wrote extensively on the subject, but it seems only the British press will publish his articles. He called it a “brilliant” plan of Saddam Hussein. Iraqi scientists and former officials have stated that the resistance is well-organized, well-financed and well-armed.

On July 9, 2004, an article by Ritter titled “Facing the Enemy on the Ground” was published by *alternet.org*. He explained:

The Iraqi resistance is no emerging “marriage of convenience,” but rather a product of planning years in the making. Rather than being absorbed by a larger Islamist movement, Saddam’s former lieutenants are calling the shots in Iraq.

One look at the 55 “most wanted” members of Saddam’s regime who remain at large reveals the probable chain of command of the Iraqi resistance today.

The main act of the Iraqi government in the buildup to the March 2003 invasion was to disperse weapons all over the country for the inevitable resistance movement. Iraq had no hi-tech weaponry, but it had massive amounts of standard rocket propelled grenades (RPG), rockets, and other older-style devices. The speculation is that the resistance groups have enough weaponry to fight their battle for at least 50 years, some say up to 150 years.

By the end of 2006, some words to describe the resistance were beginning to come closer to reality. A headline on MSNBC.com read “Experts Predict an Extended War.” Various military people began to say that the U.S. would be in Iraq for years. Then U.S. Secretary of Defense, Don

Rumsfeld, assessed that the war may run for a further 12 years.

Once the resistance was up-and-running, attacks on U.S. forces numbered more than 100 a day. They are well-planned and executed. As the U.S. figures out how to thwart resistance tactics, the resistance fighters progress and devise new methods. The resistance brought Iraqi oil production to a halt. Iraqi politicians, security forces, and police were being assassinated daily. The only thing the quisling Iraqi government governs is its own safety as the members guard their lives by staying imprisoned in a U.S. fortress called "The Green Zone."

Despite some journalists and some U.S. military officials getting closer to reality, the U.S. administration and the Democratic party are still in denial. Bush constantly says, "We're in it for the long run. Iraq is free and democratic." Iraq is neither free nor democratic and the "long run" will greatly increase deaths of American occupiers and the Iraqi public.

During the 2004 U.S. presidential campaign, John Kerry said he would put more troops in Iraq. Then, he said he would bring the troops home in his first term. Which statement should the U.S. public have believed? In fact, both were ridiculous decisions. More troops meant more war. According to his plan to bring troops home, they would have been replaced by UN or international troops. He didn't get it. The Iraqi resistance would have made things quite difficult for any foreign military presence: UN, NATO, Arab or Eskimo. The most glaringly unrealistic aspect of his policy was that no country or organization would be senseless enough to send its people to be killed in Iraq so the U.S. could pull its troops out.

By 2007, the resistance had not only grown, but consisted of groups who have differing views about a future Iraq. In addition, it had gained more firepower. The stockpiles of conventional weapons the groups had were massive, but various parts of the movement began to design and manufacture their own rockets and sniper rifles. Even some missiles with a much longer range than the rockets have been developed. All groups, however, have one goal in common: to rid Iraq of foreign occupiers. When this occurs, the varying resistance factions will try to come up with a common agenda or they will fight each other for leadership rights in the new Iraq, but the outcome will be determined by Iraqis, not foreigners.

The naysayers of an immediate U.S. pullout of troops state, "There would be a civil war." In fact, the violence would not be any worse. Sure, there would be a major conflict between the resistance and the collaborators. Then, there would be the inevitable fighting for power with odd allegiances among groups. Only when these logical progressions transpire will Iraq have a chance of repairing itself.

"The majority of the American media, who were in a position to comment upon the progress of the war in the early going, and even after that, got it wrong. They didn't get it just a little wrong. They got it completely wrong."

— Brit Hume (FOX News Channel host), April 25, 2003

"All of the printed and voiced prophecies should be saved in an archive. When these false prophets again appear, they can be reminded of the error of their previous ways and at least be offered an opportunity to recant and repent."

— Cal Thomas (syndicated columnist), April 16, 2003

"Iraq is all but won. Now what?"

— Los Angeles Times headline, April 10, 2003

"Now that the combat phase of the war in Iraq is officially over, what begins is a debate throughout the entire U.S. government over America's unrivaled power and how best to use it."

— Joie Chen (CBS), May 4, 2003

"The only people who think this wasn't a victory are Upper Westside Liberals, and a few people here in Washington."

— Charles Krauthammer (WUSA TV), April 19, 2003

"We had controversial wars that divided the country. This war united the country and brought the military back."

— Howard Fineman (Newsweek), stated on MSNBC, May 7, 2003

"We're all neo-cons now."

— Chris Matthews (MSNBC), April 9, 2003

"Do you remember Scott Ritter, you know, the former chief U.N. weapons inspector who played chief stooge for Saddam Hussein? Well, Mr. Ritter actually told a French radio network that, quote, 'The United States is going to leave Baghdad with its tail between its legs, defeated.' Sorry, Scott. I think you've been chasing the wrong tail again."

— Joe Scarborough (MSNBC), April 10, 2003

“I will bet you the best dinner in the Gaslight district of San Diego that military action will not last more than a week. Are you willing to take that wager?”

**— Bill O'Reilly (FOX News Channel),
January 29, 2003**

“Speaking to the Security Council last week, Secretary of State Colin Powell made so strong a case that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein is in material breach of the U.N. resolutions that only the duped, the dumb and the desperate could ignore it.”

**— Cal Thomas (syndicated columnist),
February 12, 2003**

“Even in the flush of triumph, doubts will be raised. Where are the supplies of germs and poison gas and plans for nukes to justify preemption? (Freed scientists will lead us to caches no inspectors could find,) What about remaining danger from Ba’athist torturers and war criminals forming pockets of resistance and plotting vengeance? (Their death wish is our command.)

— William Safire (New York Times), April 10, 2003

* * * * *



“Do not be hasty because your disappointments will be huge ... You will reap nothing from this aggressive war, which you launched on Iraq, except for disgrace and defeat ... We will embroil them, confuse them, and keep them in the quagmire ... They cannot just

enter a country of 26 million people and lay siege to them. They are the ones who will find themselves under siege.”

**— Mohammed Sahaff (The Iraqi Information
Minister, aka “Baghdad Bob) April 2003**

Nuke 'Em Til They Glow

The U.S. preoccupation with the impending threat of Iraqi nuclear weapons was just another form of misinformation to rattle the American public. A few months after Desert Storm, the UN sent a secret team of nuclear inspectors to Iraq to try to discover how close Iraq was to producing its first nuclear weapon prior to the conflict. The experts were nuclear designers from the U.S., Russia, Britain and France.

Iraq's nuclear program had already been scrutinized by UN inspectors, but this group was more advanced in its knowledge of nuclear weapons because it was comprised of design experts. The designers' assessment was the most accurate that had been reported: "Iraq was at least five years away from developing its first crude nuclear weapon, if it desired to do so." This message was opposite of that of George Bush I, who created worldwide hysteria by saying Iraq was within months, or even weeks, of having a nuke ready to go

Like father, like son again was the rule of the day a dozen years later as Bush II spoke in detailed terms of Iraq's impending nuclear threat and a "mushroom cloud over New York City." Few journalists mentioned the 1991 report, or that Iraq's nuclear weapons capability was totally destroyed in the bombing of Desert Storm.

In the buildup to Desert Storm, no one seemed concerned about U.S. nuclear weapons. Many were shocked to learn that the U.S. used radioactive projectiles, made from spent uranium, against the Iraqis. When Desert Storm ended, several hundred tons of spent uranium were sitting in the desert in Kuwait and southern Iraq. Late in 1991, the British Atomic Energy Authority issued a secret report on the use of spent uranium in Desert Storm.

According to the document, uranium was used in tens of thousands of armor-piercing rounds fired at Iraqi vehicles by U.S. aircraft and U.S. and British tanks. According to Lt. Colonel Vincent Macchi, a combat commander in Desert Storm, "Every attack aircraft in the air and on the ground carried them."

The Atomic Energy Authority went on to say that there was enough uranium in the deserts of Kuwait and Iraq to potentially cause 500,000 deaths. It added that the sheer volume of uranium did indicate a significant problem.

Depleted uranium is a derivative of the U-235 type used in weapons-grade materials. The less-radioactive, yet still dangerous, substance is then

made into bullets, bombs or missiles that are extremely hard and heavy. The projectile then can easily cut through virtually any kind of armor.

When it pierces heavy armor, the outer surface of the round pulverizes, dispersing uranium dust that burns at very high temperatures. The depleted uranium rounds incinerated thousands of Iraqi tank crews.

Lt. Colonel Macchi said the projectiles were "the best tank killers we've ever seen. The trouble is, we've never used DU (depleted uranium) before and we had no idea what that aftereffect would be."

In August and September of 1991, a team of experts from the British Atomic Energy Authority visited the area of contamination and discovered that shell fragments, uranium dust, and other debris were left behind from the barrage of hi-tech shells used during Desert Storm. They concluded that there was enough low-yield radiation to present a "serious and ultimately lethal hazard to large population masses."

In November 1991, the International Atomic Energy Committee issued a report to Gulf area diplomats with high security clearances that discussed the waste. One senior diplomat concluded: "Our air, our water, the soil, the food chain ... everything ... has been poisoned. My government supported the military intervention against Iraq, but now many of us wish we had opposed it."

The U.S. administration tried to keep the information about DU away from the American public. Most people had never heard of the new weapon and the U.S. government hoped that any information would just fade away, however, something occurred that made it difficult to push the information aside.

A few months after the end of Desert Storm, several hundred U.S. soldiers contracted a mysterious disease that confounded the doctors. Many theories came forth about the maladies — oil well fires, possible chemical weapons, handling of fuels, etc. Only after many U.S. military people came forward was the subject of radiation poisoning brought up.

Initially, a few hundred U.S. Gulf War veterans complained about bleeding gums and liver disorders. Within a few months, the number exceeded 100,000. Many maintained that spent uranium was the cause of their sicknesses, yet the U.S. government lent no credence to this diagnosis. If it had, the government would have admitted that the hazardous materials were used en masse during Desert Storm.

The resulting contamination from the use of spent-uranium projectiles is horrific. After Desert Storm, thousands of Iraqis died in mysterious manners of which the causes point to the leftover spent uranium. In areas which the U.S. bombed heavily, there were more incidents than in areas

which did not receive massive bombing. Children were (and still are) suffering and becoming deformed because of the spent uranium.

The March 2003 invasion brought even more DU to Iraq, possibly 10-times as much. The cycle began again. Some places are so immersed in DU that locals state they felt the heat from the exploded armaments months after they were dropped.

Not only Iraq suffered from these projectiles. In the 1999 bombing of Serbia, many similar missiles and bombs were used. On the ground, the results are identical to those in Iraq.

Despite the visits of many scientific teams to Iraq that have concluded that DU is a tragedy of a great scale for the Iraqis, three U.S. administrations refused to address the issue. They all said that DU is benign and have constantly stated that DU had nothing to do with U.S. war veterans who became ill or died.

The number of U.S. casualties possibly caused by DU is now in the hundreds of thousands. When the recipients brought up the issue with the U.S. government, they were rebuffed and told that DU is not dangerous and is not the cause of their illnesses, despite scientific research stating the opposite.

The U.S. did not use nuclear weapons in Iraq in 1991 or Serbia in 1999. However, there are thousands of tons of nuclear radioactive material in both countries.

There are hundreds of websites on the Internet that have very informative information about the use and effects of DU. Just punch in “depleted uranium” in a search engine and you will be able to research the issue in much greater detail.

There are always some instances that have occurred in the ongoing U.S. war against Iraq that leave one with a feeling of not having gotten to the bottom of the story. Many times, research will provide the answers, but some things still stick out as unfinished business.

One of these quandaries was the taking of Saddam International Airport (later renamed Baghdad International Airport by the U.S.) in early April 2003. Much of the news from the U.S. and British mainstream press said the airport fell with ease and few U.S. casualties.

However, there were gaps in the reporting as well as contradictory statements. Initially, most press agencies or publications reported heavy fighting when the U.S. arrived at the airport. Then, there was silence. About four days later, we heard about the airport’s fall to the U.S. But, was it all as easy as the press stated?

Russian agencies carried stories of fierce fighting in which many U.S.

soldiers were killed. Some Arab news agencies spoke of a bloody battle with heavy casualties on both sides. These reports varied greatly from those coming out of the U.S. and Britain.

In July 2006, an article written by Captain Eric May, a 14-year veteran of the U.S. Army, published by the *Lone Star Iconoclast*, alleged that the Battle of Baghdad, which began at Saddam International Airport, was far more devastating to the U.S. forces. This was no conspiracy theorist looking for publicity. Additionally, he held knowledge that few writers about Iraq have: keen expertise in the areas of military tactics and U.S. military intelligence.

Captain May made another allegation that was not mentioned in the mainstream press. He thought that the outnumbered U.S. military used a neutron bomb at the airport to stop the Iraqi troops.

In 1977, Captain May entered the U.S. Army and served for 14 years. He eventually received advance intelligence education and he spent years in deciphering messages, mainly from the former Soviet Union. He returned to civilian life in 1990 and taught languages (Latin, Greek and Russian) at Mt. Carmel High School in Houston, where he was once named teacher of the year. In 1995, he changed careers and became a freelance executive speech writer for many prominent companies. At the same time, he contributed articles to Houston NBC-affiliate KPRC-TV. In addition, he wrote for two Houston daily newspapers, the *Houston Post* and the *Houston Chronicle*.

On August 26, 2006, I interviewed Captain May. He brought out some very interesting points about the battle at the airport that received little or no publicity in the U.S.

JA: Please tell us what prompted you to begin your questioning of the Battle of Baghdad, primarily the battle for the airport.

CM: I had just come back from teaching a martial arts class on Friday, April 4, 2003. That would have been the morning of April 5 in Baghdad. Immediately, what I saw on CNN, about 9 p.m. Central time, was that Baghdad had been surrounded. We had dedicated the military forces to enveloping and making it succumb piece-by-piece, maybe sending in the 101st Airborne.

Then, all of a sudden, there was a report of explosions and CNN started to act like they were all rattled and didn't know it was coming. Given that I was a prior service and intelligence public affairs officer, I knew very well that meant unexpected contact. Pretty soon, they were saying there were huge explosions from the airport, and the next thing you know, they're

casting over to imbed Walter Rogers from CNN. As he's broadcasting from Baghdad Airport, you can hear artillery hitting around his Humvee and you can hear small arms fire hitting it: a distinct ping, ping, ping. That pretty much told me they were getting fired up bad.

That was when it was still pre-dawn in Baghdad. By dawn, Lt. Col. Terry Ferrell, the 3/7 Cavalry Group commander appeared on TV during CNN evening coverage and he broke down into tears when he trying to say everything was okay at Baghdad Airport. That made it clear to me that the 3/7, the scout unit, the cavalry squadron that attended the 3rd Infantry Division, the U.S. Army division that had surrounded Baghdad, had wound up in a close fight in the Baghdad Airport. That's what I picked up at the time.

By the next day, CNN was saying there was substantial contradiction in facts from various media reports. Arab media were putting out 200 U.S. dead at the airport. Russian Intel put out that dozens were dead and a real fight had developed. U.S. media were putting out that Jessica Lynch had been rescued.

JA: How do you account for foreign media reporting about a bloody battle and U.S. media being silent about the airport while highlighting the rescue of Jessica Lynch?

CM: To me, at this point, it was a done deal. The Battle of Baghdad was essentially blocked out from April 5 all the way through April 8. On April 9, you had the pull-down of the Saddam statue which represents a pretty efficient ending of the Battle of Baghdad. But, it really was a propaganda ending. The pull-down was a staged event and I've heard that the few Iraqis there were not even Iraqis.

JA: Why have you taken such passion about the Battle of Baghdad?

CM: The propaganda cover-up of the Battle of Baghdad, what we call BOBCUP (Battle of Baghdad Cover-up) was so conspicuously against the United States principles of information, which is what we follow in the Department of Defense Public Affairs operations, was so egregiously out of line, it was then that I self-mobilized my mission of conscience because, basically, it was apparent to me at that point, that we were under dictatorship. Suppressing the events of an entire battle and keeping it suppressed long after the battle was over ... you know, you could have said, "Well, we didn't want to tell the Iraqis where our troops were," or something else. But, you can't say that months and months and months and years after the event.

Baghdad was the beginning. I've finished a successful career; in and out of the active Army and in and out of the reserves. My last gig was that

of a general staff officer. I've been around. Baghdad brought me out of the observation and analysis of this war to a participant in what we call the "info war." The war to get real information to the public.

JA: Please describe the conditions that make an "info war."

CM: What became apparent to me is that the willingness they have to close down any kind of information that doesn't fit into the big plan. Make it apparent that the whole system of government that we grew up studying in books — the three systems to keep government honest — has really become a unipolar government where you have an imperial executive — we call it King George and the Bush League — who rule the country. The media translate it like a propaganda ministry. Your other two parts of the triangle, the legislative and the judicial branches of government, are really there just for dressing up. They're just there to make it look like a democracy, but it's not. (Note: to non-U.S. readers, the term "bush league" in the U.S. represents a low-class entity. Captain May used the term doubly: Bush is the president's name and fits right in with the Bush League.)

JA: You, like a few other people who can think, predicted in writing the outcome of the invasion. Please elaborate.

CM: I've been publishing war analyses for the *Houston Chronicle* since 1992 predicting this quagmire. In retrospect, now that things have turned out the way they have, it seems obvious what I wrote on April 3, 2003, as we were nearing Baghdad. I wrote in the *Houston Chronicle* that this would be called "The Quicksand War": it would turn into quicksand. Now, that looks so transparently obvious. But, I can remember when I submitted it to my editor, he laughed at me and said I was really going to blow my reputation on this one because the U.S. Army was going to reach Baghdad the next day and prove I was wrong.

As with so many people who never served a day in uniform, he just automatically knew that once you got there and knocked the other guy's capital down, they gave up. But, for somebody who'd been in the military at that time in three different decades, and who had studied the art of war for three decades, the idea that a war is over because you take a capital? I read Napoleon. Also, that's what people were saying on the way to Moscow.

JA: What is your opinion about the Iraqi resistance at that time? Few people knew that it had been organized before the U.S. invasion.

CM: When we go into the Battle of Baghdad cover-up, that's part of what was getting covered up. I was getting from Iraqi resistance reports that they were preparing a resistance movement and I picked up on this as

the Battle of Baghdad was occurring. Groups like the Saddam Fedayeen were involved, not just the Iraqi military.

Teaching indigenous populations how to conduct guerilla warfare is like saying you have to teach teenagers on a date alone how to have sex. They're inevitably going to find out what everything's for if you just leave them alone. Anytime you start a guerilla war, you get involved in attacking and holding a country, the most brilliant work of that campaign is going to come from the people who are trying to get even for your initial attack.

The resistance was planned and according to my research, they were publishing an underground newsletter as early as the Battle of Baghdad itself. Covering up a battle and covering up military reality are only temporary advantages, but they bring long-term problems. The administration became invested in saying that it had a successful war with conclusive results. As a result, the entire paradigm was askew. It went in with the wrong policy in the military sense. Once you deny military reality enough, it screws up your military.

JA: Please explain in detail what you consider the info war and on what kind of battlefield will it be fought.

CM: It's clear that we are in an info war. When Eisenhower warned of the military-industrial complex, he could have said, in Orwellian terms, the military-industrial-media complex.

The info wars are staged by such things as the manipulation of the capture of Saddam. I remember various media outlets grumbling about it because the story given by the U.S. administration was kind of falling apart.

With every story we discuss, information has been manipulated. If you listen to Rumsfeld, he will always say, "We need to win the propaganda war and we need to win the informational war." Informational warfare is nothing but info war. But, nobody wants to admit info war is going on because then it becomes clear that we have a treasonable condition of affairs.

JA: How can the numbers of U.S. killed in the Battle of Baghdad be covered up? How can they make four or five hundred soldiers disappear?

CM: That formed the first level of my investigation into the Battle of Baghdad. After watching CNN on April 4, 2003, I spent a couple of weeks doing TV analysis. Then, I decided I would go to Fort Stewart in Georgia, which is the home base for the Third Infantry and the 3/7 Cavalry.

When I got there, I immediately confirmed the existence of the Battle of Baghdad with the chaplain, who also told me the constitution was in

the tank. They were covering up what they wanted. They control what the public feels, sees and does.

I realized there was a cover-up going on at the home base. Later in the summer, it came out that wives at the home base were being harassed and they were being given pharmacological psychotropic cocktails. There was a news blackout. When they (Third Infantry Division) finally did get back, they came back kind of on the midnight train.

There were many more wounded than the hospital could accommodate. They were sleeping in open fields. The reason for that, I believe, is that they were trying to keep everybody who was at the Battle of Baghdad all located at one Army post so they could control all the information.

Among the survivors and their dependents, there was an attempt to coerce silence. I like to say they were thugged up and drugged up.

In January 2004, I had a freelance journalist from upstate New York start working with me to try to get the story. She found out that there were about 100 backdoor visits, which means the casualty officer would come and inform the widows of what happened. They were taking women and getting them out of town, off the post.

She came up with a number of about 100 war widows. About one out of three soldiers is married. That kind of went well with what I had thought: about 300 to 500 killed in action. Very quickly, after she began investigating, she got a death threat.

Maybe we have 500 dead. That sounds like an immense pile. What happens is that you get 500 coffins that go to 500 different train terminals and 500 disparate cities and small towns. Nobody sends out a card saying there are 499 other ones. Everybody who gets one knows they have a dead G.I. But, nobody thinks their dead G.I. was part of a massive battle. It's the elephant of truth. Every blind person gets one feel. Everyone gets one pat on the elephant without realizing there's an immense beast there.

Covering up dead body counts is not hard to do at all. All you do is fail to report in any kind of cohesive order that there has been a massive battle. They proved that again by the fact that the fight of Fallujah, both of them, were covered up.

It's easy to understand what happened with Fallujah. The same as the Battle of Baghdad. What the public got told was nothing like the carnage that was going on. The U.S. death count was held down. There's no way you have street-to-street close urban combat dismounted and have only two guys a day getting killed. It doesn't happen that way. We had regimental operations going on in Fallujah.

JA: If George Bush declared victory on May 1, 2003, why is there still

fighting in Baghdad?

CM: The one thing we should understand is we have a Battle of Baghdad going on right now. It's being covered up. It's being hidden as a substratum under the greater story, which is the Israeli war on Lebanon.

As an example of what happens when you broadcast propaganda instead of history, the truth gets lost. The American public was told we took Baghdad far easier than we did and that meant clear sailing, when it really didn't. Now, the American public has been deluded. It's like a magic trick: once you follow the magician, you're lost. The magician has control of you. The media is a magic trick. That TV is a box and the magic trick that comes out of it tells us that we're reinforcing our troops around Baghdad so we can take Baghdad back. The screaming question should be, "What the hell? You mean we lost Baghdad?" We've been losing Baghdad since we got there.

JA: Have you spoken to any Iraqi participants of the Battle of Baghdad?

CM: A couple of journalists who were in Baghdad proper talked to the people returning from the battle. The most extreme thing I picked up is that the Battle of Baghdad was started at the airport with the U.S. forces being overwhelmed. It wound up being a six-hour firefight at close quarters and my surmise is that our side was running out of ammo and somebody decided to go nuclear. That seems to be universally acknowledged by everybody on all sides, except the American.

Evidently, what happened was the U.S. G.I.s buttoned up inside their armor, which cuts down the transmission of radiation, and some sort of nuclear devices were used at Baghdad Airport. Since then, American battle doctrine has been revised to allow commanders to do exactly the kind of things that I'm inferring from my sources that were done at Baghdad Airport. In other words, they retroactively retrofitted the doctrine.

The nuclear threshold is a very fuzzy thing in this war anyway. We already went over using D.U. (depleted uranium). That already, arguably, makes it a nuclear war. Of course, you see why Battle of Baghdad One had to be covered up. How the hell do you go into a war where you say you're going to remove an evil madman because he has weapons of mass destruction and you bring them with you?

JA: In your opinion, did the U.S. do anything positive in removing Saddam Hussein and his government?

CM: You remember the first year of the war, the commentators were saying to the naysayers, "Well, what do you mean? Are you saying they'd be better off if Saddam was still in charge?" That was something that shut everybody up because, one year into this, everybody was still believing the

myth that we freed the Iraqis. At this point, the reason why nobody asks if they'd be better off with Saddam in power is that it has been so transparent to anybody, except a Republican clone, that they were much better off when Saddam was in power.

JA: Do you think the truth will ever come out to the mainstream about the Battle of Baghdad?

CM: The mainstream seems to be irrelevant. They've condemned themselves. They find they formed a Faustian pact when they were all going to get behind a war that was for oil and Israel. They agreed to become an imbedded asset. What could be more shameful than to be imbedded? They're not a media supplying relevant information. They're a propaganda operation providing rationalization.

That's what leaves us with the term "info war." Now, the relevant and important information comes out through what you might call the "underground media." Call it alternative media or what you want. What it means is that two guys, like you and me, who both have enough expertise to be on any of the network shows, talk about what we talk about. We can't get on their TV, so we do it through this alternative medium. The best interviews that can be conducted are available outside the mainstream media. The ability of the people who are not plugged into the mainstream media system to do quality work means that the system will inevitably fail.



Captain Eric May

Is it possible that the U.S. military used a neutron bomb against the Iraqi troops during the battle for the airport? Because the airport came under U.S. control, the world may never know. Some actions should have raised further questions. Shortly after the battle ended, many trucks laden with soil came to the scene and replaced dirt that had been dug up by the U.S. military in the airport. Then, the airport was off limits and did not open for nine months.

Reports did come out of Baghdad that there may have been an extraordinary event that quickly ended a fierce battle. According to Steven Salinsky in an article named "Arab and Muslim Jihad fighters in Iraq," published by the Middle East Media Research Institute on July 27, 2003:

A Yemeni volunteer said: "I was attached to a group of Arab volunteers in a residential neighborhood in western Baghdad a few days before its fall. When the American forces entered Saddam Airport, we were transferred willingly near there and found Iraqi forces belonging to the Republican Guard and infantry forces, which perhaps belonged to the Fedayeen, fighting ferocious battles several hundred meters from our position.

"The Iraqis fought fiercely in the battle at the airport, and the Americans moved under an aerial umbrella of fighter planes, helicopters and heavy bombing with missiles and giant bombs. It was a sight from hell, and hundreds of Iraqis and Arab volunteers were martyred.

In an article called "Iraq's Secrets Are Tumbling Out," published in the May 7, 2004 edition of the *Indian Press*, Saeed Naqvi wrote

A few days earlier, the colorful minister for information, Mohammed Sahaff, had threatened a "unique way" in which U.S. troops around Baghdad Airport would be "handled." Two floors of the passenger areas were under American control. But Iraqis were still in occupation of VIP and service buildings. This is where the control valves were for water supply to the main passenger area where the Americans were. At night, petrol was pumped into the first floor. The ground floor of the passenger terminal was flooded with water. An 11 KV current passed through

the water. The first floor was then set on fire causing the U.S. soldiers to rush downstairs — to be electrocuted. Heaven knows how many were killed.

To flush out the Iraqis from the remaining airport buildings, a neutron bomb was allegedly used. This enhanced radiation bomb spares buildings but reduces humans to ash. Iraqi Republican Guards, witness to this macabre display, informed the Ba'athist military leadership about the lengths to which the U.S. could go ... Was this the reason why Baghdad Airport remained closed until nine months after the fall of Saddam Hussein's statue on April 9, 2003?

On February 6, 2004, www.indybay.org ran an article by David Martinez titled, "Rumors and Rifles." According to Martinez:

The first concerns the battle for the Baghdad airport. As you will remember, it was a fierce and bloody conflict, and at the end the Americans prevailed. But exactly HOW they won is being much speculated upon.

People say that there was a very loud explosion heard, and then after that, all resistance ceased. Then, eyewitnesses say, trucks were seen removing loads and loads of topsoil, as if it had been contaminated. And the families of the slain have asked for their relatives' remains, to no avail. A British journalist told me he has seen photos of the corpses, and they are something akin to melted.

So, people think that the Americans used a small neutron bomb, a device that killed humans, but left buildings intact. It allowed the military to kill people without damaging real estate. A lot of folks here think that one of these was dusted off and used to wipe out the Iraqi fighters at the airport.

The media of various countries, such as Russia, India and some Arab nations, as well as journalists of the alternative sector, covered this story, but, no Western mainstream media approached the subject. Most of the

reporting of the possible use of a neutron bomb by the U.S. against the defenders of the airport ceased about a year after the incident.

All that changed in April 2007. Someone close to the battle came forth and made the same allegations of those who had written about the use of a neutron bomb. Saifeddin Hassan Taha al-Rawi, the former commander of Iraq's Republican Guard, was interviewed by Al-Jazeera News about the battle. Only al-Rawi's back was visible in the interview and his face was covered because he is still on the run from the U.S. military. He is on the infamous set of playing cards the U.S. devised in 2003 as the Jack of Clubs. There is a one million dollar price tag on him.

According to an Al-Jazeera article of April 9, 2007, called "U.S. Accused of Using Neutron Bombs:"

Al-Rawi told Al-Jazeera that U.S. forces used neutron and phosphorus bombs during their assault on Baghdad Airport before the April 9 capture of the Iraqi capital.

"The enemy used neutron and phosphorus weapons against Baghdad Airport. There were bodies burnt to their bones," he said. "The bombs annihilated soldiers but left the buildings and infrastructure at the airport intact," he added

Various sources, from those who fought in the battle to citizens in neighborhoods close to the airport, described a common scenario of fierce fighting, a huge noise accompanied by a massive flash, and an almost instant end to the fighting. Al-Rawi mentioned two weapons: a neutron bomb and a phosphorus bomb. The results of both fit the description of the melted bodies seen at the airport. In Fallujah, the U.S. used phosphorus bombs against the civilian population. At first, the allegations were denied, but, once pictures began to emerge from Fallujah showing melted Iraqi bodies, the U.S. administration admitted the use of phosphorus weapons, albeit the confession said they were only used to light up the battlefield.

We may never know the truth about the battle for Baghdad Airport because no Iraqis with cameras took pictures of the bodies of the dead. But, in Fallujah, pictures were taken and distributed so the world could see the melted corpses.

There is another possibility: fuel-air bombs, sometimes called fuel-air explosives (FAE). A common description of these weapons is "an atomic blast without the radiation." This is not technically true, but the results

resemble such an impact.

After Desert Storm, many Iraqi bodies were found that either were melted or incinerated to a pile of ashes. They were the recipients of fuel-air explosives. International rules of war state they can only be used to clear an area of the battlefield, such as a mine field, but not against personnel.

Despite the lethality of FAE, the public knows little about the weapon. Most people have heard of a neutron bomb or a phosphorus bomb, yet FAE, which are just as lethal, if not more so, remain unknown.

On March 12, 2002, the *Weekly Standard* published an article written by Victorino Matus called "Sucking the Oxygen Out of a Cave." Matus explained:

Here's how your average fuel-air bomb works: A warhead containing a canister of aerosol liquid such as ethylene oxide or an explosive powder is dropped on a target. "A small initial explosive charge bursts this canister at a predetermined height, allowing the contents to form a concentrated explosive vapor-cloud. This cloud is then ignited by a second larger charge, to generate an intense fireball and blast overpressure ... Even if the FAE fails to detonate completely, it will generate a widespread burning effect," says *Jane's (Defence Weekly)*. "The temperature can be as high as 3,000 degrees Celsius — more than twice that generated by a conventional explosive. The blast wave can travel at approximately 10,000 feet per second."

Here is how the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) describes the effect of an FAE:

The (blast) kill mechanism against living targets is unique and unpleasant ... What kills is the pressure wave, and more importantly, the subsequent rarefaction (vacuum), which ruptures the lungs. If the fuel deflagrates but does not detonate, victims will be severely burned and will probably also inhale the burning fuel. Since the most common FAE fuels, ethylene oxide and propylene oxide, are highly toxic, undetonated FAE should prove as lethal to personnel caught within the cloud.

We probably will never discover what the U.S. used against the Iraqi military in the battle for the airport. The effects of a neutron bomb and FAE are similar: instant death and melted bodies. Both produce a huge fireball, as described by witnesses, and a deafening sound.

Those who consider that the neutron bomb was the weapon of choice point out a factor that may sway the argument toward the atomic projectile. After the battle ceased, surrounding neighborhoods were measured for radiation levels. Those nearest the airport displayed elevated magnitudes of radiation. The levels decreased proportionately when checked in areas farther from the airport.

The thousands of tons of spent uranium in Iraq will poison the environment for millennia. Many groups have inspected the areas in which depleted uranium was used. It is no longer speculation, but fact.

The use of a neutron bomb is still open to debate, but many common statements by observers point in that direction. Either way, Iraq has been inundated with nuclear material from U.S. and British military actions. Both used nuclear weapons against Iraq.



Estimates Based on Estimates

The number of deaths attributed to Saddam Hussein by the West is incomprehensible. If you add them up, it seems he killed more people than the number who inhabit Iraq. Staggering numbers and wild tales abounded through the government-controlled media: 182,000 during the Anfal campaign; 5,000 in Halabjah; and hundreds of thousands in the south of Iraq.

In November 2003, the U.S. and U.K. governments announced that more than 400,000 bodies had been discovered in mass graves in Iraq. Finally, proof of Saddam Hussein being the “Butcher of Baghdad” was there for the whole world to see.

A few months after the disclosure of the finding of almost a half million bodies, something occurred that drastically altered the story. On July 18, 2004, the headline of the day for the British newspaper *The Independent*, read, “British Prime Minister Admits Graves Claim Untrue.” According to the article:

Downing Street has admitted to *The Observer* that repeated claims by Tony Blair that “about 400,000 bodies have been found in Iraqi mass graves” is untrue, and only about 5,000 corpses have so far been uncovered

The claims by Blair in November and December of last year (2003) were given widespread credence, quoted by MPs and widely published, including in the introduction to a U.S. government pamphlet on Iraq’s mass graves.

In that publication, *Iraq’s Legacy of Terror, Mass Graves*, produced by USAID, the U.S. government aid distribution agency, Blair is quoted from 20 November last year: “We’ve already discovered, just so far, the remains of 400,000 people in mass graves.”

At the time of the publishing of this book, the 400,000 figure is still included in the USAID website, along with many other absurdities. The website added:

If these numbers prove accurate, they represent a crime against humanity surpassed only by the Rwandan

genocide of 1994, Pol Pot's Cambodian killing fields in the 1970s, and the Nazi Holocaust of World War II.

The same July 18, 2004 article from *The Independent* delved into the allegations of elevated figures attributed to Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath regime in the north of the country. For instance, it mentioned that Human Rights Watch (HRW) admitted it had to drastically decrease its figures of deaths and could not give an accurate figure.

Not one person from the "human rights groups," who used preposterous numbers of dead and gave details of the killings, went to Iraq to corroborate the figures. HRW and other organizations took hearsay figures and passed them on as accurate. Hania Mufti, who performed research that produced the original inflated figures of deaths in the north of Iraq, stated: "Our estimates were based on estimates. The eventual figure was based in part on circumstantial information gathered over the years."

When it came to the Iraqi government, no falsity was considered too outrageous. Just say "Saddam did it" and affix any preposterous scenario and throw in undocumented numbers and it would be taken as truth. The blood of millions of Iraqis lies on the hands of these bogus groups and people who have tried to outdo themselves in demonizing Saddam Hussein, the Ba'ath Party and the Iraqi public.

The list is long: Human Rights Watch; Amnesty International; all the foreign-domiciled Iraqi stooges who came back to Iraq after April 2003; with the exception of a few individuals, the entire U.S. government (Democrat and Republican alike); Tony Blair; the U.S. mainstream media; and many more were partners in the mass murder of millions of Iraqis.

The date of July 18, 2004 should be heralded as much as other dates in world history. It was the date on which the truth about Iraqi mass graves was published. Silence permeated the U.S. press.

The Western media hailed the capture of Saddam Hussein in December 2003. At last, he would be brought to justice for the killing of hundreds of thousands of his countrypeople. An Iraqi stooge court was set up for the trial.

When Saddam finally came to trial, there was no mention of the numerous atrocities which people thought would be the pivotal points. He was on trial for signing the death sentences for 148 people from the town of Dujail. In 1982, an assassination attempt was made against Saddam in Dujail and some of the perpetrators fled to Iran, a country with which Iraq was at war. Some elements of Iraqi society, primarily southern fundamentalist Shi'ites and Kurdish paramilitary groups, fought on the side of

Iran during the eight-year conflict.

After a three-year trial, 148 Iraqis were condemned to death for supporting the enemy and attempting to assassinate Iraq's president. Saddam Hussein signed the death warrants after the trials. His actions were similar to those of a U.S. governor who signs a death penalty warrant for prisoners condemned to death within his/her state. In fact, George Bush signed 151 such documents when he was governor of Texas. But, Saddam's signing of the final judgements placed him in a bogus trial for his life.

If we look at the existing 5,000 bodies mentioned by Tony Blair, most, if not all were males of military age. Further tests have shown that many in the south were killed by U.S. bombs in the bombing of Iraq in 1991. Add to that the possibility of some bodies being from the Iraqi army that fought the 1991 Shi'ite attempt at overthrowing the Iraqi government and we see that the number of innocent civilians killed by Saddam's troops has decreased dramatically from 400,000.

Forensic tests on bodies in the north of Iraq indicated that most were killed in the 1990s. During that time, Baghdad had no control over the north because the U.S. had isolated it from the rest of Iraq. In the 1990s, two Kurdish factions fought each other in an internal war that killed many. Scientific testing, not hearsay or sloppy journalism, indicated that the vast majority of the 5,000 bodies had nothing to do with an orchestrated campaign by Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party.

If he was responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands, why was he being tried for performing a normal function for the execution of a paltry 148 people? Where was the cry, "He gasses his own people?" Where was the cry for having killed tens of thousands of Shi'ites in the 1991 insurrection in the south of Iraq? The answer is quite simple: even though the court was bogus, it would not be able to prove any of the cases of Saddam Hussein's alleged actions of genocide.

After his trial for the signing of the death warrants of 148 convicted prisoners in Dujail, Saddam Hussein was again put on trial, this time for the 182,000 deaths of Kurds during the Anfal Campaign of 1988. The pundits thought that finally he would be held responsible and the whole world would be given gory details and photos. None of this happened.

The sham court had already announced that if it received a guilty verdict against Saddam for the Dujail case, it would execute him and carry on his trial for Anfal atrocities in absentia.

When the Anfal trial began, instead of seeing a multitude of witnesses and forensic specialists, we only saw a few people come forth with anecdotal tales of rumors they heard from other areas. A few witnesses, mostly

under cover of anonymity, said they heard of someone in another town who had been gassed. No names. No dates. No proof.

On November 5, 2006, Saddam was sentenced to death by hanging for the signing of the death warrants of 148 people. On December 3, 2006, Saddam's lawyers appealed the ruling. They had not been given a copy of the verdict until the deadline for an appeal was looming. The appeals court ruled on December 26, 2006, that Saddam must hang within 30 days. Four days later, at 6:00 a.m., he was hanged.

What happened to the "trial of the century" against Saddam Hussein for genocide? The court dismissed the case. It is evident that there was no case to begin with. (For more information on the illegalities of Saddam Hussein's trial, see "Saddam Hussein: Symbol of Stand Against American Aggression" by Curtis Doebbler, one of Saddam's lawyers [written after Saddam's death] at the end of this section; Appendix X, an interview with Doebbler [2005]; and Appendix XI, the United Nations Report on the Legitimacy of Saddam Hussein's Trial, September 26, 2006).

Outsiders were curious why Saddam Hussein was never tried for the Anfal campaign or for the gassing of Kurds at Halabjah, his two most widely-publicized ghastly actions. The answer is because there were no cases. Human Rights Watch was not punished for perpetrating one of the biggest lies in history. It still serves the purpose of denigrating regimes to which the U.S. government is hostile. Because of the demonizing of Saddam Hussein, more than three million Iraqis since January 17, 1991, were killed, yet nobody has been put on trial or held responsible for these murders.

Hell No, This Is Iraq

When the former Taliban government of Afghanistan blew up two ancient Buddhist statues (The Buddhas of Bamyan) in 2001, the world was in an uproar. The statues, built in the sixth century, were pieces of antiquity that never will be replaced. The U.S. media reported extensively on the senseless actions of the Taliban government. Even the U.S. public was aware of the actions and many people stated their disgust.

The voices of those who protested the destruction of the statues are mute today when it comes to the antiquities of Iraq, especially the U.S. voices that were the loudest opponents of destroying the Buddhas of Bamyan.

Iraq is undergoing tragic destruction of its history. Sometimes it is with statues and architecture from ancient eras, but 20th century monuments have been eliminated as well.

The U.S. wrecked myriad items of antiquity because of its heavy-handed military operations. Many of those that evaded U.S. destruction were ruined by the quisling Iraqi authorities, all the time with no opposition from their Washington masters.

On October 19, 2005, the statue of Baghdad's founder, Jaafar al Mansour was destroyed. It was not a piece of antiquity. The symbol was a rallying point for all Iraqis, regardless of political views. On November 3, 2005, Mohammed Alawsy of *Knight Ridder* wrote an article titled "Destruction of Beloved Baghdad Statue Emblematic of Violence's Toll." He stated:

The bronze bust of Jaafar al Mansour, who founded Baghdad in the eighth century, stood in the center of a traffic circle in northwestern Baghdad and was used by nearly everyone as a reference point: "near the statue," "a kilometer past the statue." It was a symbol of the city, without politics or sectarianism.

"Ours is a country of many centuries of civilization," said Baghdad historian Salem al Alousy, 68. "I feel very sad about this. How will we explain to our children that we've ruined this country, that we've destroyed all of our heritage?"

Rumors abound that the statue will be replaced by a bust of Ayatollah Sistani. As of the writing of this book, some reports have stated that a new statue of Sistani is being constructed, while others say it is in the planning stage.

The well-known crossed-swords monument, Hands of Victory, is in the process of being destroyed in Baghdad. The monument was erected to honor those Iraqis who fought in the Iran-Iraq War. This, like the al Mansour statue, was not a sectarian symbol. Many Shi'ites, Sunnis, Kurds, and other portions of the Iraqi population, fought bravely against Iran, despite their backgrounds or political views. The Hands of Victory were meant to symbolize Iraq and Iraqis, not one particular group over another.

The Hands of Victory monument was not exclusively a war memorial. Adjacent to the monument was an area that included a beautiful park in which Iraqi families visited and held picnics while enjoying nature. The boulevard under the arches had speed bumps imbedded so vehicles could not drive on it. Many Iraqis visited the area daily for a peaceful outing.

The Hands of Victory were in the Green Zone of Baghdad and, once

the U.S. established a fortress there, Iraqis were no longer allowed to visit the memorial or the park

In 2005, the U.S. military removed the speed bumps and began to use the road for testing Humvees. In July 2005, the *San Diego Union-Tribune* ran an article in its automotive section called "War Utility Vehicle." The report was basically a technical look at the vehicles, but, the picture with the article showed Humvees under the Hands of Victory. It went on to state that the road was being used to test the 0-60 acceleration of vehicles.

Even during the Nazi occupation of France, the Germans never took away areas of French pride. The Arc de Triomphe was not considered out of bounds for French citizens. The U.S. denied Iraqis yet another part of their culture.

In February 2007, Iraqi officials organized the Committee for Removing Symbols of the Saddam Era. Quickly, it was determined that the Hands of Victory monument would be at the top of the list of items to be destroyed.

Once again, the mainstream media were remiss in reporting the imminent destruction of the Hands of Victory. *Newsweek's* headline for the demolition stated: "Iraq Dismantles Saddam's Big Monument." Firstly, "Iraq" will not tear it down. Iraqi officials inside the Green Zone gave the orders, with the approval of the U.S. Secondly, it was not Saddam's monument. It was Iraq's and was built by many Iraqis. According to the headline, Saddam Hussein either built the monument himself, or bought it, and the Iraqi people will tear it down.

On February 20, 2007, the dismantling began. Pieces of 10-foot chunks had been cut out of the monument. On February 21, 2007, work was halted. An edict to block further demolition came from an unlikely source: U.S. Ambassador Zalmay Khalizad. No official statement came for the reason he stepped in, but it was not an act of benevolence. Speculation at the time consisted of a U.S. concern that the destruction of the Hands of Victory may further enhance violence in Baghdad. Another reason given was that the U.S. did not want to suffer another public relations defeat because of the possibility that U.S. soldiers would loot the site. Images of them performing these acts would enrage Iraqi citizens even more and cause negative effects worldwide. The demolition was postponed on February 24, 2007. However, this is not a permanent reprieve for the monument. It is only a postponement that may, in the future, be negated.

The archaeological condition in Iraq is in shambles. All the qualified and experienced people have been removed by the Maliki government and have been replaced by fundamentalist Shi'ites who have no knowledge of

archaeology. They openly stated that only post-Islamic archaeology is acceptable. In other words, more than 5,000 years of Iraqi antiquity will be allowed to disappear. Most, if not all, foreign archaeologists have been forbidden from entering Iraq by the Maliki regime. Iraq's entire archaeology program is in the hands of people who will destroy, or allow to be destroyed, the grand history of Iraq before Islam became the dominant religion.

Under the Ba'ath regime, archaeologists from many countries visited and worked in Iraq. The nation's glorious 5,000-or-so-year past was crucial in the regime's eyes for portraying the country where much of today's scientific and cultural knowledge originated.

Maliki stated that he wants to rid Iraq of anything that commemorates Saddam Hussein. He wants to erase Saddam from Iraqi history, however, the items of antiquity under siege in Iraq are not remnants of Ba'ath Socialism or Saddam Hussein. They are Iraqi.

The true intentions of Maliki were evident: he wanted to erase the concept of an Iraqi citizen and replace it with a sectarian designation. Maliki was so proud of his Iraqi heritage that he fled the country and lived outside for decades. His first allegiance was always to Iran, not Iraq.

The U.S. re-wrote all of Iraq's history. New books to replace those in the schools prior to the March 2003 invasion were written in Washington, D.C., not Baghdad. The books in Iraq schools (those still open) do not mention the Ba'ath Party, the Iran-Iraq War, the first Gulf War, the deadly 12-year embargo, or the March 2003 invasion. The books stop history in the 1950s and resume in 2003. There is no mention of the thousands of foreign troops stationed there.

When one says a country has been destroyed, he/she usually is speaking of the infrastructure of a nation. In Iraq's case, more than 5,000 years of history have been demolished as well. The infrastructure can be rebuilt, but the damage done by wiping the history of a country off the Earth can not.

After the 1991 cease-fire was signed, the U.S. military still had some maintenance work to perform. According to international law, a country must clear the attacked nation of the weapons it left behind. During a cleanup operation in southern Iraq, an explosive ordnance disposal expert told a reporter from the *Los Angeles Times*: "There's so much stuff around here that if it's not directly interfering with operations, we're just going to leave it. Hell, this is Iraq."

The same callous attitude about Iraq was inherited by the Iraqi officials appointed by the U.S. The difference is that they were supposed to be

rebuilding Iraq, not destroying it.

The denigration of Iraq by U.S. forces and the U.S.-imposed government was not exclusively aimed at statues, memorials or archaeological sites. Iraqi citizens were treated in vile ways that make it seem incomprehensible that human beings could have carried out such atrocities.

When the public first saw pictures of the torture of Iraqis at Abu Ghraib prison, a sense of incredulity arose. There were naked prisoners stacked on top of each other. Then, there was the infamous photo of a female U.S. soldier walking a collared prisoner on a leash.

Within a few days, horror stories emerged of Iraqis forced to eat their own feces or being tied up with electrical wire. Trained dogs were commanded to act ferociously, all the time scaring the Iraqis to the point of panic. The list of atrocities is long and diabolical.

Soon after, the denials came. Many U.S. talk-show hosts assessed that these were merely actions similar to college hazing in the U.S. Then, they went even further claiming the U.S. jailers were the victims.

Much publicity was given to the few trials against the U.S. perpetrators of these actions. There were several minimal sentences handed down, but no one was ever accused of or tried for advocating these methods. The orders came from the top of the U.S. military command, yet only a few people at the bottom were charged. The methods of torture are varied and comprehensive. (See Appendix VII for transcripts of Iraqis who were incarcerated at Abu Ghraib.)

The people at the bottom of the chain of command committed barbaric acts, but the people at the top were the main apologists. In July 2006, after a campaign by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a report, written in the autumn of 2004 by Brigadier General Richard Formica, was made public. The report was heavily censored, but still some outrageous information was included. Formica investigated accusations of abuse of three Iraqis in early 2004. According to Simon Assaf, in an article published by the *Socialist Worker* (Torture of Iraqi Prisoners Self-Inflicted Says U.S. Army General) on June 27, 2006:

One of the victims died under torture, and all references to him are blacked out. Two other prisoners made detailed claims of their maltreatment. The detainees Formica interviewed had injuries that confirmed their allegations of torture.

They accused interrogators of stripping them naked, chain-

ing them to the floor, playing loud music, and sexually abusing them. One detainee backs up his claims with medical reports that detail a fissure in his rectum caused by a “welded metal object,” cigarette burns to his hands and legs, and a dog bite to his shoulder.

The results of Formica’s investigation are flabbergasting:

- Formica assessed that the prisoners who were stripped naked were not abused because the U.S. troops only wanted “to wash their clothes.”
- He accused the prisoner who was bitten by a dog of lying because the canine “was a pet and a distraction for team members.”
- According to Formica, blindfolded detainees were “hitting their heads against the walls” to discredit the U.S. Army.
- Constant loud music, shouting and banging on cell doors with metal poles was merely to stop detainees talking to each other and “revealing tactical information.”
- Chaining prisoners to the floor of a four-feet by four-feet cell was acceptable “to prevent escape.”
- Formica dismissed allegations that prisoners fed on bread and water for 17 days were treated badly. He said, “I found them in apparently good health.”
- He claimed that a prisoner who was bound, hooded and “transported in the trunk of a car” was not abused. Formica concluded this was done for “his protection as there was a dangerous security situation at that time.”

These statements were made in total seriousness. The travesty is the acceptance of the U.S. public and politicians of such a preposterous report.

On November 19, 2005, a U.S. Marine was killed by a roadside bomb in Haditha. Following the attack, some Marines took matters into their own hands and went on a killing spree, murdering 24 civilians, including 11 women and children. Five men were removed from a taxi cab, handcuffed and then shot to death. The remaining 19 were killed in houses.

At first, the incident was reported as a confrontation with Iraqi resistance fighters in which civilians were killed in the crossfire. Then, photographs taken by a Marine showed this was impossible. The story changed to state that the Marines thought those in the houses were insurgents and they killed them with hand grenades and gunfire. This theory was negated by the bodies of the dead that showed they were shot at close range.



Kids standing next to mortar round left by U.S. military



One of the hundreds of thousands of Iraqis classified as “collateral damage”

At first, those killed in the taxi cab incident were accused of trying to run away when told to stop. Further investigation showed they were handcuffed and were not trying to flee.

In 2007, a trial at Camp Pendelton in California began to determine the guilt of some of the Marine shooters. Sgt. Sanick Dela Cruz, who took part in the bloody massacre, was granted immunity for his testimony as a prosecution witness. According to a Reuters report, “Marine Says He Urinated on Dead Iraqi at Haditha,” published on May 10, 2007:

In dramatic testimony in a pretrial hearing for one of the seven Marines charged with the November 2005 Haditha killings and alleged cover-ups, Dela Cruz described his bitterness after a roadside bomb ripped Lance Corporal Miguel Terrazas, known as T.J., into bloody pieces.

“I know it was a bad thing what I’ve done, but I done it because I was angry. T.J. was dead and I pissed on one of the Iraqi’s head,” said an unemotional Dela Cruz in a military courtroom in Camp Pendelton, north of San Diego, California.



Top: Sewage lakes are common in Iraq.

Bottom: Iraqis are reminded that they are slaves under occupation.



Dela Cruz also said he watched squad leader Sgt. Frank Wuterich shoot five men whose hands were tied up near a car. Dela Cruz said he also shot the five men as they lay on the ground.

Dela Cruz' use of urine as a weapon was not the first time Iraqis have been subjected to such actions. Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib were forced to drink their own urine as well as eat their feces.

The obsession of urolagnia and coprophilia seems to run deep with U.S. military personnel. Spec. Charles A. Graner, the well-publicized prison guard at Abu Ghraib who was seen in photos abusing Iraqi detainees, told a superior, "The Christian in me said it was wrong, but the corrections officer in me says, 'I love to see a grown man piss himself.'"

There are many more instances of U.S. soldiers urinating and defecating in Iraq to denigrate the citizens. The Shahid monument in Baghdad is a memorial to fallen Iraqi soldiers. Today, if one enters and descends the stairs to the area that commemorates the war dead, there is an overwhelming stench of urine. U.S. soldiers "christened" the memorial when they first entered it and it has become a ritual for them to climb down the stairs and relieve themselves. When the U.S. Marines first entered the UN offices in Baghdad in 2003, they discovered that the 82nd Airborne had preceded them. Desks and chairs were adorned with human feces.

Many of the U.S. military personnel who urinated or left their feces on Iraqi bodies and furniture would have been chastised by their parents a few years prior for using the words "shit" or "piss" in conversation. That would have been in bad taste. But, actually performing the acts these words designate on human beings or furniture is acceptable.

Women and Gays Don't Count

One of George Bush's stated reasons for attacking Iraq was to improve the plight of Iraqi females. If you check various news clippings from May and June of 2003, you will see staged photos of Iraqi women hailing the arrival of U.S. troops. Saddam was gone and they could be free.

This scenario was far from the truth. Since the March 2003 invasion, the lives of most Iraqi females have gone in a constant downward spiral.

In 2006, headlines such as "Iraqi Women Better Off Under Saddam" began appearing in the mainstream press. It took three years for the media to awaken to this fact, despite lesser-known publications bringing up the

subject two years prior.

On April 19, 2006, an article titled “United States Is No Help To Iraqi Women” appeared in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. It began:

A new poll of leaders of Iraqi women’s-rights groups finds that women were treated better and their civil rights were more secure under deposed President Saddam Hussein than under the faltering and increasingly sectarian U.S.-installed government.

This is doubly troubling. It’s troubling because the Bush administration used the issue of women to justify its now widely criticized invasion of Iraq in part by promising to improve the situation of women.

It’s troubling second because the administration has issued news releases, held public meetings and tried to gain media attention (as well as U.S. public support) for all the “good” it’s supposedly doing the women of Iraq via this invasion.

It appears that women were hit along all lines: employment, importance in the public sector, and their wishes to dress how they desire. Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), a UN news agency, reported in April 2006:

... women’s basic rights under the Hussein regime were guaranteed in the constitution and more importantly respected, with women often occupying important government positions. Now, although their rights are still enshrined in the national constitution, activists complain that, in practice, they have lost almost all of their rights.

The report added that more men are ordering women to “take the veil” (wear coverings from head to toe) and fewer women are working in professional jobs than when Saddam was in power. In other words, all the attempts the Bush administration put forward (scripted events and staged photos) to make it appear that Iraqi women were experiencing their finest and most liberating hour, were phony.

During the Ba’athist years, Iraqi women dressed in styles as diverse as



Top: Saddam Hussein visits his schoolteacher wife's class. The clothing styles exhibited by his wife and the students are no longer appropriate in Iraq.

Bottom: Saddam Hussein at an Iraqi school. Female Iraqis were equal to males whether they were teachers or students.



those in the West. If a woman wanted to take the veil she could, but no woman was ordered to perform such a ritual. Iraqi women frequently speak of the “old days” when they were allowed freedom to choose their wardrobes. At the University of Baghdad, prior to the March 2003 invasion, t-shirts and jeans were common. Today’s Iraq is totally different. There have been many horror stories of women not being able to leave their houses without two male family members, or women being beaten because of their choices of clothing. Many times, these atrocities are committed by Iraqi government security or police personnel.

In addition to the regression of the role of the female in Iraqi society at the behest of a few fundamentalist U.S.-appointed stooge politicians, many Iraqi women have been humiliated and even raped by U.S. troops. There have been numerous published reports concerning these abhorrent actions. Iraqi women are doubly-damned: with the fall of a government that held them in high esteem, they must endure social mores against their own beliefs; and add to that the ever-visible presence of the foreign military personnel who forced the old government from power.

Gay and lesbian Iraqis are undergoing a brutal and deadly period in Iraq. On April 17, 2006, *BBC News* published an article called “Gays in Iraqi Fear for Their Lives,” written by Michael McDonough. According to the report:

“I don’t want to be gay anymore. When I go out to buy bread, I’m afraid. When the doorbell rings, I think that they have come for me.”

That is the fear that haunts Hussein, and other gay men in Iraq.

They say that since the U.S.-led invasion, gays are being killed because of their sexual orientation. They blame the increase in violence on the growing influence of religious figures and militia groups in Iraq since Saddam Hussein was ousted.

Islam considers homosexuality a sin. A website published in the name of Ayatollah Sistani, Iraq’s most revered Shia cleric, says gays should be put to death.

“Those who commit sodomy must be killed in the harsh-

est way,” says a section of the website dealing with questions of morality.

Grand Ayatollah Sistani, the Moslem icon who speaks pidgin Arabic, holds much power in Iraq. The U.S. administration often praises him as a man of integrity, all the time using him to make proclamations that favor the U.S. agenda. When Ibrahim Jafari was appointed Iraq’s prime minister by the U.S., he was acceptable, but once he outlived his usefulness, the U.S. administration persuaded Sistani to help get rid of Jafari.

Sistani issued a death-to-gays fatwa in October 2005 that said homosexuality is “forbidden” and called for the killing of gays in the most severe manner. A fatwa is a legal pronouncement made by a qualified Islamic scholar. Six months after Sistani’s issuing of the fatwa, the Bush administration called him a great man who possesses much wisdom and courage.

In April 2006, an Iraqi gay person, Ali Hili, who fled to Britain, was interviewed by Amy Goodman of “Democracy Now,” the probing radio program of WBAI-FM in New York. When Goodman asked Hili, “What was your experience in Iraq, and why have you gone into exile?” he replied:

Iraq, at the time of Saddam, was — I mean, I’m talking about as a gay Iraqi — it was not as bad as we can see now. In fact, it was a little bit — we have a little bit acceptance. Not too much intimidation. People were really accepting gays, especially in theater, in entertainment and media. We had several actors, singers, which were very popular before. There was no homophobic attitudes toward gays and lesbians. Most of them were welcome in the community and the society.

In January 2007, the United Nations Assistance Mission to Iraq (UNMI) issued a report on the plight of gay and lesbian Iraqis. It claimed “sexual cleansing” was occurring, perpetrated by Shi’ite death squads and Islamist courts.

The government of Iraq was very hostile toward the UN report. According to an Iraqi government spokesperson, Mr. al-Dabbagh:

There was information in the report that we cannot accept here in Iraq. The report, for example, spoke about the phenomenon of homosexuality and giving them their

rights. Such statements are not suitable to the Iraqi society. This is rejected. They (the UN) should respect the values and traditions here in Iraq.

Killing homosexuals was never on the Iraqi agenda prior to March 2003. These activities began with the actions of the imported Iran-supporting Iraqi expatriates whom the U.S. flew into Baghdad in April 2003.

There has been no outcry from the U.S. government about this genocide occurring under its watch in Iraq. In fact, it may appear to some that the U.S. administration indeed supports the deeds of the Iraqi death squads. In a March 24, 2006 article by Doug Ireland, "Shia Death Squads Target Iraqi Gays — U.S. Indifferent," the writer stated:

Following a death-to-gays fatwa issued last October by Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, death squads of the Badr Corps have been systematically targeting Iraqis for persecution and execution, gay Iraqis say. But when they ask for help and protection from U.S. occupying authorities in the "Green Zone," gay Iraqis are met with indifference and derision.

With such a horrendous program being conducted, the first groups to get involved with justice should be human rights organizations, but many these groups are mainly in business for self-promotion. For instance, Amnesty International (AI) was asked about the plight of Iraqi gays in 2006 and said that it had never heard about the plans of Sistani. By 2006, many journalists (mostly non-U.S.) had written about Sistani's statements about gays and lesbians, yet AI, who is supposed to be on top of human rights abuses worldwide, was unaware of the sexual-orientation cleansing of Iraq. AI perpetuates the myth that it is involved with the exposure of human rights violations around the world.

AI fails to recognize human rights violations if they are not on the group's agenda, while, at the same time, fabricating stories of human rights atrocities. This group announced in October 1990 that Iraqi soldiers had killed babies in a Kuwaiti hospital and sent their incubators to Baghdad. The proclamation was made without one eyewitness. AI thrived on anti-Saddam Hussein rumors and this one was the juiciest of all. This lie was powerful and it demonized the Iraqi government more than any other incident, leading the world to believe the Iraqis were nothing more than savages.

After the cessation of hostilities in Desert Storm, reports came out that proved AI had lied about Kuwaiti babies being killed by Iraqi forces. When the truth emerged, the head of AI did not even apologize. He did admit that his group was wrong but stated the George Bush would have gone to war even if the baby incubator story was not published.

Amnesty International is one of those groups that has an untouchable aura. If AI says so, it must be true. The truth differs. Instead of being the protector of human rights, the group may in fact be a convenient purveyor of U.S. imperialistic designs.

In *Covert Action Quarterly* issue 73, Summer 2002, Francis Boyle gave a picture of AI that contradicted that of the do-good, selfless public image the organization possesses.

Boyle was a member of the board of directors of Amnesty International USA from 1988 to 1992. Along the way, he found discrepancies between the group's image and its reality. In fact, he questioned the AI report of the Kuwaiti incubators. According to Boyle:

Absolutely nothing happened. There was never an investigation, there was total stonewalling coming out of London. They refused to even admit they did anything wrong. There has never been an explanation, there has never been an apology. It's down the memory hole like 1984 and Orwell.

My conclusion was that a high-level official of Amnesty International at that time, whom I will not name, was a British intelligence agent. Moreover, my fellow board member, who also investigated this independently of me, reached the same exact conclusion. So certainly when I am dealing with people who want to work with Amnesty in London, I just tell them, "Look, just understand, they're penetrated by intelligence agents, U.K., maybe U.S. I don't know, but you certainly can't trust them."

Boyle did not give a grand assessment of the leadership of AI. He explained:

They don't care. They're completely and totally arrogant. "We are Amnesty International. We are the world's largest and most powerful human rights organization. We won

the Nobel Peace Prize for our work. So we do whatever we want.”

And again, if you don’t believe me, go search the Lexis-Nexis database and see if there has ever been an apology by Amnesty International for the Kuwaiti dead babies report.

Many people think that AI may make the occasional error in judgement, but the organization is based on good deeds and the overwhelming desire to see the world rid of human rights violations. This is an illusion. According to Boyle:

Amnesty International is primarily motivated not by human rights, but by publicity. Second comes money. Third comes getting more members. Fourth, internal turf battles. And then finally human rights. To be sure, if you are dealing with a human rights situation in a country that is at odds with the United States or Britain, it gets an awful lot of attention, resources, man and womanpower, publicity, you name it, they can throw whatever they want at it. But if it’s dealing with violations of human rights by the United States, Britain, Israel, then it’s like pulling teeth to get them to do something on the situation.

Why are there no human rights groups with clout willing to take on the plight of Iraqi homosexuals? For the same reason as the unwillingness of human rights groups to stand up for female Iraqis: it is not in their political interests to admit to the world that women and gays were not persecuted under the government of Saddam Hussein.

The people of Iraq are undergoing dire purges. These actions are not secret. No one can say that there was no indication these atrocities were occurring. Professors, doctors, scientists, teachers, engineers, gays, women, and other groups have been persecuted, and many times killed, by the thousands in Iraq since April 2003. However, the policies of the quisling Iraqi government, as well as those of the U.S. administration, openly led to the murdering and torturing of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. All the time, the U.S. administration publicly stated that the efforts of Iraqi officials were honorable. Much of the U.S. public cheered them on, yet few knew of the reality.

When the depth of this tragedy is finally publicized and given the proper context, it will be years after the fact. Today's Jewish population has a saying about these kinds of atrocities: "never again." It is already "again," yet they silently watch and approve. The Arab leaders are silent. They have been bought and paid for. Countries that normally would be vocal are silent because of economic reasons. "Never again" are hollow words.

Saddam Hussein's Greatest Legacy: December 2003 to December 2006

Saddam Hussein was Iraq's leader from 1973 (officially becoming Iraq's president in 1979) to April 2003. His legacy is two-fold. On the one hand, he and the Ba'ath Party were the impetus behind turning Iraq from an Arab nation indistinguishable from its Arab neighbors to the most advanced Arab country in history. From 1973 to 1990, the literacy rate in Iraq rose from 35% to over 90%. Thousands of miles of roads were built and the country was completely electrified. Excellent universal health care and education from primary school to university were available at no cost. Foreign scholars and writers were invited to visit Iraq and write about the country as well as the Arab world. The Iraqi government gave them housing and paid their salaries so they could gain and disseminate information. In 1987, the *New York Times* called Baghdad "The Paris of the Middle East." (See Appendix V: Interview with Salah al-Mukhtar, the former Iraqi ambassador to India and Vietnam. He goes into detail about the history of Iraq's transformation in the 1970s.)

On the other hand, after the U.S. attack on Iraq in 1991 that destroyed much of the country, and a 12-year devastating embargo, Saddam Hussein's critics blamed him for the demise of the country that once was the jewel of the Arab world: the country his leadership produced.

Saddam Hussein's name was used by mainstream Western media to depict a barbaric and sadistic person. The scribes conveniently forgot, or did not take the time to learn about, the years in which Iraq was the premier Arab state that offered more human rights to its public than other Arab nations, especially in the area of freedom of religion and the liberation of women.

This section is not a history of his regime, but a view of him and his steadfastness after April 9, 2003, the date to which many people refer as "The Fall of Baghdad."

On April 9, 2003, Saddam Hussein made his last public appearance.

He was surrounded by tens of thousands of supporters in Baghdad who raised him up to the roof of his car so he could wave to them all. Then, the car sped away.

Speculation was rampant for the next few months. Was Saddam alive or dead? Was he involved with the quickly-growing resistance? Nobody seemed to know.

Then, in December 2003, we all saw the photos of a disheveled Saddam Hussein after he was pulled out of a “spider hole” in a town near Tikrit. The administration laughed and the U.S. public made jokes about him and his hiding place.

The room was dirty. There was an empty can of Spam. The story was that he was holed up there and was totally irrelevant to Iraq. His day was done and he was now in the hands of Iraq’s liberators. What you saw wasn’t real. Nothing of this scenario was true.

On March 8, 2005, United Press International (UPI) ran a short press release titled “Public Version of Saddam Capture Fiction.” It received little publicity in the U.S., but some foreign news agencies did run the story

The UPI press release consisted of quotes from an ex-U.S. Marine of Lebanese descent, Nadim Rabeh. In addition to the U.S. version of the capture date being off by two days, during an interview in Lebanon, Rabeh stated:

I was among the 20-man unit, including eight of Arab descent, who searched for Saddam for three days in the area of Dour near Tikrit, and we found him in a modest home in a small village and not in a hole as announced. We captured him after fierce resistance during which a Marine of Sudanese origin was killed.

Rabeh recounted how Saddam fired at them with a gun from the window of a room on the second floor. Then, the Marines shouted at him in Arabic, “You have to surrender. There is no point in resisting.”

How did we come to see the pictures of the hole and a scruffy-looking Saddam Hussein? According to Rabeh, “Later on, a military production team fabricated the film of Saddam’s capture in a hole, which was in fact a deserted well.”

The former Marine’s account mixes with the rendition Saddam Hussein gave his lawyer when they had their first meeting. Saddam told him that he was captured in a friend’s house and that he was drugged and tortured

for two days, hence the pictures of Saddam looking bedraggled.

All the major news networks and publications showed pictures of the hole and a beleaguered Saddam: *Time Magazine*, *CNN News*, magazines, daily newspapers, etc. You name it and they published it. But, they were all wrong. Not one publication took the time to research the story. They ran the pictures supplied by the U.S. military and parroted the lines they were given.

This was not the first time something similar has occurred. After the 1989 invasion of Panama, the U.S. allowed the press to enter Manuel Noriega's office. He was portrayed as a sexual pervert. In the office were pictures of young boys, a picture of Hitler, red underpants and pornographic magazines.

A few months later, the first Marine to enter Noriega's office was released from the Corps. He eventually talked to a reporter and gave his story of the encounter. He maintained that the contents of the office included only a desk, a telephone, a chair, and a typewriter.

With Saddam, the props were changed. They were made to make Saddam look like a caged animal on the run who only had the basic elements to survive. No one asked questions of what should have been obvious. For instance, how did Saddam Hussein come into possession of a can of Spam? There was absolutely no place in Iraq where Spam was sold. It contains pork, a food forbidden from a Moslem's diet.

A few months after his capture, a picture was widely distributed that gained much publicity. It showed a bunch of U.S. soldiers standing next to an Iraqi building on which a painted illustration depicted the blowing up of the World Trade Center. The inference was that Iraqis took glee in the acts of the destruction of the World Trade Center on 9-11-2001.

If one looked close, it was evident that the soldiers were standing on the base path of a disused baseball field. There were no baseball fields in Iraq. Upon closer scrutinizing, the trees were typical southeastern U.S. types that are not indigenous to Iraq.

The photo was bogus. It was filmed in the U.S., but, the harm had been done. Many news agencies had distributed the picture. Its contents inflamed U.S. citizens even more about the Iraqi people.

When Saddam was captured, U.S. authorities said he was a spent force and he had no say in the ever-growing resistance. This was another propaganda exercise because subsequent information shows he was heading the resistance and called many shots. For instance, on Paul Wolfowitz' first visit to Baghdad, he stayed at the Hotel al-Rashid. A rocket fired at the building killed a U.S. colonel on the floor just above Wolfowitz, who was



At a pro-Saddam Hussein rally shortly after the president's capture, a resistance worker displays his readiness to go on a mission.

visibly shaken by the incident. Saddam Hussein personally ordered that strike.

Many Iraqis challenged the scenario of Saddam's capture. The U.S. administration thought that by humiliating him, the Iraqi public would discount his presence. Just the opposite occurred. On the evening of the announcement of Saddam's capture, pro-Saddam Hussein rallies sprung up. His supporters, who, instead of looking at him as a humiliated ex-leader, showed their admiration for him because they knew the U.S. story of his capture was fabricated. Students in schools brought pictures of Saddam to class. In one instance, U.S. military personnel surrounded a Baghdad school and apprehended a few dozen 14-year-old students, whom they tortured for a few hours.

The image of a cowardly Saddam giving up without a fight did not set well with Iraqis. A retired colonel in the Iraqi army sent me the following responses to the capture:

- Saddam's inside wear was very clean, which gives the impression he was not in a hole.
- At the time they said they captured him, no dates were available, but the trees they showed in the films had fresh dates on the palm trees and this was not possible.
- My house is in the Adhamiya and I can say that I saw Saddam after they announced the fall of Baghdad. I saw him myself. He was standing on the bonnet of a car. He was giving smiles to the people around him who were encouraging him by their loyalty, which they always had.
- As I know, Saddam was on top of the battle at the airport.
- What I heard was that he was on top of many assaults against the Americans.

Iraq Screen published an article shortly before Saddam Hussein's assassination. The author interviewed an Iraqi officer of the Republican Guard who participated in the battle for the airport in Baghdad in April 2003. The officer recalled:

While I was busy shooting with my colleagues, all of a sudden, we found Saddam Hussein with a number of his assistants inside the airport, we were really surprised because we did not expect such a thing, but Saddam went forward and took an RPG and put it on his shoulder and

began to shoot by himself. We gathered around him and begged him to stay aside and leave us fighting because if we would be killed, we are common officers, but if he is killed, we would lose our leader. Saddam turned to us and said, "Look, I am no better than any one of you and this is the high time to defend our great Iraq and it would be a great honor to be killed as a martyr for the sake of Iraq."

From various sources, we now have a totally different story from the one force-fed to us by the U.S. administration. Instead of Saddam Hussein being a coward who fled and was caught in a hole in the ground, he was now the president, who, under siege, met publicly with his people on April 9, 2003 (video of this was shown on U.S. television) after personally being involved with several battles against the invaders, and who created a network of resistance while tens of thousands of U.S. military people were looking for him.

Shortly before his hanging, Saddam spoke of his days on the run with his lawyers. For nine months, he openly conducted the resistance, many times right under the noses of his would-be captors. He told of swimming in the Tigris River or using a small boat if he needed to maneuver in the area.

Most 66-year-old men would be contemplating retirement. But, Saddam Hussein lived off his wits, the land, and with comrades for nine months, all the time coordinating a resistance against illegal invaders of his country. Most men half his age would not be able to withstand the physical challenges of such a routine. It is hard to conceive how a man of his age endured more than a lifetime of hardship, torture and personal bereavement in just three-and-a-half years without losing his mental faculties or selling out to his opponents.

Unfortunately, the U.S. government is in possession of all of Iraq's records prior to April 2003. Not one word will be mentioned that will contradict the U.S. rewriting of Iraq's history. At best, we will have to rely on anecdotal accounts and eye witnesses. It is neither the best nor the most accurate form of history, but it's all we have now.

On November 5, 2006, Saddam Hussein was sentenced to death by hanging. The verdict came after what could possibly be called the worst travesty of justice ever seen in a courtroom.

For his first few months in captivity, he was not allowed to see a lawyer. In that time, he was tortured and questioned. He also was offered



After the announcement of Saddam Hussein's capture, Adnan Kheiralla Boys' School in Baghdad was surrounded by U.S. military personnel. Several dozen students were dragged from the school and thrown in chicken cages for displaying a picture of Saddam.

deals by the U.S. that would have obtained him a "get out of jail free" pass if he cooperated and gave the captors information about the resistance. He never capitulated.

Saddam Hussein was not allowed to see his family. Most of his correspondence to them was either not delivered, or highly censored. By now, most human beings would be willing to say anything their kidnappers desired.

In 2004, Frank Morrow, producer of one of the finest political shows ever seen on U.S. TV screens, *Alternative Views*, was asked about Saddam's plight in comparison to that of another president kidnapped by the U.S., Manuel Noriega. He discussed how Noriega collapsed after a few days of U.S. incarceration. Morrow then stated, "Saddam is made of sterner stuff."

On his first day in court, Saddam was a few minutes late. The judge asked him why he was not on time and Saddam told him that the elevators of the building were not working. The judge then said he would ask the Americans to try to fix the faulty lifts. Saddam looked the judge in the eye and said, "Don't ask them. You tell them. You are an Iraqi." The judge was silent. The accused gave him a lesson in citizenship.

This was Saddam Hussein's first court appearance and it was televised. The U.S.-appointed collaborators thought televising the trial would humiliate Saddam in the eyes of the Iraqi public. The ploy backfired. Saddam's chastising of the judge intrigued the viewers. In future sessions, the sound of the broadcasts was cut if the judge did not want the public to hear what Saddam had to say. The first judge must be given credit for fairness. It appeared that he was giving both sides time to present their cases. Then he resigned. He publicly stated that the Iraqi government had pressured him and given him instructions not to be fair with Saddam. The next judge was a travesty and he made it be known from his first day that there would not be a fair trial for Saddam Hussein.

We have read page-after-page of the illegality of Saddam's trial in various media. With each preposterous turn, Saddam kept his ground and never capitulated to the court. (See Appendixes X and XI for an interview with Curtis Doebbler, a member of Saddam Hussein's legal team, and the UN report that vilified the U.S. and Iraqi governments concerning the fairness of the trial.)

For months, every conceivable scenario emerged: Saddam was dragged out of court; his lawyers were kicked out of court; defense witnesses were tortured by the court; the judge destroyed a videotape that clearly showed the head prosecutor was lying.

Still, Saddam showed up in court with the wit and physical appearance of a man decades younger. All the atrocities committed against him never made him appear to be desperate and he never showed signs of caving in.

Several times, Saddam was approached by U.S. officials to make a deal. The Iraqi resistance had grown to a formidable foe and the U.S. knew that Saddam still held enough power to persuade a major portion of the resistance to lay down its weapons. Instead of accepting an offer for his freedom on some small island in the Pacific, Saddam retained his dignity. Other Ba'ath Party members who were imprisoned were given chances to be freed and made wealthy if they testified against Saddam. They refused to sell out.

When the verdict of death for Saddam was announced on November 5, 2006, many groups, individuals and governments were outraged. They tried to get the UN to intervene, but to no avail.

Many quotes came forth from foe and friend of Saddam. The most preposterous came from Nouri al-Maliki:

This ruler has committed the most horrible crimes. He executed the best scientists, academics and thinkers.



A new experience for Iraqis after the March 2003 invasion: petrol lines miles long

That statement was outrageous, but many people will believe it. For the preceding year, hundreds, if not thousands, of professors, scientists and doctors were killed in Iraq by agents of the Maliki government. During Saddam's time, those professionals flourished and were the pride of Iraq. Maliki added them to the long list of fictitious victims of Saddam Hussein's rule.

The announcement of the verdict backfired. The U.S. thought it would further erode Saddam's importance to the Iraqi public, but just the opposite occurred. The website www.al-moharer.net posted this message shortly after the announcement:

We learned that demonstrators are all over Iraq in protest of the sentence. In Baghdad, American soldiers are busy painting over the slogans that people wrote on the walls and in intersections.

The U.S. media failed to show photos of these incidents, yet the international press displayed many. Within a few more hours, the demonstrations escalated and U.S. vehicles were targeted by the crowds.

The only hope that Saddam Hussein had to stop his date with the gallows was an appeal from his defense team to an appeals court. The

defense had a time limit in which to file the appeal, yet the court that tried Saddam did not give his defense the necessary information. Weeks went by without the court even giving the defense team a summary of the charges. When Saddam's team received the necessary information, it only had a few days to file an appeal. The defenders had to create an appeal in a few days that normally would take a month or two to construct. Every obstacle was put in place to keep justice from seeing even a ray of daylight.

The appeals court took two days to read 1,500 pages of documents presented by the defense and then issued a denial for the appeal on December 26, 2006. No court in the world can decipher this number of pages in such a short time.

Despite there being no time limit for the appeals court to reach a decision, it made one in two days. The next step was to affix a date for the execution. It had to be within 30 days of the announcement of December 26th.

No one was surprised by the verdict against Saddam Hussein because of the knowledge this was a foregone conclusion. However, the appeals court outdid itself by ruling on the Iraqi vice president, Taha Yasin Ramadan. He was sentenced to life in prison by the court that convicted Saddam, but the appeals court took it upon itself to change the sentence to death, even though the case was not on the docket.

From the first day Saddam Hussein stepped foot in court until the day he was hanged, the entire system was stacked against him. Many of the laws the court made for itself were illegal in the eyes of international law and the court even breached some of its own illegal laws. Dr. Curtis Doebbler, a noted international human rights attorney, was on Saddam's legal team from the start. Shortly after the announcement of the appeals court, he stated:

We're trying to point out that if an execution takes place, it will be an ex-judicial, arbitrary execution outside the law in violation of the law. It's somewhat ironic that this individual who will be executed has proven to have much more integrity than the individuals who are executing him, including the U.S. president who exhibits more evidence that he has committed crimes against the Iraqi people than there was against the president of Iraq in the first trial in which he was brought before the U.S.-created court and there still has been no investigation of the U.S. president.

As you've seen, the Iraqi president has maintained his dignity and also maintained his peace of mind in belief that he personifies the will of the Iraqi people to continue to fight against this occupation, which they believe, and the majority of the international community believes, is illegal and the consequence of the illegal invasion of Iraq.

It's quite a sad day, I think, for international justice and, unfortunately, another example of how the United States is unwilling to conform with international law; to show respect for international law. What hurts me the most, as an American, is that we're the ones who benefit the most from respecting that law. When we set this example, we essentially tell people that the law cannot be used to try to get the United States to respect their rights. They have to use other means. That's what got us into many of the problems that we're in today.

After the appeals verdict, almost everybody in the U.S. was in the lynching mood. Pundits were frothing at the mouth when they discussed the upcoming execution. There was a collective air of jubilation and even anti-war activists cheered on the impending hanging. Many politicians of the Democratic party who jumped on the anti-war and anti-Bush wagon said that Saddam "deserved it." Not one discussed the legality or fairness of his trial, Leftist journalists were trying to outdo each other in demeaning Saddam. Not only were they reporting the standard fare of Saddam Hussein myths, they made up new fables of atrocities.

Many people have stated that George Bush lied about everything to do with Iraq: weapons of mass destruction; the Bin-Laden/Saddam Hussein link; Iraqi involvement with 9-11; fictitious biological weapons trailers; the Iraqi imprisonment of a U.S. pilot since 1991, etc. Yet, the same people who question Bush's lies about Iraq broadcast the myths about Saddam Hussein and his regime. If Bush had lied about everything else, why should one believe his statements about the Ba'ath Party and Iraq's president? Logic would argue that he lied about Saddam as well.

The scenario did not make sense. The people who consistently made the most absurd and untrue statements about Iraq (Bush, Cheney, Rice, Bremer, Powell, Rumsfeld, et al) and who stole tens of billions of dollars that belonged to the country of Iraq, proudly spoke of creating a new

Middle East based on U.S. aggression or were conducting book-signing tours for their memoirs. The results of their lies led to the killing of more than a million Iraqis; a cost of about a trillion dollars to the U.S. public; and the destruction of a country's culture and infrastructure. Even the history of Iraq was re-written by people in Washington D.C.

On the other hand, the guy with the moustache who told the truth about all the lies and adhered to the U.N. request for inspections, as well as supplied a 12,000-page report that documented in detail every aspect of Iraq's former WMD programs, sat in a jail cell awaiting execution.

On December 14, 2006, the Iraq Center for Research and Strategic Studies (ICRSS) released the results of a poll it conducted for several weeks. The ICRSS is an independent organization based in Baghdad and run by Sadoun Dulaimi, an Iraqi expatriate until 2003. Using a base of more than 2,000 Iraqis, the majority of whom were Shi'ite Moslems, 90% stated that the country was far better off under Saddam Hussein than it was in 2006.

The ICRSS is definitely not a shill for the Ba'ath Party. U.S. government agencies as well as many media outlets referenced its results over the years. The conclusions showed a dramatic difference between the opinions of the Iraqi people and those put forth by the U.S. administration and media.

From the announcement of the guilty verdict on November 5, 2006 until 6:00 a.m. on December 30, 2006, Saddam Hussein was the freest man in Iraq although he was behind bars. His mind was clear and he awaited death with dignity. He never cracked under torture or pressure.

Saddam Hussein was not a slave, although his incarceration kept him imprisoned. He was not allowed to see his family, unless, like his sons and grandson, they were shot to death with hundreds of bullets.

At 6:00 a.m. Baghdad time, on December 30, 2006, a mere four days after the appeals court ruling, Saddam Hussein was hanged. Until the lever was pulled, he displayed courage and integrity. The U.S. had waited since 1990 for Saddam to admit defeat or show any sign of capitulation or fear. He never did.

The hanging was the last chance for the U.S. to attain its goal. Administration members hoped he would cringe or break down. Just the opposite occurred. Saddam went to the gallows and refused to wear a hood over his head, although his hangmen were hooded.

A sanitized version of the execution was broadcast to the world. It showed the executioners putting a noose around Saddam's neck and then the hanging. There was no sound. Shortly after, a real view of the execu-

tion came forth. Someone in the room recorded the event on a cell phone.

In the crowd were hecklers. They taunted Saddam Hussein, yet he never allowed himself to be degraded. When one of the executioners shouted, "Long live Muqtada al-Sadr," Saddam mocked the Shi'ite upstart, then he began to recite an Islamic verse and the hangman pulled the plug.

The final act in the U.S. vendetta against Saddam Hussein backfired. The western media reported it as an accomplishment, but people worldwide took to the streets in protest. Millions in India and Brazil demonstrated. Most of the Arab world was laden with protestors. National days of mourning were announced and even Muammar Gadhafi of Libya, not exactly a close comrade of Saddam, announced that his country would erect a statue in his commemoration.

The last 15 minutes of his life made Saddam Hussein the ultimate resister of imperialism to hundreds of millions of people on the Earth. The word "martyr" was now common in describing him.

In the U.S., a few video clips of people celebrating in Sadr City were shown on television. However, no clips of the massive pro-Saddam demonstrations made it past the cutting room floor. Most Americans do not realize that Saddam Hussein was not perceived in much of the world as a ghastly perpetrator of genocide and a brutal sadist.

Saddam Hussein held a 90% approval rating almost four years after his country was destroyed by an illegal invasion but he was hanged, while the U.S. president who was obsessed with the Iraqi president's demise, and who at the time had an approval rating of 28% of his own country-people, was still alive and ordering the murder of many more Iraqis.

There are various reasons for these macabre and illogical turn of events. Vilified by Western analysts, politicians and journalists for years, it is nothing short of miraculous that Saddam lasted as long as he did. Many of the left are just as responsible for his death as are the neocons they lambaste. Scribe-after-scribe demeaned Saddam Hussein since 1990, most of the time relaying lies and myths about the man and his Ba'ath Party. No lie was too big if it was sensational enough to acquire headlines. Even when some of the lies were uncovered, such as those of the human shredding machine, or the mobile biological weapons labs, or the aluminum tubes for Iraq's non-existent nuclear weapons program, the press did not acknowledge the truth. They went along making up new allegations. Because it normally took months to investigate the falsehoods, when the truth emerged, the public read little. To them, the original story stuck in their minds. Many people should be considered murderers for Saddam Hussein's hanging: not

just the hangman, but everyone who fueled the fire of hatred against him, including members of the “progressive” press who helped pass on the lies.

The events leading up to Saddam’s execution are preposterous, almost surreal. A bunch of one-time Iraqis, who had not lived in the country for decades, were flown into Iraq by the U.S. to run the country. A bible-toting, combat-boot-wearing administrator with no knowledge of any Arab country or culture (Paul Bremer), changed the country’s laws and constitution, as well as took away state-ownership of crucial industries.

When the Ba’athist agenda took hold in the 1970s, the government introduced many revolutionary aspects to Iraqi life: the equality of women; universal education; universal healthcare; much-improved public transportation; emphasis on science, etc. By the 1980s, Iraq was thriving and the crown jewel of the Middle East. But, along with the improvements came jealousy and greed. The U.S., because of its no-questions-asked affinity to Israel, had to take Iraq back a few notches. Oil was quickly becoming a symbol of world power, not just something to keep a country’s energy requirements in place.

In other words, Iraq was now worth fighting for. It no longer was the antiquated nation of a few decades ago. Saddam Hussein was the driving force behind the transformation of Iraq. Gradually, the U.S., with other Western powers, wanted some of Iraq’s black gold. Little-by-little, the country was degraded, beginning on January 17, 1991. Twelve years of an embargo weakened it further, but it did not kill Iraq. It took a massive invasion in 2003 and a ruthless occupation to finish the country off.

Iraq has been totally destroyed, not just physically, but emotionally. All of Saddam Hussein’s enemies hold equal responsibility in the destruction. They not only murdered Saddam, but Iraq as well. Shortly after March 2003, some people and institutions, such as Ahmed Chalabi and Haliburton, made a quick financial killing. Those days are gone. Today’s thieves in the stooge government can only count on small change to steal. The Iraqi people had everything they own, physically and emotionally, stolen.

After Saddam’s execution, the press had a field day in analyzing and editorializing the incident as well as Saddam himself. Most were writing well out of their league and their ignorance of history showed. Because most U.S. readers do not know the history of Iraq, the scribes’ words were taken as true.

The theme of many articles was that justice was not achieved because Saddam was hanged for a lesser crime than the major ones assessed against him. The “progressive” writers wanted to see him tried for gassing inci-

dents so they could tie together U.S. involvement with the “misdeeds” of Saddam Hussein. Article-after-article mentioned Rumsfeld’s visit to Iraq in the 1980s and said the U.S. gave Iraq the technology for Iraq’s WMD programs during the Iran-Iraq War, however, not one questioned the reason for the war. They all blamed it on Saddam and wrote as if Iran was a benign and aggrieved country. Also, not one writer mentioned that Saddam was quickly hanged before the gassing incidents could come to court. Many people accuse Iran, not Iraq, of gassing the Kurds at Halabjah. If Saddam was dead, these items could not be addressed, so the truth behind the myth of “gassing his own people” went to the grave with Saddam. Further, not one mentioned that Saddam’s Iraqi attorney, Khalil al-Dulaimi, the only defense lawyer able to speak in the courtroom, had been approached twice in the previous year by Iranian agents who tried to persuade him not to mention Halabjah at the trial. On his first encounter, in Jordan, he was offered \$10 million to keep the subject off the agenda. Later, in Paris, the Iranians upped the ante by offering him \$100 million. The only way to keep the subject away from public scrutiny was to kill Saddam on bogus charges. Shortly after he died, the court dropped the genocide charges against Saddam Hussein.

But, in most of the reporting, a visible part of history was missing. At the same time Saddam Hussein and Rumsfeld met, Iran was killing Iraqi soldiers and civilians with missiles supplied by the U.S. The U.S. had already made the deal with Iran to sell them missiles and other military material, with Israel getting the obligatory 10% for being the middleman. Iraq and Iran were both supplied by the U.S.

After Saddam’s execution, some writers mocked him and again, re-wrote history. In “So Long to ‘Our Tyrant,’” Andrew Cockburn stated in *Common Dreams* on December 30, 2006:

Though he was expelled from Kuwait and his economy wrecked by sanctions, Hussein was allowed to survive because Washington for a time continued to believe that he was useful as a bulwark against Iran abroad and militant Shiism at home in Iraq. When that policy was discarded by the neoconservatives after the 9/11 attacks, the dictator’s days were numbered.

Cockburn, of all people, should know that after Desert Storm, many plots to get rid of Saddam emerged. For instance, even Scott Ritter, once head of the U.N. inspection team, stated that the goal of the U.S. person-

nel on the inspection contingent was to overthrow Saddam. He admits that he was part of the scheme.

John Simpson of the *Sunday Times* relayed more historical revision in his piece "Tyrant Met His End with Fortitude:"

Every important step he took was a disaster, from the attack on Iran in 1980 which started a hugely debilitating war that lasted for eight years, to the foolish invasion of Kuwait, which brought him into open conflict with his former friends, the Americans. Yet he knew how to appeal to ordinary people across the world. He was hated by most of his own people, but loved by the poor and disinherited of the rest of the Arab world.

He ruled Iraq by relying on the Sunni minority. His ministers were mostly Sunnis and so were most senior officers in his army and police force. Tens of thousands of Sunnis died as a result of his repression and the wars, but since his overthrow by the British and Americans in 2003, Sunnis have tended to identify more closely with him.

The glaring mis-representation in this piece is the depiction that his ministers, the officers in his army and police force consisted mostly of Sunnis. In fact, 60% of the Republican Guard officers were Shi'ite, as were two-thirds of the Iraqi ambassadors assigned to the UN during Saddam's tenure. Iraq's mouthpiece to the world in March and April 2003, Mohammed Sahaff (the Iraq Information Minister) was Shi'ite. In the infamous deck of 55 playing cards created by the U.S., 35 individuals were Shi'ite. Plus, Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister, was a Christian. Justice could have been better portrayed if Simpson took a few minutes to research facts before he made such erroneous allegations.

In the article, "Rule of Noose," in *The Nation* of December 31, 2006, Bruce Shapiro wrote:

If Iraqi executioners have a particular expertise with the gallows, it is because Saddam gave his country so much practice. Hanging, shooting, gassing, beating, Saddam and his agents were masters of them all. Saddam, depraved and sadistic, was the polar opposite of the banal bureaucrat evil Hannah Arendt famously saw in Adolph Eichmann.

Shapiro packed much rancor into such a short span of words. “Depraved and sadistic” stick out. I doubt that Shapiro has an education and background in psychology, but he tries to dissect Saddam Hussein’s brain. On December 30, 2006, the only “depraved and sadistic” Iraqis we saw were the ones who taunted Saddam and those who pulled the lever for his hanging.

On the other hand, some articles contained realistic information. According to Robert Dreyfuss, in his article, “The Consequences of Killing Saddam,” in *The Nation*, December 31, 2006:

An overwhelming majority of the Sunni Arab population of Iraq now supports the resistance, and its intensity is likely to grow significantly in the wake of Saddam’s death. Earlier this year, 300 Sunni tribal leaders met in Anbar to issue a demand that Saddam Hussein be released from prison, just one indication that support for the former president of Iraq was widespread. “The execution of Saddam means that the flame of vengeance will be ignited and it will hurt the body of Iraq with unrecoverable wounds,” a Sunni tribal leader told the *New York Times*.

Michael Boldin spoke of the lies and deceit of the U.S. administration in his piece “Saddam Was Right and Bush Was Wrong,” published online by www.populistamerica.com on December 30, 2006:

The non-existent weapons of mass destruction weren’t the only falsehood. There were the phony uranium purchases, lies about al-Qaeda training camps in Iraq, mobile weapons labs, and drones that were going to attack the East Coast of the U.S.

Remember the lies about babies being thrown out of incubators? The propaganda started years ago. Even the claims of Saddam’s brutality are suspect. Why? Because most of these claims come from the same people that have already discredited themselves.

Boldin is one of the few writers who went right to the core of the problem of the demonizing of Saddam Hussein. If those who accused Saddam

of myriad atrocities had been exposed as liars about virtually every aspect on Iraq, how could they transform themselves into purveyors of truth in describing Saddam Hussein and his regime?

Al-Quds of al-Arabi assessed the situation in a logical manner. Its editor, Abdel Bari Atwan, told Al-Jazeera News:

Arab public opinion wonders who deserves to be tried and executed: Saddam Hussein, who preserved the unity of Iraq, its Arab and Islamic entity and the coexistence of its different communities such as Shi'ites and Sunnis ... or those who engulfed the country in this bloody civil war?

The pundits had a great time writing about Saddam Hussein's execution. Many work for huge publications with limitless resources for research, yet they chose to re-hash old discredited information and add a few new untruths as well.

These represent only a few statements made in the Western press. But, in newspapers from Brazil to Russia, from India to Indonesia, from Pakistan to Venezuela, and many other nations, the media were much kinder to Saddam Hussein and the barbaric end he experienced.

Many Western observers are not aware that Saddam Hussein was well-regarded in much of the world. Brazilians remembered that thousands of their countrymen were recruited by Saddam to build the advanced highway and bridge systems that once crisscrossed Iraq. Egyptians did not forget that more than two million of their countrymen owned and worked land in Iraq prior to January 1991. Indians did not forget the reciprocal dealings with Iraq and how the Ba'athists gave support to Indian causes. The Lebanese remembered the dozens of Iraqi trucks that showed up daily at the Lebanese border during that country's civil war. They were laden with food and clothing for any Lebanese person in need. The convoys' recipients included all Lebanese, not a certain faction of those battling in the civil war. Most Palestinians display a picture of Saddam Hussein on their walls. Over the years, many nations have temporarily supported the Palestinian cause, only to withdraw aid once threatened by the U.S. Saddam Hussein, even during the embargo years, supported the Palestinians with no exception, while other Arab regimes did not get involved because they did not want to upset their puppeteers in Washington and Tel Aviv.

It didn't take long for the world to see how quickly the bogus court that tried Saddam became unraveled. On March 9, 2007, the headlines for

Al-Jazeera News read, "Saddam Judge Flees Iraq." Raouf Abdel-Rahman was the judge who sentenced Saddam Hussein, Barzan al-Tikriti (Iraq's former intelligence minister) and Awad Hamed (former head of Iraq's Revolutionary Court) to death. All were hanged.

Abdel-Rahman was the second judge on the trial in which the defendants were accused of crimes against humanity for the execution of 148 people from the city of Dujail in 1985. The first judge, Rizgar Amin, resigned. He accused the U.S.-allied Iraqi officials of scripting the trial for him. When Abdel-Rahman came on board, the so-called trial turned into a fiasco. He constantly kicked the defendants and their lawyers out of the court room. He made public statements before the end of the trial in which he stated that Saddam was guilty. When a defense witness came forth with a video tape showing how the head prosecutor, Jaafar al-Musawi and a prosecution witness, Ali al-Haidari had lied, Abdel-Rahman confiscated the video tape and had the witness, along with three other defense witnesses, arrested and tortured.

When the appeals court turned down the request of Saddam's defense team about the death verdict, Abdel-Rahman had to set an execution date within 30 days of the appeal verdict. Saddam was hanged within four days, on the date of the beginning of a Moslem holiday.

For a few months, Abdel-Rahman relished in his image as a no-nonsense, tough judge. The truth differs. He stood against everything a judge is supposed to represent: to find the truth. He lied and he was a fraud. He was brave while he was protected by the U.S. Army in the Green Zone, but once the hangings were conducted, it appears that Abdel-Rahman must have lost some of his protection. He fled to Great Britain.

There is one aspect of this mockery that is confusing. Abdel-Rahman asked for "political asylum" in Great Britain. Political asylum is usually requested by citizens of countries in which they are not allowed political, social or religious rights that other citizens enjoy. Abdel-Rahman was a product of the quisling Iraqi government. He was right in the middle of all the shenanigans and violence the pretenders thrust on Iraq. Why did he ask for "political asylum" when he was a mainstream player in the sordid politics of Iraq?

It is probable that there were many Iraqis who were offended by Saddam Hussein's show trial and hanging and some were probably picking up the stench of Abdel-Rahman's scent. Even the U.S. and the Iraqi stooges would have been unable to give him enough security to ensure that he would be alive at retirement age.

Abdel-Rahman may have been the temporary victor because of his ac-

tions in an unfair Iraqi courthouse that led to the hanging of Saddam Hussein. But, in death, Saddam Hussein won the battle against him as Abdel-Rahman made a secret and cowardly exit from Iraq.

At the time of the writing of this book, a very ill Tariq Aziz is being tried on false charges. Out of nowhere, Abdel-Rahman reappeared in Baghdad. It appears that no one wanted to be the judge who orders the hanging of Aziz, so the quisling Iraqi government made a deal with the person who handed down Saddam Hussein's death sentence. It will be interesting to see Abdel-Rahman's actions after the trial. He may well return to England for his extended vacation.

Saddam Hussein knew how his life would end, but he was well aware that his legacy would be part of the equation that will resurrect Iraq. He never sold out, not even at the end when he was offered chances to be freed from prison. He knew that if he sold out, he would have sold out Iraq.

Long after his execution, Saddam Hussein still gained ludicrous press coverage. On the first anniversary of the hanging, two British newspapers ran stories about the one-year anniversary.

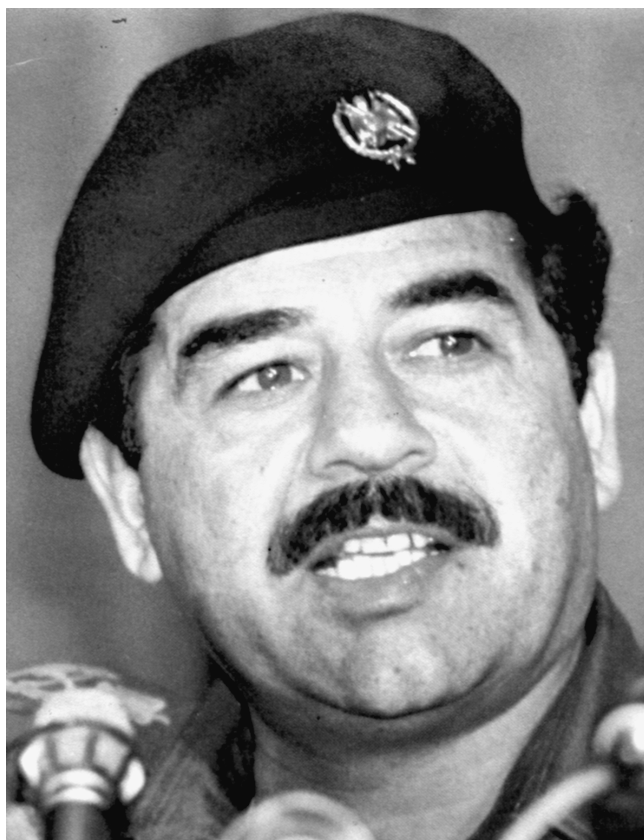
On December 31, 2007, the British daily newspaper, *The Telegraph*, ran an article called "Few Gather to Remember at Saddam's Tomb." It was written by Akeel Hussein and Colin Freeman. Here are a few statements:

On the first anniversary of his death, however, the final resting place of the man whose last words were "Iraq is nothing without me" shows little sign of becoming the shrine many feared it would ...

... Yet the supporters who gathered to commemorate by laying flowers and reading the Koran numbered only in the dozens, not the hundreds of thousands that Saddam's deluded ego might have expected ...

This piece is a horrible example of journalism, especially coming from such an established newspaper as *The Telegraph*. The tone of mockery is normally never seen in a feature article. Plus, the inaccuracies are glaring. Even from Saddam's naysayers I have never seen the last words attributed to him that this stooge tag-team wrote. However, the facts are true: only a few dozen people showed up at Saddam's grave.

Now, let's go a few miles across London and see how *The Times* handled the same story. Deborah Haynes and Ali Hamdani collaborated on the



article “Thousands Prevented from Visiting Saddam Tomb on Anniversary of Execution” that was published on December 30, 2007.

Let’s take a look at a sampling of this article:

A handful of Saddam Hussein supporters wept at his graveside in a village north of Baghdad today on the first anniversary of the toppled dictator’s execution, while thousands more were prevented from visiting the tomb because of heightened security ...

... “The anniversary of the execution of the martyred President Saddam Hussein is a sad one and hurts all honorable Iraqis,” said Um Marwan, age 40, who was leading a delegation of women to the burial site.

"You cannot compare Saddam to Maliki or Talabani who are hiding in the Green Zone," she said.

In the nearby village of al-Dawr thousands of people had planned a demonstration to condemn the execution followed by a march to Saddam's graveside, but their movement was restricted by an indefinite curfew imposed from Saturday, said Selam al-Abid, a former guard to Saddam.

Two stories used basic facts (and some fiction on the part of *The Telegraph*) in depicting the first anniversary of Saddam Hussein's murder. However, only one stated why there were so few people at Saddam's grave.

If Saddam Hussein is a spent force in Iraq, why does the U.S. and its quisling allies keep people from visiting his grave? They are cowards with absolutely no integrity and can only function surrounded by tanks and enough military hardware to incinerate the entire country of Iraq. So much for "bringing democracy to Iraq."

Saddam Hussein: Symbol of Stand Against U.S. Aggression

by Curtis F.J. Doebbler

Irraqi President Saddam Hussein al-Tikriti was a complex man despite his humble upbringing. The demonizing of him that has been undertaken by the United States and its allies was merely a political cover for their own hideous deeds. The American killing of Iraqis is many more times that of any Iraqi leader, nevertheless, the hundreds of thousands of Iraqis killed because of the Americans' international crimes of aggression still go uninvestigated. And they will likely remain so because the only man with enough courage to stand up to America has been killed for doing so.

In this short contribution, I want to draw attention to another side of the Iraqi leader. It is not an insider's view, but a view that is accessible to anyone who seeks to look. Instead of assuming the worst about deeds we do not really know the truth about, and may never know because of the U.S. international crimes against Iraqis, I assume another view, not necessarily the best, but a possible one.

Although one of the Iraqi president's lawyers since 2004, up until the time that he was summarily, arbitrarily and extra-judicially executed by

the United States and its Iraqi collaborators, I don't claim to be a close confidante of the Iraqi leader. Instead, I am an international human rights lawyer, who knows Iraq because I have brought humanitarian assistance to Kurds, Sunnis and Shia, traveling by car or even on foot over the rough mountains in the north, the plains in central Iraq, and the swamps in southern Iraq.

I agreed to be involved in the defense of the Iraqi president because I believe every individual has a right to a fair trial. I have fought for human rights of refugees and heads of state in other instances. I have written on the suffering of women and children in Iraq and fought for human rights in more than 70 different countries, including those of which I hold nationality, for two decades. What the Americans and their collaborators have done to the Iraqi president and the Iraqi people is one of the worse tragedies I have ever seen.

THE MAN

Saddam Hussein was born to a working class family in a small village named Al-Auja near Tikrit in Iraq. His father was lost to his family at an early age and he was reared by his mother and her husband, a shepherd. As the son of a shepherd, he learned to care for his flock and inevitably had to defend them against predators. To find work and education, at 10 years of age, he was sent with his uncle to Baghdad. His uncle despised the colonization of Iraq by the British and undoubtedly instilled in the young Saddam Hussein the spirit of freedom from foreign oppression and occupation, a spirit that was to grow throughout his life.

By the time he turned 18, Saddam Hussein was involved in politics and challenging the legitimacy of the foreign-backed monarchy as a member of the Arab nationalist Ba'ath Party. Shortly after the monarchy was overthrown by a military coup in 1958, Saddam Hussein participated in a bold daylight attack on the military dictator that had been installed. The attack failed but Saddam Hussein's escape to Syria and then to Egypt became legendary in Iraq as he fled wounded with the military in pursuit.

Saddam Hussein continued both his education and political activities in Cairo where he gained attention for his uncompromising defence of Arab independence and nationalism. In 1961, he entered law school at Cairo University, but only two years later, in 1963, the military dictatorship was overthrown in Iraq and Saddam saw a chance to remove foreign domination from Iraq forever. He immediately returned to Iraq.

He quickly became a prominent member of the Ba'ath Party. His unrelenting commitment to the cause of Arab nationalism and independence

of the Arab people catapulted him through the party ranks. Saddam became deputy secretary-general of the Ba'ath Party in 1966 and when the party came to power through another coup directed by his older cousin General Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr two years later, Saddam Hussein was appointed deputy chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council in charge of internal security. This position gave him opportunity to consolidate his power. It led to many actions for which he was later criticized. He never, however, compromised his commitment to Arab nationalism and independence.

When he believed Iraqi President Al-Bakr might compromise Iraq's commitment to Arab nationalism and independence, Saddam Hussein urged him to relinquish his office. In July 1979 President Al-Bakr resigned. The overwhelming majority of the Ba'ath Party agreed Saddam Hussein should become Iraq's president.

Like his predecessors, including the early 20th century British occupiers of Iraq and the subsequent monarchy supported by international powers, President Saddam Hussein consolidated his power using means described by his critics as ruthless. It is likely that these means were motivated by the fear that Iraq would spiral into an endless cycle of coups, or even worse a civil war. President Saddam Hussein pre-empted these tragedies by identifying persons whom he believed would or were inciting such violence.

When he became president of Iraq, he took over a developing country with a growing number of poor and climbing child mortality rates. As president, he pledged to change this and within merely a few years Iraq was on track to becoming a developed country where child mortality was under control and poverty was decreasing. This development was driven by a highly coordinated and committed state apparatus that poured money into public works.

Amidst Iraq's fast-track development, its larger northern neighbour Iran began to express its unease. This unease may also have been motivated by the fact that most of the individuals identified by the Iraqi president as threats had been Shias with close contacts to Iran and often members of the Da'wa Party, which had pledged its allegiance to Iran's Shia government. The dispute between Iran and Iraq spiraled into a deadly war in which it is estimated that more than a million Iraqis and Iranians were killed using Western weapons supplied to both sides. Although President Saddam Hussein viewed this war as necessary, he regretted the death and destruction that had been brought upon Muslims through the support of foreign powers.

The war with Iran changed Iraq and handicapped its development. President Saddam Hussein had, however, further consolidated his rule and he now governed without challenge. He did so with the same commitment to his people that had characterized his commitment to Arab nationalism and independence. Having realized the importance of his country's resources, particularly its oil, he used these resources to protect the standard of living of his people employing nearly 50 per cent of the Iraqi people in government service by the end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988.

Immediately after the war, President Saddam Hussein heightened his country's vigilance over its resources issuing immediate notice of dispute to any country that exploited the resources of Iraq for anything but the benefit of the Iraqi people. It was one of these notices that led to a mounting confrontation with Iraq's small oil-rich and Western-friendly neighbour Kuwait.

When Kuwait ignored claims that it was expropriating Iraqi oil by drilling into border reserves, President Saddam Hussein repeatedly warned of the consequences before finally invading and quickly subduing his small neighbour in the summer of 1990. Perhaps, however, he had not calculated well the way this action would meet with the dissatisfaction of the American government whose friendship with Kuwait ensured the supply to the U.S. of Kuwaiti oil.

Famously, the visit and representations of American envoy to Iraq, April Glaspie, left even the most removed observers of her comments querying whether the U.S. had not given its implicit consent to Iraqi's invasion of Kuwait. Whatever the answer and reason for that, Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait did bring about a freeze in U.S.-Iraqi relations. In January 1991, this freeze culminated in a US-led invasion of Iraq. In 1991, however, the U.S. did not or was not able to consolidate control over the whole country. Instead, U.S. forces withdrew imposing a no-fly zone and deadly sanctions on the people of Iraq.

The no-fly zone measure subjected Iraq to regular attacks whenever its defence forces challenged American and allied planes inside and outside the zone. In fact, the 1991 war, despite the agreement of Iraq to a ceasefire ending the war, never stopped as American-led allies continued to carry out bombing raids in Iraq through out the 1990s and right up to the present day, now with the consent of the present "Iraqi" authorities.

Even more deadly was the decade of sanctions imposed upon the Iraqi people, which, according to the International Study Team's report on the "Human Effects of the Gulf War" in 1991, had almost instantly increased child mortality three times. By the time they ended, the sanctions are

reliably estimated to have accounted for more than a half million additional child deaths and the loss of tens of millions productive life-years for Iraqis. Perhaps no other society in modern history had suffered so much at the hands of the international community.

Throughout this time, and despite disinformation campaigns undertaken by the western-led allies, once again Iraqi President Saddam Hussein managed to consolidate and strengthen his grip on power. He did so by sparing no effort to circumvent the internationally-imposed sanctions, once again pumping the acquired resources into public works. The U.S. campaign during the 1991 war, which included the carpet bombing of urban areas and the use of depleted uranium weapons, left much of Iraq in rubble. The Iraqi president responded by ensuring that the public coffers were utilized to put his country back to work. He even created grander-than-life public works, such as a project to build one of the world's largest mosques in central Baghdad.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein concentrated his efforts on showing the inhumanity of the sanctions that were being imposed on his country and the injustice of the Palestine question. His envoys relentlessly protested the sanctions against Iraq in every forum to which they were privy. And his commitment to Palestine was illustrated by his doing more than any other Arab leader to support the Palestinian struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

When George W. Bush became president of the United States in 2000, Saddam Hussein congratulated him and sought to establish a cooperative relationship with the United States. The Iraqi president demanded, however, that this relationship be based on respect for the Iraqi people and American fairness in relations with the Arab people, especially the Palestinians. Such terms were unacceptable to the U.S.

Despite some talks between Iraqi and American officials, the events of September 11, 2001 changed the American perspective significantly. Across America there arose an emotional hatred against Arab and Muslim people everywhere in the world. For President Bush, however, this hatred was fixated on Iraq, and particularly Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. The reasons for this were largely personal.

After the 1991 war against Iraq and in light of continuing armed attacks against the county by the U.S., the Iraqi president, Bush believed, had ordered his father to be assassinated. Although clear evidence of any such order never appeared, the new American president swore to avenge this attempt on his father's life.

To do so he enlisted Iraqi Shia who had also lost loved ones in the war

with Iran or through President Saddam Hussein's efforts to preserve order in the country. Among those he turned to was Ahmed Chalabi, who had lived for years outside of Iraq but who had sworn to kill the Iraqi leader. He turned to Kurdish leaders Talabani and Barzani, who had sometimes allied with the Iraqi president, but now saw getting rid of him in their favour. In other words, he turned to people who would lie and cheat to gain power in Iraq. And this strategy worked because these people did just that to convince the international community that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction.

Having been given by Congress largely unlimited authority to wage a war against the ambiguous enemy of "terrorism," President Bush declared that his war extended to anyone who was not "with us" on America's violent campaigns of aggression around the world. As these campaigns were exclusively aimed at Muslim or Arab countries, the Iraqi president had not supported them, but neither had Iraq become involved against them.

Nevertheless, by the end of 2002, after having invaded and occupied Afghanistan and still riding the wave of Arab and Muslim hatred, the United States turned its attention towards other Arab and Muslim nations. The hatred was supported by false and often manufactured evidence showing that Iraq supported terrorism or possessed weapons of mass destruction. That these claims were untrue and even proven so by American and international investigators was irrelevant. The United States was speaking power over truth, the latter being completely drowned out.

Regardless, by early 2003, the Iraqi president had substantially agreed to the conditions imposed by the United Nations and the U.S. Intermediaries conveyed this agreement to the Bush administration. It was too late. The U.S. had made up its mind. Before a group investigating the probable consequences for children of renewed fighting in Iraq traveled to Iraq in January 2003, they were told by the office of a U.S. senator that a war with Iraq was inevitable. Indeed, it later emerged that the U.S. Congress had both given its implicit and explicit consent based on the misinformation provided by the Bush administration.

In March 2003, a U.S.-led coalition attacked the Iraqi people. The bombardment devastated the country, threatening every person living in Iraq. Within days of the first bombs falling, a deadly ground offensive began, destroying everything in its path. Oddly, even as they began ravishing Iraq, the U.S. administration believed that the Iraqi people would masochistically welcome this wave of death and destruction. In part this was because the "Iraqis" advising the US were not even in Iraq, but were

those who would profit from the war. These expatriate Iraqis were willing to put personal profit over the welfare of the Iraqi people. Unsurprisingly, they continue to do so as they now run the country with U.S. money being used to buy the resources of Iraq cheaply and U.S. firepower to cower those who can't be bought.

TRIAL

Even after the invasion, the Iraqi president remained a thorn in the inside of the United States' imperial ambitions.

First, he could not be found for months as he commanded the national resistance for liberation of his country from ever-changing headquarters. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, however, never left Iraq. He refused to do so. He was Iraqi and repeatedly stated that he would not be forced to run from his own country by a foreign power.

In December 2003, he was finally captured after a nationwide man-hunt costing billions of dollars and hundreds of lives. As the American president had stated before the war began, he again confirmed that the captured Iraqi president would be put on trial.

The law, however, stood in the way of this plan. A fair trial or a trial before an independent international tribunal would allow the Iraqi president a forum in which to condemn the American invasion. This would be counterproductive to everything that the American propaganda had achieved and more seriously might strengthen the national liberation movement fighting to rid Iraq of the illegal American occupation.

Instead, with the support of a corps of junior American lawyers, the U.S. planned, financed, and orchestrated an Iraqi Special Tribunal (IST). Every independent expert from NGOs to governmental actors who have reviewed the IST declared it to be illegal and/or unfair. And instead of choosing one of the most serious cases for which to try the Iraqi president, the U.S. chose an insignificant case where by the U.S. itself could not be implicated in the crimes allegedly committed.

And if that was not enough, the U.S. led the Iraqi authorities that they had installed through the unfair trial process. Without embarrassment, they replaced judges whose politics or demeanor they did not like, hid exculpatory evidence, manufactured witness testimony, threatened defence witnesses and defence lawyers, and when that did not work assaulted defence lawyers, stole defendants' money, and even prohibited the defence from preparing a defence by giving them the charges after the prosecution had rested and forcing them to start their preparations of a defence within hours after having received the charges.

If all that were not enough, they killed defence lawyers who were brave enough to protest. The litany of violations of the right to fair trial reads like a course book on how to achieve a mistrial and would have invalidated the trial anywhere else in the world, except in the American-controlled Green Zone in Iraq.

From its inception, the IST was flawed. The violence increased in Iraq and the U.S.-controlled propaganda machine touted the trial as necessary to stop violence while the international community turned a blind eye. Even the office of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbour, arrogantly commented that the unfairness of the trial was not such a big problem. Arbour also famously commented just days before the extrajudicial execution of the Iraqi president that she could not tell if the trial was unfair because she had to study the court's opinion. While Ms. Arbour was doing so, the extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary execution of the president took place and not even the UN special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary executions did much to stop it.

American President George W. Bush, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Australian Prime Minister John Howard went even further declaring the trial to be fair despite the fact that the body that they had unequivocally mandated to make such determinations, the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, said the trial was illegal and unfair. Again, the UN had failed in its most prominent mission: the protection of human rights.

Throughout the U.S.-orchestrated trial, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein maintained his dignity and repeatedly urged his people to resist the U.S. occupiers of his country and to strive for Arab and Muslim unity against America. It was undoubtedly his unbreakable spirit of resistance that finally caused the U.S. to concede that allowing him to live was more dangerous than sacrificing him as a martyr to the cause of Muslim and Arab nationalism and independence.

But even in his death, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein maintained his calm and determined demeanor. While the American president had clumsily dozed off on Saturday night, the Iraqi president was challenging his executioners to be brave and to fight the American occupiers.

In some of his last words, the Iraqi President reminded the world that there is something more vital than preserving one's own life and that this can only be found in the integrity of one's faith. He declared his faith to the cause he had championed so valiantly in life as he declared loudly, "God is great and Palestine is an Arab land."

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was the leader of his people through the terms of six U.S. presidents and longer than any other Iraqi since Iraqi

independence. He led Iraq with a strong hand, defiant of Western pressure, but negotiating when necessary.

The truth about the alleged magnitude of the Iraqi leader's stern hand, and even more importantly the role played by the West in supporting and perhaps even forcing that hand, will never be known. The United States and its collaborators killed the Iraqi president before a credible investigation could be conducted.

Issues of guilt and innocence mean nothing to victims, defendants, or anyone else with any sense, unless they come after a fair trial.

THE FINAL CHAPTER

The trials orchestrated by the United States as it was occupying Iraq are outstanding for their lack of justice. Because of their gross unfairness, because they failed to establish their legality, because they provided not even a minimally competent evaluation of facts, and because they ended in a vindictive act of savage vengeance at the behest of a cowardly personal grudge of the American president and his Iraqi collaborators, the trials are the worst form of "aggressors' injustice."

Failure to address such injustice must not go without redress in the form of the investigation and punishment of those who have committed international crimes. If these individuals are not punished, then the Iraqi people have been dealt the ultimate insult to their most basic values by the international community. If redress in the form of the investigation and punishment of international criminals involved in some of the worst crimes against the Iraqi people does not occur, then generations of Iraqis and Muslims and Arabs all over the world will grow up not only hating America and her allies, but rejecting the rule of law because it has served them so poorly.



Curtis F. J. Doebbler is an international human rights lawyer, a lawyer to the former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, and a Professor of Law at An-Najah National University.

AFTERWORD

If an Iraqi lapsed into a coma before March 2003 and recovered today, he/she would not recognize Iraq. Plus, the person would probably prefer to relapse because of the horrible nightmare that is today's Iraq.

The country has no leadership. There is a U.S.-appointed "government" that must reside in the heavily-fortified Green Zone in Baghdad. If any of the members stroll outside this area without the benefit of being guarded by tanks and other military hardware, his/her life-span would be measured in minutes.

Women are prisoners in their own homes. Since 2003, hundreds have been killed and thousands have been raped and tortured because of "immoral" behavior: dressing in an un-Islamic manner. The U.S. prides itself on the progress of women in its society, but it has yet to utter one word of condemnation of the plight of Iraqi women.

Iraq has an education system that is in shambles, despite it having been the finest in the Arab world for decades prior to 2003. Electricity is a luxury that millions of Iraqis have for only a few hours a week. Raw sewage is rampant and is the cause of many illnesses.

The new Iraq that emerged after the U.S.-led "Operation Iraqi Freedom" is not free and it holds little resemblance to the Iraq it replaced. If it were not so horrendous a result, the new Iraq could be considered a bad joke. However, no one is laughing.

By mid-2008, the U.S. heralded a diminishing of violence in Iraq. The numbers of U.S. casualties have decreased. The reason for this is not because Iraq is becoming more sedate. The U.S. has pulled many of its troops away from the battle areas and replaced them with Iraqi forces. Mosul was a venue of heavy fighting in 2008 as the U.S. and Iraqi stooges tried to tame the city. In one battle, the Iraqi resistance killed more than 450 Iraqi military personnel. In the West, this was not mentioned because Iraqis took the place of what once would have been U.S. troops.

In the first three years of occupation, more than 15,000 Iraqi police were killed by the resistance because they were considered collaborators. If one police person is killed in the U.S., there is a national mourning.

Even the terminology has been tweaked to evade reality. During World War II, the French resistance was considered a patriotic entity because it

fought the German occupiers. The same is true of the Iraqi resistance, yet the U.S. is the occupier and calls those who participate in the resistance “terrorists.”

In 1973, Iraq nationalized its oil. It finally became free of the imperialist stranglehold placed on it by the West decades earlier. The nationalizing of Iraqi oil was the main reason behind the miraculous growth of the nation’s economy, infrastructure, and social services. In 2008, the stooges in Baghdad, prompted by their puppet masters in Washington, D.C., began to negotiate to sell off Iraqi oil rights to foreign firms. One U.S. oil executive said, “We’ve waited 35 years for this and now we’re back.”

The March 2003 invasion of Iraq created conditions in which Iraq lost its past. Antiquities were destroyed by the new appointed “government” and Iraq’s history has been re-written in Washington, D.C. The selling of Iraqi oil rights has produced a situation in which Iraq has also lost its future.

Many foreigners benefited financially from the invasion of Iraq. A few Iraqis, most of whom had not lived in the country for decades, did as well. However, Iraq benefited from nothing. For the Iraqis, there has not been one positive aspect of the invasion or the ensuing occupation.

The big winner of the conflict was Iran. For eight years, Iran and Iraq fought a bloody war to a stalemate. Then, 15 years later, Iran won without firing a shot. The U.S. invasion, and the giving of Iraq to people who had not lived in the country for decades and who were pro-Iranian, led Iraq to be inundated with Iranian influence, economically and politically. Today many signs in the south of Iraq are written in Farsi. Plus, Iran is supplying billions of dollars of consumer goods to Iraq.

The Iraqi resistance is still up and running. According to experts, the groups have enough military hardware to conduct a formidable resistance for at least 40 years. This equipment came from the stockpiles of conventional weapons that were pre-positioned by the former Iraqi military. The Ba’ath Party executed this maneuver right under the noses of the occupiers who were claiming victory. The mother of all battles is far from over.

Appendix I

Transcript of the meeting between Saddam Hussein and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, July 25, 1990

Saddam Hussein: I have summoned you today to hold comprehensive political discussions with you. This is a message to President Bush.

You know that we did not have relations with the U.S. until 1984 and you know the circumstances and reasons which caused them to be severed. The decision to establish relations with the U.S. was taken in 1980 during the two months prior to the war between us and Iran.

When the war started, and to avoid misinterpretation, we postponed the establishment of relations hoping that the war would end soon.

But because the war lasted for a long time, and to emphasize the fact that we are a nonaligned country, it was important to re-establish relations with the U.S. And we chose to do this in 1984.

It is natural to say that the U.S. is not like Britain, for example, with the latter's historic relations with Middle Eastern countries, including Iraq. In addition, there were no relations between Iraq and the U.S. between 1967 and 1984. One can conclude it would be difficult for the U.S. to have a full understanding of many matters in Iraq. When relations were re-established, we hoped for a better understanding and for better cooperation because we too do not understand the background of many American decisions.

We dealt with each other during the war and we had dealings on various levels. The most important of these levels were with the foreign ministers.

We had hoped for a better common understanding and a better chance of cooperation to benefit both our peoples and the rest of the Arab nations.

But these better relations have suffered from various rifts. The worst of them was in 1986, only two years after establishing relations, with what was known as Irangate, which happened during the year that Iran occupied the Fao peninsula.

It was natural then to say that old relations and complexity of interests could absorb many mistakes. But when interests are limited and relations are not that old, then there isn't a deep understanding and mistakes could leave a negative effect. Sometimes the effect of an error can be larger than the error itself.

Despite all of that, we accepted the apology, via his envoy, of the American president regarding Irangate, and we wiped the slate clean. And we shouldn't unearth the past except, when new events remind us that old mistakes were not just a matter of coincidence.

Our suspicions increased after we liberated the Fao peninsula. The media began to invoke itself in our politics. And our suspicions began to surface anew, because we began to question whether the U.S. felt uneasy with the outcome of the war when we liberated our land.

It was clear to us that certain parties in the United States — and I don't say the president himself — but certain parties who had links with the intelligence community and with the State Department — and I don't say the Secretary of State himself — I say that these parties did not like the fact that we liberated our land. Some parties began to prepare studies entitled, "Who will succeed Saddam Hussein?" They began to contact Gulf states and make them fear Iraq, to persuade them not to give Iraq economic aid. And we have evidence of these activities.

Iraq came out of the war burdened with \$40 billion debts, excluding the aid given by Arab states, some of whom consider that too to be a debt although they knew — and you knew too — that without Iraq they would not have had these sums and the future of the region would have been entirely different.

We began to face the policy of the drop on the price of oil. Then we saw the United States, which always talks of democracy but which has no time for the other point of view. Then the media campaign against Saddam Hussein was started by the official American media. The United States thought that the situation in Iraq was like Poland, Romania or Czechoslovakia. We were disturbed by this campaign, but we were not disturbed too much because we had hoped that, in a few months, those who are decision makers in America would have a chance to find the facts and see whether this media campaign had had any effect on the lives of Iraqis. We had hoped that soon the American authorities would make the correct deci-

sion regarding their relations with Iraq. Those with good relations can sometimes afford to disagree.

But when planned and deliberate policy forces the price of oil down without good commercial reasons, then that means another war against Iraq. Because military war kills people by bleeding them, and economic war kills their humanity by depriving them of their chance to have a good standard of living. As you know, we gave rivers of blood in a war that lasted eight years, but we did not lose our humanity. Iraqis have a right to live proudly. We do not accept that anyone could injure Iraqi pride or the Iraqi right to have high standards of living.

Kuwait and the U.A.E. were at the front of this policy aimed at lowering Iraq's position and depriving its people of higher economic standards. And you know that our relations with the Emirates and Kuwait had been good. On top of that, while we were busy at war, the state of Kuwait began to expand at the expense of our territory.

You may say this is propaganda, but I would direct you to one document, the Military Patrol Line, which is the borderline endorsed by the Arab League in 1961 for military patrols not to cross the Iraq-Kuwait border.

But go and look for yourselves. You will see the Kuwaiti border patrols, the Kuwaiti farms, the Kuwaiti oil installations — all built as closely as possible to this line to establish that land as Kuwaiti territory.

Since then, the Kuwaiti government has been stable while the Iraqi government has undergone many changes. Even after 1968 and for 10 years afterwards, we were too busy with our own problems. First in the north then the 1973 war, and other problems. Then came the war with Iran which started 10 years ago.

We believe that the United States must understand that people who live in luxury and economic security can reach an understanding with the United States on what are legitimately joint interests. But the starved and the economically deprived cannot reach the same understanding.

We do not accept threats from anyone because we do not threaten anyone. But we say clearly that we hope that the U.S. will not entertain too many illusions and will seek new friends rather than increase the number of its enemies.

I have read the American statements speaking of friends in the area. Of course, it is the right of everyone to choose their friends. We can have no objections. But you know you are not the ones who protected our friends during the war with Iran. I assure you, had the Iranians overrun the region, the American troops would not have stopped them, except by the

use of nuclear weapons.

I do not belittle you. But I hold this view by looking at the geography and nature of American society into account. Yours is a society which cannot accept 10,000 deaths in one battle.

You know that Iran agreed to the cease-fire not because the United States had bombed one of the oil platforms after the liberation of the Fao. Is this Iraq's reward for its role in securing the stability of the region and for protecting it from an unknown flood?

So what can it mean when America says it will not protect its friends? It can only mean prejudice against Iraq. This stance, plus maneuvers and statements which have been made, has encouraged the U.A.E. and Kuwait to disregard Iraqi rights.

I say to you clearly that Iraq's rights, which are mentioned in the memorandum, we will take one by one. That might not happen now or after a month or after one year, but we will take it all. We are not the kind of people who will relinquish our rights. There is no historic right, or legitimacy, or need, for the U.A.E. and Kuwait to deprive us of our rights. If they are needy, we too are needy.

The United States wants to secure the flow of oil. This is understandable and known. But it must not deploy methods which the United States says it disapproves of; flexing muscles and pressure.

If you use pressure, we will deploy pressure and force. We know that you can harm us although we do not threaten you. But we too can harm you. Everyone can cause harm according to their ability and their size. We cannot come all the way to you in the United States, but individual Arabs may reach you.

You can come to Iraq with aircraft and missiles, but do not push us to the point where we cease to care. And when we feel that you want to injure our pride and take away the Iraqis' chance of a high standard of living, then we will cease to care and death will be the choice for us. Then we would not care if you fired 100 missiles for each missile we fired. Because without pride, life would have no value.

It is not reasonable to ask our people to bleed rivers of blood for eight years then to tell them, "Now you have to accept aggression from Kuwait, the U.A.E., or from the U.S. or Israel."

We do not put all these countries in the same boat. First, we are hurt and upset that such disagreement is taking place between us and Kuwait and the U.A.E. The solution must be found within an Arab framework and through direct bilateral relations. We do not place America among the enemies. We place it where we want our friends to be and we try to be

friends. But repeated American statements last year made it apparent that America did not regard us as friends.

When we seek friendship, we want pride, liberty and our right to choose. We want to deal according to our status as we deal with the others according to their status.

We consider the others' interests while we look after our own. And we expect the others to consider our interests while they are dealing with their own. What does it mean when the Zionist war minister is summoned to the United States now? What do they mean, these fiery statements coming out of Israel during the past few days and the talk of war being expected now more than at any other time?

I do not believe that anyone would lose by making friends with Iraq. In my opinion, the American president has not made mistakes regarding the Arabs, although his decision to freeze dialogue with the PLO was wrong. But it appears that this decision was made to appease the Zionist lobby or a piece of strategy to cool the Zionist anger, before trying again. I hope that our latter conclusion is the correct one. But we will carry on saying it was the wrong decision.

You are appeasing the usurper in so many ways: economically, politically and militarily as well as in the media. When will the time come when, for every three appeasements to the usurper, you praise the Arabs just once?

April Glaspie: I thank you, Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for a diplomat to meet and talk directly with the President. But with your permission, I will comment on two points. You spoke of friendship and I believe it was clear from the letters sent by our president to you on the occasion of your National Day that he emphasizes ...

Saddam Hussein: He was kind and his expressions met with our regard and respect.

April Glaspie: As you know, he directed the United States administration to reject the suggestion of implementing trade sanctions.

Saddam Hussein: There is nothing for us to buy from America. Only wheat. Because every time we want to buy something, they say it is forbidden. I am afraid that one day you will say, "You are going to make gunpowder out of wheat."

April Glaspie: I have a direct instruction from the president to seek better relations with Iraq.

Saddam Hussein: But how? We too have this desire. But matters are running contrary to this desire.

April Glaspie: This is less likely to happen the more we talk. For

example, you mentioned the issue of the article published by the American Information Agency and that was sad. And a formal apology was presented.

Saddam Hussein: Your stance is generous. We are Arabs. It is enough for us that someone says, "I am sorry. I made a mistake." Then we carry on, but the media campaign continued. And it is full of stories. If the stories were true, no one would get upset. But we understand from its continuation that there is a determination.

April Glaspie: I saw the Diane Sawyer program on ABC. And what happened in that program was cheap and unjust. And this is a real picture of what happens in the American media; even to American politicians themselves. These are the methods the Western media employs. I am pleased that you add your voice to the diplomats who stand up to the media. Because your appearance in the media, even for five minutes, would help us to make the American people understand Iraq. This would increase mutual understanding. If the American president had control of the media, his job would be much easier.

Mr. President, not only do I want to say that President Bush wanted better and deeper relations with Iraq, but he also wants an Iraqi contribution to peace and prosperity in the Middle East. President Bush is an intelligent man. He is not going to declare an economic war against Iraq.

You are right. It is true what you say that we do not want higher prices for oil. But I would ask you to examine the possibility of not charging too high a price for oil.

Saddam Hussein: We do not want too high prices for oil. And I remind you that in 1974 I gave Tariq Aziz the idea for an article he wrote which criticized the policy of keeping oil prices high. It was the first Arab article which expressed this view.

Tariq Aziz: Our policy in OPEC opposes sudden jumps in oil prices.

Saddam Hussein: Twenty-five dollars a barrel is not a high price.

April Glaspie: We have many Americans who would like to see the price go above \$25 because they come from oil-producing states.

Saddam Hussein: The price at one stage had dropped to \$12 a barrel and a reduction in the modest Iraqi budget of \$6 billion to \$7 billion is a disaster.

April Glaspie: I think I understand this. I have lived here for years. I admire your extraordinary efforts to rebuild your country. I know you need funds. We understand that and our opinion is that you should have this opportunity to rebuild your country. But we have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait.

I was in the American Embassy in Kuwait during the late 60s. The instruction we had during this period was that we should express no opinion on this issue and that the issue is not associated with America. James Baker has directed our official spokesmen to emphasize this instruction. We hope you can solve this problem using any suitable methods via Klibi or via President Mubarak. All that we hope is that these issues are resolved quickly. With regard to all of this, can I ask you to see how the issue appears to us?

My assessment after 25 years' service in this area is that your objective must have strong backing from your Arab brothers. I now speak of oil. But you, Mr. President, have fought through a horrific and painful war. Frankly, we can only see that you have deployed massive troops in the south. Normally that would not be any of our business. But when we read the details in the two letters of the foreign minister, then when we see the Iraqi point of view that the measures taken by the U.A.E. and Kuwaitis is, in the final analysis, parallel to military aggression against Iraq, then it would be reasonable for me to be concerned. And for this reason, I received an instruction to ask you, in the spirit of friendship, not in the spirit of confrontation, regarding your intentions.

I simply describe the concern of my government. And I do not mean that the situation is a simple situation. But our concern is a simple one.

Saddam Hussein: We do not ask people not to be concerned when peace is at issue. This is a noble human feeling which we all feel. It is natural for you as a superpower to be concerned. But what we ask is not to express your concern in a way that would make an aggressor believe that he is getting support for his aggression.

We want to find a just solution which will give us our rights but not deprive others of their rights. But at the same time, we want the others to know that our patience is running out regarding their action, which is harming even the milk our children drink, and the pensions of the widow who lost her husband during the war, and the pensions of the orphans who lost their parents.

As a country, we have the right to prosper. We lost so many opportunities, and the others should value the Iraqi role in their protection. Even this Iraqi (the president points to the interpreter) feels bitter like all other Iraqis. We are not aggressors, but we do not accept aggression either. We sent them envoys and handwritten letters. We tried everything. We asked the Servant of the Two Shrines, King Fahd, to hold a four-member summit, but he suggested a meeting between the oil ministers. We agreed. And as you know, the meeting took place in Jidda. They reached an agree-

ment which did not express what we wanted, but we agreed.

Only two days after the meeting, the Kuwaiti oil minister made a statement that contradicted the agreement. We also discussed the issue during the Baghdad summit. I told the Arab kings and presidents that some brothers are fighting an economic war against us. And that not all wars use weapons and we regard this kind of war as a military action against us. Because if the capability of our army is lowered then, if Iran renewed the war, it could achieve goals which it could not achieve before. And if we lowered the standard of our defenses, then this could encourage Israel to attack us. I said that before the Arab kings and presidents. Only I did not mention Kuwait and the U.A.E. by name, because they were my guests.

Before this, I had sent them envoys reminding them that our war had included their defense. Therefore, the aid they gave us should not be regarded as a debt. We did no more than the United States would have done against someone who attacked its interests.

I talked about the same thing with a number of other Arab states. I explained the situation to brother King Fahd a few times by sending envoys and on the telephone. I talked with brother King Hussein and with Sheik Zaid after the conclusion of the summit. I walked with the Sheik to the plane when he was leaving Mosul. He told me, "Just wait until I get home." But after he had reached his destination, the statements that came from there were very bad — not from him, but from his minister of oil.

Also after the Jidda agreement, we received some intelligence that they were talking of sticking to the agreement for two months only. Then they would change their policy. Now tell us, if the American president found himself in this situation, what would he do? I said it was very difficult for me to talk about these issues in public. But we must tell the Iraqi people who face economic difficulties who was responsible for that.

Appendix II

Key Judgements (National Intelligence Estimate, October 2002)

Iraq's Continuing Programs for Weapons of Mass Destruction

We judge that Iraq has continued its weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs in defiance of UN resolutions and restrictions. Baghdad has chemical and biological weapons as well as missiles with ranges in excess of UN restrictions; if left unchecked, it probably will have a nuclear weapon during this decade.

We judge that we are seeing only a portion of Iraq's WMD efforts, owing to Baghdad's vigorous denial and deception efforts. Revelations after the Gulf war starkly demonstrated the extensive efforts undertaken by Iraq to deny information. We lack specific information on many key aspects of Iraq's WMD programs.

Since inspections ended in 1998, Iraq has maintained its chemical weapons effort, energized its missile program, and invested more heavily in biological weapons; in the view of most agencies, Baghdad is reconstituting its nuclear weapons program.

- Iraq's growing ability to sell oil illicitly increases Baghdad's capabilities to finance WMD programs; annual earnings in cash and goods have more than quadrupled, from \$580 million in 1998 to about \$3 billion this year.
- Iraq has largely rebuilt missile and biological weapons facilities damaged during Operation Desert Fox and has expanded its chemical and

biological infrastructure under the cover of civilian production.

- Baghdad has exceeded UN range limits of 150 km with its ballistic missiles and is working with unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) which allow for a more lethal means to deliver biological and, less likely, chemical warfare agents.
- Although we assess that Saddam does not yet have nuclear weapons or sufficient material to make any, he remains intent on acquiring them. Most agencies assess that Baghdad started reconstituting its nuclear program about the time that UNSCOM inspectors departed — December 1998.

How quickly Iraq will obtain its first nuclear weapon depends on when it acquires sufficient weapons-grade fissile material.

- If Baghdad acquires sufficient fissile material from abroad, it could make a nuclear weapon within several months to a year.
 - Without such material from abroad, Iraq probably would not be able to make a weapon until 2007 to 2009, owing to inexperience in building and operating centrifuge facilities to produce highly enriched uranium and challenges in procuring the necessary equipment and expertise.
- Most agencies believe that Saddam's personal interest in and Iraqi's aggressive attempts to obtain high-strength aluminum tubes for centrifuge rotors — as well as Iraq's attempts to acquire magnets, high-speed balancing machines, and machine tools — provide compelling evidence that Saddam is reconstituting a uranium enrichment effort for Baghdad's nuclear weapons program. (DOE agrees that reconstitution of the nuclear program is underway but assesses that the tubes probably are not part of the program.)
 - Iraq's efforts to re-establish and enhance its cadre of weapons personnel as well as activities at several suspect nuclear sites further indicate that reconstruction is underway.

- All agencies agree that about 25,000 centrifuges based on tubes of the size Iraq is trying to acquire would be capable of producing approximately two weapons' worth of highly enriched uranium per year.
- In a much less likely scenario, Baghdad could make enough fissile material for a nuclear weapon by 2005 to 2007 if it obtains suitable centrifuge tubes this year and has all the other materials and technological expertise necessary to build production-scale uranium enrichment facilities.

We assess that Baghdad has begun renewed production of mustard gas, GF (cyclosarin), and VX; its capability probably is more limited now than it was at the time of the Gulf war, although VX production and agent storage life probably have been improved.

- An array of clandestine reporting reveals that Baghdad has procured covertly the types and quantities of chemicals and equipment sufficient to allow limited CW agent production hidden within Iraq's legitimate chemical industry.
- Although we have little specific information on Iraq's CW stockpile, Saddam probably has stocked at least 100 metric tons (MT) and possibly as much as 500 MT of CW agents — much of it added in the last year.
- The Iraqis have expertise in manufacturing CW bombs, artillery rockets, and projectiles. We assess that they possess CW bulk fills for SRBM warheads, including for a limited number of covertly stored Scuds, possibly a few with extended ranges.

We judge that all key aspects — R&D, production, and weaponization — of Iraq's offensive BW program are active and that most elements are larger and more advanced than they were before the Gulf war.

- We judge that Iraq has some lethal and incapacitating BW agents and is capable of quickly producing and weaponizing a variety of such agents, including anthrax, for delivery by bombs, missiles, aerial sprayers, and covert operatives.

- Chances are even that smallpox is part of Iraq's offensive BW program.
- Baghdad probably has developed genetically engineered BW agents.
- Baghdad has established a large-scale, redundant, and concealed BW agent production capability.
 - Baghdad has mobile facilities for producing bacterial and toxin BW agents; these facilities can evade detection and are highly survivable. Within three to six months, these units probably could produce an amount of agent equal to the total that Iraq produced in the years prior to the Gulf war.

Iraq maintains a small missile force and several development programs, including for a UAV probably intended to deliver biological warfare agent.

- Gaps in Iraqi accounting to UNSCOM suggest that Saddam retains a covert force of up to a few dozen Scud-variant SRBMs with ranges of 650 to 900 km.
- Iraq is deploying its new al-Samoud and Ababil-100 SRBMs, which are capable of flying beyond the UN-authorized 150-km range limit; Iraq has tested an al-Samoud variant beyond 150 km — perhaps as far as 300 km.
- Baghdad's UAVs could threaten Iraq's neighbors, U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf, *and if brought close to, or into, the United States, the U.S. Homeland.*
 - An Iraqi UAV procurement network attempted to procure commercially available route planning software and an associated topographic database that would be able to support targeting of the United States, according to analysis of special intelligence.
 - The Director, Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance, U.S. Air Force, does not agree that Iraq is developing UAVs *primarily*

intended to be delivery platforms for chemical and biological warfare (CBW) agents. The small size of Iraq's new UAV strongly suggests a primary role of reconnaissance, although CBW delivery is an inherent capability.

- Iraq is developing medium-range ballistic missile capabilities, largely through foreign assistance in building specialized facilities, including a test stand for engines more powerful than those in its current missile force.

We have low confidence in our ability to assess when Saddam would use WMD.

- Saddam could decide to use chemical and biological warfare (CBW) preemptively against U.S. forces, friends and allies in the region in an attempt to disrupt U.S. war preparations and undermine the political will of the Coalition.
- Saddam might use CBW after an initial advance into Iraqi territory, but early use of WMD could foreclose diplomatic options for stalling the U.S. advance.
- He probably would use CBW when he perceived he irretrievably had lost control of the military and security situation, but we are unlikely to know when Saddam reaches that point.
- We judge that Saddam would be more likely to use chemical weapons than biological weapons on the battlefield.
- Saddam historically has maintained tight control over the use of WMD; however, he probably has provided contingency instructions to his commanders to use CBW in specific circumstances.

Baghdad now appears to be drawing a line short of conducting terrorist attacks with conventional or CBW against the United States, fearing that exposure of Iraqi involvement would provide Washington a stronger case for making war.

Iraq probably would attempt clandestine attacks against the U.S. Homeland if Baghdad feared an attack that threatened the survival of the regime were

imminent or unavoidable, or possibly for revenge. Such attacks — more likely with biological than chemical agents — probably would be carried out by special forces or intelligence operatives.

- The Iraqi Intelligence Service (IIS) has probably been directed to conduct clandestine attacks against U.S. and Allied interests in the Middle East in the event the United States takes action against Iraq. The IIS probably would be the primary means by which Iraq would attempt to conduct any CBW attacks on the U.S. Homeland, although we have no specific intelligence information that Saddam's regime has directed attacks against U.S. territory.

Saddam, if sufficiently desperate, might decide that only an organization such as al-Qa'ida — with worldwide reach and extensive terrorist infrastructure, and already engaged in a life-or-death struggle against the United States — could perpetrate the type of terrorist attack that he would hope to conduct.

- In such circumstances, he might decide that the extreme step of assisting the Islamist terrorists in conducting a CBW attack against the United States would be his last chance to exact vengeance by taking a large number of victims with him.

This report was widely spread and referenced by the U.S. administration in the buildup to the illegal March 2003 invasion of Iraq. Hindisght shows that the allegations were preposterous when the truth emerged about Iraq's WMD. The following two appendixes are documents supplied by the Iraqis during this period that have shown they were telling the truth to the letter about WMD and the entire bogus reasons for war that the U.S. put forward.

Appendix III

Letter to the United Nations from Iraqi Foreign Minister Naji Sabri Describing the Acceptance of a Return of UN Inspectors to Iraq: November 2002

Your Excellency:

You may recall the huge clamor fabricated by the President of the United States administration, in the biggest and most wicked slander against Iraq, supported in malicious intent, and spearheaded in word and malevolence by his lackey Tony Blair, when they disseminated the claim that Iraq had perhaps produced, or was on its way to produce, nuclear weapons during the time when the United Nations inspectors had been absent from Iraq since 1998. Then they returned to stress that Iraq had in fact produced chemical and biological weapons. They both know, as well as we do, and so can other countries, that such fabrications are baseless. But, does the knowledge of the truth constitute elements for interaction in the politics of our day, which has witnessed the unleashing of the American administration's evil to its fullest extent, dashing away all hope in any good? Indeed, is there any good to be hoped for, or expected, from the American administration now that they have been transformed by their own greed, by Zionism as well as by other known factors, into the tyrant of the age?

Let's go back to say that Iraq, having seen this fabrication work perhaps with some countries and amongst public opinion, while others maintained silence, confronted them with its agreement to the return of the UN inspectors, having agreed to this first with you, as UN chief, in New York on 16 September, 2002, and later in a press statement issued jointly

in Vienna following a meeting on 30th September-1st October between the Iraqi technical delegation headed by Dr. Amer Al-Sa'di, Chief Inspector Hans Blix and Dr. Mohamed El-Baradei, the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). But after Iraq's acceptance of the return of the UN inspectors had become an established fact including the agreement of 19 October, 2002, on the date of their return, and only a few hours after this agreement was reached, Colin Powell, the US Secretary of State declared that he would refuse to accept the inspectors' return to Iraq. In the meantime, the gang of evil returned to talking about adopting a new resolution, or new resolutions, in order to create something for the world to talk about, other than following the work of inspectors and then seeing the fact already stated by Iraq, which was that Iraq neither had produced or was in the possession of any weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical or biological, throughout the time of the inspectors' absence from Iraq.

However, representatives at the United Nations and its agencies, especially those from permanent member states, instead of fellowship on this and hence, expose those responsible for the dissemination of lies and fabrications, were busy discussing the type and wording of the new resolution.

They were indulged in what letter to add here or omit there, until they adopted a text under the pretext that it would be better to take the kicks of a raging bull in a small circle than to face its horns in an open space. The text was adopted under the American administration's pressure and threat that it would leave the UN if it did not agree with what America wanted, which is, to say the least, extremely evil and shameful to every honest member of the United Nations who recalls the provisions of its Charter, and sees that some people feel ashamed on behalf of those who are shameless.

Mr. Secretary-General:

We have said to the members of the Security Council whom we have contacted, or who have contacted us, when they told us about the pretexts of the Americans and their threat to perpetrate aggression against our country, whether unilaterally or with participation from others, if the Security Council were not to allow them to have their way, that we preferred, instead of seeing the American government obtaining an international cover with which to camouflage its falsehood, partially or completely, bringing it closer to the truth, so that it may stab the truth with

the dagger of evil and confront the United States before when it looked as it does now, and this was one of the factors of its isolation in the human environment on the globe at large.

The aggressionism of the United States of America and its single-handed infliction of injustice and destruction on those subjected to its inequity, in the forefront of whom are the Muslims and Arab believers, is the basic reason why America has withdrawn its ambassadors and other staff, closed its embassies, and restricted its interests in many parts of the world, while reaping the hatred of the peoples of the world because of its policies and aggressive objectives. This is a situation which no other country in the world has experienced before, including the fathers of old colonialism. The Security Council, however, or indeed those who can basically play an influential role in it, have, instead of leaving the American administration and its lackey to reap the result of their evil, saved wrong-doing rather than halted it. We shall see when remorse will not do any good for those who bite on their fingers.

Mr. Secretary-General:

The strength of influence of any international organization rests on the belief of the human environment in which the organization exists and which places its trust in it once the organization declares that it has been founded to achieve goals important to mankind.

We fear the United Nations organization may lose the trust and attachment of peoples, that is if it has not fallen to that place already. This is due to the exploitation of the organization by powerful interests whenever their greedy ambitions converge at the expense of the interests of other peoples. It may also be due to the expediency and compromise amongst those interests in falsehood at the expense of truth. So the United Nations and its agencies will collapse in the same way as did its predecessor, the League of Nations.

Then, the responsibility for this will not rest with the American administration alone, but will also be due to the weakness of the timid who allow themselves to work for American interests, under the threat, lure or promises of the American administration. He who remains silent in the defense of truth is a dumb devil. Nothing seems more reprehensible than the silence maintained by those who represented their nations in the Security Council as they discussed the American draft resolution in the face of a question raised by the representative of Mexico regarding the possibility of lifting the blockade imposed on Iraq. The Mexican representative

said, during consultations at the Security Council over SCR 1441 on 8 November 2002, that he did not find convincing the explanations presented by the American permanent representative regarding the absence of any reference to the lifting of sanctions and the establishment in the Middle East region of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction, and that he would convey this to his government in order to receive instructions.

The British representative responded by saying that he has listened to the statements made by the delegations of Syria and Mexico regarding the inclusion in the draft text of a paragraph on the lifting of sanctions. He went on to say that Iraq had been provided with the opportunity to dispose of its weapons of mass destruction, but Iraq had ignored that opportunity and decided to keep possession of those WMDs. Hence, he added, it would be inappropriate to include a reference to the lifting of sanctions as long as Iraq remained in possession of those weapons, even though an indirect reference to that effect was being accommodated.

We ask here, why is it that none of the representatives of Security Council member-states asked its British counterpart when, where and how such an alleged decision was taken by Iraq to keep possession of the weapons of mass destruction?

They treated the claim made by the British representative as if it were of no significance to them, or, rather, as if it were no concern to them to say the truth.

Does this instance, along with other things and the decline of this type of international organization point to the possibility of the collapse of this international organization which was founded in order to preserve world peace and security, but has now been transformed into a kitchen-house for big-power bargaining, providing cover for war, destruction, blockades and starvation to be inflicted upon peoples?

The future will be determined in the light of the possibility for reform, or the inability to achieve reform. The future of the United Nations is no exception to this. Hence, all those who are truly concerned about the well-being of this organization, in deeds, not only in words, and about its work on the basis of the UN Charter, so that stability, justice and fairness will prevail in the world, providing a road-map for peace, freedom and cooperation to flourish among peoples, are called upon to be careful and to adhere to the UN Charter and international law, and not to the whims and incontrollable instincts of those who threaten the world with their evil schemes and weaponry, and those who seek to achieve their interests narrow-mindedly by resorting to the bargaining at the expense of truth, justice and fairness.

Mr. Secretary-General:

We know that those who pressed the Security Council to adopt resolution No. 1441 have other objectives than making sure that Iraq had not developed mass destruction weapons in the absence of the inspectors since 1998. You are aware of how and who stood behind their absence. We also know that there are no true, just or fair reasons behind the adoption of this resolution in the name of the Security Council after the well-known understanding agreement between the representatives of Iraq and the UN Secretary-General and the press statement issued jointly by Blix, ElBaradei, and the Iraqi representatives.

We hereby inform you that we will deal with resolution 1441, despite its bad contents. If it is to be implemented according to the premeditated evil of the parties ill-intent, the important thing in this is trying to spare our people from any harm. But, we will not forget, nor should others do, that safeguarding out peoples' dignity, security, independence, and protecting our country, its sovereignty and sublime values, is a sacred duty in our leadership's and government's agenda. Therefore, as we said in the foresaid agreement and press statement, we are prepared to receive the inspectors so that they can carry out their duties, and make sure that Iraq had not developed weapons of mass destruction, during their absence since 1998.

We hereby ask you to inform the Security Council that we are prepared to receive the inspectors within the assigned timetable. The parties concerned should bear in mind that we are in our holy month of Ramadan which means that the people are fasting, and this holy month will be followed by the Muslim's Eid. Nevertheless, we will cooperate with the concerned UN bodies and officials on the background of all this, and of the tripartite France-Russia-China statement. Dealing with the inspectors, the government of Iraq will also take into consideration their way of conduct, the intentions of those who are ill-intentioned amongst them and their improper approach in showing respect to the peoples' national dignity, their independence and security, and their country's security, independence and sovereignty. We are eager to see them perform their duties in accordance with the international law as soon as possible. If they do so, professional and lawfully, without any premeditated intentions, the liars' lies will be exposed to public opinion, and the declared objective of the Security Council will be achieved. It will then become the lawful duty of the Security Council to lift the blockade and all the other unjust sanctions on Iraq. If it does not, all the peoples of good will in the world, in

addition to Iraq, will tell it to do so. The Security Council will be compelled before the public opinion and the law to activate paragraph 14 of its resolution No. 687, by applying it to the Zionist entity (Israel), and then, to all the Middle East region, to make it a region void of mass destruction weapons. The number of just people will, then, increase in the world, and Iraq's possibility to drive away the cawing of the crows of evil that daily raid its land and kill Iraqis and destroy their property by their bombs. This will help the stability of the region and the world, if it is accompanied by a resolution that will not be based on double standards, to put an end to the Zionist occupation of Palestine and other occupied Arab territories, and if the warmongers stop their aggressions on the Muslims and the world.

Therefore, through you, we reiterate the same words to the Security Council: Send your inspectors to Iraq to make sure of this, and everyone will be sure, if their way of conduct is supervised so that it becomes legal and professional, that Iraq has not developed weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, chemical, or biological, as claimed by evil people. The lies and manipulations of the American administration and British government will be exposed, while the world will see how truthful and adequate are the Iraqis in what they say and do. But, if the whims of the American administration, the Zionist desires, their followers, intelligence services, threats and foul temptation, were given the chance to play and tamper with the inspection teams or some of their members, the colors would be then confused and the resulting commotion will distort the facts and push the situation into dangerous directions which is something fair-minded people do not wish for, as well as the people who, including my government, want to bring the facts as they are. The fieldwork and the implementation will be the decisive factors that will reveal whether the intentions were really for the Security Council to make sure that Iraq is void of those alleged weapons, or whether the whole thing was nothing but an evil cover by those who were behind the resolution who have no scruples to utter debased slander and to tell lies to the public, including their own peoples.

So, let the inspectors come to Baghdad to carry out their duties in accordance with the law, and then we will hear and see, along with those who want to hear, see and move according to each one's responsibility and rights. The final word and reference will still be resolution No. 687 with its obligations on both the Secretary-General and Iraq, along with the code of conduct agreed upon in the agreement signed by the Secretary-General in New York on 16th September, 2002, and the press statement of Hans Blix and ElBaradei in Vienna on 9/30-10/1/2002.

Mr. Secretary-General:

Please assume your responsibilities by saying and advising the unfair people that their unfairness to Muslims, faithful Arabs, and to all, will be of dire consequences. Tell them that the proud Iraqi people are faithful. We hope that you, Mr. Secretary-General, will advise the ignorants not to push things to the precipice in the implementation, because the people of Iraq will not choose to live at the price of their dignity, country, freedom or sanctities, and they would rather make their lives the price if that was the only way before them to safeguard what they must safeguard.

I wish to inform Your Excellency, before I conclude this letter, that I intend to forward another letter to you on a later date, in which I shall state our observations of the measures and procedures contained in SCR 1441 that are contrary to international law, the UN Charter, and the facts already established and the measures contained in previous relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

Naji Sabri Ahmed
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Republic of Iraq

This letter makes it quite clear that Iraq stated it did not possess and was not in the process of manufacturing weapons of mass destruction. It also shows that the Iraqis were well aware of the U.S. and British efforts to thwart any peace process. Justifiably, it calls upon the United Nations to lift the embargo in place against Iraq because the country had complied with UN resolutions. The letter received little publicity or distribution. In hindsight, it is one of the most accurate and insightful documents of the period.

Appendix IV

The Buildup to the Iran-Iraq War

Today, we hear almost unanimous opinions that Iraq started the Iran-Iraq War. The late Jude Wanniski, former assistant editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, calls this thought process the “rewriting of history.” Early in 2005, he eloquently put forth an article that took us back to 1979 and 1980 and described incidents of the day. He was outspoken about this subject and criticized those who have fallen into the “Iraq started the Iran-Iraq War” sphere.

Prior to Iraq firing its first shot, Iran had sabotaged Iraqi interests and had shelled Iraqi border towns. This was all documented and presented by Iraq during that period. In 1985, the Iraqi Embassy in Washington D.C. published its side of the story.

Ironically, Iran spent eight years in a bloody war to accomplish two goals: the overthrow of the Iraqi regime and the implementation of an Islamic state in Iraq. At the war’s end, neither had occurred.

Let’s look at today’s Iraq. Iran belatedly won the Iran-Iraq War, albeit 17 years after the 1988 cease-fire. This time, however, Iran did not have to fire a shot or lose one combatant. The Ba’athist regime has been overthrown, and, in September 2005, some members of the Iraqi stooge parliament proudly called Iraq “the Islamic State of Iraq.”

The U.S. thought by invading Iraq, it would keep the secular look to the country and have a bulwark against Iran. However, Iranian influence is at an all-time high in Iraq and the U.S. is trapped between various factions.

Let’s go back to 1985 and see some of the similarities of then and today. Unfortunately, those who decried Iran taking U.S. hostages in 1979 have forgotten the actual facts of the time and mimic the words of the U.S. administration as it rewrites history.

How the Iran-Iraq War Started

Published by the Embassy of the Republic of Iraq,
Washington D.C. January 1985

One of the first questions Iraqis are asked is, "Why did you start the war?" Disputes between Iraq and Iran have been settled in the past by peaceful talks, not war; most recently in 1975 when Algeria helped to negotiate an agreement on international borders, access to the Shatt al-Arab waterway, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Friction between Iran and Iraq did not actually begin on September 4, 1980. This date marks only the onset of armed hostilities in the Iran-Iraq conflict. The present deterioration of relations between the two countries is directly correlated to Khomeini's rise to power. Khomeini put a new twist on the old disputes over borders, territory, and non-interference, using sensitive areas to promote discord.

Fundamental to current conflicts are the basic ideological differences now found between Iran and Iraq. Under Khomeini, Iran has followed a line of religious fanaticism, one which recognizes no political or geographic limits to the expansion of its control and influence. Iraq, on the other hand, adheres to a policy of nationalism, rejecting the domination of religious elements in the administration of the state while espousing freedom of belief and practice and unity among its peoples. These diametrically opposed ideologies are the core of the Iran-Iraq war.

Almost immediately after coming to power, Khomeini began to focus on the overthrow of the Iraqi government as the first logical stepping stone in his expansionist policy. A slow, but deliberate, series of provocations ensued, beginning with the new Iranian government's disavowal, in June of 1979, of the 1975 Algiers Accord. Khomeini freed himself from the constraints of this accord under the pretext that it had been concluded by the shah and sponsored by the United States. The Algiers Accord and its subsequent protocols provided for a definitive settlement of borders and strict adherence to non-interference in internal affairs by joint committees set up for that end. Khomeini disregarded the Algiers Accord, the settlements based upon it and refused to implement them. Khomeini's disregard for this accord put a halt to the committees' work.

While the Iraqi government was extending its goodwill gestures to the new Iranian government and encouraging the development of good relations, Khomeini's representatives were publicly condemning the Iraqi gov-

ernment and claiming the allegiance of Iraqi Muslims, thus sowing division amongst the Muslims of Iraq and between Iraq's Muslims and non-Muslims. As Iran's rhetoric against the Iraqi leadership continued, Iraqi officials proposed to meet with Iranian leaders to discuss bilateral relations. In his address on July 17, 1980, President Saddam Hussein stressed Iraqi support for the Iranian people and expressed the desire for mutual cooperation between the two countries. The Iraqi government invited the Prime Minister of the Iranian Provisional Government to hold talks. This invitation was renewed two weeks later by the Vice-Chairman of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council, Izzat Ibrahim.

At the Non-Aligned Summit Conference, held in the fall of 1979, President Hussein met with the Iranian Foreign Minister on two separate occasions to reaffirm Iraq's efforts to establish relations of cooperation between the two countries. While at the United Nations, the Iraqi Foreign Minister extended yet another invitation to hold talks on Iraq-Iran relations to his Iranian counterpart. The Iraqi Ambassador to Tehran visited the Iranian President, extending Iraq's greetings and his own best wishes for the President's success in pointing relations between Iran and Iraq in the right direction, that is non-interference in domestic affairs of each other's country.

Despite Iraq's friendly overtures, the Iranian leadership insisted on its hostile attitude. Throughout March 1980, Iranian officials persisted in their warnings to the Iraqi people to "Beware of the Ba'ath Party and Iraqi leadership." Khomeini issued a statement in late March urging both the youth and the military of Iraq to rebel against their government and to become heroes in a battle to rid Iraq of the Ba'ath and the extinction of Arab nationalism.

In an address delivered by his son on March 21, 1980, Khomeini made Iran's position clear: "We should exert all efforts to export our revolution to other parts of the world. Let us abandon the idea of keeping our revolution within our borders."

Iran, however, was not leaving its message to chance. "Iraq is Persian," Iran's President stated on April 7, 1980, more than five months before the war began. "Aden and Baghdad belong to us," said Iran's Foreign Minister, Qotob Zada on April 8. Zada went one step further in his remarks the following day, stating that his government had "decided to overthrow the Iraqi government."

Khomeini reiterated and expanded this theme on a weekly basis throughout April. In an impassioned radio address, Khomeini severely attacked President Hussein and asked the Iraqi army to rebel and topple its govern-

ment. He accused the Iraqi army of combating Islam and again declared the urgency of the revolution's march towards Baghdad. In a direct appeal, Khomeini said, "The Iraqi people should liberate themselves from the claws of the enemy. It should topple this non-Islamic party in Iraq."

The intransigence of the Iranian position was demonstrated on various occasions. At the beginning of May 1980, the Iranian President claimed it would not be interference in Iraq's domestic affairs to go to Baghdad to "liberate" the Iraqi people because "We consider the Islamic nation as one and the Imam (Khomeini) is the religious leader for us as well as for Iraq and for all Islamic peoples." (The Imam) feels he is responsible for Iraq as well as Iran."

Foreign Minister Zada spoke at a press conference in Abu Dhabi where he remained firm in his position on Iraq saying, "We do not accept any mediation or dialogue with the criminal (Iraqi) regime ... it must disappear and the people of Iraq want to topple their government." In a radio address in Tehran a few days later, Zada said that "because the Ba'ath regime practices oppression against the Muslim people of Iraq ... we shall not come to terms with them."

Indeed, ever since its assumption of power, the Iranian regime has embarked on a series of provocative acts against the government and people of Iraq. In late 1979, for example, Iran began a series of attacks on diplomatic, consular, cultural, and commercial missions of Iraq. The personnel of the Iraqi Embassy in Tehran, its Consulates in Muhamara (Khorramshahr) and Kermanshah, Iraqi schools in Iran and the Iraqi Airways office in Tehran were all subjects to verbal and physical acts of aggression.

Many demonstrations, tacitly or otherwise approved by Iranian authorities, took place outside the Embassy with photographs of President Hussein burning and shouts of "death to Iraqi leaders and the Ba'ath Party." These scenes are familiar to Americans who saw their own Embassy overtaken by these same vehement and frenzied crowds.

On October 7, 1979, Iranian authorities asked Iraq to close its Consulates in Muhamara and Kermanshah within three months. Less than one week later, the Iraqi Consulate General in Muhamara was subjected to harsh treatment. Doors and windows were smashed, officials were attacked and records damaged. Similar attacks occurred on three other occasions. On November 1, the Iraqi flag and photographs of President Hussein were lowered and torn and the diplomatic pouch taken by force. By January 11, Iranian authorities decided to deport Consulate employees in these two cities, even before the expiration of the specified departure period. Many

employees were mistreated and brutally beaten.

Similar provocations were taking place at Iraqi schools in Iran. Iraqi teachers' residence permits were not renewed, schools were stormed by Revolutionary Guards and students and teachers were attacked. By the end of 1979, Iranian authorities had closed all Iraqi schools in Iran, but one. Teachers were deported, prevented from taking along their personal belongings, and some were even arrested and interrogated prior to being released for deportation.

As Iraq submitted protests to Iranian authorities over these hostile acts, aggression continued unabated even within Iraqi territory. Along the border there were violations of eastern Iraqi territory and air space; bombings of outposts and border villages which included kidnappings, sabotage, and attacks on Iraqi police patrols and border guards, infringements on Iraqi territorial waters as well as aggression on Iraqi and foreign vessels.

Terrorist acts deep inside Iraq itself resulted in the death and injury of innocent citizens, women and children included. In April 1980 alone, hand grenades were hurled on the campus of Al-Mustansiriyah University; in the capital Baghdad at a student gathering; bombs were thrown at the funeral procession for victims from the Al-Mustansiriyah gathering; assassination attempts were made on the lives of the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, and the Iraqi Minister of Culture and Information, Latif Jassim.

From February 1979, (when Khomeini came to power) until the outbreak of the armed conflict in September 1980, 941 violations against Iraq took place. Iraq notified the Secretary General of the United Nations, The Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Organization of the American States, protesting these provocations on more than 145 separate occasions.

Moreover, the Iraqi Embassy in Tehran approached the Iranian Foreign Ministry regularly while the Iranian Ambassador to Baghdad was frequently summoned to meetings with various Iraqi high officials. Iran's resolve to interfere in the domestic affairs of Iraq continued to undermine relations between the two neighbors. Khomeini's disruption of traffic and ultimately the closure of the Shatt al-Arab waterway in September 1980 was a very serious intimidation to Iraq, for this waterway is of major strategic concern for the assurance of Iraq's access to the sea. Without it, Iraq would be almost landlocked. The Shatt-al-Arab's significance to Iraq had become increasingly important as early as the 1960s when oil revenues became a valuable source for Iraq's national budget. An accessible Shatt-al-Arab is also vital for Iraqi trade, and thus to the development of the country.

Iran's behavior towards Iraq escalated to unprecedented levels of violence from September 4, 1980. Four border towns were shelled constantly by Iranian heavy artillery. The proximity of major Iraqi cities to the Iran-Iraq border made them, especially, vulnerable to any Iranian military initiative. Densely-populated towns and villages in the Zain-al-Qaws area were shelled. The number of deaths and property damage was devastating.

Repeated Iraqi requests that Iran withdraw immediately its military units from Iraqi territories, namely Zain Al-Qaws and Saif Saad (defined as Iraqi territories in all international border agreements binding both countries including the 1975 Accord), and to refrain from shelling Iraqi border towns and villages, went unanswered. Khomeini was unyielding and reaffirming his resolute position.

"How could we reconcile with Saddam Hussein?" he asked in the fall of 1980. "There is no reconciliation with these Iraqi Ba'athists because our aim is Islam and their aim runs counter to Islam." Like the United States, Iraq is a secular state with full freedom of religion and worship for all citizens guaranteed under the law, with a distinct separation of "church and state."

The events which took place before the armed conflict between the two parties, as discussed earlier, clearly indicate that Iran was the party who violated the clauses of the 1975 Algiers agreement, by continuing its occupation of territories that were to be returned to Iraq in accordance with that agreement, by disrupting river traffic and by aggressive interference in the internal affairs of Iraq.

The 1975 Accord states explicitly (article 4), that if any of the two contracting parties violates any article of the Accord, then the whole Accord is null and void.

Iran violated the Accord, not only through the hostile statements of its high officials, who denounced it as "an imperial treaty," but also by interference in Iraq's domestic affairs. With the Algiers Accord practically and intentionally abrogated by Iran, with the onslaught of verbal and physical attacks on Iraq, and with Iraqi casualties mounting as a result of Iranian aggression, Iraq was left with little recourse than to protect its territorial integrity to secure the unity of its people and the stability of its government.

In an address to the Iraqi people on September 28, 1980, President Hussein examined the conflict with Iran: "We stressed to the whole world that Iraq has no designs on the Iranian territories and that we do not at all intend to launch war with Iran or expand the circle of struggle with it, outside of defending our rights and sovereignty ... We would like to assure

the Iranian people that we have no intention of encroaching upon their rights, laying claims on any of their territories, or humiliating them and the Iranian army ... We hope that the Iranian regime will benefit from this lesson ... and will honorably cooperate with the region's countries in accordance with this honorable independent trend. It will then guarantee for Iran its legitimate interests, consolidate its security and stability, and keep it away from the policies of aggression and adventures, which have brought it only losses and catastrophes."

Appendix V

Interview with Salah Al-Mukhtar, Former Iraqi
Ambassador to India and Vietnam
September 2005
by Jeff Archer

BACKGROUND

- Born in Baghdad in 1944
- Professional journalist and author since 1961
- Education: B.A. (Political Science) from Baghdad University; A.M. from Long Island University, New York
- Official posts held: Press Counselor of the Iraqi Permanent Mission to the United Nations (1980-1984); Director in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1985-1986); Director-General for Information in the Ministry of Culture and Information (1986-1990); Chairman of the Permanent Committee for Arab Information in the Arab League (1986-1990); teacher in the College of Political Science, Baghdad University (1991-1993); Editor-in-Chief of *Al-Jamhorya* newspaper (1993-1998); Chairman of Friendship, Peace and Solidarity organization in Iraq (1994-1998); Deputy Chairman of Iraqi Journalists Association (1994-1998); Ambassador of Iraq to India (1999-2003); Ambassador of Iraq to Vietnam (2003)
- Awards: Conferred Outstanding Ambassador of the Year Award by Unity International Foundation (New Delhi, India)
- Hobbies: Listening to soft music and writing short stories

JA: When the Ba'athists came to power in Iraq, how long did it take to see a difference in the country's society and what were the greatest achievements?

SM: In 1968, when the Ba'ath Party came to power, it immediately started the march of creating an army of scientists, engineers, and technicians to provide the country with the basic precondition to fill the gap with the advanced nations.

In 1972, the Ba'athist government nationalized the oil industry, kicking out foreign companies that were looting and exploiting the oil income. The Ba'ath Party financed the radical changes in Iraq and by the early 1970s, Iraq had thousands of experts and technicians in major fields of life.

In that time, thousands of Iraqis graduated from universities in Iraq and were sent to different countries, such as the U.S., United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, China, India and other countries to acquire knowledge in technology and science.

It took Iraq about 10 years to emerge as an advancing country heading toward the developed nations. The army of scientists, and technicians, as well as doctors of medicine, provided Iraq with exceptional qualities. The achievements of the Ba'athist government were unlimited, such as free education for all from primary school to a PhD degree; free medicine for all Iraqis and non-Iraqis living in Iraq, including diplomats and foreign companies working in Iraq. The results of the revolution of July 17, 1968 included the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and chronic disease.

Iraq had become free of the major and traditional problems of the Third World countries. In addition to all these achievements, the Ba'ath Party had supported the prices of essential goods and services, such as supplying cheap energy, electricity, water supplies, transportation, foodstuff, clothing, housing, and so on.

The government of Iraq under the Ba'ath Party had been paying the difference of the cost of imported goods as well as the services. As for security of individuals, Iraq was the safest country in the Middle East. The citizens slept with their house doors open because there were no poor people to loot or steal or cheat others.

When Iraqi doctors were not capable of treating certain medical problems, the Ba'athist government sent the citizens abroad for treatment. The costs of the treatment and medicine were paid by the government of Iraq to guarantee good health and prosperity for all Iraqis.

As for education, the United Nations, at the end of the '70s, had awarded Iraq as one of the best examples of an advanced and successful education system. At the end of the '70s, Iraq was prosperous and it had solved the major problems of Third World countries.

At that time, the Shah of Iran was toppled by the clerics of Iran under the leadership of Khomeini, who soon declared his holy war against the

Ba'ath Party and President Saddam Hussein. The slogan adopted by Khomeini was the exportation of the so-called "Islamic Revolution," and he had chosen Iraq to start as he wanted to impose an Iranian-style government in Baghdad. That was the beginning of serious problems for Iraq.

The war between Iraq and Iran erupted after Khomeini ordered his Revolutionary Guards and the Iranian army to open fire on Iraqi border villages and cities, to pave the way for occupying Baghdad itself and to topple the government and President Saddam Hussein.

The halting of Iran's plans for Iraq, as well as the formidable social programs, were the greatest achievements of the Ba'ath Party from social, economic and political points of view.

JA: Please explain the relationship between various Kurdish factions and the Ba'ath government.

SM: When it comes to the solution of chronic Iraqi crises, such as with the Kurds and conflicts among political parties of Iraq, the Ba'ath Party put together a radical remedy to both problems. It had given and established an autonomous region in the Kurdish area, with full authority to the local government and local parliament for Kurdish people of Iraq.

The Ba'ath Party, for the first time in the history of the Kurdish people, initiated their recognition as another nationality who had the right of self-rule within the borders of Iraq. In contrast, the conditions of the Kurdish people of Turkey, about 18 million citizens, and the Kurdish people of Iran, about eight million citizens, have produced no recognition of them as another nationality.

In Iraq, the Kurdish people number about two-and-a-half million citizens. In spite of this fact, Iraq, under the leadership of the Ba'ath Party and President Saddam Hussein, had recognized Iraqi Kurdish people as a second national party in Iraq that had the right of an autonomous region and the right of flourishing their own language and culture. On that basis, Iraq established an education system in the Kurdish region based on using the Kurdish language to teach Kurdish people.

That was one of the Ba'ath Party's greatest achievements. The second political achievement was the establishment of the National Progressive Front among Ba'athist, communist and Kurdish political parties. To understand the importance of that front, we have to remember that between the years 1958 and 1968, Iraq experienced a bloody conflict among political parties that resulted in a number of military coups and upheavals. These two political achievements were designed to provide Iraq with stability and peaceful cooperation to put an end to more than a decade of bloody fighting.

Many people don't know of these achievements made in Iraq by the Ba'ath Party because the propagandistic campaigns, organized by the West in general, and the United States governments in particular, with the full support of Israel and Iran, had deprived the public of many countries from knowing the basic and objective information about the reality of Iraq. The government of Iraq had tried to reach the U.S. and other nations, but unfortunately the art and informational experiences and technical basis of it were not available for us. The West, and especially the United States of America, had adopted a policy, or tactic, called "demonizing" Iraq and President Saddam Hussein by all means of lies and deception and distorting facts to guarantee that the public opinion of the West will support whatever the governments of the United States will do against Iraq, including waging war or imposing a deadly embargo, and eventually occupying Iraq.

JA: What is your take on the actions taken on August 2, 1990 against Kuwait and the ensuing occupation?

SM: The Kuwait issue dates back to the British colonial occupation of Iraq and the region surrounding it at the end of the 19th century. In that time, the British military commander had separated Kuwait from Iraq to use it as a jumping zone to Iraq and other countries in the Arab homeland.

At that time, oil was discovered in Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. British colonialism tried to impose its full control over the region's oil and that is why, from a strategic point of view, it was very important to separate Kuwait from Iraq. This was accomplished by giving the ruling family of the locality of Kuwait great financial privileges for the purpose of creating a motive for that family to stay away from Iraq and to establish an independent entity.

This fact is supported by historical facts and the social fabric of both Kuwait and the Iraqis. You cannot differentiate Kuwait and Iraq from Basrah city because both speak the same dialect and both have the same traditions. Until now, you can still find mixed families in Kuwait and Basrah city in Iraq. From a linguistic point of view, Kuwait is the diminutive name of Kut, which is an Iraqi city in the southern part of Iraq. If you read the history of the region, you'll never find any entity called Kuwait.

Even if you put the historical issues aside, we are going to confront political reality. In 1988, after the victory of Iraq over Iran, Kuwait started a policy of provocation toward Iraq. For example, Kuwait had asked Iraq to resolve the border problem between both countries, and more dangerously, Kuwait had begun to play the game of reducing the price of oil by

increasing its oil production which violated its quota. At this time, Iraq was desperate to reconstruct the destroyed cities and infrastructure affected by the war. The oil price was dropped from \$20 a barrel to \$10, which meant that Iraq had lost about 50% of its national income.

Iraq understood that Kuwait was not motivated by a Kuwaiti decision, but by an American one. All the developments from that time until now have proven that the United States has used Kuwait to conspire against Iraq.

For example, Iraqi troops in Kuwait found videotapes of military maneuvers conducted by U.S. and Kuwaiti troops in 1989, at least one year before the explosion of the crisis with Kuwait. In those maneuvers, the enemy of both was in the north, and you know that Iraq is to the north of Kuwait.

The most important question is why the Kuwaiti government had involved itself in the American plan to wage war against Iraq. The developments of the two years before the war had proven that the United States had decided to topple the government of Iraq as a precondition to colonize Iraq. After reaching that conclusion, especially after the Saudi Arabia meeting between two high-ranking delegates from Iraq and Kuwait, in which the Kuwaiti delegation was very aggressive and provocative, the leadership of Iraq believed that America had determined to attack Iraq militarily and whatever Iraq would do, it would never change this plan. So, the decision of Iraq was to change the stage of the theater of war from taking place in Iraq to conduct the war in the oil fields of Kuwait. In light of this analysis, Iraq was in a defensive mode, practicing the military option called preemptive strike.

JA: When Iraq occupied Kuwait, we, in the West, heard that Iraq destroyed the country and raped Kuwaiti women. I questioned this analysis because there was little Kuwaiti resistance. If the occupation had been so horrible, there would have been a tremendous resistance, such as that in today's Iraq. Please elaborate.

SM: What you have said is true. Iraq never destroyed Kuwait nor its infrastructure. In contrast, Iraq had used its own money to guarantee normal life in Kuwait. Of course, some Iraqis had committed some mistakes and crimes, but the retaliation of the Iraqi government was severe. Those persons were executed officially and openly to deter others from doing the same.

Let's ask ourselves what the Kuwaiti government did. The Kuwaiti ambassador in Washington had officially hired a public relations firm to wage campaigns of mass deception and lies against Iraq and its behavior in

Kuwait. The story of Nayirah was a very good example of the Kuwaiti government's determination to fabricate lies. Because Nayirah claimed she was a nurse in a Kuwaiti hospital and witnessed the looting of incubators by Iraqi soldiers, which resulted in the deaths of many Kuwaiti babies, the Congress of the United States of America was convinced to support the President of the United States to approve war plans against Iraq. That game worked perfectly: the Congress had removed its objection and reservations and supported the war option.

Later on, it was discovered that the nurse was the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador in Washington and that the story was fabricated by an American public relations firm just to pave the way for war.

The non-existence to the Iraqi troops in Kuwait had proven that the Kuwaitis were not interested in fighting against Iraq.

JA: The embargo against Iraq was a massive crime against humanity. How did the Iraqi public work in such a manner that the country, although damaged, still functioned?

SM: The sanctions imposed on Iraq included medicine and even food, despite the fact that food and medicine were exempt from the sanctions system, according to international law. More than that, the sanctions banned Iraq from buying scientific books, pencils, laboratories, and so on. The combination of the effects of the embargo and the bombardment by the United States and Britain to the infrastructure of Iraq, and the use of depleted uranium resulted in catastrophic effects on the lives of the Iraqis.

The most horrible example is the deaths of about two million Iraqis because of the lack of medicine and food, as well as the pollution that resulted from using ammunition made of depleted uranium. Mrs. Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State, when asked by Leslie Stahl of the TV program 60 Minutes, about her reaction to the deaths of at least a half million Iraqi children under five years old, stated, "Our objectives in Iraq justify the results."

In Iraq, which was until the imposition of the sanctions, among the small numbers of developing nations that provided its people with free education, free medicine, very cheap foodstuff, very cheap transportation, and eradicated chronic diseases and poverty and enjoyed the security of individuals and society, the country of Iraq had once again become a nation characterized with the deterioration of all kinds of services and a standard of life. Illiteracy was revived and poverty returned. The monthly income of the family had dwindled to between two and three dollars a month, from the level of having surplus income before the sanctions.

But Iraqis, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, in which the first laws

were written, the first civilization established, and the basis of sciences, such as medicine, mathematics and astronomy were either invented or discovered; those Iraqis were capable of absorbing the impacts of the sanctions, and to reorganize their own lives, depending on their own expertise and resources, to normalize life under the sanctions as much as possible. The Ba'ath government invented a ration system to guarantee food, basic food for every citizen, and to provide them with the available medicine just for a half dollar a month. This achievement was unique in our time because no government in the world was providing its citizens with more than 60% of their foodstuff and medicine for just a half dollar a month.

You are asking me how we did it. My answer is that when you mobilize your nation's might, and when you convince your nation that it is defending its own future and dignity, no obstacle can prevent you from doing miracles.

JA: How deep is secularism in the Iraqi psyche? In the U.S., we are told that Islam is the factor behind everything the country did or is doing now.

SM: First of all, I would like to explain some very important facts. Iraq, as the cradle of civilization, has been characterized with many features throughout 8,000 years. The Iraqis have been able to live with each other, despite the religious, ethnic, sectarian and cultural differences among them. Before Islam, Iraq was a Jewish and Christian country that coexisted with very old religions. Also, Iraq as a country, uniquely established at least five civilizations, one-by-one from Summarea more than 6,000 years ago to Abassides, from more than 1,000 years ago. These civilizations and empires were universal entities, meaning they controlled all continents and regions from the Middle East to China and Europe.

Such a rich culture and deep traditions crystallized a unique identity for Iraqis, which is the ability to live with each other despite the religious and ethnic differences. The so-called Iraqi secularism has deep roots in that culture. It means that any Iraqi citizen has the right to believe in any religion, or to be proud of any ethnic affiliation, without being prosecuted or attacked. Iraqi secularism means that all Iraqi citizens are equal in front of the law and there is not any kind of religious or ethnic discrimination, and religious clerics have no right to determine the fate and future of the people and the policies of the state.

This culture was flourishing in Iraq until the occupation by the United States and Britain, which brought to Iraq all kinds of planned provocation to the different portions of Iraqi society. The laws imposed on Iraq by the American colonial ruler Mr. Paul Bremer were based on sectarianism and

racism. They have encouraged all kinds of conflicts among the Iraqis by putting that kind of criterion to assume power through government imposed by Bremer.

More than that, the CIA has brought to Iraq mercenaries and professional gangs, and trained assassins to kill religious and ethnic leaders from different groups, just to convince each party in Iraq that it has been attacked by another Iraqi party. Then they start fighting each other. The bombing of churches and mosques, of both Iraqi Shi'ite and Iraqi Sunni, were done by the CIA and Iranian intelligence services, as well as the Israeli Mossad. But, this conspiracy was confronted by all Iraqis with caution and full alert. It has failed, especially because the Iraqi resistance is representing all Iraqi social fabric: Shi'ite, Sunni, Arab, Kurd, Turk, and so on.

JA: In the U.S., we hear the word "Shi'ite" and everyone believes they are all Islamic fundamentalists. However, I have read accounts from Iraqis that state many Shi'ites were and are secular and many belonged to the Ba'ath Party. Please elaborate.

SM: To be accurate, we have to state that the Ba'ath Party in Iraq was established in the city of Alnaserea by Shi'ite Ba'athists during the end of the 1940s of the last century. From the southern part of Iraq, which it is called now (the Shi'ite region), the Ba'ath Party spread to every Iraqi city and village, from Basrah in the south to Arbil in the northern part of Iraq. That was the beginning.

When the U.S. occupation took place, Iraqi Shi'ites represented the majority of the Ba'ath Party. If you check the list issued by American occupation forces for the people under arrest, which you call it "the list of 55," you will find that out of 55 Iraqi leaders, 35 were Shi'ite. The Ba'ath Party is open to all Iraqis and it has never been a sectarian or racist party. You can find leaders at the highest level of leadership of Kurdish origin, such as Mr. Taha Yassin Rammadan, the vice president of Iraq, and a number of both Pan-Arab leadership of the Ba'ath Party, as well as regional leadership of the Ba'ath Party. Shi'ite membership of the Ba'ath Party constitutes about 62% of the party's leadership. The Ba'ath Party does not ask any member, or supporter, about religious or ethnic background. The major criterion is the individual's sincerity in belonging to Iraq.

JA: Despite the Ba'ath party being banned in Iraq, I have read that they are recruiting heavily and successfully, not only in Iraq, but throughout the Arab world. This is an important, yet untold, story. Please give me more information.

SM: Yes indeed, the Ba'ath Party popularity has increased in a tre-

mendous way and level after the occupation of Iraq. It has recruited thousands of new Ba'athists who never were Ba'athists before the occupation. The reason behind this fact is that the Ba'athists are presenting the best example of sincerity to Iraq and the Arab homeland. When the occupation took place, the Ba'athists had been prepared for years to practice guerilla and urban warfare.

Immediately after the Baghdad occupation by American troops, the Ba'athists started their armed resistance everywhere in Iraq, simultaneously. By doing so, the Ba'ath Party has made its popularity wider and stronger.

Now, if you look to Iraq, you'll never find a nationwide party except the Ba'ath Party. All other parties, whether new or old, are local parties. This fact is positive when we analyze the making of the Iraqi resistance, in which the Ba'ath Party is the major power and the bigger organization.

According to the information we are receiving from Iraq, the Ba'ath Party has surplus fighters who have prepared themselves to be martyrs, and new supporters, whom we call in Arabic "Ansar." Besides, the Ba'ath Party has gotten rid of some weak internal elements. Now, all Ba'athists are loyal people of principles and are ready to sacrifice their lives inside their homeland for the liberation from American colonialism.

JA: President Saddam Hussein has been kidnapped by the U.S. The quislings in power want a quick trial followed by an execution. They think the resistance will then stop. Will this backfire? In my opinion, the resistance will only grow if they execute President Saddam. What is your opinion?

SM: I assure you that the Iraqi armed resistance will never retreat or be weakened by any development or party. It has its own momentum and mechanisms, as well as its own plans and options. I agree with you that there will be no fair trial for President Saddam Hussein because the occupation in itself is illegal and whatever is built on illegality is illegal.

The Iraqi armed resistance will continue its original course of fighting and it will double and increase the military operations against the American colonialism in the case of the execution of President Saddam Hussein. The normal reaction will be to fight more decisively and it will shorten the time of liberating Iraq. To understand this fact, you have to remember that after the arrest of President Saddam Hussein, the resistance developed rapidly and it has covered all of Iraq, including the Kurdish region.

JA: What role did President Saddam Hussein play in the resistance between April 9, 2003 and his capture in December 2003?

SM: What I know is that President Saddam Hussein planned and implemented various military operations against the occupation.

JA: Where are you living now and what did you do after leaving Vietnam?

SM: I am currently limiting myself to writing and analyzing the developments of the Iraq situation. After my departure of Vietnam, I came to Yemen. Since that time, I have been living in this beautiful country. I write for some Internet websites hoping that my country will be liberated soon to return home.

JA: Please include anything you think is important that I have not asked.

SM: What I want to say is that the illusion of Iraqi freedom of press is no more than a big lie. Since the occupation of Iraq, we, the Iraqi Ba'athists, were deprived the right of writing and speaking through the press and TV channels as we were doing before the occupation of Iraq. Even the channels and newspapers that used to publish our articles or invite us to their programs stopped inviting us. The reason is clear: officially, the American top officials are pressurizing all mass media not to give us any chance to speak freely. This is one of the lessons we have had after the occupation of Iraq.

Now, we are witnessing the emergence of a world dictatorship of the West in general, and the United States in particular. I want to stress that American colonialism has been practically defeated in Iraq and it is playing with wasted time. America will admit that the occupation of Iraq was the deadliest mistake made by the Bush administration, or it is the worst mistake in the history of the United States, as Mr. Ted Kennedy said last year.

Appendix VI

Bargains and Offers Rejected by Saddam Hussein December 2004 by Salah Al-Mukhtar

December 30, 2004 — Has the moment to tell all now arrived? Perhaps it has. We refused to talk about the characteristics of the leader and legal President of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, when Zionist waves were crashing against this region; we feared lest we put ourselves in an unenviable position on the defensive. But now that the Iraqi armed Revolution is knocking on the doors of decisive victory, in the near future, and now that America and the neo-Safavids are being defeated and the pillars of satanization are under the blazing light of the truth — a recent example being the exposure of the lies about Halabjah and the “massacres” in the south of Iraq — the time has come to tell all about past years. The time has come to tell all about the offers made by the United States and the Zionists to President Saddam Hussein in the hopes that they could resolve some of their conflicts with the Iraqi people with big bribes. We are moved to tell all this now, because most of the witnesses are still alive and we wish to hear their testimony before the Arab masses before they die, having hopefully lived long lives.

We have been encouraged to publish this account by what President Saddam Hussein said during his meeting with the lawyer Khalil ad-Dulaymi. Saddam Hussein said, “The Palestine issue is an issue of all the Arabs. Whoever fritters it away is like somebody who fritters away his honor and dignity. They made lots of attempts with me. They sent me letters care of Arab and international leaders and public personalities. They said, ‘All we want from you is one word; we don’t need an agreement now.’ They wanted me to indicate a willingness to recognize their so-called state ‘Israel’. But

I refused with all my power, in spite of the fact that they told me that recognition of the Zionist entity would mean the end of the embargo, and a return to normal relations with the United States. But I understand that whoever fritters away the soil and territory will fritter away everything: his honor and dignity. After that there won't be any red lines for him. It is a deadly chain reaction. It only needs some place to start and then the path of concessions will just carry on with no end."

In light of that, it has become necessary to present some information on the offers that were made on golden platters to the leader of the armed Revolution, Saddam Hussein, offers that he rejected with dignity and pride.

A letter sent by a priest.

A priest from the Vatican in 1994, as far as I remember, asked to visit Iraq because he had a letter for President Saddam Hussein. So he was invited, as the Iraqi leaders thought that he was bringing a message from the Pope. But it was revealed after he arrived in Baghdad that he was bringing a letter from the American Administration, not from the Pope! When President Saddam Hussein received him, he said: "I am bringing to your excellency a letter from the American President that says that we are ready to end the sanctions on Iraq and help Iraq solve its problems if it stops opposing peace with 'Israel'. This does not mean that you have to recognize 'Israel', only that you stop opposing and putting pressure on those who want that."

Saddam Hussein looked with his piercing honey-colored eyes at him for a moment and then said to him: "If Saddam Hussein does that, he wouldn't be Saddam Hussein any more. His people wouldn't know him, nor would the Arabs." And he added in a deep and powerful voice: "Tell whoever gave you this message that the Iraqi people will overthrow me tomorrow if I accepted that." And he closed the meeting with a famous expression, "Tell them that if we had to get our air from 'Israel', we would want it cut off."

The priest left dejected and confused, saying "I thank his excellency the President for receiving me and listening to what I had to say." And the President responded saying, "Yes, you should thank me for listening to your offer." After the end of the meeting, the President ordered that it be broadcast on television. The Iraqi people heard their leader reject an offer to abandon Palestine in return for a lifting of the sanctions from which they were suffering — sanctions that were killing 250 to 300 Iraqis every day, according to UN statistics, because of malnutrition, a shortage of medicine and the use of depleted uranium.

A letter conveyed by King Hussein.

A personal envoy of the late King Hussein of Jordan arrived in Baghdad in 1994 bringing a message for the President. The militant leader Tariq Aziz, may God set him free, met him and asked him, "why do you want to meet the President?" The Jordanian guest, who was a personal friend of the President and of Abu Ziyad (Tariq Aziz) responded, "the letter is very personal, and his highness the King asked that it be given to the President in person! The Jordanian envoy added, "besides, I'm a friend of the President and I want to say, 'hello.'" Aziz asked him, does the letter have to do with trading the end of the sanctions for facilitating a peace settlement with 'Israel' and recognition of it?" The Jordanian emissary said, "yes, how did you know?" The Jordanian guest was amazed that Tariq Aziz would know about this top secret mission. Aziz replied, "I'm not the one who knew; it was the President personally who expected it. He asked me to ask you about it and told me to decline to allow you to meet him if this is what you came for." And in fact, the Jordanian envoy did not meet President Saddam Hussein.

Amin Jumayyil's intercession.

The third — but not the last — attempt to intercede came during the visit of Mr. Amin Jumayyil, the former Lebanese President to Iraq about a year before the invasion.

He brought with him a letter from George Bush the son, containing the same thing that the earlier two letters conveyed by the priest and the Jordanian envoy had contained. But the most important thing the Bush letter offered was this: "you can remain in power, we will rescind the law calling for the overthrow of your regime and we will lift the sanctions, on condition that you come to terms with 'Israel' and recognize it and allow US companies to invest in Iraq." President Saddam Hussein agreed to give US companies contracts and allow them to invest in the area of rebuilding the infrastructure of the country's oil industry that had been destroyed by the Thirty-Nation Aggression in 1990-1991. But President Saddam Hussein refused emphatically to recognize "Israel."

Jumayyil paid a second visit to Iraq two weeks before the US invasion and brought with him the following threat from Bush to President Saddam Hussein: "If you do not recognize 'Israel,' and apologize for the assassination attempt on my father, I will annihilate you." To which President Saddam Hussein responded: "Tell Bush we don't accept threats from anyone."

An American Senator's intercession.

Before this last message, but after the end of the war with Iran and the emergence of Iraq as the one great power in the region, an American senator visited Iraq. He suddenly opened his talk with the President by saying, "the Prime Minister of 'Israel' has asked me to convey a message saying, 'reduce your armament, recognize us, and we guarantee that you will be able to take all the Gulf states.'" Just as that senator's words came as a surprise for the President, so President Saddam Hussein surprised the senator when he said, "What would I do with the Gulf states and why should I take them?" And he ended the meeting early, his face showing that he was greatly irritated.

Things with great symbolic significance.

After reading these accounts, one finds oneself faced with one key question: "what does President Saddam Hussein's rejection of all these American and 'Israeli' offers mean?" It means precisely that the Iraq of Saddam Hussein rejected all bargaining over the Palestine issue, even in return for the lifting of the sanctions and obtaining financial, technological, and political support for Iraq. Saddam Hussein demonstrated that he was a man of principle, not someone after power or personal advantage, even though he understood fully and completely the danger that his rejection of those offers carried with it. He behaved like an Iraqi, Arab, and Islamic leader — one responsible before God and the Arab Nation for his actions — should behave.

If he had believed that submission is what politics is all about, and that currying favor is the job of rulers, Saddam Hussein could have become the "king of the Arabs and Persians," if only he had said "yes" to "Israel," if only he had agreed to be treated like the tail and not the head, as he said to the lawyer Khalil ad-Dulaymi. Whoever looks at the biography of Saddam — and allow me to drop his last name, because he doesn't need it, now that he has become the imam of the mujahideen, which is a greater glory than any political post however exalted — whoever looks at the biography of Saddam knows right away that he is reading the account of a contemporary version of the Companions of the Prophet. A splendid person who has left the world and all that's in it, determined to sacrifice whatever it takes — even his sons and his little family — for the sake of his greater family, the great Arab Homeland, and the glorious Islamic World Community. He has been, and he remains a symbol of honor, patriotism, faithfulness to Arab Nationalism, and commitment to Islam. All that is embodied for him in one word: Palestine.

This particular position was one of the two main reasons for the invasion and destruction of Iraq. The other reason was oil. A nation in which there is a leader like Saddam to rise up. It cannot but attain victory however strong its enemies might be. In Saddam you see symbolized the defiance of al-Fallujah, Mosul, Basrah, and an-Najaf al-Ashraf. That is shown in the way that he sends letters that make the Anglo-Saxon office holders quake in their boots. Saddam, may God set him free soon, reminds us of our great ancestors, in particular the leader of all martyrs the Imam Husayn, may God be pleased with him. Saddam chose the path of martyrdom as the necessary path for rebirth and renaissance. This is but a march on the path of Husayn, who also refused to bargain with Yazid and the corrupt officials of his time, knowing that he and all those of the Prophet's household with him would be killed, may God be pleased with them.

Just as the readiness of Husayn for martyrdom made him the greatest example of sacrifice for sacred ideals, so the refusal of Saddam to bargain with the tyrants of our age serves as a reminder to the Arabs and Muslims that we are the inheritors of the legacy of Husayn's martyrdom. It reminds us that victory will never come without sacrifice and martyrdom. It is not won by surrender, submission, and currying favor.

Yes it was possible for the father of martyrs to remain president in return for submitting to the conditions laid down by America and "Israel". But had he done that he would not remain Saddam, the Husayni by choice, the Baathist in character. He would become nothing more than another head of state, and may God forbid that Saddam become nothing but another head of state. Nobody knows most of the names of the Caliphs who took office after Husayn. How many heads of state ascended the throne to become as famous as the moon, but whose fame disappeared after they, like the moon, passed from the scene in eclipse.

But Saddam brought forth and raised his third son before he fell into captivity — the Armed Resistance! Greetings to the third son of Saddam, from whose hand Gilgamesh will eat the fruit of Iraqi eternal life, and cut off the head of the serpent that wants to steal it.

Originally published at www.uruknet.info

Appendix VII

Iraqis Incarcerated at Abu Ghraib Prison

“I always knew the Americans would bring electricity back to Baghdad.
I just never thought they’d be shooting it up my ass.”
—Young Iraqi translator, Baghdad, November 2003

The following are statements from only a small number of Iraqi prisoners who were mistreated by U.S. forces at Abu Ghraib Prison. Once the totality of the torture became known, it became evident that incidents such as those below were widespread and common.

IRAQI PRISONER OF WAR TRANSCRIPTS

The following were taken at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq by prisoner interview/interrogation teams from the 10th Military Police Battalion, 3rd Military Police Unit. The translators, assigned to the team, were Mr. Johnson ISHO and Abdelilah Alazadi of the Titan Corporation, a civilian contractor.

TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT PROVIDED BY Abdou Hussain Saad FLAEH, Detainee # 18470, 1610/16 JAN 04:

“On the third day after five o’clock, Mr. Grainer came and took me to Room #37, which is the shower room, and he started punishing me. The he brought a box of food and he made me stand on it with no clothing, except a blanket. Then a tall black soldier came and put electrical wires on my fingers and toes and on my penis, and I had a bag over my head. Then he was saying, ‘which switch is on for electricity?’ And he came with a loudspeaker and he was shouting near my ear and then he brought the camera and he took some pictures of me, which I knew because of the

flash of the camera. And he took the hood off and he was describing some poses he wanted me to do, and that I was tired and I fell down. And then Mr. Grainer came and made me stand up on the stairs and made me carry a box of food. I was so tired and I dropped it. He started screaming at me in English. He made me lift a white chair high in the air. Then the chair came down and then Mr. Joyner took the hood off my head and took me to my room. And I slept after that for about an hour and then I woke up at the headcount time. I couldn't go to sleep after that because I was very scared."

**TRANSLATION OF VERBAL STATEMENT PROVIDED BY
Asad Hamza HOANFOSH, Detainee # 152529, 1605/17 JAN
04:**

"On the date of November 5, 2003, when the U.S. forces transferred to Isolation, when they took me out of the car, an American soldier hit me with his hand on my face. And then they stripped me naked and they took me under the water and then he made me crawl the hallway until I was bleeding from my chest to my knees and my hands. And after that he put me back into the cell and an hour later he took me out from the cell the second time to the shower room under cold water and then he made me get up on a box, naked, and he hit me on my manhood. I don't know with what, then I fell down on the ground. He made me crawl on the ground. And then he tied my hands in my cell naked until morning time until Joyner showed up and released my hands and took me back to my room and gave me my clothes back. About two days later my interrogation came up, when it was done a white soldier wearing glasses picked me from the room I was in. He grabbed my head and hit it against the wall and then tied my hand to the bed until noon the next day and then two days later the same soldier and he took all my clothes and my mattress and he didn't give me anything so I can sleep on except my jump suit for 3 days. Then Joyner came and gave me a blanket and my clothes for a second time."

**TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT PROVIDED BY Mohamed
JUMA, Detainee # 152307, 1200/18 JAN 04:**

"I am going to start from the first day I went into A1. They stripped me from my clothes and all the stuff that they gave me and I spent 6 days in that situation. And then they gave me a blanket only. 3 days after that, they gave me a mattress, and after a short period of time, approximately at

2 at night, the door opened and Grainer was there. He cuffed my hands behind my back and he cuffed my feet and he took me to the shower room. When they finished interrogating me, the female interrogator left. And then Grainer and another man, who looked like Grainer but doesn't have glasses, and has a thin moustache, and he was young and tall, came into the room. They threw pepper on my face and the beating started. This went on for a half hour. And then he started beating me with the chair until the chair was broken. After that they started choking me. At that time I thought I was going to die, but it's a miracle I lived. And then they started beating me again. They concentrated on beating me in my heart until they got tired from beating me. They took a little break and then they started kicking me very hard with their feet until I passed out.

"In the second scene at the night shift, I saw a new guard that wears glasses and has a red face. He charged his pistol and pointed it at a lot of the prisoners to threaten them with it. I saw things no one would see, they were amazing. They come in the morning shift with two prisoners and they were father and son. They were both naked. They put them in front of each other and they counted 1, 2, 3, and then removed the bags from their heads.

When the son saw his father naked he was crying. He was crying because of seeing his father. And then at night, Grainer used to throw the food into the toilet and said, 'go take it and eat it.' And I saw also in Room #5 they brought the dogs. Grainer brought the dogs and they bit him in the right and left leg. He was from Iran and they started beating him up in the main hallway in the prison."

TRANSLATION OF SWORN STATEMENT PROVIDED BY
—————, Detainee # ———, 1430/21 JAN 04:

"I am the person named above. I entered Abu Gharib prison on 10 July 2003, that was after they brought me from Baghdad area. They put me in the tent area and then they brought me to Hard Site. The first day they put me in a dark room and started hitting me in the head and stomach and legs.

"They made me raise my hands and sit on my knees. I was like that for four hours. Then the Interrogator came and he was looking at me while they

were beating me. Then I stayed in the room for 5 days, naked with no clothes. They then took me to another cell on the upper floor. On 15 Oct 2003 they replaced the Army with the Iraqi Police and after that time they started punishing me in all sorts of ways. And the first punishment was bringing me to Room #1, and they put handcuffs on my hand and they cuffed me high for 7 or 8 hours. And that caused a rupture to my right hand and I had a cut that was bleeding and had pus coming from it. They kept me this way on 24, 25 and 26 October. And in the following days, they also put a bag over my head, and of course, this whole time I was without clothes and without anything to sleep on. And one day in November, they started different type of punishment, where an American Police came in my room and put the bag over my head and cuffed my hands and he took me out of the room into the hallway. He started beating me, him, and 5 other American Police. I could see their feet only, from under the bag. A couple of those police they were female because I heard their voices and I saw two of the police that were hitting me before they put the bag over my head. One of them was wearing glasses. I couldn't read his name because he put tape over his name. Some of the things they did was make me sit down like a dog, and they would hold the string from the bag and they made me bark like a dog and they were laughing at me. And that policeman was a tan color, because he hit my head to the wall. When he did that, the bag came off my head and one of the police was telling me to crawl in Arabic, so I crawled on my stomach and the police were spitting on me when I was crawling and hitting me on my back, my head and my feet. It kept going on until their shift ended at 4 o'clock in the morning. The same thing would happen in the following days.

"And I remember also one of the police hit me on my ear, before the usual beating, cuffing, bagging, dog position and crawling until 6 people gathered. And one of them was an Iraqi translator named Shaheen, he is a tan color, he has a moustache. Then the police started beating me on my kidneys and then they hit me on my right ear and it started bleeding and I lost consciousness. Then the Iraqi translator picked me up and told me, 'You are going to sleep.' Then when I went into the room, I woke up again. I was unconscious for about two minutes. The policeman dragged me into the room where he washed my ear and called the doctor. The Iraqi doctor came and told me he couldn't take me to the clinic, so he fixed me in the hallway. When I woke up, I saw 6 of the American police.

"A few days before they hit me on my ear, the American police, the guy

who wears glasses, he put red woman's underwear over my head. And then he tied me to the window that is in the cell with my hands behind my back until I lost consciousness. And also when I was in Room #1 they told me to lay down on my stomach and they were jumping from the bed onto my back and my legs. And the other two were spitting on me and calling me names, and they held my hands and legs. After the guy with the glasses got tired, two of the American soldiers brought me to the ground and tied my hands to the door while laying down on my stomach. One of the police was pissing on me and laughing on me. He then released my hands and I went and washed, and then the soldier came back into the room, and the soldier and his friend told me in a loud voice to lie down, so I did that.

And then the policeman was opening my legs, with a bag over my head, and he sat down between my legs on his knees and I was looking at him from under the bag and they wanted to do me because I saw him and he was opening his pants, so I started screaming loudly and the other police started hitting me with his feet on my neck and he put his feet on my head so I couldn't scream. Then they left and the guy with the glasses comes back with another person and he took me out of the room and they put me inside the dark room again and they started beating me with the broom that was there.

And then they put the loudspeaker inside the room and they closed the door and he was yelling in the microphone. Then they broke the glowing finger and spread it on me until I was glowing and they were laughing. They took me to the room and they signaled me to get on the floor. And one of the police he put a part of his stick that he always carries inside my ass and I felt it going inside me about 2 centimeters, approximately. And I started screaming, and he pulled it out and he washed it with water inside the room. And the two American girls that were there when they were beating me, they were hitting me with a ball made of sponge on my dick. And when I was tied up in my room, one of the girls, with blonde hair, she is white, she was playing with my dick. I saw inside this facility a lot of punishment just like what they did to me and more. And they were taking pictures of me during all these instances."

TRANSLATION OF SWORN STATEMENT PROVIDED BY Ameen Sa'eed AL-SHEIKH, Detainee # 151362, 1722/16 JAN 04:

"I am Ameen Sa'eed AL-SHEIKH. I was arrested on the 7 Oct 2003.

They brought me over to Abu Ghraib Prison, they put me in a tent for one night. During this night the guards came every one or two hours and threaten me with torture and punishment. The second day they transferred me to the hard site. Before I got in, a soldier put a sand bag over my head. I didn't see anything after that. They took me inside the building and started to scream at me. They stripped me naked, they asked me, 'Do you pray to Allah?' I said, 'Yes.' They said, 'Fuck you' and 'Fuck him.' One of them said, 'You are not getting out of here healthy, you are getting out of here handicap.' And he said to me, 'Are you married?' I said, 'Yes.' They said, 'If your wife saw you like this, she will be disappointed.' One of them said, 'But if I saw her now, she would not be disappointed now because I would rape her.' Then one of them took me to the showers, removed the sand bag, and I saw him, a black man, he told me to take a shower and he said he would come inside and rape me and I was very scared. Then they put the sand bag over my head and took me to cell #5. And for the next five days I didn't sleep because they used to come to my cell, asking me to stand up for hours and hours. And they slammed the outer door, which made a loud scary noise inside the cell. And this black soldier took me once more to the showers, stood there staring at my body. And he threaten he was going to rape me again. After that, they started to interrogate me. I lied to them so they threaten me with hard punishment. Then other interrogators came over and told me, 'If you tell the truth, we will let you go as soon as possible before Ramadan,' so I confessed and said the truth. Four days after that, they took me to the camp and I didn't see those interrogators any more. New interrogators came and re-interrogated me. After I told them the truth they accused me of being lying to them. After 18 days in the camp, they sent me to the hard site. I asked the interrogators why? They said they did not know. Two days before Ied (end of Ramadan), an interrogator came to me with a woman and an interpreter. He said I'm one step away from being in prison forever. He started the interrogation with this statement and ended it with this statement. The first day of Ied, the incident of 'Firing' happened. I got shot with several bullets in my body and got transferred to the hospital. And there the interrogator 'Steve' came to me and threaten me with the hardest torture when I go back to the prison. I said to him, 'I'm sorry about what happened.' He said to me, 'Don't be sorry now, because you will be sorry later.' After several days, he came back and said to me, 'If I put you under torture, do you think this would be fair?' I said to him, 'Why?' He said he needed more information from me. I told him, 'I already told you everything I know.' He said, 'We'll see when you get back to the prison.' After 17 or 18 days, I was released

from the hospital, went back to Abu Ghraib, he took me somewhere and the guard put a pistol to my head. He said, 'I wish I can kill you right now.' I spend the night at this place and next morning they took me to the hard site. They received me there with screaming, shoving, pushing and pulling. They forced me to walk from the main gate to my cell. Otherwise they would beat my broken leg. I was in a very bad shape. When I went to the cell, they took my crutches and I didn't see it since. Inside the cell, they asked me to strip naked; they didn't give me blanket or clothes or anything. Every hour or two, soldiers came, threatening me they were going to kill me and torture me and I'm going to be in prison forever and they might transfer me to Guantanamo Bay. One of them came and told me that he failed to shoot me the first time, but he will make sure he will succeed next time. And he said to me they were going to throw a pistol or a knife in my cell, then shoot me. Sometime they said, 'We'll make you wish to die and it will not happen.' The night guard came over, his name is GRANER, open the cell door, came in with a number of soldiers. They forced me to eat pork and they put liquor in my mouth. They put this substance on my nose and forehead and it was very hot. The guards started to hit me on my broken leg several times with a solid plastic stick. He told me he got shot in his leg and he showed me the scar and he would retaliate from me for this. They stripped me naked. One of them told me he would rape me. He drew a picture of a woman on my back and makes me stand in shameful position holding my buttocks. Someone else asked me, 'Do you believe in anything?' I said to him, 'I believe in Allah.' So he said, 'But I believe in torture and I will torture you. When I go home to my country, I will ask whoever comes after me to torture you.' Then they handcuffed me and hung me to the bed. They ordered me to curse Islam because they started to hit my broken leg, I cursed my religion. They ordered me to thank Jesus that I'm alive. And I did what they ordered me. This is against my belief. They left me hang from the bed and after a little while I lost consciousness. When I woke up, I found myself still hang between the bed and the floor. Until now, I lost feeling in three fingers in my right hand. I sat on the bed, one of the stood by the door and pee'd on me. And he said, 'GRANER, your prisoner pee'd on himself.' And then GRANER came and laughed. After several hours, GRANER came and uncuffed me, then I slept. In the morning until now, people I don't know come over and humiliate me and threaten that they will torture me. The second night, GRANER came and hung me to the cell door. I told him, 'I have a broken shoulder and I am afraid it will break again cause the doctor told me, "don't put your arms behind your back."' He said, 'I don't care.' Then he

hung me to the door for more than eight hours. I was screaming from pain the whole night. GRANER and others used to come and ask me, 'Does it hurt?' I said, 'Yes.' They said, 'Good.' And they smack me on the back of the head. After that, a soldier came and uncuffed me. My right shoulder and my wrist was in bad shape and great pain. (When I was hung to the door, I lost consciousness several times.) Then I slept. In the morning I told the doctor that I think my shoulder is broken because I can't move my hand. I feel severe pain. He checked my shoulder and told me, 'I will bring another doctor to see you tomorrow.' The next day, the other doctor checked my shoulder and said to me he's taking me to the hospital the next day for X-rays. And the next day he took me to the hospital and X-rayed my shoulder and the doctor told me, 'Your shoulder is not broke, but your shoulder is badly hurt.' Then they took me back to the hard site. Every time I leave and come back. I have to crawl back to my cell because I can't walk. The next day, other soldiers came at night and took photos of me while I'm naked. They humiliated me and threaten me. After the interrogators came over and identify the person who gave me the pistols between some pictures. And this guy wasn't in the pictures. When I told them that, they said they will torture me and they will come every single night to ask me the same question accompanied with soldiers having weapons and they point a weapon to my head and threaten that they will kill me; sometimes with dogs and they hang me to the door allowing the dogs to bite me. This happened for a full week or more."

TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT PROVIDED BY Kasim Mehaddi HILAS, Detainee # 151108, 1300/18 JAN 04:

"In the name of God, I swear to God that everything I witnessed everything I am talking about. I am not saying this to gain any material thing, and I was not pressured to do this by any forces. First, I am going to talk about what happened to me in Abu Ghraib Jail. I will not talk about what happened when I was in jail before, because they did not ask me about that, but it was very bad.

"They stripped me of all my clothes, even my underwear. They gave me woman's underwear, that was rose color with flowers in it and they put a bag over my face. One of them whispered in my ear, 'Today I am going to fuck you,' and he said this in Arabic. Whoever was with me experienced the same thing. That's what the American soldiers did, and they had a translator with them, named Abu Hamid and a female soldier, whose skin

was olive colored and this was on October 3 or 4, 2003 around 3 or 4 in the afternoon. When they took me to the cell, the translator Abu Hamid came with an American soldier and his rank was sergeant (I believe). And he called me 'faggot' because I was wearing the woman's underwear, and my answer was 'no.' Then he told me 'Why are you wearing this underwear?' Then I told them 'because you make me wear it.' The transfer from Camp B to the Isolation was full of beatings, but the bags were over our heads so we couldn't see their faces. And they forced me to wear this underwear all the time, for 51 days. And most of the days I was wearing nothing else.

"I faced more harsh punishment from Grainer. He cuffed my hands with irons behind my back to the metal of the window, to the point my feet were off the ground and I was hanging there for about 5 hours just because I asked about the time, because I wanted to pray. And then they took all my clothes and he took the female underwear and he put it over my head. After he released me from the window, he tied me to my bed until before dawn. He took me to the shower room. After he took me to the shower room, he brought me to my room again. He prohibited me from eating food that night even though I was fasting that day. Grainer and the other two soldiers were taking pictures of everything they did to me. I don't know if they took a picture of me because they beat me so bad I lost consciousness after an hour or so.

"They didn't give us food for a whole day and a night, while we were fasting for Ramadan. And the food was only one package of emergency food.

"Now I am talking about what I saw.

"They brought three prisoners completely naked and they tied them together with cuffs and they stuck one to another. I saw the American soldiers hitting them with a football and they were taking pictures. I saw Grainer punching one of the prisoners right in his face very hard when he refused to take off his underwear and I heard them begging for help. And also the American soldiers told to do like homosexuals (fucking). And there was one of the American soldiers they called Sergeant (black skin) there was 7 to 8 soldiers there also. Also female soldiers were taking pictures and that was on the first day of Ramadan. And they repeated the same thing the second day of Ramadan. And they were ordering them to crawl while they were cuffed together naked.

"I saw (name blocked out) fucking a kid, his age would be about 15-18 years. The kid was hurting very bad and they covered all the doors with sheets. Then when I heard the screaming I climbed the door because on top it wasn't covered and I saw (name blocked out), who was wearing the military uniform putting his dick in the little kid's ass. I couldn't see the face of the kid because his face wasn't in front of the door. And the female soldier was taking pictures. (Name blocked out), I think he is (blocked out) because of his accent, and he was not skinny or short, and he acted like a homosexual. And that was in cell #23 as best as I remember.

"In the cell that is almost under it, on the North side, and I was right across from it on the other side. They put the sheets together again on the doors. Grainer and his helper they cuffed one prisoner in Room #1, named (name blocked out), he was Iraqi citizen. They tied him to the bed and they were inserted the phosphoric light in his ass and he was yelling for God's help. (Name blocked out) used to get hit and punished a lot because I heard him screaming and they prohibited us from standing near the door when they do that. That was Ramadan, around 12 midnight approximately when I saw them putting the stick in his ass. The female was taking pictures.

"I saw more than once men standing on a water bucket that was upside down and they were totally naked. And carrying their chairs over their heads standing under the fan of the hallway behind the wooden partition and also in the shower.

"Not one night for all the time I was there passed without me seeing, hearing or feeling what was happening to me.

"And I am repeating the oath / I swear on Allah almighty on the truth of what I said. Allah is my witness."

TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT PROVIDED BY Mustafa Jassim MUSTAFA, Detainee # 150542, 1140/18 JAN 04:

"Before Ramadan, Grainer started covering all the rooms with bed sheets. Then I heard screams coming from Room #1, at that time I was in Room #50 and it's right below me so I looked into the room. I saw (name blocked) in Room #1, who was naked and Grainer was putting the phosphoric light up his ass. (Name blocked) was screaming for help. There was another tall

white man who was with Grainer, he was helping him. There was also a white female soldier, short, she was taking pictures of (name blocked). (Name blocked) is now in cell #50."

TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT PROVIDED BY Thaar Salman DAWOD, Detainee # 150427, 1440/17 JAN 04:

"I went to the Solitary Confinement on the Sep/10/2003. I was there for 67 days of suffering and little to eat and the torture I saw myself. When I asked the guard Joyner about the time and he cuffed my hand to the door and then when his duty ended the second guard came, his name is Grainer, he released my hand from the door and he cuffed my hand in the back. Then I told him I did not do anything to get punished this way so when I said that he hit me hard on my chest and he cuffed me to the window of the room about 5 hours and did not give me any food that day and I stayed without food for 24 hours. I saw lots of people getting naked for a few days getting punished in the first days of Ramadan. They came with two boys naked and they were cuffed together face to face and Grainer was beating them and a group of guards were watching and taking pictures from top and bottom and there was three female soldiers laughing at the prisoners. The prisoners, two of them, were young. I don't know their names."

TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT PROVIDED BY Abd Alwhab YOUSSE, Detainee # 150425, 1445/17 JAN 04:

"One day while in the prison the guard came and found a broken toothbrush, and they said that I was going to attack the American Police; I said that the toothbrush wasn't mine. They said we are taking away your clothes and mattress for 6 days and we are not going to beat you. But the next day the guard came and cuffed me to the cell door for 2 hours, after that they took me to a closed room and more than give guards poured cold water on me, and forced me to put my head in someone's urine that was already in that room. After that they beat me with a broom and stepped on my head with their feet while it was still in the urine. They pressed my ass with a broom and spit on it. Also a female soldier, whom I don't know the name was standing on my legs. They used a loudspeaker to shout at me for 3 hours, it was cold. But to tell the truth in daytime Joiner gave me my clothes and at night Grainer took them away. The truth is they gave me my clothes after 3 days, they didn't finish the 6 days and thank you."

**TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT PROVIDED BY Shalan Said
ALSHARONI, Detainee # 150422, 1630/17 JAN 04:**

“One of those days the guards tortured the prisoners. Those guards are Grainer, David and another man. First they tortured the man whose name is Amjid Iraqi. They stripped him of his clothes and beat him until he passed out and they cursed him and when they took off of his head I saw blood running from his head. They took him to solitary confinement and they were beating him every night.

“The evening shift was sad for the prisoners. They brought three prisoners handcuffed to each other and they pushed the first one on top of the others to look like they are gay and when they refused, Grainer beat them up until they put them on top of each other and they took pictures of them. And after that they beat up an Iraqi whose name is Asaad whom they ordered to stand on a food carton and they were pouring water on him and it was the coldest of times. When they torture him they took gloves and they beat his dick and testicles with the gloves and they handcuffed him to the cell door for half a day without food or water. After that they brought young Iraqi prisoners and Grainer tortured them by pouring water on them from the second floor until one of them started crying and screaming and started saying ‘my heart.’ They brought the doctors to treat him and they thought he was going to die. After they brought six people and they beat them up until they dropped on the floor and one of them his nose was cut and the blood was running from his nose and he was screaming but no one was responding and all this beating from Grainer and Davis and another man, whom I don’t know the name. The doctor came to stitch the nose and the Grainer asked the doctor to learn how to stitch and it’s true, the guard learned how to stitch. He took the string and the needle and he sat down to finish the stitching until the operation succeeded. And then the other man came to take pictures of the injured person who was laying on the ground. Every time one of them fell on the ground, they drag them up to stand on his feet. Grainer beat up a man whose name is Ali the Syrian and he was beating him until he gotten almost crazy. And he was telling him go up to the second floor as he was naked. And they opened the prisoners cells to see him running naked. And after they put him in his cell for four days they were pouring water on him and he couldn’t sleep. Before that he was in cell number 4. They hanged him and he was screaming but no one helped him.

“There was a translator named Abu Adell the Egyptian. He was helping Grainer and Davis and others whom I don’t know, like they were watching a live movie of three young guys being put up by Abu Adell on top of each other. And everyone was taking pictures of this whole thing with cameras. This is what I saw and what I remember to be true.”

Appendix VIII

Marine Corps Historical Publication FMFRP 3-203

Lessons Learned: Iran-Iraq War

10 December 1990

APPENDIX B

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

The Iraqis developed their proficiency in chemical weapons gradually during the war with Iran. They were motivated to find a solution to the impact of Iranian human wave infantry attacks which — like that of the Chinese attacks on U.S. forces in Korea — was devastating. The unpredictability of the attacks was very demoralizing, but the psychological impact on individuals caught up in the insensate violence of them was worse. For a psychological parallel in Western experience one may look to the 1939 Russo-Finnish War, and, in a particularly dramatic sense, to German experience on the Eastern front as conveyed in Guy Sajer's *Forgotten Soldier*.

A review of Iraqi chemical weapons employment reveals an initial use in 1982 of CS, a riot agent producing massive tears, some skin irritation and some difficulty breathing. In this instance, surprise was effective in achieving extreme disorganization on a tactical level, which in turn ruined the operation's execution.

The next reported deployment was in July 1983 in the (Val Fajr II) fighting near Haj Umran. Here, the Iraqis were reported to have employed mustard gas, a persistent blister agent which can blind and cause death under “ideal” conditions. Its principal use, from World War I to the present, however, is not to kill, but to incapacitate and overburden rear services — it is very effective in degrading the performance of rear echelon activities as far forward as artillery and command and control operations.

In the 1983 employment, the Iraqis used mustard gas against an Iranian force which had captured a mountain top position. Unfamiliarity with the gas characteristics caused the attack to fail. Mustard gas is heavier than air and seeks the lowest elevation. The Iraqis discovered this as they attempted to counterattack up the mountain only to be met and overwhelmed by their own weapon. The next employment showed a rapid learning curve as the Iraqis fired large quantities of mustard gas on the attacking Iranians at Penjwin (Val Fajr IV) in November 1983. They followed this with a more lethal attack in late February 1984 (Khaybar I). Here, they may have used the nerve agent, tabun, although this is less definite. Tabun inhibits cholinesterase, an enzyme in the nervous system that allows successive nerve endings to connect with each other. Once the connection is interrupted, the natural body functions cease from lack of required external signals from the brain.

Tabun is a crude agent; however the Iraqis are believed to have developed sarin, a more sophisticated variety that acts like tabun. This was supposedly employed during the 1988 attack on the Al Faw peninsula, and in several of the other operations which made up the Tawakalna Ala Allah campaign. However, we doubt this was the case. Similarly, we find no evidence whatsoever that the Iraqis have ever employed blood gasses such as cyanogen chloride or hydrogen cyanide.

Blood agents were allegedly responsible for the most infamous use of chemicals in the war — the killing of Kurds at Halabjah. Since the Iraqis have no history of using these two agents — and the Iranians do — we conclude that the Iranians perpetrated this attack. It is also worth noting that lethal concentrations of cyanogen are difficult to obtain over an area target, thus the reports of 5,000 Kurds dead in Halabjah are suspect.

Mustard gas — the agent most commonly associated with Iraq — is relatively easy to handle, although it is a two-edged weapon. Its persistence is

a function of humidity and temperature, making its use as a long-term containment — in European conditions — nearly ideal.. In the Middle East, however, where temperatures soar above 100 degrees Fahrenheit, its persistence is significantly reduced — unless one of two alternatives is followed. It may be made more persistent by thickening, which does not reduce its effectiveness, but does limit its dispersal. A second alternative is to impregnate a carrier with the agent, the preferred one being any talcum-like substance that will absorb the agent and still disperse on carrier impact.

The tactics of chemical employment are similar to other weapons having short or long-term effects. It is desirable to make the first volleys of any chemical attack a mixture of two agents, vomit or nausea agents and killer agents like phosgene, cyanogen, or nerve. The soldier who is asleep or too slow masking either dies directly from the effects of the lethal agent or indirectly from having to mask and unmask while vomiting, and, in the process, inhaling the lethal agent.

Persistent agents like mustard are usually fired on artillery positions, line of communication and likely counterattack routes, as well as command and control installations. Against artillery, gas attacks are primarily meant to slow down servicing of the guns, reduce the accuracy of sighting, and degrade the processing of commands. In most circumstances, it produces a significant increase in gunner fatigue as body heat builds up inside protective suits. Further, the constant movement of the cannoneers means that avenues of penetration for the gasses are progressively opened; seams are the point of greatest movement and frequently where sweat accumulates to further degrade the protective qualities of the overgarment. The passage of voice commands is rendered difficult, in what is already a practically impossible situation. Additionally, some soldiers suffer from claustrophobia and can tolerate being masked only so long.

In summary, chemical agents are effective in degrading command and control, fire support and lines of communication. One of the most dramatic examples of this was during Operation Khaybar I in February 1984. In this operation, the Iranians attacked through the Hawizah Marshes, attempting to cut the Basra-Baghdad road. In a notable example of battlefield interdiction, the Iraqis isolated the forward elements of the attacking force with mustard, cutting them off almost entirely from resupply by land. When the Iraqis counterattacked, they encountered Iranians who had no

ammunition and who had not eaten for several days.

An additional Iraqi tactic was to target Iranian infantry in its assembly areas, as well as supply points. These attacks caused the less-well protected rear echelon soldiers and volunteers to flee.

Chemical weapons require quite particular weather and geographic conditions for optimum effectiveness. Given the relative nonpersistence of all agents employed during this war, including mustard, there was only a brief window of employment opportunity both daily and seasonally, when the agents could be used. Even though the Iraqis employed mustard agent in the rainy season and also in the marshes, its effectiveness was significantly reduced under those conditions. As the Iraqis learned to their chagrin, mustard is not a good agent to employ in the mountains, unless you own the high ground and your enemy is in the valleys.

We are uncertain as to the relative effectiveness of nerve agents since those which were employed are by nature much less persistent than mustard. In order to gain killing concentrations of these agents, pre-dawn attacks are best, conducted in areas where the morning breezes are likely to blow away from friendly positions.

Chemical weapons have a low kill ratio. Just as in WWI, during which the ratio of deaths to injured from chemicals was 2-3 percent, that figure appears to be borne out again in this war although reliable data on casualties are very difficult to obtain. We deem it remarkable that the death rate should hold at such a low level even with the introduction of nerve agents. If those rates are correct, as they well may be, this further reinforces the position that we must not think of chemical weapons as "a poor man's nuclear weapon."

While such weapons have great psychological potential, they are not killers or destroyers on a scale with nuclear or biological weapons. For comparison, during WWI, the U.S. Army suffered some 70,552 gas casualties requiring hospitalization. Of these, 1,221 died. Deaths on the battlefield attributed to gas are recorded as 200, but on WWI battlefields, cause of death was often difficult to ascertain. The point is that 27.3 percent of all American casualties were gas generated and 31.4 percent of wounded were gas related, but the death rate was only 2 percent.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Just a few weeks before the beginning of the bombing of Iraq on January 17, 1991, the U.S. president, George Bush, was stating, "He gasses his own people," many times daily to demonize Saddam Hussein and galvanize the U.S. public so it would accept any brutality the U.S. would bestow on Iraq.

However, at the same time, the U.S. Marine Corps published a book for its officers, *Marine Corps Historical Publication FMFRP 3-203*, that was used to prepare the Marines for combat against Iraq. This same book concluded that it was Iranian gas that killed Kurds in Halabjah during the Iran-Iraq War. But, Bush kept telling the lie that became the rallying cry for the next 12 years to justify the brutal and genocidal actions against Iraq.

It is evident that the accurate information was given to the soon-to-be combatants. Bush chose to lie and, unfortunately, few people tried to discover the truth.

Appendix IX

IRAQ ON THE RECORD

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON IRAQ

Prepared for Rep. Henry A. Waxman

Author's Note: On March 16, 2004, a report (Iraq on the Record) was published. It was the compilation of public statements made by various U.S. government officials about Iraq that later were proven to be false. Because of the large size of the report, only portions are included here. These encapsulations prove the deceit of the administration in its justification for invading Iraq.

FINDINGS

Number of Misleading Statements

The *Iraq on the Record* database contains 237 misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq that were made by President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Rumsfeld, Secretary Powell, and National Security Advisor Rice. These statements were made in 125 separate appearances, consisting of 40 speeches, 26 press conferences and briefings, 53 interviews, 4 written statements and 2 congressional testimonies. Most of the statements in the database were misleading because they expressed certainty when none existed or failed to acknowledge the doubts of intelligence officials. Ten of the statements were simply false.

Timing of the Statements

The statements began at least a year before the commencement of hostilities in Iraq, when Vice President Cheney stated on March 17, 2002, "We

know they have biological and chemical weapons.” The Administration’s misleading statements continued through January 22, 2004, when Vice President Cheney insisted: “there’s overwhelming evidence that there was a connecton between al-Qaeda and the Iraqi government.” Most of the misleading statements about Iraq — 161 statements — were made prior to the start of the war. But 76 misleading statements were made by the five Administration officials after the start of the war to justify the decision to go to war.

The 30-day period with the greatest number of misleading statements was the period before the congressional vote on the Iraq war resolution. Congress voted on the measure on October 10 and October 11, 2002. From September 8 through October 8, 2002, the five officials made 64 misleading statements in 16 public appearances. A large number of misleading statements were also made during the two months before the war began. Between January 19 and March 19, 2003, the five officials made 48 misleading statements in 26 public appearances.

Topics of the Statements

The 237 misleading statements can be divided into four categories. The five officials made 11 statements that claimed that Iraq posed an urgent threat; 81 statements that exaggerated Iraq’s nuclear activities; 84 statements that overstated Iraq’s chemical and biological weapons capabilities; and 61 statements that misrepresented Iraq’s ties to al-Qaeda.

Statements by President Bush

Between September 12, 2002 and July 17, 2003, President Bush made 55 misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq in 27 separate public appearances. On October 7, 2002, three days before congressional votes on the Iraqi war resolution, President Bush gave a speech in Cincinnati, Ohio, with 11 misleading statements, the most by any of the five officials in a single appearance.

Some of the misleading statements by President Bush include his statement in the January 28, 2003, State of the Union address that “the British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa;” and his statement on May 1, 2003, that “the liberation of Iraq ... removed an ally of al-Qaeda.”

Statements by Vice President Cheney

Between March 17, 2002, and January 22, 2004, Vice President Cheney made 51 misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq in 25 separate public appearances.

Some of the misleading statements by Vice President Cheney include his statement on September 8, 2002, that “we do know, with absolute certainty, that he is using his procurement system to acquire the equipment he needs ... to build a nuclear weapon;” his statement on March 16, 2003, that “we believe he has, in fact, reconstituted nuclear weapons;” and his statement on October 10, 2003, that Saddam Hussein “had an established relationship with al-Qaeda.”

Statements by Secretary Rumsfeld

Between May 22, 2002, and November 2, 2003, Secretary Rumsfeld made 52 misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq in 23 separate public appearances.

Some of the misleading statements by Secretary Rumsfeld include his statement on November 14, 2002, that within “a week, or a month” Saddam Hussein could give his weapons of mass destruction to al-Qaeda, which could use them to attack the United States and kill “30,000, or 100,000 ... human beings;” his statement on January 29, 2003, that Saddam Hussein’s regime “recently was discovered seeking significant quantities of uranium from Africa;” and his statement on July 13, 2003, that there “was never any debate about whether Iraq had a nuclear program.”

Statements by Secretary Powell

Between April 3, 2002, and October 3, 2003, Secretary Powell made 50 misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq in 34 separate public appearances.

Secretary Powell sometimes used caveats and qualifying language in his public statements. His statements that contained such cautions or limitations were not included in the database. Nonetheless, many of Secretary

Powell's statements did not include these qualifiers and were misleading in their expression of certainty, such as his statement on May 22, 2003, that "there is no doubt in our minds now that those vans were designed for only one purpose, and that was to make biological weapons."

Statements by National Security Advisor Rice

Between September 8, 2002, and September 28, 2003, National Security Advisor Rice made 29 misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq in 16 separate public appearances.

Although Ms. Rice had the fewest public appearances and the fewest misleading statements, she had the highest number of statements — 8 — that were false. The false statements included several categorical assertions that no one in the White House knew of the intelligence community's doubts about the president's assertion that Iraq sought to import uranium from Africa.

CATEGORIES OF MISLEADING STATEMENTS

The misleading statements by President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Rumsfeld, Secretary Powell, and National Security Advisor Rice fall into four general categories: (1) statements suggesting that Iraq posed an urgent threat, (2) statements regarding Iraq's nuclear activities, (3) statements regarding Iraq's biological and chemical weapons capabilities, and (4) statements regarding Iraq's support of al-Qaeda.

Statements that Iraq Posed an Urgent Threat

On February 5, 2004, Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet categorically stated that the U.S. intelligence community "never said there was an 'imminent' threat."¹ Yet this was not the impression conveyed by President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Rumsfeld, Secretary Powell, and National Security Advisor Rice in their public statements on Iraq. In 10 different appearances, these five officials made 11 statements claiming that Iraq posed an urgent threat.

For example:

- President Bush stated on October 2, 2002: "the Iraqi regime is a threat of unique urgency ... (I)t has developed

weapons of mass death.”²

- President Bush stated on November 20, 2002: “Today the world is ... uniting to answer the unique and urgent threat posed by Iraq,”³
- Vice President Cheney stated on August 26, 2002: “Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us.”⁴

In one instance, Secretary Rumsfeld said that Iraq could give weapons of mass destruction to al-Qaeda in “a week, or a month,” resulting in the deaths of up to 100,000 people. On November 14, 2002, Secretary Rumsfeld stated:

Now, transport yourself forward a year, two years, or a week, or a month, and if Saddam Hussein were to take his weapons of mass destruction and transfer them, either use them himself, or transfer them to the al-Qaeda, and somehow the al-Qaeda were to engage in an attack on the United States, or an attack on U.S. forces overseas, with a weapon of mass destruction, you’re not talking about 300, or 3,000 people potentially being killed, but 30,000, or 100,000 ... human beings.⁵

STATEMENTS ABOUT IRAQ’S NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES

In their potential for destruction and their ability to evoke horror, nuclear weapons are in a class by themselves. As Dr. David Kay, former special advisor to the Iraq Survey Group, testified on January 28, 2004: “all of us have and would continue to put the nuclear weapons in a different category. It’s a single weapon that can do tremendous damage, as opposed to multiple weapons that can do the same order of damage ... I think we should politically treat nuclear as a difference.”⁶

For precisely this reason, the Administration's statements about Iraq's nuclear capabilities had a large impact on congressional and public perceptions about the threat posed by Iraq. Many members of Congress were influenced by the Administration's nuclear assertions than by any other piece of evidence. Rep. Waxman, for example, wrote to President Bush in June 2003 that in voting for the Iraq war resolution: "Like other members, I was particularly influenced by your views about Iraq's nuclear intentions. Although chemical and biological weapons can inflict casualties, no threat is greater than the threat of nuclear weapons."⁷ Numerous members of Congress stressed Iraq's nuclear threat in their floor statements explaining their support of the resolution.⁸

Despite the significance of the nuclear issue, President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Powell, Secretary Rumsfeld, and National Security Advisor Rice repeatedly misrepresented the nuclear threat posed by Iraq. The five officials made 49 separate public appearances in which they made misleading statements about Iraq's nuclear threat. In these appearances, they made a total of 81 misleading statements regarding Iraq's nuclear activities.

These misleading statements generally fall into one of three categories: (1) misleading statements about the status of Iraq's nuclear program; (2) misleading statements about the purpose of aluminum tubes sought by Iraq, and (3) misleading statements about Iraq's attempts to obtain uranium from Africa.

Claims About the Status of Iraq's Nuclear Program

Prior to the war, there were significant divisions within the intelligence community about whether Iraq had resumed efforts to make nuclear weapons. In his speech on February 2, 2004, Mr. Tenet explained that there was not unanimity on whether Iraq had reconstituted its nuclear program and that these differences were described in the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE): "let me be clear where there were differences, the Estimate laid out the disputes clearly."⁹ In particular, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) concluded in the NIE that "(t)he activities we have detected do not, however, add to a compelling case that Iraq is currently pursuing what INR would consider to be an integrated and comprehensive approach to acquire nuclear weapons." INR added: "Lacking persuasive evidence that Baghdad has launched a coherent effort

to reconstitute its nuclear weapons program, INR is unwilling to speculate that such an effort began soon after the departure of UN inspectors.”¹⁰ The INR position was similar to the conclusions of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which concluded there was “no indication of resumed nuclear activities ... nor any indication of nuclear-related prohibited activities.”¹¹

These doubts and qualifications, however, were not communicated to the public. Instead, the five Administration officials repeatedly made unequivocal comments about Iraq’s nuclear program. For example, President Bush said in October 2002 that “(t)he regime has the scientists and facilities to build nuclear weapons and is seeking the materials required to do so.”¹² Several days later, President Bush asserted that Saddam Hussein “is moving ever closer to developing a nuclear weapon.”¹³

Vice President Cheney made perhaps the single most egregious statement about Iraq’s nuclear capabilities, claiming: “we know that he has been absolutely devoted to trying to acquire nuclear weapons. And we believe he has, in fact, reconstituted nuclear weapons.”¹⁴ He made this statement just three days before the war. He did not admit until September 14, 2003, that his statement was wrong and that he “did misspeak.”¹⁵

President Bush and others portrayed the threat of Saddam Hussein waging nuclear war against the United States or its allies as one of the most urgent reasons for preemptively attacking Iraq. Administration officials used evocative language and images. On the eve of congressional votes on the Iraq war resolution, for example, President Bush stated: “Knowing these realities, America must not ignore the threat gathering against us. Facing clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof — the smoking gun — that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud.”¹⁶

Following the commencement of military operations in Iraq, Administration officials continued to make misleading statements regarding Iraq’s nuclear program. For example, Secretary Rumsfeld denied on July 13, 2003, that there was “any debate” about Iraq’s nuclear capabilities within the Administration. “We said they had a nuclear program. There was never any debate.”¹⁷

Since the war ended, the Iraq Survey Group has been unable to find evidence of the nuclear program described by the five officials. On October 2,

2003, David Kay reported that “we have not uncovered evidence that Iraq undertook significant post-1998 steps to actually build nuclear weapons or produce fissile material.”¹⁸ In his January 28, 2004, testimony, Dr. Kay reported that “(I)t was not a reconstituted, full-blown nuclear program.”¹⁹ He added, “At best as had been determined ... in 2000 they had decided that their nuclear establishment had deteriorated to such point that it was totally useless.”²⁰ His conclusion was that there was “no doubt at all” that Iraq had less of an ability to produce fissile material in 2001 than in 1991.²¹ According to Dr. Kay, the nuclear program had been “seriously degraded” and the “activities of the inspectors in the early ‘90s did a tremendous amount.”²²

Claims about the Aluminum Tubes

In 2001 and 2002, shipments of aluminum tubes to Iraq were intercepted.²³ This discovery led to an active debate within intelligence agencies about the intended use of the tubes.

Numerous experts believed the tubes were for conventional rockets rather than a nuclear development program. In his February 5, 2004, speech, Mr. Tenet explained that disagreement over the purpose of the aluminum tubes was “a debate laid out extensively in the estimate and one that experts still argue over.”²⁴ The agency with the most technical expertise in this area, the Department of Energy, believed the tubes were likely not part of a nuclear enrichment program, stating in the NIE that “the tubes probably are not part of the program.”²⁵ The International Atomic Energy Agency agreed, concluding: “There is no indication that Iraq has attempted to import aluminum tubes for use in centrifuge enrichment.”²⁶

In addition to dissent from the Energy Department and international inspectors, the State Department also expressed formal reservations, stating in the NIE that “INR is not persuaded that the tubes in question are intended for use as centrifuge rotors.”²⁷ Instead, the State Department accepted the “judgement of technical experts at the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) who have concluded that the tubes Iraq seeks to acquire are poorly suited for use in gas centrifuges.”²⁸ The State Department explained its position in detail:

The very large quantities being sought, the way the tubes were tested by the Iraqis, and the atypical lack of atten-

tion to operational security in the procurement efforts are among the factors, in addition to the DOE assessment, that lead INR to conclude that the tubes are not intended for use in Iraq's nuclear weapons program.²⁹

According to the NIE, "INR considers it far more likely that the tubes are intended for another purpose, most likely the production of artillery rockets."³⁰

These doubts about the use of the aluminum tubes were not conveyed by Administration officials, however. Instead, the aluminum tubes became one of the two principal pieces of information cited by the Administration to support the claim that Iraq was reconstituting its nuclear weapons program. President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Powell, and National Security Advisor Rice made 10 misleading statements in 9 public appearances about the significance of the aluminum tubes.

For example, Ms. Rice stated on September 8, 2002: "We do know that there have been shipments going into ... Iraq ... of aluminum tubes that ... are only really suited for nuclear weapons programs, centrifuge programs."³¹ Similarly, Vice President Cheney said on September 8, 2002: "(Saddam Hussein) now is trying, through his illicit procurement network, to acquire the equipment he needs to be able to enrich uranium to make the bombs ... specifically aluminum tubes."³² These statements were misleading because they did not present the possibility that the tubes were suitable or intended for another purpose, or acknowledge that key U.S. experts doubted that the tubes were intended to make nuclear bombs.

In one instance, Secretary Powell did acknowledge that some experts disputed that the aluminum tubes were intended for nuclear uses. In his February 5, 2003, address before the United Nations, Secretary Powell stated: "By now, just about everyone has heard of these tubes and we all know that there are differences of opinion. There is controversy about what these tubes are for. Most U.S. experts think they are intended to serve as rotors in centrifuges used to enrich uranium."³³ Even in that statement, however, Secretary Powell did not make clear that experts from the Department of Energy and the State Department's own intelligence division played a significant role in the analysis of this issue and in formal and deliberate dissents had disputed the view that the tubes would likely be used to enrich uranium.

On another occasion, Secretary Powell cited the tubes as evidence of pursuit of nuclear weapons, without noting that the intended use of the tubes was under dispute, asserting: "We also know that Iraq has tried to obtain high-strength aluminum tubes, which can be used to enrich uranium in centrifuges for a nuclear weapons program."³⁴

By January 27, 2003, the International Atomic Energy Agency had reached the tentative conclusion that the aluminum tubes "would be consistent with the purpose stated by Iraq and, unless modified, would not be suitable for manufacturing centrifuges."³⁵ Following the occupation of Iraq, the Iraq Survey Group did not find evidence indicating that the tubes were intended for nuclear use. In his January 28, 2004, testimony, Dr. Kay announced: "It is my judgement, based on the evidence that was collected ... that it's more probable that those tubes were intended for use in a conventional missile program, rather than in a centrifuge program."³⁶

Claims about Uranium from Africa

Another significant component of the Administration's nuclear claims was the assertion that Iraq had sought to import uranium from Africa. As one of a few new pieces of intelligence, this claim was repeated multiple times by Administration officials as proof that Iraq had reconstituted its nuclear weapons program. In total, the five Administration officials made misleading assertions about Iraq's attempts to obtain uranium from Africa in 7 statements in 6 public appearances.

In his State of the Union address on January 28, 2003, President Bush stated: "The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa ... Saddam Hussein has not credibly explained these activities. He clearly has much to hide."³⁷

Other officials echoed this statement. In a January 23, 2003, *New York Times* op-ed piece, Ms. Rice argued that Iraq had lied in its December 2002 declaration, noting: 'the declaration fails to account for or explain Iraq's efforts to get uranium from abroad.'³⁸ In his opening remarks in his televised press conference on January 29, 2003, Secretary Rumsfeld stated: "(Saddam Hussein's) regime ... recently was discovered seeking significant quantities of uranium from Africa."³⁹

These claims that Iraq was seeking to import uranium were misleading. The documentary evidence behind the assertions was declared to be “not authentic” by the International Atomic Energy Agency.⁴⁰ An envoy, former Ambassador Joseph Wilson, was sent by the CIA to investigate the alleged purchase.⁴¹ Ambassador Wilson concluded that it was “highly doubtful that any such transaction had ever taken place,” and on his return, he provided detailed briefings to the CIA and to the State Department African Affairs Bureau.⁴²

When evidence emerged that the importation claim was false, Ms. Rice claimed that the White House had no knowledge of these doubts. She asserted unequivocally that no senior White House officials were informed about questions about the uranium claim prior to its use in the State of the Union Address. She stated that: “(t)he intelligence community did not know at that time, or at levels that got to us ... that there was serious questioning about this report.”⁴³ As she put it on another occasion:

(H)ad there been even a peep that the agency did not want the sentence in or that George Tenet did not want that sentence in, that the Director of Central Intelligence did not want it in, it would have been gone.⁴⁴

Ms. Rice’s claims were simply false. The CIA sent two memos to the National Security Council — one of which was addressed to Ms. Rice personally — warning against including the item in a speech by the President.⁴⁵ Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet also “argued personally” to Ms. Rice’s deputy national security advisor, Stephen Hadley, “that the allegation should not be used” by the President.⁴⁶ Further, in the October 2002 NIE provided top White House officials, the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research had stated that claims that Iraq sought to acquire uranium in Africa were “highly dubious.”⁴⁷

Ultimately, the White House was forced to admit its error. On July 9, 2003, White House spokesperson Ari Fleischer said that the statement about importing uranium from Africa “should not have risen to the level of a presidential speech.”⁴⁸ The White House minimized the significance of the Administration’s use of the Niger claim, arguing that it was “only a small part of an ‘overwhelming’ case that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein posed a threat to the United States.”⁴⁹

STATEMENTS ABOUT IRAQ'S CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAMS

President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Rumsfeld, Secretary Powell, and National Security Advisor Rice made misleading statements regarding Iraq's chemical and biological weapons programs in 61 public appearances. In these appearances, the five officials made 84 different misleading statements. These statements addressed three general topics: (1) Iraq's chemical and biological weapons, (2) Iraq's efforts to build unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), and (3) Iraq's mobile biological laboratories.

Claims about Chemical and Biological Weapons

Prior to the war, there were questions within the intelligence community about whether Iraq in fact possessed stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons. Because Iraq previously had such stockpiles, had used them in the past, and had not adequately demonstrated that all previously produced stockpiles had been destroyed, the intelligence community made an assessment in the October NIE that it was likely that Iraq continued to possess them. Because intelligence agencies had no direct evidence of such stockpiles, however, the conclusions in the October NIE were cast in the context of an intelligence "estimate." The NIE began its sections on chemical and biological weapons with the phrases "we assess" and "we judge." The NIE concluded that Iraq "probably" had stockpiled chemicals and "probably" had genetically engineered biological agents. The NIE also included major qualifiers, such as: "We lack specific information on many key aspects of Iraq's WMD programs."⁵⁰

Other intelligence assessments specifically cited the uncertainty surrounding Iraq's possession of such stockpiles. In September 2002, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) issued a report that concluded: "There is no reliable information on whether Iraq is producing and stockpiling chemical weapons or where Iraq has — or will — establish its chemical warfare agent production facilities"⁵¹ The report also observed that "(a) substantial amount of Iraq's chemical warfare agents, precursors, munitions, and production equipment were destroyed between 1991 and 1998 as a result of Operation Desert Storm and UNSCOM (United Nations Special Commission) actions."⁵² While the reports assessed that Iraq "probably" retained some "CW agents," it warned that "we lack any direct information."⁵³

Despite these uncertainties, among the intelligence officials, the five Administration officials made 45 misleading statements in 35 appearances about Iraq's possession of chemical or biological weapons. Often these statements were misleading because they projected certainty about their claims. Secretary Powell, for example, claimed, "there is no doubt in our mind that he still has chemical weapons stocks."⁵⁴ Secretary Rumsfeld stated: "He has at this moment stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons."⁵⁵ Vice President Cheney asserted: "We know they have biological and chemical weapons."⁵⁶ And President Bush said bluntly, "he's got them."⁵⁷

Administration officials sometimes claimed to have specific details about stockpile locations and movements. In his speech to the United Nations, for example, Secretary Powell showed photographs of supposed Iraqi chemical stockpiles, stating: "How do I know that? How can I say that? Let me give you a closer look. Look at the image on the left. On the left is a close-up of one of the four chemical bunkers. The two arrows indicate the presence of sure signs that the bunkers are storing chemical munitions."⁵⁸

Secretary Rumsfeld was even more specific, claiming that the Iraqis were "moving them to different locations as often as every 12 to 24 hours and placing them in residential neighborhoods."⁵⁹ He also made this statement: "We know where they are. They're in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, south, and north somewhat."⁶⁰

The five officials also drew selectively from individual intelligence sources. In 1995, Hussein Kamel, the Iraqi official who had been in charge of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs, defected and described how Iraq had violated UN resolutions in the early 1990s.⁶¹ Administration officials cited these claims repeatedly. For example, President Bush said:

In 1995, after several years of deceit by the Iraqi regime, the head of Iraq's military industries defected. It was then that the regime was forced to admit it had produced more than 30,000 liters of anthrax and other deadly biological agents ... This is a massive stockpile of biological weapons that has never been accounted for, and capable of killing millions.⁶²

President Bush failed to disclose, however, that this same defector re-

ported to U.N. inspectors that Iraq had destroyed all of its chemical and biological weapons stocks.⁶³

Since the war ended, the Iraq Survey Group has reported that it is unlikely that chemical or biological stockpiles existed before the war. As Dr. Kay concluded: "I'm personally convinced that there were not large stockpiles of newly produced weapons of mass destruction. We don't find the people, the documents or the physical plants that you would expect to find if the production was going on."⁶⁴ Dr. Kay reported in October 2003 that "Iraq's large-scale capability to develop, produce, and fill new CW munitions was reduced — if not entirely destroyed — during Operation Desert Storm and Desert Fox, 13 years of UN sanctions and UN inspections."⁶⁵

Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet echoed these findings: "It also appears that Iraq had the infrastructure and talent to resume production — but we have yet to find it actually did so, nor have we found weapons."⁶⁶ His bottom line was that "we do not know if production took place — and just as clearly — we have not yet found biological weapons."⁶⁷

Claims about Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

Prior to the war, Administration officials raised the specter of Iraq using unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) to distribute chemical or biological weapons directly over the United States. Although there was agreement within the intelligence community that Iraq had a UAV program, there was a sharp split over whether these UAVs were designed to deliver chemical or biological weapons. The October NIE concluded that the UAV program was "probably" intended to deliver biological weapons. However, the government entity most knowledgeable about UAVs and their potential applications, the Air Force's National Air and Space Intelligence Center, disagreed with this conclusion.⁶⁸ According to the NIE, the U.S. Air Force "does not agree that Iraq is developing UAVs primarily intended to be delivery platforms for chemical and biological agents." Instead, the Air Force experts asserted that "(t)he small size of Iraq's new UAV strongly suggests a primary role of reconnaissance."⁶⁹

The five Administration officials did not acknowledge these doubts in their public statements, however. Instead, they made misleading asser-

tions regarding the purpose of the UAVs in 5 statements in 5 public appearances.

For example, on October 7, 2002, just days before the October 10 and October 11, 2002, congressional votes on the Iraqi war resolution, President Bush claimed that “Iraq has a growing fleet of manned and unmanned aerial vehicles that could be used to disperse chemical or biological weapons.” He did not disclose that experts at the Air Force found such a use improbable. Instead, he highlighted the fear of Iraq’s UAVs being used “for missions targeting the United States.”⁷⁰ Such statements had an impact on members of Congress. For example, Senator Bill Nelson voted for the Iraq war resolution “precisely because of the administration’s UAV evidence.”⁷¹ He explained:

I was told not only that (Hussein had weapons of mass destruction) and that he had the means to deliver them through unmanned aerial vehicles, but that he had the capability of transporting those UAVs outside of Iraq and threatening the homeland here in America, specifically by putting them on ships off the eastern seaboard ... I thought there was an imminent threat.”⁷²

In his address to the United Nations, Secretary Powell asserted: “UAVs are well-suited for dispensing chemical and biological weapons. There is ample evidence that Iraq has dedicated much effort to developing and testing spray devices that could be adapted for UAVs.”⁷³ In making his presentation to the UN, Secretary Powell showed a photo of an “illustrative” UAV, which he suggested was well-suited for spraying chemical or biological weapons over the United States.⁷⁴ This presentation affected members of Congress. Senator Dianne Feinstein stated that of the various pieces of evidence presented by Secretary Powell, “the most compelling to me was the unmanned aerial vehicle and the development of that with spray tanks. And he kind of laid down the fact that this could be in our country and there was a possibility that this might be used against the United States.”⁷⁵

President Bush later highlighted Secretary Powell’s presentation, claiming: “All the world had now seen the footage of an Iraqi Mirage aircraft with a fuel tank modified to spray biological agents over wide areas ... A UAV launched from a vessel off the American coast could reach hundreds

of miles inland.”⁷⁶

The Iraq Survey Group found little to substantiate these claims. According to Dr. Kay’s January 28, 2004, testimony, Iraq’s UAV program “was not a strong point” because it was only “theoretically possible” to have “snuck one of those on a ship off the East Coast of the United States that might have been able to deliver a small amount someplace.” He found only that “at least one of those families of UAVs” was a “descendent” of another model that once had a “spray tank on it.” In his assessment, there was no “existing deployment capability at that point for any sort of systematic military attack.”⁷⁷

Claims about Mobile Biological Laboratories

In April and early May 2003, military forces found mobile trailers in Iraq.⁷⁸ Although intelligence experts disputed the purpose of the trailers, Administration officials repeatedly asserted that they were mobile biological weapons laboratories. In total, President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Rumsfeld, Secretary Powell, and National Security Advisor Rice made 34 misleading statements about the trailers in 27 separate public appearances.

Shortly after the trailers were found, the CIA and DIA issued an unclassified white paper evaluating the trailers.⁷⁹ The white paper was released without coordination with other members of the intelligence community, however. It was disclosed later that engineers from DIA who examined the trailers concluded that they were most likely used to produce hydrogen for artillery weather balloons.⁸⁰ A former intelligence official reported that “only one of 15 intelligence analysts assembled from three agencies to discuss the issue in June endorsed the white paper conclusion.”⁸¹

Despite these doubts within the intelligence community, the five officials repeatedly misled Congress and the public about the trailers by asserting without qualification that they were proof of Iraq’s biological weapons program. President Bush made perhaps the most prominent misleading statement on this matter when he proclaimed:

We found the weapons of mass destruction. We found biological laboratories. You remember when Colin Powell stood in front of the world, and he said, Iraq has got labo-

ratories, mobile labs to build biological weapons. They're illegal. They're against the United Nations resolutions, and we've so far discovered two. And we'll find more weapons as time goes on. But for those who say we haven't found the banned manufacturing devices or banned weapons, they're wrong, we found them.⁸²

Similarly, Secretary Powell's comments about the trailers frequently asserted with certainty that the trailers were biological weapons laboratories. For example:

- On May 21, 2003, Secretary Powell said: "The intelligence community has really looked hard at these vans, and we can find no other purposes for them. Although you can't find actual germs on them, they have been cleaned and we don't know whether they have been used for that purpose or not, but they were certainly designed and constructed for that purpose. And we have taken our time on this one because we wanted to make sure we got it right. And the intelligence community, I think, is convinced now that that's the purpose they served."⁸³
- On May 22, 2003, Secretary Powell said: "So far, we have found the biological weapons vans that I spoke about when I presented the case to the United Nations on the 5th of February, and there is no doubt in our minds now that those vans were designed for only one purpose, and that was to make biological weapons."⁸⁴

The doubts about the trailers were confirmed by the work of the Iraq Survey Group. According to Dr. Kay's January 28, 2004 testimony, "the consensus opinion is that when you look at those two trailers, while (they) had capabilities in many areas, their actual intended use was not for the production of biological weapons."⁸⁵ In a separate interview, Dr. Kay explained that the trailers "were actually designed to produce hydrogen for weather balloons, or perhaps to produce rocket fuel."⁸⁶

STATEMENTS ABOUT IRAQ'S SUPPORT OF AL-QAEDA

Another key component of the case for going to war against Iraq was the claim that Iraq was supporting al-Qaeda. As was the case with other featured claims, the al-Qaeda claims were disputed by intelligence officials within the Administration. Yet President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary Rumsfeld, Secretary Powell, and National Security Advisor Rice regularly failed to acknowledge these doubts or the weaknesses in the case linking Iraq and al-Qaeda. They made 61 misleading statements about the strength of the Iraq/al-Qaeda alliance in 52 public appearances.

Well before the war on Iraq, the October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate made clear that the U.S. intelligence community had serious doubts about the threat of Iraq arming al-Qaeda. In its section on "Confidence Levels for Selected Key Judgements in this Estimate," the NIE gave a "Low Confidence" rating to the notion of "Whether in desperation Saddam would share chemical or biological weapons with al-Qaeda."⁸⁷ The discussion of this possibility in the NIE contained highly qualified language: "Saddam, if sufficiently desperate, might decide that only an organization like al-Qaeda ... could perpetrate the type of terrorist attack that he would hope to conduct."⁸⁸ The NIE also reported that "Baghdad for now appears to be drawing a line short of conducting terrorist attacks with conventional or CBW against the United States, fearing that exposure of Iraqi involvement would provide Washington a stronger case for making war."⁸⁹

Director of Central Intelligence Tenet stated in an October 2002 letter that there were intelligence reports of contacts between al-Qaeda and Iraq. At the same time, however, he asserted clear qualifiers for this information: "Our understanding of the relationship between Iraq and al-Qaeda is evolving and is based on sources of varying reliability."⁹⁰ Senators who were briefed by intelligence officials in the fall of 2002 expressed skepticism about the significance of the link. For example, Senator Jeffords on October 8, 2002, stated, "While there is talk of cooperation between Iraq and al-Qaeda, and I don't doubt that there has been some cooperation, I have not seen any hard evidence of close cooperation."⁹¹ According to another account:

Senator Richard J. Durbin ... said some classified information he had seen did not support the administration's

portrayal of the Iraqi threat. "It's troubling to have classified information that contradicts statements made by the administration," Durbin said. "There's more they should share with the public." Durbin would not be more specific, but he did say the committee had received the views of some analysts who do not share the administration's conclusion that Iraq was an urgent threat with important links to al-Qaeda terrorists.⁹²

Journalists also reported that many intelligence officials within the Administration doubted the significance of reported contacts between Iraq and al-Qaeda. According to one report:

(A)nalysts at the CIA ... believed that the evidence showed some contacts between Baghdad and the terrorist organization, but not an operational alliance ... (A)t the CIA, many analysts believed that Mr. bin Laden saw Mr. Hussein as one of the corrupt secular leaders who should be toppled.⁹³

Despite the doubts of many intelligence analysts, the five Administration officials regularly asserted that there was a close relationship between Iraq and al-Qaeda. For example:

- In a November 7, 2002 speech, President Bush stated: Saddam Hussein is "a threat because he is dealing with al-Qaeda ... (A) true threat facing our country is that an al-Qaeda-type network trained and armed by Saddam could attack America and not leave one fingerprint."⁹⁴
- In his January 28, 2003 State of the Union address, President Bush stated: "Evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications, and statements by people now in custody reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of al-Qaeda. Secretly, and without fingerprints, he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists, or help them develop their own."⁹⁵

- In his February 5, 2003 remarks to the United Nations, Secretary of State Colin Powell stated: “what I want to bring to your attention today is the potentially much more sinister nexus between Iraq and the al-Qaeda terrorist network, a nexus that combines classic terrorist organizations and modern methods of murder. Iraq today harbors a deadly terrorist network headed by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an associate and collaborator of Usama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda lieutenants.”⁹⁶
- In remarks on May 1, 2003, announcing the end of major combat operations in Iraq, President Bush stated: “The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11th, 2001 — and still goes on ... (T)he liberation of Iraq ... removed an ally of al-Qaeda.”⁹⁷

Vice President Cheney’s statements on this topic repeatedly cited reports of a specific alleged Iraq/al-Qaeda contact: a meeting between Mohammed Atta, one of the September 11 hijackers, and a senior Iraqi official in Prague a few months before September 11, 2001. For example, vice President Cheney stated on September 4, 2003:

With respect to 9/11, of course, we’ve had the story that’s been public out there. The Czechs alleged that Mohammed Atta, the lead attacker, met in Prague with a senior Iraqi intelligence official five months before the attack, but we’ve never been able to develop anymore of that yet either in terms of confirming it or discrediting it. We just don’t know.⁹⁸

The Vice President’s assertions about this meeting omitted key information. He did not acknowledge that the CIA and FBI had concluded before the war in Iraq that “the meeting probably did not take place;”⁹⁹ that Czech government officials had developed doubts regarding whether this meeting occurred;¹⁰⁰ or that American records indicate that Mr. Atta was in Virginia Beach, Virginia, at the time of the purported meeting.¹⁰¹

Assessments following the war further highlighted the tenuous nature of

the Administration's assertions about an Iraq/al-Qaeda alliance. According to the *New York Times*, "Since American forces toppled the Hussein government and the United States gained access to captured Iraqi officials and Iraqi files, the CIA has not yet uncovered evidence that has altered its prewar assessment concerning the connection between Mr. Hussein and Osama bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda, officials said."¹⁰²

Consistent with this view, During Dr. Kay's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on January 28, 2004, the following exchange occurred between Senator Warner and Dr. Kay:

Senator Warner: Any evidence with regard to participation by either Saddam Hussein or his principal henchmen in the WMD-sharing with al-Qaeda or any other terrorist organizations?

Dr. Kay: Senator Levin; Senator Warner, there is no evidence that I can think of that I know of."¹⁰³

ENDNOTES FOR APPENDIX IX

¹ Central Intelligence Agency, *Remarks as Prepared for Delivery by Director of Central Intelligence George J. Tenet at Georgetown University* (Feb. 5, 2004).

² White House, *President, House Leadership Agree on Iraq Resolution* (Oct. 2, 2002).

³ *President Bush Speaks to Atlantic Youth Council*, CNN (Nov. 20, 2002).

⁴ White House, *Vice President Speaks at VFW 103rd National Convention* (Aug. 26, 2002).

⁵ U.S. Department of Defense, *Secretary Rumsfeld Live Interview with Infinity CBS Radio* (Nov. 14, 2002).

⁶ Testimony of David Kay, former special advisor to the Iraq Survey Group, before the Senate Armed Services Committee, *Hearing on Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction and Related Programs* (Jan. 28, 2004).

⁷ Letter from Henry A. Waxman to President George W. Bush (June 2, 2003).

⁸ See e.g., Statement of Senator Mary Landreau, Congressional Record, S10330 (Oct. 10, 2002); Statement of Rep. C.L. "Butch" Otter, Congressional Record, H7787 (Oct. 10, 2002); Statement of Rep. Dennis Moore, Congressional Record, H7796 (Oct. 10, 2002).

- ⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, *supra*, note 7.
- ¹⁰ National Intelligence Council, *Iraq's Continuing Program for Weapons of Mass Destruction: Key Judgements (from October 2002 NIE)* (declassified July 18, 2003).
- ¹¹ *In a Chief Inspector's Words: 'A Substantial Measure of Disarmament,'* New York Times (Mar. 8, 2003).
- ¹² White House, *President, House Leadership Agree on Iraq Resolution*, *supra* note 2.
- ¹³ White House, *President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, Remarks by the President on Iraq* (Oct. 7, 2002).
- ¹⁴ *Meet the Press*, NBC (Mar. 16, 2003).
- ¹⁵ *Meet the Press*, NBC (Sept. 14, 2003). On May 20, 2003, the *Washington Post* reported that Vice President Cheney's aides said, "Cheney was referring to Saddam Hussein's nuclear programs, not weapons." *White House Notebook: Energy Policy Spurs Affirmative Action Debate*. *Washington Post* (May 20, 2003).
- ¹⁶ White House, *President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat*, *supra* note 13.
- ¹⁷ *This Week with George Stephanopoulos*, ABC (July 13, 2003).
- ¹⁸ Statement by David Kay on the Interim Progress Report on the Activities of the Iraq Survey Group (ISG) before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee of Defense, and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (Oct. 2, 2003).
- ¹⁹ Testimony of David Kay, *supra* note 6.
- ²⁰ *Id.*
- ²¹ *This Week with George Stephanopoulos*, ABC (Oct. 5, 2003).
- ²² *Id.*
- ²³ *Speculation, Fact Hard to Separate in Story of Iraq's 'Nuclear' Tubes*, USA Today (Aug. 1, 2003).
- ²⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, *supra* note 1.
- ²⁵ National Intelligence Council, *supra* note 9.
- ²⁶ *U.N. Split Widens as Allies Dismiss Deadline on Iraq*. New York Times (Mar. 7, 2003).
- ²⁷ National Intelligence Council, *supra* note 9.
- ²⁸ *Id.*
- ²⁹ *Id.*
- ³⁰ *Id.*
- ³¹ *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer*, CNN (Sept. 8, 2002).
- ³² *Meet the Press*, NBC (Sept. 8, 2002).
- ³³ U.S. Department of State, *Remarks to the United Nations Security*

Council, Secretary Colin L. Powell (Feb. 5, 2003).

³⁴ U.S. Department of State, *Press Conference with Secretary of State Colin Powell re: U.S. Reaction to Iraqi Arms Declaration* (Dec. 19, 2002).

³⁵ U.N. News Centre, *IAEA Chief: No Evidence So Far of Revived Iraqi Nuclear Arms Programme* (Jan. 27, 2003).

³⁶ Testimony of David Kay, *supra* note 6.

³⁷ White House, *State of the Union Address* (Jan. 28, 2003).

³⁸ Condoleezza Rice, *Why We Know Iraq Is Lying*, New York Times (Jan. 23, 2003).

³⁹ *Press Conference with Donald Rumsfeld, General Richard Myers* CNN (Jan. 29, 2003).

⁴⁰ *Some Evidence on Iraq Called Fake; U.N. Nuclear Inspector Says Documents on Purchases Were Forged*, Washington Post (Mar. 8, 2003).

⁴¹ Joseph Wilson, *What I Didn't Find in Africa*, New York Times (July 6, 2003).

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *This Week with George Stephanopoulos*, ABC (June 8, 2003).

⁴⁴ *Face the Nation*, CBS (July 13, 2003).

⁴⁵ White House, *Dan Bartlett and Steve Hadley Hold Press Briefing on Iraq Weapons of Mass Destruction and the State of the Union Speech* (July 22, 2003).

⁴⁶ *CIA Got Uranium Reference Cut in Oct.; Why Bush Cited It in Jan. Is Unclear*, Washington Post (July 13, 2003; see also White House, *Dan Bartlett and Steve Hadley Hold Press Briefing*, *supra* note 46).

⁴⁷ National Intelligence Council, *supra* note 10.

⁴⁸ White House, *Ari Fleischer Holds News Briefing* (July 9, 2003).

⁴⁹ *What House Admits CIA Warned It Before Speech*, Los Angeles Times (July 23, 2003) (quoting Deputy National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley).

⁵⁰ National Intelligence Council, *supra* note 10.

⁵¹ Defense Intelligence Agency, *Iraq — Key WMD Facilities — An Operational Support Study* (Sept. 2002).

⁵² *Id.*

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ *Fox News Sunday*, Fox TV (Sept. 8, 2002).

⁵⁵ Testimony by U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, House Armed Services Committee (Sept. 18, 2002).

⁵⁶ White House, *Press Conference by Vice President Dick Cheney and His Highness Salaman bin Hamad Al Khalifa, Crown Prince of Bahrain*, at

- Shaikh Hamat Palace* (March 17, 2002).
- ⁵⁷ White House, *Remarks by the President at Missouri Welcome* (Nov. 4, 2002).
- ⁵⁸ U.S. Department of State, *supra* note 33.
- ⁵⁹ Department of Defense, *Donald Rumsfeld and Richard Myers Hold Regular Department of Defense Briefing* (March 11, 2003).
- ⁶⁰ *This Week with George Stephanopoulos*, ABC (March 30, 2003).
- ⁶¹ *How Saddam Happened*, Newsweek (Sept. 23, 2002).
- ⁶² White House, *President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat*, *supra* note 13.
- ⁶³ *The Defector's Secrets*, Newsweek (March 3, 2003); see also *What Went Wrong*, Newsweek (Feb. 9, 2004).
- ⁶⁴ *Ex-Inspector Says CIA Missed Disarray in Iraqi Arms Program*, New York Times (Jan. 26, 2004).
- ⁶⁵ Statement by David Kay, *supra* note 18.
- ⁶⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, *supra* note 1.
- ⁶⁷ *Id.*
- ⁶⁸ *Air Force Analysts Feel Vindicated on Iraqi Drones*, Washington Post (Sept. 26, 2003).
- ⁶⁹ National Intelligence Council, *supra* note 10.
- ⁷⁰ White House, *President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat*, *supra* note 13.
- ⁷¹ *A Flawed Argument in the Case for War*, Washington Post (Feb. 1, 2004).
- ⁷² *Id.*
- ⁷³ U.S. Department of State, *supra* note 33.
- ⁷⁴ *Id.*
- ⁷⁵ *NBC News Special Report: The Case Against Iraq* NBC (Feb. 5, 2003).
- ⁷⁶ White House, *President Bush: "World Can Rise to This Moment"* (Feb. 6, 2003).
- ⁷⁷ Testimony of David Kay, *supra* note 12.
- ⁷⁸ Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency, *Iraqi Mobile Biological Warfare Production Plants* (May 28, 2003).
- ⁷⁹ *Id.*
- ⁸⁰ *Iraqi Trailers Said to Make Hydrogen, Not Biological Arms*, New York Times (Aug. 9, 2003).
- ⁸¹ *Powell's Case, a Year Later: Gaps in Picture of Iraq Arms*, New York Times (Feb. 1, 2004).
- ⁸² White House, *Interview of the President by TVP, Poland* (May 29, 2003).
- ⁸³ U.S. Department of State, *Remarks with Bahrain's Crown Prince Shaikh Salman bin Hamad Al-Khalifa After Meeting*, (May 21, 2003).
- ⁸⁴ U.S. Department of State, *Interview with French Television I* (May 22,

2003).

⁸⁵ Testimony of David Kay, *supra* note 6.

⁸⁶ *Ex-Inspector Says CIA Missed Disarray in Iraqi Arms Program*, *supra* note 64 (paraphrasing Dr. Kay). According to recent media accounts, United States intelligence officials never actually interviewed the source who provided the original tip that Iraq had mobile bioweapons trailers. *Experts Say U.S. Never Spoke to Source of Tip on Bioweapons; Information from Iraqi Relayed by Foreign Agency*, *CIA Notes*, Washington Post (Mar. 5, 2004).

⁸⁷ National Intelligence Council, *supra* note 10.

⁸⁸ *Id.* (emphasis added).

⁸⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁰ *Threats and Responses; CIA Letter to Senate on Baghdad's Intentions*, New York Times (Oct. 9, 2002) (reprinting text of October 7, 2002, letter from Mr. Tenet to Senator Bob Graham, in which Mr. Tenet says, "We have solid reporting of senior level contacts between Iraq and al-Qa'ida going back a decade," and "credible information indicates that Iraq and al-Qa'ida have discussed safe haven and reciprocal non-aggression").

⁹¹ Statement of Senator Jim Jeffords, *Senate Resolution Authorizing the Use of Force Against Iraq* (Oct. 8, 2002).

⁹² *Democrats Urge Focus on Terror Instead of Iraq*, Philadelphia Inquirer (Oct. 5, 2002).

⁹³ *The Struggle for Iraq: Intelligence; Hussein Warned Iraqis to Beware Outside Fighters, Document Says*, New York Times, Jan. 14, 2004).

⁹⁴ White House, *President Outlines Priorities* (Nov. 7, 2002).

⁹⁵ White House, *State of the Union*, *supra* note 37.

⁹⁶ U.S. Department of State, *supra* note 33.

⁹⁷ White House, *President Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended* (May 1, 2003).

⁹⁸ *Meet the Press*, *supra* note 15.

⁹⁹ *A Region Inflamed; Iraqi Agent Denies He Met 9/11 Hijacker in Prague Before Attacks on the U.S.*, New York Times (Dec. 13, 2003).

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² *A Region Inflamed*, *supra* note 105. Last October, Undersecretary for Defense Policy Douglas J. Feith sent a memo to the Senate Intelligence Committee regarding the connection between Iraq and al-Qaeda. In November, the *Weekly Standard* published the memo's classified annex, claiming that its list of Iraq-al Qaeda contacts proved "an opera-

tional relationship from the early 1990s” and that “there can no longer be any serious argument about whether Saddam Hussein’s Iraq worked with Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda to plot against Americans.” *Case Closed*, Weekly Standard (Nov. 4, 2003). The Defense Department, however, immediately issued an official statement that “[t]he classified annex was not an analysis of the substantive issue of the relationship between Iraq and al-Qaeda, and it drew no conclusions.” U.S. Department of Defense, *News Release: DOD Statement on News Reports of al-Qaeda and Iraq Connections* (Nov. 15, 2003). Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet also recently testified regarding the Feith memo, stating that the CIA “did not agree with the way the data was characterized in that document.” Testimony of Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet before the Senate Armed Services Committee, *Hearing on National Security Threats* (Mar. 9, 2004).

¹⁰³ Testimony of David Kay, *supra* note 12.

Appendix X

Dr. Curtis Doebbler on Saddam Hussein's Trial: Officials "not able or willing to provide for respect for the basic rules of law"

Much speculation was made of the trial of Saddam Hussein. Many agree that it was a mockery and the court had already made up its mind to execute the Iraqi president. Prior to his trial, I interviewed international human rights lawyer Curtis Doebbler, part of the legal team working for the defense. At this time (October 15, 2005), neither he nor any member of the defense team had been able to meet with the president. The following are Dr. Doebbler's statements about the fairness of the upcoming trial.

JA: There has been much speculation about the legal team for President Saddam Hussein. Please explain what is occurring.

CD: The situation is that there are a number of lawyers who have been asked by the family and the president himself to represent him or at least discuss with him the representation. As you know, every individual has the right to choose their own lawyer, but that's not a right to be given a list of numbers and say "pick five numbers from this" like you might do in a lottery.

For instance, it's a right that you have a right to consult a lawyer and to decide whether you want that person to represent you. It's not one that the court has the right to impose on you. It is, I repeat, a right that every defendant has. In this instance, the defendant has exercised the right by saying that he would like to meet with several lawyers with the view to determine whether or not they could represent him. He has been denied that by United States and Iraqi authorities.

We put the first burden on the United States to protect that right because they are the occupying power in Iraq. The Iraqi authority that we view as an administrative arm of the occupation, would still have that duty to respect that right and to date they have violated it.

Rights come with obligations, especially human rights. There are obligations for states and in this case the United States is violating clearly delineated international human rights and international humanitarian law obligations. The Iraqi interim entity is violating rights that they have themselves stipulated to under their own internal instruments, like the transitional administrative law that was adopted under the occupation on 8 March 2004, which they apparently themselves agreed to.

JA: Is there actually a government in Iraq? Has anybody recognized it? How can they even make stipulations on this?

CD: That's something that certainly is questionable. Under international law a government has *de facto* authority. That means it has, among other things, control over its people. You could argue very strongly that the current people who are in power in Iraq are there merely because the occupying forces keep them in power.

In fact, one of the basic principles of international law is that you can not claim territory through the use of force. Other states have a legal obligation not to recognize things that are done based on the use of force. If I steal your car and then I try to sell it, that contract of sale would not be enforceable because I had stolen it in the first place.

You have an obligation under international law to insure restitution after you've committed an international act. If this is an illegal invasion, as the overwhelming majority of the world's leaders, the world's legal scholars and most people I've met, understand it to be, then what flows from it can not be given legal recognition. In other words, the United States is not empowered to set up a government in Iraq. Only the Iraqi people can do that and they can not do that under occupation by a foreign power.

JA: Realistically, President Saddam Hussein is going on trial on October 19 and a public official has come out and said he will be quickly hanged and another government official has said he should be hanged 50 times. How can this happen? Is it because of military force that is over there that this can be allowed to happen?

CD: That's a lot of it. I am sure you are familiar with the saying "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." I think we're very close to that latter situation.

JA: A recent editorial in an Australian newspaper read, "Iraq is a mess. There's only one person who can straighten it out and unfortu-

nately, he's in a 12' x 12' cell." What are your thoughts about that statement?

CD: The president of Iraq was somebody whom many people respected in that country and was somebody who had to deal with a very difficult situation in that country.

I'll tell you one thing. Everybody I've met inside and out of Iraq who is Iraqi has, even if they don't agree with him and even in some ways if they hated him, they still have respect for his ability to have held the country together in very difficult circumstances. Governing a country is not an easy thing to do.

And more over, in most places in the world, but particularly in the Middle East, because of the oppression of the people there in many different countries because of the colonial attitude that has existed, the people have a very strong resilience to dealing with their own problems and wanting to be governed by their own people.

Think about it in America. Who would you rather be governed by? A person who isn't perhaps the best person or somebody who's invaded your country and taken over the country from outside.

JA: From what you know now, what do you think will happen in the trial?

CD: I don't think there should be a trial at this point for a number of reasons. One I've already given you because I think this situation is an illegal situation. The situation is ridiculous.

As I indicated, under international law, you can not recognize an illegal situation. A state can not benefit from an illegal situation that is created. That would make a mockery of the law.

JA: Is there any power on this Earth that can stop this travesty? It's not even on the UN agenda to stop this trial.

CD: I think it's not so much on a public agenda. But I can tell you, I have spoken to representatives or sometimes the head of the mission of every UN state that is represented in the Security Council. They do understand that this situation has significant deficiencies and is a significant violation of international law. Whether they'll have the courage to stand up, I think you should be putting that question to them. Unfortunately, I don't always influence their decisions as much as I'd like to. But that doesn't change the situation in that it is an illegal situation.

Another reason why there should not be a trial is that their have been gross violations of his (Saddam Hussein) human rights. Look at, for example, two articles that are binding on those two countries just as much as any other law. Those are articles 10 and 14 of the International Cov-

enant of Civil and Political Rights. In other words, the articles respectively that cover the rights and security of person and the right to fair trial.

If you go through those articles, you will find almost every provision in those articles has been violated. To have a trial in that circumstance is not only irreparable damage to the human rights of the individual involved, but I would think very, very significant damage to the rule of law.

JA: Are you still a part of the legal team?

CD: At this point the president is not represented by any lawyer he has chosen. He has said that himself. He asked to meet Ramsey Clark and he has asked to meet me. He has been denied that right. We have repeatedly asked the authorities, but they have denied us that right. In late June, the American authorities said this would be all resolved in three weeks and we'd be able to meet him in three weeks. Then we reproached them about four weeks later and said "you told us this before, what is happening with this?" They denied they even received anything from us and we have it in writing. I sent them a copy and said, "Look, this is your statement, not mine." They never replied.

JA: How is the president handling this?

CD: I admire my colleague Khalil Dulaymi who is keeping contact with the president. He has also stated that he is not a person who is able to do this. This is one of the most complicated cases he's ever seen. Of course, any lawyer who has any degree of humanity is not going to step aside and not give this person an opportunity to meet anybody. That's the worst thing that could happen to somebody being held in incommunicado detention essentially and only as we've seen in *The Sun* and other public forums being abused by his captors. He's maintaining that link of humanity with him. But he's not a doctor. He's not a psychologist. He's not even a lawyer who's familiar with the law that much that is going to be applied in this case. He's an Iraqi lawyer and the law being applied has been written by Americans in this instance.

JA: Was he chosen by the occupiers to represent the President?

CD: He was asked by the family after he was chosen by the court. The court chose him. He has said himself that he is not a lawyer chosen by the president. He's not a lawyer the defendant has chosen himself. The defendant is not going to say, "I don't want anybody to see me."

We are taking the best steps we can from this position. It is very difficult to defend somebody who you have no access to; you are not able to provide legal advice to; and when you don't even have a clear enunciation of the charges, or the evidence.

The most important issue right now is the person being accused be granted a lawyer. Everybody has a right to a lawyer and that's the first step in trying to make sense of the injustices that are being perpetrated here. I think the fact that they do not want to give that person access to legal counsel is a clear indication that they, at this point, are not either able or willing to provide for respect for the basic rule of law.

Appendix XI

United Nations Report on the Legitimacy of the Trial of Saddam Hussein

**OPINION No. 31/2006 (IRAQ and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA)**

Communications addressed to the Governments on 3 May 2005

Concerning Mr. Saddam Hussein Al-Tikriti

**Both States Are Parties to the International Covenant on Civil
and Political Rights**

1. The Working Group on Arbitrary Detention was established by resolution 1991/42 of the Commission on Human Rights. The mandate of the Working Group was clarified and extended by resolution 1997/50. It was reconfirmed by Commission resolution 2003/31, General Assembly resolution 60/251 and Human Rights Council decision 2006/102.
2. The Working Group regards deprivation of liberty as arbitrary in the following cases:
 - I. When it manifestly cannot be justified on any legal basis (such as continued detention after the sentence has been served or despite an applicable amnesty act) (Category I);

II. When the deprivation of liberty is the result of a judgement or sentence for the exercise of the rights and freedoms proclaimed in articles 7, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20 and 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and also, in respect of States parties, by articles 12, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Category II);

III. When the complete or partial non-observance of the relevant international standards set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the relevant international instruments accepted by the States concerned relating to the right of a fair trial is of such gravity as to confer on the deprivation of liberty, of whatever kind, an arbitrary character (Category III).

3. On 30 November 2005, the Working Group adopted opinion no. 46/2005 concerning the communication on behalf of Mr. Saddam Hussein Al-Tikriti against the Governments of Iraq and the United States of America. The Working Group stated its views on certain legal questions raised by the source and the Governments, in particular with regard to its mandate and the principles governing the responsibility of the Iraqi and United States Governments for the facts alleged by the source.
4. Firstly, the Working Group decided that in accordance with paragraph 16 of its methods of work and 14 of its revised methods of work, it will not assess the lawfulness of Mr. Saddam's detention for the period from 13 December 2003 to 30 June 2004, as it occurred during an ongoing international armed conflict and the United States Government recognized that the Geneva Conventions applied to individuals captured in the conflict in Iraq.
5. Secondly, the Working Group decided that until 1 July 2004 Saddam Hussein was detained under the sole responsibility of the Coalition members as occupying powers, or to be more precise, under the responsibility of the U.S. Government. Since then, as the Supreme Iraqi Criminal Tribunal (SICT) is a court of the sovereign State of Iraq, his pre-trial detention on charges pending before the SICT is within the responsibility of Iraq. The Working Group also found that, considering that Saddam Hussein is in the physical custody of the USA authorities, any possible conclusion as to the arbitrary nature of his dep-

privation of liberty may involve the international responsibility of the U.S. Government as well.

6. Finally, with regard to the alleged violations affecting the right to a fair trial, the Working Group considered that it was premature to take a stance on the allegations of arbitrary deprivation of liberty, because the procedural flaws amounting to the violation of the right to a fair trial could, in principle, be redressed during the subsequent stages of the criminal proceedings. Therefore, the Working Group decided that it would follow the development of the trial and would request more information from both concerned Governments and from the source. In the meantime, the Working Group decided to keep the case pending until further information was received, as provided in paragraph 17(c) of its Methods of Work.
7. On 14 December 2005, the Working Group notified its opinion to the two Governments and on 12 January 2006 to the source. The Working Group subsequently received new allegations by the source. On 3 May 2006, the Chairperson-Rapporteur of the Working Group transmitted them to the Governments of Iraq and the United States of America through their respective Permanent Representatives in Geneva and requested their comments and observations. Since no reply arrived, on 28 June 2006, the Chairperson-Rapporteur of the Working Group sent a letter informing the Permanent Representatives of the two Governments that the Working Group will consider the case during its 46th session from 28 August to 1 September 2006. While no reply was received from the Iraqi Government, the Government of the United States sent a reply on 30 August 2006.
8. The source has presented to the Working Group new information regarding alleged multiple violations of the right to a fair trial since the Working Group's Opinion of 30 November 2005. It also reiterates the allegations already brought to the attention of the Working Group.
9. A first set of allegations and arguments presented by the source regard the composition of the SICT. In January 2006, the presiding judge of the Dujail trial, Rizgar Amin, resigned. His resignation followed public criticism of his handling of the trial by senior Iraqi officials and was, according to the source, due to pressure by a high level member of a Shi'a party in the Interim Legislature. His successor as presiding

judge of the Dujail trial chamber, Saeed al-Hameesh, was transferred to a different chamber of the SICT after being accused of being a former member of the Ba'ath Party. On 24 January 2006, a new judge, Raouf Rasheed Abdel-Rahman, was nominated to preside the Dujail trial. The source expresses serious doubts regarding his impartiality, since he was born in Halabja, the Kurdish town which was attacked with poison gas by the Iraqi armed forces in 1988, and reportedly lost several family members in the attack. Moreover, judge Abdel-Rahman made statements indicating that the guilt of Saddam Hussein is a foregone conclusion. In particular, before assuming his position as presiding judge, he is reported to have stated on Iraqi national television that Saddam Hussein should be executed without trial. The source asserts that in February 2006, defense counsel for Saddam Hussein submitted several challenges to the impartiality of the new presiding judge. The challenges were rejected, but the SICT allegedly refused to give a decision in writing to the defense lawyers, despite their repeated requests. On 10 February 2006, Kurdish media reported that another judge of the trial chamber, Ali Hussein al-Shimmiri, had died on 9 February. The source affirms that with his death, four of the five judges who were on the original trial court were removed, two of them reportedly for political reasons.

10. The source further reports that the identity of the judges sitting on Saddam Hussein's trial in the Dujail case is not disclosed, with the exception of the presiding judge. It argues that as a consequence of the judges' "facelessness," the defense cannot verify whether they meet the requirements for judicial office and are impartial and independent.
11. A second set of allegations and arguments presented by the source concern restrictions of Saddam Hussein's rights to be represented by lawyers of his own choosing and to communicate with his lawyers. Most fundamentally, the source states that the lawyers were not allowed to meet the defendant in private, all meetings taking place in the presence of United States officials. Moreover, the source reports numerous instances of obstruction of the lawyers' work. On 5 December 2005, the presiding judge appointed as defense counsels some lawyers who had been waiting outside the courtroom, despite the lack of preparation and Mr. Hussein's protests. On 21 December 2005, one of Mr. Hussein's accredited lawyers was denied the right to present a

request to see his client directly to the SICT. On 17 January 2006, the United States authorities refused the permission to visit Mr. Hussein to four of the nine lawyers, arguing that they had to present their original accreditation documents to the SICT, while they were at the same time not allowed to enter the courtroom to present their credentials.

12. The source states that the setting and cancellation of hearing dates at very short notice often made it impossible for Saddam Hussein's lawyers to attend hearings in the case. With regard to Mr. Hussein's foreign lawyers, the source adds that on 7 March 2006, the SICT communicated that two of them, experts on international human rights law, Mr. Doebbler and Mr. Armouty, were not entitled to meet with their client and to enter the courtroom. The SICT did not give any reasons. Mr. Doebbler and Mr. Armouty possessed powers of attorney from Mr. Hussein and been previously admitted to act before the SICT.
13. According to the source, the failure of the authorities to take steps to protect the life and physical integrity of defense lawyers further contributed to undermining the fairness of proceedings. As publicly reported, defense lawyers have been the object of several attacks which resulted in the deaths of three of them, including Mr. Khamis Obedi, who was killed on 21 June 2006. After his death, the defense lawyers stated that they could not appear before the SICT until better security was provided. As no action to improve security was taken, the SICT convened on 10, 11, 24, 26 and 27 July without their attendance. The SICT appointed other defense lawyers over the express objections of the defendants.
14. The third set of allegations and arguments presented by the source relates to the right to present the defense case in conditions of equality with the prosecution. In this respect, the source states that the evidence was reportedly read into the record on the basis of affidavits of which the defense counsel had no adequate prior notice, and which they therefore could not meaningfully question. Moreover, the defense was not provided with copies of the statements of prosecution witnesses.
15. The Working Group also takes notice of reports that on 13 June 2006, within 24 hours of having agreed to allow nine more witnesses, the

SICT suddenly interrupted the defense case and disallowed the introduction of any further defense evidence.

16. In its submission of 30 August 2006, the United States Government notes the Working Group's recognition that the criminal proceedings against Mr. Hussein are ongoing. It states that the Working Group thereby acknowledged that Mr. Hussein had domestic remedies available which had not been exhausted. The United States Government also reiterates its position that, although physical custody of the detainee, Mr. Hussein is being held under the legal authority of an Iraqi court, and that, therefore the appropriate Iraqi authorities are best placed to respond to the questions about his continued detention. The United States Government accordingly chose not to comment on the new allegations of the source.
17. While noting with appreciation the cooperation of the United States Government, the Working Group regrets that neither the Government of Iraq nor the Government of the United States have submitted information in respect of the new allegations of the source or their position on its merits. Nonetheless, the Working Group believes that it is in a position to consider the case against and render an opinion on the facts and circumstances in the context of the new substantiated allegations made.
18. With regard to the doctrine of exhaustion of domestic remedies mentioned by the U.S. Government in its submission, the Working Group recalls that, as it has explained most recently in its 2006 report to the Commission on Human Rights, "the Commission [...] never intended the doctrine of exhaustion of domestic remedies to apply to the activity of the Working Group as a criterion for the admissibility of communications." This does not, however, preclude the Working Group from keeping in mind the rationale underlying the doctrine, i.e. that the State where a human rights violation has allegedly occurred should have the opportunity to redress the alleged violation by its own means within the domestic framework.
19. As already mentioned above (paragraph 6), in this spirit the Working Group decided on 30 November 2005 to clarify the principles governing its competence and the responsibility of the two Governments with regard to the detention of Mr. Saddam Hussein, but not to ex-

press an opinion on the merits yet. Since then, nine months have passed, the governments concerned have not cooperated with the Working Group, and the source alleges that the violations of international law in the trial of Saddam Hussein have grown worse. Most importantly, Article 27(2) of the Iraqi Special Court's Statute provides that sentences shall be enforced within 30 days of becoming final, which in the case of imposition of the death penalty could result in a precipitous and irremediable end to the proceedings. Therefore, the Working Group considers that it can no longer delay giving its opinion on the communication submitted to it two years ago.

20. In the light of the allegations summarized above, which have not been refuted by the governments despite and invitation to do so, and also in the light of all the information publicly available about the trial of Mr. Saddam Hussein before the SICT, the Working Group notes that no action has been taken to correct the deficiencies identified in its opinion rendered on 30 November 2005. In addition, new procedural flaws have been reported to the Working Group.
21. In opinion no. 46/2005, the Working Group had clearly stated that the proper way to ensure that the detention of Mr. Saddam Hussein does not amount to arbitrary deprivation of liberty would be to ensure that his trial is conducted by an independent and impartial tribunal in strict conformity with international human rights standards. It is unfortunate to notice that Mr. Hussein's trial was conducted and ended with a series of violations of the right to defense and to a fair trial in breach of article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights to which Iraq and the United States are parties.
22. More specifically, the Working Group finds that Saddam Hussein did not enjoy the right to be tried by an independent and impartial tribunal as required by Article 14(1) ICCPR. As reported by the source, the presiding judge of the chamber trying Saddam Hussein changed twice, both times as a result of political pressure exercised on the SICT. The current presiding judge is reported to have made statements incompatible with the requirement of impartiality and the presumption of innocence enshrined in Article 14(2) ICCPR. The known circumstances surrounding the changes of the presiding judge of the trial chamber render the fact that the identities of the other judges composing the chamber are not known all the more preoccupying. As

pointed out by the source, neither the defendants nor the public are in a position to verify whether these judges meet the requirements for judicial office, whether they are affiliated with political forces, whether their independence and impartiality is otherwise undermined.

23. Saddam Hussein did not “have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence,” as required by Article 14(3)(b) ICCPR. The severe restrictions on his access to the lawyers of his own choosing and the presence of United States officials at such meetings violated his rights to communicate with counsel. The assassination of two of his counsel in the course of the trial, Mr. Sadoun al-Janabi on 20 October 2005 and Mr. Khamis al-Obedi on 21 June 2006, seriously damaged his right “to defend himself [...] through legal assistance of his own choosing” enshrined in Article 14(3)(d) ICCPR (in addition to being, first of all, a tragedy in its own right).
24. Finally, Saddam Hussein did not enjoy the possibility “to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him,” as required by Article 14(3)(e) ICCPR. This guarantee was undermined by the failure to adequately disclose prosecution evidence to the defendants, the reading into the record of affidavits without an adequate possibility for the defense to challenge them, and the sudden decision of the presiding judge to cut short the defense case on 13 June 2006.
25. It is because the Working Group is deeply committed to the principle that serious violations of human rights, whether committed by political leaders or others, must be inquired into and redressed by putting the perpetrators to justice, that it considers that procedures to hold the perpetrators of gross human rights violations accountable must scrupulously respect the rules and standards elaborated and accepted by the international community to guarantee a fair trial to any person charged with a criminal offense. This is all the more necessary when the death penalty could be imposed.
26. The Working Group believes that also from the perspective of the victims, who under international law enjoy the rights to reparation, truth and justice, it is particularly important that the investigation of gross violations of human rights and the trial of the alleged perpetrators are conducted in a legitimate and transparent legal process. For

them as well, it is essential that justice is not only fair, but also be seen to be fair.

27. In the light of the foregoing, the Working Group renders the following opinion:

The deprivation of liberty of Mr. Saddam Hussein is arbitrary, being in contravention of article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights to which Iraq and the United States are parties, and falls within category III of the categories applicable to the consideration of the cases submitted to the Working Group.

28. As a consequence of the opinion rendered, the Working Group requests the Governments of Iraq and the United States to take the necessary steps to remedy the situation of Mr. Saddam Hussein and to bring it into conformity with the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In this context, the Working group invites the Government of Iraq to give serious consideration to the question of whether a trial of the former Head of State in conformity with international law is at all possible before an Iraqi tribunal in the current situation in the country, or whether the case should not be referred to an international tribunal.

Adopted on 1 September 2006.

Appendix XII

Speech by Saddam Hussein at the Amman Summit in Amman, Jordan 24 February 1990

Since it is difficult in a meeting such as this to deal with all that is negative or positive in international developments during 1989 and prior to then, and during the period from the beginning of 1990, you might share my opinion that discussions should deal with the most urgent and important of these issues and within the limits of time allowed us.

Among the most important developments since the international conflict in World War II has been the fact that some countries which used to enjoy broad international influence, such as France and Britain, have declined, while the influence and impact of two countries expanded until they became the two superpowers among the countries of the world—I mean the United States and the Soviet Union. Of course, with these results, two axes have developed: the Western axis under the leadership of the United States, with its known capitalist approach and its imperialist policy; and the East bloc under the leadership of the Soviet Union and its communist philosophy.

Among the results of World War II: The Zionist state has become a reality, and the original owners of the land, the Palestinians, have become refugees. While the imperialist Western world helped the expansionist scheme and aggression of the Zionist entity in 1967, the communist bloc sided with the Arabs in the concept of balance of interests in the context of the global competition between the two blocs, and sought to secure footholds for the East Bloc against the Western interests in the Arab homeland. The East bloc, led by the USSR, supported the Arabs' basic rights, including their rights in the Arab-Zionist conflict. The global policy continued on the basis of the existence of two poles that were balanced in

term of force. They are the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR.

And suddenly, the situation changed in a dramatic way. The USSR turned to tackle its domestic problems after relinquishing the process of continuous conflict and its slogans. The USSR shifted from the balanced position with the United States in a practical manner, although it has not acknowledged this officially so far. The USSR went to nurse the wounds that were inflicted on it as a result of the principles and mistaken policy it followed for such a long time, and as a result of the wave of change it embarked on, which began to depart from the charted course. It has become clear to everyone that the United States has emerged in a superior position in international politics. This superiority will be demonstrated in the United States readiness to play such a role more than in the predicted guarantees for its continuation.

We believe that the world can fill the vacuum resulting from the recent changes and find a new balance in the global arena by developing new perspectives and reducing or adding to this or that force. The forces that laid the ground for filling the vacuum and for the emergence of the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR, after World War II at the expense of France, Britain, and Germany can develop new forces, which we expect will be in Europe or Japan. America will lose its power just as quickly as it gained it by frightening Europe, Japan, and other countries through the continuous hinting at the danger of the USSR and communism. The United States will lose its power as the fierce competition for gaining the upper hand between the two superpowers and their allies recedes.

However, we believe that the United States will continue to depart from the restrictions that govern the rest of [the] world throughout the next five years until new forces of balance are formed. Moreover, the undisciplined and irresponsible behavior will engender hostility and grudges if it embarks on rejected stupidities.

We all remember, as does the whole world, the circumstances under which the United States deployed and bolstered its fleets in the Gulf. Most important of these circumstances: The war that was raging between Iraq and Iran; Iranian aggression had extended to other Arabian Gulf countries, most notably the sisterly state of Kuwait. At the time, beyond the conflicting views regarding the presence of foreign fleets in Arab territorial waters and foreign bases on their territory and their repercussions for pan-Arab security, that excessive deployment was somehow comprehensible. But now, and against the background of the recent world develop-

ments and the cessation of hostilities between Iraq and Iran, and with Kuwait no longer being the target of Iranian aggression, the Arabian Gulf states, including Iraq, and even the entire Arabs would have liked the Americans to state their intention to withdraw their fleets.

Had they said that under the same circumstances and causes they would have returned to the Gulf, it might have been understandable also. But U.S. officials are making such statements as if to show that their immediate and longer-term presence in Gulf waters and, maybe, on some of its territory, is not bound to a time frame. These suspect policies give Arabs reason to feel suspicious of U.S. policies and intentions as to whether it is officially and actually interested in a termination of the Iraq-Iran war and thus in contributing to much needed regional stability.

The other side is the immigration of Soviet Jews to the occupied Palestinian land. How can we explain the Americans' support and backing for Jewish immigration to the occupied Arab territories, except that the United States does not want peace as it claims and declares? If it really and actually wants peace, the United States would not have encouraged Israel and the aggressive trends in it to adopt such policies, which enhance Israel's capability to commit aggression and carry out expansion.

We the Arabs, proceeding from a long-standing friendship with the Soviet Union, did not expect that the Soviets would give in to this U.S. pressure in such a way that it would lead to these grave consequences for the Arabs and their pan-Arab security. As we tackle these challenges, it would be just as compromising to the destiny and cause of the Arabs to feel fear as it would be to be lax in our evaluating and working out a reaction to them. Therefore, there is no place among the ranks of good Arabs for the fainthearted who would argue that as a superpower, the United States will be the decisive factor, and others have no choice but to submit. At the same time, there is no place in our midst for those who fail to take note of recent developments that have added to U.S. strength, thus prompting it to the possible commission of follies against the interests and national security of the Arabs—either directly or by fanning and encouraging conflicts detrimental to the Arabs, irrespective of their source. We are only making the point that the Arabs seek peace and justice throughout the world and want to forge relations of friendship with those who show respect to what friendship is all about—be it the United States or any other nation. It is only natural that the Arabs take a realistic approach to the new posture and power of the United States that has led the Soviet Union to abandon its erstwhile position of influence. However, America must respect the Arabs and respect their rights, and should not interfere

in their internal affairs under any cover.

Against the backdrop of the vital issue related to the substance of national Arab security, the question arises as to what we the Arabs have to do.... It has been proven that Arabs are capable of being influential when they make a decision and set their minds to it for actual application purposes. We have much evidence of how effective they can be; for example, the joint Iraqi-Saudi resolution of August 6, 1980, and the warning the two countries issued together that embassies must not be moved to Jerusalem, one of whose direct results in less than a month—the duration of the warning—was not only that the concerned countries did not transfer their embassies to Jerusalem, but also that embassies that had already long been transferred to the city returned to Tel Aviv.

The reason the United States stays in the Gulf is that the Gulf has become the most important spot in the region and perhaps the whole world due to developments in international policy, the oil market, and increasing demands from the United States, Europe, Japan, Eastern Europe, and perhaps the Soviet Union, for this product. The country that will have the greatest influence in the region through the Arab Gulf and its oil will maintain its superiority as a superpower without an equal to compete with it. This means that if the Gulf people, along with all Arabs, are not careful, the Arab Gulf region will be governed by the United States' will. If the Arabs are not alerted and the weakness persists, the situation could develop to the extent desired by the United States; that is, it would fix the amount of oil and gas produced in each country and sold to this or that country in the world. Prices would also be fixed in line with a special perspective benefiting U.S. interests and ignoring the interests of others.

If this possibility is there and it is convincing, those who are convinced by it must conclude that peace in the Middle East is remote from the United States point of view because U.S. strategy, according to this analysis, needs an aggressive Israel, not a peaceful one. Peace between Iraq and Iran could be far off as long as Iran does not react favorably from an aware and responsible position and with the peace initiatives proposed by Iraq. The region could witness inter-Arab wars or controlled wars between the Arabs and some of their neighbors, if tangible results are not achieved on the basis of the principles of noninterference in others' internal affairs and nonuse of military force in inter-Arab relations.

Agreement should be reached over clear and widespread pan-Arab cooperation programs among Arab countries in the economic, political, and educational fields, as well as other fields. Love and peace of mind will take the place of suspicion, doubt, mistrust, and giving in to information and

speculation propagated by rumor-mongers, such as prejudiced Westerners and some rootless Arabs.

Brothers, the weakness of a big body lies in its bulkiness. All strong men have their Achilles' heel. Therefore, irrespective of our known stand on terror and terrorists, we saw that the United States as a superpower departed Lebanon immediately when some Marines were killed, the very men who are considered to be the most prominent symbol of its arrogance. The whole U.S. administration would have been called into question had the forces that conquered Panama continued to be engaged by the Panamanian armed forces. The United States has been defeated in some combat arenas for all the forces it possesses, and it has displayed signs of fatigue, frustration, and hesitation when committing aggression on other peoples' rights and acting from motives of arrogance and hegemony. This is a natural outcome for those who commit aggression on other peoples' rights. Israel, once dubbed the invincible country, has been defeated by some of the Arabs. The resistance put up by Palestinian and Lebanese militia against Israeli invasion forces in 1982 and before that the heroic Egyptian crossing of the Suez Canal in 1973 have had a more telling psychological and actual impact than all Arab threats. Further, the threat to use Arab oil in 1973 during the October war proved more effective than all political attempts to protest or to beg at the gates of American decision-making centers. The stones in occupied Palestine now turn into a virtual and potentially fatal bullet if additional requirements are made available. It is the best proof of what is possible and indeed gives us cause to hold our heads high.

Just as Israel controls interests to put pressure on the United States administration, hundreds of billions invested by Arabs in the United States and the West may be similarly deployed. Indeed, for instance, some of these investments may be diverted to the USSR and East European countries. It may prove even more profitable than investment in the West, which has grown saturated with its national resources. Such a course of action may yield inestimable benefits for the Arabs and their national causes. Our purported weakness does not lie in our ideological and hereditary characteristics. Contemporary experience has shown our nation to be distinguished and excellent, just as our nation's history over the centuries has shown this to be the case. Our purported weakness lies in a lack of mutual trust among ourselves, our failure to concentrate on the components of our strength, and our failure to focus on our weaknesses with a view to righting them. Let our motto be: All of us are strong as long as we are united, and all of us are weak as long as we are divided.

Appendix XIII

Iraq: The War Card — Orchestrated Deception on the Path to War

Published January 2008 by
The Center for Public Integrity

OVERVIEW

False Pretenses

by Charles Lewis and Mark Reading Smith

Following 9/11, President Bush and seven top officials of his administration waged a carefully orchestrated campaign of misinformation about the threat posed by Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

President George W. Bush and seven of his administration's top officials, including Vice President Dick Cheney, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, made at least 935 false statements in the two years following September 11, 2001, about the national security threat posed by Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Nearly five years after the U.S. invasion of Iraq, an exhaustive examination of the record shows that the statements were part of an orchestrated campaign that effectively galvanized public opinion and, in the process, led the nation to war under decidedly false pretenses.

On at least 532 separate occasions (in speeches, briefings, interviews, testimony, and the like), Bush and these three key officials, along with Secretary of State Colin Powell, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz,

and White House press secretaries Ari Fleischer and Scott McClellan, stated unequivocally that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (or was trying to produce or obtain them), links to Al Qaeda, or both. This concerted effort was the underpinning of the Bush administration's case for war.

It is now beyond dispute that Iraq *did not* possess any weapons of mass destruction or have meaningful ties to Al Qaeda. This was the conclusion of numerous bipartisan government investigations, including those by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (2004 and 2006), the 9/11 Commission, and the multinational Iraq Survey Group, whose "Duelfer Report" established that Saddam Hussein had terminated Iraq's nuclear program in 1991 and made little effort to restart it.

In short, the Bush administration led the nation to war on the basis of erroneous information that it methodically propagated and that culminated in military action against Iraq on March 19, 2003. Not surprisingly, the officials with the most opportunities to make speeches, grant media interviews, and otherwise frame the public debate also made the most false statements, according to this first-ever analysis of the entire body of pre-war rhetoric.

President Bush, for example, made 232 false statements about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and another 28 false statements about Iraq's links to Al Qaeda. Secretary of State Powell had the second-highest total in the two-year period, with 244 false statements about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and 10 about Iraq's links to Al Qaeda. Rumsfeld and Fleischer each made 109 false statements, followed by Wolfowitz (with 85), Rice (with 56), Cheney (with 48), and McClellan (with 14).

The massive database at the heart of this project juxtaposes what President Bush and these seven top officials were saying for public consumption against what was known, or should have been known, on a day-to-day basis. This fully searchable database includes the public statements, drawn from both primary sources (such as official transcripts) and secondary sources (chiefly major news organizations) over the two years beginning on September 11, 2001. It also interlaces relevant information from more than 25 government reports, books, articles, speeches, and interviews.

Consider, for example, these false public statements made in the run-up to war:

- On August 26, 2002, in an address to the national convention of the Veteran of Foreign Wars, Cheney flatly declared: "Simply stated,

there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us.” In fact, former CIA Director George Tenet later recalled, Cheney’s assertions went well beyond his agency’s assessments at the time. Another CIA official, referring to the same speech, told journalist Ron Suskind, “Our reaction was, ‘Where is he getting this stuff from?’ “

- In the closing days of September 2002, with a congressional vote fast approaching on authorizing the use of military force in Iraq, Bush told the nation in his weekly radio address: “The Iraqi regime possesses biological and chemical weapons, is rebuilding the facilities to make more and, according to the British government, could launch a biological or chemical attack in as little as 45 minutes after the order is given. . . . This regime is seeking a nuclear bomb, and with fissile material could build one within a year.” A few days later, similar findings were also included in a much-hurried National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction — an analysis that hadn’t been done in years, as the intelligence community had deemed it unnecessary and the White House hadn’t requested it.
- In July 2002, Rumsfeld had a one-word answer for reporters who asked whether Iraq had relationships with Al Qaeda terrorists: “Sure.” In fact, an assessment issued that same month by the Defense Intelligence Agency (and confirmed weeks later by CIA Director Tenet) found an absence of “compelling evidence demonstrating direct cooperation between the government of Iraq and Al Qaeda.” What’s more, an earlier DIA assessment said that “the nature of the regime’s relationship with Al Qaeda is unclear.”
- On May 29, 2003, in an interview with Polish TV, President Bush declared: “We found the weapons of mass destruction. We found biological laboratories.” But as journalist Bob Woodward reported in *State of Denial*, days earlier a team of civilian experts dispatched to examine the two mobile labs found in Iraq had concluded in a field report that the labs were not for biological weapons. The team’s final report, completed the following month, concluded that the labs had probably been used to manufacture hydrogen for weather balloons.

- On January 28, 2003, in his annual State of the Union address, Bush asserted: “The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa. Our intelligence sources tell us that he has attempted to purchase high-strength aluminum tubes suitable for nuclear weapons production.” Two weeks earlier, an analyst with the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research sent an email to colleagues in the intelligence community laying out why he believed the uranium-purchase agreement “probably is a hoax.”
- On February 5, 2003, in an address to the United Nations Security Council, Powell said: “What we’re giving you are facts and conclusions based on solid intelligence. I will cite some examples, and these are from human sources.” As it turned out, however, two of the main human sources to which Powell referred had provided false information. One was an Iraqi con artist, code-named “Curveball,” whom American intelligence officials were dubious about and in fact had never even spoken to. The other was an Al Qaeda detainee, Ibn al-Sheikh al-Libi, who had reportedly been sent to Egypt by the CIA and tortured and who later recanted the information he had provided. Libi told the CIA in January 2004 that he had “decided he would fabricate any information interrogators wanted in order to gain better treatment and avoid being handed over to [a foreign government].”

The false statements dramatically increased in August 2002, with congressional consideration of a war resolution, then escalated through the mid-term elections and spiked even higher from January 2003 to the eve of the invasion.

It was during those critical weeks in early 2003 that the president delivered his State of the Union address and Powell delivered his memorable U.N. presentation.

In addition to their patently false pronouncements, Bush and these seven top officials also made hundreds of other statements in the two years after 9/11 in which they implied that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction or links to Al Qaeda. Other administration higher-ups, joined by Pentagon officials and Republican leaders in Congress, also routinely sounded false war alarms in the Washington echo chamber.

The cumulative effect of these false statements — amplified by thousands of news stories and broadcasts — was massive, with the media cov-

erage creating an almost impenetrable din for several critical months in the run-up to war. Some journalists — indeed, even some entire news organizations — have since acknowledged that their coverage during those prewar months was far too deferential and uncritical. These mea culpas notwithstanding, much of the wall-to-wall media coverage provided additional, “independent” validation of the Bush administration’s false statements about Iraq.

The “ground truth” of the Iraq war itself eventually forced the president to backpedal, albeit grudgingly. In a 2004 appearance on NBC’s *Meet the Press*, for example, Bush acknowledged that no weapons of mass destruction had been found in Iraq. And on December 18, 2005, with his approval ratings on the decline, Bush told the nation in a Sunday-night address from the Oval Office: “It is true that Saddam Hussein had a history of pursuing and using weapons of mass destruction. It is true that he systematically concealed those programs, and blocked the work of UN weapons inspectors. It is true that many nations believed that Saddam had weapons of mass destruction. But much of the intelligence turned out to be wrong. As your president, I am responsible for the decision to go into Iraq. Yet it was right to remove Saddam Hussein from power.”

Bush stopped short, however, of admitting error or poor judgment; instead, his administration repeatedly attributed the stark disparity between its prewar public statements and the actual “ground truth” regarding the threat posed by Iraq to poor intelligence from a Who’s Who of domestic agencies.

Bush and the top officials of his administration have so far largely avoided the harsh, sustained glare of formal scrutiny about their personal responsibility for the litany of repeated, false statements in the run-up to the war in Iraq.

Short of such review, this project provides a heretofore unavailable framework for examining how the U.S. war in Iraq came to pass. Clearly, it calls into question the repeated assertions of Bush administration officials that they were the unwitting victims of bad intelligence.

Above all, the 935 false statements painstakingly presented here finally help to answer two all-too-familiar questions as they apply to Bush and his top advisers: What did they know, and when did they know it?

For the entire report as well as explanations and methodology, plus a data base of 380,000 words concerning Iraq-related public announcements by top Bush administration officials, visit the website
<http://www.publicintegrity.org/WarCard/>

REFERENCES

- Ahuja, Paul, "U.S. Admits Slaughter in Somalia," 20 Dec. 1993.
- "Aidid Forces Seize Somali City of Baidoa," *Reuters News Service*, 12 June 1995.
- Al-Arian, Abd Allah, "Freedom of the Airwaves or Hate Radio?," *www.aljazeera.net*, 3 June 2004.
- Alawsy, Mohammed, "Destruction of Beloved Baghdad Statue Emblematic of Violence's Toll," *Knight Ridder*, 3 Nov. 2005.
- Al-Fahl, Ahmed, "Top Secret and Private," 22 Nov. 1989.
- Al-Jasem, Maher, "Saddam Supporters Condemn Sentence," *www.aljazeera.net*, 6 Nov. 2006.
- Al-Obaidi, Mohammed, "What Happened in Kurdish Halabja?" 20 Dec. 2004.
- Al-Saraf, Ali, "How to Execute Saddam? A Recent Tour Around Iraq Will Be Enough," *Roads to Iraq*, 6 Nov. 2006.
- Al-Mukhtar, Salah, "Bargains and Offers Rejected by Saddam Hussein," *www.uruknet.info*, 20 Dec. 2004.
- Apes, William, *Eulogy on King Philip*, Boston, MA, 1836.
- Arbuthnot, Felicity, "Foreign and Commonwealth Office: 'Who Is Tariq Aziz?,'" *www.globalresearch.ca*, 15 Jan., 2006
- Archer, Jeff, "America's Best Kept Secret," *East County Weekly*, 15 Mar. 1992.
- Assaf, Simon, "Torture of Iraqi Prisoners Self-Inflicted Says U.S. Army General," *Socialist Worker*, 27 June 2006.
- Aziz, Tariq, "Letter to U.N.," 24 Oct. 1990.
- "Aziz Uses Dujai Trial to Attack Cabinet," *www.aljazeera.net*, 24 May 2006.
- Baker, Peter, *Washington Post*, 22 Dec. 2002.
- Bamford, James, "The Man Who Sold the War: John Rendon, Bush's general in the propaganda war," *Rollingstone.com*, 27 Dec. 2005.
- Benjamin, Daniel, "Condi's Phony History," *Slate*, 29 Aug. 2003.
- "Bibles for the Middle East," *Campus Crusade for Christ*.

- Bin-Mohamad, Mahathir, "On the Trial of Saddam Hussein: Court Set Up by Illegal Occupying Power," *www.globalresearch.ca*, 7 Nov. 2006.
- "Blair: God Will Judge Iraq War," *CNN*, 4 Mar. 2006.
- "Blair: Western Values at Stake in Iraq," *www.aljazeera.net*, 28 Mar. 2006.
- Blum, William, "God, Country and Torture," *CounterPunch*, 14 May 2004.
- Blumenfeld, Laura, "A Little Diplomacy Goes a Long Way," *Washington Post*, 13 Dec. 1996.
- Blumenthal, Sidney, "The Religious Warrior of Abu Ghraib," *The Guardian*, 20 May 2004.
- Boldin, Michael, "Saddam Was Right and Bush Was Wrong," *www.populistamerica.com*, 30 Dec. 2006.
- Boyle, Francis, *Covert Action Quarterly*, issue 73, Summer 2002.
- "British Prime Minister Admits Graves Claim Untrue," *The Independent*, 18 July 2004.
- Buncombe, Andrew, "The Couple at the Centre of a Scandal that Horrified the World," *The Independent*, 7 May 2004.
- Buncombe, Andrew, "The Bible College that Leads to the White House," *The Independent*, 21 Apr. 2004.
- Cambanis, Thanassis, "Iraq's Ba'athists Rebound on 2 Fronts," *The Boston Globe*, 15 May 2005.
- CBS, 14 Jan. 1993.
- Chaatterjee, Pratap, and Thompson, A.C., "Private Contractors and Torture at Abu Ghraib, Iraq," *www.corpwatch.org*, 7 May 2004.
- Clark, Ramsey, *The Fire This Time*, Thunder's Mouth Press, New York, NY, 1992.
- "Clinton First Linked al-Qaeda to Saddam," *Washington Times*, 2004.
- "Clinton's Statement on the U.S. Strike on Iraq," *CNN*, 3 Sept. 1996.
- CNN, 22 Aug. 1998.
- Cockburn, Andrew, "So Long to 'Our Tyrant,'" *Common Dreams*, 30 Dec. 2006.
- Cohen, Richard, "Bicycling to War," *Washington Post*, 20 Apr. 2004.
- Collins, Joseph J., *Choosing War: The Decision to Invade Iraq and Its Aftermath*, Apr. 2008.
- "Conservatives Justify Torture as 'Blowing Off Steam,'" *www.americanprogress.org*, 7 May 2004.
- Covert Action Quarterly*, Issue 73, Summer 2002.

- Cox, Christopher, "U.S. Intelligence Debacle Worst Since Bay of Pigs," *House Republican Policy Committee*, 8 Oct. 1996.
- Douglas, William, and Recio, Maria, "Bush Tapestry of Policy Woven with Prayer Draws Concern," *Knight Ridder Newspapers*, Apr. 2004.
- Dreyfuss, Robert, "God Made Me Do It," 18 Apr. 2004.
- Dreyfuss, Robert, "The Consequences of Killing Saddam," *The Nation*, 31 Dec. 2006.
- Drogin, Bob, and Goetz, John, "Germans: Bush Misused Data to Justify Iraq War," *The Morning Call*, 20 Nov. 2005.
- Ebeid, Ibrahim, "America Must Destroy the Wall of Fear and Isolation," *www.al-moharer.net*, 28 Sept. 2006.
- Ebel, Robert E., Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Embassy of the Republic of Iraq, Washington, D.C., "How the Iran-Iraq War Started," Jan. 1985.
- "Families Flee Mogadishu Frontline Amid War Fears," *Reuters News Service*.
- Fenton, Tom, "Iraq Mess Likely Isn't Spontaneous," *CBSNEWS.com*, 22 Nov. 2004.
- Fineman, Howard, and Lipper, Tamara, "Disturbing Images: Public Attention to Casualties in the Iraq War Could Complicate Bush's Reelection Strategy," *Newsweek*, 26 Apr. 2004.
- Finn, Peter, "Threads Unravel in Iraqi's Tale," *Washington Post*, 20 Jan. 2005.
- Floyd, Chris, "Pin Heads," *Moscow Times*, 12 Mar. 2004.
- "Freedom of the Airwaves or Hate Radio?" *www.aljazeera.net*, 3 June 2004.
- Freeland, Ken, "Iraqi Food Distribution Center," *www.iacenter.org*, May 1998.
- Freeman, Colin and Hussein, Akeel, "Few Gather to Remember at Saddam's Tomb," *The Telegraph*, 31 Dec. 2007.
- Friedman, Herbert A., *www.psywarrior.com*.
- Garrett, Jerry, "War Utility Vehicle," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 3 July 2005.
- Gellman, Barton, "U.S. Spied on Iraqi Military Via U.N.," *Washington Post*, 2 Mar. 1999.
- Gillan, Audrey, "The Regrets of the Man Who Brought Down Saddam," *The Guardian*, 19 Mar. 2007.
- Gilligan, Andrew, "The Strongman of Baghdad," *The Spectator*, 13 Nov. 2004.

- Gonsalves, Sean, *Cape Cod Times*, May 2005.
- Goodman, Amy, "Democracy Now, WBAI-FM, Apr. 2006.
- Greenhouse, Steven, "U.S. Vows to Press Hard on Iraq to Free Americans," *New York Times*, 27 Mar. 1995.
- Greenpeace, *On Impact*, June 1991.
- " Hamas Condemns Sentence," *www.aljazeera.net*, 5 Nov. 2006.
- Hamdani, Ali and Haynes, Deborah, "Thousands Prevented from Visiting Saddam's Tomb on Anniversary of Execution," *The Times*, 30 Dec. 2007.
- Hammer, Joshua, "Vegetating in Solitude," *Newsweek*, 23 Feb. 2004.
- Hanley, Charles J., "Early Iraq Abuse Met With Silence," *The Associated Press*, 8 May 2004.
- Harb, Nabila, "Statement in Support of Saddam Hussein," *Free Arab Voice*, 16 Dec. 2006.
- Harris, Paul, "Book Review Section," *The Observer*, 2 Nov. 2003.
- Hasan, Saeed, Letter to United Nations, 4 Jan. 2000.
- Hassan, Ghali, "What do Fallujah and Halabja Have in Common?," *www.uruknet.info*, 31 Dec. 2004.
- Head, Mike, "Australian Agents Spied for U.S. in Iraq," *www.wsws.org*, 28 Jan. 1999.
- Heller, Jean, *St. Petersburg Times*, January 1991.
- Hersh, Seymour, "Overwhelming Force," *New Yorker*, 22 May 2000.
- Hersh, Seymour, "A Case Not Closed," *New Yorker*, 1 Nov. 1993.
- Higham, Scott and Stephens, Joe, "Iraqis Provide New Details of Abuse," *Washington Post*, 21 May 2004.
- Higham, Scott and Stephens, Joe, "Punishment and Amusement," *Washington Post*, 22 May 2004.
- Hussein, Saddam, Speech at Arab Summit in Amman, Feb. 1990.
- "Inspectors to Scour Iraq for Mobile Labs," UCLA School of Public Health, 17 Nov. 2002.
- "Iraq Accuses U.S. and Britain of Blocking Food," *Reuters*, 25 June 2006.
- Iraq: Denial and Deception*, *www.whitehouse.gov.*, 5 Feb. 2003.
- "Iraq Halts UNSCOM Cooperation," *www.arabicnews.com*, 31 Oct. 1998.
- "Iraq-Kuwait Relations to Grow Rapidly," *www.gulfnews.com*, 4 Feb. 2002.
- "Iraq Schoolbags," Campus Crusade for Christ.
- Iraq Screen*, Dec. 2006.

"Iraqi Cleric: America Is the Enemy of Islam," *The Associated Press*, 30 Apr. 2004.

"Iraqis Differ Over Conviction, *www.aljazeera.net*, 5 Nov. 2006.

"Iraqi Mobile Biological Warfare Agent Production Plants," CIA, 28 Mar. 2003.

"Iraq Mobile Labs Nothing To Do With Germ Warfare, Report Finds," *The Observer*, 15 June 2003.

"Irbil," *www.globalsecurity.org*.

Ireland, Doug, "Shia Death Squads Target Iraqi Gays — U.S. Indifferent," 24 Mar. 2006.

"Is Foreign Aid Christian?" *Boston Globe*, 11 Oct. 2006.

Ishtar, "Saddam Is Last Hope for the U.S.," *Iraq Screen*, 28 Dec. 2006.

"It Was a Holy War, a New Crusade," *The Guardian*, 21 Apr. 2004.

Isikoff, Michael, "Saddam's Files," *Newsweek*, 23 Mar. 2008.

Jamail, Dahr, "Secondary School Under Siege by U.S. Forces," *www.electroniciraq.net*, 18 Dec. 2003.

Jamail, Dahr, "No Apology, Car Bomb, 'I Am Your God,'" *The NewStandard*, 6 May 2004.

Jamail, Dahr, "Fallujah Rebels, Residents, Police Celebrate Victory Over U.S. Marines," *The NewStandard*, 10 May 2004.

Jamail, Dahr, "The Seeds Have Been Sown," *The NewStandard*, 21 May 2004.

Jamail, Dahr, "The Student Is Gone; the Master Has Arrived," *The NewStandard*, 13 June 2004.

Jamail, Dahr, "Beirut, Iraq," *The NewStandard*, 16 June 2004.

Janabi, Ahmed, "U.S. Knew Iraq Was WMD Free," *aljazeera.net*, 13 Feb. 2004.

Janabi, Ahmed, "The Death of a Nuclear Dream," *aljazeera.net*, 7 June 2006.

"Judge Throws Out Saddam's Brother," *www.aljazeera.net*, 12 June 2006.

Jayne, Edward, "Bush Does Iraq: Anatomy of a Failed Operation," *www.dissidentvoice.org*, 20 July 2006.

Jehl, Douglas, "Americans Given 8-Year Term," *New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1995.

"Judge: Saddam Was No Dictator," *www.aljazeera.net*, 14 Sept. 2006.

Kavanagh, Trevor, *The Sun*, 2003.

"Khalil Regrets Toppling Statue of Saddam," *Agence France Presse*, 9 Apr. 2008.

- "Lacking Biolabs, Trailers Carried Case for War," *Washington Post*, 12 Apr. 2006.
- Lagauche, Malcom, "Brother George's Traveling Salvation Show," www.malcomlagauche.com, 9 Feb. 2004.
- Lang, Patrick, "Curveball the Eight Ball," *The Booman Tribune*, 20 Nov. 2005.
- Leeup, Gary, "Things Fall Apart," www.axisoflogic.com, 21 Apr. 2004.
- Leeup, Gary, "Better Under Saddam," *Dissidentvoice.com*, 31 Mar. 2006.
- Leeup, Gary, "We Don't Want to Inflict Values," *Dissidentvoice.com*, 12 June 2006.
- Lewis, Paul, "After the War; U.N. Survey Calls Iraq's War Damage Near-Apocalyptic," *New York Times*, 22 Mar. 1991.
- Leopold, Evelyn, "Annan: Iraq in Civil War, Worse Than Under Saddam," *Reuters*, 3 Dec. 2006.
- Lynch, Colum, "U.S. Used UN to Spy on Iraq, Aides Say," *Boston Globe*, 6 Jan. 1991.
- MacArthur, John, *New York Times*, 1992.
- Margolis, Eric, "The Bay of Camels," *Toronto Sun*, 25 Aug. 1997.
- "Marines Turn to God Ahead of Anticipated Fallujah Battle," *Agence France Presse*, Nov. 2004.
- "Marine Says He Urinated on Dead Iraqi at Haditha," *Reuters*, 10 May 2007.
- Martin, Lawrence, *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 2004.
- Martinez, David, "Rumors and Rifles," www.indybay.org, 6 Feb. 2004.
- Matus, Victorino, "Sucking the Oxygen out of a Cave," *Weekly Standard*, 12 Mar. 2002.
- McDonough, Michael, "Gays in Iraq Fear for Their Lives," *BBC News*, 17 Apr. 2006.
- Milburn, John, "Atheist Soldier Says Army Punished Him," *Associated Press*, 5 Mar. 2008.
- Moore, James, "How Chalabi and the White House Held the Front Page," *The Guardian*, 29 May 2004.
- Monbiot, George, "Their Beliefs Are Bonkers, but They Are at the Heart of Power," *The Guardian*, 20 Apr. 2004.
- Moret, Leuren, "A Death Sentence Here and Abroad," *San Francisco Bay View*, 18 Aug. 2004.
- Mustafa, Abdul Jalil, "Jordan PM Says Raghida Is Royal Family Guest," *Arab News*, 4 July 2006.

- Mylroie, Laurie, "Iraq's Real Coup: Did Saddam Snooker Schwarzkopf?," *The Washington Post*, 28 June 1992.
- Naqvi, Saeed, "Iraq's Secrets Are Tumbling Out," *The Indian Express*, 7 May 2004.
- Nichols, Joe, "Chicken Hawks Do Have a Plan," *Asian Times*, 21 May 2004.
- "No-Fly Zones Perils Were for Iraqis, Not Allied Pilots," *St. Petersburg Times*, 29 Oct. 2004.
- O'Keefe, Mark, "A Direct Assault on Muslim Values," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 6 May 2004.
- O'Neill, Brendan, "Not a Shred of Evidence," *The Spectator*, 21 Feb. 2004.
- Ottaway, David B. and Smith, R. Jeffrey, "Anti-Saddam Operation Cost CIA \$100 Million," *Washington Post*, 15 Sept. 1996.
- New York Times*, 17 May 1992.
- "Outrage at US Abuse of Iraqi Prisoners," www.aljazeera.net, 30 Apr. 2004.
- Palast, Greg, "The Jerk: Why Saddam Had to Go," *Armed Madhouse*, 3 Aug. 2006.
- "Palestinians Cheer Saddam as a Hero," aljazeera.net, 7 Dec. 2005.
- Paley, Amit R., Sarhan, Saad, "A Demand for Hussein's Release," *Washington Post*, 2 Sept. 2006.
- "Paper Tiger?," *Time*, 8 June 1992.
- Peacework*, 29 Sept. 1999.
- "Public Doesn't Get Picture with Gulf Satellite Photos," *In These Times*, 27 Feb. 1991.
- "Profile: Scott Ritter," *BBC News*, 9 Sept. 2002.
- "Profile: Mohammed Mehdi Saleh," www.cooperativeresearch.com, 25 June 2006.
- Project for the New American Century, "Statement of Principles," 1997.
- "Public Version of Saddam Capture Fiction," *UPI*, 8 Mar. 2005.
- Ritter, Scott, "Facing the Enemy on the Ground," *AlterNet*, 11 July 2004.
- Ritter, Scott, "The Coup That Wasn't," *The Guardian*, 28 Sept. 2005.
- Ritter, Scott, "The Source Duelfer Didn't Quote," *The Guardian*, 9 Oct. 2004.
- Roberts, Les, Goodman, Amy, "Medical Study Estimates 650,000 Iraqi Deaths," www.democracynow.org, 12 Oct. 2006.
- Rockwell, Paul, "Atrocities in Iraq: 'I Killed Innocent People for Our Government.'"

- Sabri, B.J., "The Zarqawi Affair: Part 7 of 15," *www.onlinejournal.com*, 20 Sept. 2006.
- Sacramento Bee*, May 16, 2004.
- Sabbeth, Alex, "America Anesthetized," *consortiumnews.com*, 5 Mar. 2006.
- "Saddam Defence Testimony Ends," *www.aljazeera.net*, 13 June 2006.
- "Saddam Lawyers Dispute Executions," *BBC News*, 13 June 2006.
- "Saddam 'Warned U.S. of Terror Risk,'" *www.aljazeera.net*, 16 Feb. 2006.
- "Saddam Trial Witnesses Ordered Held," *www.aljazeera.net*, 31 May 2006.
- "Saddam Trial Judge Sacked," *www.aljazeera.net*, 19 Sept. 2006.
- "Saddam Witness Rejects Execution List," *www.aljazeera.net*, 5 June 2006.
- Salinger, Pierre, *Secret Dossier*, Penguin Press, London, England, 15 Apr. 1991.
- Salinski, Steven, "Arab and Muslim Jihad Fighters in Iraq," Middle East Media Research Institute, 27 July 2003.
- Schanberg, Sydney, "George Bush's Global Holy War Threatens Our Presidency — and Perhaps the Future of Our Nation," 20 Apr. 2004.
- "Scott Ritter Tells the Complete Story Why We're in Iraq," *www.buzzflash.com*, 15 Nov. 2005.
- "Schroeder Suspicious of Bush's Faith," *www.aljazeera.net*, 21 Oct. 2006.
- Sears, Mike, "The Gospel According to George," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel-Polaris*, 26 Apr. 2003.
- "Seeds of Chaos," *U.S. News & World Report*, 20 Dec. 2004.
- Shalai-Esa, Andrea, "General Who Made Anti-Islam Remark Tied to POW Case," *Reuters*, 11 May 2004.
- Shapiro, Bruce, "Rule of the Noose," *The Nation*, 31 Dec. 2006.
- Sheridan, Mary Beth, "Bias Against Muslims Up 70%," *Washington Post*, 3 May 2004.
- Sherriff, Lucy, "U.S. Stakes Claim on Space," *The Register*, 19 Oct. 2006.
- Simpson, John, "Tyrant Met His End with Fortitude," *Sunday Times*, 30 Dec. 2006.
- Smith, Michael, *TimesOnLine*, 19 June 2005.
- Solovitch, Sara, "The American Dream," *Esquire*, Volume 143, Issue 1, Jan. 2005.

- Stalinsky, Steven, "Arabs and Muslim Jihad Fighters in Iraq," Middle East Media Research Institute, 27 July 2003.
- Streele, Jonathan, *The Guardian*, 11 Oct. 2003.
- Stephens, Eli, "A Tale of Two Generals," *www.uruknet.info*, 6 Nov. 2005.
- Steyn, Mark, *The Telegraph*, 2003.
- "Survey Indicates Iraqis in Despair," *www.aljazeera.net*, 14 Dec. 2006.
- Symonds, Peter, "Iraq's New Prime Minister, the CIA and Their Record of Terrorist Bombings," *www.wsws.org*, 17 June 2004.
- "Syrian, Iraqi Health Relations Discussed," *www.arabicnews.com*, 30 Aug. 1999.
- Taheri, Amir, "Saddam's Soldiers: Will They Fight for Him?," *National Review*, 11 Mar. 2003.
- TerraHertz, "Iraq, Ramzaj and a Neutron Bomb," *www.iraq-war.ru*, 20 Oct. 2004.
- "The Final Word Is Hooray! Remembering the Iraq War's Pollyanna Pundits," *FAIR*, 17 Mar. 2006.
- "The Wrong Conclusion," *Baghdad Observer*, 19 July 1992.
- UCLA School of Public Health, "Inspectors to Scour Iraq for Mobile Weapons Labs," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 Nov. 2002.
- "UN Inspectors Slam Bush, Blair over Iraq," *aljazeera.net*, 10 Oct. 2004.
- "United States Is No Help To Iraqi Women," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 19 Apr. 2006.
- "U.S. Accused of Using Neutron Bombs," *www.aljazeera.net*, 9 Apr. 2007.
- "U.S. Destroy Helicopter Downed by Farmer," *Reuters*, 25 March 2003.
- "U.S. Intelligence Worst Debacle Since the Bay of Pigs," House Republican Policy Committee, 8 Oct. 1996.
- "U.S., Russia Fail To Agree on WTO Membership," *Associated Press*, 15 July 2006.
- "U.S. Senate: No Saddam, al-Qaeda Link," *www.aljazeera.net*, 8 Sept. 2006.
- Van Notten, Michael, "The Inside Story on the Somali Conflict," September 27 Sept. 1993.
- Vicini, James, "Screening of Muslim Chaplains Faulted," *Boston Globe*, 6 May 2004.
- "Video Upset for Saddam Prosecution," *www.aljazeera.net*, 31 May 2006.
- Walker, Chris, "Syrian Sanctuary for Iraq's Displaced Christians," *www.uruknet.info*, 4 Sept. 2006.

- Wanniski, Jude, "Saddam Hussein Did Not Commit Genocide," *www.uruknet.info*, 4 Nov. 2004.
- Wanniski, Jude, "Jack Kemp, Jimmy Carter & Saddam Husein," *www.wanniski.com*. 22 Jan. 2005.
- Wanniski, Jude, "Religious Toleration Under Saddam? Really?" *www.wanniski.com*, 14 Jan. 2005.
- Warrick, Joby, "Lacking Biolabs, Trailers Carried Case for War," *www.msnbc.com*, 12 Apr. 2006.
- Waxman, Henry, "The Bush Administration's Public Statements on Iraq," *Iraq on the Record*, 16 Mar. 2004.
- Weiner, Tim, "U.S. Spied on Iraq Under UN Cover, Officials Now Say," *New York Times*, 7 Jan. 1999.
- White, Josh, Lane, Charles, Tate, Julie, "Homicide Charges Rare in Iraq War," *The Washington Post*, 28 Aug. 2006.
- "White House Defends Stand on Iraqi Trailers," *Associated Press*, 2003.
- Whitney, Mike, "Iraq Is Bush's Reflection Pond," *www.uruknet.info*, 22 Sept. 2006.
- Wilding, Jo, "Arresting Children," *www.electroniciraq.net*, 18 Dec. 2003.
- Wilkinson, Ray, *Newsweek*, 8 June 1992.
- Williams, Carol J., "Luis Posada Carriles, a Terror Suspect Abroad, Enjoys a 'Coming-Out' in Miami," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 May 2008.
- "With Little Notice, U.S. Planes Have Been Striking Iraq All Year," *New York Times*, 13 Aug. 1999.
- "Witness: Saddam Case Built on Bribes," *www.aljazeera.net*, 30 May 2006.
- "Witnesses Testify for Saddam Defence," *www.aljazeera.net*, 29 May 2006.
- Zahn, Paula, "Interview with Scott Ritter," *cnn.com*, 9 Sept. 2002.
- Zunes, Stephen, "The Influence of the Christian Right on U.S. Middle East Policy," *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 28 June 2004.
- "100,000 Indian Communists Protest Against Death Sentence for Saddam Hussein," *Associated Press*, 16 Nov. 2006.

INDEX

- “A Case Not Closed” 105
- A Non-Returned Gesture of Goodwill 107
- A Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam* 183
- A State of Permanent Human Bondage 44
- Aachen 195
- Abbas, Mahmoud 166
- ABC 94, 165
- Abdel-Rahman, Raouf 253-254
- Abrams, Elliot 153
- Abu Ghraib 46, 145, 172-175, 222, 227
- Adnan Kheiralla Boys’ School 241
- Afghanistan 13, 116, 121
- Agence France Presse* 135, 175
- Ahmad, Sultan 72, 73
- Aidid, Mohamed 33, 97-100
- Air Force Times* 53
- Airlie Conference Center 185
- AK-47 8
- Al Jazeera News* 188, 252
- Al Mansour Hotel 96
- al Mansour, Jaafar 219
- Al Qasim, Marwan 38
- Al Qaysi, Dr. 53
- Al Taji 53
- Al-Adan Hospital 142
- al-Assad, Bashar 14
- al-Assad, Hafez 14
- al-Attar, Layla 103-104
- Al-Bakr 258
- al-Douri, Izzat 8
- al-Dulaymi, Khalil 36
- al-Mukhtar, Salah 235
- al-Mutlaa 57
- al-Obaidi, Mohammed 150
- Al-Qaida 117, 121, 166
- Al-Quds of al-Arabi* 252
- Al-Rashid Hotel 72, 95
- al-Rawi, Taha 212
- al-Sadr, Muqtada 247
- al-Sahiya Telephone Exchange 82
- al-Tikriti, Barzan 253
- Al-Urooba Intermediate School for Girls 45
- Alawsy, Mohammed 219
- Albright, Madeleine 16, 155
- Ali, Muhammad 192
- Ali-Foreman fight 192
- Allawi, Ayad 109, 112-114, 116-117, 189
- Alpert, John 42
- Alternative Views 241
- alnet.net.org* 196
- aluminum tubes 132
- American administration 40
- American Civil Liberties Union 222
- American Moslems 166

- American policy 156
 American public 20
 American warplanes 127
 America's Best Kept Secret 67
 Amiryah bomb shelter 52, 103
 Amman 113
 Amman, Jordan 34, 38, 113
 Amnesty International 142, 146,
 216, 232-234
 Anfal Campaign 215, 217
 Annan, Kofi 85, 125
 another Hitler 28
 anti-aircraft fire 95
 anti-American feeling 188
 anti-Iraq coalition 13
 anti-personnel bombs 50
 Anything to Fit Their Agenda 189
 AP 70
 Apes, William 23, 24
 Appendix I 267
 Appendix II 275
 Appendix III 281
 Appendix IV 288
 Appendix IX 328
 Appendix V 295
 Appendix VI 305
 Appendix VII 310
 Appendix VIII 323
 Appendix X 354
 Appendix XI 359
 Appendix XII 368
 Appendix XIII 373
 April 9, 2003 236
 Arab League 29
 Arab nationalism 257
 Arab news agencies 203
 Arab-Americans 18
 Arabian Peninsula 26, 69
 Arabic 146, 180
 Arabic language 18
 Arafat, Yasser 35, 39, 41
 Arbour, Louise 263
 Arc de Triomphe 220
 archaeologists 221
 Associated Press 182
 Atomic Energy Authority 200
 Atwan, Abdel 252
 August 2, 1990 22, 27-28, 34, 37
 Axis of Evil 184
 Axis of Hegemony 189
 Ayatollah Sistani 219, 230-231
 Aziz, Tariq 28, 30, 41, 193, 254
 Ba'ath Party 8, 79, 112, 221, 242,
 245-247
 Bab al-Mu'adham Exchange 82
 baby milk factory 46-48
 Babylon 53, 167
 Baghdad 219
 Baghdad 7-8, 18, 23, 35, 39, 51,
 53, 72, 82, 86, 95, 101, 108,
 112, 136, 141, 145, 150, 192,
 217, 219, 232, 236, 243
 Baghdad Airport 211
Baghdad Observer 81, 129
 Baghdad Taxi Company 13
 Baghdadi, Ali 95, 96
 Baidoa 100
 Baker, James 40, 41, 68
 Baker, Peter 127
 Bargains and Offers Rejected by
 Saddam Hussein 305
 Barghouti, Omar 155
 Barloon, William 107, 108
 Barre, Siad 98
 Barzani, Massoud 112
 Basra 19, 50
 Battle Hymn of the Republic 186
 Battle of Baghdad 204, 206-209
 Battle of Rumaila 62
 Bauer, Gary 153
 "Bay of Camels" 114
 Bay of Pigs 116

- BBC 230
 beheaded Iraqi soldiers 57
 Bellamy, Francis 171
 Benjamin, Daniel 162, 193
 Benn, Tony 133
 Bennett, William 153
 Berlin Wall 134, 152
 Bible 102
 "Bibles for the Middle East" 180
 Biblical prophecy 168
 bin Laden, Osama 117, 122, 172
 biological warfare program 162
 Bioterrorism 161
 Blair, Tony 18, 125, 144, 163, 187-188
 Blame It on the Bulls 117
 Blumenfeld, Laura 109
 Blumenthal, Sidney 173
 Boldin, Michael 251
 Bone, James 94
 Bosnia 16, 195
Boston Globe 177
 Boykin, William 172-173
 Boyle, Francis 233
 Bradley fighting vehicles 60
 Brandi, Gary 175
 Brazil 252
 Bremer, Paul 190, 245
 "bring them on" 135
 Britain 200
 British Jaguars 88
 British public 18
 British soldiers 188
 Brown, Widney 146
 Buchanan, Patrick 108
 Buddhas of Bamyán 218
 bullshitter 146
 Burns, Nicholas 101
 Bush (1), George 7, 13, 17, 23, 37, 38, 40, 46, 48, 68, 78, 87, 92-93, 104, 147, 200
 Bush (2), George 8, 13, 20, 48, 97-98, 106, 110, 134, 141, 155, 165, 172, 175, 177-179, 187, 200, 207, 217, 227, 245
 Bush League 205
 Bush's Last Stand 92
 Bush's Poodle 187
 Butcher of Baghdad 141-142, 215
 Cairo 38, 257
 California 22, 70, 225
 camel jockeys 20
 Camel Jockeys and Sand Niggers 20
 Camp Pendleton 19, 225
 Campus Crusade for Christ 180
Cape Cod Times 185
 Cass, Irv 70
 Castro, Fidel 116
 CBS 93, 142
 cease-fire 17, 62, 72, 78, 92
 Center for Strategic and International Studies 156
 Chalabi, Ahmed 74, 89, 113-114, 134, 189, 248
 Chaldeans 179
 Channel 10 94
 Channel 39 70
 charcoal-men 58
 Cheney, Dick 52, 60, 68, 93, 132, 144, 153, 160, 245
 Chief Pontiac 102
 China 153, 156, 170, 186
 Christian fundamentalists 178
 Christian government 101
 Christian majority 171
 Christian principles 169
 Christian rock music 175
 Christianity 166-167, 174, 180-181, 184
 Christopher, Warren 108, 118
 CIA 27-28, 29, 78, 84, 91, 111-113, 115-116, 148, 150, 162-163
 Clark, Ramsey 19, 42, 44, 50-51, 53, 67, 72

- Clinton administration 107
 Clinton, Bill 65, 93, 97, 103-106,
 114-116, 120-121, 153
 cluster bombs 50
 Clwyd, Ann 143, 145-146
 CNN 19, 47, 70, 108, 122, 203-
 204, 206, 237
 coalition of the willing 134
 Cockburn, Andrew 249
 Cohen, Elliot 153
 Cohen, William 121
 Cold War 152, 157
 collateral damage 225
 Collins, Joseph J. 107
 Commission of Inquiry 67
Common Dreams 249
 Congress 60, 115, 261
 Congressional Human Rights Caucus
 142
 contract No. 600787 122
 conventional weapons 197
 Coronado 119
 Coulter, Ann 183
 Council of Islamic Courts 101-103
Covert Action Quarterly 233
 Cranston, Alan 32, 33
 crimes against humanity 68
 crimes against peace 67, 68
 "Crossing the Mogadishu line" 98
 cruel hoax 55
 crusade 166
 Cuba 13, 111
 Cuban dissidents 112
 Cuban embargo 119
 Cubana Flight 45 110
 Cuéllar, Perez de 41, 141
 Curveball 132, 160, 163, 165, 189
 Curveball and the Trucks 160
- Daily Mail* 144
 Daliberti, David 107, 108
 Da'wa Party 258
- Dela Cruz, Sanick 225, 227
 Delly, Emmanuel 179
Democracy Now 231
 Democrats 105, 115, 120, 132, 155,
 188
 Department of Defense Public
 Affairs 204
 depleted uranium 200-202
Der Spiegel 177
 Desert Shield 67
 Desert Storm 7, 16, 19-20, 23, 30-
 31, 34, 41, 43-46, 48, 50, 55,
 58, 65, 67, 72, 78, 84, 89-91,
 94, 99, 118, 140, 147, 200
 Deutch, John M. 116
 dinars 140
 dirty Arabs 125
 Dirty Tricks with Money 89
 "Divine Intervention" 186-187
 Dobbins, James 195
 Doebbler, Curtis 218, 242, 244,
 256, 264
 "Doing an Aidid" 98
 Dole, Robert 34
 Donahue, Phil 94
 Downing Street 125, 152, 215
 Dr. Curtis Doebbler on Saddam
 Hussein's Trial 354
 Dreyfuss, Robert 251
 dual-use 79, 87, 118, 122
 Dugan, General 46
 Dujail 216
 Dulaimi, Sadoun 246
 Dumas, Roland 97
 Dunkirk-like exodus 40
- Ebel, Robert E. 156
 Egypt 14, 154, 155
 Egyptian Foreign Ministry 38
 Egyptians 140
 Eisenhower administration 171
 El Shifa Pharmaceutical Industries

- 121-122
 embargo 78-79
 England 113
Esquire Magazine 189
 Estimates Based on Estimates 215
 Ethiopia 101-102
 ethnocentrism 22, 155, 172
 ethylene oxide 213
 Euphrates 61, 87
 Europe 95, 152, 156
 exploding cigar fiascoes 116

 F-16 jets 88
 Fallujah 13, 175-176, 212
 false propaganda 93
 Falwell, Jerry 180
 fast-talking snake oil salesman 95
 fatwa 231
 FBI 117
 February 5, 2003 132
 Ferrell, Terry 204
 Firdoos Square 135
 fish food 143
 Fitzwater, Marlin 55, 65, 73
Foreign Policy in Focus 167
 Foreman, George 192
 Formica, Richard 222-223
 Fort Riley 182
 Fort Stewart 64, 206
 FOX News 146
 France 16, 200
 Freeman, Colin 254
 French resistance 265
 Friedman, Herbert A. 90
 fuel-air explosives 212-214
 "Full-Spectrum Dominance" 185
 funny money 92

 Gadhafi, Muammar 247
 Ganges River 169
 Gartner, Michael 42
 German resistance 193

 Germany 177, 193, 195
 Ghali, Boutrous 156
 Gilligan, Andrew 113
 Glaspie, April 26, 31-33, 89, 99, 259
Globe and Mail 178
 "God and Country" 169, 170, 172
 Gonsalves, Sean 185-186
 "Good versus evil" 167
 Goodhart, Lord 126
 Goodman, Amy 231
 Gotcha 110, 113
 Graner, Charles A. 174, 227
 Great Britain 155, 253
 Green Zone 101, 219
 Greenhouse, Steven 107
 Greenpeace 45, 52, 58, 147
 Grenada 11-13, 21, 70
 Guantanamo Bay's Camp X-Ray 12
 Guantanamo 180
 Guatemala 110, 112
 Gulf Cooperation Council 27
 Gulf War 42, 77
 Gunpowder Out of Wheat 84

 Haditha 223
 Hague 157
 Haiti 13, 195
 Halabjah 146, 148-150, 152, 215, 218
 half million assholes 66
 Haliburton 248
 Hall, Jeremy 181
 Halliday, Dennis 125
 Hamdani, Ali 254
 Hamdoon, Nizar 95
 Hamed, Awad 253
 Hands of Victory 219-220
 Hanna, Jumana 189, 190, 191
 Hari, Johann 146
Harper's Magazine 142
 Harris, Paul 166

- Hasan, Saeed 122
 Haynes, Deborah 254
 "he gasses his own people" 148
 helicopter gunships 72
 Hell No, This Is Iraq 218
 Heller, John 15
 Hersh, Seymour 62, 64, 105
 Highway 8 61
 Highway of Death 57, 60
 Highway to Hell 23
 Hirstein, Stuart 63
 homosexuality 231
 hoof-and-mouth disease 121
 Horn of Africa 102
 House of Commons 143
 House Republican Policy Committee 116
 Houston 203
Houston Chronicle 203, 205
Houston Post 203
 Howard, John 144
 Human Rights Watch 146, 216
 human shredding machines 145
 Humvees 220
 Hussein, Akeel 254
 Hussein, Qusay 24, 98, 135
 Hussein, Saddam 7-8, 14, 17-18, 27, 29, 30-35, 37-38, 52, 55, 67, 72-73, 75, 78, 84-89, 97, 104, 108-109, 112, 115-116, 126, 133-136, 141-143, 149, 154, 190, 211, 215, 217-218, 228-229, 234-235, 240, 242, 244, 248-249, 251-252, 254-255, 259
 Hussein, Uday 24, 98, 135

 Idris, Salah 122
 India 169, 211, 252
Indian Press 210
 Indonesia 252
 industrial shredders 144
 info war 206, 209
 Integrated Regional Information Networks 228
 International Atomic Energy Committee 201
 international crimes 264
 International Popular Islamic Conference 95
 International War Crimes Tribunal 68, 69, 70
 Internet 98, 169, 170
 Interview with Salah Al-Mukhtar, Former Iraqi Ambassador to India and Vietnam 295
 Iran 13-14, 19, 26, 91, 249, 266
 Iran-Iraq War 52, 89, 147, 221
 Iran-supporting Shi'ites 136
 Iranian Scuds 20
 Iraq Agriculture Ministry 87, 89
Iraq on the Record 328
 "Iraq Schoolbags" 181
Iraq Screen 239
 Iraq/Kuwait border 107
 Iraqi Christians 179
 Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister 193
 Iraqi government 108, 132
 Iraqi Information Minister 193
 Iraqi Intelligence Service 106
 Iraqi Minister of Religious Affairs 96
 Iraqi Minister of Trade 54
 Iraqi National Accord 109, 112, 113
 Iraqi National Art Museum 103
 Iraqi resistance 193, 196
 Iraqi stooges, 116
 Iraqi-American Friendship Society 119
 Iraqi-Americans 23, 119
 Iraqis Incarcerated at Abu Ghraib Prison 310
 Iraq's Legacy of Terror, Mass Graves 215
 Ireland, Doug 232

- Islam 166, 174, 181
 Islamic faith 166
 Islamic religion 22
 Israel 91, 155, 249
 Iraqi Scud 20
 Italian colony 98
 Italian-style democracy 98
 Italy 16, 43
- Jabro, Adnan Aziz 82"
 "Jack Cheerack" 178
 Jacksonville, Florida. 95
 Jahra 57, 58
 James Bond 72
Jane's (Defence Weekly) 213
 January 16, 1991 19
 January 17, 1991 13
 Japan 156, 195
 Jehl, Douglas 107
 Jesus 165
 Jordan 16, 27, 48, 113
 Jordanian Foreign Ministry 48
 Joseph, Kenneth 145, 146
 July 18, 2004 18, 152
- Kadhimi al-Jubouri 134
 Kavanagh, Trevor 144
 Kay, David 85
 Kelly, John 32
 Kelly, Michael 58
 Kerry, John 179
 Kerry, Kerry 197
 Key Judgements (National Intelligence Estimate, 275
 Keys, Reg 188
 Keys, Tom 188
 Khalil, Ibrahim 134-135
 King Fahd 39
 King Hussein 16, 34-35, 37-38, 40-41, 97
 King Philip 23-24
 Klare, Michael 156
- Knight Ridder 219
 Knights of Columbus 171
 Koran 168, 180
 Kosovo 127, 195
 KPRC-TV. 203
 Kristol, William 154
 kritarchy 99
 Kurdish areas 120
 Kuwait 7, 17, 19, 24, 28-29, 31-32, 34, 37, 44, 46, 55, 58, 69, 77-78, 106-107, 120, 141, 147, 200, 249, 259
 Kuwait City 55, 142
 Kuwaiti incubators 145
 Kuwaiti-Iraqi border 26
- Labour Party 188-189
 Lebanon 33
 Letter to the United Nations from Iraqi Foreign Minister Naji Sabri 281
- Leupp, Gary 168
 Lewis, Paul 77
 Libby, I. Lewis 153
 Libya 13, 46, 247
 Limbaugh, Rush 174, 175
 Lipton, Carol 146
 Lokar, Marco 43
 London 112, 125
Los Angeles Times 100, 111, 161, 221
 Lugar, Richard 108
- MacArthur, John 142
 Macchi, Vincent 200-201
Mad Magazine 87
 Maggart, Lon 60
 Mahdi, Ali 98, 100
 Mai Lai 65
 Maliki, Nouri 221, 242, 243
 Manichaeism 167
 Mansfield, Stephen 166

- Mansour, Wameeth 90
 March 2003 8, 14
 March 2003 invasion 136, 179, 221
 Marconi Command and Control 165
 Margolis, Eric 112
 Marine Air Wing 3 56
Marine Corps Historical Publication
FMFRP 3-203 147, 323
 Martin Luther King High School 68
 Martin, Paul 178, 179
 Martinez, David 211
 Massachusetts 26
 May, Eric 203-209
 McCaffrey, Barry 62-65
 McClellan, Scott 161
 McPeak, Tony 46, 58, 60
 Metacomet 23
 MI6 112
 Middle East 20, 22, 26, 34-35, 37,
 39, 166-168, 235 2
 Middle East Media Research Institute
 210
Middle East Report 173
 Milburn, John 182
 Miller, Geoffrey 172
 Milosevic, Slobodan 157
 "Mission Accomplished" 8, 192
 mistreatment of Iraqi POWs 172
 mobile BW program 162
 Mogadishu 98, 100
 Mohammed 180
 Moore, Royal N. 55
 Moreno, Anthony 60, 61
 Morrow, Frank 241
 Moscow 55, 97
 mother of all battles 7-8
 MSNBC 186, 196
 Mubarak, Hosni 37, 38, 155
 mushroom cloud 131, 200
 Mylroie, Laurie 74
 Naiff, Saad 174
 Naqvi, Saeed 210
 National Defense University 106
 NATO 157, 197
 Nayirah 142, 143, 146
 Nazi Holocaust 216
 NBC 42, 70, 203
 Neal, Richard 50
 Nestlé 47
 neutron bomb 210, 212, 214
 "never again" 235
 New England 24
 New York 7, 124, 200
New York Newsday 60, 70
New York Times 70, 77, 91, 99,
 107-108, 142, 148, 235, 251
New Yorker 105
News and Observer 100
Newsweek 91, 106, 220
 Ninth Circuit Court 171
 No Dissent 41
 no-fly zone 84, 93, 126
 Nobel Peace Prize 234
 North Korea 13, 153
 North vs. South confrontation 152
 Nothing But Shit Strewn Everywhere
 55
 nuclear weapons 214
 nuclear weapons programs 131
 Nuke 'Em Til They Glow 200
 Nunn, Sam 61
 Occupation and Resistance 131
 October 1983 11
 Office of National Drug Control
 Policy 65
 Oil for Food program 79, 109, 120
 "old news" 126
 Olympic Games, 1972 192
On Impact 52, 147
 O'Neill, Brendan 145
 OPEC 31
 Operation Desert Fox 120

- Operation Just Cause 21
 "Operation Rope-a-Bush" 193
 Otto, Osman 100
 overwhelming force 11, 62
 Oxford University 190-191

 Palestine 260
 Panama 13, 21, 68, 237
 Panorama 48
 Paris of the Middle East 235
 Parks, Adrienne Weil 70
 Pax Americana/Britannia 188
 PBS (Public Broadcasting Service)
 13, 108
Peacework 128
 Pell, Clayborne 32-33
 Pelletiere, Stephen 148, 149
 Pentagon 46, 61, 63, 93, 105
 Perroots, Leonard 48
 Persian Gulf 156
 Phil Donahue Show 94
 Phillips, Melanie 144
 Pilgrims 24
Plan of Attack 167
 PLO 35, 39
 Posada, Luis 110-111, 117
 post-cease-fire massacre 62
 postwar Germany 195
 Powell, Colin 38, 55, 60, 68, 132,
 162-163, 165, 245
 pre-industrial era 81
 pre-industrial society 19
 Presbyterians 180
 Prince Hassan 38
 pro-Iran Shi'ite Muslims 17
 pro-Saddam demonstrations 247
 pro-Saddam Hussein rallies 239
 Project for the New American
 Century 153, 154
 propylene oxide 213

 Qatar 27, 31

 Quayle, Dan 68

 Rabta chemical plant 46
 Racicot, Marc 166
 Ramadan, Taha 8, 244
 Ramadi 158
 Reagan administration 15, 153
 Reagan, Ronald 185
 Republican clone 209
 Republican Guard 60, 192-193,
 196, 210-212, 250
 Republican Party 153
 Republicans 105, 107, 115-116, 120
 resistance 136
 resistance, civilian 8
 resistance fighters 8
 resolution 1441 126
 retreating Iraqis 65
 Reuters 70, 225
 Rice, Condoleezza 131-132, 193,
 245
 Richardson, Bill 108-110
 Ritter, Scott 85, 118, 196, 249
 Robertson, Pat 169, 179
 Rockwell, Norman 103
 "Rods from God" 186-187
 Rope-a-Bush 192
 "rope-a-dope" 192
 Rumailah oil fields 30
 Rumsfeld, Donald 153-154, 172,
 195, 197, 206, 245, 249
 Russia 153, 186, 200, 211, 252

 S-3 Viking 58
 Sabri, Naji 281
 Saddam Fedayeen 206
 Saddam Hussein supporters 255
 Saddam Hussein: Symbol of Stand
 Against U.S. Aggression 256
 Saddam Hussein's Greatest Legacy:
 December 2003 to December
 2006 235

- Saddam Hussein's legal team 242
- Saddam International Airport 202-203
- Saddam Outfoxes Schwarzkopf 72
- "Saddam's Files" 106
- Sadr City 247
- Safwan 72
- Sahaff, Mohammed 131, 193
- Sahnoun, Mohamed 99
- Saleh, Mohammed 54, 77
- Salinger, Pierre 95
- Salinsky, Steven 210
- San Diego 70, 119
- "San Diego Today" 94
- San Diego Union-Tribune* 220
- San Diego Zoo 22
- sanctions 79, 249
- sand niggers 22
- Saramago, Jose 156
- Saudi Arabia 14-15, 27, 36, 39-40, 44, 69, 91
- Savage, Michael 174
- "Say hello to Allah!" 165
- Schanberg, Sidney 70
- Schmitt, Eric 99
- Schroeder, Gerhard 177-178
- Schwarzkopf 17, 40, 56, 67-68, 73-75
- Scripps-Howard News Service 15
- Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 228
- secular 168
- Senate Foreign Relations Committee 190
- September 11, 1990 14
- September 11, 2001 167, 169, 171, 260
- Serbia 13, 157
- Seton Hall University 43
- sewage lake 226
- Shahid monument 227
- Shapiro, Bruce 250
- Sheikh Sabah 36, 37
- Sheikh Salem Al Sabah Al Sabah 27
- Sherriff, Lucy 184
- Shevardnadze, Edward 39
- Shi'ites 18
- shit strewn everywhere 57
- shredder 146
- Silver Star 60
- Simpson, John 250
- Smith, Michael 126
- Socialist Worker* 222
- Solovitch, Sara 189, 190, 191
- Somali National Alliance 100
- Somalia 13, 33, 97-98, 101, 157, 195
- Somalia and Iraq Shared Similar Strategies 97
- Somalis 100
- Soviet bloc 141
- Soviet Union 30, 39, 152, 171
- Soyuz-Karta 14
- Speech by Saddam Hussein at the Amman Summit 368
- Spencer, Robert 183
- spider hole 136, 236
- Spiegleman, Art 70
- Spy vs. Spy 86
- SS officers 195
- St. Matti's Monastery 128
- St. Petersburg Times* 15
- Star Wars 185
- statue of Saddam Hussein 135
- Stealth F-117 bombers 51
- Steele, Jonathan 12
- Steyn, Mark 144
- Sudan 13, 121, 153
- Sunday Telegraph* 114
- Sunday Times* 125, 144, 250
- Syria 13, 14
- take the veil 228
- Takriti, Hakam 74
- Takriti, Salah Omar 74

- Thatford, Miles 175
 The Anatomy of a Massacre 13
 "The Bay of Camels" 112
 The Buildup to the Iran-Iraq War 288
 The Butcher of Baghdad 140
 The Closed Door 34
 The Crazies 153
 The Crazies Take Over 152
 The Embargo 77
The Faith of George W. Bush 166
 "The Fall of Baghdad" 236
 The Forgotten "Day of Infamy" 103
 The Forgotten Years 125
 The Green Zone 197
The Guardian 12, 134, 173
The Independent 146, 215
The Nation 250, 251
The New Yorker 62, 65
 The Nightmare Scenario 34
The Observer 163, 166, 215
The Panama Deception 21
 "The Quicksand War" 205
The Register 184
The Spectator 113, 145
The Spotlight 60
 The Storm 11
The Telegraph 144, 254
The Times 143, 144, 146, 254
 The U.S. Has Loosed Its Terrible
 Swift Sword on Iraq
 165
 The Werewolves 193, 195
 "The Wrong Conclusion" 81
 "Things Fall Apart" 168
 This Eye-rain-ian Mess 19
 Tiger brigade 56
 Tikrit 257
Time Magazine 91, 237
TimesOnline 126
 Toensing, Chris 173
Toronto Sun 112
 Transcript of the Meeting Between
 Saddam Hussein and April
 Glaspie 267
 Treaty of Versailles 54
 Tufts University 168
 Turkey 16, 92
 Tutweiler, Margaret 32
 U-235 200
 U.A.E. 27
 U.S. 11, 16-18, 22-23, 31, 41-42,
 48, 67, 69, 79-80, 90, 93-95,
 98, 101-102, 104, 108, 113,
 117, 121, 123, 126, 132-136,
 141-142, 144, 152, 154, 156,
 163, 170-171, 180, 185, 188,
 200, 214, 220, 246, 259
 U.S. administration 19-20, 32, 52,
 54, 81, 84, 93, 128, 234, 240,
 245 1
 U.S. Army 181, 203
 U.S. Army doctrine 61
 U.S. Army personnel 62
 U.S. Army War College 150
 U.S. arsenal 97
 U.S. Bill of Rights 69
 U.S. citizens 119
 U.S. citizenship 111
 U.S. Civil War 172, 186
 U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency
 213
 U.S. Department of Defense 88,
 106
 U.S. Department of State 32, 88
 U.S. dollars 90
 U.S. Drug Czar 65
 U.S. forces 62, 222
 U.S. government 20-21, 43, 131-132
 U.S. hegemony 103
 U.S. House and Senate Armed
 Forces Committees 61
 U.S. intelligence 162

- U.S. Marine Corps 147, 148
- U.S. Marines 175, 227
- U.S. media 17, 67, 184, 204, 243
- U.S. military 17, 44, 134, 185, 210, 221
- U.S. military might 157
- U.S. military operations 187
- U.S. military personnel 227
- U.S. news agencies 62
- U.S. News and World Report* 91
- U.S. occupation 134
- U.S. officials 190
- U.S. Pledge of Allegiance 171
- U.S. politicians 92
- U.S. propaganda 127, 141
- U.S. public 67, 234
- U.S. Secretary of Defense 121
- U.S. Secretary of State 132
- U.S. spies 89
- U.S. State Department 101
- U.S. Supreme Court 170
- U.S. troops 13, 98
- U.S.-held prisoners 173
- U.S.-imposed government 222
- U.S.-led aggression 81
- U.S.-led coalition 261
- UCLA Public School of Health 161
- UN 16, 24, 41, 77-78, 86-87, 100, 177-118, 120, 125, 132, 153, 156, 165, 197, 200, 227-228, 242, 263
- UN inspection team 86, 118
- UN inspectors 120, 200
- UN Resolution 687 85, 87
- UN resolutions 133
- UN Secretary General 125
- UN Security Council 99, 121
- UN weapons inspectors 162
- United Nations Report on the Legitimacy of the Trial of Saddam Hussein 359
- United Somali Congress 98, 100
- United States Defense Intelligence Agency 149
- United States' imperial ambitions 262
- United States Intelligence Agency 27, 150
- University of Baghdad 230
- University of San Diego 33
- University of San Francisco 167
- Up From the Ashes 81
- UPI 61, 145, 236
- uranium 200
- USAID 215
- USS Abraham Lincoln 8
- USS Ranger 58
- Venezuela 110-111, 252
- Veterans of Foreign Wars 195
- Vietnam 17, 60, 65
- Von Sponeck, Hans 125
- Vulcan armored personnel carriers 60
- VX nerve gas 121
- Wampanoag 23-24
- Wanniski, Jude 151-152
- war crimes 67
- war on the environment 69
- Ware, Chuck 61
- Warrenton, Virginia 185
- Washington 14, 37, 74, 91, 93, 142, 149-150, 187
- Washington Post* 61, 110, 127, 160, 190-191
- Washington Times* 121
- Waxman, Henry A. 328
- WBAL-FM 231
- weapons of mass destruction 117-118, 120, 123, 133
- Webster, William 68
- Weekly Standard* 213
- Welborn, Freddy 182

- Western analysts 247
Western hegemony 82
Western Hemisphere 12
What Did April Say? 26
wheat 155
wheat fields 32
White House 133
White House spokesman 58
Williams, Bernie 60
Williams, Carol J. 111
Williams International 95
Williams, Pete 21, 93
Wimbledon 114
Winnebagos of death 162
Wolfowitz, Paul 153-154, 190, 237
Women and Gays Don't Count 227
Woodward, Bob 167-168
World Trade Center. 237
World War II 20, 193
www.uruknet.info 309

Xe'er 99
xenophobia 22, 155

Year of the Bible 180
Yemen 27

Zaire 192
Zinni, Anthony 127, 128