

Explanatory note

The presentation to follow, entitled *The Fraudulent War*, was assembled in 2008. It documents the appalling duplicity and criminality of the George W. Bush Administration in orchestrating the so-called “global war on terror.” A sordid story, virtually none of it ever appeared in the mainstream media in the U.S.

Given the intensity of the anti-war movement at the time, the presentation enjoyed some limited exposure on the Internet. But anti-war sentiment was challenged in 2009 by Barack Obama's indifference to his predecessor's criminality, when the new president chose “to look forward, not backward.” The “war on terror” became background noise. *The Fraudulent War* was consigned to an archive on the *ColdType* website, a progressive publication in Toronto edited by Canadian Tony Sutton. There it faded from view.

Enter CodePink and the *People's Tribunal on the Iraq War*. Through testimony and documentation the truth of the travesty was finally disclosed, and the record preserved in the Library of Congress. Only CodePink's initiative prevented the Bush crimes from disappearing altogether, and no greater public service could be rendered.

The Fraudulent War was relevant once more. It was clearly dated, the author noted, but facts remained facts.

Richard W. Behan, November, 2016

The author—a retired professor—was outraged after reading a book in 2002 subtitled, “The Case for Invading Iraq.” Unprovoked aggression is prohibited by the United Nations charter, so he took to his keyboard and the *Common Dreams* website in vigorous dissent.

Within months thereafter George Bush indeed invaded the sovereign nation of Iraq, committing an international crime. The professor's outrage undiminished, he wrote over the next six years 32 essays critical of the Bush Administration's criminality. They appeared on the *Common Dreams* website, and on *Alternet*, *Counterpunch*, *The Smirking Chimp*, *Atlantic Free Press*, and *After Downing Street*.

In 2008 the professor was asked to prepare a lecture on the Bush Administration's unlawful belligerence. Relying on the immense information resources of the Internet, and the content of his essays, he researched and produced *The Fraudulent War* presentation.



The Fraudulent War

by
Richard W. Behan
March, 2008
(slightly edited November, 2016)



From its first days in office, the Bush Administration was fully committed to the military incursions into Iraq and Afghanistan .

The reasons had nothing to do with terrorism. 9/11 was still eight months in the future.

This is not conjecture. It is persuasively documented.*

* See, "The Road to Operation Iraqi Freedom," Jason Leopold, *Atlantic Free Press*, March 22, 2008, and much other work cited below.

To do so, the Administration would need a credible justification.

The terrorist violence of September 11, 2001 provided a spectacular opportunity, and it was seized in a heartbeat.

The Administration announced an enterprise called the “Global War on Terror.”



The “War on Terror” was, and remains, an intentional deception.

*When people who are honestly mistaken
learn the truth, they will either cease being
mistaken or cease being honest.*

--Anon.

Many trusting citizens are honestly mistaken about the so-called “War on Terror” because the Bush Administration undertook consciously to deceive the American people. The betrayal was eminently successful.

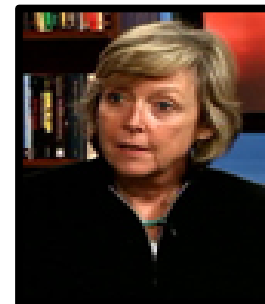
We have been exposed to a campaign of brilliant and relentless propaganda unprecedented in US. history.

An extraordinary book documents the criminal conspiracy to commit fraud that orchestrated the war.

It was written by an attorney who served 20 years as a U.S. Prosecutor in the U.S. Department of Justice.



See ***U.S. v. Bush***, by Elizabeth de la Vega. New York: Seven Stories Press, 256 p., 2006.



Continuously since September of 2001, the Bush Administration has told the American people an unwavering story:

The “Global War on Terror” was launched in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. It is intended to enhance our national security at home, and to spread democracy in the Middle East.

This is the struggle of our lifetime; we are defending our way of life from an enemy intent on destroying our freedoms. We must fight the enemy in the Middle East, or we will fight him in our cities.



This story was crafted by the Bush Administration deliberately and ingeniously to deceive and frighten the American people.

But the story is not true. It is a “*mega-lie*,” an overarching falsehood of such unimaginable scope and magnitude it recalibrates for an entire nation the perception of reality. (The mega-lie of Nazi Germany was “Aryan supremacy.”)

Once the mega-lie is established as context, other deceptions are easily accepted.

The Administration has always claimed, for example, the war has nothing to do with oil.

"We have not taken one drop of Iraqi oil for U.S. purposes...the oil of the Iraqi people belongs to the Iraqi people; it is their wealth, it will be used for their benefit. So we did not do it for oil."

-- Secretary of State Colin Powell, July 10, 2003



If Mr. Powell was fully informed, he did not tell the truth.

Planning for “the capture of new and existing oil and gas fields” was underway as early as February 3, 2001, two weeks after George W. Bush was inaugurated.*

Today, two American and two British oil companies are positioned to claim immense profits from 81% of Iraq's undeveloped crude oil. By comparison, the Iraqi people's share will be a pittance.

This was an objective of the war, not an accident and not a side-effect.

*quoted from a memo to the staff of the National Security Council dated February 3, 2001.

The progressive community has suspected from the earliest days that oil was a primary driver in the war.

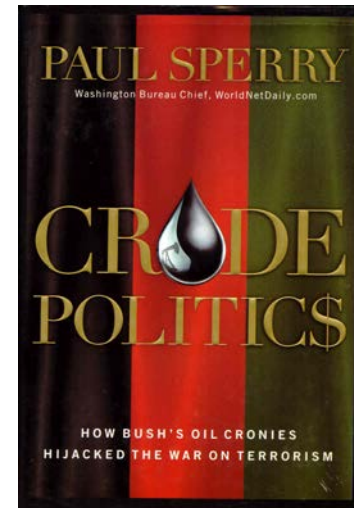
But writers across the political spectrum have provided since then the facts of oil's central role.

One of the most sharply critical books was written by conservative author Paul Sperry: *Crude Politics: How Bush's Oil Cronies Hijacked the War on Terrorism*.

Facts are nonpartisan.



(Nashville: WND Books, 250p. 2003.)



Fully and honestly informed, the American people would also understand:

The invasion of Iraq was initially conceived in 1992, in the Defense Department of the first Bush Administration.

It was formally proposed again in February of 1998.

It was suggested once more in September of 2000.

Five months later, in January of 2001, the commitment to invade Iraq was formalized by the Administration of George W. Bush.

These four events were orchestrated by the same people.

Learning the truth
about the war:

Iraq

The war in Iraq was conceived initially in 1992.

Richard Cheney was the Secretary of Defense in the Administration of George H.W. Bush. His Undersecretary for Policy was **Paul Wolfowitz**. Top staffers were **Lewis Libby** and **Zalmay Khalilzad**.

Wolfowitz, Libby, and Khalilzad produced for Cheney's signature a 46-page document entitled *Draft Defense Planning Guidance* to establish the global strategic posture of the United States. It was to be used by the Defense Department in planning force levels and budgetary needs.



The *Defense Planning Guidance* represented a true “paradigm shift”--a radical departure from the *status quo* of U.S. foreign policy. It was unequivocal in advocating:

- A massive increase in defense spending
- The assertion of lone superpower status
- The prevention of the emergence of any competitor
- The forsaking of multilateralism if it didn't suit U.S. interests
- The intervening in disputes anywhere in the world
- The use of pre-emptive war

Source: a series of articles in the Christian Science Monitor, June, 2005



In brief, the Defense Planning Guidance advocated a status of permanent military and diplomatic dominance in the world, and using it unilaterally to advance and protect the interests of the United States.

This was the essence of a political philosophy that would come to be known as “neoconservatism.”

The draft asserted the need for “...*access to vital raw materials, primarily Persian Gulf oil.*” It warned of “...*proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.*” And it spoke of “...*threats to U.S. citizens from terrorism.*”

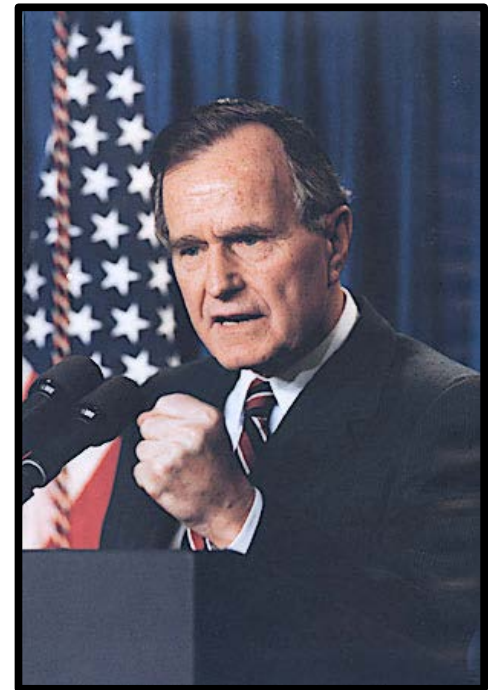
(Excerpts from 1992 “Draft Defense Planning Guidance.”)

Iraq was a “scenario” where the dominance might have to be exercised.

When it was made public, however, the Defense Planning Guidance provoked such a storm of outrage President George H.W. Bush publicly denounced it and immediately retracted it. It never became public policy.

(The authors of the document were known as “the crazies” by others in the Bush Administration.)

(See, “It Sounds Crazy, But....”, by Ray McGovern, *Online Asia Times*, March 3, 2005.)



But global dominion lived on in the minds of its creators and others, in and out of government, who shared their neoconservative views.

In a 1996, William Kristol and Robert Kagan resurrected the Defense Planning Guidance paradigm in an article they wrote:

*“America should pursue a vision of **benevolent global hegemony** as bold as Reagan's in the 1970s and wield its authority unabashedly. The defense budget should be increased dramatically, citizens should be educated to appreciate the military's vital work abroad, and moral clarity should direct a foreign policy that puts the heat on dictators and authoritarian regimes.”*

(quoted from “Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy,” by William Kristol and Robert Kagan, writing in *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1996.)

Mr. Kristol



Mr. Kagan



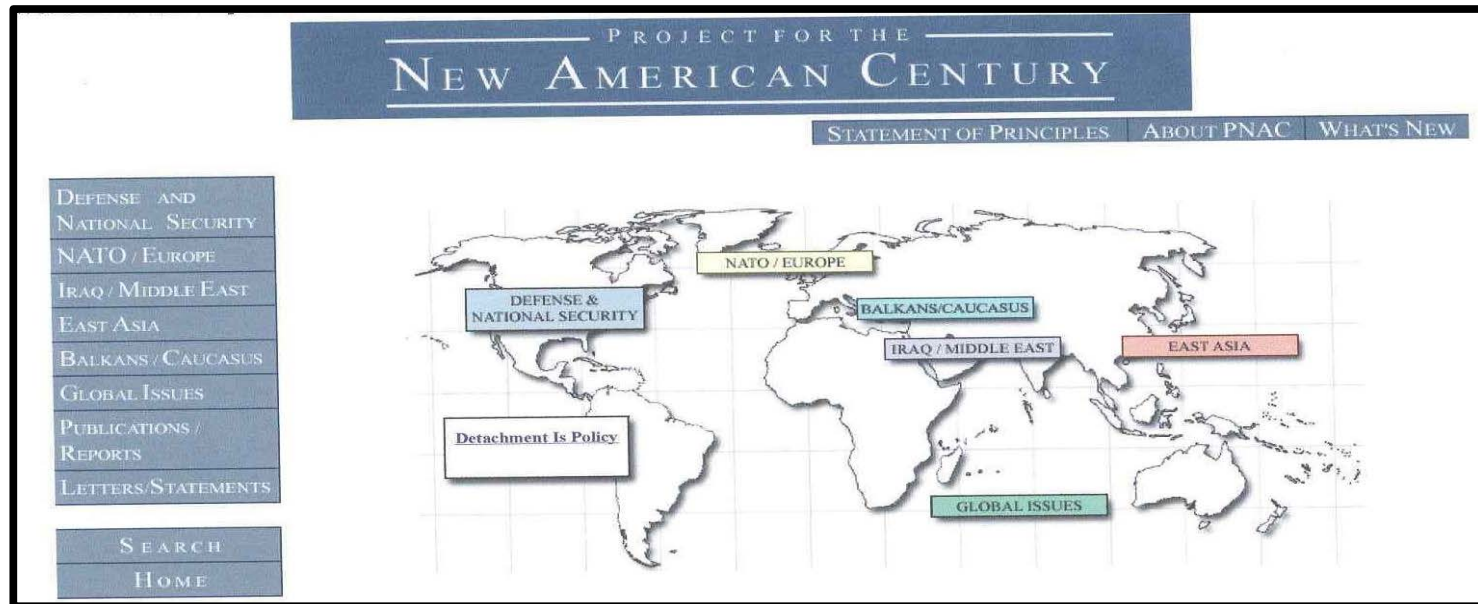
The authors felt compelled to define their term:

“...a hegemon is nothing more or less than a leader with preponderant influence and authority over all others in its domain.”

The spirit of the Defense Planning Guidance was taking form once more: world dominion, by force of arms if necessary.

In 1997 Mr. Kristol and Mr. Kagan created an organizational home for the group of disenchanted neoconservatives. The organization was named the **Project for the New American Century**. Among the founding members were Richard Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, Lewis “Scooter” Libby, Zalmay Khalilzad, Donald Rumsfeld, and Jeb Bush.

Here is the PNAC website:



From the PNAC *Statement of Principles*, dated June 3, 1997:

“American foreign and defense policy is adrift.....We aim to change this. We aim to make the case and rally support for American global leadership.

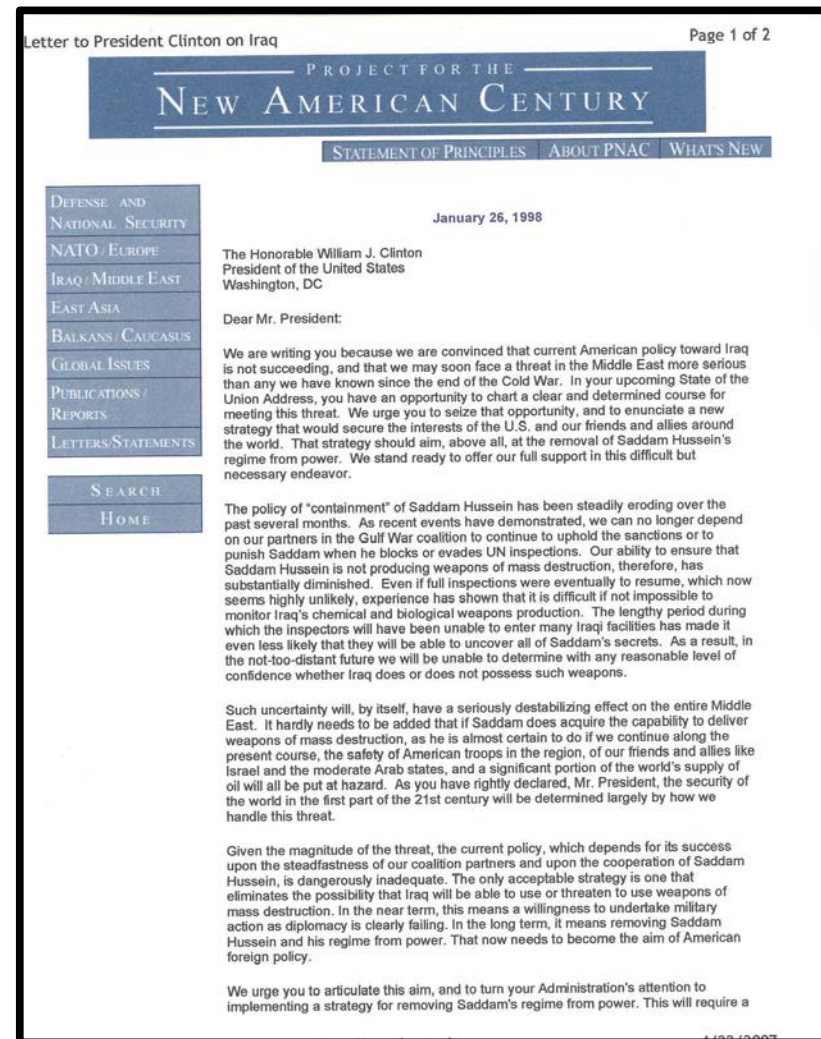
...[We need] a military that is strong and ready to meet both present and future challenges; a foreign policy that boldly and purposefully promotes American principles abroad; and a national leadership that accepts the United States' global responsibilities.

We need...to challenge regimes hostile to our interests and values.”

(italics added)

The new organization wasted no time pursuing its mission. On January 26, 1998, it sent a letter to President Clinton:

“We urge you...to enunciate a new strategy...that should aim above all at the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power....We believe the U.S. has the authority under U.N. Resolutions... [but] in any case American policy cannot be crippled by a misguided...UN Security Council.”



The letter was alarming, making a truly radical proposal.

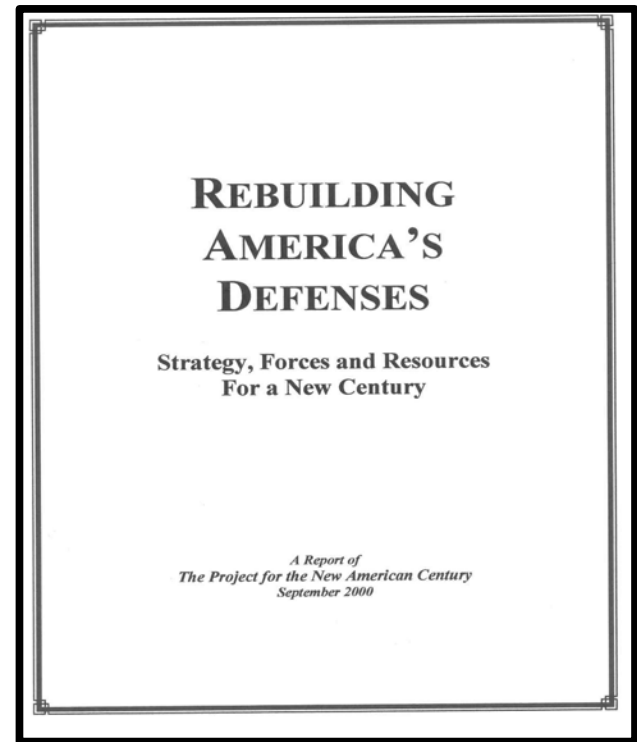
Invading a sovereign nation unprovoked is a direct violation of the charter of the United Nations. It is an international crime.



The Christian Science Monitor later said the calls “...for regime change in Iraq were deemed provocative and extremist by the political mainstream.”

President Clinton ignored the letter.

Near the end of the 2000 Presidential campaign, the PNAC published a landmark study, *Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces, and Resources For a New Century*. It recapitulated the Defense Planning Guidance of 1992, once more advocating world dominion:



“The United States is the world's only superpower, combining preeminent military power, global technological leadership, and the world's largest economy.....America's grand strategy should aim to preserve and extend this advantageous position as far into the future as possible.”

(From the Introduction. Emphasis added.)

It sought unquestioned superiority in conventional, nuclear, and space weaponry, and recommended the radical “transformation” of *deterrence* into global military *dominance*.

With surreal anticipation, the report noted the political difficulty of achieving such a radical change:

Further, the process of transformation, even if it brings revolutionary change, is likely to be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event – like a new Pearl Harbor.

Photocopied from p. 51, *Rebuilding America's Defenses*

Four months after *Rebuilding America's Defenses* appeared, sixteen members of the Project for the New American Century joined the new Bush Administration at the highest levels:

Richard Cheney, Vice President

Lewis “Scooter” Libby, Mr. Cheney's Chief of Staff

Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense

Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defense

Steven Cambone, Undersecretary of Defense

Peter Rodman, Assistant Secretary of Defense

Dov Zakheim, Controller, Department of Defense

Abram Shulksy, Chairman, Office of Special Plans, DOD

Richard Perle, Chairman, Defense Policy Board

James Woolsey, member, Defense Policy Board

Richard Armitage, Deputy Secretary of State

Paula Dobriansky, Under Secretary of State

John Bolton, Under Secretary of State

Zalmay Khalilzad, President's Special Envoy

Elliott Abrams, National Security Council

Robert Zoellick, U.S. Trade Representative

An additional thirteen members of the Project for the New American Century filled other posts in the new Bush Administration.



Rebuilding America's Defenses formed the ideological basis of the Bush Administration's foreign and defense policies. Soon it would be codified formally.

The catastrophic and catalyzing event would occur on September 11, 2001.

The Bush Administration was dominated by members of the Project for the New American Century, but it was also heavily influenced by people with direct and intimate connections to the nation's oil companies.

President Bush and Vice President Cheney had close ties to the industry, and so did National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. So did eight cabinet secretaries and 32 other Bush appointees in the Departments of Defense, State, Agriculture, Energy, and Interior, and the Office of Management and Budget. (Ref. "Crude Alliance," by Jeffrey St. Clair, in *Counterpunch*, March 9-11, 2007.)

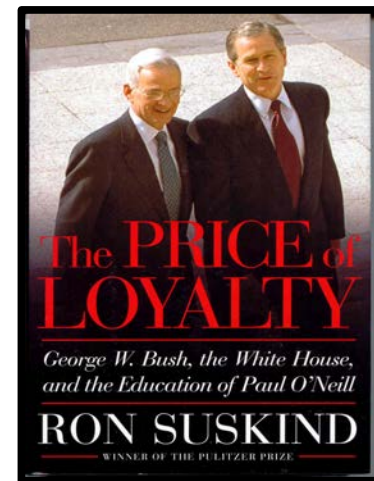
The two sets of interests went to work immediately.

On January 30, 2001, 10 days after taking office, President Bush convened his National Security Council for an hour-long meeting. It was a triumph for the PNAC.

The long-standing priority for the Middle East—reconciling the conflict between Israel and Palestine—was abandoned.

The overthrow of Saddam Hussein was moved to the top of the foreign policy agenda instead.

The NSC meeting is described in Ron Suskind's book, *The Price of Loyalty*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 348p., 2004.





Within ten days of taking office, the Bush Administration was committed to the invasion of Iraq.

During his second week in office, President Bush appointed Vice President Cheney to chair a National Energy Policy Development Group. This was a triumph for the energy industry people.

The “Energy Task Force” was staffed by relevant federal officials and energy industry executives and lobbyists. It operated in extreme secrecy. It's full membership is not yet known, but some corporate members of the “Energy Task Force” have been documented: Enron, Exxon-Mobil, Conoco-Phillips, Shell, and BP America.



Soon the Energy Task Force was studying maps of the Iraqi oil fields, pipelines, refineries, tanker terminals, and undeveloped oil exploration blocks.



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It also scrutinized a 2-page list of “foreign suitors for Iraqi oil field contracts.” These were companies that were negotiating with the Saddam Hussein regime as of March 5, 2001.

Page 1.

Foreign Suitors for Iraqi Oilfield Contracts as of 5 March 2001

Country	Firm	Oil/Gas Field/Contract	Comments/Status
Algeria	Sonatrach	Tuba	Discussions. PSC.
Australia	BHP	Blocks 6 & 7	Collecting data.
Belgium	Petrofina	Halfaya	Discussions. PSC.
Canada	Ranger	Block 6	Collected data.
	Bow Canada	Ahdab	Technical/economic studies (China's CNPC awarded PSC).
	Alberta Energy	Block 2	Collected data.
	CanOxy	Block 6, other	Signed MOU with Baghdad.
	Chauvco Res.	Khurmala	Joint proposal w/Czech Republic's Strojexport
		Hamrin	Joint proposal w/Czech Republic's Strojexport
		Unidentified	None
		Ratawi	Discussions. PSC.
		Block 5	Collected data.
		Ayn Zalah	Advanced talks by late 1996. Service contract for advanced oil recovery (gas injection project) in this aging field.
			Discussions. PSC.
			Collecting data.
			Service contract negotiations October 1999.
			Discussions. Service contract.
			None
			Production Sharing Contract (PSC) signed June 1997.
			Bid for \$4 bn, 23-year PSC.
			Discussions. Service contract.
			Collected data, discussions.
			PSC signed June 1997 (CNPC consortium partner).
			Discussions. PSC.
			Discussions. PSC.
			Joint project with Bow Canada. Sent team to Iraq in Sept 1997.
			Joint project with Bow Canada
			None
			PSC "agreed in principle" January 1997.
			Feasibility study presented to Baghdad in 1997, updated in 1998.
			Technical discussions.
			Discussions. PSC.
			PSC "agreed in principle" January 1997.
			Collected data.
			Technical/economic studies (China's CNPC later awarded PSC).
			Collected data
			Subcontractor to Lukoil consortium.
			Discussions. PSC.
			Collected data.
			Advanced contract talks in October 1999 (ONGC drilled at least four wells in Tuba in the 1980s). PSC.
			Discussions. PSC.
			Collected data.
			Discussions.
			Finalized discussions for a PSC in late 1997.
			Collected data
			Discussions.
			PSC initiated Apr 97. \$2 bn, 23-year project (w/partner Repsol).
			Discussions.
			Collected data, discussions.
			Discussions. Service contract.

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Page 2.

*None of the
“suitors” are
major American
or British oil
companies.*

Country	Firm	Oil/Gas Field	Comments/Status
Japan	Japex	Gharraf	Bid and technical/economic oilfield study submitted to Baghdad. March 1997. PSC.
Malaysia	Mitsubishi Petronas	Luhais & Subba Ratawi Tuba Block 2	Discussions. Service contract. Discussions. PSC. Discussions. PSC. Collected data, discussions
Mexico	Pemex	Unidentified	None.
Netherlands	Larmag Dutch Royal Shell	Subba & Luhais Ratawi Block 8	Discussions. Service contract. Discussions. Collected data.
Norway	Statoil	Block 1	Collected data.
Pakistan	Crescent	Ratawi Block 5	Discussions. PSC. Collected data.
Romania	Petrom	Khurmala Dome (Karkuk)	Apparently awarded service contract, project in advanced technical infrastructure design phase (setting equipment & materials specifications for project). Discussions. Service contract. Collected data, discussions.
Russia	Mol Kond Petroleum Lukoil	Luhais & Subba Block 4 Qayyarah Block 3 Rafidain W. Qurnah N. Rumaylah	Contract talks. Service contract for well drilling and engineering. Discussions. Discussions. Russian firm Sidanko a possible partner. PSC. PSC signed March 1997. Topographic surveys in 1998. Service contract negotiations to upgrade water injection facilities, develop additional geologic reservoirs. PSC signed March 1997 (Lukoil consortium partner). Service contract negotiations (w/Lukoil consortium). Invited to bid in mid-1997. Service contract. PSC signed March 1997 (Lukoil consortium partner). Discussions. Service contract. Service contract negotiations (w/Lukoil consortium). Subcontractor to Lukoil consortium. Subcontractor to Lukoil consortium. Subcontractor to Lukoil consortium.
S. Korea	Zarubezneft Mashinimport Tataneft Rostneft Sidanko Sangyong	W. Qurnah N. Rumaylah Hamrin W. Qurnah Luhais, & Subba N. Rumaylah N. Rumaylah N. Rumaylah N. Rumaylah Halfaya	Bidding for \$4 bn, 23-year PSC. Seoul in June 1997 invited Iraq Oil Minister to S. Korea for signing ceremony. Bidding (part of Korean consortium). PSC. " " " " " " " " " Discussions. PSC.
Spain	Repsol	Nasiriya Block 4	PSC initialed Apr 97. \$2 bn, 23-year project (w/partner Agip). Collected data.
Taiwan	CPC	Gharraf Rafidain Tuba	Discussions. PSC. Discussions. PSC. Discussions. PSC.
Tunisia	Setcar	Unidentified	None
Turkey	TPAO	Gharraf Mansuriya Gas Field Block 4	Bid for PSC. Oilfield study completed January 1997. Service contract signed May 1997 to develop field, purchase gas. Reprocessed seismic data, conducting laboratory studies.
UK	Branch Energy Pacific Resources	Gharraf Rafidain	Discussions. PSC. Discussions. PSC.
Vietnam	PetroVietnam	Amara	Service contract. Near signing Oct 1999

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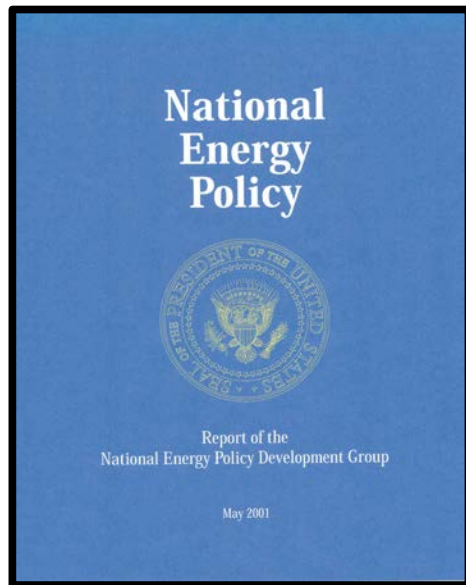
These documents were acquired through a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit brought against the Bush Administration by the citizen's organization, Judicial Watch. The Administration appealed the suit all the way to the Supreme Court, which finally ruled in favor of the plaintiffs. The documents are available now on the Internet.



Judicial Watch[®]
Because no one is above the law

For American oil companies to have no access to Iraqi oil is intolerable to the Bush Administration: its foreign policy is bent on dominating the globe. The Task Force final report, “National Energy Policy,” was delivered in May of 2001, and stated:

“By any estimation, Middle East oil producers will remain central to world security. The Gulf will be a primary focus of U.S. international energy policy.” (p. 8-5)



What does “primary focus” mean? How is “international energy policy” related to “world security?”

Ms. Jane Mayer writing in *The New Yorker* magazine connected the dots. The Bush Administration would make no distinction between energy policy and national security policy.

Ms. Mayer described a top secret memo of February 3, 2001 from a “high level National Security Council official.” The memo:



“...directed the NSC staff to cooperate fully with the Energy Task Force as it considered the 'melding' of two seemingly unrelated areas of policy: 'the review of operational policies toward rogue states' such as Iraq, and 'actions regarding the capture of new and existing oil and gas fields.'”

(See “Contract Sport,” *The New Yorker*, Issue 23, February 16, 2004. Emphasis added.)

The National Security Council and the Energy Task Force would work together, then, developing energy policy and security policy as a coordinated whole. The policy would involve the invasion of Iraq and “the capture” of oil and gas fields.

This enterprise was initiated on February 3, 2001, two weeks after the inauguration of George W. Bush.

The terrorist attacks in New York and Washington were still seven months in the future.

The more radical PNAC members of the Administration suggested outright seizure of Iraq's oil fields and direct transfer of their control to U.S. and British oil companies.

That would raise a political and diplomatic firestorm, so a far more sophisticated and devious mechanism was worked out.

In the fall of 2001, a full year before Congress authorized military force, the State Department undertook a policy-development initiative called “The Future of Iraq Project.”

“The Oil and Energy Working Group” developed the disguise for the “capture” of Iraqi oil. Iraq's nationalized industry would be transformed into a commercial, essentially private business.

(See Greg Muttitt, ed., *Crude Designs: the Ripoff of Iraq's Oil Wealth*, the Platform Group, United Kingdom.)



The Working Group's final report said, “Iraq should be opened to international oil companies as quickly as possible after the war....to attract ***investment*** in oil and gas resources.” (Emphasis added.)

The vehicle for the investments would be the “production sharing agreement,” abbreviated as “PSA.”

Developing countries are driven to enter these unusual contracts with foreign oil companies, to capitalize an emerging domestic oil industry. PSA's are hugely advantageous to the foreign companies.

The nationalized oil industry in Iraq—hardly a developing nation—was fully capitalized. PSA's would simply be proxies for privatizing Iraqi oil, for shifting ownership to the American and British oil companies.

No major oil-producing country would think of using PSA's, and not a single one does.

With the “capture” of Iraq's oil cleverly disguised as PSA “investments,” the Bush Administration signed a secret, no-bid contract with the Halliburton Corporation. The company's task was to write a detailed plan for extinguishing oil field fires, should Saddam torch the wells in the upcoming war as he did in Kuwait in 1991.



The contract was signed in November of 2002. In December another no-bid contract was signed in secret with Halliburton directing them to execute the fire-suppression plan if necessary and to reconstruct the infrastructure of the Iraqi oil industry.

The contract was not made public until March 24, 2003—three days after the invasion of Iraq was launched.*

* "Halliburton Contract Goes Beyond Extinguishing Oil Fires," in *USA Today*, May 7, 2003.

Fast forward:

The State Department's strategy for Iraq's oil—in shorthand, the “investment/PSA package”—was embedded by Paul Bremer's Coalition Provisional Authority into the developing public policies of post-invasion Iraq. American and British oil companies were deeply involved in the process, invited to do so by the Bush Administration.

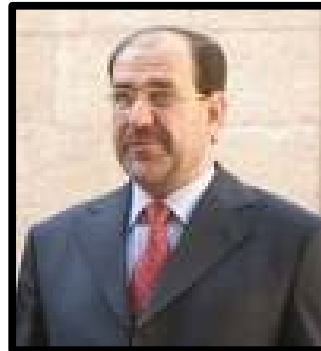
Eventually the draft of an Iraqi “hydrocarbon law” was produced. It was written in English.



L. Paul Bremer,
Coalition Provisional
Authority

After several iterations of Iraqi governments, the “hydrocarbon law” was translated into Arabic. It was approved on February 15, 2007 by Prime Minister Maliki's cabinet, and forwarded to the Iraqi Parliament for enactment into law.

Very few members of Parliament had ever seen it before.



Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki

DRAFT OIL AND GAS LAW PREPARED BY THE COMMITTEE ON 15 FEBRUARY 2007

**COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OIL AND ENERGY COMMITTEE**

**REPUBLIC OF IRAQ
DRAFT IRAQ OIL AND GAS LAW
NO. _____ OF 2007**

15 FEBRUARY 2007

The “investment/PSA package” in the hydrocarbon law grants immensely profitable access for international oil companies to 81% of Iraq's undeveloped crude. The companies in position to exploit the law are Exxon/Mobil, Chevron/Texaco, Royal Dutch/Shell, and BP/Amoco.

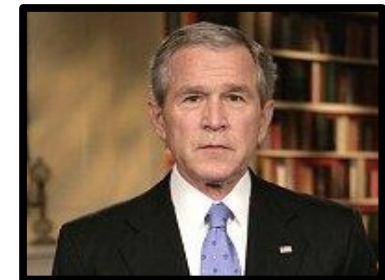
(See Joshua Holland, “Bush's Petro-Cartel Almost Has Iraq's Oil,” published on the *AlterNet* website, October 16, 2006.)



The hydrocarbon law is now the keystone of the Bush Administration's war in Iraq. It is the evident culmination of the Administration's intention stated in the February 3, 2001 memorandum "...regarding the capture of new and existing oil and gas fields."

President Bush made passage of the hydrocarbon law a mandatory "benchmark" in his speech of January 10, 2007 announcing the troop "surge."

He spoke of the law as if it had been a product of a "democratic" government in Iraq. In fact, the provision transforming the Iraqi oil industry, the "investment/PSA package," was developed in his own State Department five years previously.



By insisting on passage of the law, Mr. Bush is asking the Iraqi Parliament to legalize the virtual theft of much of the country's crude oil.

The United States Congress, controlled by the Democratic Party, is complicit in this. The benchmark was included in the war funding bill it passed and President Bush signed on May 25, 2007.

In a letter dated May 18, 2007, twenty four U.S.citizens' groups had asked Speaker Pelosi and Majority Leader Reid to drop the oil law benchmark from the funding bill. The letter was ignored.

End of fast forward.

Learning the truth about the
war:

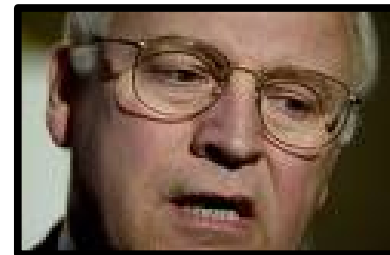
Afghanistan

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the world's oil industry swarmed into the Caspian Basin, which contains up to \$16 trillion in petroleum and gas reserves. The resources were essentially unexplored, undeveloped, and far from the mass markets of the west.

The most direct pipeline route from the basin to the richest markets is through Afghanistan. Whoever built that pipeline would control the Caspian Basin, and in the mid-1990's the contest to do it was spirited.

(The pursuit of U.S. interests in an Afghanistan pipeline extends through the Clinton and Bush Administrations. Much of the material to follow is drawn from a two part series by Larry Chin, published on the *Online Journal* in March of 2002. Part I is “Unocal and the Afghanistan Pipeline;” part two is “The Bush Administration's Afghan Carpet.”)

An American business and policy planning organization, the Foreign Oil Companies Group, promoted American interests in the region. It was fully supported by the State Department, the National Security Council, and the CIA. Among the Group's most active members were Mr. Henry Kissinger, a former Secretary of State and now a consultant for the Unocal Corporation; Mr. Alexander Haig, another former Secretary of State and now a lobbyist for Turkmenistan; and Mr. Richard Cheney, a former Secretary of Defense and now CEO of the Halliburton Corporation.



In late 1996, however, the Bidas Corporation of Argentina signed a contract with both of Afghanistan's political forces, the Taliban and General Dostum of the Northern Alliance, to build the Trans Afghanistan Pipeline.





The American company, Unocal, fought Bridas' efforts and success at every turn, hiring a number of consultants in addition to Mr. Kissinger: Hamid Karzai, Richard Armitage and Zalmay Khalilzad.

The latter two men would be prominent members of the Project for the New American Century. In 2001, Mr. Armitage would become Deputy Secretary of State in the Bush Administration.



Henry Kissinger



Hamid Karzai



Richard
Armitage



Zalmay Khalilzad

Unocal hosted Taliban leaders at its headquarters in Texas and in Washington D.C., seeking to have the Bidas contract voided. The Taliban refused.

Mr. John J. Maresca, a Vice President of Unocal, testified to the House Committee on International Relations on February 12, 1998. He asked to have the Taliban removed from power in Afghanistan, and for a stable government to be installed instead.



John J.
Maresca

The Clinton Administration, having recently rejected the PNAC request to invade Iraq, was not any more interested in a military incursion into Afghanistan.

In August of 1998, however, President Clinton did launch a few perfunctory cruise missiles into Afghanistan, retaliating for al Qaeda attacks on the U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. And the President signed an Executive Order prohibiting further trade negotiations with the Taliban.



Mr. Maresca was thus doubly disappointed. The Taliban would not be overthrown very soon, and now Unocal could not even continue its private entreaties.

Unocal's pipeline prospects declined further on October 12, 2000. Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda struck again. The *USS Cole* was bombed in the Yemeni port of Aden, killing 17 sailors and injuring 39.



Some people in the Clinton Administration wanted immediately to “bomb the hell out of Afghanistan.” But the State Department first dispatched Mr. Kabir Mohabbat, a U.S. citizen but a native Afghani, to arrange a meeting with the Taliban.

The parties met November 2 in the Sheraton hotel in Frankfurt, Germany. To avoid the retaliatory bombing, the Taliban offered the unconditional surrender of Osama bin Laden.*

* See, “How Bush was Offered Bin Laden and Blew It,” *Counterpunch*, November 1, 2004; “Bush Rejects Taliban Offer to Hand bin Laden Over,” *UK Guardian Unlimited*, October 14, 2001; and “Bush Rejects Taliban Offer to Surrender bin Laden,” in *UK Independent*, October 15, 2001.



Kabir Mohabbat

As the details of the handover were being worked out, however, the controversial presidential election of 2000 was decided in favor of George W. Bush.

The message was handed down: the surrender of Osama bin Laden will be delayed until the Bush Administration is sworn in.





January 20, 2001.

Kabbir Mohabbat was retained by the new Bush Administration as a consultant to the National Security Council.

The Administration, however, sent a letter to the Taliban asking for the handover of bin Laden to be delayed until February. The Administration was still “settling in.”

Meanwhile, Unocal's fortunes improved dramatically.

In direct contravention of the Clinton Executive Order, the Bush Administration itself immediately resumed negotiations with the Taliban. In exchange for a package of foreign aid, the Administration sought secure and exclusive access to the Caspian Basin for American companies. (The Enron Corporation also was eyeing a pipeline, to feed its proposed power plant in India.) The Bidas contract might still be voided.

The parties met three times: in Washington, Berlin, and Islamabad.

The Taliban refused each time.

As the negotiations progressed, planning was underway to take military action if necessary.

In mid-July of 2001, a “senior American official” told Mr. Niaz Naik, a former Pakistani Foreign Secretary that “...military action against Afghanistan would go ahead by the middle of October.” *

* See, “U.S. Planned Attack on Taliban,” by George Arney, BBC News, September 18, 2001.

On August 2 of 2001, the last negotiation with the Taliban ended with a terse statement by Christina Rocca of the State Department. “Accept our offer of a carpet of gold,” she said, “or we bury you under a carpet of bombs.”

Unocal's wish for the removal of the Taliban appeared more and more likely to be fulfilled.



With negotiations ended, “*Bush promptly informed India and Pakistan that the U.S. would launch a military mission into Afghanistan before the end of October.*” *

This was five weeks before the events of 9/11.

* See Larry Chin, “Players on rigged chessboard: Bidas, Unocal, and the Afghanistan pipeline,” *Online Journal*, March 6, 2002. (Italics added.)

Twice in this interval, during the spring and summer of 2001, Mr. Kabir Mohabbat was sent by the Bush Administration to meet with the Taliban on another issue: the surrender of Osama bin Laden.

At both meetings with the Taliban Mr. Mohabbat could only apologize.

The Bush Administration was not yet willing to accept the handover.

Then Osama bin Laden struck again.



September 11, 2001

Immediately after the attacks, President Bush, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, and Press Secretary Ari Fleischer issued nearly identical statements: *No one could have anticipated terrorists hijacking airliners and crashing them into buildings.*



Were these three people simply parroting a “talking point?”

The U.S. Government had been warned explicitly six times about the use of hijacked aircraft as missiles--including specific references to Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda.

Among the warnings was a five-page document entitled “Aircraft hijack plan by radical Islamists.” It was delivered to Mr. Bill Murray of the CIA's Paris bureau by the French intelligence agency, the DGSE. This was in January of 2001.

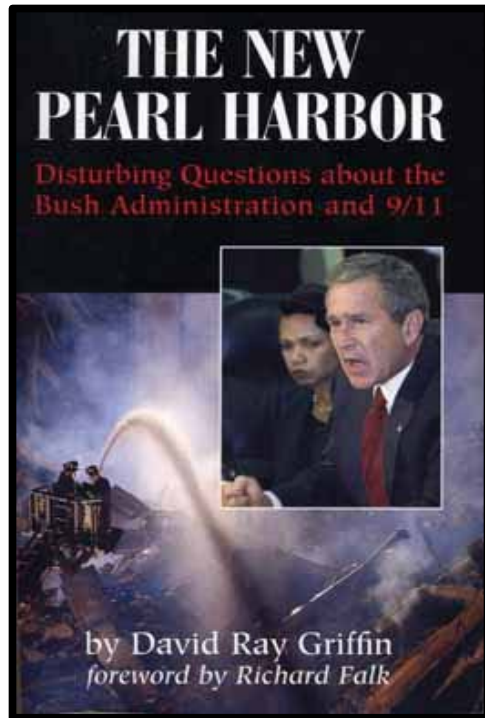


Sources: “...Bush Administration had foreknowledge of Sept. 11 attacks,” Larry Chin, *Online Journal*, May 19, 2002; “CIA warned of possible attacks by French intelligence before 9/11,” Joshua Holland, *AlterNet*, April 16, 2007.

In denying any prior knowledge, did Mr. Bush, Ms. Rice, and Mr. Fleischer display criminal negligence? Or was it intentional deception?

These questions and many more have yet to be answered.

Was 9/11 the “catastrophic and catalyzing event” noted a year earlier by the Project for the New American Century?

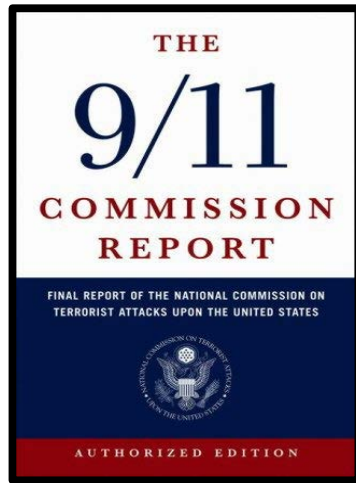


Millions of Americans, dozens of books, and countless websites are raising “Disturbing Questions about the Bush Administration and 9/11.”

The most extreme critics accuse the Administration of direct complicity in the attacks.

Others claim the Administration was forewarned, but took no action.

Still others, without claiming conspiracy, find the Administration's story inadequate and suspicious.



Why did Mr. Bush and Mr. Cheney initially oppose any investigation at all?

Why did a full year elapse before any inquiry was undertaken?

Why did President Bush insist on appointing the 9/11 Commissioners himself?

Why did he first choose Mr. Henry Kissinger, a former Unocal consultant, to head the Commission?

Why did Mr. Bush and Mr. Cheney refuse to testify under oath?

Learning the truth about 9/11 merits the attention of every responsible citizen.

A new, impartial, and complete investigation—of irreproachable integrity—must be undertaken.

Whatever the facts about 9/11, the Bush Administration now had a fortuitous and spectacular excuse to proceed with their long-planned invasions.

They played their hand brilliantly.

The Administration immediately compared the terrorist attacks to the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor.



But the terrorists' hijacked airliners were not the vanguard of a naval armada, an air force, and a standing army committed to full scale war, which Pearl Harbor represented in 1941.

9/11 was a criminal act of international terrorism. It was unprecedented in magnitude, but it was not a military invasion, threatening the safety of the entire nation.

Crimes of international terrorism are typically resolved by international police action. There are many examples of such actions succeeding in the past.



Police action, however, would not achieve the strategic objectives of the intended incursions into Afghanistan and Iraq. Only military action—conquest and occupation—would do that.

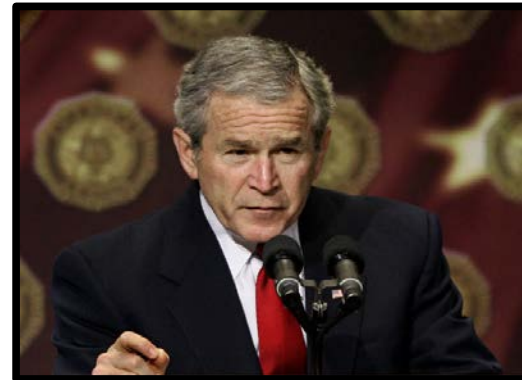
So 9/11 was equated with Pearl Harbor, and fear-mongering became the chosen mode of governance. It was an extreme violation of the public trust, but it served perfectly the Administration's need to justify warfare.

Warfare was guaranteed when President Bush insisted ***terrorists and states that harbor terrorists*** would be treated without distinction.

The Global War on Terror was born.

Labeling the preplanned invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq as a “Global War on Terror” was the mega-lie, the context for the propaganda campaign to follow.*

* See, *The War Card: Orchestrated Deception on the Path to Iraq*; Center for Public Integrity, January, 2008



Since declaring the Global War on Terror, the Administration has bombarded the American people with a virtual mantra:

This is the struggle of our lifetime; we are defending our way of life from an enemy intent on destroying our freedoms.

We must fight the enemy in the Middle East, or we will fight him in our cities.



Constant repetition of carefully orchestrated propaganda persuaded the American people—and finally the Congress—to support the Global War on Terror. With fearful images of “mushroom clouds” (Condoleezza Rice) and “hundreds of thousands” of prospective casualties (Vice President Cheney), the Administration nurtured the fear and developed the support.

The mantra went unchallenged by the the mass media and by both political parties.

Then it became encoded: “*Support our troops.*” American flags and yellow ribbons appeared throughout the nation.



Parenthetical comment:

Only much later did well-respected public figures challenge the fear-mongering head-on.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former National Security Advisor, wrote an op-ed on March 25, 2007 entitled “Terrorized by the 'War on Terror’”.

He decried the “culture of fear” the Bush Administration has created. He compared it to our calm self confidence during the Cold War, when we knew “100 million Americans could die within hours of a Soviet missile attack.”



Wesley Clark, a Rhodes Scholar, retired 4-star general, and former NATO commander, attacked the mantra and the fear-mongering in a May 28, 2007 speech. Al-Qaeda is not the existential threat to the U.S. the Bush Administration has portrayed, Clark said. “We’ve lived five years under the threat of fear, and the threat has been manipulated.”



The first action of the Global War on Terror would be an attack on Afghanistan, which the Administration had been intending to launch since long before 9/11.

The simultaneous targeting of Osama bin Laden and Afghanistan's governing Taliban was a perfect expression of the Administration's “melding” of security policy and international energy policy.

Apprehending bin Laden would be a pure play of security policy.



And the removal of the Taliban from power would achieve an objective of energy policy.

The Bidas Corporation's contract to build the Trans Afghanistan pipeline would be nullified.

The way would be open for Unocal to build it, instead.



The Taliban's offer to surrender Osama bin Laden was still open, however. Once again Kabir Mohabbat was dispatched to arrange yet another meeting.

On September 15, Taliban officials were flown in Air Force C-130 aircraft to the Pakistani city of Quetta to negotiate with the State Department. Now even more desperate to avoid a catastrophic bombing, the Taliban sweetened the deal: they would also shut down bin Laden's bases and training camps.

The offer was rejected by the White House. For the U.S. to gain pipeline access, the Bush Administration need to invade and occupy Afghanistan, and that would call for military action. Osama bin Laden was irrelevant.

Several weeks later the Taliban's offer was repeated.

And so was the White House rejection.

On October 7, 2001, the carpet of bombs is unleashed over Afghanistan. The Taliban's hold on the country is broken.



Then, with the Taliban removed from power, Mr. Hamid Karzai is installed by the U.S. as head of an interim government. Subsequently, he is elected President of Afghanistan.

Mr. Karzai is a former consultant to the Unocal Corporation.



The first U.S. envoy to Afghanistan is Mr. John J. Maresca.



Mr. Maresca is a former Vice President of the Unocal Corporation.

The next Ambassador to Afghanistan is Mr. Zalmay Khalilzad.



Mr. Khalilzad is a former consultant to the Unocal Corporation. He is a founding member of the Project for the New American Century.

On February 8, 2002, four months after the carpet of bombs, Presidents Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan and Perves Musharraf of Pakistan sign a new agreement for the pipeline.*

The Bidas contract is now moot. The way is open for Unocal.



* See "Afghanistan: Our Alpine Quagmire," in *Los Angeles Indymedia*, October 9, 2009

Two weeks later, on February 23 an article in the trade journal *Alexander's Gas and Oil Connections* described the readiness of three U.S. Federal agencies in the Bush Administration to fund the pipeline project: the U.S. Import/Export Bank, the Trade and Development Agency, and the Overseas Private Insurance Corporation.

The article continued: “...*some recent reports ...indicated ...the United States was willing to police the pipeline infrastructure through permanent stationing of its troops in the region.*” (Italics added.)



By February of 2003 the Bush Administration stood ready with financing to build the pipeline across Afghanistan, and with a permanent military presence to protect it.

The objective of the war in Afghanistan was now achieved.



Osama bin Laden remained at large.



But the richest prize was still unclaimed: Iraq's undeveloped reserves of high-quality, easily pumped crude oil—perhaps as much as 200 billion barrels.*

* See, “Iraqi Oil Reserves Could be Twice as Large,” the Associated Press, April 19, 2007.

President Bush and the PNAC wanted to strike Iraq immediately after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

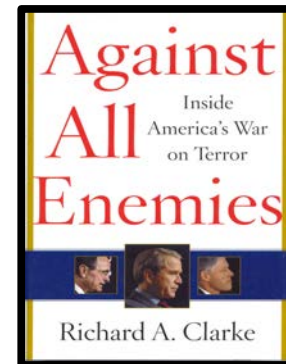
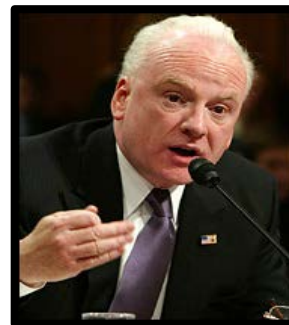
We know from Richard Clarke's book President Bush and Defense Secretary Rumsfeld were anxious to link Saddam Hussein to the terrorism.

Fully aware of al Qaeda's culpability, President Bush ordered Clarke to “See if Saddam did this. See if he's linked in any way.”

And, Clarke wrote, “Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz were going...to take advantage of this national tragedy to promote their agenda about Iraq.”

See *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror*, New York: The Free Press, 304 p., 2004.

Mr. Clarke was the National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection, and Counterterrorism in both the Clinton and Bush Administrations.



But attacking Iraq immediately was too great a political and diplomatic stretch.

The Administration would need to bide its time, and build a case for doing so.

The fear-mongering began in earnest. Mr. Bush's 2002 State of the Union address—the “axis of evil” speech—reinforced the mantra of the Global War On Terror, and began the campaign of persuasive deception.



“Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens -- leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children.”

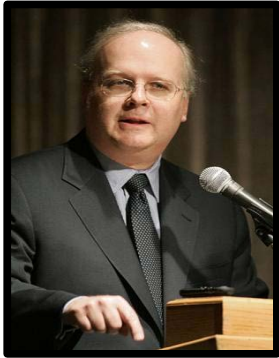
In August of 2002, President Bush appointed the “White House Iraq Group.” Its members were primarily political operatives or public relations/communications people. Their role was explicitly to *market* the war, to persuade the American people—and eventually the Congress—of the need to invade Iraq.

The group operated in strict secrecy, sifting intelligence, writing position papers and speeches, creating “talking points,” planning strategy and timing, and feeding information to the media.

This was the nerve center, where the deliberate campaign of propaganda was created, packaged, and promulgated.

Its work was described in a *Washington Post* story (August 10, 2003) with a telling headline: “*Depiction of Threat Outgrew Supporting Evidence.*”

The White House Iraq Group



**Karl
Rove**



**Karen
Hughes**



**Mary
Matalin**



**Andrew
Card**



**James
Wilkinson**



**Nicholas
Calio**



**Condoleezza
Rice**



**Stephen
Hadley**



**“Scooter”
Libby**



**Michael
Gerson**

The group chose to emphasize the nuclear threat over all others, overstating, exaggerating, or misstating available intelligence. The campaign of lies and deception was deliberate—and successful.

The White House Iraq Group propaganda campaign begins only after Labor Day, 2002—because, as Andrew Card said, “From a marketing point of view, you don't introduce new products in August.”

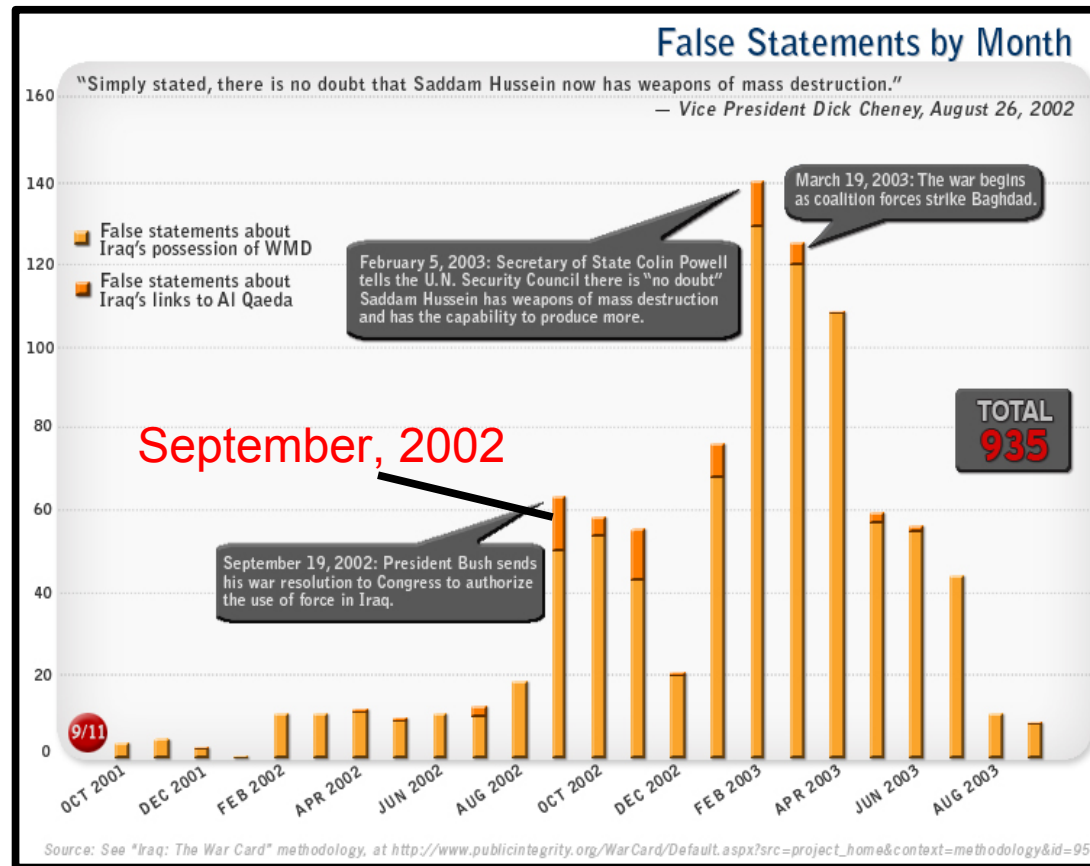
September 7: Judith Miller in the *New York Times* parrots the Administration story about the aluminum tubes.

September 7-8:

On NBC: Vice President Cheney describes Saddam Hussein's activities over the previous fourteen months to develop nuclear weapons.

On CNN, Condoleezza Rice invokes the litany: “We don't want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud.”

On CBS, President Bush speaks of Saddam being “six months away from developing a weapon.”

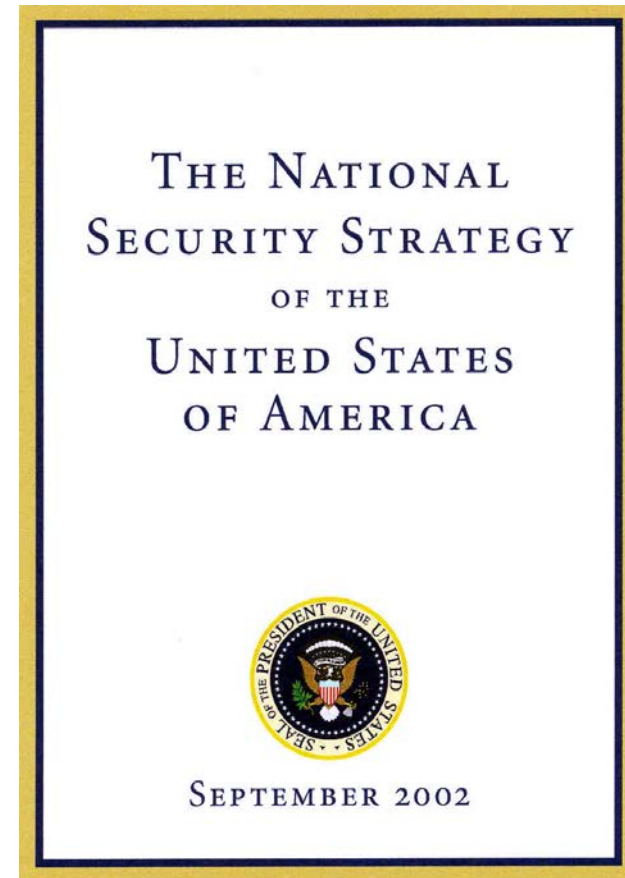


reproduced from *Iraq: the War Card*, Center for Public Integrity

In 2008, the Center for Public Integrity published a detailed report of the propaganda campaign. It tallied a total of **935 deliberate lies** and charted their distribution through time, from 9/11/2001 until after the invasion of Iraq. A huge increase in the frequency of lies took place in September, 2002—when the White House Iraq Group launched its program.

On September 17, 2002, President Bush adopted formally the belligerent stance first articulated in the *Defense Planning Guidance* of 1992 and refined by *Rebuilding America's Defenses* in 2000. On that day Mr. Bush signed *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*.

Pre-emptive war was now formalized: it was the policy of the United States.



The propaganda campaign of the White House Iraq Group continued.

October 14: President Bush describes Saddam as "...a man that we know has had connections with al Qaeda."

January 21, 2003: President Bush says of Saddam: "He has weapons of mass destruction...the world's deadliest weapons...which pose a direct threat to the United States, our citizens, and our friends and allies."

President Bush is introduced for his State of the Union speech in 2003.



"The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa."

These are the famous "sixteen words," the substance of which was known by the Bush Administration to be baseless. The CIA had said so repeatedly. The speech was typical of White House Iraq Group propaganda.

President Bush never disclosed to the American people, however, a desperate attempt Saddam Hussein had made to avoid war.

In December of 2002—a month before the State of the Union speech—the Iraqi intelligence service had contacted Mr. Vincent Cannistraro of the CIA. They had offered to prove Iraq's innocence in 9/11, and to permit U.S. troops into Iraq to search for weapons of mass destruction.

The White House had rejected the offer.*

* See, “Dreamers and Idiots: Britain and the U.S. did everything to avoid a peaceful solution in Iraq and Afghanistan,” George Monbiot, *The Guardian*, November 11, 2003.

That was not the last entreaty from Saddam. A month after the State of the Union speech Iraqi officials spoke with security adviser Richard Perle. They offered free access for the FBI to search for weapons, and even some limited rights to Iraqi oil. Mr. Perle was then directed by the CIA to “Tell them that we'll see them in Baghdad.” *

Saddam Hussein's last offer was to leave Iraq and go into exile, in Egypt or Saudi Arabia. That, too, was rejected.**

* See “Dreamers and Idiots....”

** See “Dreamers and Idiots....”

On February 22, 2003, President Bush met with Condoleezza Rice and Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Anzar in Crawford, Texas. Mr. Bush acknowledged Saddam's prospective exile, but vigorously rejected it, declaring, "We will be in Baghdad at the end of March." *

* See, "Llego el momento de deshacerse de Saddam," a transcript of the conversation in Spanish, in *El Pais*, September 26, 2007.

President Bush's rhetoric about “regime change” in Iraq, then, was simply an element of the propaganda campaign.

The Administration had rejected the surrender of Osama bin Laden in favor of warfare in Afghanistan. Now it was rejecting the exile of Saddam Hussein in favor of warfare in Iraq.

National security and terrorism were smokescreen issues. They were simply irrelevant.

The wars of conquest and occupation were not.

On February 5, 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell addresses the United Nations. He displays the symbolic vial of anthrax. He says there is “no doubt in my mind” that Saddam Hussein was working to obtain key components to produce nuclear weapons. He summarizes all the arguments about weapons of mass destruction the Administration had made over the previous months.



Secretary Powell is continuing the Administration's pressure on the Security Council to authorize the use of military force in Iraq.

The Security Council refuses.

On March 14, 2003, President Bush, Prime Minister Blair, and Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar of Spain meet in the Azores.

On March 17, they abandon the effort for a new UN resolution and claim the right to proceed without one.

That day, President Bush announces an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein: leave Iraq within 48 hours or face military action.

On March 19, selected targets are hit by coalition forces.

On March 21, 2003, the “Shock and Awe” aerial bombardment of Baghdad begins.



2004...2005...2006...2007...2008.....

Nearly five years have elapsed since then. The Fraudulent War has exceeded the duration of World War II.

Mr. Bush suggested recently a significant American presence might remain in Iraq for the next 50 years.

The permanent military “mega-bases” have been built, and the United States embassy is nearing completion in Baghdad.



The U.S. Embassy under construction. It has its own water, electric, and sewage systems, and is surrounded by a concrete wall 15' thick. There are 21 buildings on 104 acres to accommodate 5,000 diplomats and staff people. The compound includes a PX, a commissary, a movie complex, a swimming pool, retail shopping areas, restaurants, schools, and a fire station.

It is ten times larger than any other U.S. embassy in the world.

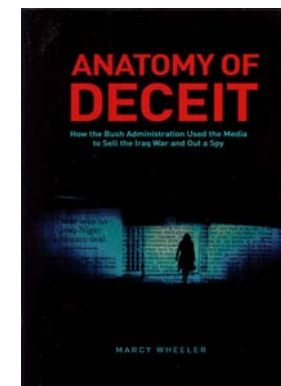
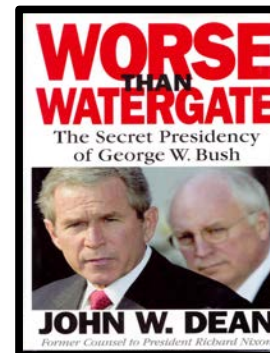
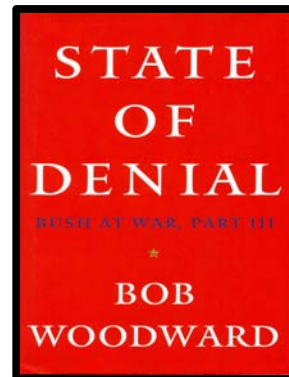
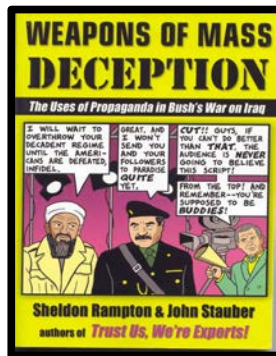
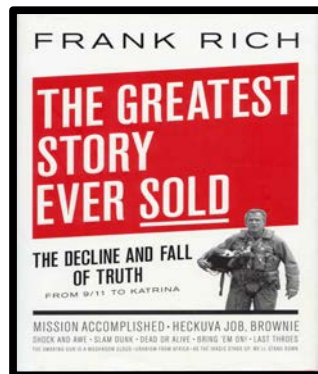
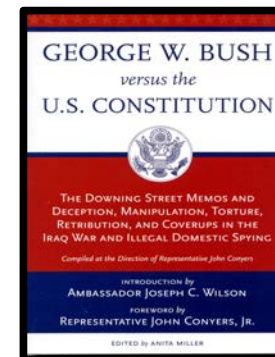
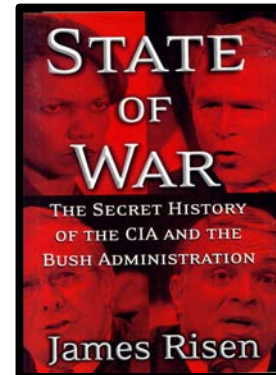
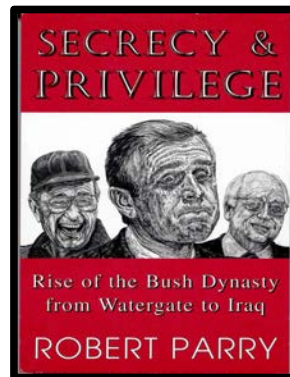
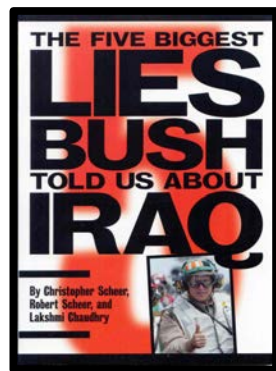
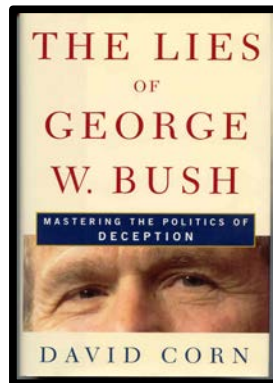
In November of 2007, President Bush and Prime Minister Maliki signed a “Declaration of Principles,” to form an “enduring relationship” between the two countries.

Among other provisions, it will “...encourage the flow of foreign investments to Iraq.” *

Thus encoded, access to Iraqi oil has been stipulated once more; the strategic objectives of the war remain unchanged.

* See, “Operation Iraqi Freedom Exposed: Bush Negotiates Permanent Presence in Iraq,” Marjorie Cohn, *Common Dreams*, December 3, 2007.

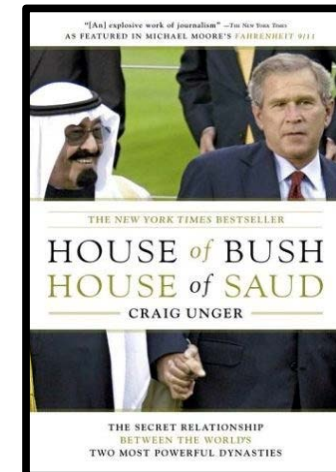
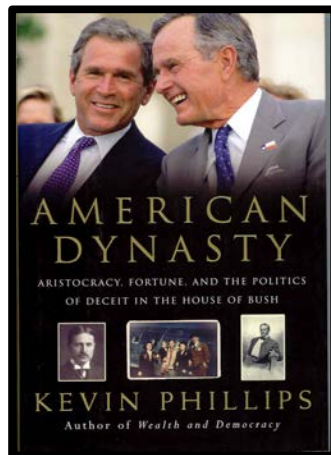
A substantial literature documents the lying, deception, and distortion the Bush Administration exercised in justifying its invasion of Iraq. Here is a sampling.



Other books outline the network of Bush family business connections. They describe the decades-long intimate relationship between the Bushes and the Royal Family of Saudi Arabia, and the role of the obscure private investment firm, the Carlyle Group.

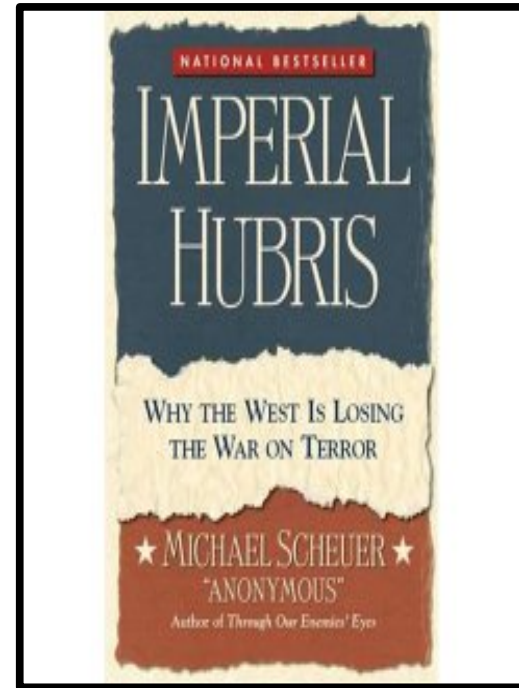
In the Carlyle Group, the Bushes, the Saudi Royalty, and the family of Osama bin Laden came together to profit immensely from the oil, international security, and armaments industries.

The Fraudulent War has deep roots in geostrategic history, international commerce, and the prerogatives of power and wealth.





Michael Scheuer served 22 years in the CIA. He was the agency's foremost expert on Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda. In 2004 he resigned in protest and wrote this book. In it he said,



The U.S. Invasion of Iraq was not preemption; it was...an avaricious, premeditated, unprovoked war against a foe who posed no immediate threat but whose defeat did offer economic advantages.

The Project for a New American Century wanted, in a fantasy of retrograde imperialism, to remove Saddam Hussein from power. President George Bush launched an overt act of military aggression to do so, at a cost to date of nearly 4,000 American lives, hundreds of thousands of Iraqi lives, and half a trillion dollars. In the process he has exacerbated the threats from international terrorism, ravaged the Iraqi culture, ruined their economy and their public services, sent four million Iraqis fleeing their country as refugees, created a maelstrom of sectarian violence, dangerously destabilized the Middle East, demolished the global prestige of the United States, and defamed the American people.

Truth has no special time. Its hour is now—always.

--Albert Schweitzer

A note on information sources:

The author had no access to privileged information. This story was assembled from the contemporary books cited throughout, from foreign news outlets, from the domestic alternate press, and from postings on the Internet.

All the information, then, was found in the public domain.

Richard Behan lives in Corvallis, Oregon. He can be reached at rwbehan@comcast.net