



*chronicle*  
*of a*  
*war*  
*foretold*  
*loretta*  
*napoleoni*



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## *The Author*



**LORETTA NAPOLEONI** is an economist who has worked for banks and international organisations in Europe and the US. She is also a journalist and has worked as a foreign correspondent for several Italian financial papers. She has written novels and guide books in Italian, and translated and edited books on terrorism. Her most recent novel, **Dossier Baghdad**, is a financial thriller set during the Gulf War. She was among the first people to interview members of the Red Brigades in Italy after three decades of silence.

**The New Economy Of Terror**, a 36-page excerpt – in pdf format – from her latest book, **MODERN JIHAD, Tracing The Dollars Behind The Terrorist Networks**, may be downloaded at [coldtype.net](http://coldtype.net)

**T**

*he war in Iraq has become the most important chapter in the 'war on terror'. According to President Bush's allies, coalition forces are fighting a vicious guerrilla war against 'Islamist terrorists' and 'Saddam's loyalists', which confirms the soundness of the motivation to go to war in the first place: to prevent Saddam Hussein from supplying weapons of mass destruction to terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda. However, to date, no link between Saddam and Osama has been established; no weapons of mass destruction have been found; no major victory in the 'war on terror' has been*

*Chronicle of a War Foretold*

*achieved. Instead public officials, UN inspectors, former members of cabinets, counter-terrorist experts and security officers, have unveiled a long stream of lies which go back to the first Gulf War, fabricated to promote a 'US-friendly' military coup in Iraq. Their tale is the chronicle of a war foretold.*

*At the end of July 1990, ten days before Iraq invaded Kuwait, Saddam Hussein met with April Glaspie, then America's ambassador to Iraq. It was the last high-level contact between the two countries before Iraq invaded Kuwait. From a translation of the Iraqi transcript of the meeting, which surfaced in September of the same year, it transpired that ambassador Glaspie had reassured Saddam: "We have no opinion on your Arab-Arab conflicts, such as your dispute with Kuwait. Secretary [of State James] Baker has directed me to emphasize the instruction [...] that Kuwait is not associated with America." When confronted by the press about this statement, Ambassador Glaspie strongly denied it.*



# THE TIMELINE

## 1990

- **2 August** – Iraq invaded Kuwait.

## 1991

- **The night of 16-17 January** – coalition forces launched Operation Desert Storm in retaliation for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Heavy aerial bombing began all over Iraq.
- **February 15** – George Bush Sr. called on 'the Iraqi military and the Iraqi people to take matters in their own hands and force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside'. The speech was aimed at encouraging the military to stage a coup; the word 'Iraqi people' was added at the last minute.
- **February 24** – coalition forces started a ground operation which resulted in the liberation of Kuwait on 27 February.

● **February 28** – the US administration ordered the cease fire. This decision was taken against the advice of the US military and the British government. During an interview with David Frost on the BBC, General Schwarzkopf, the US commander-in- chief in the field, justified his opposition to the cease fire as follows: "we could have completely closed the doors and made it in fact a battle of annihilation. And the President made the decision that we should stop at a given time, at a given place, [a decision] that did leave some escape routes open for them [the Iraqi army and the Republican Guard] to get back out..."

● **February 28** – Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani was denied entry into the State Department where he had gone to brief US officials about an imminent anti-Saddam uprising in Kurdistan. The day after, Richard Haas, director for the Middle East Affairs on the National Security Council, called Peter Galbraith, staff director of the Senate Foreign Relation Committee, the man who had encouraged Talabani to contact the State Department and reprimanded him. "You don't understand", said Haas, "our policy is to get rid of Saddam, not his regime."

● **March 3** – Iraq accepts the terms of the ceasefire, which

includes UN inspection to find and destroy a wide range of munitions as well as ongoing programs for making chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

● **Mid-March** – Widespread Shia and Kurdish uprisings took place in Iraq. It was a spontaneous anti-Saddam revolt; the response of the Iraqi people to George Bush Sr.'s call to overthrow the dictator. Instead, the US administration instructed the military not to intervene in favour of the insurgents and allowed Iraqi helicopters to enter the no-fly zone to suppress the revolt. From mid-March to early-April 1991, US pilots witnessed Iraqi helicopters, flying below them, firing at people in the streets. In little over a month, the revolt was successfully suppressed.

National Security Advisor, Brent Scowcroft, commenting on the uprising in Basra on ABC television admitted: 'I frankly wish it hadn't happened. I envisioned a post-war government being a military government.'

## 1992

● **In 1992** – Dick Cheney, at the time Bush Sr.'s Secretary of Defence, formulated the new doctrine of the neo-conservatives



vis-à-vis the Middle East. In a nutshell it says: 'America needs an aggressive and unilateral approach in foreign policy, one that would secure its dominance of world affairs, by force if necessary.'

● **November** – Iraq's former deputy prime minister, Tarik Aziz, revealed to USA Today that regardless of US ambassador April Glaspie's comments on the eve of the invasion of Kuwait, Saddam knew that the US was not giving him the green light. "We knew," he said, "that the United States would have a strong reaction."

## **1995**

● **March 3** – The Iraqi National Congress (INC), a coalition of opposition groups led by Ahmed Chalabi (who today is its leader thanks also to the backing of the US), staged an uprising. The plan, drawn up by the INC and the CIA representative in Iraqi Kurdistan, Richard Baer, was going to be a joint offensive on two fronts against Iraqi forces: in the North, in Iraqi Kurdistan, and in Baghdad. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and the INC's own militants, who had

been assured the support of the US Air Force, would start the uprising in the North. As Saddam was forced to address this insurgency, friendly Iraqi forces would mutiny and stage a coup in Baghdad. On the morning of the attack, the President's National Security Adviser, Tony Lake, instructed Robert Baer to inform the INC that the US would not support the uprising. The US was still committed to a military coup and wanted to avoid a popular revolt.

## 1998

● **October 31** – Iraq ended cooperation with the UN Special Commission to Oversee the Destruction of Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction (UNSCOM). Following years of obstruction by Saddam Hussein, the UN inspection teams left Iraq and, in effect, turned over the problem of monitoring Iraqi weapons development to American intelligence organizations. At the time, the UN strongly suspected, and the CIA believed, that Iraq possessed large undetected stocks of banned weapons and had ongoing programs to build more. Following the evacuation of all UN staff in Baghdad, the USA and the UK launched a bombing campaign.

"Operation Desert Fox" lasted from the 16 to 19 December 1998 and aimed at the destruction of Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programmes.

## **2000**

● **September** – The neo-conservative think tank, Project for the New American Century, released 'Rebuilding of America's Defenses', a report commissioned by Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, Jeb Bush and Lewis Libby, Cheney's chief of staff. The document (became the blue-print of Bush's foreign policy. Its main points were: industrialized nations should be discouraged from challenging US leadership and attempts to play a global role; in peacekeeping operations, US, rather than UN, leadership should be implemented; in the Middle East, military control of Iraq, with or without Saddam, should be achieved, with force if necessary; US military bases in the Arabian peninsula must be maintained also after a regime change in Iraq has taken place; US military presence in the Middle East is required to contain and contrast Iran, which poses a permanent threat to Washington's hegemonic role in the region.

## 2001

● **February 18** – Without any international support, Britain and the US carried out bombing raids to disable Iraq's air defence network. Rather than securing an endorsement of the raid as a necessary show of strength to enforce the sanctions imposed on Iraq since the 1991 Gulf War, the unilateral action by the US and the UK fuelled international discontent over what was seen as a failed and counter-productive policy. In the United Nations Security Council, the action was criticized by all permanent members other than the US and the UK. Russia denounced the "unprovoked action", which "runs counter to the UN Charter and other international legal norms and exacerbates the already explosive situation in the Middle East.

● **September 11** – Al Qaeda hijacked four jet liners and crashed them into the Twin Towers and the Pentagon; the fourth plane never reached its destination which was believed to have been the White House.

● **September 12** – George Bush Jr. asked Richard Clarke, the National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection and Counterterrorism, to find out if Saddam Hussein was involved in

the previous day's attacks. According to Clarke, when told once again that Al Qaeda was responsible, the President insisted 'I know, I know, but...see if Saddam was involved. Just look.'

● **September 16** – President Bush indicated to National Security Adviser, Condoleezza Rice that while he 'had to do Afghanistan first', he was also determined to do something about Saddam Hussein. According to investigative journalist Bob Woodward, the US administration saw the 'war on terror' as an excellent opportunity to take out Saddam Hussein.

● **Beginning of October** – the Pakistani Islamic parties negotiated with the leader of the Taliban, Mullah Omar, and with Osama bin Laden, to have the latter extradited to Pakistan. They agreed that he would stand trial in Pakistan for the 11 September attacks. The US authorities declined the offer 'on the slight chance that we [the US army] would capture him.'

● **October 7** – Coalition forces invaded Afghanistan.

## **2002**

● **In January**, during the State of the Union address, President Bush outlined the two main objectives of 'war on terror': 'first

we shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and the regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world'. He then proceeded to reveal the identities of the 'axis of evil', the rogue nations who foster terrorism: North Korea, Iran and Iraq.

● **In April**, at Crawford, Bush's ranch in Texas, the US President and Tony Blair addressed the press on the 'war on terror'. Bush revealed: "I explained to the Prime Minister that the policy of my government is the removal of Saddam Hussein, and that all options are open." Blair added that the region, the world 'and not least the ordinary Iraqi people' would be better off 'without the regime of Saddam Hussein.

● **In June**, President Bush admitted that, several months earlier, he had ordered the CIA to assassinate Saddam Hussein. To avoid the US Congress ban on assassinating head of states of foreign countries, US Special Forces, CIA paramilitary teams, were to capture Saddam with the authorization to kill him, if necessary, in self defence.

● **In 2002**, the CIA sent US former Ambassador Joseph Wilson,

to Niger to investigate documents which proved that Iraq had attempted to buy uranium from Africa. Wilson reported that there was no evidence to support such claims and that the documents had been forged.

● **September** – in a paper establishing the administration's National Security Strategy, President Bush announced an aggressive new policy for dealing with the danger of rogue states. The United States, he declared, "must be prepared to stop rogue states and their terrorist clients before they are able to threaten or use weapons of mass destruction against the United States and our allies and friends.... To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act pre-emptively." To justify pre-emptive war in Iraq, the administration made three interlocking claims: that Iraq was actively developing weapons of mass destruction including nuclear bombs; that it had a secret working relationship with Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terrorist network, which had been responsible for the attacks on September 11; and that the danger that Saddam Hussein would provide terrorists with weapons of mass destruction was so grave that it amounted to an imminent threat.

● **September** – President George Bush told sceptical world leaders at a UN General Assembly session to confront the "grave and gathering danger" of Iraq - or stand aside as the US acted.

● **September 24** – British Prime Minister Tony Blair published a dossier on Iraq's military capability, Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction, the Assessment of the British Government. It claimed that Saddam Hussein's "military planning allows for some of the WMD to be ready within 45 minutes", that the threat from his WMD was "serious and current", and that "we must ensure that [Saddam] does not get to use the weapons he has". It also stated that British intelligence has proof that Saddam had sought to acquire "significant quantities" of uranium from Niger, in Africa, despite having no civil nuclear program that could require it. For security reasons, the British Government kept the sources of the report secret; the UK parliament was denied access to them.

● **October 7** – In Cincinnati, President Bush publicly linked Islamist terrorism to Saddam Hussein. "The Iraqi regime," he said, "...possesses and produces chemical and biological weapons. It is seeking nuclear weapons. It has given shelter and



support to terrorism.... The danger is already significant, and it grows worse with time. If we know Saddam Hussein has dangerous weapons today -and we do-does it make any sense for the world to wait...for the final proof, the smoking gun that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud?"

● **November** – UN weapons inspectors returned to Iraq, backed by a new UN resolution. UN teams visited scores of weapons sites in Iraq without finding anything substantial. Saddam Hussein's government even released a 12,000-page report claiming that stocks of banned weapons had been destroyed, and prohibited weapons programs had all been ended.

## **2003**

● **January** – President Bush addressed the State of the Union. In his speech he claimed that Iraq was trying to buy uranium in Africa, from Niger. "The British government," Bush said, "has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." He used this statement to make the case for going to war in Iraq.

● **February 4** – the UK government published another report

"Iraq – Its Infrastructure of Concealment Deception and Intimidation", which outlined the structure of Saddam's intelligence organizations and its weapon of mass destruction arsenal. It soon transpired that the report was a plagiarism of the post-graduate work of Ibrahim al-Marashi, a PhD student from Monterey, in California, written in the early 1990s and available on the internet. Large sections appeared verbatim; even typographical errors in the original articles were repeated. In several places, Downing Street had edited the originals to make more sinister reading.

● **February 5th** – Secretary of State Colin Powell, delivered the American case for war at a meeting of the UN Security Council. "My colleagues," he said, "every statement I make today is backed up by sources, solid sources. These are not assertions. What we're giving you are facts and conclusions based on solid intelligence." He then proceeded to make the case about Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction, the primary justification of the forthcoming American invasion of Iraq, using the UK dossier on Iraq released the day before.

● **March** – chief weapons inspector Hans Blix reported that Iraq

had accelerated its cooperation but said inspectors needed more time to verify Iraq's compliance. Saddam even invited the CIA to come and search the country for weapons of mass destruction.

● **March 16** – Attorney General, Lord Goldsmith, advised Tony Blair that the decision to go to war against Iraq without a UN resolution would be legal. The documentation containing this advice is classified and will never be released.

● **March 17** – UK's ambassador to the UN said the diplomatic process on Iraq has ended; arms inspectors are evacuated; US President George W Bush gave Saddam Hussein and his sons 48 hours to leave Iraq or face war.

● **March 20** – American missiles hit targets in Baghdad, marking the start of a US-led campaign to topple Saddam Hussein. In the following days, American and British ground troops entered Iraq from the south.

● **May 2** – While standing on the giant flight deck of the USS Abraham Lincoln, with a banner reading "Mission Accomplished" on the bridge overhead, President Bush saluted the men and women of the U.S. military. "Because of you, our nation is more secure. Because of you, the tyrant has fallen, and Iraq is free,"

was his message. "America is grateful for a job well done."

● **May 29** – During his report on the BBC Radio 4 Today program, Andrew Gilligan said that a source, a senior British official, informed him that the UK September 2002 dossier Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction, the Assessment of the British Government had been "sexed up" to make a more convincing case for war. It will subsequently transpire that the report had been radically modified and that the assertion that Iraq could deploy weapons of mass destruction in 45 minutes had been added against the will of experts. In retaliation, UK officials leaked the name of the source – scientist David Kelly – to the press. Kelly is submitted to a parliamentary enquiry which becomes a public humiliation. In July, Kelly committed suicide. Tony Blair called for a national enquiry; Lord Hutton was given the task to investigate the whole affair.

● **September 6** – Michael Meacher, former environmental minister of Tony Blair, from the pages of the Guardian, accused the US of having had the opportunity to prevent September 11 but to have purposely not intervened. He then attributed the reason to the US administration's desire to launch a global war of domina-

tion under the disguise of the 'war or terror'.

● **November 2003** – Katharine Gunn is charged after she admitted leaking information about a dirty tricks spying operation in the United Nations, involving the United States National Security Agency. Ms Gunn revealed that in a secret email the Americans had asked the British officers to tap the phones of nations in the Security Council voting on the war in Iraq to find out how they would vote. Overnight, prosecutors in Britain dropped the charges, leading to speculation that the Government was worried about the disclosure of secret documents during the trial, requested by Ms. Gunn's lawyer, and in particular, the advice from the Attorney General about the legality of the war in Iraq.

## **2004**

● **January 26** – a few days after his resignation as chief weapons inspector for the CIA, David A Kay said American intelligence agencies did not detect that Iraq's unconventional weapons programs were in state of disarray in recent years under increasingly erratic leadership of Saddam Hussein, and they did not know that Hussein insisted on self-directing projects

that were not vetted by anyone else, allowing wily scientists to fake weapons programs and pocket money themselves. Kay added that Tariq Aziz, former deputy prime minister, said, after his capture, that Hussein had become increasingly divorced from reality during last two years of his rule. According to Kay, the CIA had missed the significance of chaos in Iraqi leadership;

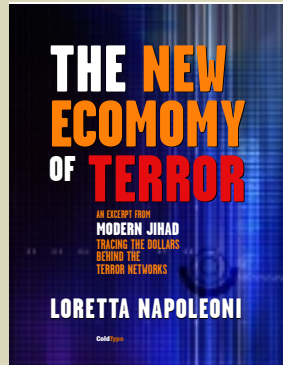
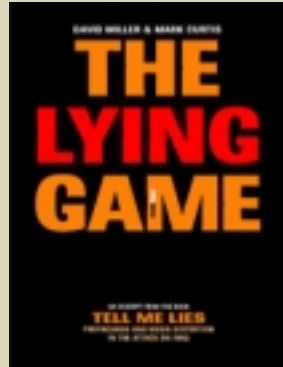
● **January 28** –Lord Hutton published his much-anticipated report, which clears Blair's government of any direct involvement in Kelly's death and criticizes the BBC for Gilligan's report, which the judge said was "unfounded."

● **February** – The Observer reported that senior government sources had revealed that Attorney-General Lord Peter Goldsmith's initial advice on whether to invade Iraq was "prevaricating", but was "tightened up" only days before the conflict began in March. The paper claimed Lord Goldsmith's advice was redrafted in order to assure the armed forces that the conflict would not be illegal. The Independent on Sunday also reported that the Attorney-General had changed his stance in the run-up to the conflict to declare that the war was legal. The UK government refused to declassify Lord Goldsmith's advice.

- **Beginning of April** – Ali Alawi, the Iraqi defense minister, denounced the return to service of senior members of the B'aatha party, ranging from teachers to army officers.
- **End of April** – After a siege of one month, the US army negotiated the handover of the city of Falluja to a former general of the Republican Guard, Jasim Mohammed Saleh. The Iraqi National Congress accused General Saleh of having commanded a special brigade that savagely suppressed the 1991 Shia uprising in Iraq. On April 30, general Saleh entered the city with a few hundred US-backed fighters.
- **May 1** – Mohammed Latif, another former general of Saddam Army, was brought to Falluja.

*Coalition forces are meant to end their 'liberation' work on June 30. The question is: to whom will they hand over the country? The sudden resurrection of leading military figures of Saddam's regime, their role as 'mediators', makes all of us, citizens of the 'free and democratic world', worry that Iraq will once again be ruled by men with black moustaches wearing green uniforms.*

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