

# DILIP HIRO

AUTHOR OF *IRAQ: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM* AND *THE ESSENTIAL MIDDLE EAST*

# SECRETS

OPERATION "IRAQI FREEDOM" AND AFTER

# AND LIES

A PRELUDE TO THE FALL OF U.S. POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

# **SECRETS AND LIES**

**OPERATION "IRAQI FREEDOM" AND AFTER**

**DILIP HIRO**

**NATION BOOKS  
NEW YORK**

SECRETS AND LIES:  
*Operation "Iraqi Freedom" and After*

Copyright © 2004 Dilip Hiro

Published by  
Nation Books  
An Imprint of Avalon Publishing Group Incorporated  
245 West 17<sup>th</sup> St., 11<sup>th</sup> Floor  
New York, NY 10038

Cartoon on p. v © The Times/Peter Brookes 2003  
Maps on pp. xi–xviii by Mike Morgenfeld

Nation Books is a co-publishing venture  
of the Nation Institute  
and Avalon Publishing Group Incorporated.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may  
be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any  
means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy,  
recording, or any information storage and retrieval  
system now known or to be invented, without  
permission in writing from the publisher, except by a  
reviewer who wishes to quote brief passages in  
connection with a review written for inclusion in a  
magazine, newspaper, or broadcast.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data  
is available.

ISBN 1-56025-556-0

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Book design by Simon M. Sullivan  
Printed in the United States of America  
Distributed by Publishers Group West

## ALSO BY DILIP HIRO

### NONFICTION

- The Essential Middle East:  
A Comprehensive Guide* (2003)  
*Iraq: In The Eye Of The Storm*  
(2002)  
*War Without End: The Rise of  
Islamist Terrorism and  
Global Response* (2002)  
*The Rough Guide Chronicle: India*  
(2002)  
*Neighbors, Not Friends: Iraq and  
Iran after the Gulf Wars* (2001)  
*Sharing the Promised Land:  
An Interwoven Tale of Israelis  
and Palestinians* (1996)  
*Dictionary of the Middle East*  
(1996)  
*The Middle East* (1996)  
*Between Marx and Muhammad:  
The Changing Face of Central Asia*  
(1995)
- Lebanon, Fire and Embers:  
A History of the Lebanese Civil War*  
(1993)  
*Desert Shield to Desert Storm:  
The Second Gulf War* (1992)  
*Black British, White British:  
A History of Race Relations  
in Britain* (1991)  
*The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq  
Military Conflict* (1991)  
*Holy Wars: The Rise of Islamic  
Fundamentalism* (1989)  
*Iran: The Revolution Within* (1988)  
*Iran under the Ayatollahs* (1985)  
*Inside the Middle East* (1982)  
*Inside India Today* (1977)  
*The Untouchables of India* (1975)  
*Black British, White British* (1973)  
*The Indian Family in Britain* (1969)

### FICTION

- Three Plays* (1985)  
*Interior, Exchange, Exterior* (Poems, 1980)  
*Apply, Apply, No Reply & A Clean Break*  
(Two Plays, 1978)  
*To Anchor a Cloud* (Play, 1972)  
*A Triangular View* (Novel, 1969)

## PRAISE FOR DILIP HIRO

### IRAQ: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM (2002)

“Noam Chomsky, the outspoken Massachusetts Institute of Technology linguistics professor, peace activist and author in his own right, recommends the works of Dilip Hiro. A frequent contributor to *The Nation*, Hiro is the author of *Sharing the Promised Land: A Tale of Israelis and Palestinians; Neighbors, Not Friends: Iraq and Iran After the Gulf Wars; War Without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response*; and Chomsky’s specific recommendation, *Iraq: In the Eye of the Storm*, a compact contemporary history that delves into the strengths and failures of sanctions, life on the street in Iraq and the cult of personality surrounding Saddam. ‘Accurate and very readable, like his others,’ Chomsky told MSNBC.com.”

—MSNBC.com

“This is hard. So soon after very nearly swooning over Colin Powell’s report to the United Nations Security Council, I find myself thinking the once unthinkable: I don’t believe him. . . . Whence my change of heart? For one thing, I’ve had time to digest that tour de force performance of earlier this month. For another, I’ve been listening and reading (particularly Dilip Hiro’s book *Iraq: In the Eye of the Storm*).”

—William Raspberry, *The Washington Post*

“One of the clearest accounts of recent developments in Iraq. . . . Hiro is a staggeringly prolific writer who has been writing about Iraq and Islamic fundamentalism since long before they became the twin obsessions of US foreign policy. He knows more than most about the threat posed by Saddam.

—Martin Bright, *The Observer*

“Dilip Hiro has written many books about the Middle East, but none as timely as this. *Iraq: In the Eye of the Storm* comes out too late for the edification of White House hawks, but in time for the rest of us to take a cool look at ‘victory’ and why it is likely to be messily Pyrrhic for the seeming winners.”

—*In These Times*

TOP SECRET:

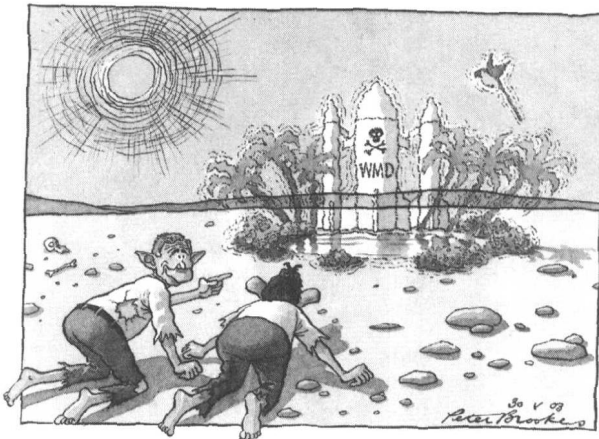
*"God told me to strike at Al Qaida and I struck them, and then He instructed me to strike at Saddam, which I did."*

—U.S. President George W. Bush to Palestinian Prime Minister  
Mahmoud Abbas on June 4, 2003

TOP LIE:

*"The larger point is, and the fundamental question is, Did Saddam Hussein have a weapons program? And the answer is, Absolutely. And we gave him a chance to allow the inspectors in, and he wouldn't let them in. And, therefore, after a reasonable request, we decided to remove him from power, along with other nations, so as to make sure he was not a threat to the United States and our friends and allies in the region."*

—U.S. President George W. Bush on July 14, 2003



*The Times* (London), May 30, 2003

See Appendix II: Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction  
and Means of Delivery: Alleged and Found

AYA113/02

## MAIN CHARACTERS

**IYAD MUHAMMAD ALAWI**, Leader of Iraqi National Accord, 1990–Present; member of the Interim Governing Council, 2003–Present.

**MOHAMMED ELBARADEI**, Director General of International Atomic Energy Agency, 1998–Present.

**MUHAMMAD BAQIR AL HAKIM**, leader of Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution in Iraq, 1982–2003.

**MASOUD BARZANI**, leader of Kurdistan Democratic Party, 1987–Present; member of the Interim Governing Council, 2003–Present.

**TONY BLAIR**, Prime Minister of Britain, 1997–Present.

**HANS BLIX**, Swedish executive chairman of Unmovic, 2000–03.

**PAUL BREMER**, U.S. proconsul to Iraq; Senior Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority, May 2003–Present.

**GEORGE WALKER BUSH**, U.S. President, 2001–Present.

**AHMAD CHALABI**, leader of Iraqi National Congress, 1992–Present; member of the Interim Governing Council, 2003–Present.

**DICK CHENEY**, U.S. Vice President, 2001–Present.

**JACQUES CHIRAC**, President of France, 1995–Present.

**DOUGLAS FEITH**, U.S. Under Secretary of Defense, 2001–Present.

**GEN. TOMMY FRANKS**, commander in chief of U.S. Central Command, 2000–03.

**QUSAY SADDAM HUSSEIN**, Younger son of Saddam, head of National Security Bureau, 1992–2003.

**SADDAM HUSSEIN**, President of Iraq, 1979–2003.

**UDAY SADDAM HUSSEIN**, elder son of Saddam, commander of Fedayeen Saddam, 1994–2003.

**RICHARD PERLE**, member of U.S. Defense Policy Board, 2001–Present; leading neoconservative.

**COLIN POWELL**, U.S. Secretary of State, 2001–Present.

**CONDOLEEZZA RICE**, U.S. National Security Advisor, 2001–Present.

**KARL ROVE**, chief political adviser to U.S. President George W. Bush, 2001–Present.

**DONALD RUMSFELD**, U.S. Secretary of Defense, 2001–Present.

**MUQTADA AL-SADR**, leader of Iraqi Shias, 2003.

**MUHAMMAD SAID AL-SAHHAf**, Information Minister of Iraq 2001–03; spokesman of President Saddam Hussein.

**ALI HUSSEINI SISTANI**, leader of Iraqi Shias, Grand Ayatollah, 1999–Present.

**JALAL TALABANI**, Leader of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, 1976–Present; member of the Interim Governing Council, 2003.

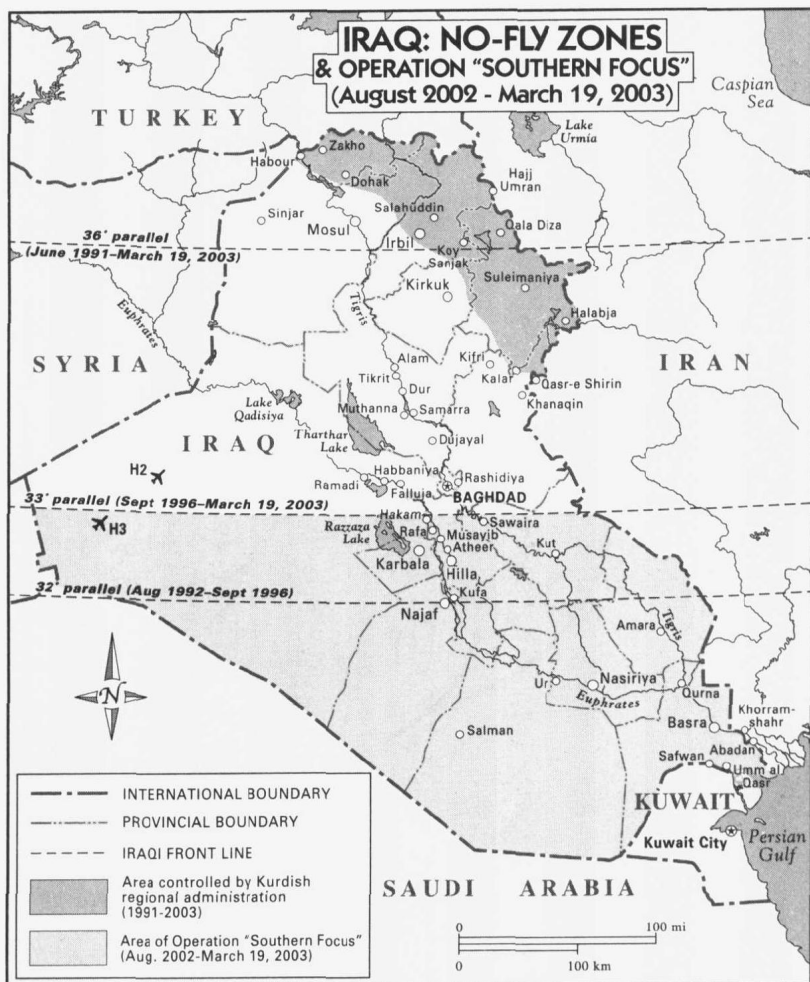
**GEORGE TENET**, director of U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1997–Present.

**SERGIO VIEIRA DE MELLO**, UN special representative to Iraq, June–August 2003.

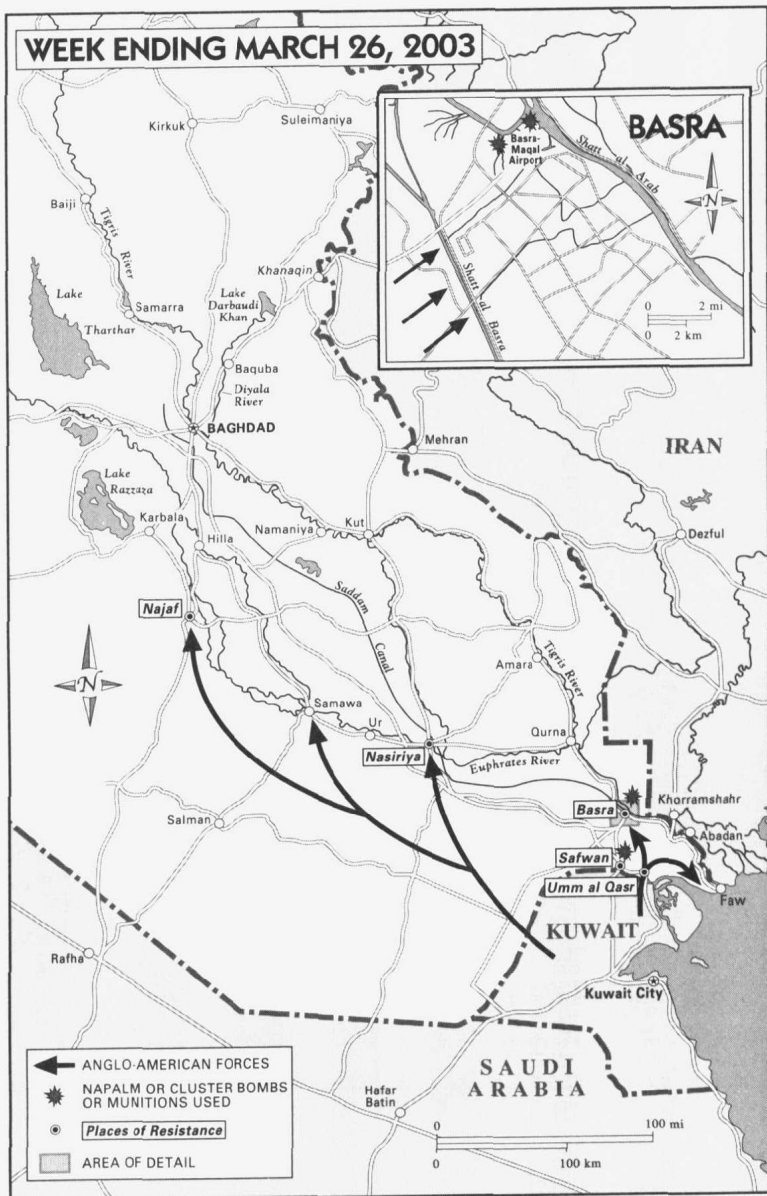
**PAUL WOLFOWITZ**, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense, 2001–Present.



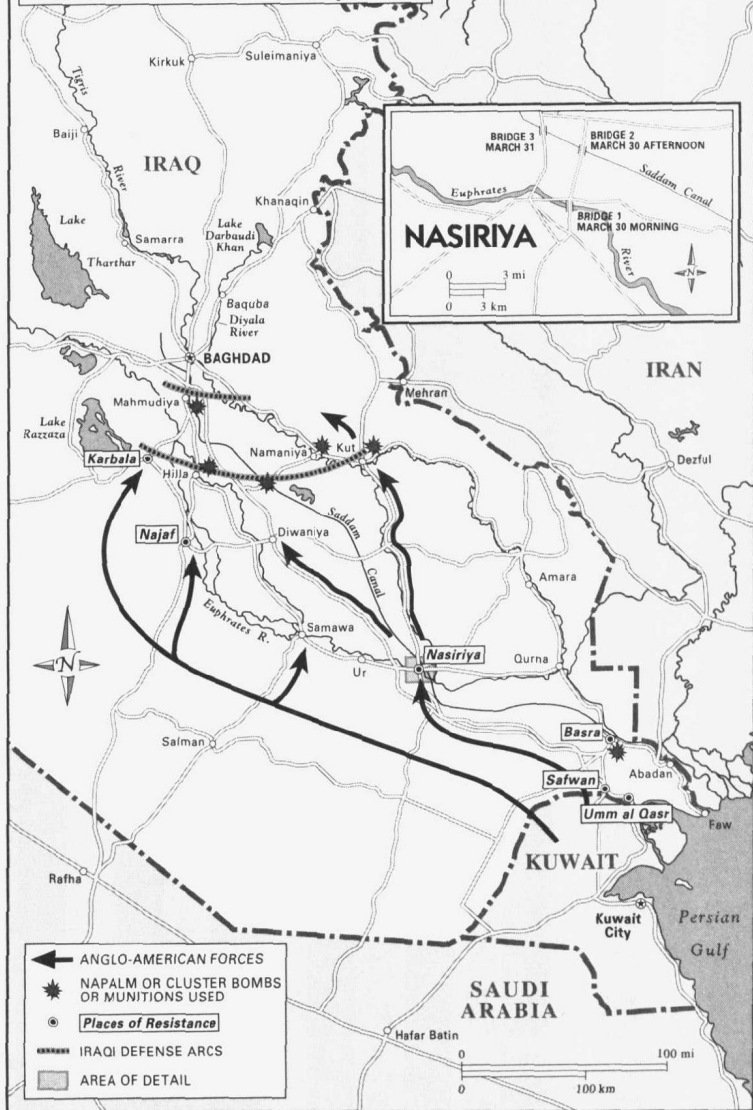
# IRAQ: NO-FLY ZONES & OPERATION "SOUTHERN FOCUS" (August 2002 - March 19, 2003)

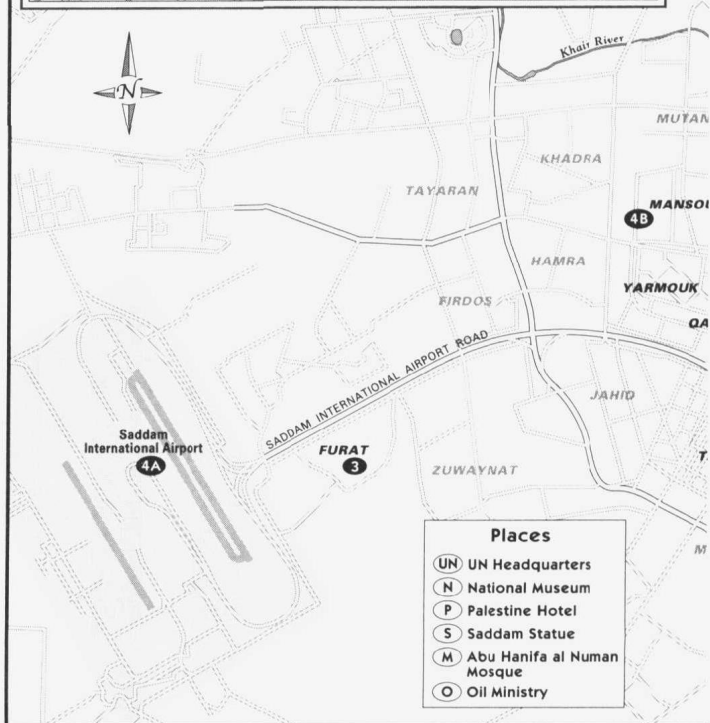
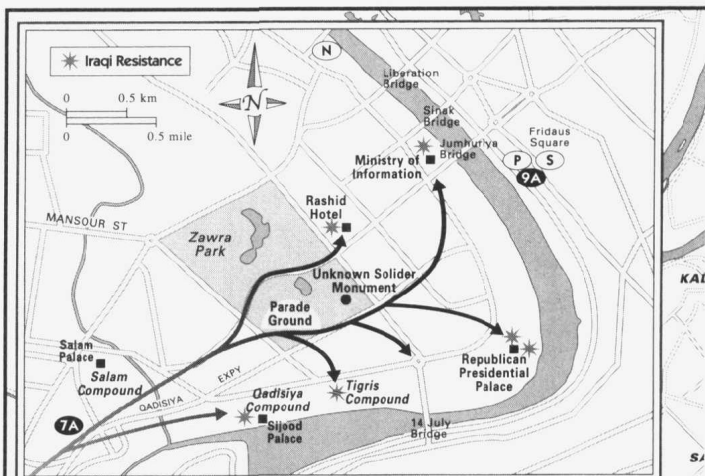


**WEEK ENDING MARCH 26, 2003**



**WEEK ENDING APRIL 2, 2003**





### Places

- (UN) UN Headquarters
- (N) National Museum
- (P) Palestine Hotel
- (S) Saddam Statue
- (M) Abu Hanifa al Numan Mosque
- (O) Oil Ministry

# GREATER BAGHDAD, APRIL 3-11, 2003

## Events

April 3

- 3 Fall of Furat

April 4

- 4A Fall of Saddam Int'l Airport
- 4B Sighting of Saddam

April 7

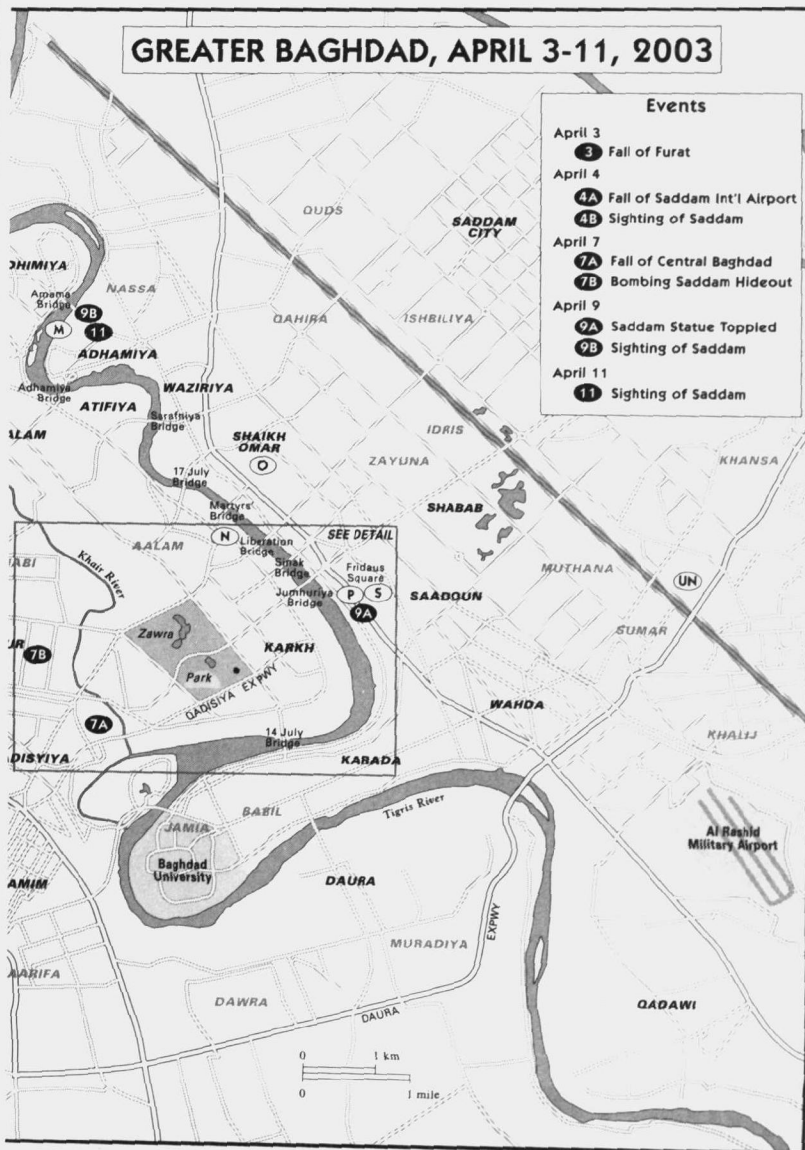
- 7A Fall of Central Baghdad
- 7B Bombing Saddam Hideout

April 9

- 9A Saddam Statue Toppled
- 9B Sighting of Saddam

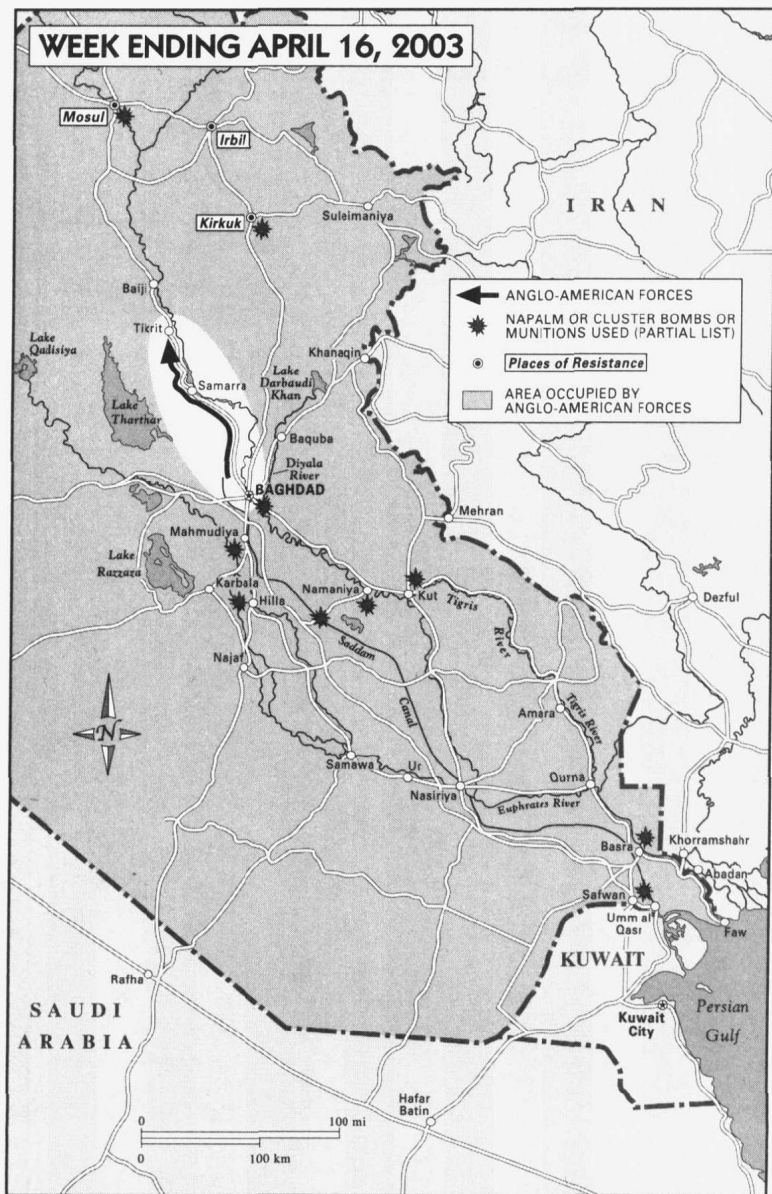
April 11

- 11 Sighting of Saddam



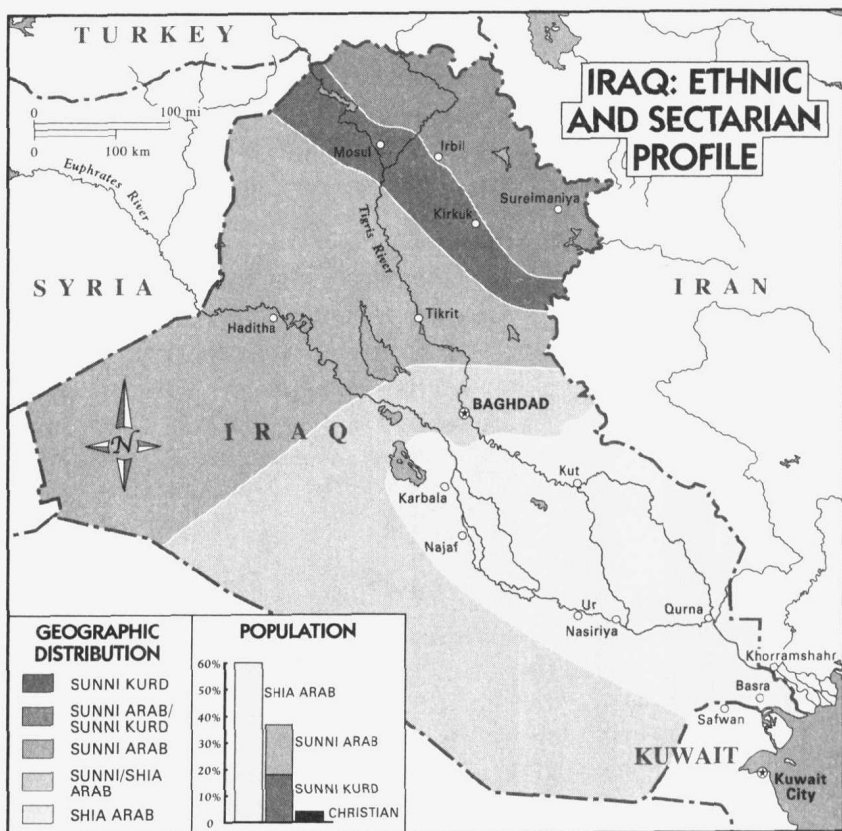


**WEEK ENDING APRIL 16, 2003**



# **OCCUPIED IRAQ (2003): PLACES OF RESISTANCE AND OILFIELDS**







## PREFACE

THIS BOOK IS a sequel to my *Iraq: In the Eye of the Storm* (2002), which is structured thematically. In contrast *Secrets and Lies* advances chronologically, a structure dictated by the subject: war.

I have known Iraq and its people since 1978, when I first visited the country in the course of researching my book *Inside the Middle East* (1982). Since then Iraq and its former president, Saddam Hussein, have figured prominently in several other works of mine, including *The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict* (1989), *Desert Shield to Desert Storm: The Second Gulf War* (1992), and *Neighbors, Not Friends: Iraq and Iran After the Gulf Wars* (2001). To this list I need to add *War Without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response* (2002), which, written after 9/11, contains a description of the Afghanistan campaign.

The skills and experience gained in chronicling the above wars have helped me shape the narrative of this book. They have also led me to point out affinities between seemingly disconnected or dissimilar events in this and earlier armed conflicts, thus lending the text additional weight and depth, while leaving its pace intact.

After a prologue—where I draw a parallel between the fates of Majid Suleiman, an Iraqi civil servant who was my minder in 1978, and his hapless country ruled by Saddam Hussein—I start my main text with 9/11 and the efforts made by the neoconservatives inside and outside the