

20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

# Everything points to Thierry Meyssan being right today

*by Thierry Meyssan*

By challenging the official version of the 9/11 attacks, Thierry Meyssan opened a worldwide debate. But the essence of his book on the subject was a political science study predicting the evolution of the United States after these crimes. The problem is not how the attacks were committed, but why the US reacted that day by violating its own Constitution, why it implemented in the following days very deep reforms of its institutions that changed its nature. Thierry Meyssan had predicted the transformation of the American Empire that we are seeing with the planning of the fall of Kabul. Everything he predicted has been confirmed over the last twenty years.

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**On the very day of the attacks, on New York's Channel 9, real estate developer Donald Trump called the official version of the collapse of the towers a "lie". He later entered politics and became President of the United States. Together with his friend, General Michael T. Flynn, he made it his mission to get to the bottom of 9/11. He divided US public opinion, but did not succeed at all in reaching his objective.**

**A**t the end of 2001, I published a series of articles on the attacks of September 11, 2001, followed by a book in March 2002 [1]. The book was translated into 18 languages and opened a worldwide debate questioning the veracity of the official US narrative. However, the international press refused to discuss my arguments and launched a campaign accusing me of "amateurism" [2], "conspiracy theory" [3], and "denial" [4].

Above all, the US authorities and their supporters reduced my work to the first few pages of my book: the challenge to the official version of the attacks. But it is a work of political science aimed at denouncing what these false-flag attacks would make possible: the surveillance of Western populations and the endless war in the wider Middle East. In this article, I will therefore review what has been learned about these attacks over the past 20 years, but more importantly, I will check whether my predictions from 2002 were correct or not.



**Sheikh Zayed, President of the United Arab Emirates, has had "The Big Lie" translated and printed. He autographed 5,000 copies and gave them as gifts to leading figures in the Arab world.**

#### THE BLACK HOLE OF 9/11

If we are asked what happened on 9/11, we will all visualise the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. We have forgotten many other things, such as the insider trading in the shares of the affected airlines, the fire in the Old Eisenhower Building, or the collapse of a third tower in the World Trade Center.

What is most astonishing is that almost no one remembers that at 10am, Richard Clarke triggered the 'Continuity of Government Plan' [5]. At that very moment, President Bush and Congress were suspended from office and placed under military protection. President Bush was taken to an air base in Nebraska where the CEOs of the upper floors of the Twin Towers had been since the previous evening [6]; and Congress to the Greenbrier megabunker. Power fell into the hands of the "Continuity Government". It was in the Raven Rock Mountain megabunker ('Site R') [7]. Power was not returned to the civilians until the end of the day.



**Informed by his staff that a Russian satellite had just observed a missile being fired from a Navy ship off the coast of Washington at the Pentagon, the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, tried to contact his US counterpart. He was unable to do so. Not because the telephone networks had broken down, but because George W. Bush was temporarily no longer president.**

Who exactly were the members of this 'Continuity Government' and what did they do during the time they were in power? We still don't know. The members of Congress who asked the question were not allowed to hold a session of their assembly on the subject.

Please understand that until we have clarification, the 9/11 controversy will continue. The procedure implemented on September 11 was designed by President Eisenhower at a time when nuclear war was feared. If he, the Speakers and a majority of Congress were killed, there would be no constitutional powers. The military would logically have to assume the continuity of government. But this was obviously not the case on that day. Not one elected official was dead. The transfer of power was therefore unconstitutional. It was strictly speaking a coup d'état.



**Jacques Chirac, President of the French Republic, went to New York to offer his condolences to the people who had suffered. When « The Big Lie » was published, he asked for a verification of the data from the external secret services. He refused to allow the French army to be placed under US command in Afghanistan and for France to participate in the "endless war" in Iraq.**

#### THE ATTACKS OF SEPTEMBER 11

In my book and afterwards, I hypothesised about what really happened on that day. But this is irrelevant to my point. The people who perpetrated this crime wanted to create a shock comparable to Pearl Harbor, as the members of the Project for a New American Century wrote earlier, so that they could change the way the United States lives and functions. So they told us a tall tale that we swallowed without flinching. But :

- To this day, there is no evidence of the 19 designated hijackers on board the hijacked planes. They were not on the lists of passengers on board the planes released by the airlines on the same day. The videos of the hijackers at the airport were not taken in New York, but at other airports where they were transiting.

- To date, there is no evidence that the 35 telephone communications between passengers on the hijacked flights and the ground existed [8]. This applies both to the conversation attributed to the brave passenger who allegedly attacked the hijackers on UA 93, and to the conversation testified to by US Solicitor General Theodore Olson with his wife on AA 77. In contrast, at the trial of Zacarias Moussaoui (accused of being the 20th hijacker who

would not have boarded the plane), the FBI testified that none of the planes had phones in the armrests, that passengers should have used mobile phones, that cell phones at the time could not work at altitudes above 5,000 feet, and that the records provided by the phone companies did not show any of the communications mentioned - including that of Attorney General Olson.

- To date, there is no physical explanation for the collapse of three of the World Trade Center towers onto their own footprints (i.e. vertically). The Twin Towers were hit by two planes, but were not shaken. However, their fuel would have run down the vertical beams and melted them. A third tower was destabilised by the fall of the first two to its side. It too would have collapsed, not laterally, but vertically. It should be noted that no explanation was given for the lateral explosions heard by the firemen and widely filmed, nor for the vertical beams that were severed and not melted; two pieces of evidence attesting not to an accidental but to a controlled demolition. It should also be noted that no collapse of skyscrapers has ever been observed, either before or after 9/11, following a large-scale fire... and that no one has learned the lessons of this attack and therefore changed the way such buildings are constructed to prevent such a catastrophe. Finally, the photographs taken by firefighters of "pools" of molten steel and those taken by FEMA (the disaster management agency) of the melting rocks in which the foundations were built are inexplicable according to the official version.

- To date, there is no evidence that an airliner hit the Pentagon. Already the next day, the fire brigade had given a press conference at the Pentagon during which they had attested that they had not found anything suggestive of a plane. The authorities, who had issued a vengeful statement against my book, announced that they had collected many parts of the plane and reconstructed it in a hangar. Then they stopped communicating on this subject. Moreover, the families of the passengers of the plane in question, after having been scandalised by my words, changed their minds when they were given back funeral urns, claiming to have identified the bodies of their relatives thanks to their fingerprints (which would have been totally destroyed during fires at those temperatures). Some refused to sign the confidentiality agreement offered to them in exchange for large compensation payments.



**Fidel Castro, the commander of the Cuban Revolution, defended Thierry Meyssan's work.**

#### WIDESPREAD SURVEILLANCE OF WESTERN POPULATIONS

In the days following the attacks, the Bush Administration had Congress vote on an anti-terrorist code, known as the *USA Patriot Act*. This is a very large piece of legislation that had been drafted over the previous two years by the Federalist Society (of which Solicitor General Theodor Olson and Attorney General John Ashcroft were members). It suspends the *Bill of Rights* in cases of terrorism.

At the time of the formation of the United States, there were two opposing groups. The first, around Alexander Hamilton, drafted the Constitution to set up a system comparable to the British monarchy, but with governors instead of nobles. The second, around Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, only accepted the Constitution after it had been amended to prevent the use of Reason of State. These 10 amendments are called the *Bill of Rights*. Their suspension challenges the balance on which the United States was founded. It gives power to the first group, the descendants of the 'Pilgrim Fathers', the Puritans exiled from England. President Bush is a direct descendant of one of the 41 signatories of the "*Mayflower Pact*" (1620).

In order to implement the *USA Patriot Act*, a new department was created, the Homeland Security Department, which brings together various existing agencies. It has a political police force capable of spying on any citizen. According to the *Washington Post*, which revealed this in 2011, it has hired

835,000 civil servants, 112,000 of whom are secretly employed [9], making the United States the most Orwellian country on the planet. The way this department works was revealed in 2013 by Edward Snowden. Snowden not only provided information about the NSA's foreign eavesdropping system, but also about domestic mass surveillance in the US. He now lives as a political refugee in Russia.

This system, although less documented, is gradually spreading to all Western states, through the 'Five Eyes' [10] and Nato.



**Hugo Chavez, the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, had his Parliament vote on a motion to support the thesis of « The Big Lie ».**

#### THE "ENDLESS WAR": FROM 9/11 TO THE FALL OF KABUL

A month and a half after the attacks, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld created the Office of Force Transformation, which he entrusted to Admiral Arthur Cebrowski. The idea was to change the very function of the Armed Forces. The Rumsfeld/Cebrowski doctrine [11] is a reform as important as the creation of the Pentagon after the 1929 crisis. This time, it is about adapting to financial capitalism. From now on, the United States will no longer try to win wars, but on the contrary to make them last as long as possible; this is what President Bush's expression "endless war" means. Their aim will be to destroy local state structures so that natural wealth can be exploited without having to endure political control; as Colonel Ralph Peters summed it up: "Stability is America's enemy" [12].



This is exactly what has just happened in Afghanistan. The war started there just after 9/11. It was only supposed to last a few weeks, but it never stopped. The Taliban victory that we have just witnessed was organised by the United States itself in order to make the conflict last even longer. That is why President Biden has just said that the US did not go into Afghanistan to build a state, as it did in Germany and Japan after the Second World War. Joe Biden had, during his meeting in Geneva with Vladimir Putin, rejected the endless war. However, he has just relaunched it, aligning himself with the Rumsfeld/Cebrowski doctrine like Barack Obama.

None of the conflicts that began after 9/11 have ended. On the contrary, instability has taken hold in Iraq, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Lebanon. One can of course call these conflicts "civil wars" and accuse their leaders of being "dictators", or explain nothing at all, but the fact remains that they were stable before Western intervention and that Gaddafi's Libya and Aoun's Lebanon were US allies when their misfortunes began.

Vice President Cheney had set up a secret group in the White House to design the development of the National Energy Policy. He was convinced that oil would run out in the medium term. This is why the United States destroyed states in order to be able to exploit their oil in the long term, but not now. Moreover, the Rumsfeld/Cebrowski doctrine states that one should not fight globalised powers such as Russia and China. On the contrary, they should be given access to the natural resources they have conquered, but they should be forced to pay royalties to the US in order to exploit them.

By publishing a number of internal US military reports, Julian Assange has not revealed any sensitive information. But all these documents show that the Pentagon has never been interested in winning the post-9/11 wars. Assange was persecuted to the point of insanity.

To wage these wars, the Pentagon secretly created clandestine Special Forces: 60,000 soldiers without uniforms [13]. They are capable of assassinating anyone in any country without leaving any trace. Bob Woodward revealed the "Global Attack Matrix" operation, decided three days after the attacks [14]. Wayne Madsen published the names of the first victims in Papua, Nigeria, Indonesia and Lebanon [15].



**At the United Nations, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, explained that since 9/11 was used as a pretext for war, it was no longer a US domestic issue. Therefore, without taking sides, he called for an international investigation to understand what really happened.**

#### CONCLUSION

All my predictions have been verified over the last 20 years. Unfortunately, few people have seen how the world has changed. Most refuse to make the connection between the revelations of one side and those of the other and to see the responsibility of the Western democracies for the crimes committed in the wider Middle East.

The problem remains the same: we cannot admit that the criminal is close to us.

*Thierry Meyssan*

Translation  
Roger Lagassé

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[1] *L'Effroyable imposture*, Thierry Meyssan, Carnot (2002). Second edition, revised and corrected *L'Effroyable imposture suivie du Pentagate* prefaced by General Leonid Ivashov (who was acting chief of the general staff of the Russian armed forces on September 11, 2001), Demi-Lune, 2006. English Version : *The Big Lie*. Version en español : *La Gran Impostura*.

[2] According to my detractors, I had not been at the scene, as a "true journalist" would have had to. But the United States had banned access to the three "crime scenes" for reasons of "national security" and for

years no journalist, from absolutely no media, had access to them. So the reproach of "amateurism" would have to apply not only to me but also to all the journalists who repeated the official version.

[3] The adjective "conspiratorial" began to be used in the 1960s to designate those who questioned the official thesis of the lone sniper who supposedly assassinated President Kennedy and denounced that what he did was a conspiracy. possible that assassination.

[4] Indeed, I deny the official version of the attacks of September 11, 2001. But the term "denialism" actually alludes to an extreme right-wing current – whose ideas I have always fought – that denies the will of the Nazis to perpetrate the genocide of the Jews in Europe.

[5] *Against All Enemies, Inside America's War on Terror*, Richard Clarke, Free Press, 2004.

[6] Like every year, Warren Buffet – who was then the richest man in the world – gave a charity dinner in Nebraska. But, something that had never happened before, that day the annual dinner was not organized in a large hotel but ... in a military base. The invited company bosses had given their New York employees the day off, which explains the relatively low death toll in the collapse of the Twin Towers.

[7] *A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq and the abuse of America's intelligence agencies*, James Bamford, Anchor Books (2004).

[8] «¿Quién inventó las falsas llamadas telefónicas desde los aviones secuestrados el 11 de Septiembre?», por Giulietto Chiesa, *Megachip-Globalist* (Italia) , *Red Voltaire* , 28 de julio de 2013.

[9] *Top Secret America : The Rise of the New American Security State*, Dana Priest & William M. Arkin, Little, Brown and Company (2011).

[10] The "Five Eyes" or Five Eyes is the name of the alliance of services for eavesdropping and interception of global communications in which Australia, Canada, the United States, New Zealand and the United Kingdom participate. in 1941 by the Atlantic Charter.

[11] "The Rumsfeld/Cebrowski doctrine", by Thierry Meyssan, Translation Roger Lagassé, *Voltaire Network*, 25 May 2021.

[12] "Stability American's Enemy", col. Ralph Peters, *Parameters* #31-4 (winter 2001).

[13] "Exclusive : Inside the Military's Secret Undercover Army", William M. Arkin, *Newsweek*, May 17, 2021.

[14] Saturday, September 15, At Camp David, Advise and Dissent, Bob Woodward & Dan Balz, *Washington Post*, January 31, 2002.

[15] «J'accuse - Bush's Death Squads», Wayne Madsen, *Makingnews.com*, January 31, 2002.

## The Rumsfeld/Cebrowski doctrine

*by Thierry Meyssan*

For two decades, the Pentagon has been applying the "Rumsfeld/Cebrowski doctrine" to the "wider Middle East". Several times, it thought of extending it to the "Caribbean Basin", but refrained from doing so, concentrating its power on its first target. The Pentagon acts as an autonomous decision-making center that is effectively outside the power of the president. It is a civil-military administration that imposes its objectives on the rest of the military.

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**The maps of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff in 2001, published in 2005 by Colonel Ralph Peters, still guide the actions of the US military in 2021.**

**I**n my book *L'Effroyable imposture* [1] [2], I wrote, in March, 2002, that the attacks of September 11 were aimed at making the United States accept :

- on the inside, a system of mass surveillance (the Patriot Act) ;
- and, externally, a resumption of imperial policy, about which there was no documentation at the time.

Things only became clearer in 2005, when Colonel Ralph Peters - at the time a Fox News commentator - published the famous map of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the map of the "reshaping" of the "broader Middle East" [3]. It came as a shock to all chancelleries: the Pentagon was planning to redraw the borders inherited from the Franco-British colonization (the Sykes-Picot-Sazonov Agreements of 1916) without regard for any state, even an ally.

From then on, each state in the region did everything in its power to prevent the storm from falling on its people. Instead of uniting with neighboring countries in the face of the common enemy, each tried to deflect the Pentagon's hand to its neighbors. The most emblematic case is that of Turkey, which changed its position several times, giving the confused impression of a mad dog.

## Stability, America's Enemy

RALPH PETERS

© 2001 Ralph Peters

The diplomats and decisionmakers of the United States believe, habitually and uncritically, that stability abroad is our most important strategic objective. They may insist, with fragile sincerity, that democracy and human rights are our international priorities—although our policymakers do not seem to understand the requirements of the first and refuse to meet the requirements of the second. The United States will go to war over economic threats, as in Desert Storm. At present, we are preoccupied with a crusade against terrorism, which is as worthy as it is difficult. But the consistent, pervasive goal of Washington's foreign policy is stability. America's finest values are sacrificed to keep bad governments in place, dysfunctional borders intact, and oppressed human beings well-behaved. In one of the greatest acts of self-betrayal in history, the nation that long was the catalyst of global change and which remains the beneficiary of international upheaval has made stability its diplomatic god.

Our insistence on stability above all stands against the tides of history,

**Two visions of the world clash. For the Pentagon since 2001, stability is the strategic enemy of the United States, while for Russia, it is the condition for peace.**

However, the map revealed by Colonel Peters -who hated the Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld- did not make it possible to understand the overall project. Already, at the time of the September 11 attacks, he had published an article in the US Army magazine, *Parameters* [4]. He alluded to the map that he did not publish until four years later, and suggested that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were preparing to carry it out by means of atrocious crimes that they would have to subcontract in order not to dirty their hands. One might think that he was referring to private armies, but history showed that they could not engage in crimes against humanity either.

The final word on the project was in the "Office of Force Transformation," created by Donald Rumsfeld at the Pentagon in the days following the 9/11 attacks. It was occupied by Admiral Arthur Cebrowski. This famous strategist had been the designer of the computerization of the armed forces [5]. One could believe that this Office was a way to finish his work. But no one disputed this reorganization anymore. No, he was there to transform the mission of the U.S. armed forces, as the few recordings of his lectures in military academies attest.

Arthur Cebrowski spent three years lecturing to all senior U.S. officers, thus to all current general officers.



**The target determined by Admiral Cebrowski is not only the "wider Middle East", but all regions not integrated into the globalized economy.**

What he was teaching was quite simple. The world economy was becoming globalized. To remain the world's leading power, the United States had to adapt to financial capitalism. The best way to do this was to ensure that developed countries could exploit the natural resources of poor countries without political obstacles. From this, it divided the world into two: on the one hand, the globalized economies (including Russia and China) destined to be stable markets and, on the other, all the others that were to be deprived of state structures and left to chaos so that transnationals could exploit their wealth without resistance. To achieve this, the non-globalized peoples were to be divided along ethnic lines and held ideologically.

The first region to be affected was to be the Arab-Muslim area from Morocco to Pakistan, with the exception of Israel and two neighboring micro-states that were to prevent the fire from spreading, Jordan and Lebanon. This is what the State Department called the "broader Middle East. This area was not defined by oil reserves, but by elements of the common culture of its inhabitants.

The war that Admiral Cebrowski imagined was to cover the entire region. It was not to take into account the divisions of the Cold War. The United States no longer had any friends or enemies there. The enemy was not defined by its ideology (the communists) or its religion (the "clash of civilizations"), but only by its non-integration into the globalized economy of financial

capitalism. Nothing could protect those who had the misfortune not to be followers, to be independent.

This war was not intended to allow the US alone to exploit natural resources, as previous wars had done, but for all globalized states to do so. Moreover, the United States was no longer really interested in capturing raw materials, but rather in dividing up work on a global scale and making others work for them.

All this implied tactical changes in the way wars were waged, since it was no longer a question of obtaining victory, but of waging a "war without end", as President George W. Bush put it. Indeed, all the wars started since 9/11 are still going on on five different fronts: Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Yemen.

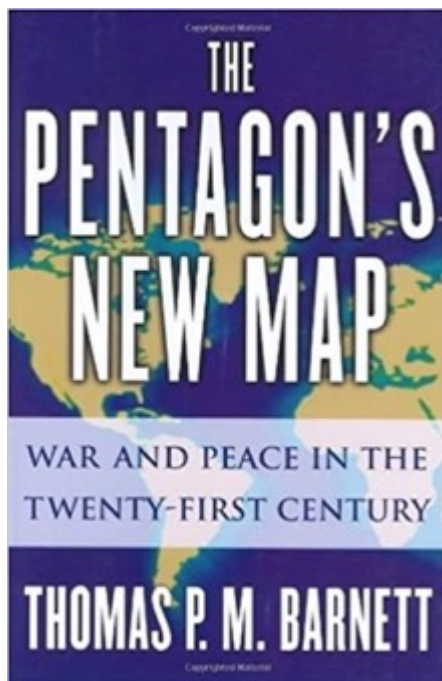
It doesn't matter if allied governments interpret these wars in accordance with the US communication: they are not civil wars, but stages of a plan preestablished by the Pentagon.



Esquire Magazine, March 2003

The "Cebrowski Doctrine" shook up the US military. His assistant, Thomas Barnett, wrote an article for *Esquire Magazine* [6], then published a book to present it in more detail to the general public: *The Pentagon's New Map* [7].





The fact that in his book, published after Admiral Cebrowski's death, Barnett claims authorship of his doctrine should not be misleading. It is just a way for the Pentagon not to assume it. The same phenomenon had taken place, for example, with the "clash of civilizations". It was originally the "Lewis Doctrine", a communication argument devised within the National Security Council to sell new wars to public opinion. It was presented to the general public by Bernard Lewis's assistant, Samuel Huntington, who presented it as an academic description of an inescapable reality.

The implementation of the Rumsfeld/Cebrowski Doctrine has had many ups and downs. Some came from the Pentagon itself, others from the people who were being crushed. Thus, the resignation of the commander of Central Command, Admiral William Fallon, was organized because he had negotiated a reasoned peace with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's Iran on his own initiative. It was provoked by... Barnett himself, who published an article accusing Fallon of abusing President Bush. Or again, the failure to disrupt Syria was due to the resistance of its people and the entry of the Russian army. The Pentagon has come to burn down crops and organize a blockade of the country to starve it; revengeful actions that attest to its inability to destroy state structures.

During his election campaign, Donald Trump campaigned against the endless war and for the return of the GI's to their homes. He managed not to start new fronts and to bring some men home, but failed to tame the Pentagon. The Pentagon developed its Special Forces without a "signature" and managed to destroy the Lebanese state without the use of soldiers in a visible

way. It is this strategy that it is implementing in Israel itself, organizing anti-Arab and anti-Jewish pogroms as a result of the confrontation between Hamas and Israel.

The Pentagon has repeatedly tried to extend the "Rumsfeld/Cebrowski doctrine" to the Caribbean Basin. It planned an overthrow, not of the Nicolás Maduro regime, but of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. It finally postponed this.



**The eight members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.**

It must be noted that the Pentagon has become an autonomous power. It has a gigantic budget of 740 billion dollars, which is about twice the annual budget of the entire French state. In practice, its power extends far beyond that, since it controls all the member states of the Atlantic Alliance. It is supposed to be accountable to the President of the United States, but the experiences of Presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump show the absolute opposite. The former failed to impose his policy on General John Allen in the face of Daesh, while the latter was led astray by Central Command. There is no reason to believe that it will be any different with President Joe Biden.

The recent open letter of former US general officers [8] shows that nobody knows who is in charge of the US military anymore. No matter how much their political analysis is worthy of the Cold War, this does not invalidate their observation: the Federal Administration and the general officers are no longer on the same wavelength.

William Arkin's work, published by the *Washington Post*, has shown that the federal government organized a nebulous group of agencies under the supervision of the Department of Homeland Security after the September 11 attacks [9]. In the greatest secrecy, they intercept and archive the communications of all people living in the United States. Arkin has just revealed in *Newsweek* that, for its part, the Department of Defense has created secret Special Forces, separate from those in uniform [10]. They are now in charge of the Rumsfeld/Cebrowski doctrine, regardless of who is in the White House and what their foreign policy is.



**The Pentagon has a clandestine Special Forces of 60,000 men. They do not appear on any official document and work without uniform. Supposedly used against terrorism, they are in fact the ones who practice it. The classic armies are dedicated to the fight against Russian and Chinese rivals.**

When the Pentagon attacked Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001, it used its conventional armies - it had no other - and those of its British ally. However, during the "endless war" in Iraq, it built up Iraqi jihadist forces, both Sunni and Shiite, to plunge the country into civil war [11]. One of them, derived from al-Qaeda, was used in Libya in 2011, another in Iraq in 2014 under the name of Daesh. Gradually these groups have replaced the US armies to do the dirty work described by Colonel Ralph Peters in 2001.

Today, no one has seen US soldiers in uniform in Yemen, Lebanon and Israel. The Pentagon itself has advertised their withdrawal. But there are

60,000 clandestine, i.e. non-uniformed, US Special Forces creating chaos, via civil war, in these countries.

*Thierry Meyssan*

Translation

Roger Lagassé

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[1] *September, 11 2001 : The big lie*, Thierry Meyssan, Carnot (2002).

[2] Contrary to popular belief, this book does not deal with the attacks of September 11. Only the first part ("Bloody staging") demonstrates the material impossibility of the dominant version. The other two parts deal with the politics of mass surveillance ("Death of Democracy in America") and the imperial project to come ("The Empire Attacks").

[3] "Blood borders. How a better Middle East would look", Ralph Peters, *Armed Forces Journal*, June 1, 2006.

[4] "Stability. America's enemy", Ralph Peters, *Parameters*, #31-4, Winter 2001.

[5] *Transforming Military Force. The Legacy of Arthur Cebrowski and Network Centric Warfare*, James R. Blaker, Praeger Security International (2007).

[6] "Why the Pentagon Changes Its Maps. And why we'll keep going to war", Thomas Barnett, *Esquire Magazine*, March 2003.

[7] *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-first Century*, Thomas P. M. Barnett, Paw Prints (2004).

[8] "Open Letter from Retired Generals and Admirals", *Voltaire Network*, 9 May 2021.

[9] *Top Secret America: The Rise of the New American Security State*, William M. Arkin & Dana Priest, Back Bay Books (2012).

[10] "Exclusive: Inside the Military's Secret Undercover Army", William M. Arkin, *Newsweek*, May 17, 2021.

[11] *Before Our Very Eyes, Fake Wars and Big Lies: From 9/11 to Donald Trump*, Chapter : "The fusion of the two "Gladio" networks and preparation of Daesh" 104#, Thierry Meyssan, Progressive Press (2018)