

PAY ANY PRICE

*GREED, POWER,
AND ENDLESS WAR*

JAMES
RISEN

Author of *STATE OF WAR*

WAR CORRUPTS. ENDLESS WAR CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY.

Ever since 9/11 America has fought an endless war on terror, seeking enemies everywhere and never promising peace. In *Pay Any Price*, James Risen reveals an extraordinary litany of the hidden costs of that war: from squandered and stolen dollars to outrageous abuses of power to an attack on normalcy, decency, and truth. In the name of fighting terrorism, our government has done things every bit as shameful as its historic wartime abuses—and until this book, it has worked very hard to cover them up.

Among the many stunning revelations:

- As much as \$14 billion in cash was flown to Iraq by the United States government—only to have much of it stolen. Approximately \$2 billion of the money was secretly transported out of Iraq in what may be one of the largest robberies in modern history. More than \$1 billion of that cash is now sitting in a bunker in Lebanon, beyond our reach despite the fact that we have known about it for years.
- The Pentagon tried to set up its own version of the CIA, complete with foreign agents working for cover corporations—only to find itself in bed with questionable Middle Eastern figures, including one who allegedly sought to use a covert Pentagon operation to launder hundreds of millions of dollars. On the side, there were also proposals that could have led to sales of drones to Syria and Lebanon and sales of chemicals that could have been used for explosives to other customers. An internal criminal investigation of the fiasco has been kept secret, until now.
- Here at home, when whistleblowers at the National Security Agency tried to protest some of the abuses of domestic surveillance

continued on back flap

Dear TUN Dr. Mahathir.

Best regards.

I think this book will
be of interest to you,
pls accept it from my
side

looking forward to
meet you again

Respectfully

Mohamad Alamuddin.

**PAY ANY
PRICE**

ALSO BY JAMES RISEN

*State of War: The Secret History of the
CIA and the Bush Administration*

*The Main Enemy: The Inside Story of the CIA's Final
Showdown with the KGB (with Milt Bearden)*

*Wrath of Angels: The American Abortion War
(with Judy L. Thomas)*

TUN DR. MAHAATHIR MOHAMAD

PAY ANY PRICE

*GREED, POWER, AND
ENDLESS WAR*

JAMES RISEN

Houghton Mifflin Harcourt

Boston New York

2014

PUSTAKA PERDANA



1011046

DR. MAHAATHIR MOHAMAD



#250982

To Penny

Copyright © 2014 by James Risen

All rights reserved

For information about permission to reproduce selections from this book, write to
Permissions, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company,
215 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10003.

www.hmhco.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Risen, James.

Pay any price : greed, power, and endless war / James Risen.

pages cm

ISBN 978-0-544-34141-8 (hardback)

1. War on Terrorism, 2001–2009 — Economic aspects — United States.
2. Iraq War, 2003–2011 — Economic aspects — United States.
3. Abuse of administrative power — United States.
4. War and emergency powers — United States. I. Title.

HV6432.R56 2014

973.931 — dc23

2014012010

Book design by Greta D. Sibley

Printed in the United States of America

DOC 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

973.931
R15



"I've come back," he repeated; "and I was the King of Kafiristan — me and Dravot — crowned Kings we was! In this office we settled it — you setting there and giving us the books. I am Peachey — Peachey Taliaferro Carnehan, and you've been setting here ever since — O Lord!"

I was more than a little astonished, and expressed my feelings accordingly.

"It's true," said Carnehan, with a dry cackle, nursing his feet which were wrapped in rags. "True as gospel. Kings we were, with crowns upon our heads — me and Dravot — poor Dan — oh, poor, poor Dan, that would never take advice, not though I begged of him!"

RUDYARD KIPLING

The Man Who Would Be King

CONTENTS

A Note on Sources

ix

Prologue

xi

PART I

GREED

1. Pallets of Cash

3

2. The Emperor of the War on Terror

31

3. The New Oligarchs

54

PART II

POWER

4. Rosetta
71

5. Alarbus
123

6. Too Big to Fail
142

PART III

ENDLESS WAR

7. The War on Decency
163

8. The War on Normalcy
202

9. The War on Truth
230

Afterword

269

Index

274

A NOTE ON SOURCES

Many people have criticized the use of anonymous sources. Yet all reporters know that the very best stories—the most important, the most sensitive—rely on them. This book would not be possible without the cooperation of many current and former government officials and other individuals who were willing to discuss sensitive matters only on the condition of anonymity.

PROLOGUE

On April 9, 2009, near the start of the first Obama administration, former Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz attended a modest ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery marking the sixth anniversary of the fall of Baghdad. Fewer than fifty people were gathered that day in Arlington's section 60, where the dead of the Iraq war lay buried, to mark the fact that on April 9, 2003, American tanks had rumbled into downtown Baghdad, and the statue of Saddam Hussein in Firdos Square had been toppled. For Wolfowitz and the ardent advocates of the invasion of Iraq, April 9 was Iraq Liberation Day, and they didn't care that by 2009, most Americans were exhausted by Iraq and eager to forget that the war had ever been fought.

Wolfowitz listened to speeches by a representative of the American Legion, a Gold Star mother, the Iraqi ambassador, and Viola Drath, an aging Georgetown socialite who was the organizer of the event. Never mind that the invasion that ousted Saddam Hussein in just three weeks had turned into a prolonged and brutal war of attrition, or that the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction which had been the predicate for the invasion had turned out to be illusory, or that on

that same sixth anniversary in 2009, an estimated thirty thousand Iraqis poured into Firdos Square in Baghdad to angrily protest the continued American occupation of Iraq, while the anniversary went largely unmarked in the United States save for this small gathering in section 60. None of that mattered. Wolfowitz, one of the architects of the Iraq war, was upbeat. After the ceremony, he and I walked and chatted together through the cemetery, from section 60 back to Arlington's entrance, engaging mostly in small talk and pleasantries. But it was clear that Wolfowitz seemed happy that Iraq had turned out so well, at least in his view, and that the global war on terror was still going strong under the direction of a new president who was then in the process of extending and validating many of the Bush administration's most contentious policies.



And there was no end in sight. Wolfowitz was long gone from the Pentagon, and in the 2008 elections, Americans had swept the Republicans from power. Perhaps Barack Obama's greatest political strength was that he seemed as different from George Bush as any politician could be. His campaign offered the promise of light following eight years of Dick Cheney's fondness for operating on what he called the dark side.

But executive power, once accumulated, is a hard thing to give up, and Obama quickly succumbed. He announced that he was determined to "look forward, not back," and that he opposed any broad new investigations of the Bush administration's use of torture, extraordinary rendition, domestic spying, or other potential crimes. After issuing an executive order to close the prison at Guantánamo Bay on his first day in office, Obama changed course and kept it open. He surrounded himself with advisors who had been deeply enmeshed in the Bush administration's most contentious national security policies. He expanded the use of drones in so-called targeted killings around the world, continued the use of military tribunals to try terrorism suspects, allowed investigators to question such suspects captured in

the United States without reading them their *Miranda* rights, and approved the nonjudicial killing of American citizens who joined al Qaeda. He did virtually nothing to rein in widespread contracting abuse in Iraq, Afghanistan, or the broader global war on terror.

He pushed for and won the authority to allow the National Security Agency (NSA) to continue to conduct broad electronic surveillance on Americans, and he went further, placing the NSA in charge of cybersecurity, giving the spy agency broad new access to the domestic Internet. Senators from his own party soon began to warn that Obama was secretly expanding the government's surveillance powers even beyond those authorized by Bush. Obama allowed the civil liberties panel that was supposed to provide oversight of the government's war on terror to remain idle and only partially staffed for years. His administration launched a draconian crackdown on the press, spying on reporters while prosecuting more leakers and whistleblowers than all previous administrations combined.

And it paid off for Obama by taking the edge off longstanding Republican critiques that Democrats were soft on national security. Obama performed a neat political trick: he took the national security state that had grown to such enormous size under Bush and made it his own. In the process, Obama normalized the post-9/11 measures that Bush had implemented on a haphazard, emergency basis. Obama's great achievement — or great sin — was to make the national security state permanent.

Half a century earlier, President Dwight Eisenhower had warned of a new "military-industrial complex"; under Bush and Obama, a parallel "homeland security-industrial complex" has been born. The rise of the military-industrial complex had been fueled by fears of Communism. Now, another abstract fear was driving hundreds of billions of dollars a year into building the infrastructure necessary to wage a permanent war on terror, and it had grown like kudzu around the CIA, FBI, Department of Homeland Security, Treasury Department, Pentagon, and dozens of other smaller offices and federal agencies. The post-9/11 panic led Congress to throw cash at counterterrorism faster than the FBI, CIA, and other agencies were able to spend it.

FROM
PAY ANY PRICE

In 2009, when the new Obama administration continued the government's legal campaign against me, I realized, in a very personal way, that the war on terror had become a bipartisan enterprise. America was now locked into an endless war, and its perverse and unintended consequences were spreading.

And so my answer—both to the government's long campaign against me and to this endless war—is this new book, *Pay Any Price*.

Pay Any Price is my answer to how best to challenge the government's draconian efforts to crack down on aggressive investigative reporting and suppress the truth in the name of ceaseless war.

My answer is to keep writing, because I believe that if journalists ever stop uncovering abuses of power, and ever stop publishing stories about those abuses, we will lose our democracy.

\$28.00 Higher in Canada
ISBN 978-0-544-34141-8



9 780544 341418

1584867