

A Challenge to Geopolitical Economy: September 11th and Conspiracy Theory

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Never before has it been as imperative to struggle
for a true rendering of the 9/11 reality, and never
before have the incentives been greater to prevent
such a rendering. – Falk (2007, p. 127)

This conference on geopolitical economy has an important focus on uneven and combined development. As a descriptive tool, I think I understand the concept to suggest at least that we take very careful account of nation states, and not get overwhelmed by “globalization” if the word’s usage comes close to eviscerating the nation state. However, as a theoretical concept, I am not at all clear about the concept of uneven and combined development, although I respect a work such as McIntyre’s (1962) insofar he takes this issue head-on. Furthermore, I don’t know if a conspiracy theory would be includable?

We all know how important the result of September 11, 2001, has been for motivating a vast array of new U.S. policies, including wars and domestic surveillance and control. Many are also aware that quite a few do not accept as credible the official version of events that day, that the

alleged conspiracy by Osama bin Laden is belied by evidence. Those who are aware of the controversy have likely also encountered derision of any questioning of the official version. Indeed, derision rather than argumentation is common for supporters of the government's story when called upon to address things that don't fit.

I argue here that geopolitical economy post-2001 and uneven and combined development as a concept must take account of the U.S.'s September 11th, meaning not merely the effects of it, but the instrumentality of it. Derision of those asking about the official story is really quite unacceptable and those considering geopolitical economy should form a wall against such anti-intellectualism, a wall against taking at face value a story such as the U.S. government's. The evidence that could be discussed is vast and I will only introduce the controversy. Then I will move back in history for earlier lessons, before concluding with my own thought on the motivation for September 11th.

I. September 11th

A Little Background

In the 19th century Native Americans and Mexicans were classified as the main enemies of the United States. In the 20th century, German and Japanese competitors and the Communists became so classified. Now in the 21st century the enemy has become the Muslim terrorists who engineered and enacted September 11th events: this is what the U.S. government wants you to know.

Real history cannot be appropriate so naively. The Spanish did not blow up the *Maine* in Havana harbor leading to the Spanish-American War with the resulting U.S. acquisition of Puerto Rico and the Philippines; World War I allies were not so innocent about the *Lusitania* sinking; Roosevelt had allowed the destruction in Pearl Harbor to occur knowing in advance of the Japanese plans; the Gulf of Tonkin incident leading to escalation in Vietnam did not occur. We may be quite willing to believe that other governments engage in Machiavellian state acts: the Mukden or Manchurian incident of September 18, 1931 initiated by the Japanese of the war in Asia and the Gliwice, Poland incident of August 31, 1939 initiated by the Nazi of the war in Europe come to mind. It seems much harder to accept when such possibilities come close to home.

The difficulty of even thinking about culpabilities of our own government eases the path for those wanting us to completely dismiss such Machiavellian possibilities. An example is Jonathan Kay's (2011) *Among the Truthers*, where many of those interested in the evidence about U.S. September 11th are considered to be "cranks" who offer baseless beliefs "often reacting to male midlife crises" (interestingly ignoring females with a reference to "menopause crises"?).

Let me start with a point that still angers me greatly.

Alleged Muslim Hijackers

The *9/11 Commission Report* was published in 2004, nearly three years after the terrorist event. Within it, there is no attempt whatsoever to provide any evidence that the alleged nineteen hijackers were on the planes and correctly identified. The Commission had plenty of time. That's an insult to criminal processes, an insult to Arabs, an insult to Muslims. It is an insult to all of us.

This problem is deeper, much deeper. The FBI's initial list of alleged hijackers after September 11th was changed within days, without explanation. A video from the Portland, Maine airport has been cited for two of the alleged, but it is not from the Boston airport. A video from Dulles airport has been cited, but it has no date/time information. International press reports had many alleged hijackers reporting themselves alive after September 11th when identifications were made public (the Commission, like a kangaroo, jumped over all these reports).

Kolar (2008, p. 12) writes, for example, of multiple reports that an alleged hijacker of American Airlines 77 Khalid al-Mihdhar was still alive after September 11th (from BBC, an FDIC report, and CNN). If we examine published *official* photos of the alleged hijacking pilot Ziad Jarrah of United Airlines flight 93 that ended in Pennsylvania, there are three different persons. There are also doubles for others. Kolar's photo collage of Jarrah precedes his text.

Compare two official releases of Ziad Samir Jarrah:



Lebanon Passport, 1999



Vacation in Paris with girl friend, October 2000

to two other official releases: "Ziad Samir Jarrah":



US Visa, 5/25/2000



Florida Drivers License, 5/2/2001

Philip Zelikow was the Executive Director of the *9/11 Commission Report*, arguably the most important person involved with it. In 2007, I had an occasion to confront him about the alleged hijackers. The resulting youtube "Philip Zelikow's Parallel Universe", produced by Snowshoes Films, can be viewed at www.youtube.com/watch?v=4XQWBQKsqBU. After querying him and listening to his answer, I stated to him that he had not proven his claims, this itself actually being an under-statement because the *Report* didn't even attempt to do so.

An excellent examination concerning lack of identifying alleged hijackers and related matters is contained in Davidsson (2013).

Let me turn to some other matters.

Falling Skyscrapers

Do skyscrapers fall at all, due to fire? We are supposed to have had *three* in New York City in the single day of 9/11/2001, but none anywhere before or after. Two collapses on September 11th have been widely shown but one is rarely shown – for World Trade Center 7 (WTC 7). The last was not even hit by a plane, had relatively light damage and small fires: it was separated from WTC 1 by WTC 6 which had heavy damage (as did WTC 3, 4, and 5).



WTC 7 Collapse

If skyscrapers do fall, why would these three go virtually straight down in close to the physics of free fall, with no human intervention to initiate the collapses and ensure such symmetry? With such extraordinary collapses, why was not the evidence of the steel retained for extensive forensic examination, instead of whisked off to China? We have the testimonies of more than one hundred fire-fighters as to explosions being heard, obviously, a major lead (MacQueen, 2006). Why would not dust samples be tested by governmental authorities for explosive materials, particularly after independent researchers outside of the U.S. government confirmed the existence of nano-thermite in the dust? What was being hidden?

The Pentagon

The most important operational structure of the American military is left undefended fifty minutes after the first plane hits the World Trade Center, indeed, about one hour and twenty minutes after the first warning. Is it at all credible that the alleged pilot Hani Hanjour is capable of maneuvering a Boeing 757 in such a fancy manner at high speed into the Pentagon? Security cameras were all around the Pentagon. Why were these videos and images confiscated so quickly after the incident and are still not released? How is the absence of identifiable debris of the American flight 77 to be explained, which correlates to the view of a Pentagon survivor April

Gallop who crawled through the hole in the building and saw no plane debris (“After 9/11, Woman who was at Pentagon remains Skeptical”, *Washington Post*, September 9, 2011)?

There is an independent research finding that many eyewitnesses – those truly in a position to know, not simply so claiming – for the flight path of the plane going toward the Pentagon report that the plane approached in a manner inconsistent with the official story of AA 77 (see Citizens Investigation Team at www.citizeninvestigationteam.com/evidence).

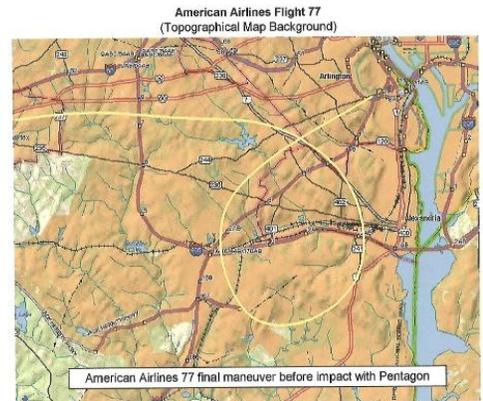


Figure 3. – DC Area Flight Path

NTSB graphic of AA 77 flight path

Calls from Planes?

United flight 93 had the most reported calls from inside the planes, but American flight 11 and 77 and United flight 175 also had them. Immediately after September 11th, there were many reports of cell phones having been used for these calls. However, later, many reports came in that such cell calls from planes were then impossible at anything but low altitudes. One pilot, after a flight I was on, even told me that he or other pilots might forget to turn off their private cell phones when entering a cockpit and only received voice-message alarms from their cell phones after descending down to 1000 to 2000 feet at the end of their flights. I can confirm my own inability to use cell phones above such an altitude, albeit without nearly the experience.

By the time of the 2006 Zacarias Moussaoui trial, the government was claiming that all flight 93 calls were air phone calls except the last two. However, this government claim is in direct contradiction of Tom Burnett's wife Deena who, in her book, explicitly states that she knew that Tom was using his cell phone because she was looking at her own phone's caller ID and recognized her husband's ID (Burnett, 2006, p. 61). Furthermore, Deena said she received four calls from Tom, while the government acknowledges only three, of which times and durations differ from Deena's report. Of course, phone company reports could be produced, but no one has.

A book about flight 93 by the New York Times reporter Jere Longman (2002) was entitled *Among the Heroes*. It discussed four phone calls by Tom Burnett (p. 107 for a cell, p. 110 for an airphone, p. 111 for a cell, and p. 118 without the type of phone indicated). One can wonder about the truth regarding the reported calls when such direct contradictions to the government's statements appear. There are even witnesses that flight 93 was actually shot down, rather than having been taken over at all. All this matters because flight 93 had those movies made about



"heroes". (Many more details regarding the alleged calls are discussed in Zarembka, 2008, pp. 305-310 and extensively in Davidsson, 2013, Part III.)

Insider Trading

In the month after September 11th, there was much discussion in the financial press regarding the insider trading occurring in the preceding days in put options on American and United stocks. The levels were quite high. But suddenly all discussion stopped until a brief, unsatisfactory mention in the Commission's 2004 report. Personally, I sensed that those reporting the data (sometimes, not quite correctly) thought it would lead to proof of Osama bin Laden's role. I further sensed, but cannot prove, that the word got around in October 2001 that no such proof would surface and media interest fell like a lead balloon.

In 2006, a professor at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, Allen Poteshman, published a scientific study leading to the empirical conclusion that insider trading was, indeed, highly probable before September 11th in those put options for American and United. Furthermore, his research was published in the *Journal of Business*, an outlet no one can accuse of being anti-American. In my own evaluation, being an economics professor who has worked with similar methodology to that used by Poteshman, it is even more striking that these results have not been challenged by other scholars, i.e., important results have almost always led to disputes, but not this time. In any case, since then another study has published with a similar conclusion about the S&P500 and a third, extensive study is in a review process. I have analyzed the entire issue in Zarembka (2012).

II. Guilty Verdict in 1999 for Conspiracy to Assassinate of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968

What has been introduced above in questioning the official version of what happened on September 11th has raised and will continue to be raised as "conspiracy theory", that those who introduce such questions are in the category of the Salem witch trials, not of sound mind, and perhaps mentally unstable. It is so useful as propaganda that *Conspiracy Theories in American History: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Peter Knight (ABC-CLIO, 2003), can have the effect of overwhelming the reader: "this is too much, I'm not going down this road".

I am not going to engage in such a debate, nor even analyze how this particular conception has come to receive such widespread currency in the media. The substantial role of the CIA in creating it as a propaganda concept is discussed in Lance deHaven-Smith's (2013, Chapter 4) *Conspiracy Theory in America*.

The alleged hijackers never had any trials, let alone a fair jury ones with responsible representations for their defense. In fact, once an accused is dead, the press is not even obligated to refer to "the alleged" or "the accused". Easier and simpler that they are dead.

Sometimes, however, a light is shown by an unanticipated occurrence showing that conspiracy really does happen and a guilty verdict rendered. Such is the case with jury trial for conspiracy by the U.S. government and others to assassinate in 1968 Martin Luther King, Jr. The history of it is complicated, but can be started with Ralph Abernathy, King's successor at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and attorney William F. Pepper, a friend of King, interviewing in 1978 the man who had originally confessed to the murder, namely, James Earl Ray. Because of his guilty plea, Ray had not had a jury trial but did thereby avoid a possible death sentence. However, shortly after being sentenced in 1969 and arriving in the penitentiary, he recanted and filed for a trial. Ray was never to achieve that trial before he died in 1998. A seriously engaged, mock trial in London, England, aired there on TV in 1993, and did find Ray not guilty. It exposed aspects of a cover-up. Pepper was the attorney for the defense. The U.S. media did not cover it.

In 1997, the King family joined the struggle for a trial of James Earl Ray and hired Pepper as lead attorney for a jury trial of conspiracy to establish the truth of the matter. With Ray's death, another avenue for justice was found, namely, to prosecute as an accomplice to the murder the owner of the bar across from the hotel, Loyd Jowers, who had already confessed to be an accomplice, but with unnamed co-conspirators. The King family asked only for an award of \$100 (one hundred U.S. dollars) for partial compensation of burial costs. The civil case became *King et al. v. Jowers et al.*, filed in October 1998. It was tried by jury beginning on November 15, 1999.

The overwhelming evidence of conspiracy by Loyd Jowers together with local and national governmental agencies is laid out in Pepper's (2008, pp. 107-131) chapter on the trial. Co-conspirators included the Memphis Police Department (MPD), U.S. Army Security Agency (ASA), the U.S. Army 111th and 902nd Military Intelligence Groups (MIG), and the Green Beret Alpha 184 unit. They did not include James Earl Ray. The plot itself was not arranged by Jowers himself. The plot included making King vulnerable to being shot by a hitman, including the removal of his security.

Cover-up was also presented at the trial:

A large number of witnesses testified to the extensive range of activities which caused the truth in this case to remain hidden and justice denied for nearly 32 years. Incredibly, the chronicle of events and actions included murder, solicitation of murder, attempted bribery, suppression of evidence, alteration of the crime scheme, and the control, manipulation, and use of the media for propaganda purposes. (Pepper, p. 131)

The jury unanimously found the defendants guilty and the judge awarded the liability at 30 percent to Loyd Jowers and 70 percent to all other co-conspirators. (Incidentally, being in ill health, this momentous case was this judge's last one.)

We should not leave this trial without mentioning that Clinton's Justice Department undertook a condemnation of the trial, addressed by Pepper (p. 218-261).

What motivated the desire to kill Martin Luther King, Jr.? Could it not be his joining of the civil rights, anti-poverty movement, to the anti-Vietnam war movement in King's speech at the Riverside Church exactly one year before his assassination?

III. Assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963: "Conspiracy Theory" not yet a Pejorative

The CIA's campaign to popularize the term "conspiracy theory" and make conspiracy belief a target of ridicule and hostility must be credited, unfortunately, with being one of the most successful propaganda initiatives of all time. deHaven-Smith (2013, p. 25)

The conspiracy to assassinate Kennedy is far better known than the King case, primarily as a result of the attention given to the former by Oliver Stone's film *JFK*. A deep, convincing presentation has been undertaken by the Catholic scholar/activist James W. Douglass (2008). Douglass had attended the entire King trial and undoubtedly was motivated or strengthened by what he witnessed at that Memphis trial.

When Kennedy was assassinated, "conspiracy theory" was not a pejorative. So reading press reports in the first years regarding those who doubted the Warren Commission did not include pejorative comments against "conspiracy theorists". That developed later. Something happened to put those two words into political use. By deHaven-Smith's (2013) reckoning, it was the CIA's recognition of the increasing efficacy of critiques of the Warren Commission. It surely became very useful for later propaganda for any number of instances, useful even for cases for which it would not be needed so as to lump everything together, cases in which the government tells a truth and cases when not.

An assertion of a conspiracy in a specific instance is no more than an assertion until careful attention is brought to evidence. How many instances in Knight's *Encyclopedia* refer to false claims and how many to accurate ones. If witches were not conspiring in Salem, but President Nixon was conspiring with others regarding Watergate, neither one nor the other informs us directly about JFK's, Malcolm X's, King's, RFK's murders, September 11th, London bombing in 2005, etc. We must examine evidence, unafraid of answers.

Bertrand Russell was one of the opponents of the Warren Commission even before the report was concluded. His critique is captured in Zarembka (2006, pp. 349-352) much of which retains relevance. In Kennedy's case we have the remarkable subsequent fact to deal with that the alleged assassin was himself killed, in a Dallas police station no less, after having said he did not kill anyone and "I am a patsy". There thus has never been a trial in which the alleged would be entitled to proper defense against the accusation, although there was the related Garrison trial in New Orleans.

Douglass' book deals with both the motivation for assassinating Kennedy, including the personality of Kennedy himself, as well as the plot. Motivation goes well beyond the issue of Vietnam. Personality matters in order to address, as an example, whether Kennedy would actually have withdrawn from Vietnam as he had told advisers and had begun to undertake before assassination, even if he would have faced a setup as for the Bay of Pigs. The plot itself is

described in detail by Douglass. A part of the plotting was an attempt against Kennedy set for execution in Chicago on November 2, 1963, along the same lines as Dallas three weeks later, but foiled by canceling the President's trip. In this case, the Secret Service operated in a manner that it was supposed to do. Curtains were tightly drawn, however, around knowledge of even its occurrence so that it would not impact execution of the same plot in the same manner in Dallas. Kennedy would have been assassinated in the Chicago Loop by marksmen with high-powered rifles, a patsy having been setup (Douglass, 2008, pp. 200-1 and 213-218).

Kennedy had made many enemies, too many powerful enemies, first and foremost what Eisenhower had called the military-industrial complex. Firing after the Bay of Pigs the CIA Director Allen Dulles, Deputy Director Richard Bissell, Jr., and Deputy Director General Charles Cabell was one very important initial message of what President Kennedy was capable of. Other steps confronting the military-industrial complex include his handling of the U.S. Steel, Cuban missile crisis, secret moves at softening of relations with Cuba, calling for world peace in his American University speech of June 10, 1963 (a genuine peace, "not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war"), the nuclear test ban treaty, a telling rapprochement with Sukarno of Indonesia, and of course a beginning of withdrawal from Vietnam. Could his enemies afford to wait for the next election, OR was this growing listenough when they now had the right kind of man as Kennedy's Vice-President and successor?

The mechanics of the assassination are important but the motivation for it is even more important. The mechanics are addressed also in Douglass (2008, Chapter 6) and there is an extremely rich literature on that subject. We will address motivation for September 11th at the end of this paper.

IV. Adam Smith's Conspiracy Theory about Capitalists

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* contains a long paragraph the essence of which is that capitalist masters engage in conspiracy with regard to wages paid to workers. Smith was thus a conspiracy theorist:

We rarely hear, it has been said, of the combinations of masters, though frequently of those of workmen. But whoever imagines, upon this account, that masters rarely combine, is as ignorant of the world as of the subject. Masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination, not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate....Masters too sometimes enter into particular combinations to sink the wages of labour even below this rate. These are always conducted with the utmost silence and secrecy, till the moment of execution ... (Smith 1937 [1776]: 66f)

V. Karl Marx, Conspiracy Theorist of Louis Bonaparte's Coup¹

Marxist theory has always understood that the state operates in the interest of the dominant economic class, whether directly or indirectly. However, it has not yet had an articulated

¹ Drawn from MacGregor and Zarembka (2010).

conceptual distinction between those acts of the state that are public and open to direct investigation, and those that are concealed, secret, and indeed conspiratorial. Still, Marx himself was sensitive to the conspiratorial, with the clearest example being Marx's account of the rise to power of Louis Bonaparte, in which a profound distinction between the public and the conspiratorial clearly emerges.

Marx had plenty of reasons to suspect that within bourgeois society things might not always be as they seem. His *Cologne Communist Trial*, written in 1852, exposed the arrest and imprisonment of German communist leaders triumphantly achieved through the conspiratorial networks of the Prussian secret police. The judicial beheading of the German workers' movement destroyed proletarian resistance in that country for more than a decade. Another illustration: Prussian intelligence bought and paid for Marx and Engels's satirical 1852 pamphlet *The Great Men of Exile*, which attacked rival émigré groups in England. The two men were horrified when learning that their erstwhile collaborator on the pamphlet, a Hungarian named Bangya, was an agent of Prussia's extensive secret apparatus (Fernbach, 1973, p. 71). Actually, the refugee community in England was a snakepit of intrigue and deception, and Marx would have been a pollyanna not to have noticed the signal place of state-led conspiracy in the sanctified corridors of the British Museum.

Perhaps most importantly, the fundamental Marxist notion that the capitalist state is a masked form of bourgeois rule, i.e., a covert meeting of minds among landed property owners, financiers and industrialists to monopolize the means of power, is itself an accusation of conspiracy on the grandest of historical scales. This understanding is the primary message of Marx's remarkable classic *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and its earlier companion *The Class Struggles in France: 1848–1850*,² both of which discuss the means by which they conspired (with the critical assistance of the military) to retain their stranglehold on French society during the bloody aftermath of the Revolutions of 1848. Rightly interpreted as an advance warning of the potential for bourgeois democracy to slide into fascist dictatorship, *The Eighteenth Brumaire* is much more than this. It stands as a primer on the conspiratorial and secret devices regularly employed in times of crisis by the bourgeoisie to maintain its sway over civil society, even to the extent (in the French case) of foisting into power a former English police agent and Swiss parvenu named Louis Bonaparte (Marx, 1973, p. 164).

Looking more closely at Marx's account of the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte, we find a story that offers the clearest example of Marx's methodological approach to the public/conspiratorial divide. Every page of *The Eighteenth Brumaire* concerns undercover machinations among various political contenders for power in France. It "contrasted with the conviction he had displayed from *The German Ideology* [written 1845-46] to *The Class Struggles in France* [1850], that the nature of society and its relationship to politics were becoming increasingly visible on the surface of events in the nineteenth century" (Seigel, 1978, p. 203). In other words, it was not, in fact, becoming increasingly visible. The most prominent motif from the start of the *Brumaire* is the conscious intent of Bonaparte, along with his military allies and

² Marx (1973) – the source for all Marx quotations in the present paper – includes both *The Eighteenth Brumaire* (pp. 143-249) and *The Class Struggles* (pp. 35-142). *The Class Struggles* was published in 1850 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, while *The Eighteenth Brumaire* was completed in early 1852 and published late that year in *Die Revolution*, a New York magazine.

lumpenproletarianenforcers, to bring about, by whatever covert means, the replacement of democratic rule in France with a proto-fascist dictatorship dedicated above all to preserving bourgeois relations of production.

Although we now take this conspiracy for granted, given the persuasiveness of Marx's account, it was hardly the conventional view of the period.³ Marx's chronology of parliamentary seizure relies on a sophisticated and then-unrivaled appreciation of complex social class forces at work in France, and points to the dark, conspiratorial figure of Bonaparte as an overwhelming presence concomitant with the cowardice of various factions among the republican bourgeoisie. Marx's essay on the Napoleonic pretender teaches that episodes of "bourgeois terrorism" must periodically remove the mask of benign legitimacy that in more "normal" times veils capitalist rule.

Starting with Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety in 1793–94, "bourgeois terrorism" is an inevitable factor in periods of capitalist revolution and reaction. When the leaderless Parisian proletariat responded to incendiary capitalist provocations by mounting a "gigantic insurrection" against the French Provisional Government in June 1848 – "the first great battle ... between the two great classes which divide modern society", the veil shrouding the bourgeois republic was "torn asunder" (Marx, 1973, p. 59). General Cavaignac, head of the republican Provisional Government, and fresh from savage Algerian campaigns that helped cement French colonialism in northern Africa, put down the workers' insurrection with the usual bourgeois methods. After a five-day battle in the streets of Paris, more than 3000 captured proletarian insurgents were brutally murdered by Cavaignac's troops. The Provisional Government "deported" from France "without trial" an additional 15,000 workers (p. 163). Writes Marx:

By making its burial place the birthplace of the *bourgeois republic*, the proletariat forced this republic to appear in its pure form, as the state whose avowed purpose is to perpetuate the rule of capital and the slavery of labour. Permanently aware of its scarred, irreconcilable and invincible enemy – invincible because its existence is a precondition of its own life – bourgeois rule, freed from all fetters, was inevitably transformed, all at once, into bourgeois terrorism. (p. 61, emphasis in original)

Louis Bonaparte won election by universal male suffrage on December 10, 1848, almost six months after Cavaignac's slaughter of the imprisoned Parisian insurgents, with most of his votes coming from the French peasantry. With the presidential term slated to end on the second Sunday in May of 1852, the false Bonaparte, after a series of manufactured crises, overturned the Republic on December 2, 1851, and bombarded Paris with incendiary rockets two days later. Bonaparte's surprise night-time assault against bourgeois democracy had been many times foretold. "If ever an event cast its shadow forward well in advance of its occurrence, it was Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état. As early as January 29, 1849, barely a month after his election, he had made a proposal about it to Changarnier.... During every parliamentary storm the Bonapartist journals threatened a coup d'état, and the nearer the crisis drew, the louder their tone became."

³"*The Eighteenth Brumaire*, which proves that Marx was the only historian and politician of 1848 who understood and disclosed the real nature of the causes and results of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, was completely ignored. In spite of the actuality of the work not a single bourgeois newspaper even mentioned it." (Lafargue, 1972)

(Marx, 1973, p. 228). Rumors of a coup d'état multiplied during that year. Murder plots, parliamentary chaos, mass arrests, and suspected communist conspiracies turned the bourgeoisie against its own creation, the democratic republic, and pushed it into the welcoming arms of Bonaparte. "*Rather an end with terror than terror without end!*" (p. 228, italics in original). Marx shows that the bourgeoisie is scared of its own shadow; even a fabricated hint of effective opposition sends the capitalists into a paroxysm of fright.

One preparation for the coup occurred two and a half years earlier. Behind the back of the National Assembly, Bonaparte's Council of Ministers agreed on a punitive expedition to Rome with funds obtained from the Assembly on false pretenses. "It thus began with a fraud perpetrated on the National Assembly and a secret conspiracy with absolutist powers abroad against the revolutionary Roman republic" (Marx, 1973, p. 166). On June 13, 1849, Bonaparte lured petty bourgeois parliamentary republicans (the Montagne) out of the National Assembly, where they had formed a powerful voting bloc, by instructing the French army to attack republican forces in Rome. "The bombardment of Rome . . . was the bait thrown to [the Montagne]. This violated paragraph V of the Constitution, which forbade the French republic to employ its armed forces against the liberties of another people." Unarmed street processions led by the Montagne to protest French military intervention in favor of the Pope were easily smashed. Bonaparte's troops arrested Montagne leaders or forced them into exile, and dispersed the "democratic part of its National Guard" (pp. 180ff).

As a result of Bonaparte's plot against the Montagne (and with the proletariat suppressed by the butchery of June 1848), the only truly plausible contingent remaining in the French National Assembly was the so-called Party of Order, a loose and mutually suspicious union of royalist parliamentary representatives of the big bourgeoisie: landed property (Legitimists), and high finance and industry (Orleanists). Bonaparte would make short work of the Party of Order on December 2, 1851, i.e., a few months before the conclusion of his official term of office on the second Sunday in May 1852.

Using every cardsharp's trick, Bonaparte deftly maneuvered France toward the brink. The ruthless takeover was sudden and bloody, surprising the royalists and republicans and burying democracy in France for a generation. Conspiracy theorist *avant la lettre*, Marx portrays the heinous outcome. Taking inspiration from "the annals of the criminal courts," writes Marx, Louis Bonaparte

robbed the Bank of France of twenty-five million francs, he bought General Magnan [former deputy to the Legislative Assembly and chief organizer of the coup d'état] with a million and the soldiers with 15 francs each and liquor, held a meeting with his accomplices in secret, like a thief in the night; he had the houses of the most dangerous parliamentary leaders broken into, and Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Le Flô , Changarnier, Charras, Thiers, Baze, etc. dragged from their beds; he had the main squares of Paris and the parliamentary buildings occupied by troops, and then early in the morning he had ostentatious placards put up on the walls, proclaiming the dissolution of the National Assembly and the Council of State, the restoration of universal suffrage and the imposition of a state of seige in the Seine department. Shortly afterwards he also inserted a false document in the *Moniteur*⁴,

⁴*Le Moniteur universel* was the official newspaper of the French government from 1799 to 1869 (p. 47).

purporting to show that some influential parliamentary names had grouped themselves around him and formed a consultative commission. (Marx, 1973, pp. 232ff)

VI. Motivation for September 11th

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the U. S. military-industrial complex would need to have and to define a new “enemy”, if it were to maintain its overwhelming domination, including its extraordinary financial flows and at least seven hundred military bases outside the United States and over much of the world⁵. This new “enemy” must be widespread. Its definition should be even more important than around resource issues such as oil: recall that Vietnam had no such resource question (even if still unacceptable as a justification). This new motivation had to be elsewhere than the former claim of anti-communism.

The dramatic event on September 11, 2001 on the scale of Pearl Harbor achieved a new *raison d'être* fronting the U. S. military-industrial complex and national security state.

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⁵Johnson (2004) reports seven hundred openly stated and one thousand more probable. A contemporary count of bases of seven hundred is provided in Vine (2015) who does not seem to take about of secret bases.

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