

A PRESENTATION OF THE MEDIA EDUCATION FOUNDATION

Michael T. Klare's

# BLOOD AND OIL

“Our military policy and our energy policy have become intertwined. They have become one and the same... And if we continue to rely on military force to solve our resource needs, we're in for a very bloody and dangerous and painful century indeed.”

– Michael Klare in *Blood and Oil*

Running Time: 52 minutes

For further information about this film or to arrange interviews with Michael Klare or the film's producers, please contact:

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For high-resolution images from the film, visit:  
[www.bloodandoilmovie.com/pressroom.html](http://www.bloodandoilmovie.com/pressroom.html)

## EARLY PRAISE FOR *BLOOD AND OIL*

“*Blood and Oil* is a compelling, credible and thought-provoking history lesson for all Americans. A must-see for current and older generations who served America's militaristic pursuit of oil, and for their children who will soon be required to conduct a serious intervention at home to heal this nation's blood for oil compulsion.”

Lt. Col. Karen Kwiatkowski, Air Force (Ret.)

“Michael Klare's analysis of the role of oil in US foreign policy since 1945 is indispensable to an understanding of the critical problems we face. I hope that this lucid and historically accurate film is widely seen.”

Chalmers Johnson, author of the *Blowback Trilogy*

“Michael Klare looks into the future with sharper eyes than almost anyone else around. Pay attention!”

Bill McKibben, author of *The End of Nature*

“Digging into the archives of military history, Klare discerns a clear pattern: presidential commitment to oil addiction entails mounting costs and loss of life. Our next President must break the mold, freeing us from our deadly dependency.”

Deron Lovaas, National Resources Defense Council (NRDC)

"*Blood and Oil* is an indispensable primer on the role of oil in driving US military policy. Every peace activist, every environmental activist, and every concerned citizen should see this film for the perspective it provides on how to free the US and the world of our addiction to oil."

William Hartung, New America Foundation

“If you want to understand how the US got into the predicament we're in with oil and the wars we fight to get it, *Blood & Oil* is required viewing.”

Jonathan Kim, Brave New Films

“Michael T. Klare’s *Blood and Oil* is an important contribution to understanding how our nation got itself into the dire and completely avoidable addiction to a substance that threatens both our global economy and our planetary survival.”

Harvey Wasserman, author of *SOLARTOPIA! Our Green-Powered Earth*

"Blood and Oil makes it plain and simple - it's the oil stupid. The film dramatizes this fact with gripping historic footage of the confluence of oil and militarism."

Andy Shallal, Iraqi-American artist and activist, owner of Busboys and Poets

“With a surgeon’s precision, Michael Klare exposes our recurring pathology: Over-consumption of oil leads to imperial interventions and support of dictators, making us the target of terrorist attacks, which in turn lead to more interventions. A ‘must see’ for the general public.”

Medea Benjamin, cofounder, Global Exchange and CODEPINK: Women for Peace

## FILM SYNOPSIS

The notion that oil is a reason for America's military engagements in the Middle East is often disregarded as nonsense or mere conspiracy theory. *Blood and Oil*, a new documentary based on the critically acclaimed work of *Nation* magazine defense correspondent Michael T. Klare, challenges this conventional wisdom to correct the historical record. The film unearths declassified documents and highlights forgotten passages in prominent presidential doctrines to show how concerns about oil have been at the core of American foreign policy for more than 60 years — rendering our contemporary energy and military policies virtually indistinguishable.

At the heart of this story is a meeting between President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Saudi King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud on Valentine's Day, 1945, aboard the USS Quincy in Egypt's Great Bitter Lake. In that meeting, President Roosevelt made a pact with the King that still resonates today: the United States will provide military protection for Saudi Arabia in exchange for privileged American access to Saudi Arabia's vast oil reserves. With methodical precision, Klare details how this meeting has spawned a series of events and presidential policies that have resulted in repeated American military operations and wars in the Persian Gulf.

In the end, *Blood and Oil* calls for a radical re-thinking of US energy policy, warning that unless we change direction, we stand to be drawn into one oil war after another as the global hunt for diminishing world petroleum supplies accelerates.

## **BLOOD AND OIL SECTIONS**

*Blood and Oil* covers the relationship between US foreign policy and US energy policy from FDR to the present and is composed of the following seven sections.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Klare emphasizes the extent to which the American economy is dependent on oil and how increasingly that oil must be imported from foreign countries in unstable parts of the world.

### **A DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE**

Klare describes how Franklin Roosevelt was the first American President to make oil a central feature of foreign policy. He focuses on Roosevelt's 1945 meeting with the King of Saudi Arabia, the oil-for-protection partnership that resulted, and how this agreement continues to resonate today.

### **BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY**

Klare details how the Truman, Eisenhower, Nixon and Carter doctrines were motivated by the need to protect and maintain US dominance in the Persian Gulf. The most striking doctrine is from Jimmy Carter who, in his 1980 State of the Union Address, declared explicitly that the United States would use military force to protect American access to Middle Eastern oil.

### **CENTCOM**

Klare discusses the creation of the Central Command in 1983 and how Reagan clearly intended for CentCom's focus to be the protection of the flow of Middle East oil. Examples include the escorting of Kuwaiti tankers through the Strait of Hormuz by US warships in 1987 and the original rationale for the first President Bush's decision to use military force to expel Iraqi troops from Kuwait in the Gulf War.

### **FUELING TERROR**

With Saddam Hussein left in power at the end of the Gulf War, Klare explains, President George H.W. Bush decided the United States would need to keep a significant number of American troops in Saudi Arabia to effectively prevent Hussein from further regional aggression. The presence of these American military personnel enraged many religiously conservative Saudis, including Osama bin Laden, who then created the terrorist network Al Qaeda. Bin Laden immediately began calling on his followers to attack US interests in the Middle East as well as the United States itself.

### **MAXIMUM EXTRACTION**

Klare emphasizes that President George W. Bush's first stated priority upon taking office was to develop a new, comprehensive national energy policy. Dick Cheney headed the National Energy Policy Development Group and concluded that the United States might have to intervene aggressively to ensure that oil-producing states increase their output to keep up with global demand.

## **A HIGHER PURPOSE**

Klare argues that Americans are unwilling to sacrifice the lives of their fellow citizens in wars over resources. But he warns that unless we delink our energy and military policies, we face a future of increasingly dangerous competition over the control of oil and natural gas between the United States and rising powers like Russia and China.

## **NOTABLE QUOTES FROM *BLOOD AND OIL***

*Blood and Oil* covers the relationship between US foreign policy and US energy policy from FDR to the present. Below is a list of notable quotes from the film.

**Michael Klare** “Our whole foreign policy and military policy establishment has been governed for fifty years by our commitment to defend the Middle Eastern oil states like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. So much of our foreign policy has been tied up in this, and we have a vast military establishment that is totally committed to the protection of these regimes.”

“The original function of the Central Command, very clearly elaborated by the Reagan administration, was primarily to protect the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf to the United States and markets around the world. That’s always been its primary focus.”

“We will never be free from the dangers of endless wars in the Middle East until we disassemble this large military apparatus that has been created for the protection of Middle Eastern oil.”

**Jimmy Carter** “Let our position be absolutely clear. An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.”<sup>1</sup>

**Ronald Reagan** “As long as Saudi Arabia and the OPEC nations there in the East, and Saudi Arabia is the most important, provide the bulk of the energy that is needed to turn the wheels of industry in the Western world, there is no way that we can stand by and see that taken over by anyone who would shut off that oil.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Presidential State of the Union Address. Jan 23 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Reagan’s first Press Conference. Jan 29 1981.

“We remain deeply committed to supporting the self-defense of our friends in the Gulf, and to ensuring the free flow of oil through the Strait of Hormuz.”<sup>3</sup>

**James Baker**

“Look, I’ve been a member of four administrations. In every one of those administrations, we had as a written national security policy that we would go to war to protect the energy reserves of the Persian Gulf, if necessary.”<sup>4</sup>

**Dick Cheney**

“Iraq controlled ten percent of the world’s reserves prior to the invasion of Kuwait and once Saddam Hussein took Kuwait he doubled that to approximately twenty percent of the world’s known oil reserves. He was clearly in a position to be able to dictate the future of worldwide energy policy and that gave him a stranglehold on our economy and on that of most of the other nations of the world as well.”<sup>5</sup>

“Armed with an arsenal of these weapons of terror and seated atop ten percent of the world’s oil reserves, Saddam Hussein could then be expected to seek domination of the entire Middle East, take control of a great portion of the world’s energy supplies, directly threaten America’s friends throughout the region...”<sup>6</sup>

**Donald Rumsfeld**

“There’s been a lot of speculation in the world, and I suppose it’s understandable, suggesting that the interest of the United States, and the coalition countries that are concerned about Iraq, relates to oil. It does not relate to oil. I mean it just plain doesn’t.”<sup>7</sup>

**George W. Bush**

“I know it came as a shock to some to hear a Texan stand up there in front of the country and say “We got a real problem. America is addicted to oil.” But I meant it, cause it’s a true fact and we’ve got to do something about it now.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Press Conference. White House Rose Garden. May 19 1987.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with the History Channel.

<sup>5</sup> As Secretary of Defense during testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee. Sep 11 1990.

<sup>6</sup> As Vice President before the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Nashville, TN. Aug 26 2002.

<sup>7</sup> Remarks to the Hoover Institution, Washington D.C. Feb 25 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Remarks to employees at Johnson Controls Building Efficiency Business. Milwaukee, WI. Feb 20 2006

## ***BLOOD AND OIL TIMELINE***

*Blood and Oil* covers the relationship between US foreign policy and US energy policy from FDR to the present. Below is a list of notable dates relevant to this history.

- 1941-1945** Providing 6 of the 7 billion barrels of oil that fueled the Allied forces in World War II, the United States consumes approximately 1/3 of its known oil reserves.
- Feb 14 1945** Aboard the USS Quincy in the Suez Canal, Franklin Roosevelt meets with Saudi King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud and guarantees American military protection to the Kingdom in exchange for access to Saudi oil.
- Mar 12 1947** President Truman, in an address to a joint session of Congress, lays out a new policy to assist nations under threat of Communism. De-classified documents reveal that oil is a major motivating factor.
- Jan 5 1957** President Eisenhower gives a speech to Congress warning that if the Soviet Union were to attempt to control the Middle East it would draw the US into military action.
- May 30 1972** President Nixon travels to Tehran to meet with the Shah of Iran. During his administration, Nixon significantly boosts military aid to the Shah, as part of a proxy strategy to maintain the safe flow of oil from the region.
- Jan 16 1979** The proxy strategy loses one of its closest allies when, after months of intense protests to his autocratic rule, the Shah is forced into exile. The anti-American Ayatollah Khomeini seizes control of the country weeks later.
- Jan 23 1980** President Carter, in his State of the Union Address, states that the United States will “use any means necessary, including military force,” to maintain US dominance in the Gulf. He creates the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force, a strategic military command for the Middle East. The RDJTF would, in 1983 under President Ronald Reagan, become the Central Command.
- 1986-1987** During the Iran-Iraq War, Iran begins to attack Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf as a response to Kuwait’s economic assistance to Saddam Hussein. President Reagan reflags the Kuwaiti tankers with American flags and provides them protection by Naval escort through the Strait of Hormuz.

- Aug 2 1990** Iraqi military forces invade Kuwait. In the following days, President Bush meets with his top advisors at Camp David to discuss a possible American response.
- Aug 6 1990** Secretary of Defense Cheney meets with King Fahd in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. After providing the King with satellite photos of the Iraqi army near the border of Saudi Arabia, the King grants Cheney permission to begin an American buildup of military troops in the Kingdom. Because of the sensitivity to a large American presence from conservative Muslim leaders in Saudi Arabia, Cheney promises that the American forces will leave the Kingdom “when we were no longer needed or when we are asked to leave.”
- Fall 1990** Opposed to a large American presence in the Kingdom, Saudi national and associate of the Royal family Osama bin Laden pleads with the King to allow the mujahadeen, the Muslim forces organized during the war against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, to liberate Kuwait instead of the Americans.
- Feb 1991** Victory is declared after Iraqi troops are successfully expelled from Kuwait. With Saddam Hussein still in power, President Bush decides on a containment strategy requiring American troops to remain in Saudi Arabia.
- 1995-2000** Osama bin Laden calls on his followers to attack Americans and American interests in the Middle East. He creates a network called Al Qaeda. Terrorist attacks on American personnel occur in 4 different countries resulting in the deaths of hundreds of civilians and many American military officers.
- May 17 2001** Four months after President George W. Bush’s inauguration, Vice President Cheney’s energy task force releases their National Energy Policy. Despite rhetoric of the contrary, the plan outlines a future of increased dependence on foreign sources of oil, particularly from the Middle East.
- Sep 11 2001** Nineteen Al Qaeda operatives hijack four American commercial planes crashing them into the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington. One plane crashes in a field in Pennsylvania. Nearly 3,000 civilians are killed.
- Aug 26 2002** Vice President Cheney lays out the case for a pre-emptive attack on Iraq citing Saddam Hussein’s threat to both America’s allies in the region and global energy supplies.



- Mar 19 2003** American forces invade Iraq. Weeks later, American forces successfully occupy Baghdad.
- Jan 31 2006** In his State of the Union address, President Bush declares, “America is addicted to oil.”
- Feb 6 2007** The Bush administration announces plans to create an overseas regional military command in Africa.
- Jan 2008** Oil prices pass \$100 a barrel.

### ***BLOOD AND OIL FACT SHEET***

#### **CONSUMPTION**

1. The United States has about five percent of the world’s population but consumes one fourth of the world’s petroleum. About twenty million barrels per day (mbd) out of total world consumption of eighty million barrels.<sup>9</sup>
2. The US consumed more than 1/3 of its total oil reserves during WWII.<sup>10</sup>
3. According to the National Defense Council Foundation, a conservative think tank, the United States spent 137 billion dollars on oil-related defense measures in 2007 [compared to 50 billion dollars in 2002]<sup>11</sup>. Roughly 70 times the amount the US spent developing alternative sources of energy during the same period.
4. In the next two decades, China's oil consumption is expected to grow at a rate of 7.5% per year and India’s 5.5%. (Compare to a 1% growth for the industrialized countries).<sup>12</sup>

#### **OIL DEPENDENCE**

5. The United States depends on imported oil for about two-thirds of its total demand.<sup>13</sup>
6. The US Department of Energy (DoE) predicts that by 2025, the US will depend on foreign countries for 70% of its oil.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> US Dept. of Energy, *International Energy Outlook*, 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Painter, *Oil and the American Century*, pp. 34-35, 96-98. See also Stoff, *Oil, War, and American Security*, pp. 70-72.

<sup>11</sup> National Defense Council Foundation. (2007). *The Hidden Cost of Oil*.

<sup>12</sup> Institute for the Analysis of Global Security, “The Future of Oil,” 2004. <http://www.iags.org/futureoil.html>

<sup>13</sup> US Dept. of Energy, *International Energy Outlook*, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> US Dept. of Energy, *International Energy Outlook*, 2003.

## OIL PRODUCTION & DISTRIBUTION

7. The United States supplied 6 out of the 7 billion barrels of oil consumed by the allied forces during WWII.<sup>15</sup>
8. The best estimates are that ANWR [Arctic National Wildlife Refuge] is capable of producing 876,000 barrels of oil a day. Even at this peak rate, drilling in ANWR would decrease our reliance on foreign oil by just three percent.<sup>16</sup>
9. With 115 billion barrels of proven crude oil reserves, Iraq has the world's second-largest endowment of oil, amounting to 11% of the global total. As a point of reference, Saudi Arabia, at 260 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, has the world's largest reserve base.<sup>17</sup>
  - a. Iraq reached peak production in 1990 at 3.5 mbd.
  - b. In the immediate aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War, production fell to 500,000 mbd.
  - c. Oil production virtually stopped as a result of the increased violence and instability caused by the US invasion. In 2004 production resumed, averaging between 1.9-2.4 mbd.
10. In 2006, the United States imported 1.045 million b/d of oil from Nigeria, about 10% of US crude oil imports.<sup>18</sup> Some energy officials claim that Nigeria could provide as much as 25% of US oil imports in the future.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Stoff, *Oil, War, and American Security*, p. 209

<sup>16</sup> US Department of Energy/Energy Information Administration, *Annual Energy Outlook 2003*, p.27.

<sup>17</sup> Institute for the Analysis of Global Security, *The Future of Oil*, 2004. <http://www.iags.org/futureofoil.html>

<sup>18</sup> Energy Information Administration, *US Crude Oil Imports by Country of Origin*, 2008.

<sup>19</sup> Jaffe, Greg. "In Massive Shift, US Is Planning to Cut Size of Military in Germany." *Wall Street Journal*, 10 June 2003.

## MICHAEL T. KLARE: BIOGRAPHY IN BRIEF

Michael T. Klare is the Five College Professor of Peace and World Security Studies (a joint appointment at Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, and Smith Colleges and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst) and Director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies (PAWSS), positions he has held since 1985.

Professor Klare has written widely on US defense policy, the arms trade, global resource politics, and world security affairs. He is the author of several books, including, most recently *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: The New Geopolitics of Energy* (Metropolitan Books, 2008), *Blood and Oil: The Dangers and Consequences of America's Growing Dependency on Imported Petroleum* (Metropolitan Books, 2004), and *Resource Wars* (Metropolitan Books, 2001).

Professor Klare is also the defense correspondent of *The Nation* magazine and a Contributing Editor of *Current History*. He has contributed articles to these journals and to *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Harper's*, *International Security*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Newsweek*, *Scientific American*, *Technology Review*, *Third World Quarterly*, and *World Policy Journal*.

Klare has also worked with many non-governmental organizations in the peace, disarmament, and human rights fields and currently serves on the board of directors of the Arms Control Association and the National Priorities Project.

Professor Klare received his B.A. and M.A. from Columbia University in 1963 and 1968, respectively, and his Ph.D. from the Graduate School of the Union Institute in 1976.

## ABOUT THE FILMMAKERS

The Media Education Foundation produces and distributes documentary films and other educational resources to inspire critical reflection on the social, political and cultural impact of American mass media.

**JEREMY EARP** | Director, Co-Writer

Jeremy Earp, the Production Manager at the Media Education Foundation, co-wrote and co-directed the documentaries *War Made Easy* (2007) and *Hijacking Catastrophe: 9/11, Fear & the Selling of American Empire* (2004). He produced the film *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (2007) and co-wrote *Tough Guise: Violence, Media & the Crisis in Masculinity* (1999). Before joining MEF, he taught at New School University and Parsons School of Design in New York City, at the Art Institute of Boston and Northeastern University in Massachusetts, and worked as a news and sports reporter for a daily newspaper outside of Boston. He holds a Master's degree in English from Northeastern University, and is currently pursuing a doctorate in Communication at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

**SCOTT MORRIS | Producer, Co-Writer, Co-Editor**

Scott Morris has worked with the Media Education Foundation in some form or capacity since 2004. Most recently, he was a production assistant on *War Made Easy* (2007), featuring Norman Solomon. He graduated with honors from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst in 2004 with a degree in Social Thought and Political Economy.

**SUT JHALLY | Executive Producer**

Sut Jhally is a professor of Communication at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst and founder and executive director of The Media Education Foundation. He first gained national recognition for his film *Dreamworlds: Desire, Sex & Power in Music Video* when MTV threatened him with a lawsuit over copyright infringement. The resulting press storm led to numerous requests for the video and the founding of The Media Education Foundation in 1991. Since that time, Sut Jhally has been the executive producer of more than twenty-five films produced and distributed by the Media Education Foundation, including the critically acclaimed *Hijacking Catastrophe*. He is the author of *The Codes of Advertising* and *The Spectacle of Accumulation: Essays in Cultural Politics*, and co-author of *Social Communication in Advertising and Enlightened Racism*. He is also co-editor of *Cultural Politics in Contemporary America* and *Hijacking Catastrophe: 9/11, Fear & the Selling of American Empire*. He has written broadly on issues of popular representation and is regarded as one of the world's leading cultural studies scholars in the area of advertising, media, and consumption.

**ANDREW KILLOY | Co-Producer, Co-Editor**

Andrew Killoy is MEF's primary editor and coordinates all technical aspects of the video production process. He was editor of *War Made Easy* (2007) and co-editor of *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (2007). He graduated from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst in 2005 with a Bachelor's degree in Communication and minors in Political Science and Economics.

***BLOOD AND OIL***  
Featuring Michael T. Klare

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Producer	Scott Morris
Co-Producer	Andrew Killoy
Executive Producer	Sut Jhally
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Editors	Andrew Killoy Scott Morris
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Sound	Rikk Desgres, Pinehurst Productions
Camera	Andrew Killoy
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## SCREENINGS

For information about screenings of *Blood and Oil*, visit:  
[bloodandoil.bravenewtheaters.com](http://bloodandoil.bravenewtheaters.com)

## FILM STILLS

For high-resolution images from the film, visit:  
[www.bloodandoilmovie.com/pressroom.html](http://www.bloodandoilmovie.com/pressroom.html)

UNITED STATES • 2008 • 52 minutes • Color • Shot on Mini-DV •  
Aspect Ratio 4:3 • Stereo • English/English subtitles  
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