

SCAMMING AMERICA

— THE OFFICIAL —

9/11 COVER-UP GUIDE



Published on the occasion of
The Kean Commission Hearings
At The New School in New York City
May 18-19, 2004

"This is a SCAM. It's DISGUSTING. America is being CHEATED."

— Former 9/11 Commissioner Max Cleland in reference to deals reached with the White House for limited access to documents, CNN (11/13/03)

NY 9/11 Truth



www.ny911truth.org

EDITORIAL

Why There Is a 9/11 Truth Movement

In the third year after 9/11, the U.S. government still has not answered the most important questions about what really happened. And the official 9/11 Commission has failed to ask.

Fighter planes were not dispatched in a timely manner to intercept the 9/11 flights - in blatant violation of longstanding, standard operating procedures. Why? Why did the U.S. chain of command (Bush, Rumsfeld, Gen. Myers) by their own admission remain inactive during the actual attacks? On the morning of Sept. 11 itself, the U.S. military conducted scheduled wargames to rehearse scenarios that included plane hijackings and an "errant aircraft" crashing into a government building (AP, Aug. 2002). Even granted this was a coincidence: How can high officials like Condoleeza Rice and Donald Rumsfeld get away with testifying that "no one could have imagined" planes would be used as weapons against buildings? Why won't the government identify who made profits by short-selling the stock of United Airlines, American Airlines and the WTC re-insurers in the week before the attacks? Where did the many known advance warnings of the attacks originate? Were these warnings really missed?

The Kean Commission (the official 9/11 investigation currently making headlines) was called to life only after Sept. 11th families lobbied stubbornly for 14 months. The same families have now demanded the resignation of the Commission's executive director, Philip Zelikow, for his evident conflicts of interest. Although Zelikow frames the Commission's agenda, he was on the Bush 2000 transition team, worked closely with Condoleeza Rice under both Bushes, and co-authored a book with Rice in 1999. Why hasn't this story made the headlines?

For millions of people around the world, the timing and convenience of 9/11 gave rise to dark suspicions about the true origins of the attacks. These were fed by a level of government stonewalling that can be described only as a cover-up.

The terror of September 11th, 2001 gave the holders of power in the U.S. a pretext to redefine the world - to roll back the unalienable rights of American citizens - to shift trillions from butter to guns - to launch a perpetual "war on terror" - and to go ahead with invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan that had been planned years before 2001.

Now, in the third year after the crime, a 9/11 Truth movement has risen in the United States and across the globe. It aims to take the dangerous ideological weapon of 9/11 out of the hands of those who have abused it - and to open the door to the hidden truths of U.S. and world politics. For too long, we have allowed the government to operate in the shadows. What has it been doing, in our name?

How can you rule yourself, when you don't know where you stand? Democracy is impossible without an informed populace. The time for merely demanding disclosure about what really happened on Sept. 11, 2001 has passed. The government has refused to provide answers and engaged in a whitewash. Now it is up to the people take responsibility and face what really happened on September 11, 2001.

– THE EDITORS - NY 9/11 TRUTH
www.ny911truth.org

“Scamming America”

The Official 9/11 Cover-up Guide

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by NY 9/11 TRUTH

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“Bush is scamming America.”

“As each day goes by, we learn that this government knew a whole lot more about these terrorists before September 11 than it has ever admitted.”

“Let’s chase this rabbit into the ground here. They had a plan to go to war and when 9/11 happened that's what they did; they went to war.”

-Former Georgia Sen. Max Cleland

who resigned from the Kean Commission in November 2003

The Kean Commission and the September 11th Families

NEW YORK CITY — The Kean Commission was called to life in Nov. 2002, when the White House dropped its objections to an independent 9/11 investigation, after many months of persistent lobbying by September 11th families. At the time, this was seen as a victory for the relatives of those killed on September 11th, and for their allies in the fight for open government and accountability.

As the Kean Commission nears the end of its work, it is informative to ask what those families are saying today.

23 Questions to Bush

“Mr. Bush, who approved the flight of the bin Laden family out of the United States, when all commercial flights were grounded?”

That is one of 23 explosive questions that George W. Bush and his subordinates must face in public testimony, under oath and pain of perjury—that is, if leaders of September 11 family groups get their way.

The question refers to private flights for Saudi royalty, cleared by the White House during the otherwise total civilian flight ban in the days immediately after September 11. Members of the Bin Laden clan, including two of Osama Bin Laden’s many brothers, were allowed to leave the United States before federal investigators had a chance to question them.¹

Despite confirmed reports dating back to

September 2001, the story of the Bin Laden family airlift was denigrated as urban legend until April, when former White House terror adviser Richard Clarke and Secretary of State Colin Powell both confirmed it.

How many other confirmations of “urban legend” are still in store?

Accountability and the Theory of Luck

“Why has no one in any level of our government been held accountable for the countless failures leading up to and on 9/11?”

The 23 questions are from the Family Steering Committee, twelve September 11 relatives who represent many other 9/11 family groups. Since November 2002, they have monitored the 9/11 Commission headed by former New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean.

Members of the FSC were key lobbyists in gaining an independent investigation of September 11. Mindy Kleinberg, known as one of the four “Jersey Wives,” testified to the Kean Commission during its first public proceedings in early 2003. She alerted the panel to disturbing gaps and contradictions in the government’s story of what happened on September 11. Her comments challenged the idea that all anomalies in the official story are due to incompetence or coincidence. She called that “the theory of luck.”

“Is it luck that aberrant stock trades were not monitored?” Kleinberg asked. She was referring to the widespread reports of possible insider trading in the week before September

¹ Shafiq bin Laden, Osama’s older brother, had been in Washington on the morning of September 11 for the annual meeting of the Carlyle Group, the fund that until that October tied Bush family interests to the Bin Laden family fortune.

11 indicating specific prior knowledge of the attacks.²

www.9-11commission.gov/hearings/hearing1/witness_kleinberg.htm

“To me luck is something that happens once. When you have this repeated pattern of broken protocols, broken laws, broken communication, one cannot still call it luck.”

-Mindy Kleinberg
9/11 Families Steering Committee

Kleinberg: “Is it luck when 15 visas are awarded based on incomplete forms? Is it luck when Airline Security screenings allow hijackers to board planes with box cutters and pepper spray? Is it luck when Emergency FAA and NORAD protocols are not followed? Is it luck when a national emergency is not reported to top government officials on a timely basis?”

“To me luck is something that happens once. When you have this repeated pattern of broken protocols, broken laws, broken communication, one cannot still call it luck. If at some point we don't look to hold the individuals accountable for not doing their jobs properly then how can we ever expect for terrorists not to get lucky again?”

Since Kleinberg’s testimony the commission has avoided almost any public treatment of the issues she raised.

For a transcript of Kleinberg’s comments, see

A Lesson in Reading

The families threw down their challenge to Bush last February, following reports that the Kean Commission had asked Bush and Bill Clinton to testify. Only in May did Bush finally appear before the panel, in a closed session at the Oval Office. No transcript was taken. Bush assented to the hearing on the condition that he testify together with Dick Cheney, who apparently did most of the talking. Based on the handful of public statements about their joint appearance, it seems doubtful that the panel confronted Bush with this question:

“Please explain why you remained at the Sarasota, Florida, Elementary School for a press conference after you had finished listening to the children read, when as a terrorist target, your presence potentially jeopardized the lives of the children?”



George W. Bush at Booker Elementary

Bush, his staff and his Secret Service entourage did indeed pay a visit to the Booker Elementary School, as carried on live television

until 9:34 a.m. This was fifty minutes after the first plane hit the World Trade Center and 29 minutes after 9:05, when Bush was informed of the second plane crash and

² In the days before 9/11, unknown traders bought unusually high “put options” in the stock of United Airlines, American Airlines, and the WTC tenants and reinsurers. This meant that the traders expected the prices of these equities to plunge in the short term. The volumes of the purchases may have activated a known CIA real-time tracing program designed to discover suspicious trades (PROMIS). The FBI later claimed it had determined the identities of the traders in the U.S., but says they are in the clear and declines to name them. Many of the known trades were transacted through A.B. Brown. The chairman of that bank, Mayo Shattuck, resigned suddenly on September 12. In the case of one trade, the buyer left \$2.5 million uncollected for months after the attacks. Financial authorities in Frankfurt and Tokyo and an intelligence bureau in Israel also reported suspicious trades and initially characterized these as smoking guns that would lead back to the masterminds of 9/11. To our knowledge there has been no public follow-up to these statements since. In London, authorities said they traced the trades back to an unnamed “small airline” that was pursuing a “hedging strategy” (*IHT*, 9/20/01).

told, “America is under attack.” After the well-known moment, when his chief of staff whispered into his ear, Bush continued listening to the children read. He remained in the classroom for about 13 minutes. He then prepared and delivered a brief speech to the nation from the school, calling for a moment of silence for the WTC victims at 9:31.

The Pentagon was hit at 9:38.

The White House has never explained this anomaly. Instead, Bush has twice claimed, in speeches made available on the White House website, that he thought the first plane crash (at 8:46 a.m.) was an accident. On hearing news of the crash at 8:55, he says he thought, “That’s one lousy pilot.” Yet the Federal Aviation Administration was aware, since 8:20 at the latest, that American Airlines Flight 11 had been hijacked. The North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) was also informed of the hijacking.

The family leaders have released a series of strongly worded statements blasting the Bush administration for stonewalling the 9/11 investigation. But they have been equally harsh in chastising the Kean Commission for its refusal to examine key evidence.

And by 8:55 a.m. or shortly after, two additional hijackings were known to be in progress. In the White House, Dick Cheney is known to have by then been on an open line connecting FAA, NORAD and the Secret Service. Yet as the attacks went on, the reaction times of U.S. air defense apparently became worse.

Was no one telling the president all this? Who was acting as commander-in-chief, while

Bush listened to “A Girl and Her Pet Goat”? Was there no concern that the school itself would be a target, since it was public knowledge, days in advance, that the president would be there?

Courage to Ask the Obvious

The family leaders have released a series of strongly worded statements blasting the Bush administration for stonewalling the 9/11 investigation. But they have been equally harsh in chastising the Kean Commission for its refusal to examine key evidence. They have called for the immediate resignation of Philip Zelikow, executive director of the commission, pointing to his various conflicts of interest. (See “The Rice/Zelikow Connection,” p. 6)

The relatives have shown no reluctance to pursue controversial lines of inquiry in public. It is hard to imagine the commission asking if the Bush administration tried to cut a deal with Osama Bin Laden in advance of the 9/11 attacks, as reported in the European press back in the autumn of 2001.

But the families want an answer: *“Did you or any agent of the United States government carry out any negotiations or talks with UBL, an agent of UBL, or al-Qaeda?”* (“UBL” is government speak for Osama Bin Laden.)

The Commission has shown no inclination to follow the trail of the Cheney “energy policy meetings” of early 2001, or the Bush administration’s oil-pipeline talks with the Taliban up to July 2001. These touchy subjects might arise if they ever considered this question:

“During that same period, did you or any agent of the United States government carry out any negotiations or talks with any foreign government, its agents, or officials regarding UBL?” Would the Kean Commission ever wonder out loud if anyone other than Al-Qaeda (or other foreigners) gained anything from the attacks?

The families are not afraid to confront this obvious concern:

“Which individuals, governments, agencies, institutions, or groups may have benefited from the attacks of 9/11?”

Although the Kean Commission accepted a deal strictly limiting its access to White House documents concerning advance warnings of a possible terror attack, Kean claimed repeatedly that there is “no smoking gun” to indicate Bush had specific prior knowledge of the attacks. At least, not in the “parts of the documents” Kean has actually been allowed to see.

The families don't buy that on faith, or on partial evidence. They want specifics:

“As Commander-in-Chief, from May 1, 2001 until September 11, 2001, did you receive any information from any intelligence agency official or agent that UBL was planning to attack this nation on its own soil using airplanes as weapons, targeting New York City landmarks during the week of September 11, 2001 or on the actual day of September 11, 2001?”

Carefully researched, the families’ questions reflect concerns that have caused millions to doubt the official story—and to call for a truly independent investigation: One with subpoena power, testimony under oath, no self-imposed restrictions on allowable lines of inquiry, and a published, uncensored final report.

“Even now we are dealing with the idea of how the [commission] report is going to be, when it's released,” says Beverly Eckert of the FSC. “The classification process is done by the White House and the intelligence agencies. They are the ones. They are a subject of this report. How can they not have a conflict in classifying and editing it? They can edit at will.”

Conspiracy Theory?

It is hard to dismiss these concerns as “conspiracy theory” when many Bush administration officials used the most outrageous conspiracy theory of all—the legend that Saddam backed the 9/11 attacks—as pretext for invading Iraq. In that matter as well, the families want government held accountable:

“Do you continue to maintain that Saddam Hussein was linked to al-Qaeda? What proof do you have of any connection between al-Qaeda and the Hussein regime?”

Bush in the meantime has admitted there was no such connection. But Cheney and members of his circle still say there was.

9/11 was used as a lever to shift the globe. All Americans—and, given the global impact, the people of the world—need to learn the answers that the families demand.

The FSC questions show that, though their grief and tragedy is great, the families have understood the stakes in the 9/11 disclosure issue are even greater. Getting the truth of 9/11 means more than justice for the victims. And well-deserved closure for their relatives.

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The Sept. 11 family statements, and their lists of questions to a variety of administration members, have been published at the FSC's website: www.911independentcommission.org

The Rice/Zelikow Connection

A brief history of the Kean Commission and its conflicts of interest



Rice & Zelikow

Condoleezza Rice is a household name. But most Americans still have never heard of the man who wrote a book with her, Philip Zelikow.

As the executive director of the Kean Commission, Zelikow is responsible for framing the agenda. He leads the research staff. He decides what evidence the commission sees.

In April, the world media focused on Rice's appearance before the commission. She claimed, not for the first time, that no one could have imagined terrorists would use hijacked planes as weapons against buildings. This is a demonstrable falsehood, which Bush himself inadvertently exposed a week later. (See "Bush, Rice and the Genoa Warning," p. 15)

Rice's testimony received mostly bad reviews. The commission was credited with investigative fervor. Few reports bothered to note that in the late 1980s, Rice and Zelikow worked closely together on George H.W. Bush's national security staff.

Zelikow and Rice co-authored a 1999 book about their experiences in the first Bush White House, "Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft." The book presents "a detailed and fascinating account of behind-the-scenes discussions and deliberations" during the fall of the Soviet empire, according to *Library Journal*.

Zelikow again served alongside Rice as a member of the Bush transition team in 2000-

2001, when he took part in White House meetings on the terror threat. Since this was of interest to the 9/11 investigation, the Kean Commission recently called Zelikow as a witness, in a closed-door session.

Now imagine if the judge in a trial was a close associate of the star witness. Imagine if the judge called himself as a witness to the case, in secret testimony. A parallel situation has arisen, with Zelikow in the role of the judge, and Rice as the star witness.

Even after September 11, two days before the invasion of Afghanistan, Zelikow went back to work for the Bush national security staff, as a member of the White House advisory board on foreign intelligence.

Zelikow's evident conflicts of interest prompted September 11 family leaders to call for his resignation months ago. "It is apparent that Dr. Zelikow should never have been permitted to be Executive Staff Director of the Commission," the Family Steering Committee concluded in a March 20 statement. So far, the commission has ignored their plea.

The Rice/Zelikow connection should have set off alarm bells about the Kean Commission's independence. Yet it has barely caused a stir.

The Kissinger Commission



Henry Kissinger

"When we first envisioned this commission, we did not envision it made up of ex-senators and ex-Navy secretaries and all of this other stuff," says Beverly Eckert of the Family Steering

Committee. “We thought it should be professors and writers, scholars and also people who are involved in the news, but not necessarily a part of it. These people [the commissioners] are all a part of it. In many ways the government is part of the problem.”

By a hair’s breadth, what we know now as the Kean Commission almost went down in history as the “Kissinger Commission.” Soon after assenting to an independent investigation, George W. Bush kicked it off in Nov. 2002 by appointing Henry Kissinger to chair the panel.

Two weeks later, Kissinger declined the appointment. The families and a few of the legislators designing the commission had asked him to rule out possible conflicts of interest involving his consulting firm, Kissinger Associates. Kissinger refused to name his clients, even confidentially. In a letter to Bush, he opined that service to country would ruin his business.

During the two weeks of Kissinger’s appointment, the Internet and alternative press buzzed at the thought of a 9/11 investigation headed by Richard Nixon’s former secretary of state, a known practitioner of the strategic lie. Kissinger remains an elder adviser to many of the key people in the administration and U.S. defense establishment, especially the neoconservative group at the Pentagon under Donald Rumsfeld. He is under investigation in several countries for alleged involvement in Nixon-era crimes against humanity in Chile, Indochina and elsewhere. During a Paris hotel stay in 2001, he received a surprise visit for questioning by a French magistrate, and had to quietly slip out of the country.

The failed Kissinger appointment was a global public relations disaster, but perhaps the administration felt it needed a cover-up artist of his caliber. Soon after his departure, the job of heading the 9/11 Commission went to Kean, a less controversial figure who was more willing to reveal his business connections. One of these is worthy of a brief detour.

New Jersey to Afghanistan



Thomas Kean

Before taking his current position, Thomas Kean was a director and part owner of Amerada Hess, a company that maintained a partnership with Delta Oil of Saudi Arabia. Since that is the home country for most of the alleged 9/11 hijackers, and since the Bush family has close business ties to Saudi elites, many people would think that this is already a serious conflict of interest.

Together with UNOCAL, Delta Oil in the mid-1990s began negotiating deals with Central Asian governments, looking to acquire pipeline rights out of the world’s richest remaining store of undeveloped oil fields. The favored plan was to get the oil to a port in Pakistan - meaning, through Taliban-controlled Afghanistan. The Taliban were courted in the late 1990s by a number of American oil projects, including UNOCAL’s. But their hardline behavior ruined their international image, and the companies backed off.

When the Bush administration came to power in 2001, it opened new pipeline negotiations with the the Taliban. Despite awards to Afghanistan of \$143 million in U.S. aid in the first half of 2001, the Taliban refused to accept the U.S. proposal of a joint government with the Northern Alliance. They broke off the back-channel Berlin talks in June. At the time, a U.S. representative promised that the Taliban had a choice between “a carpet of gold or a carpet of bombs.”

The White House has admitted that documents placed on Bush’s desk on Sept. 9, 2001 detailed a plan for attacking Afghanistan by mid-Oct. 2001. Significant deployments to the region of U.S. and British forces were already underway. All that was missing for an invasion was the casus belli - the cause for hostilities. That arrived two days later, in New York, in the form of the 9/11 attacks.



Hamid Karzai

The subsequent U.S. invasion of Afghanistan installed Hamid Karzai as prime minister and Zalmay Khalilzad as the powerful White House envoy to Kabul. Interestingly, both men were previously employed

as consultants by UNOCAL. The new Afghan government has since entered a pipeline consortium. UNOCAL is not known to be involved, but is seen within the industry as the likely ultimate beneficiary of a future pipeline.

In other words, 9/11 became the reason for an already-planned war in Afghanistan, as a result of which a long-delayed Afghan pipeline deal was struck. Given that context, the appointment as commission chair of an any oil company director - let alone the director of one involved in a Central Asian pipeline consortium - appears improper.

But within the commission, Gov. Kean's involvement is by no means exceptional. A look at the member resumes shows that almost all of them have had business ties to oil companies - or else, airlines.

Pipelines and Airlines

After Kean's appointment, the White House shifted from resisting the very idea of an investigation to the more mundane matter of obstructing it. Although the commissioners were all government and national security insiders, getting security clearances took months. For most of the first year, the White House claimed executive privilege in withholding access to the Presidential Daily Briefings. The rules were fashioned so that issuing a subpoena required a majority vote.

Bush initially approved a budget of just \$3 million for the panel, which requires a staff of

dozens to comb through millions of documents. Only after months of wrangling did the White House give in to an additional \$8 million in funding.¹

Congressional Democrats and Republicans and the White House set out to apportion the seats in what was termed a bipartisan manner, meaning five for each party.



Lee Hamilton

Kean's vice-chair, Lee Hamilton, was the chairman in the 1980s of the House Select Committee on Iran/Contra. Afterwards, he told PBS Frontline that he didn't wish to indict Reagan or Bush, because he didn't

think it would be "good for the country," although a wealth of evidence showed that Reagan and Bush authorized illegal arms shipments to Iran in 1985. Then Chairman Hamilton, a Democrat, was influenced by heavy political pressure from a hawkish fellow congressman from Wyoming by the name of Dick Cheney.

The New York Post and FOX NEWS have yet to report any of the above details concerning Zelikow, Kean or Hamilton, but in April they devoted much energy to exposing commission member Jamie Gorelick, who served on Bill Clinton's national security staff. The Murdoch media and Republican politicians have said she is too partisan to serve on the commission, and urged that she resign.

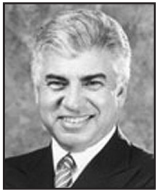


Jamie Gorelick

In May 2003, shortly after joining the Kean Commission, Gorelick also joined the Washington firm of Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering. A month earlier, this firm announced it would defend Saudi Prince Mohammed al Faisal, third in command in the Saudi government—and a plaintiff

¹ By comparison, the Columbia Space Shuttle explosion led to immediate approval of \$30 million for a commission within a week. The investigation of Bill Clinton's sexual affairs in the 1990s took up on the order of \$40 million in funds.

in several of the billion-dollar lawsuits filed by relatives of 9/11 victims.



R. Ben-Veniste

Richard Ben-Veniste, former Clinton White House lawyer, was a partner until February 2003 in one of the biggest bankruptcy firms in the world, Weil, Gotshal, and Manges. As the N.Y. Post disclosed, the firm received a famously inflated \$3 million retainer from Enron, when the latter filed for bankruptcy in 2001.



Slade Gorton

Former Republican Sen. Slade Gorton is a lawyer in the Seattle firm of Preston, Gates and Ellis, which counts among its clients both Delta Air Lines and the Boeing Employees' Credit Union. Is either of them likely to

want the airlines forced to pay off lawsuits from September 11 relatives?



John Lehman

While Henry Kissinger did not make the cut, he does have close ties to Republican John Lehman, whom he recruited for his staff during the Nixon administration. Lehman, the secretary of the Navy under the Reagan administration,

is also close to several members of the current Bush government. Along with Kean, Hamilton, and Gorelick, he is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).



James R. Thompson

As for former Illinois Governor James R. Thompson, it really takes no rocket science to figure out his conflict of interest. He is chairman of the Winston & Strawn law firm in Chicago. From Jan. 1997 through June

2002, Thompson's law firm received \$1.66

million for federal lobbying efforts on behalf of American Airlines—one of the two carriers potentially liable for negligence on 9/11.

Commission Cuts Deal with White House

Under a deal the Kean Commission made with the White House in Nov. 2003, Jamie Gorelick is the only commissioner—alongside Executive Director Philip Zelikow—allowed to view White House documents, such as the famous Presidential Daily Briefing entitled “BIN LADEN DETERMINED TO STRIKE IN U.S.”

That document (of which the government recently published 1 1/2 pages out of 11) was delivered from George Tenet to George Bush on Aug. 6, 2001. Gorelick is a long-standing Tenet associate and an adviser to the CIA. Once again, the investigator is on the friendliest terms with the subject of the investigation.

While viewing White House documents, she and Zelikow are allowed to take notes, which remain with the White House. They then report to the other commission members. At one point, the White House withheld the notes. The commission was said to be debating a subpoena for its own notes, instead of the actual documents.

Max Cleland Drops Out



Max Cleland

Max Cleland, the former Democratic Senator from Georgia, objected strenuously to the deal restricting access to White House documents. In the course of autumn 2003, he issued a challenge to both the White House and

his fellow members of the Kean Commission. “Bush is scamming America,” Cleland declared.

“As each day goes by, we learn that this government knew a whole lot more about these terrorists before September 11 than

it has ever admitted,” Cleland told the *New York Times* (10/26/03).

“Let’s chase this rabbit into the ground here,” Cleland said in an interview. (*Salon*, November 2003) “They had a plan to go to war, and when 9/11 happened that’s what they did. They went to war.” He called this “a national scandal.”

Cleland compared the Kean Commission to the earlier investigation of the Kennedy Assassination. “The Warren Commission blew it. I’m not going to be part of that. I’m not going to be part of looking at information only partially. I’m not going to be part of just coming to quick conclusions. I’m not going to be part of political pressure to do this or not do that.”

At the time of Cleland’s impassioned outbursts, the hearings were not even covering September 11, but issues of Homeland Security. The commission was barely a blip on the media radar. Aside from the *Salon* interview, Cleland’s revolt was treated to cursory coverage in a total of two other outlets: the *Times* and the *Washington Post*. In the midst of an apparent news black-out, followers of the commission process were not even sure if Cleland had resigned.

In December, Bush stepped in and settled the question. He appointed Cleland to direct the U.S. Export-Import Bank. Cleland accepted, and left the Commission.

Ignoring the Elephant

Max Cleland’s departure exposed the commission’s conflicts of interest and willingness to compromise its mission. Despite reports of turmoil behind the scenes, the public consequences approached nil.

Yet it was also a chance for the panel to change course, to address the issues he raised. Activists launched a campaign to nominate a member of the Family Steering Committee to fill the vacancy. Did the commission have room for one person who is not a government

insider, and who has a clear incentive to seek the truth? A well-known FSC member expressed her willingness to serve. Calls and faxes advocating her nomination poured in from around the country to the offices of Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle. He had nominated Cleland, and therefore got to choose the replacement.

At the commission’s next public session on December 8, 2003, Cleland went unmentioned until the closing press conference, when a reporter asked Kean and Hamilton how they intended to restore the commission’s credibility. Both proclaimed, needlessly, that Cleland was a man of integrity, without addressing anything he had said.

In addition, confronted with open-source evidence of U.S. military preparations for the 9/11 scenario prior to September 11 (the Pentagon MASCAL exercise, see p. 11), they gave their usual answer, which can be summed up as follows: “We are grateful. Please provide us with these materials. We will pursue all leads.” The materials were duly provided.

The next day, Daschle filled the vacancy with former Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey, president of The New School University and an outspoken hardliner on homeland security issues. (Kerrey was also a member of the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq, which lobbied foreign countries to support the ousting of Saddam Hussein.) The decision had been made. The 9/11 Commission had room for no one but insiders.

Leaving aside the behind-the-scenes stories and conflicts of interest we have detailed, does the commission truly pursue all leads? In the next article, a case study of how the commission operates in public, we shall see what happened when its members had a golden opportunity to ask top Pentagon officials about the wargames of September 11.

The Total Failure Of the Kean Commission

Case study: How the Commission went easy on Rumsfeld, Myers and Wolfowitz

By Michael Kane

March 27, 2004

“I had no idea hijacked airliners would be used as weapons.”



Donald Rumsfeld

So said Rumsfeld, in his opening remarks to the Kean Commission on March 23, 2004. His final statement on the topic while under oath was, “I plead ignorance.”

Former White House terrorism adviser Richard Clarke’s testimony, one day later, was interesting, but amounted to little more than a distraction. There were more cameras on Clarke than on anyone else during the two-day national broadcast of the commission hearings. In reality, his testimony was nowhere near as interesting as the joint appearance by Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Myers the day before. I do not question Clarke’s sincerity at this time, just the timing, which he did not choose. His book was released at a time chosen by the White House, and the testimony depended on the book. He had finished it well over 6 months before, but it was held up by the White House security clearance.

As a result, the book came out on the eve of Rumsfeld’s sworn testimony to the 9/11 Commission. Very clever if intentional, because it distracted everyone from two issues completely ignored by the commissioners, and overshadowed by Clarke and his book when they questioned Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld:

ISSUE #1 – On the morning of September 11, 2001, NORAD was running war games involving the scenario of hijacked airliners,

while the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) was running a drill for the scenario of an errant aircraft crashing into a government building, at the exact same time as an identical scenario was perpetrated in reality. The Air Force was in day two of annual drills testing all of its systems to respond to various threats.

What role, if any, did Secretary Rumsfeld, Undersecretary Wolfowitz, and acting Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Richard Myers play in any war game scenario on the morning of September 11, 2001? What briefings did they receive about these wargames before, during, and after the morning in question?



Pentagon Mass Casualty Exercise - Oct. 24, 2000

ISSUE #2 – On October 24, 2000, a mass casualty (M A S C A L) emergency drill was conducted to test the Pentagon’s response to an airliner crashing into its headquarters. In the situation room, a model plane was set aflame within a scale model of the building, while emergency crews were dispatched to various places around the real building to test their response times. A military web site later published news of the exercise, with pictures. What did then Defense Secretary William Cohen tell his successor, Rumsfeld, about this drill during the transition process from the Clinton to Bush administrations?

Now how is it possible these two questions were “overlooked”?

Cover-Up Commission – Skillful Delusion

Richard Ben-Veniste grilled Rumsfeld on the well-known threat of aircraft being used as weapons. In his long list of precedents for hijacked aircraft and attempted kamikaze attacks, Ben-Veniste conveniently left out the Oct 24, 2000 drill directly involving the Pentagon. (It should be noted that Ben-Veniste was Bill and Hillary Clinton’s Senate-appointed lawyer during Whitewater, as well as the attorney for Barry Seal, who use to fly cocaine from Honduras up to the Contra supply base at Mena, Arkansas while Bill Clinton was governor.)

Of extreme interest was CIA adviser Jamie Gorelick’s question to Rumsfeld, following on Ben-Veniste’s line of questioning. She recalled being in a room with Wolfowitz, planning for the possibility of terrorists hijacking an airliner and crashing it into the Olympics. She found it incomprehensible that the possibility of this happening at the Pentagon had never occurred to either Wolfowitz or Rumsfeld.

But Gorelick also mentioned nothing about the October 24, 2000 drill at the Pentagon itself.

She went on to ask specific questions about when an order to authorize fighter pilots to shoot down aircraft was issued on the morning of September 11. Rumsfeld complicated and confused the question by shifting the focus to later in the day and describing how the events of the day modified the rules of engagement.



Richard B. Myers

General Myers clarified by stating that, to the best of his recollection, the shoot-down order was communicated directly to the pilots shortly after

the president issued it. (This was in contradiction to his testimony before the Senate of 9/13/01 - see p. 12)

GORELICK: Was it your understanding that the NORAD pilots who were circling over Washington D.C. that morning had indeed received a shoot-down order?

RUMSFELD: When I arrived in the command center, one of the first things I heard, and I was with you, was that the order had been given and that the pilots—correction, not the pilots necessarily, but the command had been given the instructions that their pilots could, in fact, use their weapons to shoot down commercial airliners filled with our people in the event that the aircraft appeared to be behaving in a threatening way and an unresponsive way.

Officials at NORAD have said that when the hijackings first occurred, they initially thought it was part of the Vigilant Guardian drills running that morning. Despite some confusion, once Flight 11 struck the World Trade Center at 8:45 a.m., everyone should have known this was not a test.

GORELICK: Now, you make a distinction there between the command and the pilots. Was it your understanding that the pilots had received that order?

RUMSFELD: I’m trying to get in time because...

MYERS: Well, I think—my understanding, I’ve talked to General Eberhart, commander now [sic] of NORAD, and I think he’s briefed the staff. And I think what he told the staff, what he told me, as I recall, was that the pilots

did—at the appropriate point when the authority to engage civilian airliners was given, that the pilots knew that fairly quickly. I mean, it went down through the chain of command. (...)

RUMSFELD: (...) The reason I am hesitant is because we went through two or three iterations of the rules of engagement. And in the end, we ended up delegating that authority to, at the lowest level, I believe, to two stars.

MYERS: Right.

RUMSFELD: And the pilot would then describe the situation to that level. To the extent that level had time, they would come up to General Eberhart. To the extent Eberhart had time, he would come up to me. And to the extent I had time, I might talk to the president, which in fact, I did do on several occasions during the remainder of the day with respect to international flights heading to this country that were squawking “hijack.”

GORELICK: I’m just trying to understand whether it is your understanding that the NORAD pilots themselves, who were circling over Washington, as you referred to in your statement, whether they knew that they had authority to shoot down a plane (...)

RUMSFELD: I do not know what they thought. In fact, I haven’t talked to any of the pilots that were up there. I certainly was immediately concerned that we did know what they thought they could do.

At first glance this seems like semantics, but in the context of what was really happening that day it may be quite significant. Whether or not a pilot has a shoot-down order directly communicated to him is of the highest significance given the fact that the pilot may not have known if he was still in one of the war games scheduled for that day.

Officials at NORAD have said that when the hijackings first occurred, they initially thought it was part of the Vigilant Guardian

drills running that morning. Despite some confusion, once Flight 11 struck the World Trade Center at 8:45 a.m., everyone should have known this was not a test. However, this is still an assumption, because we do not know what the fighter jocks in the air at the time knew and did not know. We do not know the full extent of the orders they received, and it has never been explained why scrambled fighters were unable to intercept any of the hijacked airliners.

Scrambling aircraft simply means providing an Air Force escort to survey the situation. This has nothing to do with shooting down an aircraft. Such scrambling procedures occurred 67 times in the year prior to 9/11. The concept of this simple standard operating procedure failing from 8:28 a.m., when Flight 11 made an unplanned 100 degree turn to the south, until 9:38 a.m., when the Pentagon was struck, is inconceivable without a military order. Such an order, or multiple orders causing ‘confusion’, may have been scripted into the war game scenarios that morning. We do not know if this is the case, and it seems the Kean Commission doesn’t want to know, either.

It is possible that information regarding the war games running on the morning of 9/11 has been classified and cannot be discussed in public hearings. Considering the fact that the information provided here is open source and has been published by the likes of Jane’s Defense Weekly and the Associated Press, classifying the subject as a whole does not in any way help national security. If we do not face what really happened that morning, our national security is truly in jeopardy.

What was Rumsfeld doing on September 11?

In the past, Rumsfeld has gone on record saying that on the morning of September 11, he was in the Pentagon giving a lecture to members of Congress. He warned them to “expect the unexpected” with future terrorist attacks. Shortly thereafter, he was handed a note stating that the North Tower had been struck. Soon

after that, he was told the second tower was hit. Rumsfeld claimed he continued with his lecture until the Pentagon was struck, at 9:38. This makes absolutely no sense. If the Secretary of Defense is lecturing to a Congressional delegation about the danger of surprise terrorist attacks, and if in the middle of that he is told two planes have hit both World Trade Center towers, it is beyond belief that he continues his presentation without reacting to the ‘unexpected’ terrorist attack.

The fact that not one member of the Kean Commission chose to scrutinize Rumsfeld’s well-known statements speaks volumes.

Willful Reckless Wanton or Treason?

The Project for the New American Century (PNAC), a non-profit organization founded in 1997 by prominent Republican leaders, called for a transformation of America to exercise military total spectrum dominance and unchallenged worldwide hegemony. The PNAC program, in a nutshell: America’s military must rule out even the possibility of a serious global or regional challenger anywhere in the world. The regime of Saddam Hussein must be toppled immediately, by U.S. force if necessary. And the entire Middle East must be re-ordered according to an American plan. PNAC’s most important study notes that selling this plan to the American people will likely take a long time, “absent some catastrophic catalyzing event – like a new Pearl Harbor.” (PNAC, *Rebuilding America’s Defenses* (1997), p.51)



Paul Wolfowitz

A catalyzing catastrophe did come, and since September 11 the policies that PNAC promoted have been put in place by PNAC’s own members. They occupy nearly all of the key positions in the

Bush administration national security apparatus. Paul Wolfowitz, who was under oath alongside Rumsfeld at the March 23 testimony, signed on to the PNAC document which specifically referred to a “new Pearl

Harbor” in a favorable light (in September 2000).

Donald Rumsfeld was a signatory to the PNAC mission statement, along with administration stalwarts Dick Cheney, John Negroponte, Elliot Abrams, Otto Reich and Zalmay Khalilzad, as well as Jeb Bush. For all of them, the Project for a New American Century amounts to a kind of public oath. The mission statement and the entire PNAC plan were published on the web at newamerican-century.org, years before the Bush administration came to power.

Since all of this information is open source, how is it that the commission managed to entirely ignore it when they questioned Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and Myers?

Curious Evidence

The State Department in September 2001 promised a paper to prove the guilt of Bin Laden. It was never published. Why? British premier Tony Blair instead provided a weak circumstantial case in his White Paper a few weeks later. The State Department did, however, provide a misleading translation to make it appear that Bin Laden (or someone who looks like him) confessed to 9/11 in a November 2001 video, which was found under suspicious circumstances in Afghanistan. (ARD-TV, Germany)

Meanwhile, the FBI announced one of the flight hijacker s passports was discovered in the Ground Zero rubble, on September 11 itself. A search of a Florida motel room where two hijackers stayed two weeks earlier yielded incriminating documents that they forgot there, and which had not been found by the cleaning personnel. These are only two examples of the investigators incredible lucky streak.

Yet how do these stories square with the admission, seven months later, by FBI Director Robert Mueller that, In our investigation, we have not uncovered a single piece of paper either here in the United States or in the treasure trove of information that has turned up in Afghanistan and elsewhere that mentioned any aspect of the September 11 plot.” (San Francisco speech, 4/19/2002)

Bush, Rice and the Genoa Warning

Documenting a demonstrable falsehood

"I don't think anybody could have predicted that these people would take an airplane and slam it into the World Trade Center; take another one and slam it into the Pentagon, that they would try to use an airplane as a missile, a hijacked airplane as a missile."

—Condoleezza Rice, May 16, 2002

Late 1980s, throughout the 1990s:

The idea of using hijacked planes as weapons against buildings becomes common. There are attempted kamikaze attacks involving hijacked planes in Israel (1986), Turkey (1993) and France (1994). A suicide Cessna pilot hits the White House on Sept. 12, 1994. Tom Clancy publishes a novel in which the villain crashes an airliner into the Capitol (1994). Pentagon scenario planners bring up the possibility of a kamikaze-hijacking in a variety of reports (twice in 1993; 1999; 2000).

Mid-1990s:

News reports and trial cases reveal that Ramzi Yusef (convicted mastermind of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing) devised "Project Bojinka," a plot including the idea of crashing hijacked airliners into American targets. Foreign and U.S. intelligence and defense agencies issue warnings and devise defense scenarios relating to the possibility that something like "Project Bojinka" can be attempted anywhere, at any time.

October 2000:

The Department of Defense responds competently to these developments, by rehearsing a MASCAL (mass casualty) exercise based on the scenario of a plane crashing into the Pentagon. The live exercise of Oct. 24, 2000 involves rescue crews directed from a command center. A paper plane is set aflame within a scale model of the building. A military news-site later publishes an article about it.

NOTE: The Pentagon is known to be ringed

with anti-aircraft batteries.

March 2001:

In the pilot episode of a short-lived TV series, "The Lone Gunmen," the heroes narrowly avert the crashing of a remote-hijacked passenger plane into the WTC North Tower. This shows that even TV writers are speculating that someone could crash a hijacked plane into the Twin Towers.

April 2001:

According to news stories of 4/13/04, the Defense Department considers holding yet another live exercise to rehearse for the contingency of a hijacked plane crashing into the Pentagon.

June 2001:

The mass media warn that Osama Bin Laden is preparing to strike again. Sources report he has new and outlandish "Hollywood" ideas, like crashing a plane loaded with explosives into George W. Bush's hotel at the July 2001 Summit of G-8 nations in Genoa, Italy. *TIME Magazine*: "According to German intelligence sources, the plot involved Bin Laden paying German neo-Nazis to fly remote controlled model aircraft packed with Semtex into the conference hall and blow the leaders of the industrialized world to smithereens. (Paging Jerry Bruckheimer...)" *TIME* also writes, "If Bin Laden didn't exist, we'd have to invent him."

July 3, 2001:

Bush biographer Jim Hatfield picks up on the "Genoa Warning." In an article for *Online Journal*, he jokes: "Why would Osama want to kill his business partner?" He exposes a few facts about the Bush-Bin Ladin family business connections (The Carlyle Group) and about the CIA's historic relationship with Al-Qaeda. Hatfield guesses that the CIA itself is spreading the Genoa rumor, in an effort to pump up Bush's sagging popularity. (July 18, 2001: Jim

Hatfield's death in Arkansas ruled a suicide.)

July 20, 2001:

G-8 Summit opens. Italy, citing the air-attack warnings, closes Genoa International Airport and installs anti-aircraft batteries around the G-8 Summit locations. The U.S. Secret Service is apparently not satisfied. For safety, Bush and his entourage spend at least one night on a U.S. aircraft carrier. On the same night, Putin, Schroeder and Chirac carouse with Blair on an Adriatic cruise ship.

Meanwhile, Genoa is under martial law. Italian federal stormtroops in Darth Vader costumes enclose entire neighborhoods with mile-long, barbed-wire fences. Hooded undercover agents roam in the guise of "black-bloc" protesters. They start riots and then retreat behind federal Italian police lines. This is filmed from helicopters by the local police of Genoa, who object to the extreme measures. One protester is shot dead. (ARD-TV, Germany)

August 6, 2001:

Bush receives a memorandum from CIA Director George Tenet entitled, "BIN LADEN DETERMINED TO STRIKE IN U.S." This "Presidential Daily Briefing" or PDB warns of potential terrorist hijackings in U.S. airspace. The PDB later becomes the object of a tug of war between the White House and the Kean Commission.

September 11, 2001:

Early in the morning, the U.S. military begins air defense and mass casualty wargames. So far, we know definitely of:

- 1) a NORAD exercise known as "Vigilant Guardian," which included hijacking simulations and possibly involved the projection of false blips onto military radar screens; and
- 2) an air-crash fire-drill at the National Reconnaissance Office near Washington, four miles from Dulles Airport. The NRO is the headquarters of the U.S. satellite surveillance system, which is run jointly by the CIA and Pentagon.

Suddenly, the wargames are interrupted by word that a passenger plane from Logan Airport really has been hijacked. When the news arrives at a nearby airbase, the first ques-

tion is: "Is this part of the exercise?" (*Aviation Weekly*, September 2002)

September 27, 2001:

The LA Times reports on the "Genoa Warning." Now Italian sources claim they developed the intelligence themselves. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak also says he warned Bush that Bin Laden wanted to launch a kamikaze attack on the G-8 Summit. How did news of the plot circulate among the intelligence agencies of several countries?

May 15, 2002:

The White House admits the existence of the August 6 PDB. The *New York Post* headlines the news: "Bush Knew." The next day, Condoleeza Rice proclaims that "no one could have imagined" planes would be used as weapons. She says the warnings to Bush related only to "traditional hijackings," not kamikaze attacks.

March and April, 2004:

In testimony to the Kean Commission, both Donald Rumsfeld and Condoleeza Rice once again insist that no one could have imagined hijacked planes would be used as weapons against buildings. Meanwhile, the White House finally gives in and publishes 1 1/2 pages (out of 11 total) of the August 6, 2001 PDB. What does the rest say?

April 13, 2004:

At an evening press conference, Bush connects the "Genoa Warning" (kamikaze attacks) to the Presidential Daily Briefing of Aug. 6th, 2001 (domestic hijackings).

"And I asked for the briefing [the PDB]," he says. "And the reason I did is because there had been a lot of threat intelligence from overseas. And so, I – part of it had to do with the Genoa G-8 conference that I was going to attend. And I asked at that point in time, let's make sure we are paying attention here at home, as well. And that's what triggered the report."

Could "no one have imagined"? Perhaps inadvertently, Bush has exposed his own national security adviser and his Secretary of Defense as liars.

Before the Kean Commission

The cover-up from 9/11 to 2003: An overview

Ahmad, Tenet, Goss and Graham:

Pakistan's powerful Interservices Intelligence Agency (ISI), which in the 1990s created and trained the Taliban, maintains close ties to U.S. intelligence. By treaty, the ISI chief is approved by the CIA. On September 11, that was Gen. Mahmoud Ahmad. He was in Washington when the attacks occurred, on a visit since September 4 to meet with his counterpart at the CIA, George Tenet, and other officials. The *Wall Street Journal* later reported that ISI provided financing to the alleged 9/11 hijackers. Indian intelligence sources said Ahmad directly approved a wire of \$100,000 to Mohamed Atta. On the morning of September 11, Ahmad was at the Capitol, meeting with the heads of the Congressional intelligence committees, Sen. Bob Graham and Rep. Porter Goss. At the insistence of the FBI, Ahmad was fired from his post a month later, as the Pakistani cabinet was reshuffled on the eve of the U.S. offensive in Afghanistan. Graham and Goss went on to lead the 2002 Congressional joint inquiry of 9/11. Their final, 800-page report makes no mention of Pakistan in any context. Shouldn't they—and Tenet—at least explain what they were doing with Ahmad?

The Hush Money Fund:

"The victims fund was not created in a spirit of compassion," September 11 family leader Beverly Eckert wrote in *USA Today* (12/19/03). "Rather, it was a tacit acknowledgment by Congress that it tampered with our civil justice system in an unprecedented way. Lawmakers capped the liability of the airlines at the behest of lobbyists who descended on Washington while the September 11 fires still smoldered."

Compensation for victim families under the government fund is similar to that normally gained in other sudden-death cases, but one condition is unprecedented: those who file for

awards, which average \$1.8 million per death, must forego litigation against U.S. companies or government agencies. At least 50 families are known to have therefore refused the fund presided over by Kenneth Feinberg, among them Eckert. "Litigation has many facets," she says. "It's a fact-finding mechanism, through discovery and depositions. This is not about vengeance. I certainly do want people to be held accountable... The Commission unfortunately has taken a very kid-gloves approach to their fact-finding. A courtroom is a battleground, and that's what we need to get to the bottom of everything."

Poisoning New York:

"The collapse of the Twin Towers and the underground fire emitted the largest concentration ever measured in the U.S. of nanosize, extremely toxic submicroscopic metals and superfine particles," says geoscientist Leuren Moret (University of Berkeley). But New Yorkers will remember that in the days after 9/11, EPA chief Christie Whitman felt confident enough to announce that no special precautions were required to protect against the dust cloud engulfing the city. A new study by the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine environmental program now details serious health consequences for rescue workers and babies born to expectant mothers exposed to the smoke. This comes as no surprise to the many thousands of New Yorkers suffering from persistent "Ground Zero cough." Why did Whitman rush to give obviously premature and reckless reassurances?

Disposing of Ground Zero:

Michael Manning is the editor of *Fire Engineering*, the nation's oldest and most important firefighter's magazine. He published a blistering January 2002 editorial criticizing the disposal of evidence at Ground Zero, in violation of regulations that required

a full forensic reconstruction of the tower collapse mechanics. Debris was not kept at the Staten Island landfill, but shipped straight to scrap recyclers in China and India. As a result, scientists today theorize about the collapse, but they have lost most of the physical evidence they need to figure out what actually happened. (In a bizarre twist, photographers were arrested even for taking unauthorized photos of the Ground Zero site during the clean-up.)

Wasn't Ground Zero a crime scene?

One former cop, Frank Serpico, had this to say: “The mayor of New York, *TIME Magazine's* [2001] Man of the Year, ordered thousands of tons of WTC steel sold and melted down before a proper investigation of the greatest crime scene the country ever witnessed could be conducted. Something foul smelling about that.”

Stonewalling:

When the anthrax attacks began in October 2001, the FBI pulled most of the agents working on the 9/11 investigation. Months later, Dick Cheney informed the “anthraxed” Senate majority leader, Tom Daschle, that a “shadow government” with no Congressional input had been activated on September 11—and was still in operation. In January 2002, Cheney and Bush pressured Daschle to delay a Congressional investigation of September 11. That March, Rep. Cynthia McKinney was castigated merely for asking who may have known what in advance of 9/11. The administration’s refusal to give any information about 9/11 began to crack in May, when the White House admitted receiving an advance warning about domestic hijackings. That story was buried in a sudden avalanche of FBI terror warnings originating from an Al-Qaeda prisoner at Guantanamo, Abu Zubaydah. (He later confessed he was getting many of his ideas from the film, “Godzilla.”)

The Congressional Joint Inquiry:

Finally, in the spring of 2002, the Congressional intelligence committees set out to conduct a joint inquiry of September 11. They hired an executive director, former CIA official Brit Snider, who was fired after undisclosed conflicts behind the scenes.

In the summer of 2002, the FBI (a subject of the investigation) made an unprecedented demand that senators on the panel take lie-detector tests to trace a leak that was said to have angered Dick Cheney. It later turned out that the leak originated with Cheney's office. However, by then it was apparently no longer worth investigating. (John Prados, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*,

As with the later 9/11 Commission, the public hearings avoided most of the actual questions of September 11, and concentrated on homeland security. One exception was the testimony of New Jersey widow Kristen Breitweiser which was ignored. (see “The Kean Commission and the September 11th Families”, p. 2)

In the end, the inquiry submitted an 800-page report (December 2002). It was published six months later, with one-quarter blacked out—including an entire 28-page chapter and a glossary item. (!) An appendix by several senators noted that only the committee chairs actually had access to any significant evidence during the inquiry.

As for Graham, he told the *Washington Post* that the most important facts about Sept. 11—which he implied involved complicity by more than one U.S. ally—had yet to be revealed. “But maybe it will all come out in 30 years,” Graham said.

Recommended article: John Prados, “Slow-Walked and Stonewalled,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*, Mar/Apr 2003

Appendix: What Do We Know About September 11th?

A timeline of the defense response to 9/11 source: www.cooperativeresearch.org

Notes: FAA: Federal Aviation Administration; NORAD: North American Air Defense Command.
All times AM Eastern Standard Time (EST).

- 5:53** Portland Airport surveillance image taken of men identified as Mohammed Atta and Abdulaziz Alomari, boarding a flight to Boston for transfer to Flight 11.
- 7:59** American Airlines Flight 11 (AA11) cleared for takeoff from Logan Airport.
- 8:13-8:20** FAA, Boston ground control aware that AA11 has been diverted, presumably hijacked.
- 8:14** United Airlines Flight 175 (UA175) cleared for takeoff from Logan Airport.
- 8:20** American Airlines Flight 77 (AA77) cleared for takeoff from Dulles International Airport.
- 8:21** AA11 flight attendants Amy Sweeney and Betty Ong call American Airlines to alert that their plane has been hijacked.
- 8:31** FAA, Boston ground control, informs NORAD that AA11 has been diverted, according to Lt. Colonel Dawne Deskins (ABC News, 9/11/02).
- 8:40** FAA Boston ground control informs NORAD that AA11 has been diverted, according to official NORAD timeline (NORAD, 9/18/01).
- 8:42** UA175 known to be diverted, presumed hijacked, transponder turned off (NYT, 10/16/01). Reports that transponder was actually changed to different, tracked signal (WP, 9/17/01).
- 8:42** United Airlines Flight 93 (UA93) cleared for takeoff from Newark Airport, after 41-minute delay.
- 8:43** FAA informs NORAD that UA175 has been diverted, according to NORAD (9/18/01).
- 8:46:26** World Trade Center Building 1 (WTC 1), the North Tower, is struck (AA11).
- After 8:46** Open phone line established between White House, Secret Service, FAA and NORAD (FAA, 5/21/03; Cheney on NBC, 9/16/01).
- 8:46** AA77 goes severely off course over West Virginia, returns to course after about five minutes (according to published flight routes). Ground-control contact continues. This has never been explained.
- 8:50** Last known ground control contact to AA77.
- 8:52** Two interceptor jets scrambled from Otis Air Force Base (AFB), Massachusetts, on a heading to New York (NORAD, 9/18/01).
- 8:56** AA77 transponder turned off. Just prior, flight diverted from route over Kentucky/Ohio border and heads back toward Washington. Reports conflict: AA77 is lost to radar, reappears later over Washington DC; or AA77 is lost for a few minutes, then located and tracked all the way back to DC.
- 8:55** George W. Bush informed of first crash and thinks, "That's one lousy pilot." (Source: Bush)
- 9:02:54** World Trade Center Building 2 (WTC 2), the South Tower, is struck (UA175).
- 9:05** In Florida, Bush is informed of second crash and reportedly told: "America is under attack."
- 9:16** FAA notifies NORAD of presumed UA93 hijacking (FAA; no NORAD statement).
- 9:24** FAA notifies NORAD of AA77 diversion, according to NORAD (9/18/01).
- 9:25** From AA77, Barbara Olsen calls Theodore Olsen to report hijacking (Miami Herald, 9/14/01).
- 9:30** Two interceptor jets scrambled from Langley AFB, Virginia, on a heading to Washington (NORAD, 9/18/01).
- 9:30** "Fast-moving primary target" (AA77) enters Washington airspace, on heading for White House (FAA).
- 9:31** Bush delivers brief address to the nation, live from Florida school.
- 9:38** The Pentagon is struck (AA77), on the side just renovated to reinforce against terror attacks. Soon after, jet fighters are scrambled from Andrews Air Force Base, 10 miles away (CBS, 9/14/01).
- 9:55** From White House, Cheney orders U.S. Air Force fighters to "engage" incoming UA93 (WP, 1/27/02).
- 9:59** WTC 2 collapses.
- 10:03** UA93 crashes in Pennsylvania, according to NORAD (9/18/01).
- 10:06** UA93 crashes in Pennsylvania, according to U.S. Army seismic study.
NOTE: Last 3 minutes of UA93 flight transcript, played to families in 2002, were blank or missing.
- 10:22** Media report car bomb at State Department. Later called false.
- 10:29** WTC 1 collapses. Approximately 3,000 people are dead.
- 10:37** Authorities report plane crash in Somerset County, Pennsylvania.

AERIAL ATTACKS END.

9/11/01

after 10:00 New York orders evacuation of Lower Manhattan. State of alert in New York and Washington DC. Evacuations of all federal buildings in United States. Further (false) reports of plane crashes and hijackings, including in Colorado, Camp David, and crash sites in Pennsylvania and at Ohio/Kentucky border. Further (false) reports of attacks in Washington. Bush flies to Louisiana and Nebraska before returning to Washington. U.S. closes borders. Florida declares statewide emergency. Cape Canaveral, Disneyworld shut down. All sports and entertainment events cancelled. Callers from Jordan take credit for attacks on behalf of "Japanese Red Army," Islamic Jihad, and Hamas. Latter two organizations issue denials of involvement. *Reuters* footage of a Palestinian grandmother said to be celebrating attacks in a West Bank street is played around the world. Bomb threats cause evacuation of Frankfurt Stock Exchange and grounding of all flights in Saudi Arabia. By evening, Osama bin Laden is identified as prime suspect. Bush speaks to nation.

4:25 pm WTC 7 reported on fire.

5:21 pm WTC 7 collapses.

NOTES: First unplanned collapse of a steel skyscraper in history not due to plane crash.

WTC 7 owner: Silverstein Properties. Mortgage owner: Blackstone Group.

Tenants: Securities and Exchange Commission, CIA, Defense Dept., Treasury Dept., Mayor's Office of Emergency Management (OEM).

Post 9/11

9/13/01 Senate confirmation hearings for Gen. Myers as Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff. Myers says, "to the best of my knowledge," no order was given to scramble interceptor planes until after the Pentagon was hit (9:38). NOTE: Elsewhere, Myers stated he went into a Capitol Hill meeting with Sen. Cleland right after the first crash, and only heard later that this was not accident—only moments before he was told that the Pentagon had been hit.

9/16/01 On "Meet the Press," Cheney reveals that FAA, NORAD and other services maintained a joint line of communication on the morning Sept. 11. He also says, "The toughest decision was this question of whether or not we would intercept incoming commercial aircraft." NOTE: *Interception of errant aircraft (not shootdown) is a standard operating procedure, historically not requiring an order from the upper chain of command.*

9/18/01 NORAD releases timeline detailing when it received errant aircraft alerts from FAA and issued interception orders. Timeline shows interceptor planes were scrambled before 9:38, contradicting Myers's testimony to Senate. NOTE: Timeline indicates FAA took up to 27 minutes to inform NORAD of the AA11 diversion; as little as one minute to inform NORAD of the UA175 diversion; and at least 34 minutes to inform NORAD of the AA77 diversion. No times are specified for UA93.

5/21/03 FAA issues statement on "FAA Communications with NORAD On September 11, 2001" as a "clarification" to the Kean Commission: "Within minutes after the first aircraft hit the World Trade Center, the FAA immediately established several phone bridges that included FAA field facilities, the FAA Command Center, FAA headquarters, DOD, the Secret Service, and other government agencies. The US Air Force liaison to the FAA immediately joined the FAA headquarters phone bridge and established contact with NORAD on a separate line. The FAA shared real-time information on the phone bridges about the unfolding events, including information about loss of communication with aircraft, loss of transponder signals, unauthorized changes in course, and other actions being taken by all the flights of interest, including Flight 77. Other parties on the phone bridges, in turn, shared information about actions they were taking. NORAD logs indicate that the FAA made formal notification about American Flight 77 at 9:24 a.m., but information about the flight was conveyed continuously during the phone bridges before the formal notification." NOTE: *Transcripts of the above communications are known to exist.*

**Produced by
NY 9/11 TRUTH**

Since January 2004, the members of NY 9/11 Truth have held a "Vigil for Truth" at Ground Zero every Saturday at Noon. Their banner reads, "Support Victims' Families - Stop the 9/11 Coverup."

NY 9/11 Truth is organizing the visit to New York of 9/11 widow Ellen Mariani and her attorney Phil Berg (see events schedule on back cover). These and other peaceful and educational actions aim at exposing the truth and lies of Sept. 11, 2001 in ways that lead to full accountability, defend liberty, and promote the establishment of truth commissions.

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and many others

Recommended books
Nafeez Ahmed
THE WAR ON FREEDOM
Michel Chossudovsky
WAR AND GLOBALIZATION
David Ray Griffin
THE NEW PEARL HARBOR

Don't miss the most
controversial CD of 2004
CLARITY: THIS IS NOT A TEST
Hip-hop for 9/11 Truth
delcantan.org



www.ny911truth.org

Recommended Web Sites

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN
911Truth.org

9/11 VISIBILITY PROJECT
septembereleventh.org
Protest, lobby & media actions

THE COMPLETE 9/11 TIMELINE
cooperativeresearch.org
Definitive research archive

9/11 CITIZENSWATCH
911citizenswatch.org
Monitoring the Kean Commission

GLOBAL OUTLOOK
globalresearch.ca
Magazine of the 9/11 Truth movement

INTERNATIONAL 9/11 INQUIRY
911inquiry.org
PHASE 2: TORONTO, MAY 25-30, 2004

COP V. CIA
fromthewilderness.com
Newsletter of Michael C. Ruppert

FAMILY STEERING COMMITTEE
911independentcommission.org
Families demand real investigation

Coming Soon

SUMMER OF TRUTH 2004
summeroftruth.org
Arts and music

In the third year after September 11, 2001, the U.S. government still has not answered the most important questions about what really happened on that day. And the Kean Commission has failed to ask. Now it is up to the people take responsibility—and draw their own conclusions.

UPCOMING EVENTS OF INTEREST

Wed., May 19, 2004 - 3PM (see accompanying leaflet for details)

PRESS CONFERENCE AND SPEAK-OUT

With Ellen Mariani, Phil Berg, April Gallop (invited, former EF4 at the Pentagon) and NY 9/11 TRUTH. In response to the Kean Commission hearings on "Emergency Response" at The New School, NYC. Disappointed with the hearings? Come hear the real story! (The Commission is scheduled to adjourn at 1PM.)

Sat., May 22, 2004 - NOON to 4PM

WEEKLY VIGIL FOR TRUTH AT GROUND ZERO

"Support Victims' Families - Stop the 9/11 Cover-Up". Ellen Mariani will visit the Ground Zero Vigil at 1PM

Sat., May 22, 2004 - 6PM

STOP THE 9/11 COVER-UP: A SEPTEMBER 11th WIDOW SPEAKS OUT THE RIVERSIDE CHURCH, NYC

Brought to you by NY 9/11 Truth, WBAL, Ain't That Good News and Long Island Friends of WBAL

SPEAKING

9/11 WIDOW ELLEN MARIANI

Lost her husband Neil on UA 175, is among the more than one hundred families of Sept. 11th who have refused the U.S. government's hush-money settlement (average award: 1.8 million) so that they can pursue legal action to discover the truth.

PHIL BERG

Former Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania, is Mrs. Mariani's counsel in her historic lawsuit against the Bush administration for racketeering (RICO), allowing the Sept. 11th attacks, and obstruction of justice.

SANDER HICKS ** (wanted new text!)

Publisher of the controversial Bush biography "Fortunate Son," journalist with INN World Report, a powerful voice within the 9/11 Truth Movement.

and special guest

SCOTT RITTER

Former Marine and UN Chief Weapons Inspector for Iraq, boldly stated before the invasion that Iraq had no significant weapons of mass destruction. A powerful voice against war and against the challenge to constitutional government at home.

directions to The Riverside Church: 490 Riverside Drive (between 120 & 122 Streets)

Take the 1 or 9 trains to 116 & Broadway. Walk west to Riverside Drive.

May 25–30, 2004 - Toronto International 9/11 Inquiry, Phase 2:
www.911inquiry.org

Coming June 21: Summer of Truth 2004

Concerts and Films. See ny911truth.org and summeroftruth.org for coming events.

July 4, 2004 - Rally for 9/11 Truth. In New York and other cities

August 29-Sept. 2, 2004 - Republican National Convention, NYC

September 11, 2004 - THE DAY THE LIE DIED

Planned beginning of International 9/11 Inquiry, Phase 3, NYC

9/11 TRUTH IS GROUND ZERO FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT