

DAYS OF DECEPTION:
GROUND ZERO AND BEYOND



WILLIAM THOMAS

DAYS OF DECEPTION:

GROUND ZERO AND BEYOND

WILLIAM THOMAS

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Copyright © 2006

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book, either in part or in whole, may be reproduced, transmitted or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic, photographic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the author, except for brief quotations embodied in literary articles and reviews.

ISBN: 1-893157-18-0

13 digit: 978-1-893157-18-7

Cover Design by Michelle Easterly and William Thomas

Cover photos:

1. WTC, September 11, 2001
Civil Engineering Magazine www.pubs.asce.org
2. USS Arizona, Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941
www.history.navy.mil
3. Budapest Hero's Square, Bela Szandelsky

Published by: Bridger House Publishers
P.O. Box 2208, Carson City, NV 89702, USA
1-800-729-4131

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

DEDICATION

*For the victims of September 11, 2001.
Then and now.*

“The bigger the lie, therefore, the likelier it is to be believed.”

— Adolf Hitler

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

Pearl Harbor Prelude.....	1
Chapter 1: NORDO	13
Chapter 2: We Have A Problem Here.....	41
Chapter 3: “I See Buildings”	63
Chapter 4: Manhattan	85
Chapter 5: Commanders and Chiefs	115
Chapter 6: The Pentagon	139
Chapter 7: Shootdown	165
Chapter 8: Shanksville.....	189

PART II

Chapter 9: Qui Bono.....	221
Chapter 10: Cover-Up.....	255
Chapter 11: Afghan Adventure.....	287
Chapter 12: Berserkers	319
Chapter 13: The Magnificent Four.....	345
Chapter 14: Wake Up America.....	385
Chapter 15: Trial and Tribulation	419

PART III

Chapter 16: What Now?	449
Chapter 17: What We Can Do	485

References.....	522
-----------------	-----

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Part I: September 11, 2001

PART I

SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

“Everything that the Japanese were planning to do was known to the United States...”

-U.S. Army Board of Inquiry 1944

PRELUDE: PEARL HARBOR

Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto returned his yeoman’s salute and scanned the J-19 message without revealing his dread and anticipation. The risky raid on the U.S. Navy’s mighty Pacific Fleet was going ahead! According to the decrypted text, the opening salvo of a coordinated naval offensive set to sweep from Hawaii to the Philippines would be signaled by Radio Tokyo weather report forecasting “east rain”.ⁱ

Swinging at anchor in foggy Hitokappu Bay on November 19, 1941, the remote Kurile Islands afforded Yamamoto’s *Kido Butai* “Striking Fleet” apparent security, as well as a shortened Great-Circle course to Oahu. But Japan’s top admiral would have been less sanguine if he’d known that a Dutch submarine had tracked his fleet here. Fortunately for Yamamoto, a newly elected American administration secretly bent on war never relayed the allied sighting report to the commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet in Hawaii.ⁱⁱ

Five days later, Yamamoto sent a teletype message from his flagship, the battleship *Nagato* to the commander of his 1st Air Fleet. Admiral Nagumo read it eagerly:

The task force, keeping its movement strictly secret and maintaining close guard against submarines and aircraft, shall advance into Hawaiian waters, and upon the very opening of hostilities shall attack the main force of the United States fleet in Hawaii and deal it a mortal blow.

At least, Yamamoto hoped so. Japan’s most respected admiral had already warned his superiors that tiny Japan could not hope to win a drawn-out war against the United States. The most they could expect to achieve would be to force Washington to negotiate a settlement advantageous to Japan after sinking American’s newest carriers and other capitol ships at anchor in Pearl Harbor.

But nervous officials in Tokyo were prepared to abort the attack if last-minute diplomacy proved successful in salvaging Japan’s oil

lifeline. Even though surprise was essential, maintaining operational radio silence was simply not an option.

No one responsible for this desperate gamble suspected that the Americans had recently broken Japan's obsolete naval codes. Facing the open Pacific above Kaneohe Bay, a radio intercept facility dubbed "Station H" immediately intercepted Yamamoto's sortie order to Admiral Nagumo. U.S. Navy decrypters on Oahu quickly forwarded the decoded message to Washington.

The British were also listening in on November 25. At three in the morning Washington time, Winston Churchill cabled urgent word to the White House that a Japanese fleet was steaming east toward Hawaii. ⁱⁱⁱ

FDR tersely telexed back: *Negotiations off. Services expect action within two weeks.* ^{iv}

FLEET PREPAREDNESS EXERCISE 191

Even though these warnings, and many others were deliberately kept from him, America's top naval commander in Hawaii was determined to keep the islands' approaches clear. Acting on a hunch, Admiral Kimmell dispatched two aircraft carriers and a fleet of heavy escorts to a conspicuous seamount northwest of the Big Island, where he correctly assumed that any oncoming Japanese fleet would use to assemble. ^v

The two forces nearly collided. But instead of warning Admiral Kimmell of the Japanese strike force approaching his scouting fleet's position, the White House complained that Kimmell's Fleet Preparedness Exercise 191 was "complicating the situation," and ordered him to return his ships immediately to Pearl Harbor. All U.S. commercial ships transiting the North Pacific were also directed to take the southern route so that, as Admiral Turner later told Congress, "the track of the Japanese task force would be clear of any traffic..." that might radio a warning. ^{vi}

TAKE YOUR BEST SHOT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was about to get the war he wanted. After meeting with the President on November 26, Secretary of War Stimson recounted, "In spite of the risk involved, however, in letting the Japanese fire the first shot, we realized that in order to have the full support of the American people it was desirable to make sure that the Japanese be the ones to do this so that there should remain no doubt in anyone's mind as to who were the aggressors."

Described by a close friend as "a man who never told the truth if

a lie would suffice,” FDR had won the presidency the previous year by promising Americans, “Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.”

It was a pledge everyone wanted to hear. With memories of the last Great Slaughter in the mud of France seared into the American psyche, polls showed the nation nearly unanimously opposed to becoming enmeshed in a European war.

As retired U.S. Navy Commander Robert Stinnett later documented in *Day of Deceit*, from which this book deliberately takes its title, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was provoked and facilitated by Washington in accordance to a plan drawn up by Lieutenant Commander Arthur McCollum in the Office of Naval Intelligence. In naval intelligence memo OP-16-F-2 sent to Roosevelt on October 7, 1940, McCollum had argued, “once the British Empire is gone the power of Japan-Germany and Italy is to be directed against the United States.”^{vii}

But how? In May 1941 Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle had flatly declared, “A naval invasion of the Western Hemisphere is out of the question.” As author Paul Atwood further explained, “neither Germany nor Japan had aircraft carriers that could get within range of the American mainland [and] no long-range bomber existed that could reach the U.S. across either the Pacific or Atlantic.”^{viii}

The principle danger to America was economic. The country’s business leaders were already loudly warning that if Hitler’s conquests continued, products produced in Nazi slave-labor camps would drive them out of world markets. The tyrant whose political comeback had been financed by Prescott Bush through his Harriman Brothers bank must now be stopped!

By engaging German U-boats while escorting American merchant ships across the North Atlantic to Great Britain, the U.S. Navy was already violating the Neutrality Act. As Chief of Naval Operations Harold Stark wrote to a subordinate: “The country doesn’t seem to realize... we are at war.”^{ix}

The challenge facing the Roosevelt administration was how to make that status official in a way the war-weary U.S. public would enthusiastically support? In a personal diary entry, Secretary of Interior Ickes echoed his administration’s strategy and sentiments when he concluded: “For a long time I have believed that our best entrance into the war would be by way of Japan.”

Unfortunately, Lieutenant Commander McCollum informed the

Presidential contender, “it is not believed that in the present state of political opinion the United States government is capable of declaring war against Japan without more ado.”

That “ado,” McCollum further advised FDR, could come from cutting off Japan’s oil and trade shipments. “If by these means Japan could be led to commit an overt act of war, so much the better,” the ONI chief concluded. ^x

WARNINGS AND PROVOCATIONS

Immediately after being sworn into office, Roosevelt implemented all eight provocations outlined in McCollum’s memo. On June 23, 1941, the day after Germany invaded the Soviet Union, presidential advisor Harold Ickes excitedly memo’d FDR: “There might develop from the embargoing of oil to Japan such a situation as would make it not only possible but easy to get into this war in an effective way.”

Admiral Richmond Turner concurred, telling the President, “shutting off the American supply of petroleum will lead promptly to... a Pacific war.” ^{xi}

On June 26, FDR ordered all Japanese assets in the United States frozen, cutting off that island nation’s principle supply of oil.

On August 10, 1941, Britain’s top spy, Dusko Popov told the FBI that Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor would come soon. The G-men scoffed. But at an Atlantic Conference four days later, Winston Churchill noted the “astonishing depth of Roosevelt’s intense desire for war.”

On September 24, 1941, an intercepted message from Japanese Naval Intelligence to Japan’s consul general in Honolulu requested precise grid coordinates for all U.S. warships in port. In Washington, the U.S. Chief of War Plans, and the Chief of Naval Operations Stark ordered all decoded warnings kept from Admiral Kimmel in Hawaii. The Roosevelt administration also blocked two Congressional investigations into flagrant Japanese spying in Pearl Harbor. When the Chief of Naval Intelligence insisted on warning his superior officer, the CNO was replaced.

On October 16, the U.S. President humiliated Japan’s Ambassador, and then refused to meet with Premier Konoye. On November 1, the intercepted and decoded “Japanese Naval Order 25” instructed Admiral Yamamoto to continue drills against anchored capital ships so that his air fleet could “ambush and completely destroy the U.S. enemy.” JN-25 included specific references to armor-piercing bombs and “near surface torpedoes”.

CARRIER CHESS

On November 26, 1941, the 1st Air Fleet sailed from the Kuriles. Protected by a pair of battleships, 28 submarines, two cruisers and 11 picket destroyers, Nagumo's six proud carriers carried more than 400 attack planes. As Yamamoto's fleet felt the pitch and roll of the open North Pacific, Washington ordered both of its aircraft carriers berthed at Pearl Harbor—*USS Enterprise* and *USS Lexington*—to put to sea “as soon as practicable.”

The next day, *USS Enterprise* departed “Pearl” in company with 11 of America's newest warships. Their mission was not to attack the Japanese, but to deliver 50 fighter planes to tiny Wake Island. The hasty transfer stripped Pearl Harbor of 40% of its already inadequate fighter protection. ^{xii}

BANDAGES

Thanks to Roosevelt's machinations, American blood would soon be spilled. In his voluminous *Naval History*, author Daryl Borgquist relates how Don Smith, director of the War Service for the Red Cross, told his daughter that President Roosevelt had called him to the White House for a Top Secret meeting shortly before the attack on Pearl Harbor:

At this meeting the President advised my father that his intelligence staff had informed him of a pending attack on Pearl Harbor, by the Japanese. He anticipated many casualties and much loss; he instructed my father to send workers and supplies to a holding area at a POE [port of entry] on the West Coast where they would await further orders to ship out; no destination was to be revealed.

He left no doubt in my father's mind that none of the Naval and Military officials in Hawaii were to be informed and he was not to advise the Red Cross officers who were already stationed in the area. When he protested to the President, President Roosevelt told him that the American people would never agree to enter the war in Europe unless they were attack[ed] within their own borders.

Though he considered his orders morally wrong, Smith decided that his allegiance belonged to the President. In preparation for the Japanese attack, medical supplies and drugs were stockpiled, and key medical personnel transferred to Hawaii on “emergency assignment”.

One of the Red Cross nurses newly arrived at Hickam Field wrote

to the Superintendent of the Army Nurse Corps in Washington how, on November 22, 1941, “As difficult as it was to get equipment and supplies to Hawaii, two extra 50-bed first aid stations represented either a large expectation of casualties or a large error on someone’s part...”

The nurse added that on December 7, “The President’s Naval Aide, Captain John Beardall, had come unannounced to the White House in full uniform for Sunday duty, a first since his arrival in May 1941.”

Beardall later testified in the congressional hearings investigating the Pearl Harbor attack that he had also put his staff on 24-hour duty for the first time beginning Friday, 5 December 1941.

Captain Beardall had direct access to MAGIC—the deciphered intercepts of Japanese diplomatic messages. As historian Charles Bateson later remarked, MAGIC “alone points so irresistibly to the Pearl Harbor attack that it is inconceivable anybody could have failed to forecast the Japanese move.”^{xiii}

Eight days before the Pearl Harbor attack, three memos were sent to key Red Cross managers, along with an extra \$1 million approved by their chairman using his “emergency authority”. A cover memo stipulated that they should not wait until the end of December as planned to revamp the budget, but should do so immediately.^{xiv}

HYPO

As the *Kido Butai* armada steamed eastwards across the roof of the Pacific, Yamamoto’s transmissions were so powerful, radioman Leslie Grogan onboard the passenger liner *SS Lurline* was able to plot the advancing position of the Japanese fleet.^{xv}

On arrival in Honolulu on December 4, Grogan delivered his log-book and chart of the Japanese track to Lieutenant Commander George Pease at the Office of Naval Intelligence. By then, Station Hypo and other U.S. monitoring stations logged and triangulated nearly 129 radio messages pinpointing the Japanese attack fleet.

None of these warnings were passed to Admiral Kimmell.

“QUICKER THAN ANYONE DREAMS”

On December 1 at 3:30 PM Washington time, President Roosevelt smiled with grim satisfaction as he read Foreign Minister Togo’s MAGIC-decoded instructions to his ambassador to Nazi Germany:

Say very secretly to them that there is extreme danger between Japan & Anglo-Saxon nations through some clash of arms, add that the time of this war may come quicker than anyone dreams.

Just three days before, Adolf Hitler had urged Japan to strike the United States. The German leader promised to join them in the wider war, if their attack was successful.

CLIMBING MOUNT NIITAKA

In Tokyo the next night, telegram No. 994 relayed from FBI-shadowed Japanese agents in Oahu included a standard “ships-in-harbor” report. It was good news for Nippon’s high-stakes gamblers. Battleships *Oklahoma* and *Nevada*, and the carrier *Enterprise* had sailed. But six battleships, nine heavy cruisers, five light cruisers, and the carrier *Lexington* were floating ducks.

Roosevelt’s tethered bait had worked. Commander Yamamoto radioed his fleet to proceed with the attack. Sent in uncoded Japanese, Japanese Naval message 25 read: “Climb Niitakayama 1208.” (Westward across the Dateline, December 7 would be December 8 in Tokyo. At 13,113- feet, Mount Niitaka was the highest mountain in the Japanese Empire.)

Yamamoto’s “Climb Niitaka Mountain” message was intercepted and decoded by the Chinese, the Netherlands East Indies Army, the Australians, and the U.S. War Department.

Then, in the early hours of December 4, a U.S. Navy intercept station in Hawaii picked up Radio Tokyo’s “East Winds, Rain” broadcast, green-lighting the attack.

Admiral Kimmell was no informed that all U.S. government embassies in Japan and the Far East had already been ordered destroy their codebooks and classified documents in imminent preparation for war. As Mark Willey relates in *Pearl Harbor, Mother of All Conspiracies*, when General Thorpe sent four messages from Java warning of the imminent Pearl Harbor attack, “the White House ordered him to stop sending warnings.”

“THE JAPANESE FLEET IS OUT”

At a Cabinet meeting just before the attack, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox remarked, “Well, you know Mr. President, we know where the Japanese fleet is.”

“Yes, I know,” FDR replied. “I think we ought to tell everybody just how ticklish the situation is. We have information as Knox just mentioned... Well, you tell them what it is, Frank.”

The Navy secretary gushed, “Well, we have very secret information that the Japanese fleet is out at sea. Our information is...”

A scowling FDR cut him off. ^{xvi}

As they spoke, American Task Force 12 was putting to sea from Pearl. With *Enterprise* approaching Wake Island, and *Saratoga* safely in San Diego, the Pacific Fleet's last vulnerable carrier, *Lexington* and her modern naval escorts took up a course for Midway Island to the southwest.

The next evening in Washington, President Roosevelt read with relish the MAGIC-deciphered Japanese diplomatic declaration of war—due for delivery to the White House just as the Japanese attack commenced.

“This means war,” Roosevelt remarked to an aide. Returning to his 34 celebratory dinner guests, FDR told them, “The war starts tomorrow.” ^{xvii}

Provocation-planner Frank Knox spent most of that night at the White House with Roosevelt. As historian John Toland writes, “All were waiting for what they knew was coming: an attack on Pearl Harbor.”

But no one moved to warn their fellow Americans of the blow about to fall on them from peaceful Hawaiian skies.

DAY OF INFAMY

On December 7, 1941 at 7:55 in the morning Hawaiian time, an urgent message was broadcast in the clear: “AIR RAID PEARL HARBOR. THIS IS NOT DRILL.”

Captain Fujida's first wave of 183 warplanes had caught the U.S. Navy at Sunday services. By 9:45, the second wave of 167 Japanese planes left the harbor in shambles. Of 96 naval ships in port, 18 had been sunk—including the obsolete battleships *Arizona* and *Oklahoma*—or seriously damaged. Of the 394 aircraft arrayed in neat lines at Hickam, Wheeler and Bellows airfields per White House orders, 188 were destroyed, and another 159 damaged. At least 2,403 military personnel lost their lives, including 1,102 seamen and officers aboard *Arizona* when their blazing battleship capsized, trapping them below decks inside her double-skinned hull. Another 1,178 wounded military personnel were treated using stockpiled medical supplies. ^{xviii}

Upon completion of the attack, a morose Yamato listened to his pilots' tally of zero American carriers sunk and told his commanders: “We have awakened a sleeping giant, and have instilled in him a terrible resolve.” ^{xix}

Back in Washington, Roosevelt felt calm, even upbeat. Meeting at

midnight on the day of the attacks with famed CBS newsman Edward R. Murrow, and William Donovan, founder of the Office of Strategic Services (later the CIA), FDR seemed to welcome Japan's aggression, and "did not seem surprised," Donovan later related. The only thing Roosevelt seemed to care about was if the public would now support a declaration of war.

"Did this surprise you?" Roosevelt asked Murrow regarding that morning's attack. Thinking of recent Washington announcements that negotiations with the Japanese were about to succeed, the veteran reporter said yes, it did.

"Maybe you think it didn't surprise us?" FDR asked next. To Murrow, the President gave the impression that the Japanese attack was neither unwelcome nor unexpected.

MAC ARTHUR

In the Philippines, General Douglas MacArthur reacted to the news of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor by locking himself in his quarters all morning and refusing to meet with his air commander. When ordered by the War Department to strike Japanese forces on Formosa (Taiwan), MacArthur refused. Instead, he radar-tracked an incoming Japanese air strike from 140 miles down to 20 miles—before ordering all of his warplanes held on the ground.

Within the hour, his entire "stood down" force of fighters, long-range bombers and reconnaissance aircraft was destroyed.

"Strategically, the destruction of half of all U.S. heavy bombers in the world was more important than naval damage in Pearl Harbor," Willey writes. "Either MacArthur had committed the greatest blunder in military history or he was under orders to allow his forces to be destroyed. If it were the greatest blunder in history, it is remarkable how he escaped any reprimand, kept his command and got his fourth star and Congressional Medal of Honor shortly later."

As Roosevelt had hoped, the Philippines disaster ensured that the Japanese attack would appear successful enough to draw Hitler into declaring war on the United States—finally unfettering the U.S. President's hands.

SURPRISE

A few days later the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff told America's half-dozen highest-ranking officers, "Gentlemen, this goes to the grave with us."

Blinded by their need for revenge—and over-hyped fears of an attack on the North American continent, where the Japanese Imperial Army was about to magically march into Chicago—unsuspecting Americans were told that Japan’s “surprise attack” on Pearl Harbor represented an immense “intelligence failure”. But as the Centre for Research on Globalisation’s Ian Woods later pointed out:

Confirmation of Dutch foreknowledge of the Japanese attack also came from General Albert C. Wedemeyer (who) informed the author that during a meeting in 1943, Vice Admiral Conrad Helfrich of the Royal Netherlands Navy expressed wonder that the Americans had been surprised at Pearl Harbor.

The Dutch, Helfrich said, had broken the code and knew that the Japanese were going to strike Pearl Harbor. “He seemed surprised that I did not know this,” recalled Wedemeyer. It was his clear recollection that his government had notified (the U.S.) government.”

COVER-UP

Inquiries into a military disaster that had killed nearly 3,000 Americans were immediately undertaken. But in a country at war, investigators were denied access to classified documents, as well as sensitive interviews with officers and administration officials who provoked and facilitated the Japanese attack.

Struck that same day, a “Joint Congressional Committee On The Investigation Of The Pearl Harbor Attack” would meet sporadically until the end of May 1946—censoring some eyewitness testimony, and revising much of the rest. Unlike General McArthur, who was rewarded for his treachery, after being denied all warnings and ordered to stand down his fleet, the scapegoated Admiral Kimmell saw his career and reputation ruined.

But for America’s biggest businesses, the coming world war would be a bonanza. Shipping its special fuel additives to the Nazi regime through Switzerland throughout the war, Standard Oil would profit immensely from supplying the products needed to power Hitler’s Panzers and Stukas. IBM also made millions selling its most advanced “punch card” machine, as well as the technical support needed by the Nazis to “process” six million human beings for extermination.

According to Pulitzer Prize winner John Toland, President

Roosevelt had “prior knowledge” of the attack... and failed to act. In the ruins of once great cities, and on killing fields across the globe, more than 50 million people would die.

As Ian Woods, publisher and editor of *Global Outlook* observes, the cover-up continues through contemporary Hollywood films, “history” books and media coverage that remain silent regarding the real Pearl Harbor—and so many other “false flag” operations like it.

A NEW PEARL HARBOR

A little over half-a-century later, after his closest advisers updated their plan for global U.S military dominance, another U.S. president would fail to act on numerous warnings of imminent armed attacks on American soil.

“Project for the New American Century” called for massive spending on enough killing machinery for Washington to “fight and win multiple, simultaneous major theatre wars” in Iraq, Iran, North Korea, and any other “evil” country opposed to being ruled by the newly installed White House fundamentalists.

But with most Americans opposed to sharp increases in weapons expenditures as state education and health budgets shriveled, what was needed to rally the public, PNAC planners Dick Cheney, Lewis Libby, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Pearl suggested in their blueprint for the second Bush regime, was “some catastrophic and catalyzing event—like a new Pearl Harbor.”

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

NORDO

Chapter 1

NORDO

Early on a day that will unleash perpetual retribution upon the world, an unremarkable man just hours away from becoming its most scrutinized leader begins his customary four-mile morning jog. Visiting Florida for a photo-op to push an education initiative, George Walker “Dubya” Bush is accompanied by his ever-watchful Secret Service detail as he begins circling the golf course at the Colony Beach and Tennis Resort. Renowned for its 21 tennis courts and beachfront views overlooking the blue Caribbean, the “Colony” as staff and habitués call it, has been spruced up for the presidential visit with a special White House detail shouldering surface-to-air missiles on the roof. ^{xx}

Located on exclusive Longboat Key, this faux-tropical beachfront resort is a pampered place for wealth and privilege to relax. But not for Bush’s guardians. On this flawless Florida morning, the Secret Service stops a van pulling up to the Colony’s entrance. Inside the vehicle, a Middle Eastern “film crew” claim to have a “poolside” interview with the President. ^{xxi}

No such appointment is scheduled for September 11, 2001. But just two days previously a similar gambit saw suicide bombers posing as a TV crew blow themselves and Afghan leader Ahmed Massoud into the arms of Allah with a bomb-laden camera. Whether the recording gear belonging to the men in the van contains videotape or Semtex remains unknown. For some reason, never satisfactorily explained, the suspicious foreigners seeking close proximity to the President are turned away without being questioned or searched.

Trouble is brewing on the soft Carib breeze. As Paul Thompson documents in his painstakingly researched timeline, just four days previously, on the day the President’s Sarasota appearance was publicly announced, a man later identified as Mohamed Atta was seen in the Longboat Key Holiday Inn a short distance from where Bush is staying. With a crescendo of internal and international intelligence warnings of

imminent Islamic attacks flooding the White House, this is not the time to be taking any chances. ^{xxii}

Even though the presidential pretender pounding out the fitness miles is not prone to introspection, more pressing issues could be crowding his thoughts. The court-appointed winner of a still-contentious election is back in the state that handed him the presidency after a Republican-dominated Supreme Court halted five weeks of ballot recounts to crown him the champ by a margin of slightly more than 500 votes. Despite opponent Al Gore's nationwide lead of a half-million popular votes, the pre-emptive ruling gave 271 electoral votes to Bush and 266 to his opponent. ^{xxiii}

The decision still rankles more than one in three Americans, who are telling pollsters they consider their national leader an illegitimate President. ^{xxiv}

George Bush can live with that. Much more worrying is the more than \$2 million paid by the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times* and CNN to the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago to complete the aborted Florida recount. Commissioned just 11 days before Bush's inauguration, the results of the media's re-inspection of more than 170,000 rejected votes has been hanging over his presidency since the recount was completed at the end of August.

Though too late to affect an outcome determined by the highest court in the land, many supposedly "unreadable" votes clearly show a circle around the name of the Democratic candidate, with "Gore" written in for emphasis. Citing an inside media source, investigative journalist David Podvin is already claiming that the recount has found former Democrat Vice-President Al Gore "the indisputable winner." Despite misleading Florida press accounts, the Associated Press will later confirm: "In the review of all the state's disputed ballots, Gore edged ahead under all six scenarios permitted under the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Bush v. Gore*." ^{xxv}

So far, the four sponsoring public-opinion-shapers are sitting on their results. But with his popularity sagging after a seven-month performance too lackluster to call a single press conference, the results of their impending announcement could be disastrous to G. Dubya Bush's effectiveness at home, as well as his credibility abroad. ^{xxvi}

At least the transplanted Texan does not have to worry about his country coming under surprise attack. On this September morning, America's air defences are aggressively "cocked and locked". Several

days into a nationwide annual exercise code-named Vigilant Guardian, the United States Air Force is fully alert and battle-staffed, with key officers needed to make immediate decisions stationed in the “battle cabs” of antenna-bristling bunkers interlinked with every air force command posts in the nation.

Three more nationwide air defense exercises—Northern Guardian, Vigilant Warrior and Global Guardian—will also take place today.

NORTHEAST AIR DEFENCE SECTOR

0630:

As Bush and his armed entourage lap the resort’s manicured greens, in Rome, New York the United States Air Force is about to go to war.

But today’s attacks are supposed to be simulated. As Michael Bronner, associate producer of the movie “United 93” later reports for *Vanity Fair*, NEADS mission-crew commander Major Kevin Nasypany (Nah-sip-a-nee) arrives for work garbed in his flight suit, prepared for the training exercise he helped design. Battle commander Colonel Bob Marr is bringing fritters.

Typically staffed by only a handful of personnel, the decades-old Ops Center trailer is currently crammed with 30 fighter-controllers, air-surveillance, ID, and communications techs from all branches of the U.S. and Canadian military. Charged with protecting the target rich environment of America’s industrial heartland, the Northeast Air Defense Sector covers a half-million-square-miles of airspace stretching from U.S. eastern seaboard all the way to Tennessee, Chicago and the Canadian border. Boston, New York City and Washington, D.C. also shelter under NEADS’ fighter wings.

As Bronner describes the busy scene, Airman Stacia Rountree, 23, and Tech Sergeant Shelley Watson, 40, are seated before a bank of telephones and a radarscope. Their boss, Master Sergeant Maureen “Mo” Dooley, 40, stands behind them. Their job is to relay messages between NEADS, civilian air traffic controllers, and other military centers, “gathering whatever information they can and sending it up the chain.”^{xxvii} Lieutenant Colonel Dawne Deskins is regional mission crew chief for today’s continuation of the Vigilant Guardian exercise. With imaginary threats facing America’s air defenders nationwide, Deskins hopes the day-old exercise will perk up. It makes her 12-hour shift go faster.^{xxviii}

With its stated mission, “To provide Total Force Air Defense and threat warning to North America through readiness, detection and identification, and if necessary, force application,” NEADS boasts that it stands ready round-the-clock to “provide the earliest tactical warning and assessment against manned bomber and cruise missile threats”—as well as the occasional plane smuggling drugs or illegal immigrants.

To carry out its mission, NEADS can draw on 14 supersonic fighters stationed on the flight lines of seven air bases stretching from Massachusetts to Florida. Fully fueled and heavily armed with automatic cannon, and heat-seeking or radar-homing air-to-air missiles, America’s best fighter pilots are prepared to close to “knife-fighting range”—as they refer to aerial combat—within minutes of receiving orders to scramble. AWACS radar picket planes and aerial refueling tankers are also on standby to track aerial threats and support interceptors gulping fuel at high Mach.

According to a former radar defense operator, NEADS radar operators at more than a dozen linked sites along the U.S. East coast “look at everything in the air.” This radar tech’s outpost in Maine “often” scrambled interceptors on its own authority, without waiting to hear from the FAA, or even their own command headquarters. Sometimes they scrambled on flocks of birds. Once they even launched on a pod of dolphins reflected in low clouds. But the jets always go up. Regardless of the outcome, every scramble is considered to be a knife-sharpening exercise for everyone involved. ^{xxix}

Today’s drill will simulate a Soviet bomber and cruise missile attack coming in over the North Pole. It’s an odd scenario. The “Soviets” no longer exist. Several countries splintered from the former “evil empire” are even being wooed as NATO allies. Yet, despite détente and an historic agreement by presidents Reagan and Gorbachev at the Reykjavik Summit in October 1986 to scrap many of their country’s aging nuclear warheads, the eyes of America’s air defenders will in these next critical hours be turned north toward their former foes—who are holding similar exercises today to counter an imaginary U.S. threat. ^{xxx}

In a supportive symbiosis for massive military budgets on both sides, NORAD forces have been ordered to monitor the Russian air force exercise over the Arctic and North Pacific oceans until Moscow concludes its drills. In an operation eerily reminiscent of the transfer of vital fighters to Wake and Midway islands in the days before America’s first Pearl Harbor, Northern Vigilance has drawn many NORAD fighters

NORDO

to northern Canada and Alaska, drastically reducing the number of interceptors available to defend the lower 48 states. ^{xxx1}

CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN

NEADS is a subsidiary of a continent-wide defensive umbrella known as the North American Aerospace Defense Command. Tasked with defending the United States and Canada from airborne and space attacks, NORAD's headquarters deep under Cheyenne Mountain in the Colorado Rockies is at full "battle staff" levels for the multiple air defense exercises taking place this morning.

There is no sense of impending crisis. With its big wall displays and quietly humming islands of wooden consoles, where nearly 200 American and Canadian military technicians are tending computers and communications links, the big subterranean room is running smoothly "nominal" as Canadian Captain Mike Jellinek takes up his morning shift. ^{xxxii}

TYNDALL

Not far from where his Commander-In-Chief is enjoying his morning run, Major General Larry Arnold is in NORAD's sector control room at Tyndall Air Force Base in Panama City, Florida preparing his command for the day's drills.

The First Air Force "provides surveillance and command and control" for U.S. continental air defense by directing 10 Air National Guard fighter wings. But with four exercises testing the capabilities of America's air defenders to differentiate between real and bogus enemy "bogeys", an additional 20 wings are on stand-by alert. Any unauthorized aircraft that dares approach the Capitol should quickly find itself swarmed by armed and angry jets.

To coordinate North America's air defenses, General Arnold and his battle staff confer with Cheyenne Mountain over secure satellite uplinks. Working alongside their Canadian counterparts, their mission is to protect North American airspace. Linked directly to far-flung radar stations, command centers, airborne fighter patrols, and interceptors on ready-alert, NORAD this morning is "good to go" should any hostiles appear.

Intently scanning busy flight corridors through the same surveillance radars shared by federal air traffic controllers, military commanders across the nation are prepared to "launch on warning" jets capable of accelerating like rockets in a vertical climb. During the past 12

months, more than one scramble order every seven days has sent interceptors aloft to intercept wayward aircraft. Similar alerts over many years have honed close cooperation between Federal Aviation Administration and U.S. Air Force controllers. In one typical episode the previous summer, when a small Cessna entered the 23-mile restricted ring around the Capitol, a pair of F-16's on 15-minute "strip alert" were scrambled from nearby Andrews Air Force Base just 11 minutes after FAA radar technicians called in the first warning.^{xxxiii}

NMCC

Just as NEADS belongs to the North American Aerospace Defense Command, NORAD answers to the National Military Command Center. Located deep in the labyrinthine Pentagon, where experienced guides are needed to shepherd first-time visitors through its 583-acre maze, the NMCC is tasked with assuring "full spectrum dominance" over, on and under Earth's near space, airspace, landmasses and oceans—as well as the entire electromagnetic spectrum.

The stated goal of the National Military Command is to secure Earth's last strategic resources for corporate and military needs. Formulated by a neoconservative think tank over the decades since America's humiliation in Vietnam, "Project for a New American Century" seeks a world made safe for corporate exploitation through unchallenged military might.

BLUEPRINT FOR WORLD DOMINATION

Published secretly in 1992 and immediately leaked, the first draft of the PNAC plan, titled "Defense Planning Guidance" was quickly disavowed by the first President Bush. Fully revised in September 2000, "Rebuilding America's Defenses" was implemented as soon as his son "took" office. Calling for the United States to assume its "proper role" as the world's undisputed military power, the neocon's published agenda targeted North Korea, Syria, Iraq and Iran as dangerous regimes that must be dealt with soon.

But securing Iraq's vast, largely untapped and strategically located oil reserves remains a priority for White House fundamentalists whose intolerance, threats and beliefs eerily echo their Islamic opponents. In their updated blueprint for global conquest, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Libby and Perle noted, "While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification" for a rampant weapons buildup that will soon surpass all other nations combined,

NORDO

“the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein.”

U.S. bases in the Middle East must be made permanent and even expanded, the PNAC plotters explained, because “even should Saddam pass from the scene... Iran may well prove as large a threat to U.S. interests as Iraq has.”^{xxxiv}

Modeling their fantasy of a “Pax Americana” on an overextended Imperial Rome that had met a drawn-out and nasty fate, the PNAC plotters promising “security” by antagonizing more than one-billion followers of Islam have never worn their country’s uniform. “If we just let our vision of the world go forth, just wage a total war,” Perle puffed far behind the front lines, “our children will sing great songs about us years from now.”^{xxxv}

He was right about the protest songs.

ADDICTS

Oil—it’s price, procurement and security—preoccupies this petroleum presidency. Handed his first corporate post in the oil patch, and later bailed out of a string of business failures by Osama bin Laden’s wealthy family, G.W. Bush had campaigned using an Enron executive jet.

Now beholden to Big Oil for essentially buying him the White House, as recently as the previous spring, international security expert Michael Klare observed in *Resource Wars* that the U.S. military under the new Bush administration had already come to “define resource security as their primary mission.”^{xxxvi}

Beginning in April 2001, U.S. military and government policy documents began legitimizing the aggressive application of American military might in pursuit of temporary fixes for their country’s growing oil and gas dependency. In the months leading up to this bright September morning, publications produced by the U.S. Army War College argued that when it came to “securing” another country’s oil and gas, American business and national interests “always coincide.”

In developing U.S. war strategy during the summer of 2000, the Army War College identified the U.S. military’s new mission to ensure “economic security.” Identified by the *Australian Morning Herald* as one of America’s top “national security gurus,” Lieutenant Colonel P. H. Liotta argued in an article widely-read by senior U.S. commanders that America needed a new offensive military posture to protect a pig-gish lifestyle that saw less than 5% of the world’s population turning

most of the planet's resources into waste, pollution, and the weapons needed to procure more oil.

Sitting presidents know that they can survive almost any scandal—except high prices at the gas pumps. Soon after Bush Junior's inauguration, an article by Jeffrey Record in the War College journal *Parameters* boldly promoted a policy of “shooting in the Persian Gulf on behalf of lower gas prices.”

After serving as a former staff member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Record was a rising star on yet another major body guiding presidential hands—the Council on Foreign Relations. Advocating presidential prevarication in promoting upcoming conflicts, Record recommended that the White House and Pentagon disguise less noble motives for massacring defenseless populations with patriotic propaganda to mobilize public support for the perpetual wars needed to ensure America's global dominance.

With most of the oil needed to fuel America's gas-guzzling economy flowing from overseas, the only options in the face of looming oil depletion and escalating greenhouse warming are either national initiatives in energy conservation, and rapid development of clean and renewable power sources—or a massive geoengineering project to reflect sunlight called “chemtrails”, and armed conquest to secure petroleum pollution and profits as usual. A recent report jointly produced by the Council on Foreign Relations and the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, “Strategic Energy Policy Challenges for the 21st Century” ignores alternative power sources, conservation and energy efficiency in calling for urgent “military intervention” to secure more oil.

But the oceans of oil thought to lie beneath the newly independent “stans” of Central Asia require an oil and gas pipeline to be built all the way across Taliban-controlled Afghanistan to a seaport in Karachi, Pakistan. Taking aim at this strategic objective, the Pentagon has already war-gamed an operational plan to attack the world's poorest country. On April 10, 2001, General Tommy Franks, commander of U.S. forces responsible for securing the Persian Gulf and South Asia, told Congress that his troops' key mission was securing access to that region's “energy resources.” Less than one month later, his command began preparing to attack Afghanistan. ^{xxxvii}

THE PNAC GALLERY

Answering to a powerful Israeli lobby, which sees the neutralizing of Syria, Iraq and Iran as essential for Israel's survival, the "Project For A New American Century" planners have not forgotten that Iraq's two biggest oilfields contain 10% of the world's proven oil reserves. Along with every top White House official, PNAC's chief architects now occupying powerful positions within the Bush administration include:

- Bruce Jackson, ex-Lockheed, former Military Intelligence Officer, President of the U.S. Committee on NATO.
- Eliot Cohen, Member of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board under Richard Perle.
- Douglas Feith, who appoints the members of the Defense Policy Board.
- Fred Ikle, member of the Defense Policy Board.

Assuring perpetual profits for America's weapons-makers, the Defense Policy Federation includes such prominent war profiteers as Boeing, TRW, Northrop Grumman—and Lockheed Martin, whose board includes Dick Cheney's wife. Other PNAC members with military ties include Lewis "Scooter" Libby, who will later be indicted by a federal- grand jury for perjury, obstructing justice, and making false statements related to leaking the name of CIA agent Valery Plame. Libby is Cheney's chief of staff. ^{xxxviii}

CHENEY

The Vice-President of the United States is also a PNAC architect and personal profiteer. The *New Internationalist* reports that during the 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama—and again during the 1991 Gulf War—then Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney "exaggerated the accuracy of U.S. missile strikes, covered up mistakes and in the words of one ABC-TV producer, "duped" the media. He voted against affirmative action, against the Clean Water Act and against sanctions on air polluters. He did vote in favor of easier access to handguns."

Voting 10-times against economic sanctions on apartheid-era South Africa, Cheney was one of only two U.S. Senators who opposed the resolution calling for the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. He helped arrange a major pipeline project in Burma that benefited

from forced labor, and “numerous acts of violence” by the Burmese military, according to a U.S. federal judge. As Dick Cheney told a group of oil executives, “The good Lord didn’t see fit to put oil and gas only where there are democratically elected regimes friendly to the United States...”^{xxxix}

Thanks to Cheney’s White House influence, following the “privatization” of the Gulf War, Halliburton went from paying \$302 million in taxes in 1998 to receiving an \$85 million tax refund the following year.^{xi}

Halliburton was already well acquainted with Iraq. With Cheney as its chairman and Chief Executive Officer, the company sold more than \$73 million in oil production equipment and spare parts to Saddam Hussein—a man Cheney will later call a “murderous dictator” and “the world’s worst leader”. During five years with Cheney at the helm, Halliburton nearly doubled the amount of business it did with the White House to more than \$2 billion. The company also more than doubled its political contributions to more than \$1 million—mostly to Republican candidates.^{xii}

“Halliburton quickly grew into America’s number-one oil-services company, the fifth-largest military contractor, and the biggest nonunion employer in the nation,” reported the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*. Within seven months of taking over as Vice-President, Cheney cashed in \$36 million in stock options and other benefits.^{xiii}

PNAC member and current Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld once sold nuclear reactors to North Korea.

His deputy, Paul Wolfowitz is another PNAC planner. Just as the Japanese were goaded into attacking a country whose resources and military might dwarfed their own, Rumsfeld’s new Defense Science Board has already established a shadow organization called the “Proactive, Preemptive Operations Group.”

The officially stated purposes of P2OG is to carry out secret missions designed to “stimulate reactions” among terrorist groups by provoking them into committing violent acts, which would expose them to “counterattack” by U.S. forces.^{xliii}

PNAC planner Richard Perle steers linked “threats” and weapons contracts through the quasi-official Defense Policy Board. He will eventually be forced to “retire” after getting his hand caught in a \$12 million Global Crossing cookie jar.^{xliiv}

A PRETEXT FOR WAR

Largely unknown to an electorate who have seen only Dick Cheney's name on a ballot, these amateur armchair generals are picking America's new wars, while steering lucrative logistics and weapons contracts to corporations on whose boards they serve.

Now these chickenhawks were about to come home to roost. The only thing needed to fulfill their long-held vision of world domination for oil confiscation is a pretext for war. PNAC's centerpiece for Bush's presidential agenda, "Rebuilding America's Defenses" laments that the process of transforming the U.S. military into "tomorrow's dominant force" will likely be lengthy.

Unless, its White House authors note, there could come "some catastrophic and catalyzing event—like a new Pearl Harbor."^{xlv}

OPERATION LOOK THE OTHER WAY

Today, no Japanese Zeroes are expected over Long Island. Instead, Lieutenant Colonel William Glover and his battle staff inside the Pentagon's National Military Command Center are looking for simulated Soviet missiles and bombers coming in over the North Pole. Foreheads aglow with flowing colored tracks from four big overhead screens, his battle staff intently scans banks of monitors, sniffing for simulated trouble.^{xlvi}

They are about to find plenty.

But it will not be a drill.

ATTA

0645:

As George Bush and his Secret Service escort circle the Colony's greens, two workers at an Israeli-owned instant messaging company in New York City each receive a message predicting an imminent attack on the World Trade Center's Twin Towers, located just two blocks away. The recipients do not recognize the senders, and neither worker relays the warnings to authorities before returning to their jobs with Odigo.^{xlvii}

Five minutes later, two men later identified as "Mohamed Atta" and "Abdulaziz al-Omari" arrive at Boston's Logan Airport. Though their shuttle from Portland, Maine had departed on time, the two men had nearly missed their flight after getting lost driving to the airport. The owner of the rural store where they stopped to ask directions remembers Atta as agitated but polite.^{xlviii}

Traveling on a passport issued by the United Arab Emirates, the 33-year-old Atta is described as quiet and “a little standoffish” by friends who know him. But Johnelle Bryant does not agree. Just five months before, the U.S. Department of Agriculture official had met with Mohammad Atta for more than an hour in her Homestead, Florida office.

When Atta had refused to speak with her because she was “but a female,” Bryant informed him that if he wanted a farm-service agency loan, “then he would need to deal with me.”

Atta needed \$650,000 to buy a six-seat twin-engine airplane—and skip the seats. “He wanted to build a chemical tank that would fit inside the aircraft and take up every available square inch of the aircraft except for where the pilot would be sitting,” Bryant later recalled.

Atta did not mention what “crops” he intended to dust. But he did tell the agriculture official that he had just arrived from Afghanistan and was interested in visiting New York. After inquiring about security at the World Trade Center, he discussed an organization called al-Qaeda, and his admiration for someone named “bin Laden”.

When Atta showed interest in an aerial photograph of Washington hanging on her office wall, Bryant pointed out the building where she had once worked. “How would you like it if somebody flew an airplane into your friends’ building?” Atta suddenly asked her. “How would America like it if another country destroyed Washington and some of the monuments in it, like the cities in my country had been destroyed?”

Before the stunned official could reply, Atta offered to buy the picture. “He pulled out a wad of cash... and started throwing money on my desk. He wanted that picture really bad,” Bryant later told ABC News. “He asked about the Pentagon and the White House and I pointed them out. He said this man [Bin Laden] would someday be known as the world’s greatest leader.”^{xlix}

What operative would blow his cover like this, unless he wanted to leave a false trail? According to Bryant, Atta became “very agitated” when she did not immediately hand him \$650,00. What would prevent him, he asked her, from cutting her throat and making off with “millions of dollars” in the safe behind her desk? ¹

Despite the gravity of his threats, the alleged al-Qaeda ringleader was never picked up for questioning. But instead of acting with the discipline of a “holy martyr”, Atta has often broken Islam’s strictures. Amanda Keller, a 20-year-old call girl who lived with him in Venice, Florida between February and April 2000 remembers a supposed

religious fundamentalist who enjoyed spending wads of money snorting cocaine and drinking hard liquor at strip-clubs. ⁱⁱ

Though an occasional glass of beer would have established his cover, Mohamed Atta often knocked back vodka at the 44th Aero Squadron bar near the flight schools he and his cohorts attended in Venice, Florida. Bar owner Ken Schortzmann never had any problems with Atta and his buddies, who were regulars there. Unlike some of the other flight students, they didn't drink heavily or come on to the waitresses. Atta seemed to be their leader, Schortzmann remembers. "He had a fanny pack with a big roll of cash in it."

Last photographed on September 10, 2001 by an ATM camera while making a cash withdrawal, Atta appears to have no cares. But only the week before, he and two friends had apparently gone on a goodbye bender. At a seafood bar called Shuckums, Atta had again broken faith by downing five Stoli-and-fruit-juices, while one of his companions chugged rum and Cokes. Growing agitated, the supposed Islamic martyrs shouted Arabic curses that roughly translated: "Fuck God."

Atta was already fleeing U.S. justice. The previous spring, after being stopped by a random inspection near Fort Lauderdale, Atta had been cited for failing to produce a driver's license. When he did not show up for a May 28, 2001 court hearing, a warrant for his arrest was issued in Broward County. But with more than 200,000 warrants pending in Broward County alone, he was never picked up. ⁱⁱⁱ

RIGHT THIS WAY

This morning, the man calling himself "Mohamed Atta" remains as calm as any fugitive who is running late for mass murder and his own violent death. A regular air traveler, in recent months he has flown to Zurich, before continuing on to Madrid and Prague. So it is uncharacteristic for him to be screwing up like this—first getting lost in Portland, then getting into an argument with an airport-parking attendant that drew attention to his rental car. Now he's running late at Logan. And he and his confederates must still safely check in at the reservations desk and passing through security.

At the Logan ticket counter, Atta reportedly uses his frequent-flier miles to purchase a discounted business class-boarding pass from Boston to LA. Why he didn't avoid this delay and further security checks by purchasing a connecting ticket from Maine has never been satisfactorily explained.

The tyro terrorist checks in so late, his bags never make it onboard. A set of instructions, written in Arabic, will later be found inside. Penned the previous day and titled, “The Last Night,” the document reads like a Hollywood caricature: “Make an oath to die and renew your intentions. Shave excess hair from the body and wear cologne. Shower,” Atta advises his fastidious throat-cutting cohorts. On this coming day, “God willing, you spend with the women of Paradise.”ⁱⁱⁱ

Before being confronted by the dilemma of fondling forbidden *houris* while in a disembodied state, Atta and his accomplices must first pass an automated FAA screening program called CAPPS. Checking all ticket transactions, the Computer Assisted Passenger Prescreening System picks out passengers for additional screening based on suspicious behavior, such as buying one-way tickets, or paying with cash.^{iv}

The Flight 11 hijackers remain calm when CAPPS selects them for personalized baggage inspection. They have been through this before. Since he has checked no bags, “Waleed Alshehri” has no problems. His companions, “Wail al-Shehri” and “Satam al-Suqami” have their bags scanned for explosives. Both pass.^{iv}

IN SECURITY

Inside the Dulles terminal, “Nawaf al-Hazmi”, “Khalid al-Mihdhar” and “Hani Hanjour” are photographed by a security camera heading for United Flight 77. Just a few weeks before, on August 31, a nationwide Immigration and Customs Watch List had flagged Khalid al-Mihdhar as an “Armed and Dangerous” individual requiring “secondary inspection”.

On September 4, the State Department had revoked Khalid’s visa because of his “participation in terrorist activities.” But the next day, someone changed the “Watch List” that would have prevented his entry into the United States, and taken him immediately into custody.^{iv}

After being instructed by his superiors to leave Khalid al-Mihdhar and Nawaf al-Hazmi alone, a frustrated FBI field agent emailed his New York headquarters, “Whatever happened to this—someday someone will die.”

The agent had learned about Khalid in the spring of 2001, while investigating al-Qaeda’s attack on the destroyer *USS Cole* in Bahrain. A confidential contact claimed that a “bagman” bringing money to the chief suspect in the *Cole* attack had met with Khalid al-Mihdhar in Malaysia. Since then, the agent and his New York Field Office team have been seeking Khalid al-Mihdhar for three months.

But on June 11, 2001 they were once again stopped by their superiors from accessing intelligence briefings on Khalid al-Midhar and Nawaf al-Hazmi. It was only during the last week of August 2001 that the FBI officially learned that Khalid was in the country. Located in Building 7 at the World Trade Center, the FBI's New York headquarters forbid all agents assigned to tracking al-Qaeda from attempting to locate either him or Nawaf.^{lvii}

With investigations into their activities blocked by a bureaucracy that must have forgotten its primary mission to protect U.S. citizens and property, "armed and dangerous" Khalid al-Mihdhar and Nawaf al-Hazmi are not detained at Dulles International this morning.

OPTING OUT

A Pakistani-Britisher named Niaz Khan will not be joining Flight 11. While waiting tables in a curry house north of London, Niaz had been approached by two Middle Eastern men one night nearly a year ago. "We can help you," they had told him. "Come sit in our car."

Identifying themselves as representatives of Osama bin Laden, the men told Niaz that they knew about his gambling debts and could teach him the glorious ways of *jihad*.

The several thousand dollars they gave him spoke louder than their words. Flying to Lahore, Pakistan, Niaz was driven blindfolded to a training compound where he and perhaps 30 other men were taught "Hijacking 101"—including how to smuggle guns and other weapons through airport security, overpower passengers and crew, and gain cockpit access. Heavily addicted to gambling, Niaz despairingly decided, if I die, it doesn't matter because this life anyway, it's no good.

Niaz's trainers never described his terrorist mission in the United States. He would learn more from a half-dozen terrorist trainees already in the United States. According to NBC News, on completion of his training Khan was given money "to fly a circuitous route from Pakistan to Doha, Qatar, on to London, and Zurich, Switzerland, then back to London, and finally to New York." These long flights "allowed him to observe flight operations and on-board security measures," NBC reported.

But on landing at JFK airport, Khan had second thoughts on the future prospects of martyrdom. Instead of meeting his contact, he took a bus to Atlantic City and gambled away most of his money. Fearful of al-Qaeda's wrath, and aware that his trainers could easily find him, Khan turned himself in to the FBI.

The “walk-in” confessor passed two FBI polygraphs. But after three weeks of questioning, FBI headquarters—as skeptical of “surprise attack” warnings as it had been in August 1941—ordered Niaz released into the custody of Scotland Yard. Deported to England, the al-Qaeda informant was questioned for about two hours and then released. ^{lviii}

WHO’S WHO

Today’s plan can proceed without Niaz Khan. But are any of these hopeful hijackers passengers really who they claim to be? Or are they traveling on fake or stolen ID? None of their names are on the passenger manifests later released by American and United airlines. And as 9/11 investigator Paul Thompson points out, an airport security photo of a beefy “Hanjour” does not resemble the much thinner “Hanjour” shown in subsequent pictures.

When CAPPs selects “Majed Moqed” and “Khalid al-Mihdhar” for a closer electronic sniff, their carry-on bags pass safely through the conveyor belt’s electronic beams. But when they pass under the metal detector arch, both men set alarms clanging.

Directed to a second magnetometer, Khalid passes, but Majed flunks again. With years of training and planning suddenly jeopardized, Majed Moqed receives the personal attention of a security attendant waving a metal detection wand. This time the tyro terrorist is permitted to pass through the checkpoint. ^{lix}

Also picked out of the boarding crowd by CAPPs, “Hani Hanjour” is waved through after his two carry-on bags fail to trip any alarms. One minute later, “Nawaf al-Hazmi” and “Salem al-Hazmi” pass through the same checkpoint. An alert security guard pulls both men aside. One of the bewildered brothers has no photo ID and cannot understand basic English. The security agent finds both men suspicious. ^{lx}

Reuters reports that for 21 months after being identified as “terrorists” by the CIA, Nawaf al-Hazmi and Khalid al-Mihdhar have “lived openly in the United States, using their real names, obtaining driver’s licenses, opening bank accounts and enrolling in flight schools.” ^{lxi}

But airport security personnel know nothing of this. When Salem walks through the magnetometer at Boston’s Logan International Airport, their metal detectors are still set to “green”—the lowest detection sensitivity.

When Nawaf sets off alarms in two magnetometers, he too receives the magic wand treatment. His crucial carry-on is swiped by an explosive trace detector before being returned without further inspection.^{lxii}

NO WORRIES

Though the impulse to flee is great, none of the would-be hijackers panics. Previous cross-country flights have shown that even contra-band box-cutters and pepper spray easily pass through security.

Booking tickets on the same type aircraft he intended to pilot, “Marwan al-Shehhi” had taken the first cross-country flight from New York to San Francisco and on to Las Vegas on May 24, 2001. On June 7, “Ziad Jarrah” had flown from Baltimore to Los Angeles, and then on to Las Vegas. “Mohamed Atta” had traveled from Boston to San Francisco to Las Vegas on June 28.

All three men had flown First Class to observe the habits of the cabin attendants, and monitor the cockpit door. One of them may have been chastised by a flight attendant for attempting to videotape the cabin routine. From their forward vantage, the hijackers-in-training learned that the best time to storm the cockpit would be about ten to fifteen minutes after takeoff, when cockpit doors are typically opened to flight attendants.^{lxiii}

In early June, Ziad had taken a sightseeing flight along the famed Hudson Corridor. This low-altitude right-of-way bypasses the FAA’s positive controlled airspace to view several New York City landmarks, including the same World Trade Center featured in cross hairs on the cover of the Federal Emergency Management Agency’s anti-terrorist manual.

On August 22, 2001, Ziad Jarrah had tried to purchase four Global Positioning System units from a pilot shop in Miami. He ended up buying the only one available, along with three aeronautical charts. Hani Hanjour also bought a handheld GPS capable of pinpointing locations, charting courses, and estimating the time of arrival—or impact—of an airplane in flight.^{lxiv}

Now, on this sparkling September morning, at two different airports at least nine would-be terrorists are singled out and questioned by ticket agents referring to a standard printed screening form. Despite federal warnings of a significant hijacking threat, all are allowed to proceed through security checkpoints set at the lowest alert level.

Just the day before, San Francisco mayor Willie Brown had called to check the status of his September 11 flight into New York. The return

call had apparently come from Bush's close confidant and National Security Adviser. Condoleezza Rice told Brown to be "extra cautious about air travel" on the 11th.^{lxv}

Also on September 10, a group of top Pentagon brass had suddenly canceled travel plans for the next morning because of reported "security concerns". Though apparently not decoded until days later, the National Security Agency's ECHELON network had intercepted an Arabic-language message saying, "The match is about to begin... Tomorrow is zero hour."^{lxvi}

DESTINATION WASANTWN

With the FAA failing to pass on repeated warnings of possible trouble aloft, and 60,000 Saudi passport-holders visiting the United States every year, poorly paid airport security personnel perform well in flagging suspicious travelers.^{lxvii}

But earlier visa applications for 15 Saudi conspirators should have raised some official eyebrows. Described as "incomplete and often incomprehensible," none had been filled out properly. Saudi brothers "Wail" and "Waleed al-Shehri" had applied together in October 2000. Under "occupation" Wail wrote "teater". Brother Waleed claimed "student". The name and address of their employer and school was listed as "South City"—their U.S. destination: "Wasantwn."

Both visas were approved.

"Abdulaziz al-Omari" was one of three co-conspirators who obtained visas in the Kingdom of Saud through a program put in place just four months earlier to expedite U.S. visa applicants by arranging their paperwork through a travel agency. According to ABC News, Abdulaziz "claimed to be a student but didn't name a school; claimed to be married but didn't name a spouse; under nationality and gender, he didn't list anything."

Visa approved.

Khalid al-Mihdhar simply listed "Hotel" as his U.S. destination.

Visa approved.

Hani Hanjour was flagged by a consulate official for desiring to "visit" the United States for three years. On being informed that the legal limit was two, Hanjour obligingly changed the form to read "one year".

Visa approved.

One problem was congestion. With 500 million foreign residents

legally entering the United States every year, the pressure to rapidly process an avalanche of applications remained intense. While being pressed to process more paperwork, young, least-experienced Foreign Service staff were being given little guidance. And because they accept lower pay, Pakistani and Sudanese nationals often staff the U.S. Embassy in Saudi Arabia, where at least eight hijackers received their U.S. entry visas. Since all three countries are al-Qaeda haunts, Osama bin Laden operatives may have approved the visa applications for some of their fellow travelers.

“They were handing these things out gift-wrapped with ribbons on top,” snorted Joel Mowbray, contributing editor of the *National Review*.

When men calling themselves Hani Hanjour, Satam al-Suqami, brothers Wail and Waleed al-Shehri, Abdulaziz al-Omari, Ahmed al-Ghamdi, Hamza al-Ghamdi, Mohand al-Shehri, Saeed al-Ghamdi, Ahmad al-Haznawi, Ahmed al-Nami, Majed Moqed and Salem al-Hazmi applied for U.S. visas, each was required to sign Form OF-156. A trick question tried to trip up ill-intentioned visitors by asking: “Do you seek to enter the United States to engage in export control violations, subversive or terrorist activities, or any other unlawful purpose?”

Presumably, each terrorist had ticked, “No”.^{lxviii}

FLIGHT 11

0710:

Seizing a few moments during Flight 11’s delay, flight attendant Amy Madeline Sweeney calls home to tell her 5-year-old daughter Anna how sorry she was not to be there to put her on the bus to kindergarten. After her son Jack was born several months premature, Sweeney had taken the maximum time off over the previous summer to be with her two children. Now she has to take this Boston-to-LA trip. Happily, the flight is only half-full.^{lxix}

0718:

For air traffic controller Danielle O’Brien, September 11 is another “very normal day” as she takes up her duties at Washington’s Dulles International Airport. “It was a beautiful day,” she will later recall. “Crystal clear. Very nice temperature.”

0730:

Sheila Moody reports for her first day at work as an accountant

on the first floor, E-Ring, Corridor 4, Room 472 at the Pentagon. The sun is just coming up as Moody begins filling out her first ream of administrative paperwork.^{lxx}

0748:

As the American Airlines jet backs away from Gate 26, First Class passenger Edmund Glazer ignores the flight attendant's instruction to stow all cell phones and computers for take-off. He can't resist calling Candy. The top financial officer for a high-tech firm had left his wife's embrace and driven to Logan early this morning feeling great. He'd lost weight, and he and Candy were feeling close. "Hi, hon," he says when she picks up. "I made it."^{lxxi}

A few seats away, Mohamed Atta makes a call to Marwan al-Shehhi onboard Flight 175. Speaking in coded Arabic they confirm that their mission is on.^{lxxii}

0759:

Flight 11 is running 14 minutes late when Captain John Ogonowski and First Officer Thomas McGuinness lift the heavy jet off Logan International's main runway. Bound for Los Angeles, the Boeing 767 is carrying 23,980 gallons of fuel, and a still unverified number of passengers. One published manifest lists 81 passengers, nine flight attendants and two pilots onboard.^{lxxiii}

FLIGHT 93

As the big American airliner tilts into the sky, Mark Bingham almost misses his departing flight. After oversleeping, a friend has driven him at an insane velocity from Manhattan to Newark. Screeching to a stop outside Terminal A, Bingham had leapt from the car clutching the old blue-and-gold canvas bag he'd been using for a decade since playing rugby at the University of California at Berkeley. He's missed the last boarding call for Flight 93—one of the United flight attendants has to reopen the main cabin door to let him board. Just four rows back from the cockpit, Bingham slips into a right-hand seat next to a passenger named Thomas Burnett and orders a celebratory orange juice.

0851:

United Airlines Flight 93 pushes back from Gate 17 at Newark International Airport's Terminal A. Loaded with 11,489 gallons of fuel, and a still unverified number of passengers, the kindred Boeing is

bound for San Francisco. At only 16% occupancy, the 757 is flying unusually light. A published manifest lists two pilots, five flight attendants and 38 passengers onboard. ^{lxxiv}

Often referred to by air traffic controllers as a “seven-five” (for a Boeing 757) and “seven-six” (for the 767), the Boeing sister ships are the first airliners to share a common type rating. A major selling point for airlines, this allows a pilot qualified on one plane to fly the other without additional training. ^{lxxv}

Though cleared to taxi, Flight 93 will remain on the ground because of runway congestion for another 41 minutes before finally being cleared for take off. The delay must rub the already raw nerves of passengers “Saeed al-Ghamdi” and “Ahmed al-Nami”. Their two cohorts, flight school buddies Ahmed al-Haznawi and Ziad Jarrah had driven their rented Ford Ranger away from their shared a rental home in the quiet Florida neighborhood of Lauderdale-by-the-Sea for the last time. But in front of their house a wooden wind chime still tinkles gaily in the Gulf breeze with its painted message:

This House Is Full of Love

JARRAH

Jarrah cannot stop thinking about his girlfriend and his family. Though he’d personally pledged *bayat*—or allegiance—to Osama bin Laden in Kandahar in 1999, Jarrah is much better educated and financially pampered than his fellow kamikazes. Born into a wealthy family, he had attended a German university after first being educated in discos, nightclubs and private Christian schools in Lebanon.

He had also fallen hard for Aysel Senguen. The depth of the couple’s commitment became apparent to his al-Qaeda cell when Jarrah interrupted his flight training in the United States five times to travel back to Germany to see Senguen, before flying on to Beirut to visit his family. When his girlfriend returned with him to Florida for 10 blissful days, he had proudly taken her to observe one of his airliner flight simulator sessions.

Atta was not happy about Jarrah’s liaisons. Especially when the lovelorn martyr began talking of dropping out of the operation. Almost daily telephone conversations with Senguen and his family led to a crisis on July 25, 2000, when Atta was worried enough to drive Jarrah to the Miami airport with a one-way ticket to see his German girlfriend. But Jarrah had returned to the fanatical fold on August 5 of that year. ^{lxxvi}

Jarrah's trials had not ended with Senguen. It wasn't pleasant being stopped and ticketed in Maryland for speeding—not after being questioned in January 2001 in the United Arab Emirates at the request of the CIA for “suspected involvement in terrorist activities.” But Allah was merciful. No red flags were raised when his name was run through the state police computer. ^{lxxvii}

Last night, Jarrah and his three companions had stayed in the same hotel as some of the passengers who would be boarding Flight 93. Jarrah had paid cash for seven rooms in the Airport Marriott overlooking Terminal A. Enjoying dinner at Priscilla's, where a prime steak costs \$34 and the smallest bowl of watercress soup goes for \$10, he and his teammates had acted very un-martyr-like, paying cash for everything. ^{lxxviii}

Back in his hotel room on his last night alive, Jarrah had opened Atta's written instructions: “You must make your knife sharp and you must not discomfort your animal during the slaughter,” his old friend had admonished. Never mind girlfriend, family, or forfeited Earthly delights, the note had continued. “Completely forget something called ‘this life’. The time for play is over and the serious time is upon us.”

The checklist for murder and mayhem had then enjoined Jarrah to turn to two Suras—or chapters—in the *Holy Qu'ran*. Al Tawba and al Anfa refer to “Repentance” and “The Spoils of War.” ^{lxxix}

SILVERSTEIN

While Jarrah sits pondering his choice and resolve, in his Park Avenue apartment, Larry Silverstein is preparing to meet with new tenants in his temporary office on the 88th floor of North Tower One in the World Trade Center. Just six weeks previously, he had completed his biggest deal ever, signing a \$3.2 billion dollar contract with the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey to lease the 10 million-square-foot of office space in the Twin Towers for the next 99 years.

But this morning his wife “laid down the law,” insisting that he keep an appointment with his dermatologist. ^{lxxx}

BOSTON CENTER

Sitting in front of a newly acquired high-resolution 27-inch Sony console in a windowless room, air traffic controller Pete Zalweski is handling Flight 11 and several other airliners transiting his sector. Climbing or descending at speeds that cover two football fields every second, each hurtling jetliner must maintain legal separation in densely shared airspace.

NORDO

Though located in Nashua, New Hampshire, this Air Traffic Control facility is known as “Boston Center” because it handles all air traffic overflying the Boston region. Honed into a smoothly functioning routine by long practice, rigidly professional standards, and the strict attention of three-dimensional chess players who know that a single wrong move can cause catastrophe, each participant in this elaborate aerial ballet are performing flawlessly when Zalweski gives his first instruction to American Airlines Flight 11: ^{lxxxix}

0813:

“AAL11 turn 20 degrees right.”

First Officer Tom McGuinness answers immediately, “20 right, AAL11.”

Seconds later, as the big Boeing cruises at 29,000 feet over western Massachusetts, 17 minutes and nearly 50 miles out of Logan, Boston Center radios permission for its pilots to climb: “AAL11 now climb maintain FL three-five-zero.”

The Boeing is cleared to a Flight Level of 35,000 feet. Typically charged with cockpit chores, it is most likely the First Officer who repeats Zalweski’s instruction, chanting back: “AAL11 climb maintain FL350.” ^{lxxxii}

But Flight 11 does not climb.

“NOBODY MOVE”

One minute later, United Flight 175 lifts off from Logan International Airport and begins climbing out for LA. Delayed in its pushback from Gate 19 for a bonus 16 minutes of life, the Boeing 767 is fully loaded with 23,980 gallons of jet fuel and as yet unverified number of passengers. Only 31% of its paying seats are reportedly filled. One published manifest lists two pilots, seven flight attendants and 56 passengers onboard. ^{lxxxiii}

Flight 11 still has not responded to Boston Center’s command.

0815:

Controller Pete Zalweski tries again: “AAL11, ah, the American on the frequency, how do you hear me?”

The Athens controller breaks in: Flight 11 is heading his way without communications, and Lino Martins wants more information.

“This is Boston,” Zalweski replies. “I turned American 20 left and I was going to climb him. He will not respond to me now at all.”

Martins: “Looks like he’s turning right.”

Zalweski: “Yeah, I turned him right.”

Lino Martins: “Oh, OK.”

Zalweski: “And he’s only going to, um, I think 29 [thousand].”

Martins: “Sure that’s fine. Eh, but I’m not talking to him.”

Zalweski: “He won’t answer you. He’s NORDO.”

Martins. “Roger. Thanks.”

NORDO is airplane talk for “No Radio”. With so many fast-moving airplanes sharing the same sky, the Boston controller radios an urgent warning to Flight 11. There is no response. Zalweski next tries calling the plane on the emergency frequency 121.5. ^{lxxxiv}

Still nothing.

This is not good. But there is no cause for immediate alarm. Through training and experience, the controller must assume that the aircraft’s primary radio has failed. Backup transmitters should take over.

GLOBAL GUARDIAN

As the controllers attempt to raise Flight 11, Global Guardian is already underway. Headquartered in an underground bunker below Offutt Air Force Base outside Omaha, Nebraska, the annual exercise is held in close coordination with U.S. Space Command and NORAD.

The nerve center for today’s drill is the U.S. Strategic Command. Defined by NBC News military analyst William Arkin as the “U.S. military command responsible for the day-to-day readiness of America’s nuclear forces,” STRATCOM forces are testing their ability to engage in Armageddon.

Linked directly with the Vigilant Guardian exercise, this year’s practice Apocalypse was originally booked in March 2001 to take place from October 22 to October 31, 2001. But Vice-President Dick Cheney, acting on the direct authority of George Bush, had rescheduled both exercises for September 11, 2001.

This is compelling, because as 9/11 researcher Paul Thompson points out, ever since 1998 STRATCOM has incorporated a computer network attack into Global Guardian. This mock assault uses STRATCOM “Red Team” members and pretend “enemy agents” from other organizations to “hack” computer-dependent U.S. defenses after a traitorous “insider” divulges the passwords to key command and control systems. ^{lxxxv}

This morning, Global Guardian is intended to mess with the minds and machines of America's air defenders. To make sure the ensuing chaos is complete, attackers will soon begin "war-dialing" phones throughout the U.S. military command, while flooding fax machines and computer networks with spurious messages to also tie them up.^{lxxxvi}

BEE

0821:

Flight attendant Betty Ong has taken refuge in Flight 11's rear jump seat. Picking up a phone normally used to communicate with the crew onboard the plane, she manages to reach several American Airlines officials. None of them believe her story. "Are you sure?" Ong is challenged repeatedly. Surely the mayhem she is describing is just a case of air-rage.^{lxxxvii}

But Nydia Gonzalez believes the voice on her phone. The supervisor on duty at American's LA operations center requests the caller's location and name.

"OK. I'm in the jump seat right now. That's 3R," comes the reply. "My name is Betty Ong. I'm No. 3 on Flight 11."

"OK," Gonzalez says.

"And the cockpit is not answering their phone," Ong continues in a rush. "There's somebody stabbed in Business Class, and we can't breathe in business. Um... I think there is some Mace or something. We can't breathe. I don't know, but I think we're getting hijacked."

"Can you describe the person that you said someone is shot in business?" Gonzalez asks.

Betty Ong does not know that "muscle" hijacker Satam al-Suqami had stood up from his seat directly behind passenger Daniel Lewin and either shot or stabbed him. Or that the multimillionaire Lewin had once belonged to the Sayeret Matkal—a top-secret Israel Defense Force counter-terrorist unit. How Lewin was identified and targeted may never be known.^{lxxxviii}

Ong explains to her anxious supervisor that she's been forced to the back of the plane, which appears to have been hijacked shortly after leaving Boston on a flight to Los Angeles. "Somebody's coming back from business. If you can hold on for one second here, they're coming back."

Unable to transfer her call, and unsure what to do with Ong's disturbing information, Gonzales contacts the American Airlines operations center in Fort Worth, Texas. She tells manager Craig Marquis that

she is speaking with a flight attendant in flight who can't reach the pilots flying her plane.

The airline veteran is skeptical. Is the caller even a flight attendant? Still listening to the reservations agent, Marquis checks his computer. There she is: Betty Ong. And she is scheduled on that flight. ^{lxxxix}

Betty Ong comes back on the line. Flight attendant Amy Sweeney has apparently come aft to confer with her co-worker. "Our No. 1 got stabbed. Our purser is stabbed. Nobody knows who stabbed whom. We can't even get up to business class right now because nobody can breathe. Uhhh, our No. 1 is stabbed right now... Our No. 5, our First-Class passenger, er, our First-Class galley flight attendant and our purser have been stabbed. And we can't get into the cockpit. The door won't open," Ong reports in a rush.

LA Operations breaks in, asking for the flight number. There is momentary confusion on the ground as someone else responds that it's Flight 12.

"No," Betty Ong corrects. "No, we're on Flight 11 right now. This is Flight 11."

The interrupter apologizes. Ong cuts through the chitchat: "Boston to Los Angeles."

"Yes," Gonzales replies.

"Our No. 1 has been stabbed, and our 5 has been stabbed."

"Can anybody get up to the cockpit? Can anyone get up to the cockpit?" Gonzales asks.

"We can't even get into the cockpit. We don't know who's up there," Ong tells her. She breaks off their conversation, but keeps the line open. Nydia Gonzalez overhears Ong asking someone nearby, "Can anybody get to the cockpit?"

"We can't even get to the cockpit," the flight attendant comes back. "Nobody can call the cockpit. We can't even get inside."

There follows a few moments of silence as Gonzalez confers with American's main operations center in Texas.

"Is anybody there?" asks Betty Ong.

"Yes, we're here," says a reservations agent, apparently named Nadine.

"I'm staying on the line as well," Ong says.

"You're doing a great job, just stay calm," Nydia Gonzalez comes back. "Is there a doctor on board?"

After listening to Betty Ong's reply, Gonzalez tells operations, "They don't have any doctors on board. The aircraft is erratic again.

NORDO

She did say that the first-class passengers have been moved back to coach.”

At least one hijacker is herding the passengers aft. Perhaps it is he who discovers the flight attendant whose friends call her “Bee” on the phone.

Long dial tone...

“Betty, talk to me. Are you there, Betty?” Gonzalez implores. Then the supervisor tells the American Airlines operations center, “I think we might have lost her.”^{xc}

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Chapter 2

“WE HAVE A PROBLEM HERE”

Flight 11 has not begun to climb as requested. But the Boeing “seven-six” is still on course, its radar blip heading west-northwest between Albany and Lake George, New York. ^{xcv}

0820:

American Airlines Flight 77 is running 19 minutes late when it departs Dulles International Airport, about 30 miles west of the White House. Bound for Los Angeles International Airport, the fuel-efficient twin-engine jet is carrying 11,489 gallons of fuel. Rated at a maximum capacity of 200 passengers, today’s flight is later reported to have embarked 58 passengers, four flight attendants and two pilots. But one published manifest lists only 56 souls onboard. ^{xcvi}

As Captain Charles Burlingame and First Officer David Charlebois clean up Flight 77’s flaps and gear and begin climbing out over Washington D.C., Flight 11’s transponder suddenly switches off. This mandatory “black box” continuously transmits the aircraft’s call sign, flight number, altitude, airspeed, heading, and IFF “Friend or Foe” squawk code to Air Traffic Control radarscopes. Though still visible as a ghostly “skin-painted” echo, the accompanying data block showing the jet’s vital vectors and velocities blinks out.

Horizontally sweeping radars cannot read vertical height above the ground. Reduced to primary radar mode, their probing beams cannot indicate whether the airplane is climbing or descending—an urgent concern in three-dimensional aerial cloverleaves clogged with fast moving “heavies”. The pilot’s ability to trigger the transponder’s four-digit emergency hijack code is also lost. ^{xcvii}

Alerted for the day’s aerial exercises, United States Air Force radar technicians pick up the glitch immediately: “The first time that anything ... out of the ordinary happened was at 8:20 when the electronic transponder in American Airlines 11 blinked off,” Colonel Alan

Scott will later tell the 9/11/Commission. The Pentagon's National Military Command Center immediately sets up an air threat teleconference call with the FAA to handle the situation. ^{xciv}

Controllers Pete Zalweski and Lino Martins have been trained to first eliminate the possibility of a faulty transponder. "Bum transponders are no big deal," one controller will later say. "I wouldn't have been alarmed."

Following long experience and strict procedures, Pete Zalweski immediately requests the American airliner to "squawk ident" by retransmitting the plane's transponder code.

They cannot wait long for compliance. At jet speeds, collision can come in a heartbeat. With radio communications still out, Flight 11 now becomes the center of attention on air force and ATC radarscopes. ^{xcv}

0821:

Turning to his supervisor, Pete Zalweski asks, "Would you please come over here? I think something is seriously wrong with this plane. I don't know what. It's either mechanical, electrical, I think. But I'm not sure."

When asked if he suspects a hijacking, the flight controller is emphatic: "Absolutely not. No way."

Seated alongside Zalweski in the hushed and darkened flight center, controller Tom Roberts asks a nearby American Airlines plane to try raising Flight 11 on the plane-to-plane frequency. There is still no response as Flight 11 turns drastically off course. ^{xcvi}

There is no ambiguity about what must be done now. "Consider that an aircraft emergency exists... when... there is unexpected loss of radar contact and radio communications with any... aircraft. If ... you are in doubt that a situation constitutes an emergency or potential emergency, handle it as though it were an emergency," stipulates FAA Order 7110.

Binding FAA and Air Force controllers in mutual national defense since 1997, FAA procedure 4.7.1 calls for an "Immediate Response" when confronted by wayward aircraft "to save lives, prevent human suffering, or mitigate great property damage under imminently serious conditions."

NORAD must be notified within minutes of lost radar or radio contact. But not just fighters may be scrambled. DoD Directive 3025.1 stipulates that any available military plane on the ground or already aloft can be directed to intercept suspect aircraft. "Normally, NORAD escort aircraft will take the required action," the FAA clarifies for its

We Have A Problem Here

controllers. “However, for the purpose of these procedures, the term ‘escort aircraft’ applies to any military aircraft assigned to the escort mission.”^{xvii}

There is no precedent for delay. Between September 2000 and June 2001 the Pentagon has scrambled fighters in 67 situations just like this.^{xviii}

BAD NEWS

0822:

Onboard Flight 11, flight attendant Amy Sweeney uses an Airfone to call the American Airlines flight services office at Boston’s Logan Airport.

At the speed and altitude jetliners typically travel, even in-flight cell phones boosted by an onboard transmitter can be unreliable. When the phone immediately disconnects, Sweeney tries again. This second signal is also broken. So is her next call at 0824.

Further attempts at 8:25 and 8:29 are also interrupted by dial tones, but not before Sweeney manages to report someone hurt on the flight.

Hearing there is a problem with American Airlines Flight 12, Michael Woodward hurries to the American Airline’s gate area, only to find Flight 12 still awaiting pushback. Returning to his office, the American Airlines flight service manager picks up his phone and manages to reach Amy Sweeney. Wanting to pass on what he is hearing from his longtime friend, Woodward, calls Nancy Wyatt on another phone. Holding a telephone to each ear, he repeats everything Sweeney is saying to the supervisor of American’s pursers at Logan. Nancy Wyatt, in turn, relays Woodward’s account to the airline’s Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas headquarters, which records her call. With trouble onboard one of their airplanes not yet confirmed, American Airlines Systems Operations Control managers revert to longstanding airline policy. “Don’t spread this around. Keep it close,” two of them tell each other. “Keep it quiet...Let’s keep this among ourselves. What else can we find out from our own sources about what’s going on?”^{xcix}

It seems a reasonable precaution against unduly alarming family and relatives of those onboard a NORDO flight. But thousands of unsuspecting airliners could be flying over the United States with their cockpit doors unlocked.

“DON’T DO ANYTHING FOOLISH”

0823:

Pete Zalweski is still hoping that Flight 11 has an electrical problem that has somehow incapacitated its backup communications systems, when someone in the cockpit—most likely Captain John Ogonowski—depresses the “push-to-talk” button on his control yoke. Instead of Captain Ogonowski’s transmission, an unfamiliar voice with a Middle Eastern accent comes over Zalweski’s headset, shouting, “Nobody do anything stupid! Don’t do anything foolish. You’re not going to get hurt.”

Zalweski and his fellow controllers listening to the center’s loudspeakers stiffen reflexively.

Hijack!

Apparently addressing the passengers over the plane’s cabin address system, the heavily accented voice continues: “We have some planes. Just stay quiet and you will be OK. We are returning to the airport. Nobody move. Everything will be OK. If you try to make any moves you’ll endanger yourself and the airplane. Just stay quiet.”

Zalweski stabs his transmitter’s foot switch. “Who’s trying to call me?” he demands.

There is no direct response. But a hijacker who less than an hour before was just another face passing through airport security continues his cabin announcement, unaware that his transmissions can be heard by everyone in Boston Center: “Everything will be OK. If you try to make any moves you will endanger yourself and the airplane. Just stay quiet.”^c

To placate Flight 11’s lawful pilots, someone in the cockpit apparently says something about directing the plane toward New York’s Kennedy or LaGuardia airports. It’s hard to tell. Picked up at a distance from Captain Ogonowski’s noise-canceling boom mic, the overheard conversation is barely intelligible. The plane’s “talkback” button will be pushed intermittently almost to New York, indicating that Captain Ogonowski is still in his seat much of the way.^{ci}

0824:

Using his cursor, Zalweski has tagged Flight 11’s faint radar blip with a glowing green dot to enhance its visibility on his ‘scope. Near Albany, New York he watches the already off-course airliner make a radical 100-degree turn to the south. After its abrupt turn, the Boeing’s blip drags a squiggly line across his display. It looks to Zalweski as if someone unused to the controls is struggling to hold a heading.

Then the plane straightens on a beeline for Manhattan.

We Have A Problem Here

A Defense Department manual details what to do after hearing strange voices in airliner cockpits: “In the event of a hijacking, the NMCC will be notified by the most expeditious means by the FAA.”^{cii}

The actual notification procedure is spelled out in FAA Order 7610, which requires that if there is any possibility a hijacking has occurred, fighter escort service for the out-of-contact aircraft “will be requested by the FAA hijack coordinator by direct contact with the National Military Command Center” in the Pentagon.^{ciii}

Boston flight controller Mark Hodgkin will track American 11 “the whole way down” to Manhattan. But with all the assets at its command—including direct patches into the FAA’s radars—NEADS radar techs still cannot paint the Boeing. Boston Center has to update Major Nasypany’s crew by telephone, until NEADS finally “finds the dot” just minutes before Flight 11 reaches its revised destination.^{civ}

“GOOD LUCK”

0825:

Boston Center hands off American Flight 77 to Dulles controller, Danielle O’Brien. “American 77, Dulles approach,” she radios. “Climb and maintain one-seven-thousand. Contact Washington center 120.65. Good luck.”

O’Brien has no idea why she says that. When she hands off an aircraft and asks its flight officer to switch to another frequency, she usually says, “Good day,” or “Have a nice flight.” Never, “Good luck.”^{cv}

At this moment, none of the 350,000 passengers reading magazines, dozing, talking or taking refreshment onboard some 4,500 airliners flying several miles above the world’s most powerful nation expect to die. Few have booked tickets to Canada, where many will soon be landing. But in distant Dallas-Fort Worth, the American Airlines Crisis Command Center is fully activated. A terse message is quickly telexed to American’s top executives and operations personnel: “Confirmed hijacking Flight 11”^{cvi}

0830:

In an unusual move, Brigadier General Montague Winfield passes command of the NMCC to Captain Charles Leidig, before absenting himself from the day’s action. Qualifying to stand in for his commanding officer only the previous month, the neophyte captain will command U.S. air defenses throughout the first hour of a crisis he does not yet know exists.

NASTY AND DUFF

Lieutenant Colonel Timothy “Duff” Duffy first hears about a suspected hijacking in the Otis Air National Guard alert shack up in Cape Cod. But the word is not passed by his commanding officer. As the lead interceptor pilot on this fateful day will later recall, “It didn’t happen the way it was supposed to. We were the ones who were contacted right away, and knew about it before the air defense sector.”

Around 0830—an experienced pilot trained to split-second precision remains vague on the exact timing—“Duff” takes a phone call from one of crew chiefs informing him of the Flight 11 hijacking. “This looks like the real thing,” the tech sergeant tells him.

Duffy calls for his wingman, Major Dan “Nasty” Nash to zip into his G-suit, “right away.” In aerial combat, these inflatable pressure suits force blood into their upper extremities to keep fighter pilots from blacking out. Breaking their necks while pulling high Gs remains a distinct possibility. But they will not be flying very fast today.

0832:

As the presidential motorcade pulls out of Longboat Key heading for the Emma E. Booker Elementary School, high over Massachusetts Amy Sweeney is still trying to rally help on the ground. “Listen, and listen to me very carefully,” she tells Mike Woodward. “I’m on Flight 11. The airplane has been hijacked.”^{cvi}

A short time later, Sweeney adds, “A hijacker cut the throat of a business-class passenger.” Later identified as Daniel Lewin, he “appears to be dead.”

She next says that the hijackers have brought a bomb into the cockpit.

“How do you know it’s a bomb?” Woodward asks.

“Because the hijackers showed me a bomb,” Sweeney replies. She describes its yellow and red wires.

Sweeney continues talking with her as Flight 11 nears New York City. Despite the urgency of the threat, a Boston Center air traffic controller will later complain, “American was just flying around, doing what it wanted.”^{cix}

FAA COMMAND CENTER

0834:

This is Ben Sliney’s first day on the job at the FAA’s command center in Herndon, Virginia. As he listens to a replay of the hijacker’s

We Have A Problem Here

cabin announcement, the phrase, “We have some planes” will haunt the FAA’s new National Operations Manager all morning.^{cx}

FLIGHT 11

Restive passengers onboard Flight 11 are talking of retaking the plane when flight controllers on the ground overhear another cabin announcement. “Nobody move, please,” says a voice with a Middle Eastern accent. “We are going back to the airport. Don’t try to make any stupid moves.”^{cxii}

0836:

Flight attendant Betty Ong reports that the big Boeing has just rolled all the way onto one side, before being jerked wings-level again. But Flight 11 is still descending.

Washington officials will later reveal that Mohammad Atta was trained at Pensacola Naval Air Station, where the Birthplace of Naval Aviation produces some of the world’s finest pilots. But is this the right “Atta”? Allowing a heavy airliner to roll into a near-vertical bank betrays the fumbling of a frightened amateur discovering the difference between a high-tech flight simulator and a complex 40,000-pounds jet-liner flying near the edge of its performance envelope.

Dialing another Airfone onboard Flight 11, flight attendant Amy Sweeney confirms Ong’s report that the plane has commenced a rapid descent. Sweeney calmly adds that the hijackers are Middle Easterners.^{cxii}

American Airline’s Executive Vice-President for Operations, Gerard Arpey is told about Ong’s call and the troubling cockpit transmissions from Flight 11. The 20-year airline veteran quickly heads for American’s command center, where top officials gather during emergencies.

Just down the hall in the operations center, Craig Marquis is still on the phone. Listening to Ong’s relayed report, he tries to calculate the jet’s remaining fuel. Working out its maximum range will help him predict where the hijackers will land after making their demands.^{cxiii}

0837:

Boston Center asks pilots to look out for a rogue American Airlines jet: “Do you have traffic look at, uh your 12 to 1 o’clock at about, uh, 10 miles southbound to see if you can see an American seventy-six-seven out there please.”^{cxiv}

Still under the command of Captain Victor Saracini, 51, and 38-year-old First Officer Michael Horrocks, United Airlines Flight 175 comes back with a visual contact: “Affirmative we have him, uh, he looks, uh, about 20, yeah, about 29, 28,000.”

“United 175, turn five, turn 30 degrees to the right. I [want to] keep you away from this traffic,” Boston Center orders.

As Flight 11 passes from Boston airspace into New York-controlled airspace, flight controller John Hartling takes over monitoring the transponder-silent plane. When a colleague tells him the flight is hijacked, he does not believe him. “I didn’t think that that stuff would happen anymore, especially in this country,” Hartling will later explain.^{cxv}

Frustrated by NORAD’s lack of response to their earlier calls, Boston flight controllers break with normal procedures and contact the Otis Air National Guard base through the FAA’s facility in Cape Cod. The controllers know that two armed fighters are on 24-hour “strip alert” at this Falmouth, Massachusetts’s airbase.^{cxvi}

The commander of the 101st Fighter Squadron is immediately notified. But instead of launching his two alert jets on his own authority, with four air defense drills underway, Lieutenant Colonel Jon Treacy first phones his superiors at NEADS to report the FAA’s request for help.

NEADS OPS CENTER

Boston Center is already on the line to NEADS. Inside the darkened command center in Rome, New York, supervisor Mo Dooley huddles with her uniformed techs around triple-banked radarscopes.

Across the room, commander Robert Marr’s first guess is that whatever is compelling their attention must be something to do with Vigilant Guardian. But the general has seen many exercises. And this doesn’t feel like one of them. *Something is happening here*, Marr decides. Impromptu conferences around military radar consoles usually indicate that something is about to kick off.

Jeremy Powell is standing by the ops desk when he is informed that he has a phone call. “Who is it?” asks the 31-year-old Tech Sergeant, who does not want to be distracted from the morning’s drill. It’s the tower calling, he is told. “Something about a hijacking.”^{cxvii}

Powell takes the call.

0838:

“Hi. Boston Center TMU,” says someone with the FAA’s Traffic Management Unit. “We have a problem here. We have a hijacked aircraft headed towards New York, and we need you guys to, we need someone to scramble some F-16s or something up there, help us out.”

“Is this real-world or exercise?” Powell demands.

“No, this is not an exercise, not a test,” Boston declares. ^{cxviii}

“CAN I HELP YOU?”

Mounted on a rack in the corner, Dictaphone reel-to-reel recorders quietly spin their tapes, recording and time-stamping each radio transmission and every telephone call—including the one that comes in now:

“Northeast Air Defense Sector, Sergeant McCain, can I help you?”

“Yeah, Sergeant Kelly from Otis, how you doing today?”

“Yeah, go ahead,” invites McCain.

“The—I’m gettin’ reports from my TRACON that there might be a possible hijacking,” Kelly says, referring to the call that has just come in from Boston Center.

“I was just hearing the same thing. We’re workin’ it right now,” McCain tells the Otis technician. ^{cxix}

But they aren’t supposed to “work” a possible hijacking. On receiving such an alarm, Otis is required by FAA and air force regulations to scramble fighters immediately.

Lieutenant Colonel Dawne Deskins notices senior technician Jeremy Powell waving his hand. Boston Center is on the line, he says. It has a hijacked airplane.

It must be part of the exercise, Deskins thinks, along with everyone else in the room. Then the regional mission crew chief spots the glowing direct phone line to the Federal Aviation Administration.

Colonel Marr sends her across the room to check it out. When Powell hands her the phone, Deskins initially thinks Boston Center is playing a part in another exercise called Vigilant Warrior. She knows that a “live-fly” Field Training Exercise is featuring at least one actual airliner in a simulated hijack heading for JFK Airport in New York City. ^{cxx}

Deskins is quickly disabused of her musings when the military liaison for the FAA’s Boston Center tells her, “I have a hijacked aircraft.”

Deskins double-times back to Marr. Her voiced strained with

urgency, she crisply informs her commanding officer, “I have FAA on the phone—the shout line—Boston. They said they have a hijacked aircraft.”

“Part of the exercise?” Colonel Marr wants to know.

Negative, Deskins tells him.

Running into a nearby office, the mission chief phones 1st Air Force Chief Public Affairs Officer Major Don Arias in Florida. Though Arias is an air force spinmaster with no direct command authority, Deskins takes the time to tell him that NEADS is handling a hijacked airliner. And no, it’s not the simulation heading for JFK.^{cxxi}

With everyone at the NEADS command center wondering what is real and what is not, Flight 11 continues to close the distance on Manhattan.

BUSY SIGNALS

According to official legend, while Deskins on the phone to Major Arias, Colonel Marr turns to the weapons desk and orders both Otis alert birds to “battle stations”—pilots suited up and in their cockpits, ground crew standing by with power carts to light off each twin-turbine jet. Because of the day’s joint exercises, “The fighters were cocked and loaded, and even had extra gas onboard,” the NEADS commander later recalls.

But this never happened. Instead, the Ops Center tapes pick up the NEADS public address sounding off: “Major Nasypany, you’re needed in ops pronto.”

Somebody started the exercise early, Nasypany thinks as he hurries into the command center. Aloud, the major complains, “The hijack’s not supposed to be for another hour.”

Despite his doubts that this could be the Vigilant Warrior drill, Nasypany orders his Weapons Team to bring both Otis alert jets to “battle stations”.^{cxxii}

NASTY AND DUFF

Halfway out to their jets, Duff is telling Nasty what little he knows about the American Airlines flight when Nasypany’s “battle stations” order reaches them. Major Nash is standing in for the usual alert pilot, who is scheduled for training later this morning. As they continue out to their heavily armed Strike Eagles, dummy missiles are being loaded onto two training jets.^{cxxiii}

Both pilots are keenly aware of what the next hour might bring. As the wing’s website declares:

We Have A Problem Here

Our aircraft and their crews are on continuous 24-hour, 365-day alert to guard our skies. The 102nd Fighter Wing's area of responsibility includes over 500,000 square miles, 90 million people, and the major industrial centers of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

Throughout their tour with the 102nd, Nasty and Duff have practiced trailing simulated hijacked aircraft at a distance of four or five miles, staying out of sight until the airplane lands. If ordered to intervene, they will close alongside the cockpit to attract attention. If their reception is not friendly, the fighter pilots can initiate close passes, forcing the plane to land. ^{cxixiv}

But neither officer has ever practiced shooting down an airliner carrying Americans before.

HIDE AND SEEK

Where is their target? In a sky swarming with commercial flights, NEADS ID techs Dooley, Rountree and Watson need the Boeing's tail number to help the Otis pilots identify the correct airliner. Nor is its reported location "somewhere north of John F. Kennedy International Airport" sufficient for an intercept. They need its exact "Z-Point" coordinates to vector the fighters in. ^{cxv}

With the alert fighters at Otis still on hold, Colonel Marr does not turn to phone Otis with the take-off order. Instead, he calls his commanding officer, Major General Larry Arnold at Tyndall. "Boss, I need to scramble Otis," the colonel says to the acting commander of air defenses for the continental USA.

Colonel Marr is "covering his six". Ten weeks ago he could have scrambled those F-15s on his own authority. But not today. Acting as National Command Authority—a post shared only by the President in its unquestioned authorization to issue orders directly to the military—on June 1, 2001, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had sent binding instructions to the Joint Chiefs countermanding long-established aerial intercept procedures.

Rumsfeld's directive ordered air traffic controllers dealing with rogue airplanes to first call the police! If necessary, an appropriate aerial response must then be contracted out—presumably to the lowest bidder. Only then can concerned FAA controllers contact military authorities, who must then track down Rumsfeld and get his permission to launch or divert fighters already in the air.

Order J-3 CJCSI 3610.01A reads in full:

(1) Determine whether or not the assistance needed is reasonably available from police or commercial sources. If not, the DDO, NMCC, will notify the appropriate unified command or NORAD to determine if suitable assets are available and will forward the request to the Secretary of Defense for approval in accordance with DODD 3025.15, paragraph D.7 (reference d).”

In language plainer than these cryptic acronyms, Rumsfeld’s unprecedented June 2001 instruction requires all FAA requests for air force assistance to be relayed to his office for his personal authorization before fighters can be launched in pursuit of errant aircraft.

Rumsfeld’s unilateral change to America’s front-line air defense posture came just one day after former Enron executive Tom White was made Secretary of the Army by the Bush administration. In his new role as a Department of Defense CEO, the former corporate executive will have to make the vital intercept decisions in Rumsfeld’s absence. But Tom White has not been informed that standard procedures had been scrapped, and that he will have to issue scramble orders should Rumsfeld be unavailable to issue those commands. Right now, no one at NEADS knows where Rumsfeld can be reached. ^{cxvii}

“Scramble!” Major General Arnold supposedly overrides Rumsfeld’s directive. “We’ll get authorization later.”

But this too is part of the 9/11 myth. What actually happens next is momentary brain lock as the general registers not instant resolution, but immediate confusion. Arnold will later admit that the first thoughts to actually go through his mind were: *Is this part of the exercise? Is this some kind of a screw-up?* ^{cxviii}

More vital seconds and miles lost.

PHONE TAG

Instead of issuing the immediate scramble order requested by Colonel Marr, General Arnold covers *his* tail by calling the operations deputy at NORAD’s Colorado headquarters.

Canadian Captain Mike Jellinek is sitting close to fellow Canadian Forces Major General Rick Findley when the call comes through. The acting director of NORAD’s combat operations already has his staff “on high alert” because of the Northern Vigilance exercise.

Jellinek gets an immediate thumbs up from Findley to send fighters

to intercept Flight 11. “Yeah, we’ll work this with the National Military Command Center,” the captain quickly tells Gen. Arnold. “Go ahead and scramble the aircraft.”^{cxviii}

General Arnold calls Colonel Marr back and finally gives the order to launch interceptors.

According to the First Air Force’s own history of 9/11, none of this is necessary. Despite Rumsfeld’s interference, the NEADS sector commander has “authority to scramble his own airplanes.” All Lieutenant Colonel Marr has to do is follow long-established procedure by picking up the hot line to Otis and giving the word.

But instead of following Findley’s instructions and launching the Otis fighters, Marr calls Jellinek back to confirm the order!

SAY AGAIN

It is a complete FUBAR: Tech Sergeant Powell has reported to Deskins. Deskins has reported to Marr. Marr has checked with Arnold. Arnold has checked with Jellinek. Jellinek has checked with Findley. Findley has signaled launch the damn planes. Jellinek has relayed the order to Arnold. Arnold has checked back with Marr. Marr has checked back with Jellinek. And now here’s Colonel Treacy getting back to Marr...

This is not how it’s supposed to work. Before the first call from the FAA at 8:20 or a few minutes later, the first indication on air force radar scopes of Flight 11’s lost transponder signal, radical course change, unauthorized descent, and erratic flight path should have automatically sent a pair of “fast movers” to get in its way.

The threat is real enough. Hijacked Flight 11 is descending toward the Hudson River, which leads into New York City. But with four air defense exercises inserting false blips on shared military and ATC radars, and false messages competing with valid information over military data-links, everyone at the top of the command chain except the Canadians is scrambling to protect themselves.

There is no higher appeal short of the National Command Authority. But Bush is busy in Florida. And the NCA’s other half—Donald Rumsfeld—is in a routine meeting and “cannot be disturbed”.^{cxix}

What about the United States Air Force high command? Supposedly stationed in Florida, where 9/11 legend will place him in ultimate command of all U.S. air forces,

NORAD Commander-In-Chief Ralph Eberhard is actually halfway across the Atlantic Ocean, en route to a meeting in Europe.

It is Findley who finally acts. On the morning of September 11, 2001 it is a Canadian who issues the first orders to defend the United States.

BOSTON CENTER

Still frustrated by Otis' lack of response, Boston Center next calls a National Guard unit at Atlantic City International Airport to request an immediate intercept of Flight 11. Though the 177th Fighter Wing has kept two fighters on strip alert for decades, the controllers are unaware that budget cutbacks ended the wing's continuous alert status three years ago.

The good news is that at least two Atlantic City F-16s are already airborne. Both single-engine fighters are practicing bombing runs over an empty stretch of the Pine Barrens beloved by famed tracker Tom Browne. Even loafing in cruise configuration, the jets are only eight minutes from Manhattan. Flying flat-out, both F-16s can be over the World Trade Center in less than three minutes—time enough to disrupt Flight 11's final flight path with close passes or, as a last resort already considered by the Pentagon, ramming the airliner's wing or tail over water, before their pilots eject to safety. ^{cxix}

But despite the FAA's call for assistance, the New Jersey jets are not diverted. For reasons never explained, neither pilot is given the word that the country they have trained and pledged to defend is under attack. Instead of making a dash "downtown", the wings of the lead jet tip up and over as it peels off to violently shift another load of dirt. ^{cxixi}

SCHOOL DAY

0838:

Mindy Kleinberg is enjoying the morning. After seeing her husband Alan off on time for work at the World Trade Center, she is walking their children to the school bus stop. On this fourth day of the new school year, 10-year-old Jacob and seven-year-old Lauren are bubbling with excitement. It's such a beautiful day, Mindy and three-year-old Sam actually skip home.

Before they reach the front door, Flight 11's "push-to-talk" cockpit transmissions abruptly cease. ^{cxixii}

FALLOUT

0839:

Flying south down the Hudson River, Flight 11 passes almost directly over the Indian Point nuclear power reservation. Located less than 30 miles north of New York City, in addition to its two ancient 25-year-old nuclear power plants and a third reactor now offline, Indian Point is storing 65 operating years of radioactive waste in stacked drums and shallow containment tanks. Downwind of today's light onshore breeze, more than 7% of the population of the United States reside within 50-miles of its initial fallout zone.

Flight 175 will also come close to Indian Point. If either fuel-crammed jetliner were crash-dived into an active reactor, 20 million Americans could die from radiation poisoning. Even "better" from a terrorist perspective, the country's heartland, from New York City to Boston would become an uninhabitable wasteland for tens of thousands of years. ^{cxxxiii}

But in a videotaped conference later captured by American forces in Kandahar, Osama bin Laden has told his cohorts that the resulting casualties and conflict would be too much—even for him.

Confirming bin Laden's intervention, two of his aides will later tell Arab documentary filmmaker Yosri Fouda that they had initially planned to fly their hijacked jets into Indian Point's nuclear power plants on "Holy Tuesday". According to Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and Ramzi Binalshibh, al-Qaeda's high command decided against the attack "for the moment" because of fears it could "get out of control."

^{cxxxiv}

NEADS

0840:

Tech Sergeant Shelley Watson calls Boston Center to ask about Flight 11. "It's the inbound to JFK?" she wants to know.

"We—we don't know," Boston Center comes back.

"You don't know where he is at all?" asks Watson.

"He's being hijacked. The pilot's having a hard time talking to the—I mean, we don't know. We don't know where he's goin'. He's heading towards Kennedy. He's—like I said, he's like 35 miles north of Kennedy now at 367 knots. We have no idea where he's goin' or what his intentions are," Boston explains.

"If you could please give us a call and let us know—you know any information, that'd be great," Watson requests.

“Okay,” Boston agrees. “Right now, I guess we’re trying to work on—I guess there’s been some threats in the cockpit. The pilot...”

“There’s been what? I’m sorry,” the startled tech sergeant interrupts.

“We’ll call you right back as soon as we know more info,” Boston Center promises.

Standing over Watson, Dooley is calling out each new snippet of information Major Nasypany at his command post in the center of the operations bunker.

“OK,” she shouts. “He said threat to the cockpit!” ^{cxxxv}

NEW YORK CENTER

0840:

New York Center contacts UAL Flight 175 to ask a favor: “Were you asked to look for an aircraft, an American flight about 8 or 9 o’clock 10 miles south bound last altitude 290? [29,000 feet] No one is sure where he is.”

It is most likely First Officer Michael Horrocks who responds: “Yeah, we talked about him on the last frequency. We spotted him when he was at our 3 o’clock position. He did appear to us to be at 29,000 feet. We’re not picking him up on TCAS. I’ll look again and see if we can spot him at 24.”

“No, it looks like they shut off their transponder. That’s why the question about it,” New York Center says.

“We figured we’d wait to go to your center,” Horrocks explains. “We heard a suspicious transmission on our departure from BOS. Sounds like someone keyed the mike and said, ‘Everyone stay in your seats.’”

“O.K. I’ll pass that along,” New York Center offers.

“It cut out,” Flight 175 adds.

FLIGHT 93

As First Officer Horrocks speaks onboard Flight 175, United Airlines Flight 93 is hurtling down the Newark runway. Monitoring his airspeed indicator, First Officer Leroy Homer calls the crucial velocities necessary for flight:

“V2.”

Captain Jason Dahl applies firm backpressure on his yoke, lifting the big plane’s nosewheel off the fleeting concrete.

“V3.”

They are committed to fly. Dahl comes back further on the control

wheel and the Boeing “fifty-seven” breaks ground. The pilot-in-command is glad to be finally getting away. Though they pushed back from Gate 17 at 8:01, just one minute after their scheduled departure, runway delays have kept them sitting on the ground for another 40 minutes.

Back in Business Class not far from the cockpit door, the long departure delay has been excruciating for four pumped-up passengers anxiously checking their watches. Their carefully planned attack sequence has been thrown completely awry. ^{exxxvi}

“WE THINK WE HAVE ANOTHER HIJACKING”

As Flight 93 breaks ground, Flight 175 enters New York Center’s airspace. Flight controller Dave Bottoglia smoothly takes charge of the United plane. But he is concerned about the transponder-silent Flight 11, which has also entered his sector. Just moments ago, Flight 175 reported hearing threatening communications from Flight 11.

A controller sitting next to Bottoglia has been watching the straying American Airlines plane for nearly five minutes. John Hartling stands up and points to a blip faintly illuminated on Bottoglia’s scope. “You see this target here?” Hartling says. “This is American 11. Boston thinks it’s a hijack.” ^{exxxvii}

As Bottoglia refocuses on Flight 11, now over the outskirts of New York City, U.S. Air Flight 583 breaks in: “Center, where do you place him in relation to 583 now?”

“Looks like he’s heading southbound,” replies a Boston controller, who is also painting Flight 11 on his radar. “But there’s no transponder. No nothing. And no one’s talking to him.” ^{exxxviii}

“DO NOT ESCALATE”

With Flight 11 veering like a 400-mile-per-hour cruise liner across high-speed aerial expressways, air traffic controllers from the Boston and New York centers have been working quickly to steer other traffic out of harm’s way. No one doubts that the hijackers’ main desire is to land somewhere unmolested and either score some quick cash, or achieve some political objective. As a flight controller on duty that morning will later explain, “It’s not in anyone’s mind they’re hitting a target. When somebody takes a plane over, they try to negotiate a release with money.” ^{exxxix}

Everyone knows that even with their cockpit doors locked, gaining entry to the front “office” of any Boeing 757 or 767 aircraft is as easy as forcibly taking the key from a flight attendant. Because the 757 and 767 are kindred planes, one key fits their shared cockpit door locks.

Peg Ogonowski, a senior flight attendant who has flown with American Airlines for 28 years, is unable to recall, “any flight crew or passenger being harmed during a hijacking” in the course of her career. When intruders burst into the cockpit, the cardinal rule drilled into all airline pilots is to “accommodate, negotiate, and do not escalate.”^{exl}

Even if the pilots in command of a hijacked flight decide to resist—perhaps, as many of them have discussed among themselves, by rolling their plane onto its back to throw their assailants off-balance and hopefully snap their necks—a razor-sharp Exacto blade held to the throat of a flight attendant or First Officer would quickly quash such notions.

So would slashing the windpipes of pilots and directly taking over the blood-splattered controls.

CONVERGENCE

Still on course towards Baltimore, Flight 175’s transponder suddenly stops transmitting. When its data bloc blinks out, Dave Bottoglia turns to another controller and asks him to handle his other planes so he can focus on finding Flight 175.

But when Bottoglia tries contacting the American airliner several more times, there is no response. Whatever is happening in the cockpit must be seriously distracting. Bottoglia watches in horror as Flights 11 and 175 suddenly converge.

Having taken off within 15 minutes of each other and followed the same flight path, the amateur-flown planes nearly collide. “The two aircraft got too close to each other down by Stewart,” a Boston Center controller later reveals. Stewart International Airport is located in New Windsor, New York, about 55 miles north of NYC.^{exli}

The stressed flight controller stays professionally calm. But Bottoglia is beginning to fear the worst. He’s been here before. Having worked Egypt Air Flight 990 when it crashed off the coast of Massachusetts in 1999, he is keenly aware of the nightmarish trauma suffered by air traffic controllers who lose a passenger-filled airplane from their scopes—even when the crash is not their fault.^{exlii}

Now he is about to lose two more.

NEAR MISS

Seated at another radar console flanking Dave Bottoglia, controller Curt Applegate spots a blip that might be the missing Flight 11. As Bottoglia picks up the ghost echo on his own scope, Flight 175’s

We Have A Problem Here

data bloc returns. But the plane's transponder is now transmitting on a frequency that has not been assigned to any other flight. ^{cxliii}

At least the transponder-identified blip can now be easily tracked. It is turning east and descending—straight toward Delta Flight 2315! Stabbing his transmitter switch Bottoglia speaks with urgent clarity into his mic: “Traffic, two-three-one-five. Ten miles. I think he's been hijacked. I don't know his intentions. Take any evasive action necessary.”

Flight 2315 does not hesitate. Its captain immediately throws the control yoke hard over and stomps the rudder pedal. Electronically mediated by computer software, the plane's control surfaces hit their limiter stops as the big airplane rolls away.

Flight 175 misses the Delta jet by less than 200 feet. ^{cxliv}

DOUBLE TROUBLE

0843:

According to NORAD, the FAA's New York Center now notifies them that United Airlines Flight 175 has also been hijacked.

Back in the NEADS ops center, Nasypany's tracker techs in the Surveillance section still can't find American 11 on their ancient radar screens. Known colloquially as the “Green Eye” for their old-fashioned radar glow, *Vanity Fair's* Michael Bronner calls the military scopes “strikingly anachronistic” compared with the modern computer consoles used in civilian air-traffic centers.

Their resolution is still good enough for Nasypany to pick up “thousands of green blips.” As the major later told Bronner, “and now you have to pick and choose. Which is the bad guy out there? Which is the hijacked aircraft?”

Somewhere among all the false returns flooding their scopes from the Northern Vigilance, Vigilant Guardian, Vigilant Warrior and Global Guardian exercises, NORAD's own aerial sentries must track two hijacked jetliners barreling down on the Big Apple:

Flight 175 is 50 miles north of New York City.

Flight 11 is nearly there. ^{cxlv}

HONOR THE THREAT

U.S. Air Force combat doctrine insists that the closest available air assets must be vectored to honor the nearest threat. At least two-dozen air force installations are within minutes of New York City, the White House, and the Pentagon. Nearby air bases include the 104th Fighter Wing in western Massachusetts, and the 103rd and 118th

Fighter Wings in Hartford, Connecticut—just minutes from Manhattan at twice the speed of sound.

Directly in Flight 11's flight-path until it turned south is the 174th Fighter Wing based in Syracuse, New York. Just outside Philadelphia, near the eventual route of Flight 93, the Willow Grove Air Reserve Station's 111th Fighter Wing stands ready "to protect the safety and security of the citizens and property of the state of Pennsylvania." While these bases do not maintain armed interceptors on constant alert, they do conduct daily training flights.

Even better, just eight miles from the Pentagon and 10 miles from Washington D.C. an armed F-16 from the 121st Fighter Squadron and a similarly fanged F/A-18 from the 321st Marine Fighter Attack Squadron are on round-the-clock strip alert at Andrews Air Force Base.

But no one gives the order to scramble the Andrews interceptors. And even with many fighters transferred north for the Vigilant Guardian, Vigilant Warrior and Northern Vigilance drills the day's multiple air defense exercises are not cancelled.

THE PAYNE STEWART INTERCEPT

Something is radically wrong with U.S. air defenses today. Only two years before, on October 26, 1999, pro golfer Payne Stewart's private Lear jet had lost communication and suddenly veered off-course soon after reaching cruising altitude over Florida. Unable to establish contact within the regulation four-and-a-half minutes, air traffic controllers followed written procedures and alerted the United States Air Force. Diverted from a training mission, a pair of Air National Guard F-16s was off the Lear jet's left wingtip 16 minutes later.

The fighter pilots reported no movement in the cockpit. As military officers inside the National Military Command Center watched the drama unfold on their own radar screens, another F-16 and an A-10 Warthog out of Eglin Air Force Base, also in Florida, took up the chase. These jets trailed the Lear when it climbed abruptly from 39,000 to 44,000 feet.

Less than an hour later, the fighters out of Eglin were diverted to St. Louis for fuel. As the Lear continued to streak west, four Air National Guard F-16s out of Tulsa, Oklahoma took up the chase, accompanied by a KC-135 refueling tanker.

As the pursuit continued, additional F-16s were scrambled out of Fargo, North Dakota. At noon Dallas time, the Fargo F-16s reported that the windows of the jet were fogged with ice and there was no evidence of anyone piloting the plane. The Lear 35 design had suffered

We Have A Problem Here

from faulty seals around its unique one-piece cockpit windscreen; apparently, explosive decompression had sucked all the oxygen out of the depressurized plane.

Shortly after noon on October 26, 1999, the Lear's fuel finally ran out and the sleek jet began to spiral. "There was no glide too it," reported s highway patrolman watching the sleek business jet come down. When the executive jet crashed about six minutes later, all six people onboard were already dead. ^{cxlvi}

Considered strictly routine, this intricate "tag-team" pursuit had come with no advance warning at all.

ANDREWS

As alarms sound in ATC and air force radar shacks this morning, three F-16's out of Andrews are flying an air-to-ground training flight. Their tasking order is to drop bombs on a range in North Carolina, then hit a refueling tanker for more go-juice before returning home. Having completed their mission, the three fighters are about 100 miles out when lead pilot Major Billy Hutchison receives a call from acting supervisor of flying at Andrews.

"Buster!" Lieutenant Colonel Phil Thompson orders. He means, go to full afterburners—right now!

An F-16 Fighting Falcon can fly faster than 1,500 mph. Having just taken on a full load of fuel, the first interceptors ordered to bust peacetime regulations on September 11 and go supersonic are sent not after the hijacked airliners—but back to their base to rearm with 20mm training shells. ^{cxlvii}

The Payne intercept—and hundreds of others like it—might never have happened. For on this day of deception, not a single military aircraft flying over the eastern United States, or patrolling the Air Defense Intercept Zone off the Atlantic Coast is diverted to intercept two hijacked airliners as dangerous as cruise missiles heading for New York City.

How can this be?

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Chapter 3

“I SEE BUILDINGS”

Flight 175’s transponder is still working. So Mike McCormick knows right where it’s headed. Overseeing Bottoglia and Harting, New York Center’s Air Traffic Control manager is responsible for all New York area airports—which is why he is listening to Newark Airport’s transmissions inside the FAA’s warehouse-size flight center on Long Island.

Speaking on his cordless phone to other FAA facilities in the New York area, McCormick stands behind controllers tracking Flight 11 on banks of radar screens. The plane has begun to let down over New York—not onto approach for JFK or LaGuardia or Newark International, but into the city itself.

It must have electrical problems, Mike McCormick thinks. That’s probably why the transponder cut off. Calling the air traffic center responsible for handing off flights to New York’s three major airports, he warns the manager there that Flight 11 might try an emergency landing. ^{exlviii}

Newark control tower has just visually sighted the distinctive blue-and-white markings of a UAL plane flying south, quite low along the Hudson River. As McCormick listens, Newark reports that they can see Flight 11 turning away from the Hudson toward Manhattan’s most prominent landmarks—the soaring glass-and-steel monuments to capitalism and commerce known as the Twin Towers. ^{exlix}

At Boston Center, a flight controller is worried about his wife. After missing her flight the night before, the businesswoman had gone out to Logan early. Now he learns that she is onboard Flight 11. ^{cl}

Onboard Flight 175, businessman Peter Hanson makes a cell phone call from the descending and banking plane. “Oh, my God!” he tells his father. “They just stabbed the airline hostess. I think the airline is being hijacked.” ^{cli}

At the speed the plane is flying, Hanson has difficulty staying

connected to the fleeting cell phone relay towers below. Despite being twice cut off, he manages to finish his report: Two men armed with knives have stabbed one or more flight attendants, apparently in an attempt to force crew to unlock the doors to the cockpit.

With just 60-seconds separating Flight 175's last routine radio message from the plane's abrupt turn off-course, whatever happens in the cockpit of Flight 175, happens quickly.

In Garden City Air Traffic Control on Long Island, flight controllers are trying to find the oncoming American Airlines plane. Can the military help? Colonel Marr will later insist that military radars powerful enough to give women in the surrounding area cancer are unable to locate a target as big as a jumbo jetliner. Somehow, NORAD says, the American Airlines jet "disappears" from radars able to track an aluminum target the size of a beach ball at 200 miles. ^{ciii}

NEADS

0845:

"I don't know where I'm scrambling these guys to. I need a direction, a destination," says the leader of Nasypany's Weapons Team, Mission Crew Commander Major James Fox.

"OK, I'm gonna give you the Z point. It's just north of... New York City," Major Nasypany replies.

Fox comes back, "I got this lat long, 41-15, 74-36, or 73-46."

"Head 'em in that direction," Nasypany orders.

"Copy that."

0846:

As Major Nasypany's strategic superior, Colonel Marr must assess the implications of each order in advance. How many more attackers are out there? How can he make most effective use of his remaining fighter assets?

Nasypany is on the intercom saying, "Hi, sir. O.K., what—what we're doing, we're tryin' to locate this guy. We can't find him via IFF. What we're gonna do, we're gonna hit up every track within a 25-mile radius of this Z-point that we put on the scope: twenty-nine thousand [feet] heading one-niner-zero. We're just gonna do—we're gonna try to find this guy. They can't find him. There's supposedly been threats to the cockpit. So we're just doing the thing..." ^{ciiii}

With the plane's transponder shut down, the Identification Friend or Foe codes aren't working. Because its technicians cannot differentiate

between Flight 11's ghost image and the bogus blips cluttering their screens, NEADS is going to concentrate on all radar sightings within a 25-mile radius of the plane's last reported position at 29,000 feet. With every minute that passes, this search radius broadens.

Someone—most likely Colonel Marr—has finally ordered the Otis fighters to scramble. It takes only moments for the strapped-in pilots to light off their Pratt & Whitney turbofan engines. But it will take Nasty and Duff another six minutes to get airborne. Forty minutes after American Airlines Flight 11 was first known to be in difficulty, both interceptors are finally wheels-up.^{civ} When a golfer had gone missing, it had taken NORAD just 16 minutes to identify the situation, divert fighters, and place a pair of Fighting Falcons off his wing.

“I SEE BUILDINGS”

Onboard Flight 11, a passenger flying with his wife and small daughter calls his parents. “I think we’re going down, but don’t worry. It’s going to be quick,” Peter Hanson says.^{civ}

At that moment, flight attendant Betty Ong is still talking with the American Airlines operations center in Los Angeles. “Pray for us. Pray for us,” she keeps repeating.^{civi}

At the back of the plane, flight attendant Amy Sweeney is also on the phone. She tells Michael Woodward that the plane has radically changed direction and is flying erratically in a rapid descent. Woodward asks her to look out the window. What does she see?

“I see water. I see buildings. We’re flying low, we’re flying way too low,” Sweeney replies. Then she takes a deep breath and says calmly, “Oh, my God.”

Woodward hears a loud click, and then silence.

In the same instant, the line to Betty Ong goes dead.

Flight 11's radar blip suddenly winks out.

SCULPTOR

Leslie Robertson's office is perched atop a 48-floor building just a few blocks away from the complex he designed. “The concept of the World Trade Center came together with enormous rapidity,” the World Trade Center's chief engineer had earlier told PBS. “Sure, after we got started on it, it got taller and there were changes, of course—constantly evolving. But the fundamental of it was born almost immediately. And it was born, in my view, more as a sculptural form than as an architectural one.”^{civii}

This morning, Robertson is attending a conference in Hong Kong. The award-winning architect responsible for the structural integrity of the Twin Towers assures his audience that he has designed each building to absorb an airliner's impact.

NORTH TOWER 91st FLOOR

George Sleigh is at his desk when he hears the rising crescendo of jet turbines spooling up to full power. Looking up from his phone, the naval architect sees a swiftly enlarging Boeing 767 hurtling toward him at nearly 500 miles-per-hour. The wheels are up, and the plane's underbelly is white. Sleigh just has time to think, *Man, that guy is low.*

STREET LEVEL

Rob Marchesano is outside working at the corner of La Guardia Street and West Third when he hears an approaching roar. The construction foreman looks up in time to see a big airliner fly past so low and fast he thinks he must be dreaming. Then he is certain the giant jet will hit his crane. He and his co-workers watch transfixed as the airliner banks toward the North Tower of the World Trade Center. To Marchesano, it looks like the plane tilts at the last second, as if its pilot wants the wings to take out as many floors as possible. ^{clviii}

POWER DOWN

Scott Forbes is taking the day off. The senior database administrator has worked all weekend and into Monday morning to shepherd every Fiduciary Trust's computer system safely back online after the WTC's first "power-down" saw the New York Port Authority cut electricity to the South Tower from the 48th floor up. The reason given was to install a fiber optic upgrade to increase the Trade Center's computer bandwidth.

But why only to the upper floors? Forbes wonders. And why power down the upper floors when the announced upgrade involves fiber optic cables that conduct light, not electricity?

As one of the Trade Center's first occupants, Fiduciary Trust spent a great deal of time and money powering down their computer systems prior to the power cut, which began early Saturday, September 8th and continued until mid-afternoon the following day. Computer consultants and their own staffs are still at work this morning in the Fiduciary offices on the 90th and 94th through 97th floors in the South Tower.

For nearly 30-hours, the WTC's upper floor elevators and security systems have been rendered inoperative. Though power remained to the lower floors, Forbes has seen many unfamiliar faces roaming freely through the upper corridors. In an email to journalist John Kaminski, the author of *The Day America Died* and *America's Autopsy Report*, wrote, "Without power there were no security cameras, no security locks on doors, and many, many 'engineers' coming in and out of the tower."

As 9/11 researcher Victor Thorn discovered, even after power was restored on September 10, video cameras on the roof of the World Trade Center used to feed images to local television stations were "inexplicably inoperative" the next day.

But Daria Coard is relieved that the heightened security alert has been lifted. Responding to numerous phone threats, his WTC security detail had been working 12-hour shifts over the past two weeks. But on Thursday, September 6, bomb-sniffing dogs had been removed and the alert cancelled. "We had the ground covered," Coard will say later today. "We didn't figure they would do it with planes."^{cix}

GREEN LIGHT FOR 9/11

John O'Neill is beginning his tenth day as head of security at the World Trade Center. For the FBI's former top anti-terror expert, being called off the *Cole* investigation had been insult enough. But after sending so many unacknowledged warnings and complaints to superiors preoccupied with concocting evidence for invading Iraq, their mishandling of the Moussaoui case had ended in his resignation.

O'Neill's troubles had come to a climax on August 17, 2001 when a 33-year-old French citizen of Moroccan descent named Zacarias Moussaoui was taken into custody after an alert instructor at the Pan Am Flying Academy in Eagan, Minnesota called the bureau's Minneapolis office to report that a newly enrolled Middle Eastern student was logging expensive simulator time learning how to turn and bank heavy aircraft. But the supposed candidate for an Airline Transport Rating had no interest in learning how to land or take-off. When they picked up Moussaoui in Boston, the feds had found several passports and Boeing flight manuals in his possession.

The bust was flagged by French intelligence. A secure fax sent on Aug. 30, 2001 from a bureau agent in Paris relayed word to FBI headquarters agent Mike Maltbie that Moussaoui was "very dangerous". After being indoctrinated into radical Islamic fundamentalism at

London's Finnsbury Park mosque, Moussaoui had become "completely devoted" to the strict Wahhabism espoused by the Taliban and Osama bin Laden. The French had also learned that Moroccan had traveled to Afghanistan, where he most likely received training in terrorism.

In U.S. custody, the French national became "extremely agitated" after being asked about his recent travels to Pakistan. He became even angrier when agents suggested that he did not have an adequate explanation for the large sums of money in his possession.

FBI field agents in Minneapolis had assessed Moussaoui as an "Islamic fundamentalist preparing for some future act in furtherance of radical fundamentalist goals" involving an aircraft. ^{clx}

Even with multiple warnings reaching the FBI headquarters of an impending al-Qaeda attack using hijacked airliners, the agent who arrested Zacarias Moussaoui spent nearly four weeks attempting to warn his superiors of the obvious threat posed by a known Islamic militant learning to fly a commercial airliner.

Like O'Neill before him, in what the Associated Press described as "a running battle" with Agent Maltbie and Maltbie's boss, David Frasca, chief of the Radical Fundamentalist Unit at FBI headquarters—Field Agent Samitt could not persuade FBI headquarters to take his fears seriously.

Samitt's request to seek a warrant to search Moussaoui's computer and belongings was turned down by superiors who claimed that current federal law prohibited the bureau from sharing information in criminal probes with intelligence investigators. ^{clxi}

Agent Coleen Rowley disputes this explanation. On the contrary, this chief lawyer in the Minneapolis field office will later charge that information provided by the French Government on Moussaoui's "activities connected with Osama bin Laden" was more than enough to obtain a warrant to rummage through the files in his laptop two weeks before September 11. ^{clxii}

Disregarding the explicit French cable tying Moussaoui to al-Qaeda, Maltbie and Frasca told Samitt that he had not established a link between the suspicious flight student and terrorists.

On August 18, the persistent field agent fired another memo at FBI headquarters accusing Moussaoui of plotting international terrorism and air piracy over the United States. These serious allegations were also ignored.

But a joint FBI-CIA anti-terrorist panel reviewing their records showed that the mysterious Moussaoui had also received training from

a flight school in Norman, Oklahoma. The flight school had been cooperating with the FBI since 1998, when one of its former students had been linked to bombings of two American embassies in East Africa. Both attacks were attributed to al-Qaeda.

In April 2001, FBI field agents acting under John O'Neill's orders had again questioned officials of the Airman Flight School officials after learning that Moussaoui was trying to get a pilot's license there. Signing his emails, "Zuluman Tango Tango," the Moroccan had taken 57 fruitless hours of flying lessons between February and May 2001.

"He's just not getting it," Moussaoui's instructors told the G-men.

THE PHOENIX MEMO

Less than three months later, in July 2001 one of O'Neill's agents had once again warned his superiors about suspicious Arab men receiving flight training—this time at the Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University in Prescott, Arizona.

Submitted by counter-terrorism Agent Kenneth Williams, the "Phoenix Memo" alerted FBI executives in Washington that eight followers of Osama bin Laden were training in Arizona. Senior FBI officials declined to follow up on the information until after September 11, when all eight students were cleared. William's earlier request for a computer check of all U.S. flight schools for known al-Qaeda operatives was also rejected. ^{ckxiii}

But his five-page memo, which updated about a dozen counter-terrorism cases that Williams was working, was approved by Williams's supervisor in Phoenix for transmission to the Radical Fundamentalist Unit within the bureau's counterterrorism division. Though swamped with domestic and international intelligence reports indicating a possible terrorist attack, the FBI counterterrorism division categorized the Phoenix memo as "routine" rather than "urgent". ^{ckxiv}

These latest warnings were not the first indication that terrorists linked to Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda had a strong interest in aviation. In 1991, United States intelligence agencies had warned that bin Laden's assassins could hijack a jet and fly it into the Pentagon and other government buildings.

In 1994, a group of Algerian hijackers had seized an Air France flight before taking off for Paris. Intending to either crash the airliner into the Eiffel Tower, or blow it up over Paris, their plot was aborted when French commandoes stormed the plane.

In a 1996 confession, a Pakistani terrorist named Abdul Hakim Murad told investigators that he planned to use the training he received at flight schools in the United States to fly a plane into the CIA's headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

In a case widely known throughout the FBI, Murad had been captured in the Philippines the year before, and subsequently convicted in New York after confessing to conspiring to simultaneously blow up a dozen American jumbo jets over the Pacific Ocean. Murad had received flight training in New York, North Carolina, California and Texas. ^{clxv}

By August 2001 O'Neill was trying to convince his superiors to act on another urgent memo forwarded by field agent Robert Wright. This veteran member of O'Neill's crack FBI counter-terrorism team was "desperately trying to figure out what Moussaoui was up to."

After learning from Moussaoui's intercepted emails that the al-Qaeda operative wanted to learn to fly a 747 from London's Heathrow airport to New York's JFK—without knowing how to land once he arrived there—O'Neill's agents held frantic brainstorming sessions trying to guess his intended targets.

The anti-terror team was "in a frenzy, absolutely convinced he was planning to do something with a plane," a senior official later told the *Washington Post*. Wright's memo to his superiors warned of "one possibility"—Moussaoui might be planning to "fly something into the World Trade Center."

When the frustrated anti-terror agents finally took their concerns directly to the Attorney General, instead of giving them permission to shake down Moussaoui, John Ashcroft ordered their investigation stopped. ^{clxvi}

IMPACT

0846:

Now America's chickenhawks are coming home to roost. Seismic needles across New York State jump as American Airlines Flight 11 flies out of a flawless September sky into the north side of the World Trade Center's North Tower. Radar-tracked at 470 miles-per-hour, the big jet is still carrying almost 10,000 gallons of jet fuel when it impacts between the 93rd and 98th floors. ^{clxvii}

Tower One shakes like a tuning fork. As a blizzard of office paper spreads gaily over Manhattan, the walls and ceiling of Sleigh's office

collapse. By the time the 63-year-old American Bureau of Shipping manager crawls from under his bookshelves, the sagging concrete ceiling above him has become the floor of a tomb containing more than 1,300 corpses. Almost no one survives on the floors above him. But on Sleigh's floor and below, nearly everyone lives.

At the moment of impact, both Trade Towers are at slightly less than half occupancy, with between 5,000 and 7,000 people in each tower. To accommodate later financial market openings in distant time zones, many money traders have not yet shown up for work. Other offices are closed due to the Asian recession. And the popular observation deck does not open to crowds of tourists until 9:30. ^{clxviii}

SOUTH TOWER 80th FLOOR

On the 80th floor of Tower Two, Steve Miller is leaning back in his chair listening to the traders around him talking loudly into their phones when he hears a strange, high-pitched *whoosh!* Walking to the window, the computer systems administrator sees an enormous swirl of paper and dust. It looks like a ticker-tape parade. But this makes no sense. Then a man bursts onto the floor shouting, "Get out! Get out!" ^{clxix}

CNN

Two minutes later—at 0848—the first news flashes appear on TV. A plane may have crashed into the World Trade Center!

CNN is the first major network to show footage from the crash site. Breaking into a commercial, anchor Carol Lin says: "This just in. You are looking at... obviously a very disturbing live shot there—that is the World Trade Center, and we have unconfirmed reports this morning that a plane has crashed into one of the towers of the World Trade Center."

CNN then switches to Sean Murtagh, the network's vice-president of finance, who says in a live telephone interview: "I just witnessed a plane that appeared to be cruising at a slightly lower than normal altitude over New York City. And it appears to have crashed into—I don't know which tower it is—but it hit directly in the middle of one of the World Trade Center towers. It was a jet, maybe a two-engine jet, maybe a 737... a large passenger commercial jet... It was teetering back and forth, wing-tip to wing-tip, and it looks like it has crashed into—probably, twenty stories from the top of the World Trade Center—maybe the eightieth to eighty-fifth floor. There is smoke billowing out of the World Trade Center." ^{clxx}

Numerous NYPD officers see Flight 11 strike the upper floors of the North Tower and immediately report the crash to their communications dispatchers.

BARKSDALE

At Barksdale Air Force Base in northwest Louisiana, Colonel Mike Reese is still preoccupied with the Global Guardian nuclear war exercise. Monitoring several network television screens as part of the drill, the 8th Air Force Director of Staff catches CNN's coverage of the first World Trade Center crash minutes after it happens. ^{clxxi}

FAA OPERATIONS CENTER

As Ben Sliney looks on, CNN's coverage appears on one of the ops center's 10-by-14-foot TV monitors, New York calls to say that a small plane has just crashed into the Trade Center. Black smoke gushes from the North Tower. The hole is huge. *That was no small plane*, Sliney thinks. ^{clxxii}

DULLES

In the Dulles Air Traffic Control shack, supervisor John Carr's cell phone rings. When the president of the National Air Traffic Controllers Association punches in the connection, an associate in Boston asks, "Hey John, are you watching this on TV?"

"Yeah, I am," Carr replies.

"That's American 11."

Carr almost spills his coffee. "My God, what are you talking about?" he asks.

His ATC associate says, "That—that's American 11 that made that hole in the World Trade Center."

"You're kidding me?" Carr shoots back.

"No," comes the reply. "And—and there's another one that just turned south towards New York. We lost him too."

AMERICAN AIRLINES

The TV in the kitchen is on in the home of American's CEO Don Carty when CNN interrupts their scheduled programming to report that a commercial airliner has just hit the World Trade Center. Carty's wife goes pale. "Could that be your airplane?" she asks.

"No, of course not," he tells her reflexively. It couldn't be. But he does not believe his own words. ^{clxxiii}

SPECTATORS

On the other side of the planet, Osama bin Laden, his number two lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahri and some of their followers have already evacuated their residences in Kandahar and headed for the rugged Khost Mountains just over the border in Pakistan. Osama is said to have fled on horseback, which he often prefers for negotiating the narrow mountain defiles he has come to know so well over the past decade. Now comfortably ensconced in a massive, well-equipped complex burrowed hundreds of feet under solid granite, the men listen without speaking as an Arabic radio station reports the unfolding attacks. ^{chxxiv}

In somewhat different surroundings, though representing similar wealth amassed through the sales of arms and the drugs that pay for them, the same newscasts interrupt a Carlyle investment meeting in New York City's Ritz-Carlton Hotel. Founded in 1987 on just \$5 million, the Washington-based merchant bank today reaps the karma and cash from nearly \$14 billion worth of investments—most of which are profitable only if bombs and missiles explode and blood runs in rivers through distant urban streets.

Carlyle's crosshairs on the worldwide trade in oil, gas and weapons cannot possibly miss with salesmen as well connected as:

- Carlyle Senior Adviser, George Walker Bush—former U.S. President.
- John Major—former British Prime Minister.
- Carlyle Chairman, Frank Carlucci—former Secretary of Defense, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.
- Arthur Levitt—former Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission.
- Carlyle senior counselor, James Baker—former Secretary of State under the senior Bush, former Treasury Secretary of the Treasury, former Chief of Staff and former Under Secretary of Commerce.

The junior G. W. Bush used to head the Carlyle Group before “resigning” in order to legally become the Governor of Texas. In recent years, former President Bush, ex-Secretary of State James Baker and

ex-Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci have made the pilgrimage to the bin Laden family's headquarters in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.^{clxxv}

Now the eyes of one man in the conference room are directed to CNN with special interest. One of Osama's 52 brothers, Shafiq bin Laden represents the bin Laden family's \$5 billion heavy construction colossus, the Saudi Binladen Group. With his family's overall Carlyle investment said to be "considerably larger" than the \$2 million "seed money" they initially invested in 1995, Shafiq can see where this day is going. The Bin Laden family will cash out of Carlyle within the next six weeks.^{clxxvi}

Another top Carlyle consultant, Herbert Walker Bush had attended the previous day's meeting. But this morning he and the former First Lady have already departed Washington by private jet. Bound for a speaking engagement in St. Paul, Minnesota, their plane will be grounded within the hour by an FAA emergency order.^{clxxvii}

CAPITOL HILL

Seated in the outer office of Max Cleland, awaiting his scheduled session with the senator, Air Force General Richard Myers catches the same broadcast that has interrupted the Carlyle arms discussions. Though he will later claim he'd dismissed early reports of "a small plane or something like that," CNN is already reporting "a large passenger commercial jet... maybe a 737" slamming into the tallest skyscraper in Manhattan.

As acting Chairman of the U.S. military, General Myers is in charge of all U.S. military forces this morning. But instead of ordering an immediate nationwide alert—or even demanding updates from his subordinates—Myers goes ahead with his meeting with Senator Cleland.^{clxxviii}

NORAD

Phones are ringing at NORAD's operations center inside Cheyenne Mountain. In charge of battle stations for the day's drills, Canadian Air Force Major General Rick Findley is interrupted when an aide says, "Sir, you might want to look at that."

The Canadian officer looks up to see a CNN shot of the World Trade Center in flames. One of the buildings has been holed. The aide tells Findley that a small plane has struck the building.

"The hole's too big for a small airplane," Findley replies. *Is it the hijacked aircraft?*^{clxxix}

MANHATTAN

Scott Pasquini is standing in the doorway of his apartment building three blocks from the World Trade Center, staring at his doorman who has turned ghastly pale. The doorman shakily points to what looks like a raw slab of meat lying in the street. There, in the middle of the northbound lane, Pasquini sees a twisted torso lacking limbs. ^{chxxx}

Not far away, filmmakers Jules and Gedeon Naudet are filming a French documentary on NYC firefighters attending a reported gas leak about ten blocks from the World Trade Center. The alarm proves to be false. But the brothers are getting good footage when one of them hears a roar, looks up, and captures the only film of Flight 11 flying into the North Tower. Gathering up their gear, both Frenchmen race to the WTC. ^{chxxxi}

NORTH TOWER LOBBY

Because the Twin Towers are the first skyscrapers to use “sky lobbies” for transferring between banks of elevators, there are no continuous elevator shafts for Flight 11’s gushing fuel to reach the lower floors. All express elevators end at the 48th and 78th floors, where commuters must transfer to local elevators serving particular floors. ^{chxxxii}

But ventilation ducts do pass through the building’s central core. Inside the Marriott Hotel, which spans both lobbies of the Twin Towers, software executive Ronnie Clifford is heading for a meeting when he feels the entire building vibrate. A hot wind reeking of kerosene sweeps a woman through the revolving doors almost into his arms. Naked, dazed, and burned beyond recognition, Jennie Ann Maffeo calls weakly for help. The zipper of her sweater is imprinted on her chest, and her running shoes are melted into her feet.

Propelled in a heartbeat from normalcy to nightmare, Clifford covers Ann Maffeo with his suit jacket. To keep her from drifting off, they converse and pray. With the help of a Marriott employee, Clifford leads her outside to an ambulance in time to see a woman clutching her purse as she plummets out of the sky.

Only later does he learn that his sister Ruth and his four-year-old niece Juliana were onboard United Airlines Flight 175. Family friend Paige Farley Hackel was meeting them out west. She had been traveling separately on American Airlines Flight 11. ^{chxxxiii}

GONE

The NEADS staff watches the track of Flight 11 until it winks out over New York City. Someone comes out of the break room to announce that the World Trade Center has been hit. ^{clxxxiv}

From his position high in the Newark, New Jersey control tower Rick Tepper is looking across the Hudson River into Manhattan when the upper floors of the WTC's North Tower bloom bright red.

"Wow! Look at that," he says. "How are they going to put that out?"

On the chance that an airplane caused the explosion, he begins calling nearby airports. "Did you lose anybody?" he asks controllers at La Guardia, Kennedy and Teterboro. Nobody has.

A phone rings. It's the "shout line" set up for instant communications among regional controllers. "We've lost an aircraft over Manhattan," New York center says. "Can you see anything out your window?"

"No, I don't see anything ..." Tepper pauses. "But one of the towers, one of the trade towers, is on fire. I'll call you back." ^{clxxxv} Standing near Tepper, Bob Varcadapane is making similar calls. "Boston lost an airplane," an air traffic controller on Long Island tells Varcadapane. "They lost an American 767."

"I have a burning building and you have a missing airplane..." Varcadapane puts it together. Flight 11 must have struck the World Trade Center. ^{clxxxvi}

FLIGHT 175

0849:

Stunned by CNN's first reports from Manhattan, managers at United Airlines' Chicago headquarters receive a call from the FAA stating that an American Airlines passenger plane has just crashed into the Trade Center. Referring to Flight 175, one manager says to United's chairman and chief executive, Jim Goodwin, "Boss, we've lost contact with one of our airplanes." ^{clxxxvii}

TENET

0850:

George Tenet is eating breakfast with his mentor, former Senator David Boren, when the CIA director's bodyguards converge on the table. One of them hands his boss a cell phone. "The WTC has been attacked by an airplane!" Tenet relates. Boren is struck by the caller's use of the word "attacked".

I See Buildings

Handing the phone to an aide, Tenet tells the senator, “You know, this has bin Laden’s fingerprints all over it... I wonder if this has something to do with the guy who trained for a pilot’s license.” ^{clxxxviii}

MECHANICAL DIFFICULTIES

As Tenet heads for Langley, the NYPD dispatches two helicopters to land rescue teams on the roof of Tower One. But no evacuation has been planned using this egress. The doors leading to the upper floors of both buildings are locked, and the sloped and cluttered roofs of both towers present extreme landing and microwave radiation hazards. ^{clxxxix}

In San Francisco, a mechanic at an airline maintenance center advising flight attendants on in-flight breakages receives a phone call from a flight attendant onboard Flight 175.

This malfunction turns out to be major.

The mechanic immediately contacts his supervisor in Chicago. Rich Miles helps manage United’s systems operations center. The mechanic tells him that a female flight attendant onboard United’s Flight 175 has just called to say, “Oh my God. The crew has been killed; a flight attendant has been stabbed. We’ve been hijacked.”

Then the line went dead. ^{cxc}

REACTION

0851:

Flying westward about 285 miles west of the Pentagon, American Airlines Flight 77 makes its last radio communication as President Bush arrives at the Emma E. Booker Elementary School. Primed for a photo op with 16 second-graders, he is there to promote his administration’s new bill on education.

At the NEADS ops center, Airman Stacia Rountree announces, “A plane just hit the World Trade Center.”

“What?” asks Tech Sergeant Shelley Watson.

“Was it a 737?” asks someone else in the trailer.

The tape picks up a male voice in the background: “Hit what?”

“The World Trade Center—” Watson says.

Their boss, Master Sergeant Maureen Dooley asks, “Who are you talking to?”

She gasps.

“Oh!” Watson exclaims.

Dooley says urgently, “Get—pass—pass it to them—”

But Watson can only say, “Oh my God. Oh God. Oh my God.”

“Saw it on the news,” Rountree says excitedly. “It’s—a plane just crashed into the World Trade Center.”

Master Sergeant Dooley brings them back to their profession again. “Update New York! See if they lost altitude on that plane altogether,” she orders.

Shelley Watson quickly places a call to the civilian air controllers at New York Center. “Yes, ma’am,” she says into the phone. “Did you just hear the information regarding the World Trade Center?”

New York Center replies, “No.”

“Being hit by an aircraft?” Watson tries again.

“I’m sorry?” New York says.

“Being hit by an aircraft,” Watson repeats.

“You’re kidding,” says New York Center.

Watson tells them, “It’s on the world news.”^{exci}

“WE HAVE SOME PROBLEMS HERE”

0852:

As ABC News breaks into regular programming to report the World Trade Center crash, the two Otis F-15s finally break ground. As their pilots select gear up, a controller in the hushed and softly lit New York Center is radioing Flight 175: “UAL175 do you read New York?”^{excii}

Receiving no reply, he next calls another plane for a radio check. Then he tries again: “United, United 175. Do you read New York?”

0853:

Still getting no response, the New York controller asks another controller for help: “10—do you see that UAL175 anywhere? And do me a favor. You see that target there on 3321 code at 335 climbing? Don’t know who he is, but you got that USA 583. If you need to descent him down you can. Nobody—we may have a hijack. We have some problems over here right now.”

The “problem” is that an unidentified plane squawking 3321 at 33,500 feet is climbing toward USAir Flight 83, which may have to be directed to quickly descend.

“Oh you do?” another controller breaks in.

“Yes, that may be real traffic. Nobody knows,” says the first controller. Confused by the false blips appearing on his scope, he cannot discern which echo is real. “I can’t get a hold of UAL175 at all right now and I don’t know where he went to.”

I See Buildings

At this time, Boston Center makes a general call to all aircraft in the area: “We may have a hijack. We have some problems over here right now.” ^{cxviii}

NEADS

Major Nasypany is giving rapid-fire orders to the Otis Air National Guard base. He wants their pilots to keep heading for New York in case there is a second strike: “This is a real-world. And we’re trying to confirm this. Okay. Continue taking the fighters down to the New York City area, JFK area, if you can. Make sure that the FAA clears it—your route all the way through. Do what we gotta do, okay? Let’s press with this. It looks like this guy could have hit the World Trade Center.” ^{cxv}

As Nasypany speaks, air force radar operators pick up primary contacts showing two F-15s climbing steeply out of Otis. ^{cxvi}

FLIGHT TIMES

The distance from Cape Cod to New York City is roughly 170 miles as a Strike Eagle flies. According to the Pentagon, flying at top speed, Nasty and Duff would reach New York City within 10 to 12 minutes.

If the Otis F-15s had launched within five minutes of Flight 11’s transponder signal being lost, as required by pre-Rumsfeld regulations, they would have intercepted the low-flying airliner before it turned away from the Hudson River onto its final run.

Ramming or shooting down an American airliner would have been drastic. But all militaries must make triage decisions concerning who must die so that others might live. At least the downing of the doomed airliner would have occurred over water. ^{cxvii}

Even taking off as late as they did and flying flat-out, the Otis interceptors could intercept Flight 175 over Long Island Sound before it banks into its final turn.

But this does not happen.

DUFF

Lieutenant Colonel Timothy Duffy knows why. But like all military pilots he is required to get a briefing from his commanding officer before speaking to the press.

Duffy will later maintain that he did not realize the Otis scramble was anything other than a routine exercise: “It’s just peacetime,” he

will later say. “We’re not thinking anything real bad is going to happen out there.”^{cxcvii} But he had earlier claimed that a fellow officer had informed him before takeoff, “This looks like the real thing.”

As the flight leader later told the prestigious *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, “It just seemed wrong. I just wanted to get there. I was in full-blower all the way.”^{cxcviii}

In an other interview, Duffy reiterated, “As we’re climbing out, we go supersonic on the way, which is kind of nonstandard for us.”

And again: “When we took off I left it in full afterburner the whole time.”

Flying flat out, an F-15 Strike Eagle can cover more than 1,875 miles in an hour.^{cxcix}

Speaking to still another reporter, Duffy later elaborated: “When we take off we start climbing a 280-heading, basically towards New York City. I am supersonic... We are to proceed to Manhattan directly and set up a combat air patrol” over Kennedy airport.^{cc}

As late as 2004, Duffy will still maintain, “We were supersonic going down to Long Island. We have no idea what we are going toward. We are taking off to go help somebody and we needed to get there quickly to assess the situation.”

As NORAD commander Major General Larry Arnold also states, “Our pilots were coming at about 1.5 mach, which is, you know, somewhere—11- or 1200 miles an hour.”^{cci}

If so, they would have intercepted Flight 175.

But one month after Black Tuesday, Major General Paul Weaver, director of the Air National Guard, will claim that both Otis pilots had flown “like a scalded ape, topping 500 miles-per-hour, but [were] unable to catch up to the airliner.”^{ccii}

Which is hardly surprising, since the airliner they were “pursuing” could fly faster.

SLOW FLIGHT

Weaver was telling the truth. If Nasty and Duff had been in full afterburner from Cape Cod to Manhattan, residents along much of the eastern seaboard would have heard the explosive cracks! of their sonic booms. But a NORAD press bulletin released on September 18, 2001 will insist that none of its planes flew supersonic that day. According to this official air force timeline, flight times for all interceptors launched that day, were “9 miles per minute or .9 Mach.”

Actual elapsed flight times confirm that Nasty and Duff took

much longer to reach Manhattan than they would have flying at 2 Mach.

Despite peacetime restrictions, flying supersonic over the United States is standard practice during air defense drills. In one major exercise held in late 1961, residents of both the United States and Canada had been serenaded by sonic booms for 12 hours as American fighters flew 6,000 sorties against opponents playing the role of Soviet bombers and missiles. ^{cciii}

Now, during actual attacks on the United States of America, east coast residents hear no sonic thunder. Instead of flying two-and-a-half times faster than a bullet, Nasty and Duff drive their supersonic “air superiority” fighters at a leisurely 447 mph—ostensibly to “intercept” a Boeing 767 flying 43 mph faster.

An aviation source later corroborated by this reporter on other matters relating to 9/11 aloft, describes pilots mesmerized by the “squawk box” inside the Otis alert shack as the F-15 flight lead repeatedly requests permission to jink out over the Atlantic and proceed supersonic to New York.

According to this Otis contact, who has since dropped from sight, despite the pilot’s desperate pleading, authorization is repeatedly denied. Flying at only one-quarter power, instead of swooping over Manhattan in less than 15 minutes, the stricken Strike Eagles take 19 minutes to reach Whiskey 105—a military exercise area located over empty ocean southeast of Long Island. ^{ccv}

MINDY KLEINBERG

As Nasty and Duff lift off from Cape Cod, Mindy Kleinberg is on the phone confirming play dates for Sam. Suddenly, her friend blurts out on the other end of the line. “I can’t believe what I am watching on TV. A plane has just hit the World Trade Center.”

Mindy goes on discussing her son’s schedule for several more minutes before the remark registers. “What building did you say?” she asks.

On hearing the reply, she suddenly gets it. “Oh that’s Alan’s building,” she tells her friend. “I have to call you back.”

When she tries her husband at his office, there is no answer. The seriousness of the situation hits home as Alan’s mother, Mindy’s parents, sisters and friends begin arriving.

The family will spend the rest of the day calling hospitals, the Red Cross—anyplace they can think of trying to find Mindy Kleinberg’s

husband. Throughout this time, Mindy Kleinberg will think: *How am I going to tell Jacob and Lauren that their father is missing? What if they came home to a house filled with people, but no Daddy? How are they going to be able to wait calmly for his return? What if he is badly hurt? This is their hero, their king, their best friend, their father.* The thoughts replay over and over in her head as she wishes and prays for a good outcome.

THE OLSONS

0855:

While watching the World Trade Center burn on TV like a made-for-Hollywood spectacular, the lawyer who successfully argued George W. Bush's election case before the Supreme Court takes a call from his secretary.

Today is the Solicitor General's birthday. He had celebrated it with his wife Barbara the night before. The conservative CNN commentator had followed up with a special "birthday breakfast" before leaving her husband to fly out west on assignment. ^{ccvi}

The morning flips totally off-kilter when Theodore Olson hears his wife tell him that hijackers with box cutters and knives have rounded up the passengers at the back of her plane. Both pilots are also being held there, she adds. ^{ccvii}

Ted Olson tells his wife about the Trade Center crash. ^{ccviii}

"What should I tell the pilot?" Barbara Olson asks. Before her husband can reply, the speed of Flight 77 breaks her Airfone connection. When they are cut off, the Solicitor General calls to warn the Justice Department. ^{ccix}

Unaccountably for news professional, Barbara Olson never calls CNN with the new century's most exclusive story. Nor does she ask her husband to relay their conversation to the news desk there.

Ted Olson's account of how Barbara Olson made her calls is also conflicting. Three days after September 11, the grieving husband will tell reporters, "I found out later that she was having, for some reason, to call collect and was having trouble getting through. You know how it is to get through to a government institution when you're calling collect." ^{ccx}

Six months later, he will claim that Barbara Olson had called collect "using the phone in the passengers' seats." ^{ccxi}

But it is impossible to call on seatback cell phones—collect or otherwise—without a credit card. And as a confused Ted Olson had

I See Buildings

earlier stated, his wife “somehow didn’t have access to her credit cards.”^{ccxii}

It does not help that the controversial Solicitor General has been publicly accused of lying to Congress in 1982-83 over the Reagan administration’s handling of a law governing toxic-waste sites.^{ccxiii}

Or that he had once told the Supreme Court that in matters of national security, “It’s easy to imagine an infinite number of situations where the government might legitimately give out false information.”^{ccxiv}

As radar controllers at Boston Center and the Pentagon watch the Boeing 757 make a slow 180-degree reversal over southern Ohio and northeastern Kentucky, Barbara Olsen phones back to say that Flight 77 is turning around.^{ccxv}

NEADS

Boston Center is still talking to NEADS, saying, “Yeah, he crashed into the World Trade Center.”

Rountree is confused. Boston had earlier insisted that Flight 11 was still airborne. “That is the aircraft that crashed into the World Trade Center?” she asks.

“Yup. Disregard the—disregard the tail number,” Boston replies, referring to the registration number given earlier for American Flight 11.

“Disregard the tail number?” Rountree asks. “He did crash into the World Trade Center?”

“That’s—that’s what we believe, yes,” says Boston Center.^{ccxvi}

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Chapter 4

MANHATTAN

As Ted Olson speaks with his spouse and NEADS tries to confirm the unthinkable, in offices throughout Tower Two strobe lights start flashing. *Just like a normal fire drill*, Brian Clark thinks. Then the alarm gives the little *whoop whoop* that presages an announcement.

A familiar Port Authority voice comes over the PA saying, “Building Two is secure. There is no need to evacuate Building Two. If you are in the midst of evacuation, you may return to your office by using the re-entry doors on the re-entry floors and the elevators to return to your office. Repeat, Building Two is secure...”

After some hard lessons learned in the 1993 WTC bombing, security officials want to protect office workers from rushing outside and being killed by falling debris. As Brian Clark looks on, co-workers with access to the north wall windows are looking up through the flames and smoke to see people starting to jump from Tower One.

He cannot make himself look. As he later says, “I just didn’t want that image burned in my brain, and I’m forever grateful that I didn’t go and take in that sight.”^{ccxvii}

Costume designer and cartoonist Rita Ryack is standing outside her south Brooklyn apartment when a cloud of paper flutters down around her feet. Out of curiosity, she starts gathering some of the pages: A rental car claim... a financial statement... two pages from a novel about paratroopers in World War II... a printout of daily stock trades from Lehman Brothers... an expense sheet... a fax from South America... Watching smoke billow from the building of origin, Ryack sees her collection as a hideous art form exposing “the banality of evil.”^{ccxviii}

As smoke and debris pour from Tower One, someone answers the phone on a trading floor near the top of the building. Asked what is happening, he replies, “We are fucking dying.”

0856:

Flight 77's transponder signal suddenly cuts out. Just before losing the plane's data bloc, an Indianapolis flight controller sees his charge swerve drastically off-course. Its new track appears to be almost a reciprocal heading toward the southwest. But when the controller switches to its newly projected flight path, the controller cannot find the ghost plane.^{ccxix}

"American 77, Indy," the controller calls repeatedly. "American 77, Indy, radio check. How do you read?"

Indianapolis Center assumes that Flight 77 has experienced electrical or mechanical failure. Though American Airlines and east coast flight centers have been notified about the Flight 11 and Flight 175 emergencies for at least 20 minutes, Indianapolis Center has yet to be told of either hijacking.^{ccxx}

NORAD commanders will also later insist that no one notified them of this latest in-flight emergency, which must be as clearly visible on their own radarscopes as the loss of Flight 11's transponder signal. Tied directly into NORAD, the National Military Command Center on the Pentagon has been notified that Flight 77 is off course and out of radio and transponder communication. But in a reprise of America's first Pearl Harbor, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld continues to ignore the crisis being monitored in his building. And NEADS is not brought into the loop.^{ccxxi}

NEADS

0857:

Uncertainty rules the ops center, where a male tech cautions, "I never heard them say American Airlines Flight 11 hit the World Trade Center. I heard it was a civilian aircraft."

Over at the ID desk, Mo Dooley takes the phone from Rountree and speaks directly with Boston: "Master Sergeant Dooley here. We need to have—are you giving confirmation that American 11 was the one—"

Boston Center: "No, we're not gonna confirm that at this time. We just know an aircraft crashed in and—"

Dooley wants to know if American 11 is still in the air: "You—are you—can you say—is anyone up there tracking primary on this guy still?"

"No," Boston comes back. "The last we have was about 15 miles east of JFK, or eight miles east of JFK was our last primary hit. He did slow down in speed. The primary that we had, it slowed down below—around to 300 knots."

“And then you lost ‘em?” Dooley asks.

“Yeah, and then we lost ‘em,” Boston agrees.^{ccxxii}

Compounding the confusion over the fate of Flight 11, for the next several hours American Airlines officials will stick to airline disaster protocol and refuse to confirm that their airplane has crashed. Even worse, among the “false injects” clogging the radarscopes shared by FAA and air force controllers is a second Flight 11! Why aren’t the air defense drills that put it there called off?^{ccxxiii}

“IT DOESN’T LOOK TOO GOOD”

0858:

The pilot of a police rescue helicopter radios to advise that the roof of the North Tower “is too engulfed in flames and heavy smoke condition,” to risk landing.^{ccxxiv}

Onboard Flight 175, passenger Brian Sweeney calls his wife. “Hi, Jules. It’s Brian. We’ve been hijacked, and it doesn’t look too good,” he says into their answering machine.^{ccxxv}

0859:

Using the ACARS system, American Airlines headquarters sends a text message to Flight 77. But there is no reply as the plane completes its course reversal and takes up a direct heading for Washington D.C., 330 miles away.

INJECTS

0900:

White House counterterrorism chief Richard Clarke is attending a conference three blocks from the Oval Office when a phone call informs him that his many warnings have been realized. “Activate the CSG on secure video. I’ll be there in less than five,” he instantly responds. The CSG is the Counterterrorism and Security Group, comprising the heads of the government’s counterterrorism and security agencies.^{ccxxvi}

As Clarke drives to the White House, on the 20th floor of the North Tower, two on-duty police officers climb to the 29th floor, urging everyone to evacuate.^{ccxxvii}

Flight 93 is still cruising serenely westward over Pennsylvania and northern Ohio, United transmits a system-wide message warning its pilots of a potential “cockpit intrusion.” One of the pilots onboard Flight 93 replies by pushing a transponder button that signals a coded, “Confirmed.”^{ccxxviii}

Also over Pennsylvania and heading in the opposite direction, Flight 175 has lost a great deal of altitude. Its last radar readout shows the plane descending through 18,000 feet at a ground speed of nearly 500 mph.

In yet another “coincidence”, intelligence analysis expert John Fulton and his CIA team are about to test emergency responders by simulating a plane crashing into the nerve center of America’s live satellite surveillance capabilities. ^{cxxxix}

0901:

American Airlines officials learn that United has lost contact with one of its planes. Moments later, aircrews flying across the USA are jolted when an FAA controller radios, “Every airplane listening to this frequency needs to contact your company.” ^{cxxxix}

High over the Pacific Ocean, United Airliners Captain Jim Hosking stares at the message spooling from Flight 890’s cockpit printer:

There has been a terrorist attack against United Airlines and American Airlines aircraft. We are advised there may be additional hijackings in progress. Shut down all access to the flight deck. Unable to elaborate further.

What the hell happened down there? wonders this veteran pilot of 34 years. Then comes the realization that the attacks have taken place high in the stratos... fear. A chill races up his spine: What’s going to happen up here?

Tokyo is 1,500 miles behind them when Hosking turns toward First Officer Doug Price. “Get out the crash ax,” the captain orders.

Both pilots decide that the only way to keep the airplane safe is to assume that hijackers are among the 243 strangers seated behind them. Quickly, Hosking and Price unfold the jump seat and wedge their “brain bags” containing aerial charts and Jeppeson airport approach plates between it and the flimsy cockpit door. No one can budge that inward-opening access now.

But what if someone does manage to breach their barricade? Captain Hosking decides that he will focus on flying the big jet. Price will handle the ax. “If someone tries to come in that door, I don’t want you to hurt him,” Hosking says. “Kill him.” ^{cxxxix}

POTUS

Outside Sandra Kay Daniels's sixth-grade classroom at the Emma E. Booker Elementary School in Florida, Bush's press secretary and top political adviser Karl Rove informs Andrew Card that a plane has crashed into the World Trade Center.

Bush will later tell an interviewer that his Chief of Staff was the first person to inform him of the first crash. As he puts it, Card was saying, "Here's what you're going to be doing—you're going to meet so-and-so, such-and-such"—before casually mentioning, "By the way, an aircraft flew into the World Trade Center."

Ari Fleischer will repeat this story, claiming that Card told the President about the crash "as the President finished shaking hands in a hallway of school officials." Other sources, including Bob Woodward, describe Karl Rove giving Bush the news.

"I was sitting outside the classroom waiting to go in, and I saw an airplane hit the tower," Bush will later tell the press. "The TV was obviously on, and I used to fly myself, and I said, 'There's one terrible pilot.' And I said, 'It must have been a horrible accident.' But I was whisked off from there—I didn't have much time to think about it."

But the President of The United States cannot possibly have seen Flight 11 fly into the North Tower; the Naudet brother's exclusive images will not be televised until later that evening. Nor is he "whisked off from there." Instead, unbothered by Secret Service personnel trained to pull the President out of danger, and evincing no curiosity about an airliner flying into America's most recognized financial building, POTUS continues with the day's photo op. ^{cxxxii}

THE HAPPY MOVIE MAKERS

From her New Jersey apartment building, a woman named Maria has a view of the World Trade Center. When a neighbor calls her shortly after the first plane hit the towers, she grabs her binoculars and focuses on the disaster.

Then something else catches her eye. Three young men are kneeling on the roof of a white van in the parking lot of her apartment building. They seem to be taking a movie.

Training her magnifying lenses on them, Maria sees the men making a video of themselves with the World Trade Center burning in the background. But their expressions are wrong. "They were like happy, you know," she later tells ABC News. "They didn't look shocked to me. I thought it was very strange."

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Maria is so upset by their gaiety, she writes down the van's license plate number and calls police. ^{ccxxxiii}

“HE’S HEADED FOR MANHATTAN!”
0902:

Flight controllers in Garden City, New Jersey worriedly watch Flight 175's data bloc register a steady descent. In the darkened control room lit only by banks of radar screens, one of controllers jumps up. “No!” he shouts. “He’s not going to land. He’s going in!”

Everyone freezes.

“Oh, my God! He’s headed for the city,” another controller shouts. “Oh, my God! He’s headed for Manhattan!” ^{ccxxxiv}

OTIS

Two more fighters launch from Otis around this time. Instead of being sent to reinforce “The City”, they continue out over the Atlantic for their scheduled practice mission.

NEADS

Inside the Northeastern Air Defense Sector ops center, patiently spinning tapes record near bedlam as shouts, queries and conversation fill the room. To diffuse the tension, Major Nasypany makes a joke: “Think we put the exercise on the hold. What do you think?” ^{ccxxxvi}

Laughter fills the ops center. But four simultaneous air defense drills continue to fog America's air defense data streams.

NEWARK TOWER

In the Newark tower, the shout line rings again. “Can you see him out the window?” a caller asks Tepper. Out beyond the New Jersey shipyards, Tepper spots what must be Flight 175 flying north up the Hudson River toward Manhattan. The big jet is moving too fast and too low. And it's rocking. Moving in ways Tepper has never seen a big jetliner fly, the Boeing banks left, dipping its nose in a dive. Then it banks right.

“Oh my God! He just hit the building,” Tepper tells the caller.

AMERICAN AIRLINES OPERATIONS CENTER

In Fort Worth, American Airlines operations managers discuss their options. They've already lost one airplane. And Flight 77 is blacked-out and most likely hijacked. Marquis activates the PA, his

Manhattan

voice booming over the ops center loudspeakers: “Anything that hasn’t taken off in the Northeast, don’t take off.”^{ccxxxvii}

NEW YORK CENTER

Working at one of the darkened U-shaped air-traffic-control consoles in New York ATC on Long Island, a half-dozen controllers are still trying to raise United 175 when a manager comes running in to confirm that the plane that hit the World Trade Center was a commercial airliner—not a small private plane. Now approaching Allentown, Pennsylvania and moving further off-course toward the southwest, United 175 is 38-minutes from take-off when it makes a sudden swing northeast—toward Manhattan.

The air traffic controllers realize that it is not going to land. What are its hijackers aiming at? When one of them guesses the Statue of Liberty, the room “erupts in profanity and horror,” *Vanity Fair* reports. Watching his radar display refresh, another controller calls out Flight 175’s blinking rate-of-descent every 12 seconds. One second before impact, someone thinks to call NEADS.

UNITED AIRLINES HEADQUARTERS

0903:

At the United Airlines headquarters outside Chicago, Andy Studdert rushes into a large windowless room filled with seated command center personnel facing a large screen. The people who work here liken it to the bridge aboard the starship *Enterprise*.

“Confirm American into the Trade Center!” Studdert orders.

Quick as Lieutenant Uhura, a heart-stopping image of a cruciform-shaped jetliner flying low across the New York skyline is thrown up on the big screen.

But American has already crashed. This is one of United’s planes. Like a bolt from a crossbow, the big jet flies straight toward the undamaged twin of the burning silver obelisk dwarfing Manhattan’s skyline.

Tower Two and the aircraft merge.

The room seems to groan. Someone shouts, “There was another one!”

NEADS

Airman Stacia Rountree takes the call. Inside the NEADS ops center, she shouts across to Major Nasypany, “They have a second possible hijack!”

Colonel Marr and other NEADS personnel are busy watching the United flight slam into the South Tower of the World Trade Center live on CNN. Mo Dooley looks up toward the Battle Cab and sees Marr's jaw drop. For one long moment, everyone around him freezes. ^{ccxxxviii}

SOUTH TOWER STRIKE

As more than two billion global viewers watch in collective disbelief, United Airlines Flight 175 strikes the south side of the South Tower. Flying flat-out at over 500 mph, the jet clips the corner of the building. Hitting between the 77th and 85th floors, the impact ignites a fireball equivalent to 340,000 pounds of TNT. The crash is so savage, parts of the plane land six blocks away. ^{ccxxxix}

Twenty-one miles north at Columbia University's Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory in Palisades, New York, jumping seismic needles record the hit. Director Arthur Lerner-Lam calculates the shockwave equivalent to a magnitude 0.7 quake. Worldwide shock is even greater. ^{ccxl}

SOUTH TOWER 44th FLOOR

Doctor Alan Solotow is standing in the foyer on the 44th floor of Tower Two waiting for the express elevator, when Security comes over the loudspeaker: "Remain calm, damage is in Tower One. We appear to be okay."

Everyone around him starts joking, repeating the word, "appear" when they hear the sound of rapidly approaching jet engines. Flight 175 slams into Tower Two so hard the building seems to sway.

The South Tower continues to shake "for five minutes afterwards," Dr. Solotow remembers. The Morgan Stanley executive only starts getting nervous "when we could begin to smell jet fuel in the air conditioning ducts."

SOUTH TOWER 78th FLOOR

Carrying a Danish and a cup of coffee, a spooked Silvion Ramsundar has just come down from the 80th to the 78th floor Sky Lobby with a friend. Not reassured by security announcements concerning something happening over in Tower One, he and Christine join a crowd waiting nervously for express cars to the lobby.

Ramsundar glimpses a flash of light to his left.

The entire wall of the lobby opens like a violent flower. Concussion tosses Ramsundar aside in an avalanche of tiles and

sheetrock, tearing off his chin, smashing his shoulder blade, and driving a piece of airliner deep into his chest next to his heart. The kerosene stink of jet fuel fills his remaining lung.

Bloody, hobbling and stunned, Christine manages to rejoin Ramsundar. Together they crawl on hands-and-knees under clouds of thick black smoke. Reaching a fire door. Ramsundar isn't sure he can make it. In the sallow sodium glare of emergency lights, he somehow he joins Christine and other survivors following steps helpfully outlined with fluorescent tape.

Back in the Sky Lobby, the intense heat has quickly passed. But in the shockwave's aftermath no one is moving. Many of the victims are from Aon Corp. The second largest U.S. insurance brokerage occupied nine floors straddling the impact zone, from the 78th to the 84th floors.

Aon risk management specialist Judy Wein has just elevatored down to the Sky Lobby from her office on 103. As she joins other employees switching to the bank of elevators accessing lower levels, Flight 175 explodes onto the floor, throwing the Queens resident just short of "forever."^{ccxi}

Wein lands on her arm, shattering it. Another shockwave throws her in the opposite direction, breaking her ribs and puncturing a lung. Fighting unconsciousness, she blinks dazedly on a surreal scene. Corpses and severed limbs are strewn everywhere. As flaming embers rain down, Wein recognizes co-workers pinned beneath steel beams. "People were lying there dead," she later recalled. "Some were sitting up dazed, some were whimpering."

In an office on the same floor, a terrified office worker named Yvette crouches under her desk as part of the ceiling comes down. Flames fill the hallway, blocking her escape. But the fire quickly diminishes as Flight 175's remaining "Jet A" kerosene is consumed.

Catching a corner of the building, much of Flight 175's fuel load has exploded outside the building. Going to a window, Yvette sees what looks like water streaming down. It is actually jet fuel. As Yvette joins an orderly exodus down the stairwell, others stay behind to fight a blaze that even to amateurs seems manageable.

TOWER TWO

Because the plane banked hard to correct its course before striking Tower Two, portions of the building remain undamaged on the impacted floors. In contrast to Tower One, the South Tower's Stairwell

A remains initially passable from at least the 91st floor down—and possibly all the way from the top of the 110-story building.

Although nearly 100 people are killed or injured in the initial impact, and 600 others will eventually die (all but four above the impact zone)—the death toll is far lower than in the North Tower because nearly two-thirds of the South Tower’s occupants have evacuated the building in the 17 minutes since the twin tower was struck. ^{ccxlii} The only survivor to escape from the heart of the South Tower’s impact zone will later describe the 81st floor—where the wing of Flight 175 sliced through his office—as a “demolition” site. The smell of jet fuel is so strong, it is almost impossible to breathe.

Office workers above the crash site head for the roof, but are stopped by locked fire doors. Others attempting to descend are stymied by jammed or locked doors in unfamiliar stairwells, or further disoriented when their downward course twice deviates toward the outer perimeter of the tower. Once on floors in the lower 70s, stairwells A and B remain well lit and as normal as any working day. ^{ccxliii}

FAA NEW YORK CONTROL CENTER
0904:

McCormick’s personal deputy, Bruce Barrett sits stunned at the watch desk in the FAA’s nerve center. How could a second plane hit the WTC?

His next order could end his career. But with the skies over the eastern seaboard filled with potential suicide planes, his only thoughts are to get them down now and clear the skies in the New York region before another one goes down. There is no time to press superiors for permission. “We’re declaring ATC zero,” Barrett tells his air traffic managers.

McCormick approves the order. Emptying the airways of thousands of commercial airliners, from southern New England all the way to Maryland and central

Pennsylvania has never been attempted. Controllers across the nation will have to reroute flights headed here. Put into holding patterns, or diverted to distant airports, some planes may go fuel critical. The controllers will just have to deal with it. ^{ccxliv}

In Rome, New York, Major Nasypany is on the intercom to Colonel Marr. “Sir, we got—we’ve got unconfirmed second hit from another aircraft. Fighters are south of—just south of Long Island, sir.

The Battle Cab is in such an uproar, Nasypany feels the needs to add: “Our fighters.”

NEADS

0905:

Inside the air defense operations center, several techs still confused by the day's air defense drills try to make sense of what's happening.

"Is this explosion part of that that we're lookin' at now on TV?"

"Yes."

"Jesus ..."

"And there's a possible second hijack also—a United Airlines ..."

"Two planes?..."

"Get the fuck out..."

"I think this is a damn input, to be honest."

CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN

Inside the Cold War complex burrowed deep into granite, someone shouts to look at the monitor displaying CNN. Captain Jellinek and his staff turn to see a second aircraft fly into view and be swallowed by the second tower.

As an orange fireball erupts from this new strike, Jellinek contacts NEADS "Was that the hijacked aircraft you were dealing with?" he asks.

Affirmative, comes the reply.

As more reports come flooding in, many of them prove to be false alarms from excited controllers, or the air defense drills still taking place. Caught in an unanticipated fog of simulated and real war, Major General Rick Findley is suddenly unsure how best to respond with his remaining air assets. If they're that clever to co-ordinate that kind of attack, what else is taking place across North America? he wonders.

The tempo is intense as America's confused air defenders try to stay ahead of an unknown number of attackers masked by false radar returns and conflicting information.

In NORAD's administrative headquarters at nearby Peterson Air Force Base, uniformed personnel begin taping windows to minimize flying glass should incoming airplanes or bombs begin detonating. The base commander orders security status Threatcon Delta. The highest state of alert has not been in effect since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

Halfway around the globe, their Russian military counterparts watching live-feeds of the New York attacks hastily recall their bombers and cancel a planned missile test. Spooking NORAD with a strategic attack profile could unleash a holocaust. To make sure nuclear

warheads don't start flying, Russian military liaisons inform the State Department they are standing down. ^{ccxlv}

BOOKER ELEMENTARY

Still glued to their sets, TV viewers across the globe watch Andrew Card approach George Bush while he listens to a goat story read by one of the second graders. No one except Bush hears Card whisper in his ear: "A second plane has hit the World Trade Center. America is under attack."

Standing behind the TV cameras at the back of the room, Ari Fleischer catches Bush's eye and holds up a pad of paper. Written on it in big block letters are the words: DON'T SAY ANYTHING YET. ^{ccxlv}

The sign is not displayed on television. But every viewer sees Bush's blank expression. Stunned as a pole-axed Texas steer, the President looks confused, then grave. While military commanders across America await word from their Commander-In-Chief, the only man in the country authorized to order hijacked airliners shot down will continue listening to the story of a pet goat for at least another 10 minutes. ^{ccxlvii}

"Hoo! These are great readers. Very impressive!" Bush tells the schoolchildren. "Thank you all so very much for showing me your reading skills. I bet they practice, too. Don't you? Reading more than they watch TV? Anybody do that? Read more than you watch TV?"

Sixteen hands go up.

"Oh that's great! Very good. Very important to practice! Thanks for having me. I'm very impressed." ^{ccxlviii}

BARKSDALE

At Barksdale Air Force Base, the commander of the 8th Air Force's 2nd Bomb Wing is also impressed as he watches a second airliner fly into the World Trade Center live on TV. Colonel Mike Reese realizes that a second crash cannot be a mistake. Something grave is happening that puts his nation's security at risk.

Unlike his Commander-In-Chief, Reese takes his cue from CNN. The Colonel orders Barksdale, along with the Minot, North Dakota and Whiteman, Missouri air force bases sealed. But dozens of aircraft and hundreds of personnel are still engaged in Global Guardian. Many wonder, *is this part of the drill?*

In answer, Colonel Reese abruptly cancels the exercise and orders four A-10 ground attack aircraft to battle stations. Armed only with

rapid-firing radioactive cannon rounds not intended for air-to-air combat, the subsonic “Warthogs” are ready to launch within five minutes. Even flying at top speed, they will be hard-pressed to catch any jetliners.

But the A-10s never leave the ground. The new commander of the 47th Fighter Squadron, Lieutenant Colonel Edmund Walker is still sitting in his fighter flanked by three wingmen when everyone is ordered to deplane and assemble in the squadron office.

There they informed of the unfolding attacks. Will more hijacked airliners crash into the B-52s and A-10s parked on the flight line? No one knows. The pilots are told that their ground attack jets will have to defend the base from any follow-on attacks—military or civilian. ^{ccxlix}

INDIANAPOLIS AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL

Missing for eight nail-biting minutes, Flight 77’s transponder data bloc suddenly reappears on Indianapolis flight control’s primary radar. The American Boeing is now east of its last known position.

SOUTH TOWER 80th FLOOR

On the 80th floor of Tower Two, money trader Steve Miller is still immobilized by the ferocity of the second crash when a woman runs in the hallway flailing her arms. “Everyone get out!” she shouts.

As Miller joins a crowd of evacuees filing three across down the stairs, no one can speak. The only sounds are their breathing and the rhythmic shuffle of shoes hitting concrete steps.

“What’s going on?” a man finally asks.

“I don’t know,” another man answers.

“Shut up!” commands a third.

Miller concentrates on getting down the stairs and controlling his breathing. An image of his wife, Rhonda back in Brooklyn comes into his mind. *Call her*, he thinks. As he walks down the interminable steps, the floor numbers pass slowly: 67... 64...

On the 53rd floor everyone stops. Miller doesn’t know why. He is too tired to care. Spotting an open door, he exits into a hallway and enters a trading office in time to hear a voice crackle over the building’s loudspeaker: “There’s a fire in Tower One. Tower Two is unaffected. If you want to leave, you can leave. If you want to return to your office, it’s okay.”

Miller crosses to the elevator bank, where he finds his friend and colleague Hope Romano among a group of office workers.

“This is so scary,” he says, hugging her.

“Yeah, it really is,” she says.

The elevator door opens. Going up!

They crowd into the car, 10 or 15 people. But Miller feels uneasy. Why is he returning to the floor he just left? What happens if the elevator breaks down and they were all trapped? Just as the door hisses shut, he slips out. Looking back at his friend, he says, “Hope, I don’t think you should go up.”

Before she can answer, the doors hiss shut.

SOUTH TOWER 83rd FLOOR

When the second airliner hits his building, Brian Clark feels the tower twist. As ceiling tiles and brackets, air conditioning ducts, speakers and cables cascade down around him, the executive can feel some of the floor tiles buckling. “Some of the walls were actually torn in a jagged direction rather than up and down,” he later recalls. “Some of the door frames popped out of the wall and partially fell or fully fell.”

For seven or 10 seconds, the thousand-foot building leans away from the impact. Clark’s heart catches in his chest and he reacts like a sailor caught by a broaching sea. *Oh my gosh*, he thinks. We are going over.

“On windy days there was a little bit of a sway to the building,” he will later explain. “You got used to it. You didn’t notice it. The window blinds would go *clack clack* as they swung...”

Not this time.

“For a good seven to ten seconds, I thought it was over,” Clark continues. “Horrible feeling. But then the building righted itself. It didn’t sway back and forth; it just went one way, it seemed, and then back, and we were stable again.”

Switching on his emergency flashlight, Clark evacuates his office. Seemingly at random, he turns left toward Stairway A. Some subconscious part of him has chosen the furthest exit from the impact site.

Together with six other employees, he starts down the still intact stairway. But they only descend three floors before meeting a heavy-set woman and a rather frail male workmate coming up from the 80th floor.

“Stop, stop! You’ve got to go up,” the woman calls up from the landing below. “You’ve got to go up. You can’t go down. There is too much smoke and flames below.”

While both groups are arguing what to do, Brian Clark hears a banging sound. The thumping is urgently repeated. “Help! Help! I’m

buried. I can't breathe. Is anybody there? Can you help me?" calls a voice from the 81st floor.

SOUTH TOWER 81st FLOOR

It is Stanley Praitnath. To the trapped employee of the Fuji Bank, Brian Clark appears like Superman to pull him from the rubble of his office. Slowly making their way down to the shattered lobby of Tower Two, both men gape at the devastation around them.

Instead of the "flowing fountain, vendors with their wagons, business people coming to and from the building, tourists everywhere," that Praitnath remembers, several acres of this "beautiful people place" have been transformed into a moonscape. To the bank clerk, it looks like they have just discovered a place deserted for a hundred years.

For 20 or 30 seconds, both men stare in silence before walking "very casually," Praitnath remembers, down one hallway, then down another. With each step, they pass firemen and policemen "going about their business, walking normal speeds." Praitnath senses no panic. "It looked like they were under control, doing their job," he will later say.

Attempting to escape the South Tower through its south exit, Praitnath and his rescuer are stopped by a group of firemen and policemen guarding the door. One of them calls out, "Whoa, wait a minute fellows. If you're gonna cross Liberty Street, you'd better go for it. There is debris falling from above."

"Should I look up?" asks Brian Clark.

"Well, I wouldn't," their guide advises. "Just go for it."

Creeping out from under the tower's overhang, Clark risks a glance up. "All right, Stanley, I don't see anything coming. Are you ready?" he asks.

"Yup," Stanley Praitnath answers.

One last check. "All right, let's go," Clark calls.

Liberty Street is several lanes wide where they elect to cross. But there is no traffic and both men bolt across safely. "It was very much like a demilitarized zone," Clark recalls.

Walking quickly away from the WTC, the two men pass a church. A minister praying outside says to Clark, "You know, the church is open if you would like to go in there."

Suddenly weary, Stanley Praitnath and Brian Clark look at each other and nod. "All right, let's do that," Clark says.

NORTH TOWER 110th FLOOR

Victor Arnone's second conversation with Steve Jacobson in Tower One comes just after the second plane hits. "They're terrorists. They hit the other tower. Try to get to the roof," Arnone advises.

His friend replies, "It's too hot to leave the room. Get me out of here. Send help."

Then the line goes dead. ^{ccf}

NORTH TOWER 106th FLOOR

High above the impacted floors, one of the eager kids at the huge bond brokerage firm, Cantor Fitzgerald has been at work since 7:30 that morning. Upbeat and blue-eyed, 25-year-old Adam White is a recreational mountain climber. But not even those skills can save him now. He and his co-workers are trapped. His mother's often-expressed fears about his working here have come true. ^{ccfi}

NORTH TOWER 98th FLOOR

Patricia Massari was speaking to her husband from the 98th floor of Tower One when Flight 11 hit her floor. "Oh, my God," she said. Now the last words Louis Massari hears from his wives are, "We need air." ^{ccfii}

A HELPING HAND FOR THE TALIBAN

As Flight 175 slams into Tower Two, Congressman Porter Goss—the man favored by George Bush to next head the CIA—is having breakfast with Pakistan's intelligence chief Lieutenant General Mahmoud Ahmad. Only a few days before, the person the FBI will come to call the "Money Man" behind 9/11 had wired \$100,000 wired to Mohamed Atta. ^{ccfiii}

Washington's close alliance with Pakistan officially had commenced on July 3, 1979 when peace-loving President Jimmy Carter signed a secret presidential directive ordering clandestine aid and support for the Mujahedin opposed to Afghanistan's pro-Soviet regime. Four months later, when the Soviets intervened on behalf of that country's elected government, Carter—like President Reagan after him—saw an opportunity to trap America's Cold War adversaries in their own Vietnam.

As the *San Francisco Chronicle* later chronicled, "Impressed by the ruthlessness and willingness of the then-emerging Taliban to cut a pipeline deal, the State Department and Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency" agreed to funnel arms and cash to the Taliban.

Stingers are expensive. In order to purchase enough shoulder-fired missiles to end the domination of Soviet gunships and Flanker fighter-bombers, the CIA-backed Mujahedin ordered farmers to plant opium as a “revolutionary tax”. Within a few years, the ISI was making money from the CIA-sponsored sale of opium grown in Afghanistan, after offsetting war costs estimated as high as \$40 billion. ^{ccxiv}

Arundhati Roy describes how, “Within two years of the CIA’s arrival, the Pakistan Afghanistan borderland had become the biggest producer of heroin in the world, and the single biggest source on American streets. The annual profits—said to be between \$100 and \$200 billion—were ploughed back into training and arming militants.” ^{ccv}

As reporter Paul Thompson learned in creating his meticulously researched White House-CIA-ISI timeline, the drug trade has always attracted Osama bin Laden, “who was said to have taken a 15% cut of the Afghan drug trade money in exchange for protecting smugglers and laundering their profits on behalf of ISI.” ^{ccvi}

It was a bad deal for more than half the population of Afghanistan—especially the half-million war widows “saved” from emancipation under the Soviets and forced to live under the Taliban’s murderous misogyny.

But it was worth it to Washington. Immediately after the Taliban retook Kabul, UNOCAL entertained its leaders in Houston. As author, reporter and documentary filmmaker John Pilger learned, the oil company “offered them a generous cut of the profits of the oil and gas pumped through a pipeline that the Americans wanted to build from Soviet central Asia through Afghanistan.”

A U.S. diplomat patiently parlayed to Pilger that Afghanistan would become an American oil colony funneling immense profits to the West. What about the absence of democratic process, and the persecution, torture and execution of women who could be beaten for laughing in public, raising their veils to shop, and other “immodesties” the award-winning journalist wanted to know.

“We can live with that,” the White House representatives had replied. ^{ccvii}

OILY DIRECTIVES

Until recently, relates veteran Central Asia hand Ted Rall, “U.S. taxpayers paid the entire annual salary of every single Taliban government official, all in the hopes of returning to the days of dollar-a-gallon gas.”

In a classic example of reaping what Washington has sown, U.S. intelligence experts estimate that more than 100,000 Muslim radicals were funded, trained and armed by the CIA's opium-financed Afghanistan *jihad*. Angered by their repressive governments' allegiance to Washington, and the continuing U.S. presence in Islam's holiest cities of Mecca and Medina, many of these seasoned fighters will later be absorbed into al-Qaeda.

In 1998, in response to the bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Tanzania, President Bill Clinton had broken off diplomatic ties with the sponsoring Taliban and ordered ineffectual cruise missile strikes against suspected al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. Implemented on Clinton's request, U.N. sanctions further crippled the planet's most impoverished country—resulting in worsening poverty, malnutrition and deaths.

But these measures were not enough for UNOCAL, which bluntly instructed the State Department that its proposed trans-Afghan pipeline carrying oil and natural gas from newly independent Caspian dictatorships to tanker terminals in Wahhabist Pakistan would not go ahead until the uncooperative Taliban were removed from power.

Enron, the biggest contributor to the 2000 Bush-Cheney campaign, conducted the feasibility study for a pipeline intended to exploit massive oil reserves in Uzbekistan for the U.S.-led consortium. As partial payback for his sponsors, during the early months of his incoming administration, George Bush negotiated with the Taliban terrorists, gifting that women-hating regime with another \$43 million in May 2001.

That same month, CIA Director George Tenet and Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage visited the region. Armitage is well known by the Indian press for his “large circle of friends in the Pakistani military and ISI.”^{ccviii}

During this same period, a leading U.S. expert on South Asia told the *Times of India* that the Taliban were still “on the payroll of the ISI.” The al-Qaeda-linked ISI “is commonly branded ‘a state within the state,’ or Pakistan’s ‘invisible government’” *TIME* later noted.^{cclix}

SHEIK AND BAKE

The ISI's most important asset was Sheik Sayeed. A British national, the brilliant London School of Economics graduate was put on the ISI payroll in 1993. In 1994 he was picked up by police in Delhi following a bungled kidnapping of four Westerners, including an American citizen.^{ccclx}

Six years later, terrorists hijacked an Indian Airlines aircraft and flew it to Kandahar. After an eight-day standoff, the 155 hostages were released in exchange for three Pakistani terrorists held by India. Among the hijackers was Saeed. ^{cclxi}

It was clear that the shadowy sheik was still a “protected asset” of the ISI. According to Newsweek, Sheik Saeed then returned to Pakistan, “where he lived—openly and opulently—in a wealthy Lahore neighborhood. U.S. sources say he did little to hide his connections to terrorist organizations, and even attended swanky parties attended by senior Pakistani government officials.” ^{cclxii}

By then, the 9/11 plot was well underway. Beginning around June 2000, Paul Thompson reports, “Saeed appears to have become the main conduit for money to the hijackers.”

The government of India supplied the Sheikh’s mobile phone number to the FBI, who used to establish the links between ISI Director General Ahmad Mahmoud, 9/11 ringleader Mohamed Atta, and Sayeed.

Within a few days of this September 11th meeting between Congressman Goss and General Ahmad Mahmoud, Pakistan will formally support the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan to reinstitute the lucrative poppy plantations forbidden by the Taliban—and expedite construction of the oil-and-gas pipeline to its main terminus at Port Qasim in Karachi.

FIRST RESPONDERS

Although a fifth alarm has called for 20 engine and eight ladder companies to respond to the World Trade Center fires, 23 engine and 13 ladder companies are dispatched. Because it is the morning shift change, many firefighters going off duty are permitted to “ride heavy” and join on-duty teams. Even when ordered not to, many other off-duty firefighters leave their firehouses and homes and head independently for the WTC.

Racing up from Harlem, Engine Company 47 is among the first to respond to multiple alarms at the World Trade Center. While still two blocks away from the burning Trade Tower One, fireman Lou Cacchioli is startled to see what look like demolition squibs exploding in sequence down the lower floors. “Floor by floor, it started popping out,” he says later. To this veteran firefighter, “It was as if they had detonators and they planned to take out a building: boom, boom, boom.”

^{cclxiii}

Siren screaming, the first engine arrives. “Tough Lou” Cacchioli orders his crew to head directly to the Marriott Hotel, where a fire is blazing. “I looked up and there were about six to 10 people flying through the air coming down right on us,” Cacchioli will later recount. “It was horrible when they hit the ground—something you had to turn your eyes away from.”

One jumper lands directly on fireman Danny Sur, killing him on the spot. Oh my God, what are we getting into? Cacchioli asks himself as he leads his remaining “kids” into the North Tower lobby.

Tower One resembles a war zone. Cacchioli’s firefighters enter the lobby to find the doors blown out on elevators that do not connect to the upper floors. All around them, panicked people are running, screaming and being hit by falling bodies and debris.

How could this be happening so quickly if a plane hit way above? Cacchioli wonders.^{ccclxiv}

DOCUDRAMA

Camera rolling, the Naudet brothers reach the North Tower lobby along with the men of Engine 7 Ladder 1, whom they have been filming just down the street. Their documentary has changed drastically. Though the crash site is nearly a thousand feet above, everyone is stunned by the destruction around them. As one professional firefighter later puts it, “The lobby looked like the plane hit the lobby!”^{ccclxv}

The Frenchmen will continue filming inside the North Tower after its twin collapses. During the hour they spend inside, firefighters will use their camera lights to find their way through the dust-clogged air. Many of their shots made inside Tower One are so distressing they will never be aired. After viewing the Naudet’s footage, the BBC will offer only an audio summary of people “surrounded by debris, screaming victims and chaos... Firefighters are seen in a desperate battle to save people... many are never seen alive again.”

CACCHIOLI

At this point, orders are changing “fast and furious,” Cacchioli later relates. Originally ordered into the South Tower, a confused call from higher command has misdirected Cacchioli’s team to its northern twin. The garbled order will save their lives.

Pressed for time and breaking his own rules, the fire chief finds a functioning elevator and crowds into it with equipment-laden firefighters from Engine Companies 21 and 22, and Ladder Company 13. The

lift terminates on the 24th floor—another stroke of luck. As Cacchioli later puts it, “If it was one of the elevators that went higher, I wouldn’t be here talking today.” ^{cclxvi}

The elevator doors open onto the 24th floor like a curtain going up on a scene from hell. Considering the location of the strike still high above them, to these seasoned firemen, the heavy smoke and dust seem bizarre.

“Tommy Hetzel was with me and everybody else also gets out of the elevator when it stops on the 24th floor,” Cacchioli later recounts. “There was a huge amount of smoke. Tommy and I had to go back down the elevator for tools, and no sooner did the elevators close behind us, we heard this huge explosion that sounded like a bomb. It was such a loud noise; it knocked off the lights and stalled the elevator.”

Oh my God, Cacchioli thinks. These bastards put bombs in here like they did in 1993! ^{cclxvii}

FIRST STRIKE

At 12:18 pm on February 26, 1993 New York’s tallest landmark had come within 50-feet of being demolished when a misplaced home-made 1,500-pound bomb hidden in a rental utility van was detonated by remote control in the lower parking level beneath the Twin Towers. Six people died and more than 1,000 were injured in the attack.

The *New York Times* reveals that the FBI tracked the plot through an informer named Emad Ali Salem. Shortly before the attack, the federal agents were going to substitute a harmless powder for the explosives. But the switch was never made. Conversations clandestinely recorded by Emad and printed verbatim in the *‘Times*, reveal the anguished informant criticizing agents named Anticev and Foley.

Emad wanted to complain to FBI headquarters in Washington about the bureau’s failure to stop the bombing. But he was dissuaded by agent John Anticev, who allegedly told the FBI informant, “I don’t think the New York people would like the things out of the New York office to go to Washington.”

Emad told both agents, “Guys, now you both saw this bomb went off and you both know that we could avoid that... you get paid, guys, to prevent problems like this from happening.”

Turning to agent Floyd, the “wired” informant next asked, “Do you deny, your supervisor is the main reason of bombing the World Trade Center?”

John Anticev's reply could have applied to the Moussaoui case, and the Phoenix Memo: "We was handling the case perfectly well until the supervisor messed it up, upside down." ^{cclxviii}

"ALL THESE EXPLOSIONS"

Luckily, Cacchioli and the other heavily laden firefighters in the elevator aren't caught between floors. When they pry the doors back open, people are "going crazy," yelling and screaming. Cacchioli starts low crawling. Making his way in the dark with a flashlight to the staircase, he thinks that Tommy is right behind him.

Elsewhere in the building, paramedic Daniel Rivera also hears a succession of loud "pops" and immediately thinks of a professional demolition.

Down in the parking garage, arriving firefighter Richard Banaciski also hear the succession of explosions. It sound like what he's seen on TV, when "they blow up these buildings. It seemed like it was going all the way around in a belt, all these explosions." ^{cclxix}

JUMPERS

When Will Jimeno steps off a Port Authority bus and starts walking towards the WTC, firemen are urging people to run away. Jimeno can hear the Twin Towers cooking and coming apart. Rivets are popping as massive steel girders bend and groan.

Turning toward the sound of successive impacts, the rookie cop watches free-falling office workers crater the concrete sidewalk in pink puffs of blood and tissue. Only then does he register the ground around him. It is littered with parts of bodies and their ensembles: watches, high-heel shoes, Palm Pilots, briefcases. Jimeno never thought policing would be like this.

Scott Pasquini is hurrying along the Hudson River toward Battery Park when he looks up at a by-now-familiar sound in time to see a second plane arrow into the South Tower of the World Trade Center. Everyone around him starts to run. Initially caught up in their panic, the WTC survivor recovers his wits and starts looking for a pay phone. Waiting in line, still looking up at the orange flames billowing from Tower Two, he sees what look like people jumping from the upper floors of Tower One. All reach terminal velocity before reaching the ground. One man has made a makeshift parachute. It slows him down for about 10 stories, before shredding apart.

After climbing to the roof of his condominium, Chip Brown trains

his binoculars on the same sight. To Brown the bodies seem to fall “like paratroopers bustling out of an aircraft.” He stops counting after a dozen. But there are so many more. ^{cclxx}

CACCHIOLI

In Tower One, it never crosses Cacchioli’s mind that the building might collapse. Still concentrating on getting people out, he crawls down the steps beneath the choking smoke. It is pitch dark in the stairwell. But he still has his mask on.

On the 23rd floor, he finds a little man sheltering under some standpipes, holding a handkerchief to his face. Leading the dazed survivor down the hall by the arm, the fire chief encounters a group of about 35 or 40 people. He leads them back to the stairwell, too. As soon as they reach it, Cacchioli hears another huge explosion—“like the other two.” Then he hears “bang, bang, bang—huge bangs.”

Tough Lou doesn’t realize that each two million pound floors in the adjacent tower is pancaking down on top of the next. What he does know is that they have “to get out of there fast.” ^{cclxxi}

NORTH TOWER 91st FLOOR

In a morning crammed with irony, Mike McQuaid, his workmate Anthony and three other workers are installing fire alarms just below the impact zone on the 91st floor. With Silverstein’s company about to take it over, the floor’s big open area is only about one-quarter occupied.

McQuaid is talking to George Sleigh in the American Bureau of Shipping when he hears an explosion. *What the hell was that?* McQuaid wonders. *Has a transformer blown?*

The entire building shakes. When the hallway starts filling up with smoke, Mike McQuaid starts screaming for his crew to get out. One of the men emerges from the smoke bleeding from a cut on his head. He tells his boss he got knocked out, and the smoke woke him up. He seems okay. But he will die in hospital two months later.

McQuaid leads his men to the northwest stairwell across from the men’s room. As they pass the demolished offices of the American Bureau of Shipping, he calls out, “Is anybody else in there?”

A woman wearing a red hat comes out and says, “I’m the last one out.”

Together, they make their way to the stairwell. No one else is

coming down. Multiple sheets of 5/8-inch sheetrock have been knocked off the walls, revealing the steel underneath. Through nearly pitch darkness, it looks to McQuaid that the stairs are blocked above.

On the 86th floor, he stops to yell into the hallway to make sure everyone is out.

His aunt works part time for Julien Studley on that floor. But it's her day off.

Around 82, Mike McQuaid and Anthony find an elevator stuck between floors. A Japanese man and some other guys are trapped inside. But when McQuaid and his buddy start trying to pry apart the elevator doors, the men inside slap their hands away. Afraid of dislodging the elevator, they prefer to wait for properly equipped rescuers.

On the 52nd floor, the two electricians find an empty office and call their loved ones. McQuaid also checks in with the company they work for.

At 38, they run into the first firefighters to respond to the devastation in Tower One. Loaded down with hoses, the firemen are pouring sweat. McQuaid and his buddy get them some water. The place is still filled with smoke. But this encouraging sign indicates a smoldering fire rather than an intensely hot blaze. From there on down, Mike McQuaid says, it's "nonstop firemen coming up the stairs."^{ccbxii}

BOMBS IN THE BUILDINGS

Trapped between the South Tower's 90th and 97th floors, Fiduciary employees calling family members on their cell phones report hearing "bomb-like explosions" throughout both towers.^{ccbxiii}

BBC reporter Steve Evans was inside the second tower lobby. "There was an explosion," he reports to viewers worldwide later that day. "I didn't think it was an explosion, but the base of the building shook. I felt it shake. Then when we were outside, the second explosion happened and then there was a series of explosions. We can only wonder at the kind of damage—the kind of human damage—which was caused by those explosions—those series of explosions."

A breathless man tells an ABC camera crew how he managed to escape the Trade Center just as it fell. "We were stuck on the stairs for a while," he informs viewers. "I came down from the 85th floor. When we were just about to leave the building, there was a blast."

In another live ABC interview, two men who rescued a handicapped person from the burning North Tower say they heard an

explosion as they exited. Turning to see the building coming down, they had scooped up their charge and run for their lives. A woman survivor concurs with the men's remarks. "I got stuck on the stairs," she tells viewers. "When we got to the lobby, there was a blast."

Cutting these explosive comments from later broadcasts will leave the lips of eyewitnesses flapping soundlessly. Network executives excuse their censorship by linking the blasts to "exploding gas mains." But city engineers insist that all gas mains in the area were turned off immediately after the first strike.

NORTH TOWER SUBBASEMENT

In the WTC's six-story subbasement, 47 massive box columns constructed with 4-inch-thick steel connect both 110-story structures to bedrock 70-feet deep. Neither an airplane strike nor an earthquake can possibly sever them. ^{ccclxxiv} But deliberately placed thermate charges can distort and melt them.

Deep in a sub-level office under Building One, maintenance engineer William Rodriguez is huddling along with 14 co-workers after hearing a massive explosion in the basement, seconds before Flight 11 strikes the upper floors.

In the same moment, while working in a small sub-level 4 workshop, WTC maintenance worker Jose Sanchez also hears an underground explosion.

Standing in front of a freight elevator on sub-level 1 near the office where Rodriguez and the others are taking shelter from an explosion taking place somewhere below them, Felipe David feels the same blast. The building starts shaking from an explosion deep in its foundations. Dust flies everywhere.

"All of a sudden it got real hot," David remembers. Throwing himself to the floor, the maintenance worker covers his face and awaits death. "God, please give me strength," he prays.

Severely burned on his face, arms and hands, David picks himself up and runs to the office where Rodriguez and the others are gathered. With skin hanging from his body like the shreds of his tattered clothing he manages to tell them it was an explosion.

Helped to an ambulance by William Rodriguez, at New York Hospital David is dismayed when the staff looks agape at his hanging flesh. Some people start crying. But then he hears others say, "OK, good, good. You made it alive." ^{ccclxxv}

GIAMBANCO'S STORY

At the same time David, Rodriguez and 14 others hear a sub-basement explosion, Salvatore Giambanco is on the opposite side of sub-level 1 near another elevator. In a subsequent taped interview, Giambanco tells a Colombian reporter: "We heard the explosion and the smoke all of a sudden came from all over. There was an incredible force of wind that also swept everything away. I remember hearing a scream of a woman, but I couldn't see her. I had just gotten off the elevator and I was standing by it with another man but didn't know his name."

The doors of the elevator are still open. Giambanco and another man both jump inside to escape the wind whipping debris through the passageway. Suddenly, the elevator doors close. But instead of starting up toward safety, they go down.

The car stops abruptly. But the doors do not open. Through the crack between them, Giambanco can see that they were stuck between B-2 and B-3. Like figures from hell, he can dimly make out people running and screaming. Both men join the chorus, shouting in terror. Water is gushing into the elevator and Giambanco knows he is going to die. *God, please help us*, he prays.

All of a sudden, the frightened maintenance worker hears someone yelling from somewhere above, "How many people are down there?"

It is William Rodriguez. Instead of seeking safety after helping David outside, he has returned to help others entombed deep below Building One. "Go to hell," Rodriguez had defied the police who tried to stop him. "I am going back to help my friends no matter what."

Probing the basement wreckage, Rodriguez finds a construction ladder. Lowering it to the top of the elevator, he climbs down the darkened shaft and opens the top hatch to find Giambanco and another man standing thigh-deep in water from the sprinkler system that is still gushing water into the elevator shaft.

"I don't know how he did it, but I felt him just pick me up and pull me out," Giambanco will later describe Rodriguez's rescue. "I didn't know who he was then, but I do now. For me, William is like my brother. He definitely saved my life. If it wasn't for William Rodriguez, I wouldn't be here today."

Rodriguez leads Giambanco to a waiting ambulance. During the ride to a city hospital, Giambanco keeps thinking that the explosion that ripped apart the sub-basement and nearly ended his life "had to be a bomb."

Manhattan

On later being told that an airplane had hit the towers, he asks, “How could it just be an airplane?” Even after reading all the newspaper accounts concerning Flight 11, Giambanco remains firm in his recollections. “It was just too incredible to believe if you heard and experienced what I did. It had to be a bomb.” ^{ccclxxvi}

With Giambanco safely in the hands of medics, William Rodriguez returns to Tower One. This time, the custodian with keys to every floor will accompany firefighters in their search for survivors up to the 39th story before fire officials finally evict him from the building.

PECORARO’S STORY

After the first big explosion deep in the North Tower’s C-Level sub-basement, stationary engineer Mike Pecoraro and his buddy Chino make their way to a machine shop—only to find it gone. “There was nothing there but rubble,” Pecoraro later relates. “We’re talking a 50-ton hydraulic press—gone!”

They head up to the lower parking garage. But it too is gone, the walls completely blown out. On B Level, a 300-pound steel and concrete fire door is wrinkled “like a piece of aluminum foil.” The lobby is soot black. Elevator doors are blown out and slabs of marble have been ripped from the walls. ^{ccclxxvii}

CHENEY

At work in the White House, the Vice-President is informed that a small private plane has crashed into the World Trade Center. Advised by his assistant to turn on his television, Dick Cheney is still pondering how the hell a plane could hit the World Trade Center? when he sees an airliner crash into the South Tower. ^{ccclxxviii}

ROOM WITH A VIEW

Three hundred miles above a glistening blue planet, Commander Frank Culbertson is conducting physical exams onboard the International Space Station when a flight surgeon planetside informs him, “Frank, we’re not having a very good day here on Earth.”

With the flight computer showing their 7,000 mph track swiftly coming up over the eastern United States, Culbertson goes to a porthole and sees smoke rising over New York City. Grabbing a video camera and bracing himself to keep from floating away in zero gravity, Culbertson zooms in on a gray cloud engulfing Manhattan. ^{ccclxxix}

WINGS OVER MANHATTAN

Both Otis F-15s are still closer to Cape Cod than the WTC. “From 100 miles away at least, we could see the fire and the smoke blowing,” Major Nash later tells *Vanity Fair*. “Obviously, anybody watching CNN had a better idea of what was going on.

We were not told anything. It was to the point where we were flying supersonic towards New York and the controller came on and said, ‘A second airplane has hit the World Trade Center.’ My first thought was, what happened to American 11?” ^{celxxx}

But what’s happening to Nash’s story? He and Duff are not flying supersonic. Their flight time from Otis reveals an average groundspeed of only 447 mph—just 24% of their jets’ top speed. World War II prop planes flew nearly as fast.

Looking out of his “fishbowl” cockpit, Major Daniel Nash watches smoke pouring out of Manhattan as they close on the stricken city. His flight leader checks them 60-miles out. Duffy still can’t believe that a second aircraft has hit the World Trade Center. “That was news to me. I thought we were still chasing American 11,” Duff will later tell reporters. “We both thought there was only one aircraft out there.”

When the Lieutenant Colonel calls for clarification of their mission, his request is met with “considerable confusion.” ^{celxxxii}

A Newark flight controller has a much different recollection. Apparently referring to the Otis F-15’s, Bob Varcadapane tells MSNBC, “They were there moments after the impact. And I said to myself, If only they could have gotten there a couple minutes earlier. They just missed it.” ^{celxxxii}

Could Varcadapane have been tracking another pair of planes? Filmmaker Michael Moore later “learned from someone at ABC News that ABC had videotape—an angle of the second plane crashing into the tower—that showed an F-16 fighter jet trailing the plane at a distance.” ^{celxxxiii}

Photographs shot by a bystander of the blue sky above the burning World Trade Center show the NYDPD helicopter circling the roof of Tower One before the adjacent tower is hit. Also in the photos is a plane that looks like a C-130 circling the site. Still another shot shows the blur of an F-16 or F-15 banking hard towards the WTC. ^{celxxxiv}

Like the Otis Strike Eagles’ slow subsonic speeds, the presence of a fighter jet trailing Flight 175 toward Tower Two is never explained. But this will not be the last C-130 to play a part in this day’s unfolding events.

HOLDING PATTERN

0907:

With both trade towers burning, Major Nasypany wants the Otis fighters to fly a protective combat air patrol over Manhattan. But his weapons techs get “pushback” from the civilians at the FAA, who have final authority over fighters in their airspace. The controllers fear the jets will collide with passenger planes departing their flight plans in response to the area-wide grounding order.

The NEADS commander feels that the remaining airliners aloft make his case more urgent. *We’ve already had two*, he thinks. *Why not more?*

Nevertheless, the FAA directs his interceptors to a holding area just off the coast, near Long Island. Calling to Major Fox, the leader of his Weapons Team, Nasypany makes sure his displeasure is logged:

“Okay, Foxy. Plug in. I want to make sure this is on tape... This is what—this is what I foresee that we probably need to do. We need to talk to FAA. We need to tell ‘em if this stuff’s gonna keep on going, we need to take those fighters on and then put ‘em over Manhattan, OK? That’s the best thing. That’s the best play right now. So, coordinate with the FAA. Tell ‘em if there’s more out there, which we don’t know, let’s get ‘em over Manhattan. At least we got some kinda play.”

Nasypany next tells the Battle Cab he wants Fox to launch two more fighters from Langley Air Force Base in Virginia, to establish a presence over New York City. His request is refused. The order comes back from the Battle Cab is to order the Langley jets to battle stations—but not to launch.

“The problem there would have been I’d have all my fighters in the air at the same time, which means they’d all run out of gas at the same time,” Marr will later say. With more than 700 air-refueling tankers in the USAF inventory, including KC-135s and KC-10s ready to support FAA-requested aerial intercepts, it’s an odd explanation.

Nasypany begins walking up and down the floor, asking his section heads and weapons techs if they are prepared to shoot down a civilian airliner. “But he’s jumping the gun,” writes Michael Bronner. “He doesn’t have the authority to order a shutdown, nor does Marr or Arnold.” ^{cc1xxxv}

ANDREWS

0906:

Just 10 miles from Washington DC, a squadron pilot at Andrews

Air Force Base in Maryland learns that two airliners have crashed into the World Trade Center. He calls a friend in the Secret Service to find out what's going on.

The Secret Service calls the base back, asking if Andrews can scramble fighters. It should be no problem. To defend the U.S. Capitol, this airbase keeps two armed fighter jets on 24-hour strip alert, ready for immediate launch

Andrews weapons officer, Major Dan Caine takes the call. But instead of launching his birds already sitting "cocked and locked" on strip-alert, Caine orders inactive fighters to be armed. Hot weapons are stored in a secure bunker on the other side of the base. The process of unlocking, fetching and loading them onto the fighters will take time.

Chapter 5

COMMANDERS AND CHIEFS

As soon as he sees the images on TV, Mark Loizeaux knows the WTC is going to fall. *It's coming down*, the president of Controlled Demolition tells himself. *The second tower will fall first, because it was hit lower down. Somebody's got to tell the Fire Department to get out of there.*

Picking up the phone, Loizeaux dials 411, copies the number and tries it. Busy. The demolition expert next calls the Mayor's Office of Emergency Management at 7 World Trade Center. The head of a family firm specializing "in reducing tall buildings to manageable pieces of rubble" does not consider a command post located beneath a 600-gallon generator fuel tank to be very secure.

All lines are busy. He can't get through. ^{ccxxxvi}

THE WHITE HOUSE

Condoleezza Rice has just started her daily national security staff meeting when an aide hands her a note saying a second plane has hit the WTC. Realizing it must be a deliberate attack, she quickly excuses herself from the meeting. A few minutes later, counterterrorism chief Richard Clarke joins her in Dick Cheney's office. ^{ccxxxvii}

Clarke and Condoleezza's relationship is prickly. When she came onboard as National Security Adviser under the incoming Bush administration, the White House national coordinator for counter-terrorism had approached her to insist that the only remaining option against a growing menace was military action against al-Qaeda, including more strikes against its training camps in Afghanistan.

Having served as the White House's top terrorism adviser from the first Bush administration through Clinton's reign, Clarke knew that the threat posed by al-Qaeda was imminent and real. He specifically advised Condi Rice to start giving clandestine aid to the Northern Alliance to assist these temporarily united tribal militias in defeating the Taliban.

Rice rejected his advice. So did her deputy, Stephen Hadley. ^{cebxviii}

By the summer of 2001, senior U.S. counter-terrorism officers familiar with the latest intelligence reports on al-Qaeda were so worried about impending disaster, some like Clarke, considered resigning and going public with their fears.

Bush was fixated on Iraq. With growing concern, Richard Clarke watched the President receive “his international education from the Vulcans group in 2001.” The “Vulcans were people like Richard Perle, Jim Woolsey, and Paul Wolfowitz. They were all espousing this stuff. So he probably had been persuaded. He certainly wasn’t hearing any contrary view during this education process,” Clarke later said. ^{cebxix}

“If you look at the so-called Vulcans group,” the White House insider revealed in his book, *Against All Enemies*, the PNAC planners “clearly wanted to go after Iraq, and they clearly wanted to do this reshaping of the Middle East.”

JINSA IN THE WHITE HOUSE

They aren’t just after oil. Award-winning Middle East journalist Robert Fisk links “Vice-President Dick Cheney, the arch-hawk in the U.S. administration” to the powerful pro-Zionist White House lobby, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA).

“Richard Perle, chairman of the Pentagon’s Defence Policy Board, is still an adviser on the institute, as is the former CIA director James Woolsey,” Fisk adds. “Perle advises the Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld—who refers to the occupied West Bank and Gaza as “the so-called occupied territories...”” ^{cexc}

As Jeff Halper, an Israeli professor of anthropology and Coordinator of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions points out, “Israel is a center of neocon ideology and mobilization. Many of the founders of neo-conservatism in the 1970s and most of its prominent advocates today are [Zionists]. This is not an irrelevant fact, nor is it ‘anti-Semitic’ to say so.” ^{cecci}

Strongly backed by the fundamentalist Christian Coalition, self-described “Zionists” believe “every inch of the Holy Land should belong to Israel and that there should never be a Palestinian state,” explains *The Guardian*’s Matthew Engel.

Even as anti-Zionist Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn protest the state of Israel based on their own reading of the Bible, fundamentalist Christians whose pleasure and displeasure strongly influence Bush’s Middle East policies choose other biblical passages to back up their

beliefs that the second coming of Christ depends on the conversion of the Jews—whom, they say, must possess all the lands given to them by God.

The catch is that any Jew who refuses to convert to Christianity will be put to death.

“They don’t love the real Jewish people,” author Gershom Gorenberg tells the CBS program 60 Minutes. “They love us as characters in their story, in their play, and that’s not who we are. If you listen to the drama that they are describing, essentially it’s a five-act play in which the Jews disappear in the fourth act.” ^{cxcxii}

A partial list of Bush administration Zionists advocating war on Iraq includes many PNAC planners:

- Paul Wolfowitz is a product of the Zionist think tank JINSA. An outspoken advocate of attacking Iraq, the U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary is also a member of Perle’s Defense Policy Board and reportedly enjoys close ties to the Israeli military. Wolfowitz’s sister lives in Israel.
- One of Bush’s top foreign policy advisors and a leading advocate of invading Iraq, Richard Perle chairs the Pentagon’s Defense Policy Board. Product of the pro-Israel think tank, American Enterprise Institute, Perle later worked for the Israeli weapons firm, Soltam. The National Security Agency has caught him passing highly classified National Security documents to the Israeli Embassy.
- Under-Secretary of Defense, and a top Pentagon policy advisor, Douglas Feith formerly served as Perle’s Special Counsel. Associated with an extremist group called the Zionist Organization of America, Feith’s law firm maintains its only international office in Israel. His website boasts that he “represents Israeli Armaments Manufacturer.” Feith is also lobbying hard for an American war against Iraq on behalf of Israel.
- Member of the National Security Study Group at the Pentagon, Edward Luttwak has taught in Israel. Reportedly an Israeli citizen and extremist, the theme in many of his published articles is the necessity of a U.S. war against Iraq.

- Official White House spokesman Ari Fleischer is also said to be “prominent in the Jewish community” and closely connected to an extremist Jewish group called the Chabad Lubavitch Hasidics. He too, advocates war with Iraq. ^{ccxciii}

The power of these Zionists, and many others to influence the President and Vice-President of the world’s mightiest military power cannot be overstated. As early as October 1973, the Chair of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Fullbright bluntly told CBS’ Face the Nation, “The Israelis control the policy in the congress and the senate.” ^{ccxciv}

Former Secretary of State James Baker has called the United States Congress “The Little Knesset”—after Israel’s parliament. ^{ccxcv}

SADDAM SADDAM SADDAM

Despite Clarke’s urgings, Bush is not much interested in al-Qaeda. He is consumed instead with a personal desire to exact revenge against Saddam Hussein for that dictator’s reported attempt to assassinate his father during the former President’s visit to Kuwait in 1993. The Bush administration also agrees with its Israeli counterparts that Saddam must go before he can regain the capability to field chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

In addition, Israel is also fighting a war against Saddam Hussein’s proxy army of suicide martyrs—and losing. Despite representing just 1% of all Palestinian reprisals against the long Israeli occupation, martyrdom bombers are causing about 44% of all Israeli casualties. ^{ccxcvi}

In May 2001, the White House had taken note when members of the Palestinian National Committee had traveled to Iraq, as the Israeli Foreign Ministry later said, “to improve connections and cooperation between the Palestinian parliament and the Iraqi government.”

But that cooperation is already close. Besides treating wounded Palestinian fighters in Iraq hospitals, Saddam Hussein’s Baathist party is “institutionalizing” suicide bombing by paying \$10,000 to \$25,000 compensation to each family of Palestinian martyrs. All told, Iraq is contributing more than \$10 million a year to the Palestinian Intifada uprising. ^{ccxcvii}

According to the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Palestinian Liberation Front chief Mahmoud Zidan Abu El Abbas operates from Iraq. Members of the Arab Liberation Front and Palestinian Liberation Front terrorist-resistance groups arrested in 2001 from the Asqar refugee

camp near Nablus and Ramallah also “admitted during questioning by the Israel Security Agency that they had undergone military training in Iraq and subsequently carried out terrorist attacks against Israeli targets, civilian and military alike.”^{ccxcviii}

A staunch “friend of Israel”—and well versed by the Vulcans in the PNAC plan to secure strategic dominance over the world’s remaining resources—the junior Bush has already ordered the CIA and his senior military commanders to draw up detailed plans for a military operation against Iraq.

“The operational commander was General Tommy Franks working out of the U.S. Central Command at McDill air force base in Florida,” General McKinney later told congress. Other key players in these early 2001 Iraq invasion plans were PNAC planners CIA Director James Woolsey and the Deputy Defense Secretary, Paul Wolfowitz.^{ccxcix}

Bush has not consulted congress regarding his determination to topple Saddam Hussein by military force. Nor do his war plans include a National Intelligence Assessment that customarily precedes such momentous decision. In the pell-mell runup to invading Iraq, key allies are also being ignored, as well as concerns expressed by senior U.S. military officers and intelligence analysts who know that war-ravaged and sanctions-suffocated Iraq possesses no WMD capability and poses no threat to the United States.^{ccc}

On the other hand, the *New Yorker’s* Lawrence Wright reports, “Intelligence had been streaming in concerning a likely al-Qaeda attack.” Clarke recalls that in June, July and August 2001, Bush was “briefed virtually every day in his morning intelligence briefing that something is about to happen, and he never chairs a meeting and he never asks Condi Rice to chair a meeting about what we’re doing about stopping the attacks. She didn’t hold one meeting during all those three months.”

For Clarke, “It all came together during the third week of June 2001” when the CIA came to believe “that a major terrorist attack was coming in the next several weeks.” On July 5, 2001, Clarke had summoned the Federal Aviation Administration, the Coast Guard, Customs, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the FBI and told them “to tighten their security in preparation for an impending attack.”^{ccci}

But that did not happen.

On August 6, 2001 the CIA sent a Daily Presidential Briefing to the Crawford Ranch, where Bush prefers to spend most of his time. Headlined, “Bin Laden Determined To Attack Inside The U.S.”, the

memo warned that the agency had “detected patterns of suspicious activity in this country consistent with preparations for hijackings.”

But Bush and his closest advisers were either not interested in this latest warning—or very interested in allowing the attack to proceed.

Just one week before September 11, Clarke had sent another prescient letter to National Security Adviser Rice asking “policymakers to imagine a day after a terrorist attack, with hundreds of Americans dead at home and abroad, and ask themselves what they could have done earlier.”

It too, was ignored.

Now many more Americans are about to die.

VIGILANT GUARDIAN

0907:

With reports of the Flight 93 hijacking starting to come in, official accounts have General Arnold canceling Vigilant Guardian. Why has it taken nearly an hour to cancel an exercise that is sowing so much confusion among America’s defenders? ^{cccii}

FLIGHT 77

Onboard Flight 77, flight attendant Renee May is on an Airfone to her mother in Las Vegas. May says six individuals have hijacked her flight, and everyone has been moved to the back of the plane.

NORTH TOWER 106th FLOOR

A friend of Peter Alderman emails back to the Bloomberg salesman trapped on the North Tower’s 106th floor, asking, “Are you still in the building?”

“Yes can’t move,” Alderman tersely replies.

The salesman then emails his sister, Jane: “I’M SCARED THERE IS A LOT OF SMOKE.”

She emails him, “Can you get out of there?”

Peter Alderman’s last reply comes at 9:16: “No, we are stuck.” ^{cccciii}

NORTH TOWER 110th FLOOR

Steven Jacobson is a transmitter engineer for WPIX-TV. Stationed on Tower One’s top floor, he will have to traverse the crash zone to exit the burning building.

When WPIX’s Victor Arnone calls to see how his colleague is doing, he is shocked to find the landlines into the WTC still working.

Commanders and Chiefs

“It’s getting hot up here. What happened?” asks Jacobson.

His friend tells him to grab one of the air packs they were issued after the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. The portable rebreathers are the same kind that coal miners use while waiting to be rescued. Each one supplies about five hours of air.

INDIANAPOLIS ATC

0908:

Indianapolis flight control begins notifying other government agencies that American 77 is missing and has possibly crashed. First to be contacted is Air Force Search and Rescue at Langley Air Force Base, Virginia. Look out for a downed aircraft, Indianapolis instructs. The West Virginia State Police are also asked whether they have any reports of a downed aircraft.^{cciv}

But Flight 77 is still airborne, heading east toward the Pentagon.

NEADS

0909:

With the FAA Command Center now reporting at least 11 other aircraft either not in communication, or flying unauthorized routes, there is a concern that the fighters currently orbiting New York City will soon run low on fuel and need to be replaced. Once again, standard procedures followed in the Payne Stewart intercept and dozens like it are ignored. Inexplicably, no air-refueling tankers are launched in support of the Otis jets.^{ccv}

0910:

Maintaining electronic silence, Flight 77 crosses from Indianapolis into Washington airspace. Looking west and southwest on radar for the missing airliner, two Indianapolis ATC managers and a flight controller are scanning behind its new track. No one thinks to look east. Inexplicably, FAA headquarters does not ask surrounding flight centers to look for Flight 77 using their primary search radars.^{ccvi}

DULLES

After watching CNN’s coverage out of New York City, Danielle O’Brien begins helping planes in her sector land as quickly as she safely can. Then the air traffic controller notices an unidentified plane on her scope off to the southwest moving very fast. Turning to the

controller seated on her left, she asks Tom Howell, “Do you see an unidentified plane there southwest of Dulles?”

Howell looks for a primary blip with no data block. “Yes. Oh, my gosh, yes! Look how fast he is.”

O’Brien moves her cursor over the target and checks the readout. All commercial traffic is supposed to slow down in controlled airspace. But this guy is doing nearly 500 miles-per-hour!

“Oh, my, god. It looks like he’s headed to the White House,” Howell shouts. He starts yelling for his supervisor, John Carr— “John! John! We’ve got a target headed right for the White House!” ^{cccvii}

Everyone in the room jumps when radar alarms sound, signaling that the bogey’s computer-extended track intersects Capitol Hill. ^{cccviii}

THE WHITE HOUSE

Inside the White House, Richard Clarke is just arriving at the Secure Video Conferencing Center. From the command post adjoining the Situation Room in the West Wing, he begins directing Washington’s response to the attacks, conferring with top officials through secure video links.

Condoleezza Rice does not demur. Regardless of what she feels now after so long ignoring Clarke’s pleas and advice to make al-Qaeda a priority issue, the National Security Adviser defers to his long experience in counter-terrorism. She decides to let the “crisis management guy” run the crisis center.

CIA Director Tenet, FBI Director Mueller, and FAA Administrator Jane Garvey join Clarke’s videoconference. Deputy Attorney General Larry Thompson fills in for the traveling Attorney General. Filling in for the traveling Secretary of State is Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage. But acting head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and America’s top acting military commander, General Richard Myers is still in a routine meeting with Senator Cleland with what must be pain-of-death orders not to be disturbed. ^{cccxix}

An aide breaks in to inform Clarke, “We’re on the line with NORAD on an air threat conference call.” ^{cccxx}

LAUNCH EVERYTHING YOU’VE GOT—LATER

Charged with maintaining unceasing vigilance over American airspace, NORAD is coming out of its multi-drill daze. As head of America’s air defenses for the vital northeastern corridor, Colonel Robert Marr will later claim that he first learned of an airliner other

than Flight 11 being hijacked when he watched Flight 175 crash into the World Trade Center on network television.

Brigadier General Montague Winfield, commander of the Pentagon's National Military Command Center, later concurs, saying, "When the second aircraft flew into the second tower, it was at that point that we realized that the seemingly unrelated hijackings that the FAA was dealing with were in fact a part of a coordinated terrorist attack on the United States."

Winfield's use of the word "we" is misleading. Having arranged for his inexperienced relief the day before September 11, Winfield isn't actually inside the NMCC command post during the crisis. No one knows where he is. ^{cccxix}

After assigning himself sole authority to order aerial intercepts of hijacked aircraft, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld is also not responding to this still-developing crisis. ^{cccxii}

Only now, after the second strike on the World Trade Center, does Marr order his staff: "Get to the phones. Call every Air National Guard unit in the land. Prepare to put jets in the air. The nation is under attack cccxiii

In Cheyenne Mountain, Canadian Major General Eric Findley also orders his command staff to scramble more fighters into the air. ^{cccxiv}

Calls from fighter units across the nation begin pouring into NORAD and air defense sector operations centers. "What can we do to help?" ask air force commanders monitoring their country's primary defense network: CNN.

An Air National Guard commander located in Syracuse, New York tells Colonel Marr, "Give me ten minutes and I can give you hot guns. Give me 30 minutes and I'll have heat-seeker missiles. Give me an hour and I can give you slammers, AIMs [radar-homing, long range air-to-air missiles]."

Marr replies, "I want it all."

But once again, nothing happens. NORAD's top commanders refuse all offers for fighter assistance until the attacks end nearly an hour later. ^{cccxv}

FLIGHT 77 0912:

Onboard Flight 77, flight attendant Renee May uses an Airfone to call her mother in Las Vegas. She tells a dismayed Nancy May that her flight has been hijacked, and that everyone has been told to move to the back of the plane. Asked by her daughter to call American Airlines and

let them know the status of Flight 77, Nancy May immediately notifies the airline. But Indianapolis flight control is still not told that hijackers have seized their missing airliner. ^{cccxvi}

Every TV viewer on the planet has known about the deliberate suicide attacks since 8:48. But apparently no one in Indianapolis is watching television. And no friend, spouse or associate has thought to call the ATC there.

SOUTH TOWER 105th FLOOR

0914:

Window cleaner Roko Camaj enjoys the best views in New York City. Most days, he runs a remote cleaning machine from the rooftop. Working more than 1,000 feet above Manhattan's toy-like streets has taken some getting used to. But now he finds it peaceful. There is calm in his voice now, as he calls his wife from the South Tower's 105th floor.

He is with about 200 other people, Camaj says, waiting for the OK to head down. "Don't worry," he signs off, "We're all in God's hands." ^{cccxvii}

TAKING AIMS

0920:

On the NEADS ops floor, the tape recorders pick up Nasypany pressing the shutdown question with Colonel Marr. "My recommendation, if we have to take anybody out, large aircraft, we use AIM-9s in the face," the major says. "If need be."

As Nasypany speaks, Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta is joining the gathering of top officials inside the White House bunker. He will later confirm that Vice-President Cheney is there when he arrives.

^{cccxviii}

FLIGHT 93

Deena Burnett is in the kitchen of her San Ramon, California home fixing breakfast for her three daughters when the phone rings.

It's Tom.

"Are you all right?" she asks.

"No," her husband replies. "I'm on United Flight 93 from Newark to San Francisco. The plane has been hijacked. We are in the air. They've already knifed a guy. There is a bomb onboard."

Speaking in a lowered voice into a seatback Airfone, he tells her

that one of the hijackers has a gun. It's dangerous to talk for long. Before breaking their connection, he says, "Call the FBI."^{cccxix}

Dialing 911, Deena reports that her husband is on United Flight 93, and the plane has been hijacked. "They just knifed a passenger and there are guns on the plane," she adds.^{cccx}

Deena Burnett is certain about the gun. "Tom would not have made that up," she will later say of a man who grew up around guns, was an avid hunter, and kept guns in their home. "If he said there was a gun on board, there was."^{cccxii}

DRILLING FOR REALITY

0921:

Only now, says NORAD, does the FAA Command Center notify the air force that Flight 93 has been hijacked. The federal aviation administrators also advise Dulles Airport Terminal Control facility to start using primary radar to locate targets without transponders.^{cccxiii}

This time, America's air defenders will have 45 minutes to respond. "It was initially pretty confusing," acting air defense commander General Richard Myers will later tell the military press. "You hate to admit it, but we hadn't thought about this."^{cccxiiii}

But they had.

As John Arquilla, a Special Operations expert at the Naval Postgraduate School explains, "The idea of such an attack was well known. It had been war gamed as a possibility in exercises before September 11, 2001."

Just 11 months before—between October 24 and 26, 2000—NORAD had trained for a passenger plane crashing into the Pentagon.

^{cccxv}

In yet another "bizarre coincidence," as NORAD will term it, even as Flight 77 took off from Dulles International, the super-secret National Reconnaissance Office was about to commence an emergency drill in which a simulated plane from Dulles International dives into this vital air defense building.^{cccxvi}

NEADS

0922:

In the ops center, Colin Scoggins is on the horn insisting that the plane they believed was the first to hit the World Trade Center is still flying. It must be. Boston Center's "go-to guy" for all matters military has yet to receive confirmation that American Flight 11 is down. If it

had continued flying south past New York after dipping below radar coverage, the plane's course would have headed straight toward D.C.

After discussing the ambiguous situation with a supervisor—and with American Airlines officials who refuse to call their missing plane a crash—Scoggins has announces over the ATC net that American 11 is still in the air, “probably somewhere over New Jersey or Delaware heading for Washington, D.C.”

Baffled controllers know that Flight 11 has already struck the World Trade Center. Or at least they think they do. Confusion is compounded as FAA and air force radar operators attempt to track the phantom flight. Active transponders would help sort out the real targets from “inserted” military exercise echoes. But with their IFF transponder codes silenced, the actual hijacked planes look exactly like more than a dozen fakes simultaneously rendered on the same screens. ^{ccccxvi}

Mo Dooley's voice erupts from the ID station: “Another hijack! It's headed towards Washington!”

“Shit!” Major Nasypany responds. “Give me a location.”

One of the male techs says, “Okay. Third aircraft—hijacked—heading toward Washington.”

“OK,” Nasypany thinks aloud. “American Airlines is still airborne—11, the first guy, he's heading towards Washington. OK. I think we need to scramble Langley right now. And I'm—I'm gonna take the fighters from Otis and try to chase this guy down if I can find him.”

Arnold and Marr approve scrambling the two armed airplanes cooling their tires on strip alert at Langley, along with a third unarmed trainer. Nasypany makes it happen.

Over the next quarter-hour, launching Langley's last fighter assets in response to the phantom American 11—rather than inbound American 77 or United 93—will be referred to six more times during Nasypany's tape-recorded radio calls. ^{ccccxvii}

0923:

NEADS officer Major James Anderson says to Nasypany, “They're probably not squawking anything anyway. I mean, obviously these guys are in the cockpit.”

“These guys are smart,” the NEADS commander replies.

An air force tech agrees. “Yeah, they knew exactly what they wanted to do.” ^{ccccxviii}

Colonel Robert Marr finally makes the call: “Okay... scramble Langley. Head them towards the Washington area.”

LANGLEY

At Langley Air Force Base in Virginia, fighter pilot Major Dean Eckmann is not surprised to hear the scramble horn go off. A few minutes earlier, he had been told that an airplane has hit the World Trade Center. He assumed it must be some kind of accident. ^{cccxix}

Receiving the yellow light signifying “battle stations”, Eckman joins two fellow pilots running to their single-seat airplanes. Reaching his assigned F-16, the major climbs quickly into the cockpit and prepares to go flying. ^{cccxix}

SHANKSVILLE

As the order goes out, an earthquake monitor in southern Pennsylvania, 60 miles from a town called Shanksville records a sonic boom from a jet breaking the sound barrier. At least one fighter is in hot pursuit.

LANGLEY

0924:

Precious minutes tick by, Craig Borgstrom, Major Eckmann and Major Brad Derrig sit in their cockpits listening to their radios and checking text readouts on their “glass cockpit” computer screens for clues as to what is going on.

“Northeast sector’s back on,” Colonel Marr calls out in the NEADS headquarters. “We ought to be getting the weapons crews back in. Get the scramble order rolling. Scramble.” ^{cccxix}

It’s about time. Why weren’t the Langley jets launched when the first hijacking reports came in? Why not at 8:40, 8:46, or 9:03? Acting on his own authority, the Langley base commander could have launched his three ready alert birds nearly an hour before.

It will take the three Langley F-16s another five minutes to start engines, complete abbreviated cockpit checks, taxi out and take off with their onboard radars still warming up.

0925:

The FAA Command Center advises FAA headquarters that American 77 is lost in Indianapolis flight control’s airspace. Indianapolis has no primary radar track and is still looking for the aircraft. ^{ccxxxii}

0927:

In the command bunker below the White House, an aide tells Clarke, Cheney, Rice and FAA deputy Monty Belger that another rogue plane is headed toward Washington. The hijacked airliner is just 50 miles out and closing fast. ^{cccxiii}

For the past 28 minutes, American Airlines Flight 77 has been making a beeline for the Capitol. The only airliner on primary ATC and air force radars flying off course with its transponder signal silent remains unopposed by Nasty and Duff, who are still under orders to orbit New York's Kennedy Airport. Flying flat out, they can be over the White House and the Pentagon in less than 10 minutes. The hijacked American Airlines plane will not reach its intended target until one minute later. And then it will have to circle to line up for its final run.

But the Otis F-15s are not needed. Charged with protecting the Capitol from airborne terrorist threats, after being launched from Andrews just eight miles away a heavily F-18 and an F-15 can be over the White House or the Pentagon in seconds.

FLIGHT 93

0928:

Climbing out from Dulles, Flight 93 passes through 7,000 feet. About 38 miles west of the Pentagon, it is heading west on course when its cockpit crew routinely acknowledges a transmission from a Cleveland flight controller.

Then the airplane goes silent.

Cleveland controller Stacey Taylor has been warned to watch transcontinental flights heading west for anything suspicious. She jumps in her seat when one of the controllers behind her starts shouting, "Oh, my God, oh my God," and calls for the supervisor.

"What is this plane doing? What is this plane doing?" the upset controller repeats.

Taylor calls up the wayward flight on her own display. The blinking blip climbs 300 feet. Then it descends 300 feet. Then it climbs again, before commencing another descent. The changes are gradual, like those of a neophyte pilot attempting—and failing—to nail down his altitude. ^{cccxiv}

Onboard Flight 93, Jeremy Glick picks up a GTE Airfone and calls his in-laws in the Catskills, where his wife Lyzbeth and daughter Emerson are visiting. The family is sitting mesmerized in front of the television, watching the World Trade Center burn when the phone rings.

Joanne Makely answers. “Jeremy!” she says. “Thank God. We’re so worried.”

“It’s bad news,” Glick says. He asks for Lyz.

When Liz takes the phone from her mother, she hears no background noise or commotion, just her husband describing “Arabic-looking” men wearing red headbands and carrying knives. One of them says he has a bomb.

Most of the passengers have been forced to the rear of the cabin, he adds, as Joanne goes to another phone and dials 911. While Jeremy and Lyz continue speaking, New York state police patch in on the call.

Glick asks his wife if it’s true what another passengers told him from his own cell phone call home—have planes been deliberately crashed into the World Trade Center?

Yes, she confirms. ^{ccccxxv}

0929:

Deena Burnett’s phone rings again. It’s Tom. A police officer is in the Burnett home is listening on an extension when her husband says, “They’re in the cockpit.”

He does not sound frightened. But he is speaking faster than he normally would, possibly because one of the hijackers is standing close by—but mostly because he is sitting next to a corpse. Later identified as passenger Mark Rothenberg, Tom Burnett has checked the pulse of the man who was knifed in seat 5B, right beside him and determined that he is dead.

Referring to the purported bomb he’d mentioned in his first call, Tom Burnett now says, “I don’t think they have one. I think they’re just telling us that.”

Deena then informs him about the airliners flying into the World Trade Center. She tells him that a lot of planes had been hijacked. “They don’t know how many.”

“You’ve got to be kidding,” her husband says.

“No,” Deena says.

Are they commercial planes, airliners, Tom wants to know?

She isn’t sure. But what else can they be?

“Oh my God, it’s a suicide mission,” her husband says. Then he tells her his own plane has turned back toward the east. The hijackers are talking about crashing the plane into the ground. “We have to do something,” he tells his spouse, before mentioning that “a group of us” are making a plan. “OK,” Tom Burnett finally says. “I’ve got to go.” ^{ccccxxvi}

0930:

The FAA contacts the United Airlines headquarters and informs UA officials that Flight 93 is not responding to radio calls. Just two minutes later, lack of cockpit communications, and the plane's sudden turn back to the east lead the airline managers to conclude that their airplane has been hijacked. ^{ccccxxvii}

That surmise is confirmed when air traffic controllers overhear nearly a full minute of screaming. Then an Arabic voice repeats something about a "bomb onboard." In broken English, one of the hijackers announces that they are returning to the airport. ^{ccccxxviii}

Having unaccountably waited 19 minutes instead of the regulation four-and-a-half, West Virginia Air Traffic Control finally notifies NORAD that Flight 77 has been commandeered. ^{ccccxxix}

Or so NORAD's story goes.

CLEVELAND

As the new hijacking is announced, Cleveland controllers and pilots flying nearby overhear another radio transmission of unintelligible sounds—possibly screams, or a struggle in the cockpit, their origin isn't clear. Then someone, presumably Flight 93's command pilot Jason Dahl, shouts, "Mayday!" ^{ccccxi}

"Somebody call Cleveland?" the controller seated behind Taylor quickly responds. Instead of a reply, the controllers hear more screams, followed by someone yelling, "Get out of here, get out of here." ^{ccccxli}

One of the air traffic controllers asks other flights in the area if they heard screaming. Several pilots radio back, saying they have.

The next voices the controllers overhear are speaking in Arabic. Recorded and later translated, these remarks reveal the hijackers reassuring each other, "Everything is fine." ^{ccccxlii}

But everything is not fine for the pilots of Flight 93. The next Airfone calls from First Class passengers describe the dead or dying bodies of Jason Dahl and Michael Horrocks dumped outside the cockpit door.

As they keep attempting to contact the plane without receiving any response, the Cleveland controllers watch Flight 93's substitute pilot fall off his aerial tightrope again. This time the airliner loses almost 700 feet before recovering. ^{ccccxliii}

AN APPARENT TERRORIST ATTACK

Upgraded after the 1993 bombing, the WTC's computerized

security system located on the North Tower's 22nd floor finally issues a "lock release" order for all doors in the complex—including rooftop access. But damage to the software controlling the system caused by the crash of Flight 11 prevents the doors from unlocking.

Unable to reach the roof, many office workers remain stranded on the 105th floor, trapped by intensifying smoke in the stairwell. At least another 100 people are trapped on the 88th and 89th floors. Many of them call 911. Some are put on hold, while others are told by operators unaware of the situation inside the building to remain where they were and await help. ^{cccxliv}

As United Airlines begins landing all of its flights inside the United States, George Bush appears on television. Speaking to the nation from the Elementary School after finishing the story of the pet goat, the President announces that the country has suffered an "apparent terrorist attack."

"Terrorism against our nation will not stand," Bush adds, cribbing the phrase, "This will not stand" uttered by his father a few days after Iraq was provoked, then invited into invading Kuwait in August 1990. His dad's declaration was, in GW's opinion, one of his father's finest moments. ^{cccxlv}

Decrying this new "national tragedy," the junior Bush pledges to chase down "those folks who committed this act." ^{cccxlvi}

DEALING WITH IT

As Bush addresses America, the Langley pilots stewing in their cockpits receive a coded signal indicating a wartime emergency. Major Dean Eckmann later says that the three pilots seconded to Virginia from the North Dakota Air National Guard's 119th Fighter Wing immediately go "Active air scramble, vector zero one zero one, max speed." ^{cccxlvii}

Course 070 will head them east-northeast, away from Washington D.C. and the Pentagon positioned 130 miles north.

"They launch us out right away," Eckmann later proclaims—one hour after Flight 175 was known to be hijacked and heading toward Manhattan. If this had been part of the Vigilant Guardian exercise, such a "pretty quick response time" would have earned his commanding officer a thorough chewing out. Now, he and Major Brad Derrig and Captain Craig Borgstrom will have to fly at just over 700 mph to beat Flight 77 to the Washington area. ^{cccxlviii}

That should be easy. The maximum speed of an F-16 is more than double that velocity. ^{cccxlix}

WAR POWER

Unlike a normal scramble order, this one does not include distance to the target, or even the bogey's location. Instead, a generic flight plan designed to get airborne fighters clear of local airspace steers them 60 miles to the east, away from the onrushing Flight 77. ^{cccl}

Despite the wartime launch order and developing airborne attacks, the Langley fighters are also ordered by Huntress—the code name for NEADS—to observe peacetime noise restrictions requiring them to fly subsonic at a fraction of their top speed. ^{cccli}

Instead of going to full “war power” and intercepting a radar-tracked threat to their nation's Capitol, Craig Borgstrom later confirms that after taking off, Huntress was “giving us the heading and altitude of north-northeast up to 20,000 feet. Then shortly after takeoff they changed our heading more northwesterly and gave us max subsonic. That's as fast as you can go without breaking the sound barrier.”

Then someone identifying himself as a being with the Secret Service comes on their UHF frequency. Given the legal mandate to take supreme command of the United States in case the country's command authority is “decapitated” by an enemy attack, the Secret Service orders the Langley F-16s to defend the Capitol when one of its members says, “I want you to protect the White House at all costs.” ^{ccclii}

But this does not happen. Slowed to a fraction of their top speed, it will take the three Fighting Falcons a leisurely half-hour to reach the Capitol. ^{cccliii}

THREATCON

As Bush ends his brief speech in Florida, it is neither the President nor his generals, but Richard Clarke who orders all U.S. embassies overseas closed, and all military bases worldwide to alert level Combat Threatcon. Some accounts record Clarke's order as Condition Delta—the highest hair-trigger nuclear warning short of all-out Armageddon. ^{cccliv}

Over the next few minutes, Clarke speaks with presidential aides about where Bush should go once he is airborne out of Florida. Not Washington, he insists. Phoning the White House command bunker, the counter-terrorism chief says, “Somebody has to tell the President he can't come right back here. Cheney, Condi, somebody. Secret Service concurs. We do not want them saying where they are going when they take off. Second, when they take off, they should have fighter escort. Three, we need to authorize the Air Force to shoot down any aircraft—

including a hijacked passenger flight—that looks like it is threatening to attack and cause large-scale death on the ground. Got it?”^{ccclv}

FLIGHT 93

0931:

Onboard Flight 93, an inept hijacker broadcasts his first cabin announcement over the airwaves to all those listening on VHF: “Ladies and Gentlemen. Here the captain, please sit down. Keep remaining seating. We have a bomb on board. So sit.”

0932:

A startled controller at Cleveland Center replies: “Er, uh. Calling Cleveland Center. You’re unreadable. Say again slowly.”

There is no reply. But Flight 93’s Cockpit Voice Recorder tapes heavily accented Middle Eastern voices in the cockpit commanding: “Don’t move. Shut up.”

“Come on, come,” the voices demand. “Shut up. Don’t move. Stop. Sit, sit, sit down. Sit down.”^{ccclvi}

NEADS

In the NEADS ops center, Major James Anderson asks Major Nasypany if he’s talked to higher command about shooting down an apparently limitless number of civilian bogeys: “Have you asked—have you asked the question what you’re gonna do if we actually find this guy? Are we gonna shoot him down if they got passengers on board? Have they talked about that?”

WHITE HOUSE TIME TRAVELERS

As Nasypany replies, Secret Service agents burst into Dick Cheney’s White House office. Grabbing him under the arms and nearly lifting him off the ground, they hustle the Vice-President to the underground bunker in the White House basement—where he is supposedly already there! Condoleezza Rice and Richard Clarke are also said in this official story to accompany Cheney, meeting themselves there now.

What is known for certain is that the New York Stock Exchange closes at this time. Located only a short distance from the WTC, investigators will later learn that the stock exchange is in the midst of some momentous transactions of its own.^{ccclvii}

FLIGHT 93

0933:

In the cockpit of Flight 93, the hijackers have gained the upper hand. “No more. Sit down,” one of them says. Then, in Arabic: “That’s it, that’s it, that’s it.”

Cleveland Center breaks in: “We just...we didn’t get it clear. Is that United 93 calling?”

No one replies. But on the cockpit recorder, someone says in Arabic: “Jassim.”

Another voice chants in Arabic: “In the name of Allah, the most merciful, the most compassionate.” ^{ceelviii}

HUNTRESS

The Langley fighters are now headed due east, straight out to sea toward a military-training airspace called Whiskey 386. As one of the pilots later tells the 9/11 Commission, in absence of further clarification or orders, he went with Vigilant Guardian: “I reverted to the Russian threat—I’m thinking cruise-missile threat from the sea.”

Staring at his “Green Eye” back in Rome New York, 28-year-old NEADS staff sergeant William Huckabone notices the Langley jets far off course. The still-rolling tape records stress and dread in his voice as he orders a navy air-traffic controller now handling the fighters to get them turned around—not toward the threatened White House and Pentagon, but toward Baltimore to try to intercept the phantom American 11.

The navy controller does not share Huckabone’s urgency.

0934:

Navy ATC: “You’ve got [the fighters] moving east in airspace. Now you want ‘em to go to Baltimore?”

Huckabone: “Yes, sir. We’re not gonna take ‘em in Whiskey 386.”

Navy ATC: “O.K., once he goes to Baltimore, what are we supposed to do?”

Huckabone: “Have him contact us on auxiliary frequency 2-3-4 decimal 6. Instead of taking handoffs to us and us handing ‘em back, just tell Center they’ve got to go to Baltimore.”

Navy ATC: “All right, man. Stand by. We’ll get back to you.”

“What do you mean, ‘We’ll get back to you’?” says Master Sergeant Steve Citino seated next to Huckabone. “Just do it!” the NEADS controller exclaims.

Huckabone rogers that. "I'm gonna choke that guy!"

Perhaps mindful of the tape reels spinning in the corner of the ops center, Citino brings them back to the job at hand with a reminder, "Be very professional, Huck."

"OK," says Huckabone.

Citino: "All right, Huck. Let's get our act together here."

But that will be nearly impossible. Boston Center is calling in yet another suspected hijacking—the civilian controllers don't know the call sign yet. ID tech Watson is speed-dialing everyone she can think of to pin down the resurrected American 11.

In the course of conversing with Washington Center, the operations manager there springs a fresh surprise, saying, "Now, let me tell you this. I—I'll—we've been looking. We're—also lost American 77—" Washington Center announces.

"American 77?" Watson cannot believe this.

Mo Dooley breaks in: "American 77's lost—?"

Watson stays focused on her Washington informant: "Where was it proposed to head, sir?"

Washington Center: "Okay, he was going to L.A. also—"

Watson interrupts to ask for a clarification: "From where, sir?"

Washington Center gets chatty: "I think he was from Boston also. Now let me tell you this story here. Indianapolis Center was working this guy—"

"What guy?" Watson asks. The air force has trained her to be precise.

Finishing his story of a lost airliner at 35,000 feet, Washington Center says, "American 77, at flight level three-five-zero. However, they lost radar with him. They lost contact with him. They lost everything. And they don't have any idea where he is or what happened." ^{ccclix}

As Watson is taking down Washington Center's updates, Airman Rountree's phone is ringing again. She does not want to pick it up. By now, the other ID techs in the NEADS command center are calling her "the bearer of death and destruction" because every time she answers the phone there's another hijacking.

"And so it is again," writes Michael Bronner for *Vanity Fair*. Boston Center has spotted a low-flying airliner six miles southeast of the White House.

0936:

Rountree picks up the ATC shout line: “Huntress. ID. Rountree, can I help you?”

It’s Colin Scoggins at Boston Center. The FAA military liaison says: “Latest report, aircraft six miles southeast of the White House.”

“Six miles southeast of the White House?” Rountree queries.

Boston Center: “Yup. East—he’s moving away?” Scoggins asks someone else in the room.

“Southeast from the White House,” Rountree tries to confirm.

“Air—aircraft is moving away,” Scoggins comes back.

“Moving away from the White House?” Rountree asks again.

Scoggins: “Yeah...”

“Deviating away,” Rountree summarizes. “You don’t have a type aircraft, you don’t know who he is—”

“Nothing, nothing,” replies Colin Scoggins. “We’re over here in Boston so I have no clue. That—hopefully somebody in Washington would have better—information for you.”

The situation at NEADS is now a five-letter word for chaos. Boston is reporting three possible hijackings, including the resurrected Flight 11—plus another two unidentified rogues reported by Washington Center. The Canadians think they’ve lost another airliner, as well.

But it is word of a commandeered airplane just six miles from the White House that sets off a frenzy at NEADS. This is not supposed to be happening!

Major Nasypany calls to his Weapons Team leader: “OK, Foxy. I got a aircraft six miles east of the White House! Get your fighters there as soon as possible!”

A male technician asks, “That came from Boston?”

Huckabone breaks in: “We’re gonna turn and burn it—crank it up—”

“Six miles!” the stunned male tech comes back.

Huckabone is still trying to assemble his act: “All right, here we go. This is what we’re gonna do—”

Nasypany overrides the chatter: “We’ve got an aircraft deviating eight miles east of the White House right now.”

“Do you want us to declare AFIO and run ‘em straight in there?” Fox is referring to emergency military control of the fighters that will take them away from the FAA and shoot them straight through civilian airspace faster than a rifle bullet.

“Take ‘em and run ‘em to the White House,” Nasypany orders.

“Go directly to Washington,” Fox acknowledges.

Referring to the Langley fighters he’s been directing with the navy, code-named Quit 2-5, Citino picks up on the new tasking order: “We’re going direct D.C. with my guys? Okay. Okay.”

Huckabone makes the call to a female navy controller: “Ma’am, we are going AFIO right now with Quit 2-5. They are going direct Washington.”

“Quit 2-5, we’re handing ‘em off to Center right now,” she comes right back.

But Huckabone does not want a hand-off and more delays. He wants those jets over the White House right freaking now: “Ma’am, we need to expedite that right now. We’ve gotta contact them on 2-3-4-6.”

Nasypany doesn’t know where the new threat is either: “Six miles south, or west, or east of the White House is—it’s seconds [away],” the major will later tell *Vanity Fair*. “Airliners traveling at 400-plus knots, it’s nothing. It’s seconds away from that location.” ^{ceclx}

When it comes to protecting the Capitol, NEADS is out of time.

FLIGHT 93

Even as Huckabone is sorting out the navy, NEADS radars continue tracking United 93. Still out over Cleveland, this confirmed hijacking is starting to turn. As Commander Larry Arnold later confirms, “We watched the 93 track as it meandered around the Ohio-Pennsylvania area and started to turn south toward D.C.”

Watched it meander?

Just before commencing a 135-degree course reversal back to the southeast, someone in the cockpit radios to request a new flight plan—direct to Washington, D.C. The White House is just 280 miles away. ^{ceclxi}

0937:

Flight 93 is definitely not under remote control. The Cockpit Voice Recorder picks up one of the hijackers telling an accomplice in Arabic, “That’s it. Go back.”

Another voice, also in Arabic, chillingly replies, “Everything is fine. I finished.”

As Tech Sergeant Shelley Watson finishes her call with Washington ATC, one of the hijackers onboard Flight 93 repeatedly orders a woman to sit down. The addressee—presumably a flight attendant from First Class—is not cooperative. Suddenly she cries out,

“Please, please, don’t hurt me...Oh God.”

“Down, down,” the hijacker commands. Sit down!

“I don’t want to die,” the woman pleads, still resisting.

“No, no. Down. Down,” the hijacker repeats.

“I don’t want to die. I don’t want to die.” ^{ccclxii}

Another flight attendant onboard Flight 93 has called the airline’s maintenance desk to report that one hijacker says he has a bomb strapped to his body. An accomplice is holding a knife on the crew. When Patrick Welsh, husband of flight attendant Debbie Welsh, is later told that a flight attendant has been stabbed early in the takeover, he knows the victim is his wife. “Knowing Debbie,” he says, “she would have resisted.” ^{ccclxiii}

CLEVELAND CENTER

Inside the dimly lit Air Traffic Control center, Stacey Taylor and her companion controllers continue tracking Flight 93—now over Youngstown, Ohio. Using primary radar, they watch as the blacked-out Boeing 767 climbs rapidly from its assigned altitude of 35,000 feet to 41,000. Then, just as rapidly, the plane descends. The big jet drops so quickly toward Cleveland, startled flight controllers fear *they* might be its target. Still trying to contact the plane, they receive no response. ^{ccclxiv}

THE WHITE HOUSE

Inside the Presidential Emergency Operations Center in the White House bunker, Dick Cheney points to footage of the World Trade Center on one of the televisions in the room. A Pentagon representative will later insist, “The Pentagon was simply not aware that this aircraft was coming our way.” ^{ccclxv}

Even though he is reportedly engaged in a video-linked Threat Conference with Clarke, Rice, Tenet and other crisis managers, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld and his top Pentagon aides reportedly “remain unaware of any danger up to the moment of impact.” ^{ccclxvi}

But the Pentagon’s National Military Command Center has been conferring with law enforcement and Air Traffic Control officials since at least the time of the Flight 11 crash. If Rumsfeld or Cheney could have gotten to a window, they would have seen Flight 77 arriving overhead. ^{ccclxvii}

Chapter 6

THE PENTAGON

Flying at more than 400 miles-per-hour, Flight 77 crosses the Capitol Beltway at 7,000 feet—too fast and too high to line up for an attack on the Pentagon. ^{ccclxviii}

Alleged suicide pilot Hani Hanjour must be having trouble catching up with the airplane he is allegedly flying. But that's hardly surprising. Even a plastic kiddy-plane wobbling around a shopping mall pylon three-feet off the ground would challenge this jet jockey if someone dropped a quarter in the slot.

Hoping to brush up, Hanjour had gone not to Wal-Mart but to the Maryland Freeway Airport to sharpen his suicidal skills. According to the *Prince George's Journal*, after brandishing a pilot's license supposedly issued in April 1999, someone calling himself Hani Hanjour took to the air in a Cessna 172 three times beginning the second week of August. Though his logbook showed hundreds of hours logged, this hopeless flight student repeatedly flubbed his "check-ride"—a quick flight around the patch to make sure an unknown renter can shepherd a plane off and back onto the runway without cracking up. After three white-knuckle flying sessions, chief flight instructor Marcel Bernard determined that the Egyptian student pilot was too incompetent to drive a car, never mind fly alone.

The hapless Hani had also trained for a few months in Scottsdale, Arizona back in 1996. But he'd washed out there too, after terrorized instructors unanimously concurred that his piloting skills were worse than hopeless.

Hanjour's language skills were no better. On August 31, 2001, he and an alleged accomplice named Moqed almost failed to book seats on Flight 77 after employees at Advance Travel Service in New Jersey found his English utterances to be gibberish. Acting more like comedians than terrorists, with Moqed doing most of the talking, the two men finally got the seats they wanted. But when they tried to pay with a credit card, their plastic was refused authorization.

When Advance Travel agents would not take a check, the two

travelers left. A short time later, Hani Hanjour and Moqed returned with \$1,842.25 in cash. At his request, the redoubtable Hani was given a seat in the front row of First Class, close to the cockpit. ^{cccix}

Less than two weeks later, a man who could not fly a puddle-jumping Cessna will supposedly pull off a maneuver in a fast-moving, 2,000-ton multi-engine jetliner that few experienced airline pilots would ever attempt—even if the plane’s computerized control limitations let them.

FLY BOYS

What about the other alleged Arab aces? Mohamed Atta, the alleged suicide pilot of Flight 11, and Marwan al-Shehhi, the alleged suicide pilot of Flight 175 supposedly struck the Twin Towers while juggling a pair of unfamiliar jets intolerant of the slightest miscalculation.

Where did they learn to do this? According to the *Washington Post*, both pilots took hundreds of hours of flying lessons at two Florida flight schools: Huffman and Jones Aviation. This is usually enough flight instruction to earn a commercial ticket and an instrument rating. Yet, these two flyboys couldn’t find the ground with both hands.

Jones Aviation flying instructor Ivan Chirivella will later tell investigators that Mohamed, 33, and Marwan, 23, had come across from Huffman Aviation hoping to improve their sloppy skills. Chirivella says that from September to October 2000, he flew four hours with each man nearly every morning.

Huffman’s owner, Rudi Dekkers insists that both fliers flew with Huffman instructors from late July until December or January. Even after paying \$20,000 apiece, these Middle Eastern flight students did not even receive commercial tickets, never mind than the much tougher Airline Transport Rating required to competently pilot commercial jets.

But who is Rudi Dekkers? Independent filmmaker Daniel Hopsicker found this Dutchman’s “lack of proper aviation background” a common comment around the field. Richard Boehlke, a partner of Dekkers in a recent airline venture called Florida Air, accused Dekkers of not having enough experience to run a commuter airline and training facility. Boehlke also denounced Dekkers for urging him to allow students to ride-along as co-pilots on scheduled airline flights.

This practice is illegal. As Boehlke related, such in-the-sky training would have given the terrorist trainees “legal access to cockpits and other secure areas in airports across the country.”

“Was the CIA running a terrorist flight school?” Daniel Hopsicker later asks in the *Washington Post*. It seems odd that this Flying Dutchman has only recently purchased the low-key Huffman Flight School located at the Venice, Florida airport.

A third student slated to fly UAL Flight 93 later joined Mohamed Atta and Marwan al-Shehhi in signing up at the Florida Flight Training Center close to Huffman. This flight school had also just changed hands. The Florida Flight Training Center’s new owner was another Flying Dutchman named Arne Kruithof from Rotterdam.

Arriving from an as yet undisclosed flight school somewhere “to the north,” Mohamed Atta’s Florida refresher course didn’t work out. According to the *New York Times*, the attention span of this flight student who never looked at his instructor was zero.

Huffman flight instructor Mark Mikarts says he checked out both students in the school’s white, single-engine Cessna 172. But as Hopsicker subsequently discovered, “Mark Mikarts” is really Mark Wierdak. This mysterious Mark had moonlighted by flying a “Christian missionary group” down and back to the Dominican Republic, every week for more than 20 years.

That’s a lot of travel time in the service of the Lord. More devious minds might dwell on other “Christians In Action” requiring private transport—and wonder if Mikarts/Wierdak was working for the CIA.

Whatever the case—and there are many waiting to be solved in Venice, Florida—Marwan fared no better than his teammate. “After some harsh words,” Hopsicker relates, both flummoxed fledglings had moved on. Was their bungled flight instruction staged as a diversion? Was Rudi Dekkers doing something naughty for the alphabet agencies?

“Rudi’s greedy, and when you’re greedy you can be used for something,” a Special Ops leader from nearby McDill Air Force Base Daniel Hopsicker.

“I’ve always had some suspicions about the way he breezed into town out of nowhere,” echoed an observer at the Venice Airport. “Just too many odd little things. For example, he has absolutely no aviation background as far as anyone can tell. And he evidently had no use for, nor knowledge of, FAA rules and regs.”

Mohamed Atta and Marwan al-Shehhi were not the only alleged pilots who terrorized their instructors. Along with Hani Hanjour, Nawaq al-Hazmi and Khalid al-Mihdhar allegedly helped him fly Flight 77 into the Pentagon.

Hani certainly needed help. But after briefly attending a San Diego flight school, Nawaq and Khalid had also washed out because of their English was even worse than their piloting. Flight instructors in love with their profession (and paychecks) typically try hard to encourage slow students. But after just two flying lessons, their shaken instructors had said “no more” and advised Nawaq and Khalid to quit.

“Their English was horrible, and their mechanical skills were even worse,” one instructor told the *Post*. “It was like they had hardly even ever driven a car.”

FLYING LESSONS

I can fly a Cessna 172. And probably so can you. When the weather is cooperating and nothing is going wrong, it is about as difficult as chewing gum while patting your knee. A docile station wagon of an airplane, the 172 is extraordinarily forgiving of the most ham-fisted maneuvers. It goes where you point it, and the popular plane’s spring-leaf landing gear will survive just about any attempt to return to earth short of diving it into the ground.

By comparison, a 767 is a flying hippopotamus. Taking the controls of Microsoft’s flight simulator, I was impressed by the big Boeing’s rapid rate of climb, frightened by its even faster acceleration in a dive—and appalled by its excruciatingly slow rate of turn, which is nothing like a Cessna’s. Put the helm over in a 767 or 757 and you can go out for coffee while you wait for the airplane to respond.

Still, flying a big commercial jet straight and sort of level is almost easy—for about 25 seconds. Get “behind” while flying a big jet balanced on the edge of its performance envelope, and you will quickly find the ground coming through the windscreen. After the sounds of loud breakage and your heart rate subside, the difference becomes appallingly apparent between a computer game and a real jetliner skimming skyscrapers or Pentagon lawns at 500-feet-per-second.

WASHINGTON NATIONAL

0937:

At nearby Washington National Airport, the tower supervisor picks up a secure hotline and informs a Secret Service contact in charge of protection at the White House that an unidentified plane is hurtling towards them. Usually, the calls come the other way, from angry agents complaining that a commercial flight took off too close to the White House. ^{ccccxx}

DULLES

Danielle O'Brien stops breathing as the count goes to "six, five, four" miles out. She is about to call, "three!" when the scary blip suddenly turns away. Everyone in the darkened room at Dulles Air Traffic Control exhales in a simultaneous sigh. "This must be a fighter," someone speculates. "This must be one of our guys sent in—scrambled to patrol our Capitol and to protect our President."

HUNTRESS

Not quite. Initially sent toward the ocean, before being vectored toward a phantom Flight 11, the three Langley fighters are still about 150 miles out—further away from the Pentagon than the base from which they originally took off. ^{ccclxxi}

Meanwhile, almost in sight of the Pentagon while still sitting on the airbase apron, both armed interceptors on strip alert at Andrews might just as well be converted into garden planters.

DULLES

Everyone in Dulles ATC sits back and just breathes. For a second. The sky is still filled with airplanes that must be danced around each other to safe landings. The controllers have just started working their flights again when O'Brien watches in disbelief as the airplane she's been tracking continues its sharp right-hand turn for a full 360-degrees.

"He's turning back in, he's turning back eastbound," several controllers start shouting to Carr. Howell calls out, "Oh, my God, John, he's coming back."

Whatever they're seeing on their scopes is not acting like an airliner. "You don't fly a 757 in that manner. It's unsafe," O'Brien will later say. "The speed, the maneuverability, the way that he turned, we all thought in the radar room, all of us experienced air traffic controllers, that that was a military plane." ^{ccclxxii}

The plane is now so low, they lose radar contact. Hearts pounding, everyone in the radar room waits.

And waits.

ACES AND AMATEURS

Veteran pilots on the ground in the vicinity of the Pentagon watch slack-jawed as a Boeing jetliner peels off like a fighter into a high-speed descending turn. No one watching doubts that an ace military pilot is at the controls.

After flying more than 100 combat missions over Vietnam, Russ Wittenberg went on to fly “fifty-sevens” and “sixty-sevens” for Pan Am and United. When he made the jump from Boeing’s 727’s to the highly sophisticated 737 through 767 series, it took this veteran jet pilot considerable time to feel comfortable flying such heavy complex jets. “I had to be trained to use the new, computerized systems. I just couldn’t jump in and fly one,” he says.

There is no way, he heatedly insists, that someone as levitationally-challenged as Hani Hanjour could have flown one of the big birds Wittenberg had only mastered after thousands of flying hours. And there is zero possibility that a student pilot grappling with a heavy complex aircraft could have “descended 7,000 feet in two minutes, all the while performing a steep 270-degree banked turn before crashing into the Pentagon’s first floor wall without touching the lawn.”

Even after 35 years of commercial jetliner experience, this pilot says he would never attempt it. “For a guy to just jump into the cockpit and fly like an ace is impossible,” Wittenberg concludes. ^{ccclxxxiii}

Now, as the ground rushes up to fill the windscreen, a recorded female voice in the cockpit of Flight 77 commands, “Pull up! Pull up! Pull up!”

But even if “Hani Hanjour” attempts to comply, the sheer momentum of an airliner descending in a steep, stall-inviting bank at a death defying sink rate of 3,500 feet-per-minute will ensure that even after its terrified pilot—whoever he really is—pulls the nose up, the big jet will continue sagging in a downward trajectory straight into the ground.

GOLF ZERO SIX

As NEADS attempts to direct the lost Langley fighters back toward the White House, and hate-filled hijackers commit murder onboard Flight 93, an air force C-130 Hercules transport climbs out of Andrews on a purportedly routine delivery flight—despite the emergency grounding order. Golf Zero Six calls in to report a commercial airliner flying very low and fast directly toward the Pentagon.

Civilian controllers at Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport ask the pilot to attempt to identify it. That’s easy, Steve O’Brien radios back. “He is pretty much filling our windscreen.” ^{ccclxxxiv}

Intending to fly on to Minnesota after dropping off cargo in the Caribbean, O’Brien is less sure of his immediate future when the big jet he’s following makes “a pretty aggressive turn” maybe a mile-and-a-half right off his nose.

The Pentagon

When the controller asks again what type aircraft he is observing, O'Brien is startled a second time in as many seconds. As he later says, "Normally they have all that information. The controller didn't seem to know anything."

Steve O'Brien calls it either a 757 or 767. Glinting in the morning sunlight, its silver fuselage means it is probably an American Airlines plane, he adds. Instructed to turn and follow that aircraft, the Lieutenant Colonel is once again nonplussed. In 20-plus years of flying, he has never been asked to engage another aircraft with a transport plane. ^{ccclxxv}

EYEWITNESSES

Instead of finding solace in his commanding view of Arlington National Cemetery and the Potomac River from his office on the 19th floor of *USA Today*, Steve Anderson is sickeningly fascinated by what seems like the thousandth replay of an airliner flying into the World Trade Center. Only gradually does he become aware that the sound of approaching jet engines is not coming from his television set.

Still looking for work, Thomas Trapasso is making phone calls from the deck of his home in Arlington Village about one mile south of the Pentagon and just west of the Interstate 395 when he is startled by a big American Airlines jet as it passes perhaps 300 feet overhead. Both engines are screaming at full power, and the plane—though low enough to land—has its wheels up.

Not far away, architect Terrance Kean has been packing to move from his 14-story apartment building. On hearing rapidly approaching jet engines, he looks straight out his window and sees a "very, very large passenger jet."

Fate finds truck driver Steve Eiden taking the Highway 95 loop past the Pentagon. Bound for New York City, the trucker is staggered to see an airliner coming right at him at lamp-pole height. Eiden wonders what the plane is doing so low in restricted airspace. As he later recalls, "You could almost see the people in the windows." Then the big red, white and silver American airliner disappears behind a line of trees. ^{ccclxxvi}

On the other side of the road, Salvadoran Omar Campo is cutting the grass when Flight 77 zooms low his head. ^{ccclxxvii}

Information management specialist Frank Probst has just left his office trailer near the Pentagon's south parking lot. Walking north along Route 27, he is enjoying the mild fall weather when a commercial airliner crests the hill above the Navy Annex coming straight at him. ^{ccclxxviii}

Father Stephen McGraw is heading to a graveside service at Arlington National Cemetery when he mistakenly takes the Pentagon exit onto Washington Boulevard. Driving in the left hand lane closest to the Pentagon with his windows closed, the preoccupied priest doesn't hear a thing—until a jumbo jetliner passes about 20 feet over his car. Only then does Father McGraw realize that the plane has clipped the top of a light pole, injuring a taxi driver a few feet away. ^{ccclxxxix}

Computer programmer Asework Hagos, 26, is stuck in the same traffic jam on Columbia Pike trying to get to work when a “huge screaming noise” prompts him to stomp the brakes and leap out of his car. An airliner is flying very low and too close to nearby buildings. *It's coming down on me*, he thinks. Everybody around him starts running in different directions. But Hagos hangs tight, focusing on the big jet. Tilting its wings up and down “like it was trying to balance” the airliner hits some lampposts—and keeps coming. ^{ccclxxx}

USAToday.com editor Joel Sucherman watches in disbelief as Flight 77 flies left to right across his windshield just 20 feet off the ground and a mere wingspan away. *He's not going to make it across the river to National Airport*, Sucherman thinks. ^{ccclxxxii}

FLIGHT 93

Onboard Flight 93, Jeremy Glick calls Lyz again. This time, he describes the hijackers as Middle Eastern and “Iranian-looking.” Just minutes before, three of the intruders had donned red headbands before standing up, yelling the Arabic equivalent of “Bonzai!” and running forward into the cockpit—where an accomplice must already have been waiting.

Originally seated at the front of Coach Class, Glick has been sent to the back of the plane with most of the other passengers. With all that weight aft, the plane must be drastically out of trim. While family members hurriedly dial 911 on another line, Jeremy Glick tells his spouse that the hijackers claim to have explosives. But the “bomb” is just an ordinary box with something red wrapped around it. Glick's phone will remain connected until the very end. ^{ccclxxxiii}

CHOPPER

Outside the Pentagon, a senior air force officer spots what appears to be a circling U.S. military helicopter. When the craft disappears behind the building in the direction of the helipad, he thinks the nearly simultaneous explosion that follows must be the helo. ^{ccclxxxiiii}

The Pentagon

Other news agencies will soon be reporting similar impressions. As Dick Cheney later tells NBC's Meet the Press, "The first reports on the Pentagon attack suggested a helicopter" hit it. ^{ccccxxxiv}

At the same time, the Vice-President is told that either another plane or "a helicopter loaded with explosives" is heading for the White House! ^{ccccxxxv}

The confusion could be coming from an anticipated VIP helicopter arrival. With President Bush previously scheduled to take his Marine One helicopter directly to the Pentagon from nearby Dulles International on his return from Florida, Secret Service personnel are swarming around the Pentagon helipad. ^{ccccxxxvi}

Inside the huge military complex, Representative Christopher Cox is still meeting with Defense Secretary Rumsfeld—who is apparently not engaged in the video-linked Threat Conference call, after all. Apparently unimpressed by the Trade Center burning on their television, and supposedly completely oblivious to the approach of Flight 77 that is commanding so much attention in the same building, the two men are discussing missile defense. Why this essential second member of the nation's two-person National Command Authority is allowed to chitchat uninterrupted will never be satisfactorily explained.

Instead, as 9/11 legend will later insist, while watching television coverage from New York City, Rumsfeld calmly tells Cox, "If we remain vulnerable to missile attack, a terrorist group or rogue state that demonstrates the capacity to strike the U.S. or its allies from long range could have the power to hold our entire country hostage to nuclear or other blackmail."

Rumsfeld does not specify which nation would dare launch a first strike that would see its cities reduced to radioactive glass within an hour by overwhelming U.S. retaliation. Referring to the televised attacks on the WTC, he says to Cox, "And let me tell you, I've been around the block a few times. There will be another event."

The soothsaying Secretary of Defense repeats that phrase for emphasis. ^{ccccxxxvii}

THE FIRE THIS TIME

Fireman Alan Wallace has just finished fixing the foam-metering valve on the back of his fire truck parked near the Pentagon's helipad. Startled by a familiar but out-of-place sound, he looks up to see Flight 77 coming straight at him. The big plane is only a few hundred yards

away and closing fast, about 25 feet off the deck. With its wheels up, it is not intending to land. It is going to crash.

“Runnnnn!” Wallace yells to his buddy.

THE NAVAL ANNEX

Approaching from the west, American Airlines Flight 77 skims a low hill and the five-story Navy Annex overlooking the Pentagon. Defense Protective Service officer Mark Bright is manning the guard booth at the building’s mall entrance when the oncoming jetliner pops up low over the Navy Annex, only a few hundred yards away.

Watching it knock down streetlights, he knows it is going to hit the building. Just before it does, Bright hears the plane power-up.

Frank Probst calmly observes that the plane has its landing lights off. The wheels are up, and the nose is down. Seeing the big jet accelerate directly towards him, Probst freezes. He knows he is already dead. *Damn*, he thinks. *My wife has to go to another funeral. I’m not going to see my two boys again.*

Then instinctual self-preservation kicks in. Probst dives to his right as one of the plane’s gaping turbines passes just feet away. The plane’s right wing cuts right through a nearby generator trailer “like butter,” Probst later recalls. The starboard engine almost takes his head off before hurtling past to hit a low cement wall and blow apart.

Dan Creed and two colleagues from Oracle software are stopped in their car near the Naval Annex when they see an oncoming airliner dive down and level off. No more than 30 feet off the ground, the big jet “was just screaming,” Creed will later recall. “I can still see the plane. I can still see it right now. It’s just the most frightening thing in the world, going full speed, going full throttle, its wheels up.”

In his peripheral vision, James Cissell sees the plane coming in. It is low. And dropping lower. Cissell will later say, “If you couldn’t touch it from standing on the highway, you could by standing on your car.”

Dozens of impressions flash through his mind: This isn’t really happening. That is a big plane.

Then he sees the terrified faces of the passengers onboard.

DRIVE TIME

Traffic is normally slow near the Pentagon, where the roadway winds and drivers have to line up to cross the 14th Street Bridge heading into the District of Columbia. Elaine McCusker still doesn’t know

The Pentagon

what made her look up. But she does—in time to see a plane flying so low she easily identifies it as an American Airlines jet. The big plane appears to be accelerating.

No, no, no, no, she thinks.

It is obvious that the plane is not heading for nearby Reagan National Airport.

It is going to crash.

Owens is certain she is about to die, along with the other commuters trapped on Washington Boulevard. Gripping the steering wheel of her vibrating car, she ducks as the wobbling plane screams overhead. Once it passes, she rises slightly and grimaces as the left wing dips and scrapes the helicopter area before impacting the southwest wall of the Pentagon nose-first.

When Mary Ann Owens looks up through her windshield, Flight 77 is already so close she can only see the bottom of the fuselage. She doesn't believe that the careering jetliner will reach the Pentagon. Its downward angle is too steep, its height only about 50 feet and dropping. Streetlights topple as the plane barely clears the Interstate 395 overpass.

Christine Peterson has come to a complete stop right in front of the crowded helipad. *So much for the morning's shortcut*, she thinks. Glancing idly out her left window, she sees a big airplane flying way too low and coming right at her. *Holy shit, that plane is going to hit my car*, she thinks. Before she can react, her vehicle rocks on its springs as the plane passes over the roof so close she can read the numbers under the wing.

Then it disappears. Her mind cannot comprehend what has just happened. Where did the plane go? For some reason, Peterson had expected it to bounce off the Pentagon in pieces. But there is no plane visible, “only huge billows of smoke and torrents of fire.”

Driving into the Arlington National Cemetery exit off Interstate 395, construction supervisor Kirk Milburn finds himself directly underneath a descending jetliner. “I heard a plane. I saw it. I saw debris flying. I guess it was hitting light poles,” Milburn says later.

“It was like a *WHOOOSH whoosh*. Then there was fire and smoke. Then I heard a second explosion.”

Hagos glimpses an American Airline insignia just before it impacts the Pentagon. The sound seems to stop the world. Billowing smoke is followed by flames. ceclxxxviii

Former Presidential write-in candidate Gary Bauer is also driving

past the Pentagon. Actually, he is inching a yard or so ahead in heavy traffic every few minutes. He has just passed the exit onto 395, the closest road point to the massive structure, when “all of a sudden” he hears the roar of approaching jet engines. ^{ccccxxxix}

Instead of looking up, Bauer glances at a woman in the car next to him. The startled look on her face convinces him that he isn’t imagining the impossible. Swiveling his gaze out the windshield, he tries to spot the oncoming plane. It isn’t until a few seconds later that he and the drivers around him realize that the sound is coming up behind them. Everyone watches dumbfounded as the plane veers to the right and flies straight into the Pentagon. The blast rocks every car on the road.

ROOMS WITH A VIEW

After watching TV coverage of the burning Trade Center, Deb Anlauf decides to return to her 14th-floor room in the Sheraton National Hotel. Located less than two blocks from the Pentagon, she is just getting settled when a loud roar brings her to the window to see what’s happening.

“Suddenly I saw this plane right outside my window,” Anlauf said during a telephone interview from her room later that morning. “You felt like you could touch it—it was that close. It was just incredible. Then it shot straight across from where we are and flew right into the Pentagon. It was just this huge fireball that crashed into the wall. When it hit, the whole hotel shook.”

Anlauf flees her room immediately after the blast, searching frantically for her husband. Then the couple joins hundreds of dazed and crying people in front of the hotel. ^{ccccxc}

Steve Patterson is watching television coverage of the World Trade Center crashes when he sees what he thinks is a silver commuter jet flying past the window of his 14th-floor apartment in Pentagon City. His mind refuses to accept anything else. The plane is about 150 yards away, approaching from the west about 20 feet off the ground with the high-pitched screech of a fighter jet. Appearing to hold “about eight to 12 people,” the plane overflies the Arlington cemetery so low, Patterson thinks it must be going to land on I-395.

Oh my God, there’s a plane truly misrouted from National, Patterson thinks. *Oh my God, what’s next?* Then he see the Pentagon “envelop” the plane. Bright orange flames shoot out the back of the building. ^{ccccxi}

Thomas Trapasso watches the low-flying airliner disappear over

the trees. A moment later, he hears a dull boom and knows that “something awful” has happened. An airliner has crashed somewhere in Washington, D.C.

Architect Terrance Kean watches in disbelief as the red-and-silver airliner plows right into the side of the Pentagon. He sees the nose penetrate the portico. Then it sort of disappears. Then there is fire and smoke everywhere. “It was very sort of surreal,” he later says.

PASSERSBY

Flight 77 thunders over Omar Campo’s head. “It was a passenger plane, I think an American Airways plane,” Campo later told reporters. “I was cutting the grass and it came in screaming over my head. I felt the impact. The whole ground shook and the whole area was full of fire. I could never imagine I would see anything like that here.”

Pentagon office worker David Battle is about to enter the Pentagon when the American airliner arrives. “It was coming down head first,” he later relates. “And when the impact hit, the cars and everything were just shaking.”

William Middleton Senior is running his street sweeper through Arlington Cemetery when he hears a harsh whistling sound close overhead. Looking up, Middleton sees a commercial jet coming in no higher than the tops of telephone poles.

Its pilot seems to be fighting the controls. Instead of pulling up, the big jet appears to accelerate across the last few hundred yards to the Pentagon.

Standing less than 100 feet away from impact zone, Mickey Bell is nearly struck by the plane’s wing as it slices past him. Groggy with shock, he gets into his truck and drives away. Only later will coworkers notice plastic and rivets from an airliner imbedded in its sheet metal. Bell has no idea that shrapnel from the exploding jet had hit it.

Fireman Wallace and his crewmate sprint maybe 30 feet before hearing a terrible, nerve-shattering roar from the direction of the Pentagon. Chased by intense heat, both firefighters dive underneath a van. Sliding across the blacktop like a baseball player stealing home, Wallace’s shirt slides up and he skins his stomach. But it’s worth it. The van protects both firefighters from burning fragments zipping through the air.

A few seconds later, after checking on his friend, who is dazed but unhurt, Wallace races back to the fire truck. The motor is still running. He jumps in, throws it into gear, and stamps the accelerator. But

nothing happens. Only then does he realize that the entire back of the truck is demolished.

Then he notices that the cab he is sitting in is on fire.

Bailing out of the burning fire truck, he runs back to the van. Grabbing a headset dangling from the dashboard, he radios his chief at the nearby Fort Myer fire station to report the unimaginable: “We have had a commercial carrier crash into the west side of the Pentagon at the heliport, Washington Boulevard side. The crew is OK. The airplane was a 757 Boeing or a 320 Airbus.”^{ccccxii}

Pilot Tim Timmerman’s reaction is professional. He immediately identifies the low-flying airliner as an American Airways 757. “It added power on its way in,” Timmerman later recounted. “The nose hit and the wings came forward, and it went up in a fireball.”

Sucherman also sees the heavy plane slam into the west wall of the Pentagon, just 100 yards away.

Father McGraw watches the entire crash sequence, followed by a fireball flaring out of two upper windows in the Pentagon.

Trucker Eiden hears a soul-shattering explosion and sees a towering plume of black smoke rising over the trees.

At work in an Arlington office building, Carla Thompson glances up from her desk in time to see Flight 77 ram the Pentagon’s reinforced concrete west wall at nearly 500 miles-per-hour, about 1,000 yards away. Thompson sees the plane make an indentation in the building ... “And then it was just blown-up—red, everything red.”

Everyone in her office “just started to go crazy,” she told the *Los Angeles Times*. “I was petrified.”^{ccccxiii}

From his office perch, Steve Anderson watches in horror as the American Airlines jet careens past below him. Banking slightly to the left, the Boeing airliner drags one wing along the ground just before slamming into the Pentagon. A giant orange fireball sends thick black smoke skywards. Then the fireball vanishes and the plume turns white.

Driving toward the Pentagon, Major Lincoln Leibner parks in the south parking lot before continuing on foot. When he first hears the approaching plane, he figures its direction as somewhere over the Arlington cemetery. From his vantage point, Major Leibner looks up and watches the big plane come in. “I was about 100 yards away,” he later says. “You could see through the windows of the aircraft. I saw it hit.”

Coming in hard and level, the airliner was flown full throttle into the building, dead center mass, he recounts. “The plane completely

The Pentagon

entered the building. I got a little repercussion, from the sound, the blast. I've heard artillery, and that was louder than the loudest has to offer."

GOLF ZERO SIX

Seconds after impact, Lieutenant Colonel Steve O'Brien reports to the Reagan control tower from his C-130, saying, "Looks like that aircraft crashed into the Pentagon, sir." ^{ccccxiv}

DULLES

Still waiting for word at Dulles ATC, Danielle O'Brien and the other controllers hear the voice of a Washington National controller come over their loudspeakers. "Dulles, hold all of our inbound traffic," the voice says. "The Pentagon's been hit."

Around O'Brien controllers gasp and curse. But no one loses it. No one strays from their duties. ^{ccccxv}

NEADS

0938:

A radar tech finally locates the radar return masquerading as Flight 11. "Right here, right here, right here. I got him. I got him!" he calls.

Major Nasypany is updating Colonel Marr: "We just lost track. Get a Z-point on that... OK, we got guys lookin' at 'em. Hold on..." He directs his attention to his surveillance team: "Where's Langley at? Where are the fighters?"

Nasypany wants throttles pushed to the stops. "We need to get those back up there—I don't care how many windows you break!"

He listens to the reply. "Goddammit! OK. Push 'em back!"

But the Pentagon has been hit 14 seconds ago. Its western façade is already engulfed in flames. The leisurely Langley fighters will not overhead for another 20 minutes.

On the ops floor, everyone shifts their gaze to the overhead television screen. Seeing the Pentagon burning wrenches at these air defense professionals. Nasypany curses in frustration: "Goddammit! I can't even protect my NCA!"

He is referring to the National Capitol Area. In this deadly game of capture-the-flag, the American military's elite air defenders have just been tagged.

"The more it went on, the more unbelievable it got, and then the one that did the Pentagon," Mo Dooley later told Michael Bronner. "We

just couldn't believe it. You were just so mad that you couldn't stop these guys and so you're looking for the next one. Where are they going next?" ^{ccccxvi}

RINGS

The morning's third attack penetrates the newly reinforced wall of the Pentagon west wing, cleaving straight through four of its five inner rings. Smoke and flames pour from various size holes punched into the side of the Pentagon by the Boeing's fuselage, impact-folded wings and smaller components. As Tom Hovis later relates, "The wings came off as if it went through an archway, leaving a hole in the side of the building. It seems a little larger than the wide body of the aircraft. The entry point was so clean that the roof fell in on the wreckage."

Cutting a long narrow swath through the Pentagon's interior, the jetliner's lightweight fuselage completely disintegrates under the nearly unimaginable kinetic energy of a 2,000-ton winged aluminum can hitting a reinforced cement wall at nearly half-a-thousand miles-per-hour. ^{ccccxvii}

With traffic at a complete standstill, Don Fortunato pulls over and parks on the shoulder before running to the crash site. Next to him is a taxicab from D.C, its windshield completely smashed out by flying lampposts. Fortunato recalls, "pieces of the plane all over the highway, pieces of wing, I think."

Hovis cannot understand how the plane hit where it did, given the direction from which it approached. The Pentagon lies in a dip between two low hills. One is the site of the Navy Annex, the other marks Arlington Cemetery.

He has seen no radical maneuvers. Contrary to other accounts, he has seen no radical maneuvers. After making an unmolested series of lazy turns through the "No Fly Zone" over the White House, the plane had come up I-395, using the thoroughfare locally known as "Shirley Highway" as a reference guide. Why it failed to hit incoming traffic coming down from the north toward Reagan National is beyond Hovis.

He had watched the airliner fly southwest near Springfield, before veering left over Arlington. Putting its nose down while coming over Fort Myer, the plane had snapped off trees and light poles before leveling out at the last possible moment and flying square into the side of the Pentagon.

Army Deputy Chief of Public Affairs Charles Krohn finds one of the airliner's two engines after it somehow ricocheted in an arc out of

the Pentagon to land in the mall parking area between the main building and a new loading dock.

Shrouded by enormous billowing clouds of black smoke, the sun is still low in a darkening sky. The ground is on fire. Trees are on fire. Hot slices of aluminum lie everywhere, and the sickly-sweet stench of kerosene fills the air, nearly masking the odor of burning flesh. ^{cccccviii}

INSIDERS

Air Force public affairs officer, Lieutenant Colonel Art Haubold is in his office watching coverage of the World Trade Center with his colleagues when Flight 77 hits the opposite side of the building. The windows blow in like a conjuring trick. An instant later, a fireball appears in their jagged frames.

Haubold joins uniformed military personnel and civilian workers streaming away from the building. Many clutch briefcases and attaché cases. Two women hold hands. One of them is crying. Almost everyone is talking on their cell phone, or trying to get a connection on the overloaded system. ^{cccccxix}

Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Marc Abshire, a speechwriter for Air Force Secretary James Roche, is working on several speeches in his office is on the D ring, near the eighth corridor, when he feels a blast. An instant later, a massive shockwave scoots him back in his chair. Abshire cannot tell what it is. It didn't rumble. It's more of a "direct smack."

Going out into a hallway filled with co-workers, Abshire finds people yelling, "Evacuate! Evacuate!" Looking back on his building from the lawn is bizarre. It's just definitely not right to see smoke coming out of the Pentagon, Abshire decides. ^{cd}

In E-Ring's Room 472, Shirley Moore hears "a *whoosh* and a whistle." As she wonders where the sudden draft is coming from, a wall of fire sweeps through her room. It dissipates as fast as it arrived. Looking down, Moore numbly notes that her hands are on fire. So she starts shaking them.

"Hello!" a man calls out. "I can't see you."

"Hello," she shouts back, clapping her now extinguished and badly burned hands. Hearing his approach, she senses the *shoosh* of a fire extinguisher. Then she glimpses her rescuer coming through the smoke.

Over in his office at 1D-525 on the first floor of D Ring, Army Lieutenant Colonel Robert Snyder has been surfing the Web to check for updates on the World Trade Center. The *crack* and *boom* he hears

are not online. And the flames that engulf him and then depart are not virtual. Then the lights go out. Forget the updates. The attackers are here. And he is still alive.

Army medic Sergeant Matt Rosenberg is studying “a new medical emergency disaster plan based on the unlikely scenario of an airplane crashing into the place”—when an airplane crashes into the place.

The day before, Rosenberg had called the FBI with questions about who would have medical command if such an unlikely event ever took place. Now the medic goes outside to assist the wounded—and finds the same FBI agent he had talked with the previous day putting their discussion to work. ^{cdi}

Don Perkal is walking to his Pentagon office, less than 300 feet from the impact zone, when what feels like an earthquake rocks the wing of the giant building. People begin shouting that a bomb must have gone off upstairs on the main concourse. No alarms sound as the deputy General Counsel for the Secretary of Defense reaches his office and shuts down his computer. Before stepping back outside, he smells cordite. That’s when he knew, he later says, “that explosives had been set off somewhere.”

An attorney who works for him had called in sick that morning. His satellite office is utterly destroyed. A contractor in the Army section of the Pentagon that took a direct hit, crawls out of the wreckage of his office. But an attorney Perkal has known for 15 years is killed instantly. After retiring two weeks ago, he had returned today to lend a hand as a defense counsel. “Everyone in the room died from the explosion of jet fuel,” Perkal says.

A woman he encounters tells him that she had gone to get a cup of coffee. When she returned, her office and two of her colleagues “were gone”.

As Don Perkal exits the building, people are walking around dazed, gazing uncomprehendingly at a gaping, flame-filled hole in the west wing. Normally busy air traffic is eerily absent. But helicopters are circling the building, and the Langley fighters have finally showed up. The roar of an occasional F-16 streaking by adds to the din of sirens blaring from what seem to be hundreds of emergency vehicles.

Two explosions a few minutes apart prompt Perkal to get moving. He walks for three miles, “past office buildings, restaurants and shopping malls.” Everything is closing down. Business are shut, public transportation has ceased, and people are pouring in the streets, unsure

The Pentagon

of what to do. As he walks, Don Perkal hears “the bad news” from car radios trapped in total gridlock.

Later he learns that the blasts sparking his exodus came from the Langley F-16s breaking the sound barrier. Why their pilots flew in the wrong direction at subsonic speeds before waiting to select full afterburners until after it was too late will never be satisfactorily explained. ^{cdii}

Outside the Sheraton National Hotel, the Anlaufs are comforting frightened and anxious people when one of the low-flying F-16s sends most of the milling crowd diving to the sidewalk in terror. ^{cdiii}

RENOS

In response to a 911-telephone call, the Arlington County Emergency Communications Center had earlier dispatched several units to deal with an apartment fire not far from the stricken Pentagon. Because the fire is said to be a high-rise building, nine different fire and medical service units are dispatched. When the first engine crew radios that the fire has gone out, fire and medical service units are rerouted immediately, arriving at the Pentagon within minutes. ^{cdiv}

Firefighters and ambulance crews join emergency workers running into the flames with wooden pallets to carry out corpses and the injured. A few of the lightly wounded, bleeding and covered in dust, are already recovering on the lawn outside. Some wear civilian garb; others are in uniform. A piece of twisted aircraft fuselage striped with the red-and-white American Airlines colors lies nearby. ^{cdv}

Covered in dust, Stanley St. Clair stumbles along the road away from the vast building. Working to finish renovations to the first floor of the section struck by Flight 77, he is lucky to be alive. The impact had shaken the whole building “and hurt our ears,” he will later tell the press. “Papers and furniture and debris just went flying through the hallway, and I thought it was a bomb or something. Then someone started shouting, ‘Get out, get out.’”

Just days away from completion, the renovated upper floors were in the process of being handed back to the defense department. But the third and fourth floors of the outer ring took the brunt of the impact. They housed senior navy officers, including vice-admirals, as well as offices used by secretaries of the various armed services. Instead of the 4,500 people who would normally have been working there, because of the renovations only about 800 people were near the impact area. ^{cdvi}

Among more than 25,000 people employed at the Pentagon, 125 people on the ground are killed or missing. ^{cdvii}

Amazingly, Flight 77 has hit the only side of the Pentagon to be specially reinforced to withstand just such an eventuality. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, “It was the only area of the Pentagon with a sprinkler system, and it had been reconstructed with a web of steel columns and bars to withstand bomb blasts.”

Two-inch thick blast-resistant windows weighing more than a ton apiece have remained intact, robbing the subsequent fire of oxygen and puzzling conspiracy theorists, who immediately fill websites with bizarre explanations, instead of checking the facts. Disregarding hundreds of eyewitnesses, who must have been either hallucinating or viewing a projected holograph, these magical thinkers will soon substitute a “cruise missile” for Flight 77—without showing who launched such a heavy weapon from what platform, or satisfactorily explaining the fate of Flight 77 and everyone onboard in a sky hot with radar beams and scoured by anxious eyes.

0938:

At Cheyenne Mountain, for the first time in three decades a pair of 20-ton blast doors rumbles shut.

At the National Reconnaissance Office, the hijacked plane crash exercise is hastily cancelled. But throughout this morning’s crisis, the evacuation of the building has deprived America’s defenders of critical live satellite coverage of North American airspace. ^{cdviii}

FAA COMMAND CENTER

Ben Sliney has no time to check with his superiors in Washington. *The skies are filled with guided missiles*, he thinks. *Filled with them*. The words that have been echoing in his head have proved correct. The hijackers did have more planes.

“Order everyone to land! Regardless of destination!” Sliney shouts to operators in contact with every FAA-controlled airport, ATC and Flight Service Center in the country.

He meets the eyes of his boss Linda Schuessler, sitting 20-feet away. She nods.

“OK, let’s get them on the ground!” Sliney booms with new authority.

For the first time in history, the United States federal government is ordering every commercial and private flying machine from the sky. Within minutes, more than 4,000 pilots will be looking for the nearest available runway. ^{cdix}

PILOT DISCRETION

Back in the White House bunker, relayed radar reports show Flight 77 closing fast. Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta is on an open line to the Federal Aviation Administration operations center, where the oncoming American airliner is being tracked. Radar updates are coming in every seven seconds: 50 miles out, 30 miles out, 10 miles out...

The FAA's acting deputy administrator, Monte Belger is on the phone to Mineta with Sliney's grounding order. How will the transportation head react?

Without hesitation, Mineta backs Sliney's call. "Monte, bring all the planes down," he says.

Belger is taken aback. There are 4,546 airplanes currently aloft over the United States! Wouldn't it be better to defer to the command authority vested in airline captains? "We're bringing them down per pilot discretion," Belger tries to mollify the transportation secretary.

"Fuck pilot discretion!" Mineta yells back. "Get those goddamn planes down!" ^{cdx}

FLIGHT 23

According to Canada's national newspaper, the *Globe & Mail*, Mineta's unexpected order catches a fifth targeted airliner still on the ground. When the fully loaded United Flight 23 is held at New York's John F. Kennedy Airport, three Middle-Eastern passengers jump to their feet and angrily demand that the flight proceed.

Kicked off the plane before the police turn up, they manage to escape. Flight 23 had been bound for the West Coast with a full load of fuel.

DULLES

In hushed Air Traffic Control room, John Carr calls the closure: "OK, he's twelve miles west. He's moving very fast eastbound. OK guys, where he is now? Eleven miles west. Ten miles west, nine miles west."

Punching in a direct line to the White House, Carr says, "We have unidentified very fast-moving aircraft inbound toward your vicinity, eight miles west." ^{cdxi}

A Secret Service agent contacts Chris Stephenson, head flight controller in Washington's Reagan National Airport control tower, to warn of an unidentified aircraft speeding toward Washington. Looking out the

tower's expansive windows, Stephenson spots Flight 77 about five miles to the west. The distinctive red-and-white American airlines jet is banking right and descending. Stephenson follows it until the plane disappears behind a building in nearby Crystal City, Virginia. ^{cdxii}

Inside the Pentagon, neophyte Captain Charles Leidig is in command of the National Military Command Center— “the military’s worldwide nerve center,” as CNN dubs it. If Leidig is concerned that his building is a target, he does not show it. If the Pentagon has short-range antiaircraft missiles in place—as some sources allege—they do not open fire. ^{cdxiii}

NO FLY ZONE

The unidentified aircraft is headed directly for “P-56”. Prohibited Air Space 56 surrounds the White House and the Capitol out to a distance of 23 miles. Clocked at nearly 500 miles-per-hour, the electronically blacked-out airliner is already inside this last-ditch defensive ring.

The *Daily Telegraph* wants to know why Flight 77 wasn’t shot down as it passed through prohibited White House airspace. “It might have been shot down by the Secret Service, who are believed to have a battery of ground-to-air Stinger missiles ready to defend the President’s home,” the Brits believe. ^{cdxiv}

FLIGHT 93

0939:

Having completed its course reversal, United Airlines Flight 93 is now heading directly towards Washington D.C. Deena Burnett is in her living room hugging the phone and watching television when a reporter on one of the news channels says that a plane has just hit the Pentagon. Her heart turns over and she goes cold thinking, *that’s my husband’s flight*.

Her sobs are interrupted by the ringing telephone. It’s Tom! She has never felt such relief. Filled with love and concern, she tells he husband that she has notified the FBI.

“We can’t wait for the authorities,” he replies. ^{cdxv}

CLEVELAND CENTER

Keying the plane’s public address system in the cockpit, the hijackers once again inadvertently transmit their cabin announcement over an open radio channel: “Ah, here’s the captain. I would like to tell you all to remain seated. We have a bomb aboard, and we are going back to the airport, and we have our demands. So, please remain quiet.”

The Pentagon

Cleveland Center jumps on it: “Okay. That’s 93 calling?”

The flustered Flight 93 hijacker responds in Arabic: “One moment.” ^{cdxvi}

“United 93. I understand you have a bomb on board. Go ahead,” Cleveland invites.

The pilot of a business jet breaks in: “And Center, exec jet 956. That was the transmission.”

“Okay. Ah, who called Cleveland?” asks the flight controller. “Executive jet 956, did you understand that transmission?”

“Affirmative. He said that there was a bomb on board.”

“That was all that you got out of it also?”

“Affirmative.”

“Roger.”

“United 93 go ahead. United 93 go ahead,” Cleveland tries again.

Instead of replying, one of the cockpit hijackers says to his cohort in Arabic: “This green knob?”

The cockpit recorder picks up the reply, also in Arabic: “Yes, that’s the one.”

Someone pulls it.

0940:

The transponder signal from Flight 93 abruptly cuts out. ^{cdxvii}

Using primary radar, Cleveland flight controllers can still track the hijacked airliner. But its altitude can only be estimated by visual sightings from nearby aircraft. The plane’s radar-tracked groundspeed begins fluctuating wildly. Accelerating from 400 to 600 miles-per-hour, the overspeed horn sounds in the cockpit as the plane flirts with its design limitations. As its white-knuckled driver hauls back on the controls, the plane’s airspeed eventually settles back around 400. Where does al-Qaeda find these people? ^{cdxviii}

0941:

Cleveland Center is still trying to raise the rogue airliner. “United 93, do you hear the Cleveland Center?”

In the cockpit, no one radios back. But someone says in Arabic, “One moment. One moment.”

[unintelligible]

Then comes a voice in English: “Oh, man.” ^{cdxix}

0942:

Keeping a wary eye on a Middle Eastern kid wearing a red bandana and carrying a box with wires sticking out of it, Mark Bingham phones his mother, who is staying with his sister, Kathy in Saratoga, California. Kathy takes his call, listens briefly and looks at Alice Bingham. “Alice, talk to Mark,” Kathy says, handing her the phone. “He’s been hijacked.”^{cdxx}

“Mom? This is Mark Bingham.” His voice sounds strained. It’s odd for a son to introduce himself by his full name. Alice Bingham realizes that Mark is flustered and trying to say something important.

“I want to let you know that I love you,” he continues without pausing. “I’m calling from the plane. We’ve been taken over. There are three men that say they have a bomb.”

“Who are these guys?” Alice Bingham wants to know. *Who is threatening my son?*

During the pause that follows, she can hear murmurs of conversation in English. Mark’s voice comes back on the air.

“You believe me, don’t you?” he asks.

“Yes, Mark. I believe you. But who are these guys?” she repeats.

There is another pause. This time, Alice Bingham hears background noise. But she can’t make it out. Then the line goes dead.^{cdxxi}

SOUTH TOWER 78th FLOOR

0943:

Battalion Chief Orio Palmer has lugged his heavy gear over from the North Tower to join and Fire Marshal Ronald Bucca in assessing the fire situation in Tower Two. During subsequent radio calls, neither firefighting veteran will express concern about the scattered blazes around them, or the building’s structural integrity.^{cdxxii}

A marathoner who has repeatedly won the department’s fitness medal, 45-year-old Chief Palmer is in excellent shape. Though most of the building’s elevators are knocked out, Palmer finds a working car. He rides it up to the 41st floor, before taking the stairs to the crash site. Passing a number of injured survivors along the way, Palmer directs them to the working elevator.

On the 74th floor of Tower Two, Chief Palmer encounters Bucca and another fire marshal, as well as a handful of survivors from the crash site. One of them is badly injured. When the firefighters ask her what floor they’re from, Judy Wein replies, “78. And there’s lots of people badly hurt up there,” she adds.

The Pentagon

Close to passing out, the wavering woman calmly tips blood out of her glasses so that she can see. After Fire Marshall Devery leaves to escort her out of the building, Palmer and Bucca continue climbing.

Carnage greets them in the Sky Lobby on the 78th floor where Flight 175's left wing had clipped the lobby, instantly killing between 50 and 200 people less than 40 minutes before. It's hard to tell where all the pieces of bodies belong.

Recorded emergency radio broadcasts will reveal that the voices of both Chief Palmer and Fire Marshall Bucca are calm as they ask in code for assistance to help many casualties, and put out two small fires.

There is no inferno.

FLIGHT 93

0944:

In the cockpit of Flight 93, apparently in reference to the plane's transponder, one of the hijackers says in Arabic, "This does not work now."

"Turn it off," commands the leader.

Referring to their altitude, someone else says in Arabic, "Seven thousand."

Still speaking in Arabic, this time in regard to their "muscle" holding the passengers and surviving crew hostage, one of the voices says, "How about we let them in? We let the guys in now."

(In Arabic:) "Okay."

(In Arabic:) "Should we let the guys in?"

(In Arabic:) "Inform them, and tell him to talk to the pilot. Bring the pilot back."

(In Arabic:) "In the name of Allah. In the name of Allah. I bear witness that there is no other God but Allah." ^{cdxxiii}

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Chapter 7

SHOOTDOWN

An hour after Flight 11 flew into the North Tower of the World Trade Center, Capitol Hill and the White House are being evacuated, and Bush's motorcade is finally pulling away from the Booker elementary school. But the President is having trouble getting through to his Vice-President.

Why? To ensure its ability to coordinate with state and local authorities, as well as all branches of the military in the event of an enemy attack, the Secret Service "has the best communication system of any agency in the country," Richard Clarke confirms in *Against All Enemies*. With its highly trained and motivated personnel always present whenever the President and Vice-President are traveling, Dubya's detail in Florida is in real-time communication not only with the FAA, but also the Presidential Emergency Operations Center, where Dick Cheney has reportedly just been taken by the White House Secret Service. ^{cdxxiv}

For reasons never satisfactorily explained, despite the elaborate "comms" carried by his Secret Service escort, Bush's connection to the White House is so bad, he must resort to using an ordinary cell phone in his limousine to place a long-distance call to Dick Cheney, who is running the country's defenses in his absence. As National Command Authority, Donald Rumsfeld is supposed to be second-in-command. But he doesn't seem to be around. ^{cdxxv}

NEADS

0941:

Airman Stacia Rountree takes a call from NAVCANADA—Canada's privatized version of the FAA. After listening briefly and acknowledging, she calls across to her NCO: "Delta 89, that's the hijack. They think it's possible hijack."

"Fuck!" Dooley says. It seems the only appropriate response.

"South of Cleveland. We have a code on him now," Rountree elaborates.

Master Sergeant Mo Dooley comes back on track. “Good. Pick it up! Find it!”

A male radar tech breaks in: “Delta what?”

“Eight nine,” Rountree tells him. “A Boeing seven-six-seven.”

“Fuck, another one,” Dooley repeats. ^{cdxxvi}

FLIGHT 93

0945:

George Bush is not the only one having phone trouble. Onboard Flight 93, Todd Beamer cannot get authorization to use an Airfone to call his family. Finally put through to a Verizon phone representative, Beamer talks to Lisa Jefferson for nearly 15 minutes.

The FBI listens in as Beamer relates how he has been herded to the back of the plane along with nine other passengers and five flight attendants. A hijacker, who says he has a bomb strapped to his body, is guarding them. Separated from the others by a curtain up in First Class, another 27 passengers are being watched by a second hijacker.

A third conspirator has entered the cockpit, Beamer continues. At least one passenger and both pilots are apparently dead. This leaves one more passenger unaccounted for. Edward Felt has locked himself in a washroom. ^{cdxxvii}

After pouring out his heart to his family through Lisa Jefferson, Tom Beamer asks the Verizon supervisor to recite the Lord’s Prayer with him. Hoping to offer comfort, she does. Then they pray the 23rd Psalm:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures
He leadeth me beside the still waters...

After saying, “Amen,” the Oracle software executive tells Lisa Jefferson that from this point he is going to have to go out on faith because the men around him are talking about “jumping the guy with the bomb.”

Then he suddenly shouts, “Oh! We’re going down!”

Lisa Jefferson freezes.

The heart-stopping pause that follows seems interminable. Then Beamer says is back on the line, saying calmly, “No, we’re OK. I think we’re turning around.”

Shootdown

SARASOTA

The Secret Service routinely checks all main and alternative routes of presidential motorcades, including the last minute rerouting of President Kennedy's historical fatal ride through Dallas. Now, despite meticulous advance planning, Bush's motorcade pulls a "Princess Di"—takes a wrong turn, and has to backtrack. ^{cdxxviii}

BOSWELL

In the tiny town of Boswell, about ten miles north and slightly west of Shanksville, Pennsylvania, Rodney Peterson and Brandon Leventry notice a passenger jet wallowing through the sky at perhaps 2,000 feet.

Both men are remarking on a big plane flying so low without a commercial airport nearby, when the airliner dips its wings sharply to the left, then back to the right. , Still descending, the big jet levels off and keeps flying south or east-southeast. ^{cdxxix}

HOSTILE TAKE-OVER

It is not clear whether Tom Burnett's First Class group is in contact with Todd Beamer's team back in Coach Section, or if two sets of passengers are independently intending to take back a plane the hijackers have apparently commandeered through subterfuge.

Investigators listening to Flight 93's recovered Cockpit Voice Recorder will later claim that one of the four hijackers—most likely wearing a stolen airline pilot's uniform, or possibly showing a forged Airline Transport Rating—had been invited into the cockpit before the flight took off from Newark, New Jersey. Believing their guest to be a member of their aerial fraternity, the CVR tape allegedly indicates that both legitimate pilots had extended the typical courtesy of allowing a fellow airline pilot to sit in the fold-down jump seat located just behind the pilot in command. ^{cdxxx}

This revelation is fascinating, because a CVR records only 30-minutes of cockpit conversation before automatically rewinding and recording over that half-hour segment. Thanks to their long runway delay, until this moment Flight 93's Cockpit Voice Recorder has recorded over its crew's initial salutations at least four-times.

SARASOTA

0945:

When Bush and Cheney speak again, the President still sitting on

the runway onboard Air Force One. “Sounds like we have a minor war going on here,” Bush says. “I heard about the Pentagon. We’re at war... somebody’s going to pay.”^{cdxxxix}

FLIGHT 93

0947:

Lyzbeth Glick is still on the phone with Jeremy. Unable to sit, she stands in her parents’ living room watching television and trying to reconcile the images on the screen with what her husband is telling her.

“Lyz, I need to know something,” Jeremy’s voice echoes in her ear as she watches the Twin Towers burn. “One of the other passengers has talked to their spouse and he has said they were crashing planes into the World Trade Centre. Is that true? Because that makes all the difference.”

Lyzbeth hesitates. “You need to be strong,” she finally replies. “But yes, they are doing that.”

En route to San Francisco on a sales and marketing assignment, Jeremy Glick is heading to the city where he had unexpectedly encountered his former judo teacher eight years before.^{cdxxxix}

Having taught five of the six Glick children judo, Nagaysu Ogasawara had been traveling to San Francisco City College to coach West Point’s cadets for the 1992 college championships when his former student rushed across the gymnasium and threw his arms around his old teacher.

Jeremy Glick had been just seven years-old when he first walked through the door of Ogasawara’s dojo above a Ford dealership in Westwood, New Jersey. Training rigorously with his sensei, Jeremy had transformed, wrote ESPN’s Adrina Wojnarowski, from “a little curly-haired pipsqueak... into a 6-foot-2, 220-pound black belt.”

At the age of 15, Jeremy Glick had taken third place at the Junior Nationals. Then he and his teacher had lost touch until San Francisco, where the lure of the national judo championships had led the paths of student and master to intersect once again. As a senior at the University of Rochester, Jeremy Glick was representing a school without a judo team. Still ranked as a mid-level brown belt, with no coach and no teammates in support, Glick told his teacher that he was determined to become the National College Judo Champion.^{cdxxxix}

In a made-for-Hollywood moment, Ogasawara agreed to coach Glick when his own academy cadets were not engaged in competition. So the judo master was in his corner when Jeremy Glick won the

national title. For his pluck, as well as his performance, the sensei's student also received the tournament's Outstanding Player Award. ^{cdxxxiv}

"After that, the association wanted to promote him to black belt because he was too good to be a brown belt," Ogasawara told Blackbelt magazine. "He was promoted at that tournament." ^{cdxxxv}

Now, because Jeremy keeps the connection open, Lyz can overhear him speaking with two other men he's just met in their captive circle in the back of the plane. Like

Glick, Thomas Burnett of San Francisco and Mark Burnett of San Ramon, California are in their early thirties. Each man is over 6-feet tall, solidly built and fit.

As the three men discuss attacking the hijackers, state police on the other line with Glick's mother-in-law relay a question: Does Glick know where his plane is?

He doesn't. But he says he thinks they have changed direction. He tells Lyz that the male passengers are taking a vote. Should they try to take back the plane?

"Honey, you need to do it," Lyz tells him. ^{cdxxxvi}

THE BRADSHAW'S

Inside the Bradshaw's Greensboro, North Carolina home, Phil Bradshaw is on the telephone discussing the morning's traumatic TV images with a friend when the call-waiting signal starts clicking. He asks his party to hold.

The caller is his wife, Sandy. The 5-feet 2-inch-tall flight attendant with long blonde hair and an engaging smile is anxious but calm. "Have you heard what's going on?" she asks. "My flight has been hijacked. My flight has been hijacked by three guys with knives."

Phil Bradshaw had thought the morning's tribulations were over. In two more days, Sandy would be flying home and they would finally have some time together. Together, they would sort out this terrible day and get close again.

Now he is stunned. He cannot think what to do. Numbly, he writes down his wife's flight number and asks her to describe the assailants.

Sandy says she had noticed one of them during the flight. He had been sitting in the back of First Class—a short guy with a dark complexion. When he and his companions had stood up, they put red bandanas around their heads.

Who is flying the plane, Phil wants to know?

"I don't know who's flying the plane, or where we are," his

spouse replies. The United airliner has been turned around and she can see a river. Knowing her flight route, her husband thinks it could be the Ohio River near Pittsburgh.

His wife's next words deepen his dismay: "We are in the back getting together some hot water to throw on them. Have you got any ideas?" ^{cdxxxvii}

He doesn't. Except how much he would like for her to be home with him right now.

THE GLICKS

Trying to ease the terrible stress of his last conversation with his wife, Glick tells her not to worry. For a weapon, he still has his plastic butter knife from his in-flight breakfast. Turning quietly serious, he tells Lyz to live a good life and take care of their sweet two-and-a-half-month-old daughter, Emerson. Lyz and Emerson are the lights of his life. ^{cdxxxviii}

Then he says, "Stay on the line, I'll be back."

Lyz is so upset she hands the phone to her father. ^{cdxxxix}

DUCK AND COVER

0949:

The FAA Command Center twice phones to warn FAA headquarters that United 93 is now just "29 minutes out of Washington, D.C."

Someone at the headquarters replies, "They're pulling Jeff away to go talk about United 93."

"Uh, do we want to think about, uh, scrambling aircraft?" the Command Center timidly comes back.

FAA headquarters refuses to bite: "Uh, God, I don't know."

The Command Center also ducks, saying, "Uh, that's a decision somebody's gonna have to make, probably in the next 10 minutes."

The relieved caller from FAA Headquarters announces that he's off the hook. "Uh, ya know, everybody just left the room."

Are these two FAA officials on crack? What about all the intercepts routinely launched week after week, year in, year out? Why are air force defenders willing to scramble armed jets on migrating birds and dolphins dithering while their country burns? ^{cdxl}

At least 13 vital minutes have passed since the FAA's Cleveland Center first asked its Command Center to contact NORAD concerning Flight 93's frightening radio intercepts and unauthorized reversal of course. Yet no fighters have been scrambled. At least not officially. But

Shootdown

one fast-mover has already been caught in a seismic speed trap just outside Shanksville, Pennsylvania—where Flight 93 is now approaching.

ONE GOOD MAN

Somewhere over the Atlantic, still heading for Europe despite the war developing back home, NORAD commander General Ralph Eberhart supposedly directs “all air sovereignty aircraft to battle stations fully armed.”^{cdxli}

But “battle stations” is not good enough. His country is under a coordinated attack of as yet unknown purpose and dimensions. Follow-on strikes must be considered likely. Why doesn’t Eberhart scramble protective air patrols over America’s biggest cities and nuclear sites? Why doesn’t he call for a fighter escort and turn back?

In sharp contrast to generals reluctant to lead, Richard Clarke has been born for this day. “Find out where the fighter planes are,” the counter-terrorism expert orders a Pentagon aide. “I want Combat Air Patrols over every major city in this country. Now!”^{cdxlii}

SHOW OF FORCE

0953:

Flight 93’s Cockpit Voice Recorder reveals that the hijackers are growing concerned that their captive passengers might retaliate. Speaking in Arabic, one of the terrorists urges that the plane’s fire axe be held up to the cockpit door’s peephole to frighten any rebellious captives: “The best thing—the guys will go in, lift up the [unintelligible]... and they put the axe into it. So, everyone will be scared.”

The exchange continues in Arabic: “Yes.”

“The axe.”

[unintelligible]

“Let him look through the window. Let him look through the window.”^{cdxliii}

CALLS WAITING

FAA headquarters is informed by its Command Center that Flight 93 is now 20 miles northwest of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, still heading for Washington. Headquarters tells the Command Center that the Deputy Director for Air Traffic Services is talking to Deputy Administrator Monty Belger about scrambling some fighters after Flight 93.^{cdxliv}

With the United States of America under violent attack from an

undetermined number of hijacked commercial airliners, what is there to discuss? Even without the morning's compelling events adding urgency to the developing situation, this latest wayward aircraft over Pennsylvania has redlined all criteria needed to launch an immediate air force intercept.

As if in answer, the National Security Agency intercepts a phone call from one of Osama bin Laden's operatives in Afghanistan to a number in the former Soviet Republic of Georgia. The caller says he has "heard good news"—and that another target is still to come—presumably the target Flight 93 is intended to take out.

Since the crisis began, NSA translators have been ordered to focus on Middle Eastern radio, phone, fax and email intercepts, and translate them as they are received, instead of the oldest first, as is the usual practice. The call from Afghanistan is translated within the next hour or two. ^{cdxlv}

But this is not the only intercepted bin Laden call.

ECHELON

Though the British and American Governments refuse to admit that it even exists, 30 giant antenna domes rising from a U.S. military base atop Britain's Menwith Hill attest to the global reach of a spying program said to be capable of intercepting two million personal phone and fax intercepts every hour. The base at Menwith is linked directly to the "No Such Agency" headquarters at Fort Mead, Maryland, and a string of similar NSA-linked listening posts scattered across the globe.

A European Commission report spookily titled, "Assessing the Technologies of Political Control" details a worldwide network of American-controlled intelligence outposts that "routinely and indiscriminately" monitor all international phone, fax and email messages originating from and coming into the United States.

Codenamed ECHELON, this network employs high-speed supercomputers to rapidly scan thousands of intercepted transmissions every minute. Special software algorithms search for repeated patterns, and highlight even the most innocent communications containing trigger words like "bomb" and "hijack" for closer scrutiny.

The NSA's advance warning of the terror attacks most likely came from ECHELON. This multi-billion dollar electronic intercept effort has been monitoring terrorist cells—including Osama bin Laden's—for years.

As the Frankfurt *Allgemeine Zeitung* later reports, U.S. and Israeli

intelligence agencies received warning signals at least three months before September 11 that “Middle Eastern terrorists were planning to hijack commercial aircraft to use as weapons to attack important symbols of American and Israeli culture.”

Another major Germany newspaper, *FAZ* quotes German Intelligence sources who state that the ECHELON spy net collected hard information concerning those terrorist threats.

British intelligence services listening through their ECHELON ear at Menwith Hill also apparently picked up advance warning of the September 11 attacks.

But the *FAZ* story goes even further, reporting that as far back as March 2001, Western and Near East press services were receiving information that attacks against the USA were being planned. The warnings were reportedly taken seriously within the American intelligence community.

A stateside story by Richard Sale later expands on ECHELON’s effectiveness against al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. At least one case before the U.S. District Court in Manhattan “is based mainly on National Security Agency intercepts of phone calls between bin Laden and his operatives around the world—Afghanistan to London, from Kenya to the United States,” Sale will write.

The *Baltimore Sun* scribe will report that much of the evidence against bin Laden had been obtained in ECHELON intercepts following the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in East Africa. *Vanity Fair*’s Henry Porter also reveals that “hundreds” of Atta’s cell phone calls were intercepted and traced.

Citing documents obtained under Freedom of Information laws by National Security Agency expert James Bamford prior to September 11, 2001, the *Sun* story reveals that Agency officials have even “sometimes played tapes of bin Laden talking to his mother to impress members of Congress and select visitors to the agency.”^{cdxlvii}

In the months and years of ECHELON-intercepted conversations leading up to this day, what else did Osama bin Laden have to say?

FLIGHT 93

0954:

Tom Burnett has been living in planes for the last six days. Now he is about to die in one. Everyone onboard Flight 93 has less than 15 minutes to live.

Burnett calls his wife for the fourth and final time. “A group of us

is going to do something,” he tells Deena again. He specifically mentions that they plan to retake the plane over a rural area. “It’s up to us. I think we can do it,” he tells Deena. “Don’t worry, we’re going to do something.”

“No, Tom! Just sit down and don’t draw attention to yourself,” she pleads.

“Deena, if they’re going to drive the plane into the ground, we have to do something,” her husband explains. “We can’t wait for the authorities. We have to do something now.” ^{cdxlvii}

NEADS

After radar-locating the missing Delta Flight 1989 just south of Toledo, Nasypany’s ID and Surveillance teams begin alerting other FAA centers. No one is sure where the plane is headed. Colonel Marr and Major Nasypany order their troops to start calling Air National Guard bases in the Toledo area to see if anyone can get some fighters up.

0955:

A base in Selfridge, Michigan comes back with an offer of two unarmed fighters already returning to base from a training mission.

“Here—here’s what we can do,” says the Selfridge Flight Officer. “At a minimum, we can keep our guys airborne. I mean, they don’t have—they don’t have any guns or missiles or anything on board. But we—”

“It’s a presence, though,” a NEADS tech cuts in.

Meanwhile, a Cleveland air-traffic controller has been in contact with the pilot of the missing plane. Heading for an airport in compliance with the FAA grounding order, the flight is doing fine. Someone has misunderstood. Delta 1989 isn’t hijacked after all.

But a NORAD unit in Canada has called in yet another suspected hijacking. This one is headed south across the border toward Washington State. Nasypany and Marr have to assume that there are possibly three hijacked jets still out there—and who knows how many more to come? ^{cdxlviii}

DEFCON 3

Back inside the burning Pentagon, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld suddenly raises the country’s defense status to DefCon 3—the highest it’s been since the Arab-Israeli war in 1973. Apparently, he

and Dick Cheney are now both sharing command of the country. Around the globe, U.S. military commanders are ordered to ramp up their threat alert status four notches to Condition Delta—the highest hair-trigger nuclear warning short of all-out Armageddon. The alert to defend all U.S. facilities is the highest since the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

0955:

Flight 93 is still coming on. Inside his White House bunker, a military aide asks Dick Cheney, “There is a plane 80 miles out. There is a fighter in the area. Should we engage?”

“Yes,” the Vice-President replies.

As the pursuing F-16 lines up on the tail of the United Airlines plane, Cheney is asked the same question twice more. He responds, “Yes” both times. ^{cdxlix}

FLIGHT 93

0957:

After leaving her first message 10 minutes ago from the back of Flight 93, CeeCee Lyles finally awakens her husband. Not long asleep, a groggy Lorne Lyles struggles to separate his dreams from what must be a nightmare. Holding the phone to one ear, he thinks he hears his wife say, “Babe, my plane’s been hijacked.”

This cannot be happening. Exhausted from his night shift, he has slept right through the tectonic events of the last two hours. “Huh? Stop joking,” he says.

“No babe, I wouldn’t joke like that,” CeeCee tells him. “I love you. Tell the boys I love them.”

As the pair prays, in the background, Lorne Lyles can hear the murmurs of men planning a mutiny to retake the plane. “They’re getting ready to force their way into the cockpit,” his flight attendant wife confirms. ^{cdl}

“ROLL IT”

Lisa Jefferson hears Todd Beamer’s long loud sigh echo down the line. He throws down his Airfone, but at her request leaves it on. The Verizon telephone supervisor clearly hears him call out two words that will be burn forever as a beacon in the American can-do mythos:

“Are you guys ready? Let’s roll!”

It is Todd Beamer’s favorite expression. “My boys even say that,” Lisa Beamer will later relate. “When we’re getting ready to go somewhere,

we say, ‘C’mon guys, let’s roll.’ My little one says, ‘C’mon, Mom, let’s roll.’ That’s something they picked up from Todd.”^{cdli}

Flight attendant Sandra Bradshaw has just finished boiling a pot of water in the galley—but not for hot drinks. Talking quietly with her husband about how much they love each other and their children, Phil Bradshaw hears his wife say quickly, “Everyone is running to First Class, I’ve got to go. Bye.”^{cdlii}

Lisa Jefferson next hears a series of loud grunts and shouts. “God help me! Jesus, help me!” Beamer shouts.

Lyzbeth Glick’s father also hears the muffled screams and the sounds of a struggle.^{cdliii}

A high school buddy of Jeremy Glick’s oldest brother knew the all-state wrestler and collegiate judo champion well. “Those attackers are pretty fucking sorry because they ran into the toughest son of a bitch I’ve ever known,” Josh Denbeaux will say later on this day. “He wasn’t just going to be fighting them. He was going to be the leader of it. All I can think is that it’s too bad he didn’t know how to handle a plane.”

Hours later, Glick’s sensei will tell reporter, “I didn’t do anything. He did. Because he smashed those people right away. Maybe he had help with others on the plane, but I know he wouldn’t have needed it. Three people with knives? It would’ve been no problem for him. The terrorists made a big mistake. It was very unfortunate for them that Jeremy was on that plane.”^{cdliv}

JARRAH

If Jeremy Glick encounters Ziad Jarrah—the hijacker supposedly flying Flight 93—the contest will be epic. In May 2001, Ziad had turned up at U.S.-1 Fitness in Dania Beach, just north of Miami, after seeing a handbill distributed by martial arts instructor Bert Rodriguez that challenged him to “Assert yourself.” The poster explained that Rodriguez had trained police and federal agents in close-quarters, hand-to-hand fighting.

Possibly reasoning that in the close confines of an airliner aisle or cockpit, judo’s flowing moves might be less effective than down-and-dirty street fighting, the terrorist-in-training had paid \$500 cash for ten lessons. When the first series was completed, Ziad had returned to U.S.-1 and peeled off \$500 for another ten.

“Find ways to blend in with your opponent and control him,” Rodriguez had instructed. At 5 feet, 11-inches and about 180 pounds, Ziad had surprised Rodriguez with his ability to sustain flat-out, hand-to-hand combat for up to 20 minutes per bout.

Shootdown

Back in his Florida apartment, Ziad had built a full-size cardboard mockup of the three instrument-filled panels of the plane he was now supposedly flying. Now, the GPS global positioning receiver he'd picked up at the flight shop is providing continuous readouts of Flight 93's position, course, distance—and exact ETA over the White House.

If they can get there. The long departure delay has thrown them out of an attack sequence apparently involving at least six other planned hijackings. Now a group of determined passengers and an unglimped U.S. Air Force F-16 lining up astern are about to rob Ziad Jarrah's of a martyr's glory, and 72 promised virgins.

As his sobbing wife tells him she loves him and their children, CeeCee's husband in Fort Myers hears screams in the background. Then CeeCee shouts in fear and exultation: "They're doing it! They're doing it! They're doing it!"

Then she says something he can't understand.

Then the line goes dead.

THE FALCON

Letting down from 37,000 feet over Pennsylvania, executive pilot Bill Wright reports to ATC that his Falcon 20 is nearing its Johnstown destination, about 20 miles north of Shanksville. When he finishes his transmission, the air-traffic controller asks Wright and his co-pilot if they can spot another aircraft off their left wing.

They can. Below and less than 20 miles away, Flight 93 is close enough to make out the blue-and-white colors of United Airlines.

When Wright reports visual contact with the United airliner, Air Traffic Control orders him to "get as far away from that plane" as fast as they can fly. Complying with both eyes locked on the distressed airliner, Wright sees the big Boeing jetliner rock back and forth three or four times as he egresses the area.

Something must be happening onboard.

FIGHT OR FLIGHT

0958:

In the cockpit of Flight 93, one of the hijackers anxiously asks in Arabic, "Is there something?"

"A fight?" asks someone else in the same language.

"Yeah?"

[unintelligible]

(In Arabic:) “Let’s go, guys! Allah is greatest. Allah is greatest. Oh guys, Allah is greatest.”

Sounds of blows being landed and received close to the cockpit follow. Then, in Arabic: “Oh Allah. Oh Allah. Oh the most gracious...”

Ugh. Ugh.

“Stay back.”

“In the cockpit. In the cockpit.”

(In Arabic:) “They want to get in there. Hold, hold from the inside. Hold from the inside. Hold. Hold the door!”

“Stop him!”

“Sit down. Sit down. Sit down.”

[unintelligible]

(In Arabic, inside the cockpit:) “What?”

(In Arabic:) “There are some guys. All those guys!”

Brandishing boiling water and using one of the dinner carts as a battering ram, “all those guys”—as well as flight attendants Sandy Bradshaw and CeeCee Lyles—have erupted from the front and back of the plane to fulfill the hijackers’ worst nightmares.

The hijackers have practiced this day’s climactic hijacking for years. But individual passengers who were complete strangers less than an hour before are now pummeling their armed muscle men and bashing at the cockpit door. Close outside that weakening barrier, the cockpit recorder picks up a voice exhorting his companions in an American accent: “Let’s get them!” ^{odiv}

EVACUATE

In the North Tower, where one engine company has already climbed to the 54th floor, at least two other companies of firefighters have reached the Sky Lobby, 10 floors below. Numerous other units are at work on the 5th and 37th floors. The second plane crash has prompted the NYPD Chief to order an additional Level 4 mobilization, bringing the total number of NYPD officers responding to almost 2,000 men and women.

Three plainclothes NYPD officers are also slowly ascending the North Tower, checking every floor above the 12th for civilians and ordering the few they find to leave the building immediately. Lacking radios or protective gear, they use phones to report in. When an NYPD chief tells them to evacuate North Tower, they refuse. Instead, they climb higher into thickening smoke and rising heat. Shortly before 10:00 they reach the 54th floor.

0958:

The last survivor to make the descent from the 91st floor of the South Tower reports stairwell A to be nearly empty. Stairwell B is similarly host to only a handful of descending office workers. But a team of NYPD emergency services officers radios that they have encountered a stream of civilians descending a stairwell in the 20s.

Over on the North Tower's 91st floor—the highest with stairwell access—all but one survivor are uninjured and able to descend. But a group of office workers trapped on the 83rd floor repeatedly plead over phones for updates on whether the fire is above or below them. Transferred several times and advised to stay put, they will die. ^{cdlvi}

GOING DOWN

0959:

As a cloud of white smoke and dust bursts from the base of the South Tower, a Fox 5 anchorwoman reports, “There is an explosion at the base of the building... white smoke from the bottom... Something happened at the base of the building—then another explosion! Another building in the WTC complex.” ^{cdlvii}

A bystander standing near Building One hears a loud rumbling. Glass blows out from the lower floors as he starts running away, throwing him to the sidewalk. Stunned, he lays blinded for almost a half-a-minute before getting back to his feet and staggering away. ^{cdlviii}

In downtown Manhattan, Scott Pasquini is lingering near Battery Park wondering why he is still alive and what the hell is going on. Looking back toward the World Trade Center, he is stunned to see the South Tower shudder and fall straight down.

No burning steel-truss building—even those that endured much hotter fires for far longer periods—has ever collapsed before. Contained by an innovative encircling latticework of tubular steel columns, each two-million-pound upper floor “pancakes” onto the floor below. Even so, the quickly gathering stack appears to free-fall faster than joists can fail. Dropping through more than a thousand feet in just 10 seconds, a heart-stopping crescendo of snapping steel, pulverized concrete, shattering glass and office debris from more than 10-million-square-feet of office space booms through lower Manhattan.

Firefighters working on North Tower's upper floors hear a violent roar. Many are knocked off their feet. Seeing debris blowing up the stairwell and emergency lights activated, many assume that a bomb has exploded. ^{cdlix}

They could be right. Slow-motion video will later show telltale puffs of explosive debris blowing out in succession below the plunging floors. Police will later tell reporters that the collapse resembled “a planned implosion.”^{cdlx}

STREET SCENES

Ron DiFrancesco is the last survivor to exit Tower Two. As he runs away from the building, he is engulfed by a fireball. “I saw the fireball and heard a loud noise. That’s all I remember,” DiFrancesco says later. “All of a sudden I heard a roar and I saw one of the towers blow... I saw from street level as though it exploded up, a giant rolling ball of flame. I hear simultaneously this roar and see what appears to be a gigantic fireball rising up at ground level... I remember seeing this giant ball of fire come out of the earth as I heard this roar.”^{cdlxi}

Women weep.

Men curse. “HOLY FUCK!” one onlooker screams near Pasquini.

Taking refuge in the offered sanctuary of a church not far from Ground Zero, Brian Clark and Stanley Praitnath have not been clear of Tower Two for five minutes when the 110-story building seems to implode and collapse into its own massive dust cloud. Choking on the asbestos blizzard that comes billowing up the street, between them both stunned men have just lost 61 friends.

Having joined a parade of survivors walking east toward the Brooklyn Bridge, WTC survivor Steve Miller is escaping in another direction. The sidewalk around him is packed with Trade Tower refugees. Everyone is speed walking, but no one is panicking. Then the sound washes over them in an almighty roar!

Miller whirls around in time to see Tower Two coming straight down in an avalanche of smoke, dust and ash. Sudden, immense and overwhelmingly violent, the gargantuan crash stuns his soul.

“OH MY GOD!” Miller shouts as his office falls out of the sky. When his brain starts functioning again, his thoughts turn immediately to his delightful office friend, telephone system manager Hope Romano. She had gone back up when that elevator door closed.

She must be dead, he thinks. The dazed executive finds himself in lockstep with another man. Breaking the shocked silence between them, he says, “I worked in that building.”

“I’m sorry,” says the stranger, who seems a comrade now. “I saw the plane hit it.”

Shootdown

A plane? Until that moment, Miller has had no idea what caused so many casualties.

APOCALYPSE RIGHT NOW

John Falk wanders into a bar called The Loft. Even inside, clinging asbestos powder covers everyone and everything. With its microscopic barbs poised to hook the linings of exposed lungs, millions of pulverized pounds of this deadly carcinogen are billowing through downtown Manhattan. As Falk later recalls, “It looks like the first nightspot of the post-apocalypse, filled with dust and broken glass and the same deitrus that seems to covering the whole world.”^{cdlxii}

BLOW UP

“Chief, they’re evacuating the other building; right?” firefighter William Reynolds.

“No,” his chief says.

“Why not? They blew up the other one. If they blow up the one, you know they’re gonna blow up the other one.”^{cdlxiii}

0958:

The collapse of the South Tower spurs a fire chief directing the North Tower response from the lobby to act. “Command to all units in Tower One, evacuate the building,” he radios. A second chief in the same lobby issues an additional evacuation order on tactical frequency 1.162.

At least two battalion fire chiefs on the 23rd and 35th floors of the North Tower repeat the evacuation instruction to everyone they can find. One chief radios the order on tactical 1. He also aims a bullhorn at each accessible stairwell and shouts an unambiguous directive: “All FDNY, get the fuck out!”

Many firefighters begin doing just that.

BRINGING THE WAR HOME

Spotting a woman gazing with the “Thousand Yard Stare” of a shell-shocked marine, war correspondent Scott Anderson finds himself unexpectedly back on the front lines—this time in downtown Manhattan. It seems to him that the woman’s mind is “trying to erase what her eyes had seen.”

Already plastered by families and loved ones to the walls and poles around him, snapshots of the missing, and heart-wrenching

handwritten pleas for information regarding lost daughters, sons, siblings and spouses reminds Anderson of similar posters and the distraught families who posted them in Bosnia and Guatemala.

A fireman comes up stares into Anderson's eyes as if seeking forgiveness. "We kept running over body parts," he whispers. "What the fuck were we supposed to do?" ^{cdlxiv}

1000:

The hijackers barricaded in the cockpit of Flight 93 realize they are facing defeat. An impromptu band of determined passengers using fists, feet and scalding water have blown through their threats and blades in an unstoppable wave that is smashing at the cockpit door. One of the terrorists says in Arabic, "There is nothing..." [to be done?]

The hijackers have earlier agreed that if it appears they are about to be overpowered, they will dive their captured airliner into the ground. Now one of them says in Arabic, "Is that it? Shall we finish it off?"

The reply also comes in Arabic, "No. Not yet."

Someone else says in the same language, "When they all come, we finish it off." ^{cdlxv}

JOHNSTOWN-CAMBRIA TOWER

Seventy miles east of Pittsburgh, the direct line from Cleveland Air Traffic Control rings inside the control tower at the Johnstown-Cambria County Airport. Does the tower have any radio contact with a large aircraft about 20 miles to its south, the caller asks?

Because their small facility has no radar, Supervisor Dennis Fritz and controller Thomas Hull both pick up binoculars and scan the southern horizon. The day is clear. From the highest point in the area they can easily see the radio towers in neighboring Somerset County. A big, low-flying airliner would easily stand out.

But they don't see anything.

Hitting his transmit key, Hull broadcasts an open message: "Aircraft, 20 south of the field, contact Johnstown tower."

FLIGHT 93

Led by Todd Beamer and Tom Burnett, the male passengers and flight attendants press their attack home.

"Ahh," groans someone in English.

"I'm injured!" cries someone else.

[unintelligible]

Shootdown

“Ahh.” (Has Sandy Bradshaw scored a hit with her coffee pot?)

“Oh Allah. Oh Allah. Oh gracious...” one of the hijackers is unable to finish in Arabic.

Outside the cockpit door, an American voice exhorts, “In the cockpit! If we don’t, we’ll die!”

Imploring the pilot to jink the jet violently to throw the attackers off their feet, another voice outside the door calls out in Arabic: “Up, down. Up, down in the cockpit.”

“The cockpit,” someone echoes in the same tongue. “Up, down. Saeed, up, down!”

“Saeed” could be Saeed al-Ghamdi. The novice pilot is being implored to pitch the airplane up and down—a relatively slow movement—instead of rolling it almost onto its back. While an effective maneuver against cabin rebellion, even the most experienced 767 pilot would reconsider before attempting a steep bank this close to the ground.

If Ziad Jarrah is not flying the plane, has he joined his comrades making a last-ditch stand outside the cockpit? If so, this street-fighting expert is meeting more than his match. Close enough to the cockpit door to be caught clearly by the cockpit wire recorder comes an unmistakable American voice: “Let’s roll!”^{cdlxvi}

SOMEBODY DO SOMETHING

Inside the wounded Pentagon, all that America’s air defenders know is that Flight 93 is still closing on D.C. Not even a patriotic public that has fallen for every White House deception since Pearl Harbor and the Gulf of Tonkin is going to believe any explanation short of treason for the failure of their high-tech trillion-dollar air defense system to mount an effective response to a handful of civilian airliners commandeered by a bunch of kids wielding Exacto knives.

Not after Flight 93’s 90-minute free flight. Especially if America’s most iconic landmark—the White House—is taken out.

Which is right where Flight 93 is headed.

Which is why a Fighting Falcon is lining up to take the shot.

JOHNSTOWN-CAMBRIA TOWER

1001:

Cleveland Center calls Dennis Fritz back to warn that the United 757 is now 15 miles south and heading directly for them. “We suggest you evacuate,” the FAA official advises.

Ordering all trainees and custodial staff out of the 85-foot-high

tower, Fritz and Hull remain at their posts. Quartering the low southern sky with his binoculars, it occurs to Dennis Fritz that the United jet must be flying below the level of the mountain ridges around them. ^{cdlxvii}

The realization frightens him. In terrain only gently challenged by the distant Appalachians, the “mountains” of Pennsylvania are not very high. The highest summit reaches just 3,200 feet. And the ridges around the tower are considerably lower.

FLIGHT 93

The hijackers are losing their private *jihad*. “Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest, “ one of them says in Arabic. Resignedly? Defiantly? The Cockpit Voice Recorder transcript indicates no inflection.

[unintelligible]

(In Arabic:) “Is that it? I mean, shall we pull it down?”

(In Arabic:) “Yes, put it in it, and pull it down.” [Crash the plane.]

Another hijacker sees a way out: “Cut off the oxygen,” he starts chanting in Arabic. “Cut off the oxygen. Cut off the oxygen. Cut off the oxygen.” ^{cdlxviii}

But his advice is a useless distraction. With the Boeing flying only a few thousand feet off the ground, the cabin is already depressurized. Cutting off the “bleed air” from the engines to the cabin will have no immediate effect.

THE STINGERS

Not far to the east, the Pentagon’s National Command Center begins contacting bases across the country that are outside NORAD’s quick-response network. Can anyone get anything useful into the air?

Incredibly for a city and a nation at peace, a flight of Air National Guard F-16s in being configured for a training mission manages to respond to NEAD’s emergency redirection and rocket off the main runway at the Toledo Express Airport just 16 minutes later.

NORAD should be taking lessons from the 112th Fighter Squadron. Initially ordered to defend New York, could one of these jets from the 180th Fighter Wing have made the needles jump in the seismic station near Shanksville at 9:22?

According to Marr, the Toledo interceptors calling themselves the “Stingers” came late to the fight: “They never had a track close enough that they were directed to engage,” he will later tell a Toledo newspaper.

But these may not have been the only Stingers unleashed this morning. At least one other F-16 managed to get airborne at 9:56.

Shootdown

Or maybe even earlier. Though the Stingers are not officially airborne until after Flight 93 is down, eyewitnesses waiting for commercial flights at the Toledo terminal emphatically report that F-16s from the 180th Fighter Wing took off from the airport's main runway around 0900. ^{cdlxix}

The man who knows for sure is the base Commander of Operations. Pete Raffa, 44, will die unexpectedly of a heart attack on December 2, 1001. ^{cdlxx}

PURSUIT

A flight controller in New Hampshire tracks the subsequent pursuit on his radarscope: "An F-16 fighter closely pursued United Airlines Flight 93," he will later tell reporters. "The F-16 made 360-degree turns to remain close to the commercial jet. He must've seen the whole thing." ^{cdlxxi}

But this Fighting Falcon is much more than a spectator.

UNITED

After a frantic review of radar tapes, air traffic controllers detect an aircraft signature near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. Though its altitude cannot be exactly determined, the airplane looks to be around 3,500 feet. One minute later, Cleveland Center radar shows Flight 93 veering sharply south. ^{cdlxxii}

Cleveland calls the plane immediately: "United 93 verify your flight level, er, three-five-zero. United 93 do you read Cleveland Center please?"

Transiting the area at high altitude, United Flight 797 hails a passing United jet on the company frequency: "Did you hear some other aircraft on a frequency a couple of minutes ago, screaming?"

United 1523: "Yes I did, seven ninety-seven. And, ah, we couldn't tell what it was either."

Cleveland breaks in: "American ten-sixty, you heard that also?"

American Flight 1060 replies, "We heard it twice."

Then Executive 956 joins the discussion. "We could hear that, er, yelling too," one of its corporate pilots reports.

"OK, thank you. We're just trying to figure out what's going on," Cleveland comes back.

Now United 93 returns to the airwaves with another miskeyed cabin announcement. This time, the cockpit voice is so stressed, it is nearly unintelligible. "This is captain. Please sit down. Remain sitting! We have bomb onboard."

Cleveland calls back, as if replying to a routine transmission: “Uh, calling Cleveland Center. You’re unreadable. Say again slowly.”

Executive 956 tries to help out: “Sounded like he said he had a bomb onboard.”

“That’s what we thought. We just, er, we didn’t get it clear,” Cleveland responds, before warning the bizjet that an unknown aircraft is transmitting at their “twelve o’clock, one-five miles.”

It must be Flight 93, right on their nose just 15 miles away.

“Turn left heading two-two-five. I’ll get you away from him,” Cleveland quickly orders Executive 956. “OK, he’s climbing so I want to keep everybody away from him.”

The executive jet replies, “OK, I think we got him in sight.”

The initially garbled Middle Eastern voice in its cockpit can now be clearly heard repeating a mantra his rebelling hostages are disregarding: “This is the captain. We have a bomb on board... I am going back to the airport. They have met our demands.”

CLEVELAND CENTER

Though the message is not intended for them, Cleveland Center comes right back, first addressing the wayward airliner, then its eyes in the sky: “United 93 calling. United 93. Understand you have a bomb on board. Go ahead. Break. Executive nine fifty-six, did you understand that transmission?”

“Affirmative. He said there was a bomb on board,” the business jet confirms.

Cleveland: “And that was all you got out of it also?”

“Affirmative. Executive nine fifty-six. We had a visual on it. Just stand by.”

Cleveland: “You have a visual on it now?”

“We did, but we lost it in the turn.” (Pause) “He’s still there. We’ve got him.”

Cleveland: “He’s still there, er, what, about twenty-five miles?”

“Affirmative. Executive nine fifty-six. He appears to be heading right towards us.”^{edlxiii}

FLIGHT 93

1002:

“Up, down. Up, down,” someone is still urging in Arabic. More sounds of pain and moaning are followed by a command, twice repeated in English: “Shut them off.”

Shootdown

“Go. Go,” someone else exhorts in English. “Move. Move.”

Then in Arabic, someone tells the pilot to crash the plane: “Down, down. Pull it down. Pull it down. Down. Push, push, push, push, push.”

A struggle apparently ensues among the hijackers as the “crashers” versus the “fighters” vie for the controls.

(In Arabic:) “Hey. Hey. Give it to me. Give it to me. Give it to me. Give it to me. Give it to me. Give it to me. Give it to me. Give it to me. Give it to me.”

FOX ONE

1003:

Locking onto the heat signature from one of two big turbines attached to the Boeing’s broad wing, the pursuing Fighting Falcon fires a heat-seeking missile. In deference to anyone listening in, its pilot refrains from making the traditional call of a homing missile leaving its launch rail: “Fox One!”

In development since downing the first Chinese MiGs over Vietnam, the highly evolved air-to-air missile leaves no smoke trail. Flying supersonic, the nine-and-a-half-foot, rock-powered lance flies right up the exhaust of Flight 93’s right-side engine. Sensing the powerplant’s mass, a laser proximity fuse triggers the detonation of the Sidewinder’s “improved” 28-pound warhead. Tumbling at high velocity, two layers of solid rods rip through delicate, fan-shaped turbine-blades spinning in a screaming blur.

EDWARD FELT

In a washroom onboard Flight 93, Edward Felt’s fingers shake as he dials 911.

Philadelphia operator Glen Cramer takes his call. Speaking for less than a minute, Felt screams, “We’re being hijacked, we’re being hijacked!”

Just before contact is broken, he reports hearing an explosion. Felt says white smoke is pouring from the plane. “We’re going down!” he shouts. ^{cdlxxiv}

An explosion followed by white smoke is the signature of a missile strike severing fuel lines.

HONEY

Still flying toward New York City, F-16 pilot “Honey” Craig Borgstrom sees a black column of smoke rising above Washington D.C. about 30 or 40 miles to the west. Asked by Huntress if he can

confirm that the Pentagon is burning, Borgstrom radios back an affirm.

Too late to protect the Pentagon, the three F-16s are ordered to set up a defensive perimeter over Washington. ^{cdlxxv}

SOUND OF IMPACT

1003:

(In Arabic:) “Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.” (This death chant is said by believers to open the gates of Paradise.)

(In English:) “No!”

(In Arabic:) “Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.”

Another two minutes of cockpit recording will be censored by the White House transcript, before the sound of impact.

Chapter 8

SHANKSVILLE

In Somerset, about eight miles from the Shanksville quarry, Nancy Goodwin reaches her son on his cell phone outside a classroom at the Allegany College of Maryland campus where they both attend school.

“Doug, terrorists hit the World Trade Center,” Nancy Goodwin tells him.

“Well thank goodness we live here,” her son replies. ^{edlxxvi}

TWO MINUTES TO IMPACT 1004:

Johnstown-Cambria Tower supervisor Dennis Fritz calls Cleveland Center. He and Thomas Hull have just spotted the distinctive blue-and-white United Airlines passenger plane passing at 15 miles, low to the south.

Much closer to its flight path, Linda Shepley is startled to see an airliner tilting from side-to-side at perhaps 2,500 feet. Then she hears a loud bang and sees the airliner tilt sharply all the way to one side, before plunging to the earth. ^{edlxxvii}

Her description matches a missile hit on one of the jet’s two engines.

In the Stony Creek Township of Shanksville, Pennsylvania, Kelly Leverknight also watches the oncoming plane. It is flying low, heading east. “There was no smoke,” he will tell reporters later that day. “It just went straight down. I saw the belly of the plane.” ^{edlxxviii}

THREE MILES TO IMPACT

Rob Kimmel sees the big jet fly directly overhead. It is rolling hard to the right, into the dead or missing engine hidden from his view. It is just 200 feet off the ground—or maybe even less as it crests a hill to the southeast. The airliner has rolled inverted. “I saw the top of the plane, not the bottom,” Kimmel later insists. ^{edlxxix}

Eric Peterson is in Lambertsville, a hamlet of some 20 houses about a mile and a half from the crash site, when he sees a plane flying unusually low. It seems to be turning end-over-end as it drops out of sight behind a tree line. But that could be trick of perspective.

Terry Butler is located a few miles north of Lambertsville: “It dropped out of the clouds,” he recalls. The plane rose slightly, trying to gain altitude, then “it just went flip to the right” as the powerful thrust from the remaining engine tipped the plane into its missing engine.

“And then straight down.”^{edlxxx}

TWO-MILES TO IMPACT

Though he never saw it, Michael Merringer hears what could have been a missile explode. “I heard the engine gun two different times,” he later says. “And then I heard a loud bang.”^{edlxxxii}

ONE-AND-A-HALF MILES TO IMPACT

Close by Lambertsville at a place called Stoystown, Bob Blair sees a big airliner spiraling upside down, not much higher than the tree-tops, before crashing.^{edlxxxii}

Was a pair of air-to-air missiles fired at Flight 93? An unnamed witness standing nearby hears two loud bangs before watching the plane dip nearly straight down.^{edlxxxiii}

Other eyewitnesses will tell the *Mirror* that they could see smoke and flames coming from Flight 93 as it fell.

A HALF-MILE FROM IMPACT

Charles Sturtz watches a low-flying airliner heading southeast. One engine is running flat out. He does not see any smoke. He later says, “It was really roaring, you know. Like it was trying to go someplace, I guess.”ⁱ

More likely, whoever is flying the big jet has revved the remaining engine to compensate for the lack of thrust from its missing turbine. Adding full power to the remaining powerplant will quickly roll an unbalanced twin-engine airplane onto its back.ⁱⁱ

A QUARTER-MILE FROM IMPACT

Hearing a sound that isn’t quite right, Tom Fritz looks up into the sky and sees a big airplane—a commercial airliner by the look of it—flying way too low.

Shanksville

“It dropped all of a sudden, like a stone,” he later says, going “so fast that you couldn’t even make out what color it was.”

FIVE SECONDS TO IMPACT

Standing outside in Stoystown, Terry Butler sees an airliner come out of the clouds, low to the ground. “It was moving like you wouldn’t believe,” he recounts. “Next thing I knew it makes a heck of a sharp, right-hand turn.”

Attempting to clear a ridge, it continues rolling to the right before veering behind high ground. A heartbeat later it hits. ^{edlxxxvi}

SECONDS FROM IMPACT

Tim Thornsberg is working at Shanksville’s reclaimed strip mine: “It came in low over the trees and started wobbling. Then it just rolled over and was flying upside down for a few seconds,” he later told a WFXI reporter. “And then it kind of stalled and did a nose dive over the trees.” ^{edlxxxvii}

300 YARDS FROM IMPACT

Lee Purbaugh is on his second day of work at the Rollock scrap yard next to the strip-mine. The hiss of his welding torch is so loud, when an overriding noise finally attracts his attention, he pushes back his mask and looks up to see a commercial just “40 or 50 feet” above him.

Purbaugh’s coworker, Tim Lensbouer, 35, says he “heard the plane for 10 or 15 seconds. It sounded like it was going full bore.”

The plane was “coming down in a 45-degree, and rocking from side to side,” Purbaugh later recounted. “There was an incredibly loud rumbling sound and there it was, right there, right above my head—maybe 50 feet up. I saw it rock from side to side.

Then suddenly it dipped and dived, nose first, with a huge explosion, into the ground. I knew immediately that no one could possibly have survived.” ^{edlxxxviii}

IMPACT

1006:

The ground jumps as the United Airlines jetliner augurs straight in at 510 miles-per-hour just 300 yards away from Purbaugh, Lensbouer and Thornsberg. As the fuel ignites, a massive fireball mushrooms 200 feet overhead.

On the other side of the hill, Sturtz watches the fireball shoot hundreds of feet over the crest. It is immediately followed by a pall of thick black smoke rising like an accusing finger into clear blue sky. Trails of fire follow pieces of the fuselage as they shoot hundreds of yards into the woods—*not the scrap yard*, he thinks. *Thank God.*

Tim Lensbouer's wife is a former volunteer firefighter. "My instinct was to run toward it, to try to help," says Nina Lensbouer later. "But I got there and there was nothing, nothing there but charcoal. Instantly, it was charcoal."^{edlxxxix}

BIG MO

Rick King is sitting inside the Shanksville firehouse watching what looks like the end of the world—or at least the world he's known—on TV while he talks with his sister on the phone.

"Rick," she says. "I hear a big plane... I think it's going to crash!"

She sounds frightened. But what she's saying makes no sense. *The whole damn morning is just too weird*, thinks the assistant chief of Shanksville's volunteer fire department. How could this tiny hamlet be a terrorist target?

As his sister grows more insistent, King runs out onto the porch carrying the cordless. The plane is nose-diving, she says into his left ear. Falling like a stone.

He can't see it.

"Oh, my God, Rick... It's going to crash!"

In his right ear, Rick King hears a tremendous boom. In his other ear, as if in some kind of telephonic stereo, he hears the same deep rumbling coming over the line four miles away.

It really is too weird.

Surrendering to the surreal, Rick King dons his firefighting gear and runs to "Big Mo". Three other men join him on the 1992-vintage pumper truck already loaded with one thousand gallons of water. As they thunder up Lambertsville Road behind a siren shrieking like a lost soul, the assistant chief recalls grotesque crash-site photos and cautions his crew, "This is going to be something we haven't seen before."

1020:

Big Mo swerves onto a gravel road, throwing dirt before bursting onto a large field of dry golden grass bordered by distant woods.

King and his crew brace for the first sickening sight of human remains strewn over the crash site. But there are only a few scattered

fires, and small chunks of yellow honeycomb insulation dangling like ornaments from some of the trees. In the woods about 50 yards away, King can see some shirts, pants and loose papers scattered among the branches.

No pieces of fuselage.

And no body parts, thank God. ^{cdxc}

MAIN CRASH SITE

When Charles Sturtz reaches the crash site, the point of impact is just a dark gash, not more than 30 feet wide at the base of a gentle slope just before the line of trees.

The biggest pieces of wreckage this 53-year-old resident can find is maybe four-feet-long. “Most of the pieces you could put into a shopping bag. And there were clothes hanging from the trees,” he will later tell the press. ^{cdxc}

Jon Meyer from WJAC-TV is one of the first reporters to reach the scene. “I was able to get right up to the edge of the crater,” he later recounts. “All I saw was a crater filled with small, charred plane parts. Nothing that would even tell you that it was the plane... there were no suitcases, no recognizable plane parts, no body parts. The crater was about 30- to 35-feet deep.”

According to Mark Stahl, “There’s a crater gouged in the earth. The plane is pretty much disintegrated. There’s nothing left but scorched trees.” ^{cdxcii}

Scott Spangler, a photographer with a local newspaper, doesn’t think he has found the right place. He keeps looking for something recognizable. But there is nothing, he remembers. “Just this pit. I was looking for anything that said ‘tail’, ‘wing’, ‘plane’, ‘metal’. There was nothing.” ^{cdxciii}

According to Ron Delano, another local resident who rushed to the scene after hearing the crash, “If they hadn’t told us a plane had wrecked, you wouldn’t have known. It looked like it hit and disintegrated.”

“Never in my wildest dreams did I think half the plane was down there” in that hole, Rick King will later insist. The volunteer fire chief sends his men into the woods to search for the plane’s fuselage. But they keep coming back and telling him, “Rick. There’s nothing.” ^{cdxciv}

Most airliner crashes occur in a fairly level attitude as their frantic pilots try to bring the nose up before skidding at high speed over rough ground, or through trees that rip off the wings and tail section. But when a lightly constructed, 2,000-ton winged aluminum tube filled with explosive jet fuel flies head-on into a reinforced wall or rocky

ground at nearly the speed of sound... the only applicable eyewitness descriptions at Shanksville are “disintegrated,” “nothing left” and “no recognizable plane parts.”

INDIAN LAKE

In the resort community of Indian Lake about six miles from the crash site, marina employee John Fleegle has just returned to the dock to fetch fuel for a stranded boat. Carol Delasko calls him inside to watch news of the World Trade Center attack.

Suddenly, the lights flicker. “Maybe they are coming for us,” Fleegle and Delasko simultaneously joke.

Just then a huge jet thunders low over the roof. The entire building shakes. Fleegle and Delasko stop laughing and race for the door. In the explosion that follows, the two marina hands run outside in time to see a fireball mushroom over the ridge at the far end of the 750-acre lake.

A shaken Carol Delasko will later tell reporters that her first thought was that a boat had blown up on the lake. Then she realizes that it must have been a plane. “It just looked like confetti raining down all over the air above the lake,” she says soon afterwards. ^{cdxv}

Marina owner Jim Brant also witnesses the crash from Indian Lake.

CLEVELAND CENTER

1006:

Cleveland Center loses radar contact with Flight 93. “United ninety-three Cleveland, do you still hear the Center? United ninety-three, do you still hear Cleveland?” they call.

A second Cleveland controller comes on the air: “Do you see any, ah, activity on your right side, smoke or anything like that?” Stacey Taylor asks an American Airlines plane.

American 1060: “Negative. We’re searching.”

[two-second pause]

“Yeah, we do have a smoke puff now at about, er, oh probably two o’clock. There appears to be just a spire up like a puff of black smoke.”

^{cdxvi}

1007:

A C-130 military cargo plane is just 25 away. So Taylor asks its pilot to look out toward Flight 93’s last position and see if he can spot anything.

Remarkably, this turns out to be the same Steve O'Brien who observed Flight 77 crash into the Pentagon a half-hour earlier. Once again, the command pilot of the big Hercules reports that he can see smoke coming from the ground in the direction the hijacked plane went down. ^{cdxcvii}

DEBRIS FIELD

According to the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, which will later publish the most detailed chronology of the Flight 93 crash, other residents in communities just outside Shanksville report discovering “clothing, books, papers, and what appeared to be human remains.”

Some residents collect bags filled with items from Flight 93 and turn them over to investigators. Others report crash debris floating in Indian Lake, nearly six miles from the main crash scene. ^{cdxcviii}

Feeling the aftershock from a big crash, Kate Moses goes outside to look. Later, her neighbor will find a brokerage statement for a \$2 million stock account that has landed in her yard.

“How could that have happened? It’s just a horrifying thought. I’ll never be the same, I know that,” Kate Moses tells reporters. ^{cdxcix}

Other eyewitnesses report seeing smoke and flames coming from the Boeing as it came down. ^d

“THE DAMNDEST DARNED THING”

Susan McElwain, 51, lives just two miles from the crash site. When she looks up at the sound of an approaching jet, she sees not a huge airliner but a much smaller white plane. Traveling “real fast,” the jet passed 40- or 50-feet above her mini-van—so low, she ducks.

The business jet-size plane disappears behind some trees. Seconds later, an explosion and fireball rising over the woods convinced McElwain that the plane had crashed. Grabbing her cell, she dials 911 and reports the accident. All she can think of was how close she has come to dying.

Only when she got home and turned on the TV, does she realize that the plane she saw was not Flight 93.

And it had not crashed.

When authorities dismiss other accounts of the small jet, Susan McElwain grows indignant. “There’s no way I imagined this plane,” she tells reporters. “It was so low it was virtually on top of me. It was white with no markings but it was definitely military, it just had that look.”

The white jet had “two rear engines, a big fin on the back like a spoiler on the back of a car and with two upright fins at the side.”

Official “spin” quickly claims that the mystery jet was taking pictures of the crash from 3,000 feet. “But I saw it and it was there before the crash and it was 40-feet above my head,” McElwain insists.

Purbaugh also saw the white jet. “Yes, there was another plane,” he tells reports. “I didn’t get a good look, but it was white and it circled the area about twice and then it flew off over the horizon.”

Tom Spinelli was working at Indian Lake Marina when he, too, saw the white plane. “It was flying around all over the place like it was looking for something,” he recounts. “I saw it before and after the crash.”

Robin Doppstadt was working inside her general store when she heard Flight 93 crash. Running outside, she saw a small white jet making one quick circle over the crash site.

“Then it climbed very quickly and took off,” farmer Dale Browning, takes up the story. “It’s the damndest darn thing.”

About a mile north on Buckstown Road, Dennis Decker and Rick Chaney were making wooden pallets when they heard an explosion and came running outside in time to see a large mushroom cloud of fire and smoke spreading over the ridge.

“As soon as we looked up, we saw a midsize jet flying low and fast,” Decker later said. “It appeared to make a loop or part of a circle, and then it turned fast and headed out.”

Echoing McLain’s and McElwain’s descriptions, Decker and Chaney describe the plane as a Lear-jet type, with engines mounted near the tail and painted white with no identifying markings.

“If you were here to see it, you’d have no doubt,” Decker insists. “It was a jet plane, and it had to be flying real close when that 757 went down. If I was the FBI, I’d find out who was driving that plane.”⁴¹

SHOOTDOWN

Laura Temyer did not see Flight 93 over of Hooversville. “But I heard the plane’s engine,” she says. “Then I heard a loud thump that echoed off the hills, and then I heard the plane’s engine. I heard two more loud thumps and didn’t hear the plane’s engine anymore after that.”

Temyer insists that people she knows in state law enforcement explained the extensive debris field by telling her that the plane was shot down. Decompression resulting from the holed fuselage sucked objects from the aircraft.

Ernie Stuhl is the mayor of Shanksville. “I know of two people—I will not mention names—that heard a missile,” he tells a Pittsburgh newspaper reporter. “They both live very close, within a couple of hundred yards. This one fellow’s served in Vietnam and he says he’s heard them, and he heard one that day.”

Mayor Stuhl adds that based on what he has learned, the F-16s—(plural)—were “very, very close.”

A Philadelphia newspaper speculates that a heat-seeking missile fired from a pursuing F-16 ordered “weapons free” by Vice-President Cheney would have homed in on the intense exhaust gases coming from one of the Boeing 757’s big jet turbines, blowing it right off the wing. ^{dii}

After being mortally struck by a pair of heat-seeking missiles fired by Soviet interceptor in 1983, a Korean Airlines 747 remained flying for another two minutes. Though badly crippled, sheer momentum would have similarly kept Flight 93 flying a few moments longer, shedding debris over Indian Lake and the countryside below as it descended, until the unbalanced wing and high thrust from the remaining engine rolled the airliner and its heroic passengers into the ground. ^{diii}

How else to explain a second, smaller impact zone? Soon after the crash of Flight 93, CNN initially reports that a “second plane” has gone down in Pennsylvania, before issuing a correction that both crash sites belong to the same airliner.

At the secondary site eight miles from Flight 93’s main impact crater, State Police Major Lyle Szupinka informs the press that searchers have found one of the large engines from the aircraft “at a considerable distance from the crash site. It appears to be the whole engine,” he adds. ^{diii}

But the 1,000-pound chunk of charred jet turbine is all that remains of the one-ton turbine blown off the airliner’s right wing by an explosive missile warhead.

A reporter who asks the obvious taboo question is answered by tight-lipped silence from crash investigators who are, he subsequently writes, “unwilling to say whether the presence of debris in two separate places evinced an explosion.”

Three years later, during a Christmas Eve address to American troops in Baghdad, a tongue-tied Donald Rumsfeld will refer to the “the people who... shot down the plane over Pennsylvania...” ^{dvi}

MISSING TIME

When finally allowed to hear the “last minutes” of the cockpit tape, the families of the heroes onboard Flight 93 are not told that the last two minutes have been cut. Or that the last sound heard on Flight 93’s Cockpit Voice Recorder is wind noise—suggesting that the plane had been holed.

Most Americans would presumably understand the necessity of shooting down a doomed airliner destined to be dived into the White House. But blowing a U.S. domestic airliner out of the sky would have spooked the flying public, crippling their confidence—as well as seat sales for months or years to come. Who would feel safe knowing that a perceived problem onboard, or even a communications glitch could see their plane shot down?

For the White House and the air force, hyping Flight 93’s heroic passengers will become a perfect distraction away from questions into the inconsistencies, contradictions and falsehoods in their official Shanksville stories.

Which must be why the White House tried so hard to establish the official crash time of Flight 93 as 10:03.

But FAA officials will later tell the relatives of Flight 93’s victims that the tape they are finally allowed to hear just once begins at 9:31 and runs for 31 minutes, until 10:04.

Neither version is correct.

Several seismologists, including those later commissioned by the Pentagon to establish the exact time of the Flight 93 crash, agree that the airliner returned violently to the earth at 10:06. Located just 60 miles from the abandoned strip-mine in Somerset County where the Boeing 757 crashed, after picking up a pursuing fighter jet’s sonic boom at 0922, their earthquake monitoring instruments determined the time of Flight 93’s subsequent impact to within 5 seconds. ^{dvi}

The cockpit tape records another blast just seconds before the plane went down. Measuring the frequency and velocity of the sound waves, and the time taken to reach the cockpit, skilled sound analysts will later determine that the sound signature could only have come from a high-explosive detonation outside and aft of the cockpit, as far back as the wing. ^{dvii}

NEADS

1007:

Over a crackly radio, one of the Langley fighter pilots now orbiting

Washington is calling in urgently: “Baltimore is saying something about an aircraft over the White House. Any words?”

“Negative. Stand by,” says Weapons Tech Steve Citino. Releasing his transmitter key, he stabs the intercom to Major Fox: “Do you copy that, SD? Center said there’s an aircraft over the White House. Any words?”

Fox calls his mission commander, Major Nasypany: “MCC, we’ve got an aircraft reported over the White House.”

Nasypany replies instinctively: “Intercept!”

Fox repeats the order: “Intercept!”

“Intercept and divert that aircraft away from there,” Nasypany quickly updates.

Citino gets on the horn to one of the Langley fighters: “Quit 2-5, mission is intercept aircraft over White House. Use FAA for guidance.”

But “intercept” is too ambiguous for Weapons Team leader. “Divert the aircraft away from the White House. Intercept and divert it,” orders Major James Fox.

Citino relays the command: “Quit 2-5, divert the aircraft from the White House.”

The Langley pilot repeats his instructions: “Divert the aircraft.”

Nasypany contacts the Battle Cab on the intercom. With yet another bogey reported right over the White House, Nasypany needs to know what the Langley fighter pilot can do to counter this new threat.

“Do you hear that?” Major Kevin Nasypany asks Colonel Marr. “That aircraft over the White House. What’s the word... ? Intercept and what else... ? Aircraft over the White House,” he repeats for emphasis.

Marr understands that his mission crew commander is requesting permission to shoot down a civilian airliner carrying Americans over the United States. Hotter than a missile malfunction, he bucks this request up the line to NOARD commander Major General Larry Arnold in Florida. As he does, ID tech Shelley Watson fields another call from Cleveland Center.

“We got a United 93 out here. Are you aware of that?” Cleveland asks.

Watson is not. “United 93?” she asks.

“That has a bomb onboard,” Cleveland Center springs another surprise.

“A bomb onboard? And this is confirmed? You have an IFF, sir?” Watson queries. She means, has Cleveland picked up the transponder code signifying a hijacking-in-progress?

“No. We lost his transponder,” Cleveland says.

Watson shouts this info across to Nasypany.

“Gimme the call sign. Gimme the whole nine yards,” the major calls back. “Let’s get some info, real quick. They got a bomb?” ^{dviii}

But everyone onboard Flight 93 is already dead.

1011:

As far as NEADS knows, there are four hijacked aircraft still in the air: one coming down from Canada, the phantom American 11, Delta 1989, and United 93.

The answer to Nasypany’s question comes back from General Arnold at Tyndall. The major relays it to his people: “Negative. Negative clearance to shoot, Goddammit!” With so many airliners scattering from their scheduled flight-paths, and with simulated hijacking drills possibly still in play, the air force cannot risk its pilots opening fire on the wrong airplane.

With at least four suspected kamikaze airliners bearing down on targets as yet unknown, Nasypany clarifies the rules of engagement: “Negative clearance to fire. ID type, tail.”

Citino is talking to one of the jets out of Langley: “Quit 2-6. Huntress. How far is the—suspect aircraft?”

The pursuit flight leader radios back: “Standby. Standby... About 15 miles, Huntress.”

“Huntress copies two-two miles,” Citino reads back.

The Langley pilot corrects him: “Fifteen miles, Huntress.”

Citino is having trouble hearing in the beldam around him. Everyone in the ops center seems to be shouting at once.

“Fifteen miles. One-five,” he reads back. “Noise level please...” Citino addresses the room, before radioing the fighter. “Quit 2-6, when able say altitude of the aircraft...”

Without waiting for a reply, Citino turns to Huckabone seated at the console beside him. “Did we get a Z-track up for the White House?”

“They’re workin’ on it,” Huckabone replies.

“Okay,” Steve Citino says.

But it is not okay. Nobody has a clue as to the identity of this latest threat. “Hey, what’s this Bravo zero-zero-five?” Citino wants to know what type aircraft they’re chasing.

“We’re trying to get the Z-point. We’re trying to find it,” Major Fox says. Whatever it is, they cannot locate it on radar.

Looking at his own ancient 'scope, Huckabone exclaims in frustration, "I don't even know where the White House is!"

Citino guesses why they can't pick the bogey out of the ground clutter. "Whatever it is, it's very low. It's probably a helicopter," he says.

Another tech picks up on this: "It's probably the helicopter you're watching there... There's probably one flying over the—"

Before he can say, "Pentagon" another technician chimes in: "It's probably the smoke. The building's smoked." Everyone in the room can see the flaming Pentagon on CNN.

Looking up at overhead television, Huckabone checks out the network coverage for the first time. "Holy shit... Holy shit..."

"Yes. We saw that. OK. Let's watch our guys, Huck. Not the TV," Citino calms him down. "Quit 2-6, status? SD, they're too low. I can't talk to 'em. They're too low. I can't talk to 'em."

Fox is not taking any chances. "Negative clearance to fire," he repeats.

Citino reassures him, "OK. I told 'em mission is ID and that was it."

Fox makes sure: "Do whatever you need to divert. They are not cleared to fire."

"It's just as well the pilots are not cleared to shoot," *Vanity Fair's* Michael Bronner later writes. "Delta 1989 and the Canadian scare turn out to be false alarms. American 11 and United 93 are already down. And the fast-moving target near the White House that the armed fighters are racing to intercept turns out to be..."

"It was our guys," Huckabone suddenly realizes. The other fighters from Langley have been protectively circling the White House and Pentagon low enough to reassure the spooked civilians and military personnel on the ground.

"Yup," Citino concurs. "It was our guys they saw. It was our guys they saw—Center saw."

Fox adds defensively, "New York did the same thing..."

"OK, Huck. That was cool," Steve Citino says. "We intercepted our own guys."

What about Flight 93? Shelley Watson calls Washington Center for an update: "United Niner Three, have you got information on that yet?"

"Yeah, he's down," Washington Center tells her.

"What—he's down?" Relief can be heard in her voice.

"Yes."

“When did he land?” Watson wants to know. “Because we have confirmation—”

Washington Center has trouble replying: “He did... he did... he did not land.”

On the tape, the air rushes out of Watson’s lungs. “Oh,” she says quietly. “He’s down down?”

A NEADS tech tells her, “Yes. Yeah, somewhere up northeast of Camp David.”

“Northeast of Camp David,” Watson repeats to Washington Center. “That’s the... that’s the last report. They don’t know exactly where.” ^{dx}

“YOU BET”

Around this time, Air Force One lifts off from Sarasota-Bradenton International Airport and tilts steeply upwards in a maximum performance climb to evade any shoulder-fired missiles launched by America’s attackers. The plush presidential Boeing 747 has no destination. Incredibly, it levels off and begins circling aimlessly over Florida without a fighter escort. Given the performance of Dubya and his top generals so far, if either Global Guardian or Vigilant Guardian had been for real, most of the country would by now be radioactive slag. ^{dx}

Phoning his boss onboard Air Force One, Dick Cheney recommends that Bush authorize the military to shoot down any plane under control of the hijackers. After giving that order three times, and taking out Flight 93, the Vice-President would like be covered. ^{dxii}

“You bet,” Bush says.

Only now does the United States Air Force begin diverting airplanes already airborne on training flights to defend the nation. The Syracuse Air National Guard is also trying to get fighters into the air by arming jets on the flight line “with whatever weapons they have handy.” ^{dxii}

NEADS

1016:

The bad news phone will not stop ringing. Tech. Sergeant Jeremy Powell passes the word to his superior: “Southeast just called. There’s another possible hijack in our area...”

Major Nasypany is becoming a little tired of this. “All right. Fuck...”

As far as he knows, an unknown enemy is still attacking in waves.

False alarms requiring rapid responses will continue into the afternoon. As one officer at Andrews Air Force Base recalls, “After the Pentagon was hit, we were told there were more coming. Not ‘might be’—they were coming.”^{dxiii}

By the following morning, there will be some 300 armed fighter jets flying continuous combat orbits over every major American city and nuclear installation.^{dxiv}

DIVERSIONS

1021:

FAA boss Jane Garvey orders the diversion of all international flights approaching the Continental United States. North of the U.S. border, NavCanada, immigration officials and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police brace for the arrival of 255 airliners diverted to 15 different airports across the country.

As Canada’s improvised “Operation Yellow Ribbon” swings into high gear to handle the U.S.-bound diversions, Ottawa is reporting as many as 12 hijacked jets still in the air. With one of them believed to be heading toward Hamilton, Ontario, Transport Minister David Collenette orders all jet traffic away from Toronto and Montreal international airports. On the opposite coast, Vancouver International will have to take all diverted flights within range. There is nowhere else to land them.^{dxv}

Nearly as remote as the moon, Goose Bay, Labrador takes the first redirected trans-Atlantic flights, receiving seven airliners in all. Another 39 wide-body jets heading for the USA from Europe are sent to Gander, Newfoundland. With less than 10,000 residents attempting to accommodate some 6,600 unexpected visitors, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien will later remark that there were more people at the airport than in the town.

On Canada’s West coast, 34 flights heading from Asia for U.S. destinations land their 8,500 passengers in Vancouver, instead.

One of the incoming airliners is reported hijacked! With F-18s unable to scramble out of Comox, British Columbia, two American F-15 Strike Eagles escort an Air China 747 out of Beijing onto YVR’s north runway, where it is surrounded by armed Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Relieved airport officials explain that the flap was caused by a communication problem.^{dxvi}

No one with aerial authority in Canada or the United States is taking any more chances. When another Beijing departure—Korean Air Flight 85—enters U.S. airspace enroute to a scheduled refueling stop in

Anchorage, Alaska, and transmits “HJK” to Korean Airlines operations, NORAD is contacted immediately.

“HJK” is air traffic code for “hijack”.

When Air Traffic Control asks Flight 85 to verify a hijacking in progress, its nervous captain squawks the hijack code on the plane’s transponder. Canadian CF-18’s based at Inuvik near the Arctic Circle cannot reach the airliner in time, so NORAD scrambles jets. As they close in on the jumbo 747, Alaska’s governor orders the Valdez pipeline terminal and all state office buildings evacuated.

Refusing to allow the plane to land in Alaska, NORAD informs its Canadian counterparts that the hijacked airplane is being diverted into their airspace.

The nearest airport in the Far North able to land an airplane as big as a 748 is at Whitehorse in the Yukon. Eight other aircraft already being diverted there are quickly re-directed to other Canadian airports.^{dxvii}

Fearing that the “hijacked” airliner could swing south and attack Vancouver, West Coast transport department officials contact the Canadian Situation Centre in Ottawa. Activated at 0945, when U.S. airspace was closed down and all outgoing flights were grounded in Canada, “SitCen” immediately contacts Canada’s Prime Minister requesting authorization to shoot down the civilian airliner with 300 passengers onboard.

“They explained to me the situation. They could not communicate with this plane and they didn’t know where it was going,” Chrétien will tell CBC TV anchor Peter Mansbridge the next day. “It’s kind of scary when you know this plane, with hundreds of people, and you have call a decision like that.”

Now Chrétien tells Brigadier-General Angus Watt that he will order plane downed if it shows any “hostile” intentions. But the Canadian PM stipulates that he—not American fighter pilots, must make the decision.

When the RCMP warns their boss that his own life might be in danger, Jean Chrétien tells his wife to evacuate their official residence and head for safe retreat at Harrington Lake. But after coming face-to-face with an intruder standing in their bedroom with an open jackknife, Aline has already faced danger from her husband’s job. She refuses to leave his side.^{dxviii}

NORTH TOWER LOBBY

1024:

Four or five companies of New York firefighters reach the bottom of stairwell B and enter the deserted North Tower lobby. Uncertain where to proceed, and with no chiefs present, they stand around for more than a minute. Then one of them sees from a window that the South Tower has collapsed. He urges everyone to get out. ^{dxix}

Not all of the firefighters exiting Tower One manage to reach West Street in time.

1029:

The collapse of the North Tower takes only nine seconds—about one second less than the South Tower’s sudden demise. Since both building’s velocity is nearly as fast as an unobstructed fall from the same height, each two million-pound concrete floor must have offered virtually no resistance to the floors pancaking down from above. Lower floors hit by the accumulated tonnage coming down on them would have snapped their supporting steel joists like dry twigs. But how did the undamaged top floors get moving so fast? ^{dxix}

ANDREWS

1030:

As another asbestos tsunami rolls through downtown Manhattan, the acting head of the U.S. armed forces, General Richard Myers winds up his conversation with Max Cleland and wanders into the Pentagon’s National Military Command Center nearly an hour after the building has been struck. Now that the attacks are over, somewhere out over the Atlantic, General Ralph Eberhard reaches him on a secure phone to discuss America’s defenses. ^{dxix}

At nearby Andrews Air Force Base, squadron commander Lieutenant Colonel Marc Sasseville assembles the two F-16 pilots hastily returned from their training mission and gives them a new briefing: “I have no idea what’s going on, but we’re flying,” he tells his wingmen. “Here’s our frequency. We’ll split up the area as we have to. Just defend as required. We’ll talk about the rest in the air.”

While air-to-air missiles are being uploaded from a flatbed trailer onto the wingrails of three 113th Wing F-16s, officer Dan Caine takes a phone call from someone in the White House requesting armed fighters over Washington. Caine can hear “plain as day the Vice-President talking in the background. That’s basically where we got the execute

order”—to launch fighters from the airbase closest to the Oval Office and the Pentagon. ^{dxix}

Why doesn't the Andrews base commander launch his two armed fighters sitting outside on strip-alert? Attempting to spike one of the biggest smoking guns of the 9/11 stand-down, NORAD commander Major General Larry Arnold will later claim, “We didn't have any aircraft on alert at Andrews.” ^{dxiii}

Not according to the official Andrews' website, which proudly describes two fully armed jets prepared to defend their nation's capitol 24/7. Flying constantly out of Andrews, the publicly stated mission of the District of Columbia Air National Guard is “to provide combat units in the highest possible state of readiness.” ^{dxiv}

TARDY

1030:

Fighters are finally sent to escort Air Force One. ^{dxv}

1033:

Having completed refueling and rearming, lead pilot Hutchison takes off once again from Andrews AFB. Pilots Marc Sasseville and Heather Penney follow 12 minutes later. ^{dxvi}

1035:

Air Force One straightens out over Florida, and for no particular reason, takes up a heading for Barksdale Air Force Base. ^{dxvii}

1039:

Vice-President Cheney informs Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, “It's my understanding they've already taken a couple of aircraft out.” ^{dxviii}

1042:

More armed fighters launch out of Syracuse.

1045:

NORAD advises Whitehorse RCMP that the Korean Flight 85 is due to arrive in Whitehorse in one hour.

1055:

Transport Canada gives the Mounties an urgent heads-up. The

suspect 747 will be arriving at Whitehorse under escort by Canadian and American fighter jets within 12-minutes! ^{dxix}

1112:

Still unsure if there is a real hijacking in progress, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police board the plane with guns drawn. Korean Air and the FAA will later say language difficulties led to miscommunication between a confused and frightened pilot and an Air Traffic Control facility made jumpy by the day's events. ^{dxix}

Many international flights ordered to circle over the Atlantic Ocean are running low on fuel. Some of their pilots start dialing transponder codes indicating they have emergencies onboard. A few captains even get into the spirit of the day by punching in the "hijack" code. For a few frantic minutes the airspace over northern Canada is filled with "hijacked" planes.

South of the border, airlines based in the United States are landing their planes on the nearest runways. Southwest planes descend on Denver—for the first time. JetBlue Airways somehow gets one of their big jets into tiny Stewart Airport in upstate New York. United Parcel Service, which has 25 planes in the sky, gets them all down at one airport, sending ground couriers scrambling. ^{dxixi}

1145:

Air Force One lands at Barksdale. ^{dxixii}

CALIFORNIA DREAMING

On America's "left coast," hundreds of state workers, lobbyists and legislators wander the streets of California's state capitol in stunned silence after being told to take the rest of the day off. Inside the Sheraton's Public Market Bar, at least 50 people gaze fixedly at the two TVs. As Ryan Endean and Jim Evans later report, while CNN relentlessly replayed clips of an airliner crashing into the World Trade Center, "no one said much. They just shook their heads." ^{dxixiii}

NOT OSAMA

1205:

George Tenet, director of Central Intelligence tells Donald Rumsfeld about the bin Laden operative's earlier intercepted "good news" conversation. But the Defense Secretary feels the information is "vague" and "might not mean something." There is "no good basis for

hanging hat” and naming Osama bin Laden as the 9/11 mastermind, Rumsfeld says. ^{dxxxiv}

LOCKDOWN

1215:

Concern over additional hijackings ends when the last commercial aircraft flying over the United States is safely on the ground. Within hours of the crash in Pennsylvania, police have roped off the scene and arrested two reporters for trying to get a closer look. The reclaimed strip mine is quickly protected by a 50-acre security zone guarded by sheriff’s deputies operating under a special \$1 million security grant. ^{dxxxv}

But it is the FBI who cordon off Flight 93’s secondary impact site. Soon afterwards, National Guard troops in full combat gear go house-to-house warning residents to say nothing about what they have seen or heard. ^{dxxxvi}

1344:

Responding to America’s new Pearl Harbor, five escorts and two aircraft carriers sortie from Norfolk, Virginia to protect the East Coast from further attack and reduce the number of warships in port. Turning into the wind, *USS George Washington* and *USS John F. Kennedy* begin launching continuous Combat Air Patrols over New York’s coastal approaches. The AEGIS frigates and guided missile destroyers arrayed around the carriers are specially configured to shoot down aircraft. ^{dxxxvii}

1348:

George Bush departs Barksdale AFB aboard Air Force One and flies to Offutt Air Force base in Nebraska. ^{dxxxviii}

1350:

NORAD now has 20 fighters flying combat air patrols over “sensitive installations” like nuclear power plants and distinctively tall landmark buildings across the United States. ^{dxxxix}

1440:

The CIA reports that the passenger manifests for the hijacked airliners show three of the deceased hijackers were suspected al-Qaeda operatives. It’s an impressive piece of deduction since none of the flight manifests made public reveal a single Arab name.

“One guy is associate of *Cole* bomber,” a Rumsfeld aide abbreviates notes taken during a meeting attended by the Secretary of Defense. The deadly October 2000 suicide boat attack on the destroyer USS *Cole* in Yemen was attributed to Osama (“Usama”) bin Laden.

Seizing an opportunity the PNAC planners have long awaited, the SecDef orders humbled Pentagon generals to begin drawing up pay-back plans—but not just for Afghanistan, where Osama is known to be headquartered. Writing quickly, Rumsfeld’s aide notes that the Secretary of Defense says he wants: “best info fast. Judge whether good enough hit S.H. at same time. Not only UBL.”

(S.H. is Saddam Hussein. UBL is Usama bin Laden.)

“Go massive,” the notes quote Rumsfeld. “Sweep it all up. Things related and not.”^{dxl}

BUILDING 5

1500:

Across from the ruins of Tower Two, Building 5 is heavily damaged. But because all employees evacuated its nine-stories shortly after the North Tower was struck, no one was hurt when the collapsing South Tower flung flaming pieces of Flight 175’s fuselage onto the roof of 5WTC.^{dxli}

The crashing Twin Towers have wrecked this neighboring building, punching large holes in its roof and firing many of its floors. For hours, fires much hotter than those that had burned in Buildings 1, 2 and distant building 7 have raged through Building 5.

A team comprising 25 leading American structural and fire protection engineers will later find that the fireproofing sprayed onto the joists tying each floor to Building 5’s framework were knocked loose by the massive impacts of two fast-moving airliners striking the adjacent Twin Towers.

But the loss of the fireproof cladding hardly matters. Because office-building fires as intense as this one never reach the temperatures required to soften massive steel beams. In the brief time before it is fully consumed, jet fuel cannot burn hot enough to weaken thick steel floor trusses. And there was no jet fuel feeding the fires in buildings 5 and 7. Though extensively damaged, Building 5 will remain standing until it is later demolished as part of the site clean up.

1506:

Bush enters the United States Strategic Command bunker beneath

Offutt AFB. With Global Guardian shut down, the President is briefed on the attacks he has missed. ^{dxlii}

THE ISRAELI CONNECTION

1531:

“We got an alert to be on the lookout for a white Chevrolet van with New Jersey registration and writing on the side,” Bergen County Police Chief John Schmidig tells reporters. “Three individuals were seen celebrating in Liberty State Park after the impact. They said three people were jumping up and down.”

1600-1630:

Around this time, the wanted Urban Moving Company van is spotted on a service road off Route 3, near the Giants Stadium. A police car pulls it over, cornering five men in their twenties. All are ordered out of the van at gunpoint and handcuffed.

When bomb-sniffing dogs react as if they have detected explosive residue inside the vehicle, police summon the bomb squad and shut down Route 3 traffic in both directions. They also evacuate a small roadside motel. Holding the occupants at gunpoint, New Jersey state troopers and FBI agents wait alongside the van while the U.S. Attorney’s Office seeks a warrant to search the it.

When the necessary paperwork is obtained, the officers see enough to stoke their suspicions. One of the suspects has \$4,700 in cash hidden in his sock. Another is carrying two foreign passports. A box cutter is also found in the moving van. But perhaps the biggest surprise comes when the five men indignantly identify themselves as Israeli citizens.

According to the police report, one of the passengers admits that they were on the West Side Highway in Manhattan during the World Trade Center attacks. “We are Israeli. We are not your problem. Your problems are our problems. The Palestinians are the problem,” driver Sivan Kurzberg informs the attending officers. The other passengers are his brother Paul Kurzberg, Yaron Shmuel, Oded Ellner and Omer Marmari.

The five men are taken into custody. Though not charged with any crime, a source close to the investigation reveals: “There are maps of the city in the car with certain places highlighted. It looked like they’re hooked in with this. It looked like they knew what was going to happen when they were at Liberty State Park.”

Taking over the case, the FBI believes the Urban Moving Company might have been providing cover for an Israeli intelligence operation. Searching the company's offices in Weehawken, New Jersey, field agents confiscate boxes of documents and a dozen computer hard drives. The owner has cleared out his New Jersey home, put it up for sale, and returned with his family to Israel.

Steven Gordon, attorney for the detained Israelis, insists that his clients are just five young men who came to America for a vacation, somehow ended up working for a moving company, and were simply taking pictures of the (happy?) event.

The five Israelis are charged with overstaying their tourist visas and working in the United States illegally. Like many Middle Easterners being swept up in raids across the country, some of the Israeli suspects will be placed in solitary confinement for a biblical 40 days.

Vince Cannistraro, former chief of operations for counterterrorism with the CIA, tells reporters that Urban Moving could have been "set up or exploited for the purpose of launching an intelligence operation against radical Islamists in the area, particularly in the New Jersey-New York area." ^{dxliii}

He is referring to the September 11 hijackers.

ART STUDENTS

It turns out that the August 6, 2001 "Presidential Daily Briefing" warning of imminent aerial al-Qaeda attacks also informed George Bush: "FBI information... indicates patterns of suspicious activity in this country consistent with preparations for hijackings or other types of attacks, including recent surveillance of federal buildings in New York."

That "suspicious activity" includes Israeli intelligence agents posing as "art students"—one of whom was even found wandering the halls of a government facility in Texas carrying a blueprint of the building. One "student" was even found wandering the halls of a government facility in Texas carrying a blueprint of the building.

A 52-page June 2001 briefing by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration titled, "Suspicious Activities Involving Israeli Art Students at DEA Facilities" reports dozens of Israelis posing as art students since at least the beginning of 2000.

Organized in teams of eight to 10 people with a designated "Team Leader", according to Suspicious Activities report, the "females are usually described as very attractive, and all are generally in their early

to mid-20s. Most admit to having served in the Israeli Military... a majority of those questioned has stated they served in military intelligence, electronic signal intercept, or explosive ordinance units. Some have been linked to high-ranking officials in the Israeli military.”

Most of this suspicious activity has taken place in Florida, the DEA continues. “The nature of the individuals’ conduct, combined with intelligence information and historical information regarding past incidents” has led the DEA “to believe the incidents may well be an organized intelligence gathering activity.”^{dxliv}

The German weekly *Die Zeit* will later reveal that the Israeli agents “were shadowing a number of suspects, who were later involved in the terrorist attacks against the U.S.”

A report by the French intelligence agency, Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure handed across to *Die Zeit* reveals that “according to the FBI, Arab terrorists and suspected terror cells lived in Phoenix, Arizona, as well as in Miami and Hollywood, Florida from December 2000 to April 2001 in direct proximity to the Israeli spy cells.”

The Paris-based DGSE further reports that the Mossad was particularly interested in Mohamed Atta and his accomplice Marwan al-Shehhi, who lived in Hollywood, Florida. The Mossad was watching the terrorist leader and his chief accomplices very closely, *Die Zeit* reports.

“Everything indicates that the terrorists were constantly observed by the Israelis. The chief Israeli agent was staying right near the post office where the terrorists had a mailbox. The Mossad also had its sights on Atta’s accomplice Khalid al-Midhar, with whom the CIA was also familiar, but allowed to run free.”

While the Israelis were closely observing Atta and his friends, they did not inform the U.S. government until August 2001, when they handed over a list of 19 terrorist suspects. At least four of the September 11 hijackers are on it.^{dxliv}

OSAMA DID IT

1600:

CNN’s National Security Correspondent David Ensor reports that U.S. officials say there are “good indications” that Osama bin Laden is involved in the day’s attacks.

1610:

Building 7 of the World Trade Center complex is reported on fire.

1625:

The American Stock Exchange, the NASDAQ and the New York Stock Exchange announce that they will remain closed tomorrow.

1630:

POTUS departs Offutt AFB onboard Air Force One to return to Washington. ^{dxlvi}

1650:

Flight 93's Flight Data Recorder is recovered inside the crater at the main crash site. ^{dxlvii}

BUILDING 7

1700:

Evacuated after the first strike on Tower One, distant Building 7 is out of danger. Located more than a football-field away from the South Tower—and even farther from Tower One—7WTC has not been struck by any hijacked planes. Unlike Buildings 4 and 5, which will burn all day before their fires are brought under control, flaming debris have ignited fires only on the 7th and 12th floors of this sturdy 46-floor steel-frame structure.

According to 9/11 researcher Michael Kane, 7WTC is effectively “a military building.” Besides Mayor Giuliani's Emergency Management bunker, the CIA also maintains a clandestine “bunker” on the 25h floor. The Secret Service is also located here. Other offices are staffed by the Department of Defense. ^{dxlviii}

The occupants of Building 7 also include little-known branches of the Internal Revenue Service, as well as the Securities and Exchange Commission investigating insider-trading cases. ^{dxlix}

1720:

Building 7 suddenly implodes. Collapsing into its own footprint at a speed faster than seven floors per second, it takes just 6.6 seconds for all 47 floors, including the roof to join the rubble at Ground Zero. ^{di}

But 7WTC does not collapse from fire damage. A May 1, 2001 report prepared for the House Science Committee by the American Society of Civil Engineers will later find that this building sustained “no significant structural damage” after burning for seven hours.

In sharp contrast, Madrid's steel-framed Windsor Building burned

for 18 hours at 800°C—yet remained standing. In Building 7, engineering inspectors will later find that its sprayed-on fireproof cladding remained in place, protecting vital floor supports. ^{dii}

7WTC was deliberately demolished. A September 2002 PBS documentary featuring Larry Silverstein shows the man holding heavily insured leases on both the Twin Towers and Building 7 telling a fire department commander to “pull it”. Commonly used in building demolitions, this expression means to “pull” down the outside walls of a building through carefully sequenced implosions.

After Silverstein speaks on camera, Building 7 collapses straight down into its own foundations. Veteran Globe & Mail writer Barrie Zwicker reports that it takes one to two weeks to properly rig a tall building for demolition. ^{diii}

The takedown of 7WTC was announced to rescue workers ahead of time. “It was about 5:00, because I was getting hungry,” one of them later told the WTC Task Force. “We walked back. We didn’t do any further because building number seven was coming down. That was another problem, to wait for Building Seven to come down, because that was unsecured. ^{diiii}

Peter Jennings is impressed. As the news anchor remarks on ABC News, “Anyone who has ever watched a building being demolished on purpose knows that if you’re going to do this you have to get at the under-infrastructure of the building to bring it down.” ^{div}

But Jennings does not ask who rigged Building 7 for demolition. Or when.

In the building’s collapse, the SEC loses as many as 4,000 active case files on companies taken public by big investment banks during the high-tech stock boom. According to New York lawyer Max Berger, “Ongoing investigations at the New York SEC will be dramatically affected because so much of their work is paper-intensive. This is a disaster for these cases.” ^{div}

Staffed by 200 employees, the Secret Service’s largest field office also takes a major hit. Discs and documents inside what the *New York Times* headlined as a “Secret CIA Site in NY” contain counter-terrorism files on attacks linked to the ailing son of a rich Saudi family—and the terrorist organization Osama leads. ^{divi}

“All the evidence that we stored at 7 World Trade, in all our cases, went down with the building,” Special Agent David Curran will later tell TechTV. It will never be known whether other digital and paper files inside Building 7 contain information on the business links

between Osama bin Laden's family, both President Bushes, and members of their respective administrations. Agents are quickly sent back to retrieve classified computer discs and papers scattered around the to the Building 7 demolition site. ^{dvii}

PAYBACK

On prime real estate in downtown Manhattan, why bring down a structurally sound office building suffering superficial fire damage on only two floors?

One reason could be that Building 7 is New York City Mayor Giuliani's emergency command post. Some "conspiratorialists" will subsequently speculate that the earlier controlled demolitions of Tower Two and Tower One could have been initiated from 7WTC. There is no physical evidence of this—which critics contend, "proves" that the mostly undamaged Building 7 was pulled later that afternoon to "hide the evidence." But bombs can be detonated remotely by an easily disposable cell phone.

Interestingly, Giuliani's "Plan B" is already in place. As former LAPD narcotics detective-turned-investigative-reporter Michael Ruppert later learned, a presidential Executive Order issued in May 2001 put Dick Cheney in direct command of all field-training exercises by federal agencies such as FEMA—whose TRIPOD II biowarfare drill was scheduled to take place in New York City on September 12, 2001.

Arriving in "The City" on September 10, Federal Emergency Management Agency personnel were the first federal disaster specialists to respond to today's attacks. Before Building 7 is pulled, Mayor Giuliani is able to shift his command post to the completely equipped TRIPOD II command post on Pier 92, linking his city's response directly with federal authorities.

But the revelation that forced Ruppert to flee the United States to Venezuela following death threats reportedly delivered by U.S. Government sources was even more explosive. It turns out that Bush's Executive Order put the Vice-President in direct command of scheduling all U.S. military war games. ^{dviii}

CASHING IN

Another incentive to demolish Building 7 is cold cash. The resulting insurance settlement for Building 7 alone will enrich Silverstein Properties by an estimated half-billion dollars. ^{dxix}

Less than two months before, Larry Silverstein had reportedly paid \$3.2 billion to the Port Authorities of New York and New Jersey for a 99-year lease on buildings One, Two and Seven. Most of the money was put up by Chase Manhattan and Citibank, which like all banks essentially created the loans out of thin air.

It took a consortium of 22 insurance companies to handle a risk as big as World Trade Center towers One and Two. Swiss Re is the most exposed after underwriting as much as \$3.5 billion in potential losses. With the actual standing value of both Trade Towers estimated at \$4 billion—and rental losses over three years estimated at another \$1 billion during an estimated \$5 billion rebuilding phase—Silverstein will quickly claim “double indemnity” because two airplanes had crashed into his two leased towers. If he wins his claim, a \$7 billion insurance payout will earn this high-rolling real estate speculator a profit of nearly \$4 billion. ^{dix}

1842:

The only person in the United States besides the President authorized to issue shutdown orders with National Command Authority now makes his first public statement on this tragic, treacherous and traumatic day. Deflecting attention away from his own absence while the World Trade Center and the Pentagon burned, and the White House came under attack, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld pins “responsibility” for the biggest failure of the United States military on his newly tethered scapegoat.

Setting up his neophyte national commander to take the fall for the first of many bloody fiascos that will take place on his watch, Rumsfeld snidely informs the press swarming the damaged Pentagon, “Secretary of the Army Tom White, *who has a responsibility for incidents like this* as executive agent for the Department of Defense, is also joining me.”

DEATH TOLL

The final toll on America’s second Day of Infamy will be almost exactly the same as on the first.

The count will be especially grim beneath the “Pile”, as rescue workers quickly dub the ruins of the WTC. Before the final tally is reckoned, some 19,998 pieces of bone and tissue will be recovered, of which 12,498 will be identified. In one case, 208 remains will be found from the same person. ⁱ

The only good news is that head counts from firms occupying more than 50 floors indicate the buildings were barely half full. Of the

1,000 employees with the insurance giant Marsh & McLennan, for example, 295 were at work on the North Tower's 93rd through 100th floors earlier this morning. All have died. Only 35 of 55 employees of FredAlger Management had arrived at work when their tower was struck. They, too, are all dead.

But according to *USA Today*, many factors “kept desks empty”: Some people voted that morning in New York City’s mayoral primary. Others took children to the first day of school. Some were on sales calls or business trips. But the biggest factor was the early hour: Many simply hadn’t arrived by 8:46 a.m.

In addition, dozens of Asian investment firms in the World Trade Center had closed their offices or cut employment sharply because of the recession in Asia. Other offices were leased but empty or under renovation. The Atlantic Bank of New York had moved out of the 106th floor of the south tower in July but was still paying rent.”ⁱⁱ

Though city officials initially fear that more than 6,000 people have died in Manhattan, Virginia and Pennsylvania on this day of deception, the final death toll is grim enough. Last seen heading back into the WTC to rescue more survivors, terrorist-fighter John O’Neill is among some 2,985 people office workers and emergency responders who will not be coming home to their loved ones tonight.ⁱⁱⁱ

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

PART II

AFTERMATH

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Chapter 9

QUI BONO

On the morning of September 11, software super-salesman Richard Grove is driving his convertible to the WTC for a showdown on the 98th floor of Tower One.

Grove works for SilverStream, a company that has built innovative Internet-based financial transaction portals and trading platforms for Merrill Lynch, Deutsche Bank, Banker's Trust, Alex Brown, Morgan Stanley, Marsh & McLennan and AIG—"pretty much the major players involved in the financial aspect of the 9/11 fraudulent trading activity," he will later realize.

The North Tower's 98th floor is the Marsh & McLennan headquarters. Grove calls the world's largest insurance brokerage his "Gordon Gekko" client. In October 2000, Grove had helped identify about \$10 million in suspicious purchase orders by vendors who appeared to be overcharging Marsh. But when he had brought his concerns to his client, an executive there had urged him to keep quiet and mind his own business.

Terminated on June 5, 2001 over his persistent protests, a colleague inside Marsh & McLennan has arranged for Grove to slip into a staff meeting, which will be on break when he arrives in a few minutes. Along with several allies similarly concerned about the illegalities he's uncovered, Grove intends to confront "the suspiciously unconcerned executive."

Driving south on West Street just south of Canal at 8:45, he is only a few blocks north of the World Trade Center complex when the top of the North Tower suddenly explodes. He never glimpses the fast-moving airliner that struck it. But driving with the top down, Grove is horrified to see his peers trapped in the burning building lose hope and begin to jump, some couples hand in hand. "The flailing of their bodies," he will later say in taped testimony, "was almost the most disturbing part of my experience."

Even more upsetting is his suspicion that the executive who had urged him to drop his inquiry, and later called this morning's meeting had ensured that some of the people Grove is watching plunge to their deaths "were in the office bright and early for a global conference call"—which the executive was oddly attending *over the phone from the safety of his Upper West Side apartment*.

Only moments after the North Tower strike, Grove realizes that some of the personnel and vehicles he is observing are not there to rescue people." Even in his shock, he recognizes vehicles that are "intelligence-related." He knows this because of his work in McLean, Virginia in 1998, where he had seen identically disguised vehicles "stationed at the gate of the Central Intelligence Agency."

DEEP POCKETS

Deep Pockets is impressed. While playing world currencies like slot machines as rigged as U.S. elections, the former international spot currency trader for a major English-speaking nation has handled more money in a day than most people can imagine.

Now he nods as he clicks through coverage showing a commercial airliner flying again and again into the towering twin symbols of U.S. financial domination. *That's a good little fireworks display*, thinks this financial insider, whom I have come to call "Deep Pockets" over three years of often disturbing interviews.

He should know. While working as a Foreign Exchange—"FX"—trader, privately held federal reserves running the world's most powerful nations had often called him with instructions to move several yards in a morning's carefully choreographed trading. A "yard" is one billion dollars. A million dollars is a "buck". The average transaction is five bucks. A common exchange between currency brokers might be: "I want to move a few yards out of Saudi this afternoon."

"Line 'em up." *Boom!*

"Next."

Deep Pockets talked of "\$20 million traumatic seconds" putting a money move into play: "The speed! Ah, the speed! It's a fuckin' feeding frenzy."

Descending to street level for lunch, the FX traders would gape at "civilians" moving and talking so excruciatingly sloooooowly it was like they were divers crushed by the depths. Civilians were too slow, too

clueless, too *comatose* to comprehend their world. Or guess that traders like Deep Pockets and the international banks that directed them ran their lives.

Entering a trading floor with more phones than Malaysia, Deep Pockets could feel the energy sweeping toward him like an electronic wave front as successive waking markets came online at the speed of light. When it looked like a big currency play was going down, the traders would confer in terse jargon. “That’s gonna send a rock through that country,” someone would say. “They must be looking at real estate over there.”

“They” are the banks.

The banks throwing the biggest rocks are the commercial giants acting as federal reserves for the world’s biggest economies. In the USA, the oft-cited Federal Reserve “has nothing to do with the government, except dictating policy,” Deep Pockets had reminded me. The official sounding “Fed” is in fact, a private, for-profit bank owned by member banks that sets interest rates, prints U.S. currency, and makes interest-collecting loans mostly from thin air. Only Congress has the power to issue money. But there it is.

“The Federal Reserve runs America. It’s run by bankers and large money families. And the dollar is owned by them—a private group. Federal income tax go the Federal Reserve,” Deep Pockets said. “Your income tax goes to a private bank, which then makes loans to the U.S. government—which is really you and your great-grandchildren—that can never be repaid.”

Similarly, the pound-printing Bank of England is not run by the British government. This private bank runs Whitehall by setting interest rates, just like the “feds” in France, Italy, Germany, Putin’s Russia, Canada. Private banks control the currencies and economies of every country on the planet. Though dubbed “federal” reserves, the only thing “federal” about them is their name.

“It’s a real scam.” Deep Pockets laughed without humor. “If they sold three billion dollars driving the price down, then bought back the currency one cent lower than they’d sold it for, the banks backing the play would have make some three-billion cents—or \$3,000,0000—on the action.”

Not bad for a morning’s work.

It usually took three days for the fallout from their biggest FX moves to show up in the press. Bankrupt businesses always make the news. But those reports rarely chronicled the resulting illnesses and

depressions, the addictions, divorces and shattered families as Deep Pockets followed orders triggering currency slides that wiped out the most heavily leveraged civilians further downslope.

“There’s carnage and tears and blood everywhere,” Deep Pockets confessed. “But you don’t care about that. You don’t look at what’s happening, you look at who’s making money. You’re either in or you’re out.”

A crisis in conscience over the lives and countries he’d helped wreck finally forced him to “put down the phone.” After spending five years inside a windowless room within a glass-fronted building few passersby ever noticed, one afternoon Deep Pockets surrendered his keys and walked back through the six locked doors and two security guards to freedom.

STIFFIES AND TEARS

Now, looking at 9/11’s “theatrical presentation” this former Foreign Exchange trader knows that the demolished World Trade Center towers, the thousands of lives they entomb, and the hundreds of thousands more about to die in senseless retribution are just “units” as bankers say, in a much bigger game.

“It’s crazy shit,” Deep Pockets tells me over the phone. With the rhetoric of revenge already filling American airwaves, the moneyed elite’s latest exercise in mass trauma is working perfectly, he assures me. “September 11 was nothin’. They rigged it like a movie set, hitting Americans right where they had most impact, right on the television.”

Frightened people make money move. And every time money moves, banks profit. Billions will move through Carlyle, he foresees. “Countries’ economies are being changed [through] global confusion, which creates money movement. Money is the reason September 11 happened. Disasters are required.

“You need chaos to facilitate movement,” Deep Pockets continues. The proven formula is to “scare everyone. Get three hundred million people to do what you want by taking out 3,000. ‘We need to kill this guy in Iraq.’ YEAH! Off you go.”

Why will Iraq be attacked?

“Saddam was talking to the Saudis,” my source explains, and both were talking to the Carlyle Group, “buying up ECU’s Euro Currency Options to drive its value up.”

Saddam had recently switched the purchased output from the world’s second biggest oilfields from the dollar to the Euro—sealing his fate.

According to Deep Pockets, Iraq will be crushed, “so they can buy it cheap, and then come in to make it more valuable. George Bush is making a fortune out of this.”

And he is not the only one.

“To the guys around him, this is just another deal,” Deep Pockets continues. “No big deal. It’s a formula for mass murder. And they don’t care. They have no conscience.

There are the ‘stiffies’ and the ‘tears’. You want to make sure that you’re the one who’s got the stiffy, and they’re the ones with tears.”

THE COLLECTIVE

Nothing hands more loot to White House racketeers and their corporate sponsors than the reporting, ruination and undelivered reconstruction from endless wars.

“There’s always going to be war,” Deep Pockets says with a pragmatic insider’s knowledge even more frightening than the images branded into the planet’s networked central nervous systems through ruthlessly repeated clips of ritual murder in Manhattan. “It’s not because the average Joe wants to kill their neighbors. It’s not in anyone’s interest to kill anyone else. What do you get out of it? You lose your soul. You spend your life aggravated. It’s because a group of people wants movement. It runs the whole planet.”

Within hours, days and weeks of the September 11 attacks, the economic trajectories of entire countries will be changed. Global confusion creates money movement, Deep Pockets reiterates. And to the real rulers of the world this is good—the only good.

What about the Carlyle Group, I want to know?

The Carlyle Group is actually referred to as “The Collective” by its members, Deep Pockets explains. Sitting in the center of the “Golden Triangle” between industry, banks and the politicians whose campaigns they fund, the Collective manufactures “threats” and foments wars, while answering to no one but their shareholders.

Along with its White House investors, the Carlyle Group “is going to make billions out of Iraq,” Deep Pockets predicts. “They get paid to facilitate things getting blown up. They get paid to go in and repair.” Which is why the Collective calls what is about to happen in Iraq, “urban renewal”.

Big banks need big investors like Carlyle to ensure that ever more billions are borrowed and spent on weapons—and the reconstruction and resource rip-offs facilitated by their use, Deep Pockets explains.

Corporate controlled media like NBC, which is owned by weapons-maker General Electric, help hype endless enemies by broadcasting a continuous stream of White House press releases as “news”.

“They’re one of the biggest cogs in the whole thing,” Deep Pockets says of the Collective, “because they’re at the center of the financial movements between congress and the military. And they play. When you move hundreds of billions of dollars in a heartbeat, it’s easy to fuck with entire countries. Everyone panics.”

This is good, he adds, because panicked people can’t catch on while they’re mesmerized by the corporate media’s selective and seductive framing of sideshows called the “news”.

“While you’re all looking up at chemtrails or the burning WTC, then it’s worked,” Deep Pockets goes on. “The real players who largely dictate our lives, we never see, never hear from. They live in a world that’s different from everyone else. There is zero coverage. Zero. None. No coverage. I’ve got the Internet, 1,400 channels... but I never hear any ‘bad press’ about guys who never have decisions made about them, because they aren’t on anyone’s radar.

Whether Americans, Afghans, Iraqis, Palestinians or Israelis, Deep Pockets explains that the rest of us are merely “bubble wrap” in the jargon of bankers who see us as “important packaging” for the only activities they want us to carry out: “to breed, consume and die.”

It sounds like he is starting to cry. But that can’t be. Not this tough former trader.

“I’m crying,” he says over the phone.

“Why?” I ask.

“I don’t know,” he says. “Every time I talk about this, I start to cry.”

When he finds his voice again, Deep Pockets concludes, “The guys with the gold make the rules. That’s set in stone. It’s the oldest rule in the world.”

GOLDEN CALF

The only repository with more gold on hand than the WTC is the private, for-profit corporation located only blocks away and misleadingly known as the U.S. Federal Reserve. Buried in the rubble of the Building 5 are the remains of a two-story, 6,000 square-foot vault crammed with gold and silver bars. Unofficially estimated at billions of dollars, the gold stored here is owned by a consortium of commercial banks. The Comex metals trading division of the New York Mercantile

Exchange alone kept 3,800 gold bars, weighing more than 12 tons and worth more than \$100 million in the building's basement.

The reported value of an additional 800,000 ounces of gold held here for the Toronto-based Bank of Nova Scotia, Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of New York and Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank exceeds \$240 million. More than 102 million buried ounces of silver are worth another \$430 million.

But \$770,000,000 is just the reported tip of enough buried treasure to fill a fleet of tractor-trailers hauling this heavy loot for 30 days. ⁱⁱ

GROUND ZERO

Bill Coscarelli is also watching the aftermath of the WTC attacks on TV. But he is not thinking about buried treasure. The motorcycle mechanic is growing frantic worrying about the thousands of office and rescue workers lost in the ruins of two of the world's tallest buildings.

Coscarelli decides he can't just watch this on television. Donning the scarlet "Guardian Angel" beret he wears while patrolling Long Island's public places, the Argentinean immigrant heads downtown to join rescuers working under floodlights in "The Pile".

Along with police and fire equipment strewn around the site are pieces of aluminum from the crashed planes Coscarelli uses as tools to attack what he cannot accept as the final resting place for those still alive within. Eyes streaming from pulverized asbestos and gypsum dust, hundreds of helmeted National Guardsmen, firemen, police and medics mill around this Guardian Angel—everyone prying at some 750 million pounds of compacted rubble, twisted metal girders, interlocking rebar and sections of fuselage with cranes, pneumatic hammers and their bare hands.

It's hard to find recognizable people. "There's not much of them," Bill Coscarelli tells a British reporter. "They were squished so hard that basically there's nothing."

"It's nasty, it's devastating. It's something you never want to see," concurs Corporal Andy Marcus from Brooklyn's U.S. Army Battalion 258. ⁱⁱⁱ

Like the other firefighters around him, Staten Island battalion commander Dominic DeRuebio is working 24 hours on, 24 hours off. Somewhere in the wreckage are many of DeRuebio's friends. And his younger brother.

Brian Gavin's crew digs out someone alive. During the night's

desperate digging, they come across a guy all busted up, and hand him down the line from man to man. “I would hope the president will blow these people, the ones that did this, off the face of the earth,” Gavin says. “That’s what they deserve. Oh, yeah.”

Shifting his heavy coat to the other shoulder, the veteran fireman tries to blank out what he’s seen: crushed legs, arms, body parts, torsos, feet, hands. Thank God, no children.

In the basement parking garages and elevators, Coscarelli and a few others find the corpses of two “half-guys” covered in dust and steel. In the dark and desperate confusion, the immigrant from Argentina walks over someone “maybe 30 times” before realizing it is “a guy.”

The “guy” is police officer from the New York Port Authority. Stationed on the 64th floor during the evacuation, he is buried to his neck in debris. Able to move is head, the man simply says “yes” to rescuers working to extricate him without having to amputate his leg.

Passing repeatedly 300 miles above the still burning WTC, Commander Frank Culbertson and cosmonauts Mikhail Tyurin and Vladimir Dezhurov view the lights of the rescue efforts from the International Space Station.^{iv}

WOUNDED

Brooklyn resident Daphne Bowers arrives at Bellevue Emergency, one of 21 regional hospitals treating the injured, carrying a picture of her 28-year-old daughter Veronique.

“She called me, when the building was on fire,” Bowers tells *The Guardian’s* Michael Ellison. “She called me and said, ‘Mommy the building is on fire. There’s smoke coming through the walls. I can’t breathe.’ The last thing she said was, ‘I love you Mommy. Goodbye.’”

Another woman whose missing husband worked on one of the upper floors says, “I wish I could go and dig myself. He could be dying and I am not there to hold his hand. He could be in pain and I can’t help him.”

Taking notes at dawn amidst the clamor of portable generators, Ellison sees “huge steel beams and aluminum panels” littering the streets. Some of the macabre sculptures of twisted metal are jack-strawed 50-feet high.^v

Acting quicker than they had in defense of their nation, U.S. Air Force officials quickly scrub all mention of the F-16 and F/A-18 fighters on 24-hour strip alert from the Andrews AFB website. With the click of

a cursor, the home of two combat fighter squadrons pledged with protecting the U.S. Capitol by maintaining “the highest possible state of readiness” now hosts only a “transport squadron” responsible for the presidential Air Force One.

By the afternoon of the 12th, when the WTC South Tower’s remaining seven stories collapse, a nearby Brooks Brothers clothing store has become a makeshift morgue. But at least four victims—three of them police officers—won’t be taken there after being pulled from the wreckage alive.

Local medical clinics are already diagnosing Manhattan survivors and sightseers alike with “occupational asthma” and other respiratory problems, when EPA Administrator Christie Whitman announces, “The EPA is greatly relieved to have learned that there appears to be no significant levels of asbestos dust in the air in New York City.”^{vi}

New York *Daily News* columnist Juan Gonzalez isn’t buying it. Yesterday, after hearing of the attacks on the WTC, he had headed on foot into lower Manhattan as the second tower collapsed. Interviewing eyewitnesses at Ground Zero, he had found it “pitch-black in lower Manhattan in the middle of the day. It was obvious there was a lot of pretty nasty stuff in the air.”^{vii}

That “nasty stuff” from pulverized office copiers and printers, concrete and building insulation includes fiberglass, benzene, dioxins, Freon, PCBs, mercury, lead, copper, nickel, cadmium, chromium, dioxin, benzene, fiberglass and PCBs. With asbestos tested on-site at 450% higher than maximum the safe levels—and the same dioxins responsible for Vietnam’s “Agent Orange” debacle—already being measured in amounts five-times higher than any previously recorded in New York City, Whitman’s whitewash can only lead to a death-and-misery toll in the tens of thousands.^{viii}

But she is not alone in dangerously downplaying the world’s biggest Superfund site. Before being reassigned, Gonzales writes in the *Daily News* that EPA and state and local officials have “concealed the dangers of the dust to reopen the stock market to avoid deeper damage to the U.S. economy.”^{ix}

Deep Pockets would not be surprised.

NATO

As WTC rescuers toil throughout the day in toxic dust, NATO is meeting in a special nighttime session in Brussels. For the first time in its 52-year history, the military alliance invokes Article 5 of its

charter, which declares that an attack on any member state is an attack on all.

The move virtually guarantees European backing for massive U.S.-led retaliation on Afghanistan, where most of its destitute citizens never see TV or newspapers, have never heard of the Twin Towers, and would not know Osama bin Laden if they passed him in the street.

REVENGE AND RESTRAINT

“We have a very large hammer that can be brought to bear in a number of ways at any time,” one U.S. official ominously warns.

But world leaders cautions restraint. One of the first leaders to speak out, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien tells CBC-TV that the West’s unchecked greed has made it lose sight of the consequences of its actions 20 or 30 years into the future.

“I do think the Western world is getting too rich in relation to the poor world,” Chrétien says. “We’re looked upon as being arrogant, self-satisfied, greedy and with no limits. The 11th of September is an occasion for me to realize it even more.”

Power cannot be exercised to the point that it humiliates others, the Canadian Prime Minister cautions, after making the same point to Wall Street magnates complaining about Canada maintaining relations with Cuba.

“I said, ‘When you’re powerful like you are, you guys, this is the time to be nice,’” Chrétien comments nationwide on Canadian television. “The Western world, not only the Americans, but the Western world has to realize [this] because they are human beings, too. There are long-term consequences if you don’t look hard at the reality in 10 or 20 or 30 years from now.”^x

While condemning terrorism, North Korea’s Foreign Minister tells the state-run Korean Central News Agency, “The use of armed forces or a war to kill innocent people and aggravate regional situation and disturb regional stability contrary to the purpose cannot be justified under any circumstances. We hold that the action of the United States should not be a source of vicious circle of terrorism and retaliation that may plunge the world into the holocaust of war.”^{xi}

Back in the USA, moveon.org posts a message on its website cautioning, “If we retaliate by bombing Kabul and kill people oppressed by the Taliban dictatorship who have no part in deciding whether terrorists are harbored, we become like the terrorists we oppose. We perpetuate the cycle of retribution and recruit more terrorists by creating martyrs.”

Mounting a petition campaign called “Justice, Not Terror”, the public advocacy group urges its online visitors to: “Please do everything you can to counsel patience as we search for those responsible. Please ensure that our actions reflect the sanctity of human life everywhere.”^{xii}

The *Guardian* agrees, suggesting in an editorial that despite “fierce pressure within the U.S. for quick air strikes on a massive scale... pounding Afghanistan into dust with cruise missiles and long-range bombers might make Americans feel better about the Manhattan horror. But such cathartic vengeance would do nothing to curb the menace of transnational terrorism.

“For the moment, America has the moral high ground,” the London-based newspaper cautions. “It must use it wisely. This week’s horror has created a rare opportunity for united action on terrorism. But it is unlikely to last for very long.”^{xiii}

Addressing a letter to “His Excellency, George W. Bush”, the Dalai Lama expresses shock and sorrow at the attacks, before going on to write: “It may seem presumptuous on my part, but I personally believe we need to think seriously whether a violent reaction is the right thing to do and in the greater interest of the nation and people in the long run. I believe violence will only increase the cycle of violence.”

JEREMY GLICK REMEMBERED

When Celita Schutz reads the story of Flight 93 in a local newspaper, his heart starts pounding. He *knows*. Through his own experience fighting him at Ogasawara’s *dojo*, he can see Jeremy Glick in action. Celita feels proud that Jeremy and the others on Flight 93 fought back.^{xiv}

Jeremy’s sister Jennifer, says: “What’s amazing is that in Jeremy’s most incredibly stressful situation, when he knew he had minutes to live, he said goodbye to his wife, expressed his love, and told her he trusted the choices she’d make with their baby daughter. Jeremy kept his focus and concentration and wasn’t overwhelmed by the situation. That’s all from his training. Sensei’s an incredible man. He trained an American hero whether he’ll admit it or not.”

When he hears about Flight 93, Joe Augineillo knows immediately that Jeremy Glick is one of the passengers who took them down. “I guarantee it,” Glick’s high school soccer coach tells reporters. “He was a tough, hard-nosed kid...”

“All I did was cry,” Augineillo admits. “The only time I could come close to smiling was imagining sitting next to Jeremy on the plane. I could hear him, saying, ‘Aug, let’s get these fucking guys.’ I’m sure they pounded the shit out of them. It’s just a shame Jeremy couldn’t fly the plane, too.”^{xv}

LYZ GLICK

Lyz Glick understands that her husband was destined to die on Flight 93 so that others could be saved. She says, “People everywhere will always remember him as a hero. They’ll remember him charging to the front of the plane, ending his life as he’d lived it—full of fire, fearless and always for everyone else.”^{xvi}

JULIE SWEENEY

Julie Sweeney listens to Brian’s message only once. Her husband’s recorded voice sounds calm but fatalistic. “Hopefully, I’ll talk to you again,” says her “big loveable guy” who once flew F-14s for the Navy. “But if not, have a good life. I know I’ll see you again some day.”^{xvii}

She resists playing it again. “I want to keep listening to it, I want to hear his voice, but I don’t know if that’s a healthy thing to do,” she explains. Julie Sweeney is glad he called, because “hearing his calm voice, hearing his love for me, was helpful.”

But it has also made her feel like a witness to her husband’s murder.^{xviii}

CEECEE’S MESSAGE

Lorne Lyles discovers CeeCee’s first message on their answering machine. He can’t force himself to listen to it. *Maybe someday*, he thinks. Then he presses, Play.

Time-stamped 9:47 a.m., CeeCee’s voice is as big as life. She prays for her family, for herself, and for the souls of the men who hijacked her plane—before telling her husband, “I hope I’ll see your face again.”

DEENA BURNETT

Deena Burnett gathers the three girls on her bed and tries to explain the inexplicable. “There were some bad guys on dad’s airplane,” she says. “The bad guys caused the airplane to crash and everyone on board died.”

“And Dad, too?” one of them asks.

“Yes,” she says.

The four of them cry together for a while. When the children ask where their daddy is, Deena tells them heaven.

“Why does he want to be with Jesus instead of us?” the youngest, Anna Clare, 3, wants to know.

Before her mother can think of a reply, Madison asks if they can call their dad on his cell phone.

“No,” Deena tells them. “There are no cell phones in heaven.”

Halley, the other twin, suggests they write a letter. ^{xix}

DANIELLE O'BRIEN

The Dulles flight controller has gone down to the hillside overlooking the Pentagon and imagined where, from what she saw on radar, that flight would have come.

“And I think that they came eastbound,” she says. “And because the sun was in their eyes that morning, and because the White House was beyond a grove of trees, I think they couldn’t see it... It was too fast.”

The shaken O'Brien had called a girlfriend later on the 11th and told her answering machine, “You’re not going to believe what I’ve been involved with today. You know, American 77, I saw him. I saw it all. Call me.”

Tuesday and Wednesday went by. When her friend phoned back on Thursday, she sounded different. “Did I understand your message right?” she asked O'Brien.

“Yes. It was just—it was amazing,” the air traffic controller said, blurting out everything she’d been holding inside.

“Danielle,” her friend finally said. “Bob was at work that day. My husband was at work that day in the Pentagon. And he’s missing.”

After attending his funeral, Danielle O'Brien told ABC's 20/20, “It’s real personal.” ^{xx}

NIAZ KHAN

Watching the attacks on television, would-be 9/11 hijacker Niaz Khan is horrified. While saddened for the victims, the man who has won his biggest gamble of all is relieved that he quit before participating in a plot that was never revealed to him. ^{xxi}

REACTION IN PALESTINE

In the occupied West Bank, PLO leader Yasir Arafat is among the first of hundreds of Palestinians who line up to donate blood for the victims of the savage attacks. The leader of the Palestinian Authority appears shaken as he appears before reporters in Gaza to deplore “this terrible act.” As if finally seeing the consequences of the terrorism he has long espoused, Arafat tells reporters, “We are completely shocked. Completely shocked.”

Elsewhere on the streets of East Jerusalem, some Palestinian drivers honk their horns in triumph. Suleiman Qassem, 20, passes out sweets to passerby when he hears the news. “The Americans give the Israelis Apache helicopters to bomb our houses,” the plumber explains. “They give them diplomatic support and intelligence help on how to kill us.”

Many more Palestinians express shame at such spontaneous eruptions of joy. As United Methodist Reverend Sandra Olewine reports from Jerusalem:

One might remember that the people who were seen ‘celebrating’ are a people who for almost a year have been under a brutal siege, who due to the siege have been unable to feed their families and hover on the brink of poverty and despair, who have watched their children and their parents killed by bullets, tank shells and guided missiles, most of which are supplied to the Israeli Occupation Army by the USA. One might remember such things as one watches those images.

I have to ask why these scenes of a few Palestinians been shown again and again and again, as if they capture the “truth” of Palestine. How few cameras have caught the spontaneous sorrow, despair, tears and heartache of the vast majority of the Palestinian people.

Yesterday following a prayer service held at St. George’s Anglican Cathedral, I talked briefly to the U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem. We talked about the scenes from here, which were most prevalent on the TV. He told me that his office had received a stack of faxes of condolences from Palestinians and Palestinian Organizations “this high” (indicating a stack of about 12 inches). He asked his staff to fax a copy of every last one of them to CNN to give a different visual image from Palestine.

When she leaves the cathedral after the service, Rev. Olewine drives by the American Consulate in East Jerusalem. “Gathered there were about 30 Palestinian Muslim schoolgirls with their teachers. Looking grief-stricken, they held their bouquets of dark flowers and stood behind their row of candles. Silently, they kept vigil outside our Consulate. But no cameras captured their quiet sorrow,” the Methodist minister later reports on her website.

“It is very unfortunate,” says Saeb Erakat, a senior Palestinian negotiator. “The vast majority of the Palestinian people stood firmly to condemn this act, and Yasir Arafat was among the first to offer condolences. But now the whole Palestinian nation is going to be held responsible for these pictures of six or seven children in the streets. It is extremely damaging.”

Eyad Serraj, a prominent psychiatrist and peace activist in Gaza City, says in a public statement: “We absolutely reject the logic that horror and murder is the only way to change policies. The anger due to American politics in the world, and in our region should not blind us to see that those who were killed and wounded in these horrific carnages are our brothers and sisters.”

Erakat prophetically warns that Israel could take advantage of the attack in Washington by deploying even greater military force to crush the Palestinian uprising. ^{xxii}

Asked what the attack meant for relations between the United States and Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu had replied on the night of September 11, “It’s very good.” Catching himself, the former Israeli prime minister amended, “Well, not very good. But it will generate immediate sympathy.” ^{xxiii}

THE VIEW FROM CAIRO, LIBYA, IRAN, PAKISTAN, IRAQ

In downtown Cairo the day after the attacks on America, customers gathered around a TV set in a crowded cafe watch express little regret for those trapped in the blazing World Trade Center. “It is American weapons after all that are killing Palestinian children and civilians,” one observes.

“America has committed many crimes,” agrees 40-year-old government employee Gamal Mohamed. “Now it is time for Americans to understand how other nations felt when they were bombed and shelled by the most advanced U.S. weapons.”

The somber spectators are not celebrating, *The Guardian* observes. But there is “a sense of satisfaction that the United States has

finally shared in the suffering that the Middle East has been experiencing for so long.”

Not in Libya. In a capitol that has suffered under American bombs delivered in retribution for its falsely alleged downing of the Lockerbie airliner, shopkeeper Hassan Guaoud tells Reuters, “Most people were saddened by television footage of innocent people screaming and running through the streets of New York. People in my neighbourhood showed sympathy with innocent Americans.”

Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gadafy urges his people to “put human considerations above political differences” and “offer aid to the victims of this gruesome act.”

In another “terrorist state” topping America’s hit list, Iranian residents not already glued to their illegal satellite televisions are shocked to be allowed to view the American tragedy on the official Iranian government news channel, without translation into Farsi.

In the first communication from an Iranian president to an American counterpart in more than two decade, President Mohammed Khatami tells President Bush that Iran condemns the attacks.

“The image of the United States has changed forever,” says Teheran journalist Saïid Lelaz. “No one ever imagined that such a thing could happen to the United States; everyone’s reaction here is one of utter amazement... America needs the rest of the world despite its government and people’s belief to the contrary.”

There is no celebration in the streets of Pakistan, where an Urdu-language tabloid quotes an unnamed source close to Osama bin Laden denying responsibility for attacks many here believe to be the inevitable results of American foreign policy.

In Iraq, the regime of Saddam Hussein also condemns the attacks, adding that the United States was reaping the fruits of its “crimes against humanity.”

According to the official Baghdad statement, “The collapse of U.S. centers of power is a collapse of the U.S. policy, which deviates from human values and stands by world Zionism at all international forums to continue to slaughter the Palestinian Arab people and implement U.S. plans to dominate the world.”^{xxiv}

THE YOUNG LION

In Kabul, urgently needed international aid workers flee possible U.S. military air strikes, as Washington’s former Taliban allies demand

to see evidence backing allegations that their fugitive guest is responsible for the hijackings. ^{xxxv}

Just who is this phantom figure? Known as the “Gucci muj”, Osama bin Laden is the scion of a super-rich Saudi family who entered Afghanistan as an idealistic youth in the late 1980s to help fight the Soviets.

At al-Ansar camp, Osama lived up to his name, “Young Lion” when he and a few dozen followers fought off a Soviet air and land siege. It was the beginning of a legend, the first time an Arab had stood with threadbare, musket-toting Afghans against seemingly invincible invaders.

One year later at Shaban, the Young Lion confirmed his reputation as a fighter by leading a bloody hand-to-hand assault that drove determined Soviet soldiers out of the town. The young Saudi millionaire would go on to become an icon in the Taliban and the Arab world for helping lead fighters from 40 Islamic countries in driving out the Soviet Union in 1992.

“He was a hero to us because he was always on the front line, always moving ahead of everybody else,” recalls Hamza Mohammed, a Palestinian volunteer in Afghanistan who currently manages a bin Laden construction project in Sudan. “He not only gave his money, but he also gave himself. He came down from his palace to live with the Afghan peasants and the Arab fighters. He cooked with them, ate with them, dug trenches with them. That was bin Laden’s way.”

By the time he returned to his family’s construction business, the resistance veteran was more into building a movement than mosques. As he wrote, “The glory and myth of the superpower was destroyed not only in my mind, but in the minds of all Muslims.”

This lesson would soon be extended to the world’s remaining superpower, of which bin Laden later said, “We think the United States is very much weaker than Russia.”

In 1987 Osama bin Laden met with members of Egyptian *Jihad*. Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri’s group was already notorious for machine-gunning Egyptian President Anwar Sadat live on television at an armed forces review six years before.

The following year, as the tattered Soviet Army limped from Afghanistan, al-Qaeda (“the base”) opened for bloody business, terrorizing Chechnya, Western China, Bosnia, Kashmir, South East Asia and North Africa. In Beirut, a suicide bomber drove the U.S. marines out of

Lebanon after driving an explosives-laden truck into their main barracks.

More militant than the movement it replaced, bin Laden's new organization soon merged with al-Zawahiri's *jihad* juggernaut. Osama would become so dependent on the Egyptian physician's counsel, an Islamist onlooker came to call al-Zawahiri, "bin Laden's mind."

It was not long before bin Laden's seasoned "Afghani" vets began training, equipping and funding radical Islamic movements worldwide. A blood-soaked sampling:

- Algeria's GIA, held responsible for massacring tens of thousands of civilians.
- Egypt's Gamat Ismalia, which hurt that country's vital tourism industry by gruesomely massacring western tourists in the shadows of the pyramids.
- Saudi Arabia's Shiite militants, who carried out the Khobar Tower and Riyadh bombings in 1996. ^{xxvi}

BY HORSEBACK AND JET

An effective recruiter and financier, Osama uses his private jet to attend to his far-flung business empire. Rather than depend on state terror sponsors such as Sudan, Iran or Libya, the multi-millionaire's insidious innovation is to "privatize" terrorism by soliciting funds from anonymous patrons as wealthy as him. As a U.S. official told *TIME*, "Bin Laden is the kind of guy who can go to someone and say, 'I need you to write out a six-figure check'—and he gets it on the spot."

Leaving aside his talismanic AK-47, Osama bin Laden raises money from Islamic businessmen, mainly in the Gulf. Running it through his legitimate companies, and "charities" in the U.S., Europe and the Middle East, he funnels the laundered "donations" to brainwashed holy warriors who are told that the milk, honey and love missing from their lives await them on the other side of a glorious suicidal strike—usually innocent civilians in places like Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kosovo—and now the United States.

In addition, the State Department claims their former ally funds three terrorist training camps in Northern Sudan, where extremely unhappy people from Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia receive instruction in making many other innocent strangers even more miserable. Or dead. ^{xxvii}

BLOWBACK

Spooks call bin Laden's rage against his former CIA Sponsors, "blowback". Like the lethal flames shooting out the rear of an RPG, blowback occurs when an operative turns on his creators.

Washington accuses its protégé of killing Americans, after an FBI-assisted car bomb came within 50 feet of toppling the World Trade Center in 1993.

Bin Laden is also accused of the 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that killed 224 people and injured 4,000. Also a millennial plot to blow up the Los Angeles airport. Plus the year 2000 bombing that nearly sank *USS Cole*.

And now the strike on the Pentagon and the destruction of the World Trade Center, in which nearly 3,000 people have perished.

Even more worrying, European intelligence sources say that earlier in 2001, bin Laden's umbrella terrorist network met with the Palestinian Islamic *Jihad* and the Egyptian al-Gamma al-Islamiya "to put in place a common strategy against the United States."

DOUBLE WAMY

With the American public clamoring for a swift response to this new Pearl Harbor, teams of heavily armed FBI agents conduct raids in two states. At Boston's Logan International airport, where the two flights that crashed into the Twin Towers originated, a flight instruction video, Arabic aviation manuals, a Koran and a fuel consumption calculator are found in abandoned cars. As the *Guardian* later points out, several people are detained for questioning, but no arrests are made.

In Florida, the immediate investigation centers on two flying schools in Venice and Coral Springs, where hijackers calling themselves Mohamed Atta and Mohamed al-Shahid ("Mohamed The Martyr") had enrolled as students.

The FBI discovers that his estranged brother Yeslam bin Laden paid for flight instruction for an acquaintance at the ever-popular Huffman Aviation. Long accustomed to handling Arabian charter flights, Huffman's is a natural choice among wealthy Saudis for legitimate flight instruction, as well as for lesser-advertised flying activities. After issuing a statement denouncing Osama, Yeslam states that he has had no contact with his half brother for more than 20 years, has never supported him either politically or financially, and has not been back to Saudi Arabia for 13 years.

The rest of bin Laden's stateside kin is already getting out. During

the second day's grounding of all commercial air traffic in the United States, an executive jet chartered by the bin Laden family takes off from Logan. Flying around the country under special exemption from White House chief of counterterrorism, Richard Clarke, the bizjet picks up some two-dozen extended family members of the bin Laden clan—most of whom were attending colleges and prep schools—before flying them and their business associates from Los Angeles to Orlando, and then on to Washington, Boston, Europe and Jeddah, where they are safely beyond the reach of inquisitive FBI agents, who had nearly screwed the whole thing up by arresting Moussaoui and getting into his personal computer before Ashcroft could stop them..^{xxviii}

The missing Abdullah bin Laden is undoubtedly onboard. Ordering coffee at Starbucks when he learned of the attacks, the 35-year-old Harvard Law School graduate says he admires America, abhors terrorism, disagrees with Osama's radical fundamentalism, and accepts Israel's right to exist. "Most of my family are moderates," he said. "We are business people, that's what we are about."

But Abdullah bin Laden also heads the United States branch of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth. Before September 11, the FBI had attempted to investigate two of Osama bin Laden's relatives in Washington and their connection to WAMY.

A Muslim youth association sounds innocent enough, award-winning investigative reporter Greg Palast later tells documentary filmmaker Alex Jones:

And they do actually support little baseball teams and basketball teams and that type of thing. But I thought some of their films for training camps for kids were basically recruitment for suicide bombings, recruitment for *Jihad*. And this was going on Florida. Now it turns out that a member of this organization, headed at one point by the bin Ladens and by the Saudi Royal family, turns out to be the conduit for the tapes of Osama bin Laden to al Jazeera television. A guy was just arrested in Somalia from WAMY. This is the organization that the FBI wanted to investigate and they were told, "Back off."^{xxix}

In a revealing follow-up interview with Greg Palast, British TV's "Newsnight" host Peter Elsner pursues WAMY, the Bush-bin Laden connection, and a leaked FBI document marked "Secret Case ID - 199-Eye WF 213 589".

As Palast explains, “199 is FBI code for case type; 9 would be murder; 65 would be espionage; 199 means national security. WF indicates Washington field office special agents were investigating ABL—because of its relationship with the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, WAMY—a suspected terrorist organisation. ABL is Abdullah Bin Laden, president and treasurer of WAMY. The secret file fell into the hands of national security expert, Joe Trento.”

Commenting on WAMY, the author of the *Secret History Of The CIA*, Joe Trento offers: “They’ve had connections to Osama bin Laden’s people. They’ve had connections to Muslim cultural and financial aid groups that have terrorist connections. They fit the pattern of groups that the Saudi royal family and Saudi community of princes—the 20,000 princes—have funded, who’ve engaged in terrorist activity.”^{xxx}

COMPLICITY AND CONSTRAINTS

There were always constraints on investigating the Saudis,” highly placed U.S. intelligence sources complain to reporters.

One of the recipients of WAMY’s “charitable” largesse was the militant Students Islamic Movement of India, which lent support to Pakistani-backed terrorists in Kashmir seeking to set up an Islamic state in India. In the weeks following a day immediately dubbed “9/11”, Pakistan will expel WAMY after India charges that it funded an organization linked to bombings in Kashmir.^{xxxii}

Hot on the trail of the bin Ladens before they were allowed to make their escape, FBI investigators believe that Osama bin Laden’s brother-in-law, Mohammed Jamal Khalifa is an important member of al-Qaeda. Mohammed Khalifa has been linked to Ramzi Yousef, the mastermind behind the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, as well as the October 2000 suicide attack on the *USS Cole*. This Mohammed is also thought to have provided start-up money to the Philippine terrorist group, Abu Sayyaf.

Carmen bin Laden, estranged wife of Osama bin Laden’s brother Yeslam who runs the Saudi Investment Company in Switzerland, believes that bin Laden family members continue to give money to Osama. As she puts it, “I think they would say, okay, this is—for Islam they would give. You know, for Islam they would give.”^{xxxiii}

Mideast experts also speculate that Osama bin Laden’s well-publicized rage against the ruling Saudi oligarchs also garners large payments in “protection money” to leave that unpopular regime alone.

French police are soon searching Yeslam bin Laden’s villa in

Cannes for evidence of terrorism-related money laundering involving the Saudi Investment Company. But the U.S. Treasury Department refuses to freeze WAMY's assets, claiming the Muslim youth group is a "charity".^{xxxiii}

Why would the Bush White House allow the Saudi suspects to escape FBI questioning?

As Greg Palast told Newsnight: "The younger Bush made his first million 20 years ago with an oil company partly funded by Salem Bin Laden's chief U.S. representative. Young George also received fees as director of a subsidiary of Carlyle Corporation, a little known private company which has, in just a few years of its founding, become one of Americas biggest defence contractors.

His father, Bush Senior, is also a paid advisor. And what became embarrassing was the revelation that the bin Ladens held a stake in Carlyle [which they] sold just after September 11."

Peter Elsner responded: "You have a key relationship between the Saudis and the former President of the U.S. who happens to be the father of the current President of the U.S. And you have all sorts of questions about where does policy begin and where does good business and good profits for the company, Carlyle, end?"^{xxxiv}

SEE NO EVIL

Is Bush's just announced "War On Terror" a fraud?

You bet, says lawyer Michael Wildes. While representing a Saudi diplomat who defected to the USA with 14,000 documents implicating Saudi citizens in financing terrorism, Wildes went to see FBI agents who told him they were "not permitted" to read all of his evidence.

"Take these with you," Wildes says he urged the G-men. "Keep them. Do something with them. Get some bad guys with them."

They refused. The State Department, Palast later explains, "wanted to keep the pro-American Saudi royal family in control of the world's biggest oil spigot, even at the price of turning a blind eye to any terrorist connection so long as America was safe."

Those same policies made it easy for terrorists to enter the United States. As Michael Springman, former head of the American visa bureau in Jeddah explains, he was "repeatedly ordered by high level State Dept officials to issue visas to unqualified applicants. These were, essentially, people who had no ties either to Saudi Arabia or to their own country. I complained bitterly at the time there. I returned to the U.S. I complained to the State Dept here, to the General Accounting

Office, to the Bureau of Diplomatic Security and to the Inspector General's office. I was met with silence.”

TAKING A BATH

Federal officers have been probing the Bush-bin Laden connection since 1992, when the Bushes were on the brink of taking a bath—a James Bath. The Houston businessman stands accused of illegally representing Saudi interests in the United States.

The junior Bush was first linked to the bin Ladens when his long-time friend from Air National Guard piloting days, James Bath began acting as a Texas business representative for Osama's older brother, Sheik Salem bin Laden. Beginning in 1976, Bath brought real-estate acquisitions and other deals to Sheik Salem, who ran the family construction business. An investor in businesses owned by George Bush senior, Bath was also listed as a trustee in Saudi Binladen Group corporate documents.

Sheik Salem bin Laden was keenly interested in influencing White House policies. In 1976, soon after George Bush Sr. was appointed director of the Central Intelligence Agency, a trust agreement drawn up by the sheik appointed Bath as his business representative in Houston. At the same time, Bath held a 5% interest in Arbusto Ltd. (Arbusto means “Bush” in Spanish.)

Sheik Salem bin Laden died in a plane crash in 1988. Six years later, the FBI and the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network began checking accusations that Bath was guiding money to Houston from Saudi investors wishing to influence the Reagan and senior Bush administrations.

In a sworn deposition, Bath admitted being the sole director of Skyway Aircraft Leasing Ltd., a company owned by Khaled bin Mahfouz. It turns out that Mahfouz was a major shareholder in the Bank of Credit and Commerce International. The BCCI banking empire is accused of laundering drug money, facilitating arms sales, running international prostitution rings—and using Mideast oil money to bribe the leaders of the world's most powerful nations.

Before going on to fund Osama bin Laden and both Bushes, the BCCI defrauded its own depositors of a whopping \$10 billion in the 1980s in what came to be called “the largest bank fraud in world financial history.”

POPPY POWER

The BCCI scandal eventually exposed the CIA-Oliver North-Iran-Contra money-laundering pipeline operated by Mahfouz, as well as the CIA's funding for the Mujahedin from heroin sales laundered through the Bank of Credit and Commerce International.

Following Washington's poppy-paid proxy war against its superpower rival during the late 1980s, the nexus of the world's heroin trade swung from the "Golden Triangle" centered on Burma to the "Golden Crescent" in and around Afghanistan. Now worth hundreds of billions of dollars in annual revenues paid to business syndicates, financial institutions, intelligence agencies like the CIA, American presidents, terrorist groups and organized crime—all are complicit in its corrupting trade.

According to an investigative report published in *The Media Bypass*, the White House rakes in as much as \$7 billion a year from sales of coke and smack—which are not snack foods. Much of these proceeds have "come back to line the pockets of top government officials from the Reagan, Bush and Clinton administrations." ^{xxxv}

When the elder "Poppy" Bush ran for president a decade later, documents *False Profits*, "several people connected with BCCI offered to help."

THE DRUG TRADE AND THE WHITE HOUSE

In 1977, Arkansas businessman Jackson Stephens invited BCCI into America and helped BCCI purchase First American Bank shares. A financial backer of both the George Bush campaign and the Bill Clinton campaign for U.S. President, according to Former Green Beret Bill Tyree's sworn deposition, Stephens "paid off politicians from Arkansas to look the other way and ignore the CIA cocaine operation at Mena, Arkansas."

Tyree testified that as early as 1975 drugs were being flown into Panama for transshipment to Arkansas, a state referred to by insiders as the CIA's own "Banana Republic" within the United States. He should know. Tyree served as crew chief on a U.S. Army helicopter taking part in "Operation Watchtower". Flying more than 100 unmarked plane-loads of cocaine out of Colombia into Albrook Air Station, Panama between December 1975 and early March 1976, Tyree watched cocaine being offloaded under the watchful gaze of an Army mission commander, three named CIA officers, an Israeli colonel—and another colonel named Manuel Noriega. ^{xxxvi}

Besides being named in the BCCI scandal, Jackson Stephens has been linked to the death of Vince Foster and the pirated PROMIS surveillance software used to track sudden “spikes” in stock trades.

“Why did Mohammed Atta and his terrorist cadre pick tiny Venice, Florida, to be their terrorist beachhead?” asks investigative filmmaker Daniel Hopsicker. “Were they drawn by a covert operation of the U.S. intelligence agency to which Stephens is persistently linked, the National Security Agency?”

Just one block away from the Venice airport, Jackson Stephens’ opulent three-story national headquarters “is a monument to the rivers of money flowing through the Stephens financial empire,” Hopsicker writes. Stephens’ decades-long influence in a town linked with terrorist flight and military training, he adds, “are raising anew questions about the shadowy ‘international networks’ reputed to have aided and harbored the Arab men who carried out the most heinous terrorist crime in history.”^{xxxvii}

THE TIES THAT BIND

Three clients of the powerhouse law firm Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld—Khalid bin Mahfouz, Mohammed Hussein al-Amoudi and Salah Idris—will soon come under scrutiny by U.S. authorities for allegedly financing Osama bin Laden’s terrorist network.

Akin, Gump also represent the biggest Islamic charity in the United States. Based in Texas, the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development found its assets frozen by the Treasury Department after U.S. federal investigators probed Holy Land’s ties to Hamas, the militant Palestinian organization claiming responsibility for continuing waves of suicide attacks against Israeli citizens.

Maintaining an affiliate office in the Saudi capital of Riyadh, Akin, Gump, was paid \$77,328 in lobbying fees by the Saudis during the first six months of the junior Bush’s presidency. Partners at Akin, Gump include GW’s close friend James Langdon, along with Bush fund-raiser George Salem and Bush education reform consultant, Barnett “Sandy” Kress. Bush’s banker bin Mahfouz retained Akin, Gump after his indictment in the BCCI banking scandal in the early 1990s.

In addition to the Carlyle Group’s final payouts to the bin Laden family, who allegedly funnel funds to Osama, the Center for Public Integrity, a Washington, D.C. political watchdog organization, worries that Akin, Gump’s willingness to represent Saudi power brokers under

investigation for links to terrorism presents a “unique ethical concern” because partners at the firm remain close to the President.

While Bush Sr. prepares to take his commission on lucrative defense contracts facilitated by his son’s new war, his former banker and associate Mahfouz is now under house arrest in Taef at the behest of American authorities who are looking into the \$3 million Mahfouz is alleged to have contributed to Saudi Arabian “welfare associations” linked to Osama Bin Laden.

Mahfouz’s sister is one of the wives of Osama bin Laden. ^{xxxviii}

BETTING ON MASS MURDER

Follow the money. The real culprits, or at least the accomplices who know their names will be found attached to speculations in the companies most directly damaged by Black Tuesday.

The September “surprise” attacks came as no surprise to 9/11 insiders looking to finance future atrocities. Authorities alerted by PROMIS stock trading alarms would have known something was amiss with two of America’s biggest airlines as early as

September 7, when the Chicago Options Exchange recorded purchases of 4,744 “put” options on United Airlines. The sudden spike in UAL “put” purchases represented a 1,200% jump in the usual number of day-to-day “puts” placed against United.

“Put options” are contracts giving buyers the option to later sell stocks at the price set when the contract was originally issued. This means that if the share price falls off a cliff and the contract is “called”, the original sellers must buy back drastically deflated shares at their original price. Which means *ouch* for them—and big bucks for anyone who has bet serious money on the drastic decline of those share prices.

On September 10, federal alarms rang when 4,516 “put” options on American Airlines were bought at a rate more than six-times higher than the usual level of trading.

Computerized intelligence agencies watching the markets would have marked another discrepancy as stock trading in other airlines remained low during this sudden frenzy to bet on United and American “crashes”.

The World Trade Center’s biggest tenant, Morgan Stanley was also used to a daily average of 27 “put” contracts. But during the three trading days before “Black Tuesday”, 2,157 of Morgan Stanley’s October put options were bought.

Another big brokerage house occupying 22 floors of the WTC,

Merrill Lynch saw 12,215 October put options bought in the four trading days before the attacks. The average trading volume in those shares is 252 contracts per day. ^{xxxix}

CASHING IN ON SEPTEMBER 11

Looking at the sudden spike in UAL trades, the *Independent* reported, “Holders of the put options would have netted a profit of \$5 million once the carrier’s share price dived after 11 September.”

“Puts” purchased against American Airlines would have netted terrorist insiders almost another \$4 million. “Investigators,” said the *Independent*, “cannot help but notice that no other airlines saw such trading in their put options.”

Morgan Stanley’s share price collapsed along with the Trade Towers, from \$48.90 to \$42.50. Some 2,000 options contracts bought with knowledge of the impending attacks would have netted their purchasers at least \$1.2 million.

When trading resumed, Merrill Lynch was lynched as shares fell from \$46.88 to \$41.50. Assuming that insiders bought 11,000 option contracts, their profit would have been about \$5.5 million. ^{xi}

Not everyone picked up their loot. The suspension of trading for four days after Black Tuesday foiled attempts to cash-out quickly. As the *San Francisco Chronicle* collates, “Investors have yet to collect more than \$2.5 million in profits they made trading options in the stock of United Airlines before the September 11, terrorist attacks.” The uncollected sum “raises suspicions that the investors whose identities and nationalities have not been made public had advance knowledge of the strikes.” ^{xi}

According to Don Radlauer, an expert in stock options and derivatives at Israel’s Institute for Counter-Terrorism, “Obviously, anyone who had detailed knowledge of the attacks before they happened was, at the very least, an accessory to their planning; and the overwhelming probability is that the trades could have been made only by the same people who masterminded the attacks themselves.”

But tracing the transactions to their source would be difficult, he adds, because “the trading is sure to have been done under false names, behind shell corporations, and in general to have been thoroughly obfuscated.”

The 9/11 “short-selling” list also includes WTC tenants Lehman Brothers, Bank of America, and Richard Grove’s biggest client, Marsh & McLennan. Cruise lines offering airline travel alternatives, aircraft

maker Boeing and defense contractors Raytheon, General Motors and Lockheed Martin also saw sudden spikes in trading volume just before the attacks. ^{xlii}

“The afternoon before the attack, alarm bells were sounding over unusual trading in the U.S. stock options market,” the CBS program 60 Minutes will confirm on September 19. ^{xliii}

American Free Press reporter Christopher Bollyn also reports an unusually high volume of five-year U.S. Treasury note purchases prior to the attacks—including a single \$5 billion trade. According to *The Wall Street Journal*, “Five-year Treasury notes are among the best investments in the event of a world crisis, especially one that hits the U.S.” ^{xliiv}

But nothing happened after the deliberate demolition of Building 7 took out the head office of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

INSURING SUCCESS

Several insurance companies involved in unusually heavy trading before the 9/11 attacks include American International Group (AIG), Axa, Chubb, Cigna, CNA Financial, John Hancock and Metlife. At least three of these companies—AIG, Axa and Cigna— have links to dubious drug dealings and the CIA.

Vornado Realty Trust also saw heavy buying and short selling of its shares on the eve of Black Tuesday. The New Jersey-based corporation must be faint with relief after losing its bid earlier this year to lease the World Trade Center complex from the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

Why did the stock sentinels remain silent? And how did President Bush’s close associates know to suddenly sell all of their airline stock just days before the September 11 attacks? ^{xlv}

RIP-OFFS

Believing that SilverStream technology “was fundamental to the perpetration of the scheme,” Richard Grove follows the investigation into the post 9-11 AIG and Marsh & McLennan insurance scams, whereby he alleges, “hundreds of billions of dollars were skimmed from fattened insurance quotes” by the world’s biggest insurance company and biggest insurance brokerage.

New York Attorney Elliott Spitzer will eventually find AIG guilty, and penalize the insurance giant \$1 billion—“less than 1% of what they stole, and of that \$1 billion, Marsh & McLennan had to pay

\$800,000,000 of it,” Grove says. Taking to his golden parachute, AIG CEO Maurice “Hammerin’ Hank” Greenberg, former chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, receives “hundreds of millions (beyond the fraud) from AIG,” Grove also alleges.

Even worse, this corporate insider reveals, founded by OSS operative Cornelius Starr, “uncle of Clinton’s friend Kenneth Starr, AIG was created for and is currently a front which provides cover for intelligence community illicit operations.”

Earlier in 2001, AIG had bought Kroll Associates. Kroll managed Giuliani’s bunker in 7 WTC, “played a major role in the events of September 11th, and continues to this day to enable events like the 7-7 and 7-21 bombings in the London Tube system,” Grove further alleges. A long-time personal friend of ex-FBI Counterterrorism expert, John O’Neill, Kroll’s Jerome Hauer hired O’Neill as head of security for the WTC shortly before his death there on September 11th. ^{xlvi}

“*Qui bono?*” asks Grove. “Hundreds of billions in fraudulent transactions took place just prior to the buildings being pulled down on 9/11. These transactions were captured on hard-drives found in the rubble at Ground Zero. A German Company called Convar recovered the information on these drives.”

Kroll will purchase Convar in June of 2002, “to ensure that the evidence never reaches the public mind,” Grove later asserts. On July 8, 2004 Kroll Associates will be sold to Marsh & McLennan.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Instead of rattling doors and shaking Bushes, the SEC only asks brokerage houses to “look into” heavy pre-attack trading in 38 companies, including the parents of American airlines, Continental, Delta, Northwest, Southwest, United and USAirways.

But “chill” orders issued by the White House to federal agents block all investigations of the cash connection between George Bush Senior and the bin Ladens, who will soon profit prodigiously from the Collective’s share of the \$68 billion bonanza handed to the Pentagon and its corporate contractors in two rapid-fire installments by his son.

Recognizing what the bin Ladens refer to as a “longstanding friendship” with the United States, federal investigators had earlier subpoenaed banks used by the bin Laden family. Now two of Osama’s brothers tell reporters that the FBI has been “remarkably

sensitive, tactful and protective” of the family during the current crisis.

DEUTSCHE BANK

Nevertheless, while looking at family dealings in the United States, the FBI has learned that the bin Ladens do much of their banking with National Commercial Bank in Saudi Arabia. Osama bin Laden’s family also banks at the London branch of Deutsche Bank, which processed insider trades on United Airlines stocks just before September 11.

Until 1998, the Deutsche Bank was managed by “Buzzy” Krongard. Currently executive director of the CIA, Krongard had helmed the A.B. Brown bank when Banker’s Trust acquired it in 1997, forming Europe’s biggest blockbuster bank.

This mega-bank was one of 20 big U.S. banks accused by Senator Carl Levin of laundering dirty money by passing it through legitimate accounts. The newly enlarged Deutsche Bank soon made big news by being named the hub of insider trading activity connected to insurance company Munich Re. Soon after 9/11, European regulators begin examining unusually heavy trades in Munich Re, Swiss Re, and Axa of France—major insurers of the World Trade Center.

Al-Qaeda also uses the Deutsche Bank. Soon after September 11, Germany’s largest commercial bank provides investigators with information on accounts worth more than \$200 million linked to Osama bin Laden’s family. According to *The Guardian*, some bin Laden family accounts are opened to authorities after Deutsche Bank officials begin suspecting links “to terrorists or terrorist activities.”^{xlvi}

After an al-Qaeda operative called Osama’s “right-hand man” was arrested near Munich in 1998 in connection to the US embassy bombings, Mamdouh Mahmud Salim’s bank account was found to be co-signed by Mamoun Darkazanli, whom German authorities suspect of money laundering for Islamic militant groups.

Darkazanli also banked at the Deutsche Bank, where former personal secretary to bin Laden, Wadih el-Hage used Darkazanli’s apartment address to open accounts for shell companies set up as fronts for al-Qaeda activities. Darkazanli was also found to have power of attorney over a bank account of someone named Hajer on al-Qaeda’s supreme council.^{xlvi}

INSIDER TRADING AND 9-11

Investigators begin checking Deutsche Bank's alleged links to Saudi "private banking"—a polite bankers' term for terrorist bank accounts—and \$2.5 million in unclaimed United Airlines put option profits.^{xlix}

As Michael Ruppert points out in his web-based *From The Wilderness* newsletter: "The firm which was used to place put options on UAL stock was, until 1998, managed by the man who is now in the number three position at the CIA."¹

Did Deutsche Bank's CIA-connections, and al-Qaeda and bin Laden clients tip that financial giant to the impending terror attacks?

IT'S AN UGLY BUSINESS, BUT SOMEBODY'S GOT TO GET RICH

Presented with such "spoke-to-hub" connections earlier alluded to by Deep Pockets, a pattern presents itself of intertwined, self-enriching families dealing in drugs, oil and mass murder. Extensively documented links tie two Bush presidencies to Middle-East investments, CIA bank directors, insider trading in terrorist operations, and the BCCI super-laundromat used to scrub the bloodstains off rivers of cash from the elite's unholy trinity: arms, oil and drugs.

As investigator H. Michael Sweeney points out: "The family ties between former CIA Director Richard Helms and the Taliban, chief protectors of bin Laden, and the business deals between George Bush and Osama bin Laden's brother and other bin Laden relatives, as well as financial partnerships involving the bin Ladens and CIA proprietaries, gives ample reason to suspect the CIA and Osama bin Laden still work together."

Just as Deep Pockets predicted, the catastrophic events of 9/11 will hardly be disastrous for certain well-placed beneficiaries. The biggest remaining taboo question is whether Washington officials were complicit in facilitating their country's second Pearl Harbor, or opportunists taking advantage of America's anguish to advance their own agendas.

Put another way, did several long-known cells of inept suicide fliers catch America's multi-trillion dollar military and intelligence apparatus completely by surprise? Or just as President Roosevelt provoked, monitored and masked the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor from defending U.S. forces, did powerful puppeteers within the White House and Secret Service facilitate similarly epochal events more than a half-century later by hobbling U.S. air defenses on September 11 and deliberately looking away?

The answers can be found by following the money and asking: Who benefits, who gains?

BIG LOSERS

- At latest count, nearly 2,800 people from 80 nations who lost their lives in Pennsylvania, Washington DC and New York City on September 11, 2001.
- More than 4,000 children they left behind.
- An even wider circle of grieving loved ones left behind.
- The children of Afghanistan, where one in four are already dying before the age of five before more bombs begin falling.
- More than 100,000 children about to lose their lives in Iraq, in addition to the one million or so civilians already killed during a dozen years of U.S. sanctions.
- Yasser Arafat, as Israeli government hardliners and senior military commanders press Ariel Sharon to destroy his Palestinian Authority under the perfect new cover of responding to “terrorism”.
- Other indigenous struggles branded “terrorists” by the corporate-driven states mobilizing to crush them.
- Hundreds of thousands of workers in the airline and travel industry, as well as importers and exporters on both sides of the convulsed Canadian border which daily trucks more trade than all other U.S. trading partners combined.
- An Islamic faith that teaches tolerance, humility and respect for life.
- Arabs living or traveling in the West.
- Westerners living or traveling in the Middle East.
- Americans seeking restaurants or accommodation in many European countries.
- Canadians who value their civil liberties.
- Britons who value their democratic rights and freedoms.
- Americans who value their Constitution and Bill of Rights.

BIG WINNERS

- The Carlyle Group's George Bush Jr.
- The Carlyle Group's George Bush Sr.
- The Carlyle Group "Collective"
- New "resistance hero" of the Middle East, Osama bin Laden.
- The Military Corporate Entertainment Complex
- U.S. Airlines handed \$40 billion by the Bush administration.
- IBM handed \$1.4 billion by the Bush administration.
- General Motors handed \$833 million by the Bush administration.
- General Electric handed \$671 million by the Bush administration.
- Chevron Texaco handed \$572 million by the Bush administration.
- Enron handed \$254 million by the Bush administration.
- Newly empowered U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies.
- Newly empowered unofficial U.S. "shadow government" agencies.
- UNOCAL and its Afghanistan pipeline project.
- Bush propaganda arm, FOX News.
- The banks backing all of the above.

SHOP TIL YOU DROP

"Is shopping the new patriotism?" asks Salon.com after George Bush urges Americans to respond to the atrocities of Black Tuesday by returning to the same consumer gluttony that has led to so much conquest, waste and resentment.

In the aftermath of September 11's shocking scenario, it seems that almost everyone but Americans are raising deeper questions. How can a nation so fond of perpetrating violence on impoverished countries be so shocked when it is directed back at them, asks Seumas Milne in *The Guardian*:

It has become painfully clear that most Americans simply don't get it. From the president to passersby on the streets, the message seems to be the same: this is an inexplicable assault on freedom and democracy, which must be answered with overwhelming force.

Shock, rage and grief there have been aplenty. But any glimmer of recognition of why people might have been driven to carry out such atrocities, sacrificing their own lives in the process—or why the United States is hated with such bitterness, not only in Arab and Muslim countries, but across the developing world—seems almost entirely absent.

But make that connection they must, if such tragedies are not to be repeated, potentially with even more devastating consequences.

Unconstrained by any superpower rival or system of global governance, the U.S. giant has rewritten the global financial and trading system in its own interest; ripped up a string of treaties it finds inconvenient; sent troops to every corner of the globe; bombed Afghanistan, Sudan, Yugoslavia and Iraq without troubling the United Nations; maintained a string of murderous embargos against recalcitrant regimes; and recklessly thrown its weight behind Israel's 34-year illegal military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza as the Palestinian Intifada rages...

To punish its wayward Afghan offspring, the U.S. subsequently forced through a sanctions regime, which has helped push four million to the brink of starvation, according to the latest UN figures, while Afghan refugees fan out across the world. ⁱⁱ

THE EU

Along with such heartfelt critiques by America's closest friends, sympathy for that nation's loss remains the worldwide watchword. After meeting in special session in Brussels, EU foreign ministers issue a declaration on September 12 asking "all Europeans to observe three minutes of silence" at 11am on the 13th. "We also declare September 14, 2001 a day of mourning" across the 15-nation EU, the declaration reads.

The EU pledges to "spare no efforts" to help U.S. authorities bring those responsible to justice. "We were all victims of this attack," says Belgium's foreign minister, Louis Michel. ⁱⁱⁱ

Chapter 10

COVER-UP

On the evening of September 12th, in the tiny borough of New Baltimore located more than eight miles from the main Flight 93 crash site in Somerset County, three-year-old Hunter Stoe is helping his father with the trash when he spots a slip of paper on the grass near the trashcan.

Before tossing it into the garbage, Andy Stoe glances at the paper. It's a charred payroll check made out to a man in San Jose, California. Combing the yard, the Stoe family finds more singed papers and other debris from the downed airliner, including pages from United's in-flight magazine *Hemispheres*.

Federal authorities insist that the debris in the Stoe's yard do not exist because they could not have come from the principal crash site miles away. FBI agents also deride Delasko's report of "confetti" falling from the stricken Flight 93.

Fleagle insists that he had climbed up on the roof of an abandoned cabin to toss down a burning seat cushion from the plunging airliner. But his claims of debris in the lake some two-and-a-half miles from the main crash site are similarly dismissed.

The job of Special Agent William Crowley is not to investigate the terrorist attacks, but to divert media attention away from eyewitness accounts of Flight 93 being hit by a missile and leaving a swath of debris miles from the eventual crash site. On September 13 he tells reporters that "ninety-five percent" of the Boeing 757 has been recovered at the main crash site.

It isn't much. After the thin-skinned jetliner rolled over into its missing engine and augured straight in, the biggest piece of aircraft found in and around the 30-foot-deep crater is a piece of fuselage skin measuring just six or seven feet across.

Yes, the G-man agent is finally forced to admit, the heaviest piece from the plane was a charred 1,000 pound section of the jet's engine

found eight miles away from the main impact crater. Asked how it got there, Crowley says, “The wind blew it there.”

But later Wednesday morning, what looks like a rib bone, along with pieces of airliner seats, small chunks of melted plastic, bank checks and other debris begin washing ashore at the Indian Lake marina. With grim satisfaction, Fleegle watches the chastened agents spend most of the afternoon scouring the lake in rented boats. The feds eventually cart away “a large garbage bag” filled with debris. ⁱⁱⁱ

By late Thursday afternoon, federal agents addressing reporters at the main crash site still insist, “there was no evidence as of yet” that a second plane was nearby when Flight 93 plunged into an abandoned strip mine.

Problem is, earlier that same day, Crowley had told reporters that investigators “could not rule out” that a second plane was nearby during the crash.

The FBI agent tries to insert Wright’s business jet into this new spin, saying that the Falcon 20 had been redirected to “help guide rescuers” to where they were already standing ankle-deep in charcoal from the wreckage.

“It’s obvious a lot of people would have seen it,” the Crowley now says of the mystery plane.

But Wright would have needed special permission from Air Traffic Control to descend that low. On the contrary, he informed the *Post-Gazette*, “They told us to get as far away from that plane as we could as fast as we could.”

Even descending at a 3,000-feet-per-minute, it would have taken the bizjet more than 10 minutes to get down to 5,000 feet. The plane’s rated maximum descent rate is 2,000 feet-per-minute.

Was it a U.S. Customs jet? Already patrolling aloft, or placed on 15-minute standby to interdict fast-flying drug smuggling planes, a white unmarked Cessna Citation based at nearby March Air Force Base could have been quickly vectored over the Pennsylvania crash site. The unarmed DEA executive jets are “loaded with video equipment,” reports the *Post-Gazette*. “Their mission is recon.”

Alternately, equipped with wingtip fins to improve fuel economy, the small white T-tail plane reported by many residents in the Shanksville area could have been an air force T-1A Jayhawk. Used for hauling military brass to meetings, the pilots of these twin-engine executive Beech 400A jets are trained to fly very low over items of interest on the ground. ^{iv}

Confronted by these contradictions, Crowley says that he

“misspoke.” Like the debris from Flight 93 packed into bags by federal agents, the low-flying executive-type plane seen by so many local residents never existed.

When asked if there was any record of a second plane over the crash site, Richard Kettel, head of tower operations at the Cleveland Air Traffic Control Center, which tracked Flight 93 as it flew eastward out of the Cleveland area says, “That’s something that the FBI is working on and I cannot talk about,” he said.^{iv}

Why this “no comment” cover-up of an airplane that supposedly never existed?

And what was a C-130 doing over the Twin Towers, Pentagon, and Flight 93 crash sites?

GENERAL MYERS

What really happened? After months of detailed intelligence warnings, why did Earth’s mightiest air force fail to protect its citizens on September 11? The world wants to know. Americans fearful of follow-on terrorist attacks *need* to know. What if the next kamikaze dives into a nuclear power plant?

On September 13, the Senate Armed Services Committee meets to confirm the appointment of the acting commander of U.S. air defenses on America’s second day of infamy to the highest military post in the land.

Today is the second biggest day in the biggest week in General Richard Meyer’s life. Over the next hour the responsible for America’s air defenses on 9/11 will either be disgraced and stripped of his rank and reputation... or elevated to the pinnacle of U.S. military prowess.

The outcome is already assured. As nonchalant as his Commander-In-Chief after learning of twin terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the former fighter pilot tells his examiners that he had not let a televised report of airliners deliberately crashing into one of his country’s best-known landmarks interrupt his daily routine.

“I was with Senator Cleland when this happened and went back to the Pentagon,” General Myers glibly relates. “And they were evacuating, of course, the Pentagon at the time. And I went into the National Military Command Center because that’s essentially my battle station when things are happening.”^{vi}

Stop! no one demands. *How can the acting commander of all U.S. military forces wait more than an hour after hijacked jetliners crashed into America’s talismanic Twin Towers before showing up at the*

Pentagon to arrange his country defenses? Since his meeting with Senator Cleland was strictly routine, what orders did General Myers issue insuring that he would not be disturbed under any circumstances—even a second Pearl Harbor?

At this point, General Myers smoothly continues, as he came out of his meeting with the senator, someone mustered enough courage to thrust a cell phone into his hand. From an air force courier jet somewhere out over the Atlantic, General Eberhart, Supreme Commander over all United States space and airspace did most of the talking, Myers relates, “about what was happening and the actions he was going to take.”

...going to take. Someday perhaps, eventually, long after predatory hijacked airliners stopped flying into American minds and buildings.

As head of the confirmation session, Senator Levin attempts to get to the crux of that day. “Was the Defense Department contacted by the FAA or the FBI or any other agency after the first two hijacked aircraft crashed into the World Trade Center, prior to the time that the Pentagon was hit?” Levin wants to know.

MYERS: “Sir, I don’t know the answer to that question.”

Coming from the future head of the U.S. armed forces, this reply is extraordinary. Having just presided over the biggest homeland military disaster since Canadians torched the White House, surely the nominee for America’s ultimate military command would want to know 9/11’s sequence of events by perusing mandatory “After Action Reports” from all responding air force units. Since his staff has had nearly 48-hours for to prepare a complete chronology of America’s air defense response based on Pentagon communications logs and other sources, why is the general unable to respond to the most obvious questions at his crucial confirmation hearing?

The answer is simple: Jets launched late from distant bases, directed out over the ocean, and flown at a fraction of their top speeds failed to intercept hijacked jets flying faster than they were, while other fighters on the ground or aloft were not ordered to intervene.

LEVIN: “And did you take action against—for instance, there has been statements that the aircraft that crashed in Pennsylvania was shot down. Those stories continue to exist.”

MYERS: “Chairman, the armed forces did not shoot down any aircraft.”

Then how did one of Flight 93’s engines come to be blown explosively off its wing after an F-16 was tracked in hot pursuit—to land,

scorched and shredded, eight miles from the main crash site while the stricken airliner shed debris in a wide swatch across the surrounding landscape? Levin does not ask.

It is Senator Bill Nelson's turn to try eliciting a straight answer from the jinking general.

NELSON: "The second World Trade tower was hit shortly after 9:00. And the Pentagon was hit approximately 40 minutes later. You said earlier in your testimony that we had not scrambled any military aircraft until after the Pentagon was hit. And so, my question would be: why?"

MYERS: "I'd have to go back and review the exact timelines."

As the acting head of U.S. air defenses on that day—and facing a crucial nomination hearing today—why don't you have those times at your fingertips? Nelson fails to press.

Instead, the senator tries another tack.

NELSON: "If we knew that there was a general threat on terrorist activity, which we did, and we suddenly have two trade towers in New York being obviously hit by terrorist activity, of commercial airliners taken off course from Boston to Los Angeles, then what happened to the response of the defense establishment once we saw the diversion of the aircraft headed west from Dulles turning around 180-degrees and, likewise, in the aircraft taking off from Newark and, in flight, turning 180-degrees?"

MYERS: "After the second tower was hit, I spoke to the commander of NORAD, General Eberhart. And at that point, I think the decision was at that point to start launching aircraft."

Get your story straight general! A moment ago you said that you first spoke with Eberhart much later—after the Pentagon was hit.

But Nelson neglects to follow up. Perhaps the senators are completely confused.

Perhaps this is intended.

"In our posture right now," Myers smoothly continues, "we have many fewer aircraft on alert than we did during the height of the Cold War. And so, we've got just a few bases around the perimeter of the United States."

Yes, but what about all the other nearby bases with aircraft taxiing on the flight line, and other air force, marine and navy jets already aloft within a few minutes' flying time of the hijacked airliners? Senator Nelson does not to ask.

What about the armed F-16 from the 121st Fighter Squadron, and a similarly fanged F/A-18 from the 321st Marine Fighter Attack Squadron held on the ground less than 10 miles from White House and the Pentagon throughout September 11. Who ordered the Andrews jets grounded? And why?

None of the senators wants to know. But their expressions of blank incredulity spur General Myers into making another attempt at explaining the inexplicable. “My memory says that we had launched on the one that eventually crashed in Pennsylvania. I mean, we had gotten somebody close to it,” the general offers. “As I recall.”

DON'T YOU KNOW? DIDN'T YOU CHECK? Senator Nelson somehow refrains from screaming. How close is “close to it”? NORAD officials claim that none of its fighters got within 100 miles of Flight 93. Are they lying? Why did the United States Air Force wait for over an hour to launch this interceptor when for years, similar intercepts were routinely being made on errant but non-threatening airliners on 16 minutes notice twice a week?”^{viii}

Instead, the senator helpfully sets the response clock ahead from Tower One to the second strike on Tower Two, before attempting to once again hold America's chief air defender accountable—for something.

NELSON: “Commenting from CNN on the timeline, 9:03 is the correct time that the United Airlines flight crashed into the south tower of the World Trade Center; 9:43 is the time that American Airlines flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon. And 10:10 a.m. is the time that United Airlines flight 93 crashed in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. So that was 40 minutes between the second tower being hit and the Pentagon crash. And it is an hour and seven minutes until the crash occurred in Pennsylvania.”

LEVIN: “The time that we don't have is when the Pentagon was notified, if they were, by the FAA or the FBI or any other agency, relative to any potential threat or any planes having changed direction or anything like that.”

MYERS: “I can answer that. At the time of the first impact on the World Trade Center, we stood up our crisis action team. That was done immediately. So we stood it up. And we started talking to the federal agencies.”

Somehow, senators Levin and Nelson do not trample each other jumping on the general's admission that the air force shifted into full crisis response mode and was in direct consultation with the FAA right after the first tower was hit. And Flight 77 was ignored?

Without verbal prompting, Myers lamely responds: “The time I do not know is when NORAD responded with fighter aircraft. I don’t know that time.”

“*WHY NOT?*” senators Levin and Nelson do not shout in unison. “*Why in the name of Custer should we put you in charge of defending America against all the people we’ve pissed off by bombing their wives, children, husbands, fathers and mothers in China, Korea, Guatemala, Indonesia, Cuba, Congo, Peru, Laos, Vietnam. Cambodia, Libya, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Grenada, Iraq, Sudan, Somalia and Yugoslavia since World War II?*”^{lviii}

Levin tries once more to get a straight answer out of America’s Warrior-In-Chief: “Or the time that I asked you for, which was whether the FAA or FBI notified you that other planes had turned direction from their path, their scheduled path, and were returning or aiming towards Washington, whether there was any notice from any of them, because that’s such an obvious shortfall if there wasn’t.”

MYERS: “Right.”

Right?

MYERS: “...I was not in the Pentagon at that time, so that part of it is a little hazy.”

WHY WEREN’T YOU AT YOUR POST? Levin fails to press. And speaking of hazy, whose idea was it to insert nearly two-dozen false radar returns—including faked hijackings of real airliners—on air force radar screens across the nation?

THE RAZOR’S EDGE

After listening to his bizarre and brazenly inept farrago of incompetence and disinterest—or worse—the senators arrayed in examination around General Richard B. Myers offer judgments just as surreal as his own:

SENATOR LEVIN: “General Myers is uniquely well-qualified to serve as the next chairman of the Joint Chiefs.”

SENATOR CARNAHAN: “Sitting next to me is a military leader for our time. He has been tried and proven time and time again. Our country is indeed fortunate in this hour of need to have General Richard B. Myers as the nominee for the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.”

SENATOR ROBERTS: “He is clearly well qualified to lead our military in this new age that burst in vivid reality on our doorstep on the 11th.”

SENATOR AKAKA: “We’ve heard many good statements on

General Myers. I have full confidence in General Myers' ability to serve in this critical position."

SENATOR ALLARD: "I'd like to join my colleagues in congratulating you, General Myers, on a very successful career."

SENATOR REED: "General, again, I think your experience and your service is extraordinary. And it gives us, at least it gives me, confidence."

Why aren't there any women in this room? No congresswoman worthy of her gender would have let such self-serving sycophants get away with such malfeasant malarkey. Instead of tossing any number of smoking verbal grenades, Senator Levin lofts another soft pitch, asking if the general has "an opening statement for us?"

General Myers responds: "...If confirmed, I pledge to keep our armed forces at that razor's edge." ^{ix}

Allah protect us! Instead of cracking up in hysterical laughter at the general's wit... or ordering his immediate courts-martial like the luckless admiral defending Pearl Harbor from an attack known in advance by just about everyone else in Kimmell's chain-of-command but himself... or even gently reprimanding this blue-suiter for allowing pre-announced aerial attackers armed with real razors to fly virtually unopposed through his country's bristling air defenses—General Myers is awarded the top command slot over the entire U.S. military!

Go figure.

If you dare.

G.W. Bush will soon personally congratulate the new head of the Joint Chiefs. At a White House ceremony just a month after the devastating air attacks which occurred on General Myers' watch, the pretend president will praise his stunningly incompetent, or perfectly performing 9/11 air force general for "his calm manner, sound judgment, and his clear strategic thinking."

Stopping short of kissing Myers on the lips, his effusive Commander-In-Chief will express "complete confidence" in the man who so completely hamstrung U.S. defenses on that country's second day of deception. ^{ix}

None dare call it treason.

ACTS OF WAR

Not far away from Meyer's triumphant confirmation circus, the man in charge of presidential spin is holding a press briefing at the White House.

“The President today has made a series of phone calls to world leaders. He has spoken to Prime Minister Koizumi of Japan, Prime Minister Berlusconi of Italy, Lord Robertson of NATO, Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, and Egyptian President Mubarak,” Ari Fleischer announces. “Tomorrow will be a National Day of Prayer and Remembrance. The Department of Transportation, Secretary Mineta has ordered that national airspace will be reopened to commercial and private aviation.”

A reporter wants to know: “If it is actual war, as the President and others in the administration have declared, does he indeed not need a congressional approval to wage war on anyone?”

The answer is a resounding, *Yes!* But no one in the White House press “corpse” demurs when Fleischer smoothly improvises yet another falsehood, saying, “The Constitution vests in the President the authority as Commander-in-Chief to take action in that capacity he deems appropriate.”

And by the way, the press secretary adds, a “\$20 billion supplemental appropriation bill” is zooming through Congress—guaranteeing billions in windfall profits for the presidents’ most generous supporters, and furthering the PNAC plan without enhancing homeland port security in the least, just as Deep Pockets predicted.^{lxi}

Bush’s top spokesman is careful not to revisit the \$2.3 trillion reported “lost” by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld the day before Black Tuesday. Happily for his boss, the press gallery is no longer interested. But more than *two thousand billion dollars* represents a sizeable war chest for the PNAC plotters. Not to mention a handy retirement income for whomever has helped themselves to the American taxpayers’ till. If a line on graph one-foot long represented a million dollars, two trillion dollars would stretch to the Sun and back—twice.

Of course, there is no proof that PNAC people enjoying the closest access to the biggest embezzlement ever perpetrated stole those missing trillions. It must be coincidence that the military’s top money manager, Dov Zakheim was appointed Pentagon Comptroller just three months before the September 11 attacks. Or that Zakheim helped draft the Project for a New American Century’s year 2000 position paper, “Rebuilding America’s Defenses”—which called for this “New Pearl Harbor”.^{lxii}

But one diligent military accountant has already tried to find out what happened to \$300 million. “We know it’s gone. But we don’t

know what they spent it on,” reported Jim Minnery of the Defense Finance and Accounting Service—just before being sent far away on a permanent reassignment.^{lxiii}

No wonder Condoleezza Rice has already referred to 9/11 as an “enormous opportunity”—before further adding, “We must take advantage of these new opportunities.”^{lxiv}

AMERICA’S NEW ALLY

After Washington’s newest friend overthrew Pakistan’s elected government and aborted a CIA hit on Osama bin Laden, it is hardly reassuring when President Bush praises Pakistan’s President-General Musharraf as the Arab keystone of his anti-terror “coalition”.

Is Pakistan a pal? In a breathtakingly gutsy move, American journalist Jeffrey Goldberg braves the wrath of 2,800 America-hating students to attend a *madrasa*. One of Pakistan’s 10,000 Muslim schools teaching militant Islam to one million impoverished youths, this school’s only honorary degree was bestowed on Mullah Omar, former head of the Taliban in Afghanistan.

No math or world history is taught in what Goldberg terms, “*jihad* factories.”

Instead, in *madrasa* classrooms throughout Pakistan, students aged 8 to 35 spend four to eight hours every day memorizing the Koran in. The future leaders of America’s new ally are also taught Wahhabism—the Spartan, anti-modernist variant of Islamic fundamentalism embraced by Osama bin Laden.

In 1774, Wahhabist founder Muhammad idn Abd al-Waahab came out of the Najd in a bloody campaign of “purification and renewal” intended to return Arabia to the “true Islam” proclaimed by his version of the Prophet. The early Saudi conquest of the Hejaz, including the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, gave fresh impetus to a nearly three century-old religious practice, which pulls like gravity on Muslim movements today.

Embraced by subsequent Saudi regimes, which continue to enforce its doctrines with cane-wielding “religious police” and much harsher penalties today, Wahhabism continues to spread its rhetorical flavors of retribution throughout the Islamic world. Even as Pakistan’s fence-straddling generalissimo mouths “anti-terrorist” slogans for American media consumption, *maulana* school heads are teaching impoverished and impressionable kids the bin Laden line that “the Jews are using America to fight Islam.”

It is Goldberg who reminds the students of the sacred sayings of Muhammad recorded in the *hadith*. Didn't "the messenger of Allah, may peace be upon him, forbade the killing of women and children?"

The young Wahhabists gathered around Goldberg were not overly concerned with sparing women and children, whom they thought it might be all right to kill. They were much more interested in celebrating Youm-E-Takbeer.

"The Day of God's Greatness" had restored Pakistan to greatness with that country's first nuclear detonation at Chagai Hills on May 28, 1998. Many Muslim radicals told Goldberg they believed Pakistan's nuclear arsenal should become weapons of the *jihad*. As one student put it with terrifying simple-mindedness: "All things come from Allah. The atomic bomb comes from Allah, so it should be used."

MORE ISLAMIC REACTION

Two days after Black Tuesday, while the U.S. media continues to poison American minds with out-of-context clips of Palestinian "celebration", the 9/11 atrocities continue to be strongly condemned by every Palestinian organization, including Fatah, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, as well as Hamas, student associations, municipalities, mosques and churches.

After the president, teachers and students of Jerusalem University undertake a blood donation drive in East Jerusalem, one million Palestinian students stand in silence for five minutes to express their solidarity with the American children who have been visited with the suffering they know too well.

In Iran, soccer fans at Tehran's main stadium also observe an unprecedented minute's silence in sympathy with the victims. Iran's Ayatollah Imami Kashani tells the nation that this "catastrophic act of terrorism" can only be condemned by all Muslims. ^{lxv}

HOT SPOTS

One week after the Twin Tower takedowns, NYFD officials explain that incredibly hot and persistent fires are located too deep in the WTC subbasement for firefighters to reach. Satellite sensors record thermal hot spots of nearly 2,000°F persisting deep within the Pile. This is almost 500°F hotter than the maximum temperature of burning jet fuel, which was quickly consumed in both crashes. Office building furnishings burn at a fraction of these temperatures, which would be

further reduced in deeply buried burning pockets deprived of oxygen.^{lxvi}

As metal expert Dr. Frank Gayle explains, “Your gut reaction would be the jet fuel is what made the fire so very intense; a lot of people figured that’s what melted the steel. Indeed it didn’t, the steel did not melt.”^{lxvii}

Yet, molten steel was found “three, four, and five weeks later, when the rubble was being removed,” points out Mark Loizeaux. Dubbed “the meteorite”, Loizeaux describes a rock-like object found deep in the rubble as “molten steel and concrete all fused by the heat into one single element.”

The president of Controlled Demolition Inc. also observes that molten steel was found at the superficially burnt 7 WTC, which was “pulled” late in the afternoon on September 11.^{lxviii}

Unlike any other recorded building fire, the WTC wreckage will burn for more than three months, radiating the highest heat five days after September 1.^{lxix}

The most plausible explanation for the Pile’s persistent heat signature are thermite or so-called “thermate” bombs placed in advance to melt through the WTC’s massive supporting girders.

The industrial version of thermite—Thermate-TH3—has sulfur added to increase its cutting effect on steel. “Thermate” reactions generate extraordinary temperatures, up to 3,000°C. Temperatures half that of the sun’s surface would explain the persistent “hot spots” and “molten steel” found deep beneath the collapsed 1, 2 and 7WTC.

Instead of melting or twisted breaks, photographs of the WTC’s sheared standing box columns show hard, angled cuts and long “slag” strips of cooled molten iron. characteristic of thermite/thermate cutting. Controlled demolitions expert Mark Loizeaux confirms, “If I were to bring the towers down, I would put explosives in the basement to get the weight of the building to help collapse the structure.”

Many eyewitnesses reported “explosions” at the WTC.

“I heard simultaneously this roar and see what appears to be a gigantic fireball rising up at ground level,” one reporter said. “I remember seeing this giant ball of fire come out of the earth as I heard this roar.”^{lxx}

“A few seconds after 10:00 am”, retired Colonel Donn De Grand Pre corroborates, a “great white cloud” rises from the base of the South tower. “The anchor gal on Fox 5 News video exclaims: ‘There is an explosion at the base of the building... white smoke from the bottom... something happened at the base of the building... then, another explosion!’”^{lxxi}

But smoke rising from burning office buildings should be black—not the characteristic white of a thermite reaction producing molten iron and aluminum oxide. As Brigham Young University physicist Professor Steven Jones subsequently tells his peers at a conference in Utah, while not even a jet fuel can cause structural steel to fail, the combination of thermite and sulfur “slices through steel like a hot knife through butter.”^{lxxii}

Thermite reactions also generate large amounts of health-threatening ultraviolet radiation. On September 27, NYC fire officials will order 2,000 gallons of Pyrocool FEF. When added to water, PFEF produces slippery, low-viscosity foam used for smothering thermite. According to the *New Scientist*, “Pyrocool also contains two powerful ultra-violet absorbers.”^{lxxiii}

FLIGHT 77 OUT OF CONTEXT

CNN’s Pentagon correspondent Jamie McIntyre is upset that Web sites, which “often take statements out of context,” are already widely misquoting a September 11 on-air segment in which he said, “From my close-up inspection, there’s no evidence of a plane having crashed anywhere near the Pentagon.”

Actually, McIntyre clarifies, he was responding to an eyewitness “who thought the American Airlines plane landed short of the Pentagon. I was indicating there was no crash site near the Pentagon—only *at* the Pentagon.”

What he actually said on air, referred to “the actual site of the building that’s crashed in.”

Looking “at the huge gaping hole that’s in the side of the Pentagon,” he continues, “I could see parts of the airplane that crashed into the building, very small pieces of the plane on the heliport outside the building. The biggest piece I saw was about three-feet long. It was silver and had been painted green and red, but I could not see any identifying markings on the plane.

I also saw a large piece of shattered glass. It appeared to be a cockpit windshield or other window from the plane. In fact there were thousands of tiny pieces of the plane, and I personally photographed a piece of the fuselage and what appeared to be part of the cockpit.”^{lxxiv}

ALIVE!

Who carried out the hijackings? Initial FBI reports list the muscle

hijackers “picked by bin Laden” to take down four of the seven airliners slated for hijacking on September 11:

Satam al Suqami, brothers Wail and Waleed al-Shehri, Abdul Aziz al-Omari, Fayez Banihammad, Ahmed al Ghamdi, Hamza al Ghamdi, Mohand al-Shehri, Saeed al- Ghamdi, Ahmad al Haznawi, Ahmed al Nami Alive, Majed Moqed and Salem al-Hazmi, brother of Nawaf al Hazmi.

After pictures of these evil “terrorists” are plastered on front pages and news broadcasts around the globe, several of the slandered men and their families threaten to sue. Wail and Waleed al-Shehri are both alive! So are Abdul Aziz al-Omari, Mohand al-Shehri, Saeed al-Ghamdi and Salem al-Hazmi.

Waleed al-Shehri tells the BBC that he had attended flight school at Dayton Beach in the United States, and is the same al-Shehri to whom the FBI is referring. But after leaving the United States a year ago, he became a pilot with Saudi Arabian Airlines and is now training in Morocco. ^{lxxv}

Saeed al-Ghamdi is alive and flying in Tunisia. He also studied at Florida flight schools in 2001. Abdulaziz al-Omari claims his passport was stolen when he was living in Denver, Colorado. ^{lxxvi}

So who were the real hijackers? And why aren't there any Arab names on the passenger manifests released to the public?

Another question posed by CNN contemplates the low occupancy of the hijacked flights, described by industry officials as “very, very low.” As recently as July 2001, early morning cross-country flights originating from the East Coast had been operating at 70% capacity. ^{lxxvii}

“REACTING” TO SEPTEMBER 11—IN ADVANCE

By September 21, even though 15 of the alleged hijackers came from terror-sponsoring Saudi Arabia, the White House says it is “preparing” to undertake an intensive bombing and invasion of Afghanistan.

In fact, stories widely circulated the previous summer by the press in Pakistan and India press revealed that in late June, Secretary of State Collin Powell, and the Russian and Indian foreign ministers had reached a decision to invade Afghanistan.

In mid-July, during a UN-sponsored international Afghan-networking session in Berlin, former Pakistan Foreign Secretary Niaz Naik was told by senior American officials that military action would

commence in Afghanistan “before the snows began” in mid-October. According to Naik, the Berlin discussions centered on “the formation of a government of national unity. If the Taliban had accepted this coalition, they would have immediately received international economic aid.”^{lxxviii}

That was the carrot.

The mailed fist came when U.S. representative Tom Simons threatened the Taliban and Pakistan with “a military operation.” Former French intelligence agent-turned-author Jean-Charles Brisard recalled, “At one moment during the negotiations, the U.S. representatives told the Taliban, ‘either you accept our offer of a carpet of gold, or we bury you under a carpet of bombs.’”^{lxxix}

Pre-positioned in Saudi Arabia before the September 11 attacks, British and American forces at Riyadh, al-Kharj and Taif counted 3,000 RAF personnel, six Tornado fighter-bombers, 4,000 USAF and U.S. Army personnel, and 320 F-15 and F-16 attack aircraft and U-2 spy planes.

In Kuwait, by August 2001 eight Tornado attack aircraft were ready to bomb Afghan villages from Ali al-Salem airbase. At nearby Ahmed al-Jabr, another 30 F-111 stealth bombers and radioactive shell-strafting A-10 Warthogs stood ready to support 20,000 3rd Army troops forward deployed at Camp Doha.

In the weeks leading up to September 11, Washington’s British allies also placed 20,000 troops and a wing of attack aircraft in Oman. Sending what Whitehall describes as the “largest armada since the Falklands War” steaming into the Gulf, Exercise Saif Sareea II also pre-positioned the carrier *Illustrious* and an accompanying British naval task force within striking range of Afghanistan. Tomahawk cruise missiles from the submarines *Triumph* and *Trafalgar* will soon be winging into defenseless towns and cities.

By September 21, two U.S. carrier battle groups are on station in the Indian Ocean. A third is en route. At least 18 destroyers, supply ships and submarines capable of firing volleys of cruise missiles support the American armada. The carriers’ fighter-bombers are backed by B-52’s targeting Kabul from the Indian Ocean island-fortress of Diego Garcia.

In addition, prior to September 11, the U.S. Operation Bright Star has assembled another 40,000 American and NATO troops in Egypt.

How can this be, asks former U.S. Special Forces instructor Stan Goff? “Massive military operations on the other side of the world take

a very long time... I can't help but conclude that the actions we are seeing put into motion now are part of a pre-September 11th agenda. I'm absolutely sure of that, in fact. The planning alone for operations of this scale that are now taking shape, would take many months. And we are seeing them take shape in mere weeks." ^{lxxx}

In fact, America's war preparations were initiated immediately after George Bush was awarded the presidency by a friendly court. "War was already in the wind," explains one commentator, adding that Bush's key cabinet posts of Treasury, Defense, Justice and National Security Advisor comprised "the most militarized oil-and-big-business-friendly administration in 35 years."

- Vice-President, Dick Cheney—former head of Halliburton oil services and military logistics corp.
- National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice—former Chevron director.
- Chief of Staff, Andrew Card—formerly with General Motors, makers of Abrams tanks and many other weapons systems.
- Secretary of State, Colin Powell—former head the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
- Secretary of Veterans Affairs, Tony Princippi—formerly of Lockheed-Martin, single biggest defense contractor in the known universe.
- Secretary of the Navy, Gordon England—General Dynamics.
- Secretary of the Air Force, James Roche—Northrop Grumman.
- Secretary of the Army, Ret. General Thomas White—Enron Energy.
- Secretary of Commerce Donald Evans—Colorado Oil.
- Secretary of Energy Stanley Abraham—oil giant Tom Brown.
- Bush's "representative government" represents the kind of wealth described by Deep Pockets: 18 of Bush's 19 cabinet secretaries are millionaires; seven are worth more than \$10 million apiece.

"This administration is a veritable Who's Who of the U.S. financial oligarchy," Goff scoffs. Three military members of the Bush inner circle "makes the cabinet look quite a lot like a military General Staff. All this, way before September 11th."

KHALILZAD

That's not all. Bush's handpicked special envoy to Afghanistan, "once lobbied for the Taliban," reports *The Independent*. In 1997, as a paid adviser to the oil multinational UNOCAL, Zalmay Khalilzad negotiated with Taliban officials regarding the possibility of building highly lucrative gas and oil pipelines for that consortium. At the same time, he urged the Clinton administration to take a softer line on the Taliban." ^{lxxxix}

At this level of corruption, everything makes a circle. In his post-September 11 role, Khalilzad is picked to coordinate pipeline policy with Washington's handpicked Afghan president, Hamed Karzai. In his new role, Khalilzad reports directly to National Security adviser Condoleezza Rice. As a former director of Chevron, Rice served as the company's expert on Kazakhstan, where Chevron holds the largest concession of any participating oil company. ^{lxxxii}

NOT IN OUR NAMES

Many family members of the victims killed on September 11 are already speaking out against the Bush administration's long-cherished war-for-oil plans. After losing her husband Richard, Judy Keane tells the press, "Bombing Afghanistan is just going to create more widows, more homeless, fatherless children." ^{lxxxiii}

Jill Gartenberg, who lost her husband Jim, adds, "We don't win by killing other people." ^{lxxxiv}

Amber Amundson's husband, Craig died in the Pentagon. In an open letter in *The Chicago Tribune*, on September 25 she tells Bush: "If you choose to respond to this incomprehensible brutality by perpetuating violence against other innocent human beings, you may not do so in the name of justice for my husband."

The late Gavin Cushny's surviving brother Rupert Eales-White likewise declares, "If military action results in the deaths of innocent Afghans, then 100 more Bin Ladens will rise from the grave." ^{lxxxv}

Through her pain, the mother of Deora Bodley tells reporters, "Let this passing be the start of a new conversation... that provides a future for all mankind to live in harmony and respect." ^{lxxxvi}

Phyllis and Orlando Rodriguez tell their fellow Americans that their son Greg is among the many missing from the World Trade Center attack.

We read enough of the news to sense that our government is heading in the direction of violent revenge, with the prospect of sons, daughters, parents, friends in distant lands dying, suffering, and

nursing further grievances against us. It is not the way to go. It will not avenge our son's death. Not in our son's name. Our son died a victim of an inhuman ideology. Our actions should not serve the same purpose. Let us grieve. Let us reflect and pray. Let us think about a rational response that brings real peace and justice to our world. ^{lxxxvii}

On his website, Matthew Lasar remarks:

In his speech at the National Cathedral memorial service, President Bush praised an unnamed man “who could have saved himself” but instead “stayed until the end and at the side of his quadriplegic friend.” That man was my uncle, Abe Zelmanowitz. When the first airplane struck, Abe could not bear to abandon his wheelchair-using colleague, and called his family to say so. Despite their pleading, he insisted that he would stay. They have been missing ever since.

My mother, who lives 20 minutes from the WTC, is in a state of shock. I mourn the death of my uncle, and I want his murderers brought to justice. But I am not making this statement to demand bloody vengeance... Afghanistan has more than a million homeless refugees. A U.S. military intervention could result in the starvation of tens of thousands of people. What I see coming are actions and policies that will cost many more innocent lives, and breed more terrorism, not less. I do not feel that my uncle's compassionate, heroic sacrifice will be honored by what the U.S. appears poised to do. ^{lxxxviii}

OSAMA BIN LADEN DENOUNCES SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

On September 28, 2001 the Pakistan ‘paper *Ummat* publishes a lengthy interview to Osama bin Laden. Thanking them for the opportunity, this media-savvy terrorist reveals his analysis and agenda.

Ummat's first question is: *Did you do it?*

Playing to his audience, Usama (Osama) bin Laden uses the word “peace” three times in the opening sentence of his reply. After all, followers willing to die under his banner need to feel as righteous in their murderous deeds as their flag-waving fundamentalist counterparts in the White House who utter the same empty phrases to rationalize their own civilian bombings.

Only by the mercy of the God he invokes does Osama's tongue not shrivel and fall out when he says, "I have already said that I am not involved in the 11 September attacks in the United States... I had no knowledge of these attacks, nor do I consider the killing of innocent women, children and other humans as an appreciable act. Islam strictly forbids causing harm to innocent women, children and other people..."

Americans should "try to trace the perpetrators of these attacks within itself," Al-Qaeda's chief strategist and fundraiser suggests. "Is it not that there exists a government within the government in the United States? That secret government must be asked as to who carried out the attacks... In the U.S. itself, there are dozens of well-organized and well-equipped groups, which are capable of causing a large-scale destruction. Then there are intelligence agencies in the U.S., which require billions of dollars worth of funds from the Congress and the government every year."

But the demise of the former Soviet Union, Osama points out, has put the budgets of these agencies in danger. "They needed an enemy," he points out. "You see, the Bush Administration approved a budget of 40 billion dollars. Where will this huge amount go? It will be provided to the same agencies, which need huge funds and want to exert their importance..."

"I will give you an example. Drug smugglers from all over the world are in contact with the U.S. secret agencies. These agencies do not want to eradicate narcotics cultivation and trafficking because their importance will be diminished. The people in the U.S. Drug Enforcement Department are encouraging drug trade so that they could show performance and get millions of dollars worth of budget. General Noriega was made a drug baron by the CIA and, in need, he was made a scapegoat."

After being heavily involved in the opium trade with his U.S. allies in Afghanistan and Kosovo, Osama should know.

"We are against the [U.S. Government] system, which makes other nations slaves of the United States, or forces them to mortgage their political and economic freedom," he goes on. "This system is totally in the control of the American Jews, whose first priority is Israel, not the United States..."

Just like the administration he denounces, this media-savvy terrorist advises Muslim leaders to concentrate on acquiring the means to sway popular emotions and opinion. "Today's world is of public

opinion and the fates of nations are determined through its pressure. Once the tools for building public opinion are obtained, everything that you asked for can be done,” Osama says.

The catch, he goes on to explain, is that if hearts and intentions are not “pure”, people held in fear by their own propaganda “cause harm to themselves.”

It is the American media who have become the true terrorists, he argues. “Terror is the most dreaded weapon in modern age, and the Western media is mercilessly using it against its own people. It can add fear and helplessness in the psyche of the people of Europe and the United States. It means that what the enemies of the United States cannot do, its media is doing that”—by fostering “fear and helplessness.”

lxxxix

The problem with this murderous muj is that parts of his analysis are well-considered. And this is his biggest threat. Because an increasing number of otherwise moderate Arabs are coming to see Osama bin Laden not only as a criminal who has killed thousands of innocent people in terror attacks—including other Muslims—but also as a lone hero who humbled a superpower many feel urgently needs to be taught a lesson.

Even though most scripture-abiding Muslims abhor violence, just as his father’s war against America’s former ally garnered grudging Arab sympathy for a tyrant known even by his closest neighbors as “the Butcher of Baghdad”, so too will a coming stream of video images showing maimed and terrified children, destroyed homes and grieving families leave many in the Middle East little choice but to elevate Osama to the cult status of an Arab Ché Guevara.

As this American media-inflated figure continues to elude pursuing fleets, troops and bombers on horseback, the false defender of the religion he violates with every attack he finances could come to replace Osama-the-monster intent on converting the world to his twisted version of Islam by bloody force.

What better way to force the “perpetual war” and profits proclaimed by White House profiteers than to create, fund and provoke Osama bin Laden? For the bankers backing the Collective, it’s perfect lose-lose situation for the taxpayers they are fleecing.

But not if Osama is killed.

ISLAM CONDEMNS OSAMA

From London to the Persian Gulf, Islamic scholars and rulers

denounce the crimes of September 11. “Neither the law of Islam nor its ethical system justify such a crime,” emphasizes Zaki Badawi, head of the Muslim College in London. ^{xc}

“It is wrong to kill innocent people. It is also wrong to Praise those who kill innocent people,” adds Mufti Nizamuddin Shamzai in Pakistan. ^{xcii}

“What these people stand for is completely against all the principles that Arab Muslims believe in,” declares King Abdullah II of Jordan. ^{xcii}

WHO WOULD HAVE THUNK IT?

Two days after Osama’s broadside, Donald Rumsfeld comes under fire on NBC’s Meet The Press for failing to defend his country. “Never would it have crossed anyone’s mind that a commercial airline...” the Defense Secretary falteringly insists. This is a distinctly different behavior pattern than we’ve seen previously, and now, obviously, it’s something we have to be attentive to.” ^{xciii}

Yet, it is well known that in 1994 suicidal Algerian hijackers plotted to crash an Air France jetliner crammed with fuel and dynamite into the Eiffel Tower. A similar plan saw Muslim militants hijack Pan Am Flight 76 in Pakistan in 1986 with the intention of diving into downtown Tel Aviv. (The plane was stormed before take-off.)

Since 1995, the FBI has also been aware of “Project Bojinka”. The plan by extremists to simultaneously seize and to crash more than a dozen commercial jets over the Pacific Ocean prompted investigations at U.S. flight schools.

As recently as July 2001, a known al-Qaeda suicide plane plot to assassinate George Bush and other world leaders was considered such a threat to the G-8 summit, the Italian government ringed Genoa and its airport with anti-aircraft guns and missiles. ^{xciv}

The Genoa scare was followed by numerous messages from Britain, Egypt, Germany, Russia, Israel, Jordan and America’s own intelligence community warning Washington that a plane would be used as a weapon to attack “prominent symbols of American power”—including World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

EARLY WARNINGS SPURNED

A sampling of the multiple warnings given to Bush officials prior to the September 11 “surprise” attack include:

- March 2001: The Italian government shared information of possible attacks in March 2001 based on bugs placed in an apartment in Milan.
- May 2001: An Iranian in custody in New York City told local police of a plot to attack the World Trade Center.
- June 2001: The German intelligence service BND alerted Britain's MI-6 intelligence service, Israel's Mossad, and the CIA that Middle Eastern terrorists were training for hijackings and targeting American and Israeli interests.
- June 4, 2001: Pakistanis were taken into custody in the Cayman Islands after being overheard discussing upcoming hijacking attacks in New York City. Questioned and released, their information was forwarded to U.S. intelligence agencies.
- July 2001: Indian intelligence shared information with the CIA concerning upcoming terror attacks against U.S. interests.
- July and August 2001: British intelligence shared information picked up through surveillance of Khalid al-Fawwaz, a Saudi Arabian dissident who publicly acknowledged being a bin Laden operative, and was suspected of participating in the bloody 1998 U.S. embassy bombing in Kenya.
- August 2001: From Mossad agents closely monitoring the September 11 hijackers in Florida and other cities in the U.S., the Israeli government provided information to the Bush White House in the second week of August that an al-Qaeda attack is "imminent."
- French intelligence independently corroborated this assertion during the final week of August, after Zacarias Moussaoui was arrested at a U.S. flight school.
- Russian President Vladimir Putin repeatedly ordered his intelligence agencies to alert the United States that suicide pilots are training for attacks on U.S. targets.
- In the days before the attack, an upset 29-year-old Iranian in custody in Germany's Langenhagen prison made repeated phone calls to U.S. police forces from his deportation cell, warning that an attack on the World Trade Center is "imminent". He was considered "crazy". ^{xv}

In addition, reports the *London Times*, Britain's intelligence chiefs warned the Prime Minister less than two months before September 11 that Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terror organization is in 'the final stages' of preparing to attack the West." Their written warning was sent to Tony Blair and other senior Cabinet Ministers on July 16, 2001.

These warning would have been routinely passed to the Americans.

Interestingly, the Cabinet Office Joint Intelligence Committee's prediction of an al-Qaeda attack was based on intelligence gleaned not just from British intelligence sources, "but also from U.S. agencies, including the CIA and the National Security Agency," the *Times* reports. John Scarlett, who took over as chairman of the JIC a few days before the September 11 attacks told the cabinet-level Joint Intelligence Committee there was "an acute awareness in the period before September 11" that Osama bin Laden and his terrorist associates "represented a very serious threat" and were "planning activity".^{xcvi}

Though not as specific as the FBI's own internal memos, credible multiple warnings of an imminent attack on the United States should have prompted tightened airport security, and seen suspect flight trainees rousted.

Neither happened.

Instead, as *Newsweek* reiterated, "for a year and nine months after the CIA identified them as terrorists, al-Hazmi and al-Mihdhar lived openly in the United States, using their real names, obtaining driver's licenses, opening bank accounts and enrolling in flight schools."^{xcvii}

Just like known Japanese spies were allowed to continue photographing and charting the U.S. Navy fleet at Pearl Harbor in the year leading up to that "surprise" attack.

AL-QAEDA'S CFO

The first breakthrough in the FBI's September 11 investigation comes on October 1, when *The Guardian* reports that the investigators have discovered money transfers between the hijackers and a Bin Laden aide named Sheikh Saeed in the United Arab Emirates.^{xcviii}

The FBI believes that Sheik Saeed used the alias Mustafa Muhammad Ahmad to send more than \$100,000 from Pakistan to Mohammed Atta."^{xcix}

A U.S. government indictment will later allege that "Mustafa Ahmed" wired a total of \$109,910 to a Florida SunTrust bank account

jointly held by Atta and al-Shehhi on June 29, July 19, August 7, August 30 and September 18, 2000. ^c

Described by *Newsweek* as al-Qaeda's "Chief Financial Officer", Saeed also apparently assisted Saudi charities in secretly funneling millions of dollars to the terrorist network. In total, Saeed reportedly sent most the half-million dollars or more the hijackers received from overseas. ^{ci}

On June 25, 2001, Saeed also sent Visa and ATM cards from the United Arab Emirates to hijacker Fayez Ahmed Bani Hammad in Florida. ^{cii}

In the days leading up to September 11, a flurry of money transfers between Saeed in the UAE and the hijackers resulted in a \$26,315 refund, which was wired back to Saeed from the hijackers just before their attack. On September 11, in the hours before the hijackers boarded their targeted flights, Saeed transferred \$40,871 from his UAE bank accounts to his VISA card and caught a plane from the UAE to Pakistan. Reporter Paul Thompson also learned that after making six ATM withdrawals in Karachi on September 13, Saeed's trail "goes cold." ^{ciii}

But plenty of heat remains. On September 4, 2001 ISI Director Mahmoud Ahmad had arrived in Washington, D.C. for a series of "mysterious meetings" with CIA Director George Tenet and unspecified officials at the White House and the Pentagon. Mahmoud's "most important meeting" was with Mark Grossman, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

Previous visits to Washington by Mahmoud during the last three months "shows the urgency of the ongoing parleys," the *Karachi News* reports. ^{civ}

As for an ailing terrorist financier, an Indian newspaper reveals: "Bin Laden, who suffers from renal deficiency, has been periodically undergoing dialysis in a Peshawar military hospital with the knowledge and approval of the Inter-Services Intelligence, if not of Musharraf himself." ^{cv}

BREAKFAST OF CHAMPIONS

On the morning of September 11, ISI Director Mahmoud Ahmad attended a breakfast meeting at the U.S. Capitol with the chairmen of the House and Senate Intelligence Committees, Senator Bob Graham and Representative Porter Goss. The meeting lasted at least until Flight 175 hit the World Trade Center.

9/11 investigator Paul Thompson later learns that Goss “is a self admitted 10-year veteran of the CIA’s clandestine operations wing; Graham is the CIA’s best ally in the Senate.” Both men will be subsequently picked to head the joint House-Senate investigation into the September 11 attacks. ^{cvi}

Also present at the September 11 meeting were Senator John Kyl and the Pakistani ambassador to the United States. Thompson notes that virtually everyone in this meeting had met with the ISI director in Pakistan a few weeks previously. ^{cvi}

And what were the men discussing as hijacked planes allegedly orchestrated from terrorist bases in Afghanistan slammed into the World Trade Center and Pentagon?

“We were talking about terrorism, specifically terrorism generated from Afghanistan,” Senator Graham said. Osama bin Laden was specifically discussed. ^{cvi}

ISI = CIA

Had the mythical Osama bin Laden really ridden his white steed into the sunset, or at least into Pakistan on the afternoon of the 9/11 attacks? The ISI director and his U.S. counterparts know that on the day before, the terror financier had required emergency medical care in Pakistan. Spirited into a military hospital in Rawalpindi for kidney dialysis treatment under Pakistani military protection, the regular staff in the urology department was replaced by a team of Osama’s personal physicians. ^{cix}

When a chronically ill Osama earlier lay in hospital in July 2001, Taliban Foreign Minister, Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil has learned from the leader of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan that the al-Qaeda chieftain was planning a “huge attack” on targets inside the USA. Fearing massive retaliation against Afghanistan by the United States if the raid went ahead, the foreign minister attempted to warn the U.S. and the UN. ^{cx}

They ignored him.

What about Pakistan? According to U.S. intelligence sources, ISI-CIA collaboration dates back to the 1980’s. In 1998, the ISI and CIA teamed up with the FBI and informant Ramzi Yousef to help bomb the World Trade Center. ^{cx}

TILL DEATH DO US PARTNERS

Did George Bush’s newfound Pakistan ally help plan and fund the

September 11 attacks? If so, the CIA must have known. In March 2001, a long-time regional expert with extensive CIA contacts had insisted, “The CIA still has close links with the ISI.”

He will repeat his claim to CNN in February 2002. ^{cxii}

A pesky Pittsburgh newspaper will venture even further, reporting: “There are many in Musharraf’s government who believe that Saeed Sheikh’s power comes not from the ISI, but from his connections with our own CIA. The theory is that... [9/11 paymaster] Saeed Sheikh was bought and paid for [by the CIA].” ^{cxiii}

The implications are shocking. But anyone who is still unhappy with the U.S. government’s explanation of the Kennedy and King assassinations might be excused for surmising that since the ISI is a creature of the CIA, the White House must have known about the funding of Mohamed Atta, and bin Laden’s whereabouts as well.

What is known is that the day after the 9/11 attacks, General Ahmad met with Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, Senator Joseph Biden, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Secretary of State Colin Powell to coordinate Pakistan’s response to attacks everyone must have known were coming through shared ISA-CIA links. ^{cxiv}

On September 13, the ISI head met with them again.

“Isn’t it strange,” asks the ever-questioning Paul Thompson, “that the terms of Pakistan’s commitment to fight al-Qaeda were negotiated with the man who had given orders to send \$100,000 to the September 11 hijackers?”

Even stranger, instead of being arrested and tried—or shot—General Ahmad will be allowed to retire after his role in helping fund the September 11 hijackers is discovered. On October 9, less than one month after breakfasting with Bush’s next chosen head of the CIA during violent attacks on the United States linked to his intelligence agency, Lieutenant General Mahmoud Ahmed is replaced after cell phone calls link him with Umar Sheikh, one of three militants released in exchange for the passengers of the hijacked Indian Airlines plane in 1999. ^{cxv}

In addition, reports Pakistan’s *Dawn*, “There are enough indications “that it was at Gen. Mahmud’s instruction that Sheikh had transferred 100,000 U.S. dollars into the account of Mohamed Atta.” ^{cxvi}

With the ex-ISI director effectively discredited and silenced, will Saeed spill what he knows? As the *Washington Post* puts it, “The [ISI] is a house of horrors waiting to break open. Saeed has tales to tell.” ^{cxvii}

Not any more. Arrested for the brutal murder of *Wall Street*

Journal reporter, Daniel Pearl, Saeed will be tried by a Pakistani court meeting in a bunker beneath a prison in the summer of 2002. On July 15, 2002 Saeed will be found guilty and quickly executed. ^{cxviii}

DIALLING MOSSAD

With the Pakistan connection to 9/11 temporarily dealt with, what about the Mossad? On October 3, 2001 an acrimonious argument erupts in the Knesset when foreign Minister Shimon Peres warns Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon that refusing to heed Washington's incessant calls for a cease-fire with the Palestinians would endanger Israeli interests and "turn the U.S. against us."

"Don't worry about American pressure," Sharon yells back. "We the Jewish people control America." ^{cxix}

Is he referring to the massive Israeli phone-tapping operation that is privy to every phone call made in the United States?

"Chances are that when you make a call, the record of the call and the billing is done through Amdocs," columnist Justin Raimondo discloses at antiwar.com. As Carl Cameron, the reporter who broke the story of the Israeli phone-tapping network within the USA, reveals, "it is virtually impossible to make a call on normal phones without generating an Amdocs record of it."

Amdocs Ltd. is headquartered in Israel. Its computer center there allows the company—or Mossad—to conduct telecom traffic analysis, "building up a picture of someone's activities based on a pattern of who they are calling and when," Raimondo explains.

"Another Israeli telecom company is Comverse Infosys, which subcontracts the installation of the automatic tapping equipment now built into every phone system in America. Comverse maintains its own connections to all this phone tapping equipment." (The Ken Starr Report has implicated Comverse Infosys phone taps in recording Bill Clinton's phone sex sessions with Monica Lewinsky.)

Almost all "firewalls" built into U.S. corporate and government computer systems are provided by Checkpoint Systems, Raimondo adds, "which like Amdocs, Comverse Infosys, and Odigo, is headquartered in Israel."

Another Israeli telecom provider is Odigo, which transmits all "Instant Message" services across the USA. With offices just two blocks from the World Trade Center, Odigo employees received a two-hour advance warning of the 9/11 attacks.

"Okay," writes Raimondo, "so the Israelis have the phone lines

over at the White House, the Defense Department, the Justice Department, and, for all we know, your local dogcatcher's office bugged to the max. So they have the capability to know where and when practically every phone call in the US, and large sections of the rest of the world, is made, and to whom."

The problem, Cameron observes, is that on a number of drug running cases, suspects US. Drug enforcement had sought to wiretap "immediately changed their telecommunications processes. They started acting much differently as soon as those supposedly secret wiretaps went into place."

Were the intended target of the pre-9/11 wiretaps Israelis, or al-Qaeda agents, Raimondo asks? "If the former were acting differently after wiretaps were put in place, it means only that the Israelis were using their sources and methods to protect their own: if the latter, it means the Israelis were using their sources and methods to protect the Bin Ladenites."

And/or blackmail U.S. government leaders.

"This may well be what Ariel Sharon meant when he stated that the Jewish people control America," Raimondo thinks. Bottom line: "The billions of our tax dollars sent to Israel (while women and children sleep in America's alleys and eat out of trash bins) have bought and paid for a monstrous phone tracking and phone tapping system that can eavesdrop on almost any phone call in America."

"It's a huge security nightmare," one senior US official tells FOX News. "The implications are severe," another official seconds.

"We're not even sure we know the extent of it," a third high-ranking intelligence official tells FOX.

Yet, DEA, INS and FBI investigators also inform Fox News that to "even suggest Israeli spying... is considered career suicide." As one U.S. official said on-air, "Evidence linking these Israelis to 9/11 is classified. I cannot tell you about evidence that has been gathered. It's classified information."

"There are only two reasons to classify the evidence that links the arrested Israeli spies to 9/11," Raimondo notes. "Either they were directly involved in the attacks on the WTC, or they knew about it and simply decided to let the attack happen in the hopes of the US stomping some Muslim butt.

"There is, of course, precedence for both options. In addition to the phony radio transmitter in Tripoli, Israel knew of the impending bombing in Beirut that killed 241 Marines, but allowed it to go forward

in the hopes that the USA would be further angered against Israel's enemies. Then there is that incident with the *USS Liberty*; hardly the actions of a friend."

Facing the usual barrage of "anti-Semitic" accusations over its straightforward reporting, FOX instantly pulled the three-part Israeli spy ring story from their broadcasts and website. As another press reporter told the website, American Media Censorship and Israel, "If I say anything about US geopolitical interests with Israel, I might as well clean off my desk."

If the White House admitted that Israeli spies tracked the 9/11 hijackers and allowed their attacks to proceed, would the American public demand that Israel be dealt with like Afghanistan, Raimondo asks? "This is, of course, nonsense. We have no more right to bomb the people of Israel for the actions of the Mossad than we had to bomb the people of Afghanistan for what we were told were the actions of CIA asset Osama bin Laden."

For this online reporter, the fact that the American people have been lied to "is intolerable. And the longer we tolerate lies of this magnitude, the more we will be lied to," he warns. "And beyond the lies, beyond the classified evidence that links [66] arrested Israeli spies to the attacks on the World Trade Towers, beyond the cover-up, lie the blackest questions of all: has the US Government blamed (and bombed) the wrong people for the crimes of 9/11, and why are they protecting the real perpetrators?" ^{xxx}

DISPENSENSENSATIONALISM

Besides taped phone calls that could bring down America's powerbrokers if made public, another big reason for the Bush White House to protect Israel is for Jesus to come again. And soon.

According to the Christian Zionists holding sway in the White House, "Every act taken by Israel is orchestrated by God, and should be condoned, supported, and even praised by everyone," notes Israeli professor of anthropology and "Anti-House Demolition" advocate Jeff Halper.

But in the "End Times" scenario that drives Bush's Middle East policies today, his Jewish accessories are as disposable as American troops. As Halper points out, "While Christians enjoy the Second Coming and the salvation of the Millennium, Jews, their supposed allies, suffer a much different fate: at Armageddon two-thirds of the Jews die and the final third convert to Christianity, a precondition of the Second Coming."

Until that day, Jerry Falwell disingenuously calls America's Bible Belt, Israel's "safety belt". Soliciting cash donations on some of the 1,000 Christian radio stations and 100 Christian TV stations disseminating the Rapture rap to some 70 million, primarily Republican Christian Zionists across the USA—who represent a quarter of Bush voters—the wealthy televangelist extols "Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ".

In a pamphlet bearing that same title, the not very Reverend Falwell explains how a Christian driver might someday be driving an automobile, along with several others. "When the trumpet sounds," he writes, instead of being flattened by a Mack truck, "you and the other born-again believers in that automobile will be instantly caught away—you will disappear"—sans clothes. "That unsaved person or persons in the automobile will suddenly be startled to find the car suddenly somewhere crashes... Other cars on the highway driven by believers will suddenly be out of control and stark pandemonium" and nudity will occur on "every highway in the world." ^{cxxi}

Harper, a much-derided "unpatriotic" and "anti-Israeli" peacenik, is saddened by such insanity, which sees Israel compounding "the sins of occupation by joining forces with chauvinistic neo-cons, corporations pursuing war profits, anti-Semitic fundamentalists and other dubious forces subverting progressive civil society elements around the world."

"This is the greatest betrayal," he believes, "not only of what Israel might have been had it sought accommodation and peace with the Palestinians and its other neighbors but of the Jewish people as a whole."

"Wake up!" he shouts. ^{cxxii}

In real terms, after receiving more than \$134 billion in weaponry and free financing from U.S. taxpayers since 1948, "Tiny Israel is now the fourth most powerful military in the world," reports that country's national newspaper *Ha'aretz*—which adds. "Tiny Israel now has the third largest nuclear arsenal in the entire world! And openly threatens to use it!" ^{cxxiii}

PROFITABLE VENGEANCE

But that may not be necessary, if the PNAC planners get their way. Four days after Sharon's outburst, America's revenge for attacks barely three-weeks old commences.

As so many 9/11 families fear, the first "enemy" hit in retaliation

for the attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center is a 16-year-old ice-cream vendor from Jalalabad named Assadullah. Speaking in the Peshawar dialect, the dazed boy relates: “There was just a roaring sound, and then I opened my eyes and I was in a hospital I lost my leg and two fingers. There were other people hurt. People were running all over the place.”^{cxxiv}

At 8 p.m. local time, as Mohammed Raza is walking home near to the Jalalabad airport, another wayward cruise missile explodes near him. Shrapnel pierces Raza’s neck, grazing his spine and permanently paralyzing him.^{cxxv}

Rockwell International is reportedly building cruise missiles “as fast as they can.” According to retired Navy Lieutenant Commander Al Martin, the Redstone Arsenal’s base commander is impressed that 37% of the first 300 missiles launched against Afghanistan hit their intended targets. “He was actually chortling on how ‘high’ the accuracy rate has been,” Martin writes. “The general’s exact words were that ‘the defense contractors will get paid as long as the things go off and hit the right country.’”

As Deep Pockets pointed out, as long as enough “threats” can be marketed and sold to a public made fearful by the weapons-makers own media, producing products that blow things up—necessitating the replacement of both weapon and target—is a highly profitable business. Each air-launched cruise missile costs about \$1.6 million. Longer range, ship-launched Tomahawks, which carry even more explosives and radioactive nuclear waste from American power plants, currently go for about \$3 million each.^{cxxvi}

HUMAN LIFE IS SACRED

But not everyone is on the take. The day after the American maiming of an ice cream seller on the other side of the planet, the General Secretary of the United Nations receives an urgent letter signed by seven recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize.

“Dear Secretary-General,” it reads in part:

The undersigned Nobel Peace Laureates have come to New York to express our rejection of the military actions initiated yesterday in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11... We express our conviction that violence cannot be fought with more violence, and we call on the General Assembly of the United Nations, which is meeting here now, to avoid more suffering and to insure

a peace founded in justice and liberty through the application of the legal and institutional order in which the coexistence among nations is based.”

...We have come here not only to demand a flexible but firm response, but also to offer our support in order to make it possible for peace to be imposed not only as a moral but also a legal imperative that denounces the absurdity of any arms race and prevents war from continuing to function as the engine of the economy and the underpinning of new hegemonies.

We support a pluralistic and democratic order, respectful of the dignity of all peoples and cultures, and we therefore denounce as illegitimate any attempt to curtail or condition the liberty of any people by confusing peaceful dissidence with treason, in the name of security.

We support the call of the United Nations’ Secretary-General in the recent World Conference against Racism, that a world movement arise from within civil society against all forms of discrimination and exclusion and we urge all States to reaffirm the commitment assumed in the Declaration of the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for Children of the World, to build a respectful and fraternal coexistence among all peoples.

The letter is signed by Nobel Peace Prize winners: Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Betty Williams, Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Desmond Mpilo Tutu, the 14th Dalai Lama, Joseph Rotblat, and Jody Williams.

TERROR IS NEVER JUSTIFIED

This same day, Ingrid Mattson, a practicing Muslim and professor of Islamic studies, agrees, telling reporters in Hartford, Connecticut that there is no basis in Islamic law or sacred texts for bin Laden’s *jihad*.

“Islamic law is very clear: terrorism is not permitted,” she adds. “Even in a legitimate war—even if Osama bin Laden were a legitimate head of state, which he’s not—you’re not permitted to indiscriminately kill civilians, just to create terror in the general population.”^{cxvii}

She might be addressing the White House, as well.

Chapter 11

AFGHAN ADVENTURE

Worldwide appeals for coordinated police action against the September 11 plotters, and an end to indiscriminate bombing of innocent civilians evaporate like mist in the heat of American anger. On October 9, 2001 Islamabad's daily newspaper reports "37 Killed, 81 Injured" in the first U.S. air attacks. The first victims are all civilians. ^{cxviii}

Four days later, amidst other carnage, a single U.S. bomb destroys a four-story UN-office in Kabul, killing four landmine-clearing "de-miners". Americans "need to distinguish between combatants and those innocent civilians who do not bear arms," the UN's coordinator for humanitarian aid pleads.

CLUSTER KIDS

Just three days into the U.S. bombing campaign, B-52 and B-1 heavy bombers begin saturating Afghan towns and countryside with CBU-87 and CBU-103 cluster bombs. A BBC reporter calls these outlawed weapons, "Some of the most savage weapons of modern warfare."

With up to 20% of the widely scattered bomblets failing to explode, each bomblet becomes a land mine. In total, some 48,884 soda-can sized fragmentation bombs "will soon litter the villages, paths and fields of Afghanistan," writes PhD Professor Marc Herold in his numbingly detailed study of civilian casualties in Afghanistan.

Whether a cluster bomb detonates on contact with a mud-walled home or in a curious child's hand, the effects are devastating. As Peter Le Sueur, technical adviser to the UN's Mine Action Program in Afghanistan explains, "When the bomb explodes, the steel splits so you get hundreds of high-velocity steel fragments travelling at the speed of a rifle bullet. They can kill or injure people from over 100 metres from the point of detonation." ^{cxix}

KARAM

When the U.S. bombing campaign begins, the 450 people residing in Karam see their numbers swollen by refugees who have been told this remote mountain village is safe from attack. A nearby al-Qaeda camp has been vacated years before.

On October 11, Aiman Malai, a shopkeeper in a neighboring village, is finishing his morning prayers at 3:45 am when he spots a pair of American jets approaching Karam from the north “like two black darts shooting through the air.”

From his hilltop vantage, Malai watches the jets swoop low over Karam, three miles away across a valley. “They came low over it and then there was a huge explosion and flames reaching high into the air. There was more explosive in these bombs than the ones the Russians used,” he later recalls.

Lal Jand, a 30-year-old farmer, watches the warplanes circle for two more attacks. Jand’s wife and two of his sons are killed. An AP reporter describes 80% of the village flattened, with 45 of the 60 mud houses destroyed. Afghan villagers digging bodies out of the rubble estimated that at least 100 people—many of them children—have been killed.

Tur Bakai survives the attack. But all of her children are dead. In a voice barely audible, she recounts, “I was asleep. I heard the [morning] prayers and suddenly it started. I didn’t know what it was. I was so scared...” ^{cxxx}

PLEASE STOP

Describing the situation as “desperate,” United Nations Human Rights Commissioner Mary Robinson calls for a pause in the U.S.-led air strikes to allow vital aid to be reach hundreds of thousands of starving people before the bitter Afghan winter sets in. ^{cxvii}

Missing its intended target at Kabul’s airport, a U.S. Navy F/A-18 attack jet, drops its not-so-smart 2,000-pound bomb on civilian homes a mile from the Afghan capital. The Pentagon’s explanation of “incorrect coordinates” entered into the huge bomb’s targeting system does not comfort a dozen family members reported maimed, killed and traumatized by the blast.

In Kabul, another thousand-pounder blasts an International Red Cross warehouse, destroying tents, tarpaulins, blankets and other aid supplies intended for 55,000 disabled civilians. The ICRC says the facilities were clearly marked with a large red cross on their roofs.

To avoid a similar occurrence, Red Cross representatives meet with U.S. military officials giving them the precise locations of its facilities. Shortly thereafter, two Navy fighter-bombers and a pair of eight-engine B-52 Stratofortresses drop eight 2,000-pound laser-guided bombs onto the already hit Red Cross installation. ^{cxxxii}

The following day, another 900-pound bomb carrying a handwritten American greeting flattens the village of Khorum near Jalalabad. International journalists arrive to find evidence of widespread devastation and more than a dozen fresh graves. Villagers say at least 160 people are killed in the pre-dawn attack. Looking out from the White House, Donald Rumsfeld describes the alleged death toll as “ridiculous.” ^{cxxxiii}

HAMBURG

Also on October 15, German investigators ransack the “terror apartment” in Hamburg that Mohamed Atta shared with Ziad Samir Jarrah, “along with at least two other possible conspirators now on the lam,” *Newsweek* reports.

A roommate named Said Bahaji is believed to have provided passports, IDs and apartments for the 9/11 terrorists. Another roommate, Ramzi bin al-Shib tried and failed to get a visa for pilot training in the United States. Zacarias Moussaoui had apparently placed a call to him the previous summer.

Interviewed over the phone from her home in Narbonne, France, Moussaoui’s mom, Aicha, laments that her son had been “brain-washed” into becoming an Islamic extremist. As a child, she says, “He never cried or made a fuss. He was always laughing.” But when teachers at his school told Moussaoui that he would be better off going to trade school, “he began to rebel”—smoking hash and watching porn movies. “I’m glad that he didn’t participate in the attacks,” Aicha says.

^{cxxxiv}

ANTHRAX

But those attacks are continuing. On September 18, two days after the White House proposes an “emergency” anti-terrorism bill that reads like a carbon-copy of Adolf Hitler’s proclamation following the staged Reichstag fire, two letters containing anthrax spores are postmarked in Trenton, New Jersey addressed to Tom Brokaw at NBC Nightly News, and the *New York Post*.

As Americans recoil in fresh alarm, on October 2, the “USA

Patriot Act” is introduced in Congress. Severely curtailing civil rights and freedoms, its detailed provisions were drawn up in advance September 11.

Before Congressional representatives can get a look at the Patriot Act, on October 3, a 63-year-old photographer for the *Boca Raton Sun* receives a poisoned letter after the wife of his editor unwittingly helped two suspected 9/11 hijackers find an apartment in the Boca Raton area. Hospitalized with anthrax poisoning, the elderly Bob Stevens dies two days later. ^{cxv}

For those in the biowarfare loop, Boca Raton raises many flags. Home to a former candy flavorings factory called Product Ingredient Technology, one its cherry flavoring by-products—ferric ferrocyanide—is used to manufacture hydrogen cyanide. Also known as “Prussian Blue” this uniquely nasty chemical can penetrate gas masks and protective clothing. Hydrogen cyanide was used by Saddam Hussein against the Kurds in the Iran-Iraq war, along with other chemical weapons supplied by the American Type Culture Collection of Maryland under White House licensee for “field-testing” against thousands of terrified barefoot Iranian conscripts. ^{cxvi}

Just before a Desert Storm broke over Iraq, an Iraqi named Dr. Ishan Barbouti purchased the PIT food factory and began producing Prussian Blue. At least two barrels were shipped to Chile. Several more were sent to Baghdad. ^{cxvii}

“Dr. Barbouti was the bag man for us and Iraq before and during the Iran-Iraq war; was funded directly from the BNL and BCCI money—also known as taxpayers money, to the tune of over five *billion* dollars. That again, was taxpayers money he spent to arm Saddam,” says Jim Brown, a crusading Gulf War Illness veteran and head of Gulf Watch with enough documents in his basement to intimidate reckless generals. ^{cxviii}

WORKING TOGETHER

Deep Pockets is right. The game is rigged. At the highest levels, supposed “enemies” are pals. As Iraq’s Ministry of Industry and Military Production told BNL official Christopher Drogoul at the time, “We are all in this together. The intelligence service of the U.S. government works very closely with the intelligence service of the Iraqi government.” ^{cxix}

The ABCs of presidential complicity in arming Iraq’s brutal dictator was explained to startled Americans on June 9, 2001 when ABC’s Ted Koppel fried bushels of couch potatoes by suddenly saying, “It is

becoming increasingly clear that George Bush operating largely behind the scenes throughout the 1980s, initiated and supported much of the financing, intelligence, and military help that built Saddam's Iraq into the aggressive power that the United States ultimately had to destroy." ^{cxl}

Is Boca Raton a clandestine biowarfare hub?

In a \$63 million lawsuit #98CV11829JLT filed In September 1998 by Massachusetts attorney Ray Kohlman—former legal investigator in the Martin Luther King murder trial of James Earl Ray—on behalf of his client, Bill Tyree, the former Green Beret alleges, “Jeb Bush controlled the shipping of 18 strains of chemicals shipped to Iraq through Leonard Milkan’s National Gulfstream Aviation warehouses at Boca Raton airport.” ^{cxli}

SPORES

Other confirmed cases of anthrax follow in New York, Nevada and Washington DC, where mail handlers, Democratic Senators, congressional aids and broadcasting personalities are contaminated by freeze-dried anthrax powder delivered in letters that spread the spores throughout the rooms where they were opened.

On October 9, criticizing Bush's anti-terror legislation as a threat to liberty, Senator Feingold blocks an attempt to rush the Patriot Act to a vote with little debate and no opportunity to make amendments. Identical anthrax letters are postmarked this same day in Trenton, New Jersey.

Directives conveyed from the White House through the FBI and Centers for Disease Control order Iowa state officials to destroy all remaining anthrax spores found in the contaminated letters. According to the *New York Times*, key Ames anthrax evidence is destroyed on October 10 and 11, even as national attention is beginning to focus on the first anthrax attacks against the Bob Stevens and the American Media Company.

FBI agents tracing anthrax mailing clues are also “refused access” to suspicious pharmaceutical companies by their superiors. Investigative filmmaker Daniel Hopsicker finds “furious government intelligence officials” accusing the super-secret National Security Agency “of destroying data pertinent to the September 11 probe.” Intelligence insiders complain that leads stemming from those attacks aren't being followed “because of the NSA.” ^{cxlii} The “No Such Agency” must know plenty. According to a software insider, In 1996 billions of tax dollars were allegedly spent to upgrade “the NSA's

ability to monitor, process, and/or record each and every single telephone interaction that goes on anywhere in the country.”^{cxliii}

On October 15, Democratic Senator Daschle’s office opens a letter mailed six days previously. It contains a lethal dose of anthrax. A similarly contaminated letter to Democratic Senator Leahy is misrouted to Virginia. Both congressmen are pushing hard to amend the Patriot Act’s more draconian provisions. Over the next two days, before the Patriot Act can be reviewed in congressional sessions, the Senate office buildings and House of Representatives shut down after 28 congressional staffers test positive for anthrax.

WHITE POWDER POWER

White powder in myriad forms is common in American households. By October 17, more than 2,300 false alarms ranging from common cleaning detergents to sugar placed in postal boxes as pranks are being reported every two days.

Nobody is laughing. As anthrax-zapping mail scanners are rushed into service, experts on bioweapons looking at salvaged samples of the anthrax posted through the U.S. mails declare that exotic technology is needed to develop the 1- to 5-micron spores tiny enough for “optimal inhalation”. According to ABC News, micro-milling know-how, and the technology needed to coat freeze-dried spores against instant degradation by sunlight and moisture are “believed to be beyond the technological means of suspected Islamic terrorists.”^{cxliv}

DNA tests on surviving spore samples trace the posted Ames anthrax to the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute for Infectious Diseases at Fort Detrick, Maryland. America’s top biowarfare lab has been working with Ames anthrax since the 1980s. Five labs received Ames anthrax from USAMRIID—including the Army’s infamous Dugway Proving Ground in central Utah, the University of New Mexico’s Health Sciences Center, a Canadian biowar lab, the British germ warfare lab at Porton Down, and Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio.^{cxlv}

According to the *Washington Post*, “the Army’s premier biowarfare research facility lost track of more than two dozen potentially dangerous biological specimens around 1991”—including the Ames anthrax microbe. While the CIA also possesses the Ames strain, Dugway is the world’s only facility able to process the deadly spores into an easily inhaled powder.^{cxlvi}

Harvard-trained author and researcher Dr. Leonard Horowitz is a

published expert on the covert links between U.S. corporate-military-government agencies and their clandestine biowarfare “ops” against other nations, as well as the American people.

A devout Christian, Horowitz is among the first to flag the FBI on the “in-country” origins of the anthrax attacks. Terming the attacks a form of “industrial espionage” carried out for profitable and perhaps political gain, his groundbreaking investigation discloses that the Ames anthrax sent to American media and political personalities was originally and legitimately distributed among various American universities, biowar labs and intelligence agencies by the American Type Culture Collection of Maryland. As ATCC vice-president Nancy Wysocki later tells the *New York Times*, “We have a very close working relationship with many of the federal agencies, including the FBI.”

cxlvii

POISONING PATRIOTS

On October 18, an assistant to CBS anchor Dan Rather contracts anthrax. Three days later, letters sent to the *New York Post*, NBC, and Senator Daschle are found to have identical handwritten messages that read like a crude Islamic caricature: “Death to America, Death to Israel, Allah is Great.”

On October 24, the House rushes passage of the Patriot Act, along with other unpopular Bush legislation, including oil drilling on Alaska’s fragile North Slope. A further \$25 billion in corporate tax cuts results in drastic reductions in Social Security and education funding. In a post-9/11 environment of brazen authoritarian manipulation through fear, a new generation of illiterate, unthinking Americans can only be an asset.

The following day all Congressional mail is halted, and targeted Senator Daschle switches from supporting a two-year statutory limit on the Patriot Act provisions to defending a shaky four-year “sunset clause” as an “appropriate balance.”

One day later, the Senate passes the final version Patriot Act. President Bush, who usually takes an illegal month to sign legislation, instantly signs the unconstitutional act into law.

The following day, before the Supreme Court can review the anti-American legislation, it too is shut down with an anthrax scare. Representative Dennis Kucinich of Ohio decries the now-deserted halls of the United States Congress, saying “A state of siege traps us in a state of fear, ill equipped to deal with the patriot games, the mind

games, the war games... the physical and psychological disruption and disorientation of lawmakers at a time when calm objectivity was required for wise decisions.”^{cxlviii}

CASHING IN ON THE ANTHRAX SCARE

Science policy analyst Daniel Greenberg is quick to criticize what he terms “a whiff of hysteria-fanning and budget opportunism in the scary scenarios of the saviors who have stepped forward against the menace of bioterrorism.” While an intimidated and gullible U.S. media parrot Washington’s terror warnings in ways Osama bin Laden would applaud, “there are no independent assessments of the potential for terrorist attacks or the practicality of the proposed responses,” Greenberg notes.^{cxlix}

Discussing anthrax-related hysteria with co-worker Amy Sands, former Gulf War Illness investigator and current director of the Chemical and Biological Weapons Non-Proliferation Project at the Monterey Institute, Jonathan Tucker agrees that the “tendency of U.S. government officials to exaggerate the threat of chemical and biological terrorism [is] reinforced by sensational reporting in the press and an obsessive fascination with catastrophic terrorism in Hollywood films, best-selling books, and other mainstays of pop culture.”

Pursuing billions of dollars in lost sales, an international pharma mafia intent on making over-the-counter natural vitamin sales illegal worldwide shows similar ruthlessness in going after even more lucrative biowarfare “antidotes”.

ANY BIOPORT IN AN ANTHRAX STORM

Not long before “Death From Anthrax” begins being promoted as the latest panic in a country many outsiders refer to as the Excited States of America, a company called Bioport cornered the market on anthrax vaccine. It seemed a safe pharma-bet. Former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Bioport co-director Retired Admiral Crowe had once sold weapons-grade American anthrax to Saddam Hussein.

Bioport bought Michigan Biologic Products in 1998. That state was delighted to dump an unprofitable company implicated in the spread of Gulf War Illness. After FDA audits uncovered dubious record-keeping and contamination problems with the 50-year-old vaccine, the Food and Drug Administration had banned delivery of the suspect anthrax shots.

As so often happens when White House-linked “Collective” scores

an otherwise untouchable bargain, the ban did not last long. Less than a month after its acquisition, Carlyle-linked Bioport landed an exclusive \$29 million contract with the Department of Defense to “manufacture, test, bottle and store the anthrax vaccine.” With an anthrax-scare sweeping the nation, Crowe now finds himself a 22.5% owner of the only corporation in the United States licensed to make anthrax vaccine. ^{ci}

PHARMAGEDDON

The lure of huge profits attracted 625 pharmaceutical lobbyists to spread \$197 million among the Congress whose members they outnumber. Like gold-dripping Trojan horsemen, these pharma profiteers are welcomed inside the White House gates. Former chief executive of the drug maker G. D. Searle, Donald Rumsfeld knows these company reps well. So does former Eli Lilly executive-turned-White House budget director, Mitchell Daniels Jr. ^{cii}

It’s perfect.

CASHING IN

In 1996, a group of corporations led by Battelle had come together to cash in on the Department of Defense’s Joint Vaccine Acquisition Program. Calling themselves the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, the PhRMA gang now begins meeting with top Bush officials to discuss cashing in on the anthrax “crisis”. In scenes reminiscent of Clinton’s White House get-togethers following the overblown West Nile “emergency”, top executives from Merck, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Bayer, Pfizer, Eli Lilly and Johnson & Johnson come seeking exemptions from antitrust regulations.

Besides getting their new drugs “fast-tracked”, the pharma mafia lobbyists want immunity from lawsuits inevitably filed by sickened and dying Americans poisoned by experimental vaccines more dangerous than anthrax—which medical texts show can be treated with much safer alternatives.

As *Newswatch* notes: “The politically powerful Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers Association is directed by Aventis CEO Richard Markham—who also happens to be Chairman of the Task Force on Emergency Preparedness that meets regularly with Bush administration officials.” ^{ciii}

Bridgewater-based Aventis Pharma AG has a major plant within 45-minute’s drive of Trenton, New Jersey, where most of the anthrax mailings originated. Aventis is under contract to work with Acambis in

producing enough smallpox vaccine to fill Washington's nationwide order. ^{ciii}

The Bayer and Merck companies are also heavily represented on Bush's bioterrorism task force. Merck was the primary recipient of the Nazi "flight capital" that sailed from Germany onboard several South American-bound U-boats on August 10, 1944. At that time the company's President, George Merck, was America's biological weapons industry director.

"Most heavily implicated," Horowitz reiterates, are "Battelle and Bioport, both of which maintain financial and administrative links to highest level U.S. National Security officials and agencies and the DOD's Joint Vaccine Acquisition Program."

When the anthrax attacks on America take place, Bioport is working with the Ames strain, along with Battelle, which has hired bioweapons expert William Patrick to research and write a report detailing how anthrax can be sent to targeted individuals through the mail.

Battelle's electrostatic expertise is the key to distributing anthrax by mail. Anyone opening an envelope containing anthrax may or may not become infected. But if an electrostatic charge is placed on those same spores, opening the envelope will allow the microscopic motes to float free, contaminating the entire room.

"The source of the anthrax weapon used in the mailings was the Ames, Iowa strain of silica-impregnated and electrostatically-charged anthrax produced by the Battelle Institute under their classified Defense Department Project Jefferson," Horowitz flatly states. "It was the only form of anthrax that could be effectively spread, as it was, through the U.S. mail with such far reaching effects."

By mid-October 2001, with the anthrax marketing scare in full swing, prescriptions for Cipro more than double—from about 9,000 per day to over 18,000. Horowitz hammers the FDA's pharma "advisory committee" for its endorsement of Bayer's Cipro: "Nowhere in the Physician's Desk Reference is it claimed that Cipro is especially indicated for anthrax," Horowitz notes. ^{cliv}

In fact, the safety of Cipro is "unproven" for children under the age of 18, pregnant women, and breastfeeding mothers. People not positively diagnosed with the disease should chill, urges Dr. Victoria Gardner Placker. "In my opinion, taking antibiotics to prevent a possible bioterrorist attack is like having fire fighters turn the fire hose on in your house just in case there's a fire. The damage created by the

water/antibiotics isn't justified unless there's a great probability of worse damage from the microorganism."

Dr. Gardner recommends natural remedies, "which have little or no chance of causing harm." The *Journal of Nutrition* carries research results showing that anthrax is most susceptible to a broad-spectrum antibiotic called garlic.

Anthrax bacteria make people sick by killing the macrophages rallying to defend the body against it. The good news, report the journals *Molecular Medicine*, *Immunopharmacology* and *Applied Environmental Microbiology* is that even Vitamin C elevates the body's natural levels of glutathione, a readily available natural antioxidant that neutralizes anthrax.

Any American preferring to take a pill or shot to make germs go away might first reflect that the only currently available anthrax vaccine is considered not only ineffective, but also dangerous enough to make *them* go away. In February 2000 a subcommittee on National Security had called for suspension of the anthrax vaccine because of the uncertain safety and usefulness of this half-century-old vaccine. As *The Lancet* reported, "The sub-committee acknowledged that the vaccine is unlikely to be effective against weaponized anthrax, is not safe, and is strategically a poor idea as well."

Mutinying marines, Air National Guard pilots and other military personnel understand the greater risks to themselves and their spouses when they risk courts-martial by refusing their anthrax shots.

They are right to be wary. Research shows that the genetically altered mycoplasma responsible for the debilitating symptoms of sexually transmitted Gulf War Illness was deliberately placed into America's anthrax vaccines as an illegal "adjuvant" intended to boost the effectiveness of those shots. Fast-tracked by the FDA without adequate safeguards, the inoculations were supposed to contain only "attenuated" or dead mycoplasma. But not all of these nearly undetectable bugs died. As a result, taking an anthrax shot has become a microbial roulette more dangerous than contracting the disease itself. ^{clv}

MONEY FOR NOTHING

In early November 2001 a dozen industry reps and executives attend a special White House meeting. The high-powered PhRMA players in attendance include the CEO of the Merck, a prescription drug giant best known for its HIV-contaminated hepatitis vaccine which introduced AIDS to seven of America's biggest cities.

With hundreds of millions of dollars in initial stakes riding on this pharma poker table, Homeland Security head Tom Ridge is deeply moved by the industry's offer to cash in on the crisis. "I'm grateful for your offers of assistance. I accept," Ridge responds, throwing open the U.S. Treasury doors to potential drug profits not seen this side of the Medellin Cartel.

FBI agents are told to "Lay Off Anthrax Firms," the *New York Times* reports on November 9, as Health Secretary Tommy Thompson announces a "special" deal with

Bayer to purchase 100 million tablets of Cipro for 95 cents each. Bayer's exclusively patented anthrax antidote will cost each American around \$400 for a complete two-week course of treatment—versus \$20-\$40 for just as effective doxycycline. ^{clvi}

In late December, when Congress debates expenditures on a national defense against bio-terrorism, the heads of the CDC and the National Institute of Infectious Diseases will raise the ante to \$2.8 billion—nearly twice the \$1.5 billion proposed by the administration. ^{clvii}

American taxpayers are fleeced again. But bankers and stockholders are delighted to see Bayer flipped from a loss leader into a cash cow. In "Government By Anthrax," Richard Ochs puts the anthrax and Patriot Act timelines together and concludes:

- The Senators who received anthrax letters were trying to amend the Patriot Act to protect civil liberties and the innocent. Two Senate democratic leaders received anthrax letters mailed the same day that Senator Feingold blocked an attempt to rush the bill through without discussion or amendments.
- Senator Leahy received an anthrax threat after he expressed reservations about the Bill. As Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, he managed the debate on the Bill.
- Senate Majority Leader Daschle received the first Senate anthrax letter as he led the opposition to the original version of the Bill.
- After receiving the anthrax letter, Daschle switched from supporting a 2-year limit on the Bill, later defending a 4-year sunset clause as the "appropriate balance."
- No Republican received an anthrax letter.

The House and Senate buildings were closed and not reopened until after the Patriot Act was passed. The Supreme Court was shut down with an anthrax scare the day after the constitutionally challenged Patriot Act was signed by President Bush.

Looking at “the glaring coincidence of the anthrax attacks with the passage of the Patriot Act,” Ochs concludes, “The brazenness of the crime was unbelievable.”

PANACYA

Also in November 2001, the indefatigable and highly skilled Richard Grove goes to work as the Director of Sales for Financial Services for Panacya. Using Artificial Intelligence to monitor computer systems software, the company’s flagship software product can actually learn through observation by comparing actual with anticipated results. After updating enough of these fine-tuning iterations, “mature” AI software is said to “graduate” with the ability to accurately predict critical events *before they occur*, so that preemptive action can be taken.

According to Grove, Panacya was developed at the Annapolis Naval Yard near Fort Meade, Maryland and the National Security Agency. Panacya’s current Chief Technology Officer “is an NSA operative,” he asserts. Numerous private companies like Computer Sciences Corporation and DynCorp process much of the data collected on Americans by NSA eavesdropping technology, Grove adds. Still other companies like the insurance giant AIG provide useful cover and services for U.S. intelligence activities.

“Is it not fair to assume that the intelligence community was at the very least aware of some sort of impending critical event prior to 9/11?” asks this software-salesman-turned-sleuth. “In fact, in many instances,” written warnings of the coming September 11 attacks “were used as a basis of action by the current Administration... not to warn the people of impending danger, but rather to capitalize on the tragedy—as the fraudulent transactions can be tracked back to intelligence community executives responsible for the protection of our own country.

“The information systems and software tasked with preserving the security of our country, performed without fail,” he adds. All of the so-called intelligence “failures” on 9/11 “were choreographed and contrived” to propel a single person’s control over the vast U.S. intelligence community, “by creating a position called Director of National Intelligence—a position currently occupied by John Negroponte.”^{cviii}

AUTOPSIES

In a medical feat which civilian medical experts consider miraculous, if not impossible, on November 16, 2001 the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology announces that all victims of Flight 77's fiery crash into the Pentagon have been positively identified. After making a Freedom of Information request, MD Thomas Olmsted receives a copy of the names.

"Guess what?" he writes. "Still no Arabs on the list."

Another problem for Dr. Olmsted is that three names on the autopsy were never included as passengers on Flight 77. Additionally the original American Airlines manifest lists two fewer names than the Pentagon's autopsy.

"No Arabs wound up on the morgue slab; however, three additional people not listed by American Airline sneaked in," this fussy doctor complains. "I did give American the opportunity to "revise" their original list, but they have not responded. ^{clix}

KILLING KANDAHAR

In Kandahar, Taliban Information Ministry official Abdul Hanan Himat reports that a U.S. bomb has hit a truck packed with refugees fleeing air raids on the town of Chunai. All onboard are dead. The central marketplace known as Sarai Shamali in the Madad district of Kandahar is also bombed, killing another 47 civilians. ^{clx}

"Once among the most exotic cities in Central Asia," Mark Baker reports from this rapidly emptying city of a half-million residents, Kandahar was for decades "a lush oasis at the desert crossroads between the ancient empires of India and Persia, a vibrant centre of trade, arts and agriculture, and for centuries the seat of Pashtun power."

Now Kandahar "lies largely in ruins," Baker relates. "The city is without power and water, the telephone system has collapsed, food and fuel are scarce and looting is widespread. A doctor who reached the Pakistani border post of Chaman at the weekend said the city's main hospital was full of people injured in the bombing and medicine was almost exhausted. The central bazaar is reported to have suffered extensive damage, as have residential areas where Taliban leaders are said to have commandeered houses to try to escape the [American air] raids." ^{clxi}

In yet another village, a stunned survivor relates, "We pulled the baby out, the others were buried in the rubble. Children were decapitated. There were bodies with no legs. We could do nothing. We just fled."

^{clxii}

PIPEDREAMS

On October 10, U.S. Ambassador Wendy Chamberlain calls on Pakistan's oil minister to "get moving" on the stalled UNOCAL pipeline across Afghanistan. Selling oil and gas to China is back on the table she says, "in view of recent geopolitical developments."^{elxiii}

Those developments include the massive overnight bombing of Darunta near Jalalabad on October 11. Following reports of heavy civilian casualties, the Pentagon purchases exclusive rights to all Ikonos satellite pictures offered to the world press by the Denver-based Space Imaging.^{elxiv}

The White House says the U.S. is "winning" a war where almost no one is shooting back. Though more than 1,000 Afghan civilians have already been killed, and tens of thousands more wounded, traumatized or displaced, American casualties are negligible.

Except to their grieving families, of course.

When the "other side" is not white, Professor Herold points out, "overwhelming U.S. firepower delivered well beyond the reach of a few antique anti-aircraft guns and Kalashnikovs is intended to minimize the kind of losses to its own sons and daughters that Americans will not tolerate."^{elxv}

TARIN KOT

Late at night on October 19, U.S. warplanes attack on the village of Tarin Kot. A reported Taliban base two miles away is unscathed as surviving villagers frantically pulling their neighbors from the rubble are bombed again. At least 20 people are killed and half that number badly wounded.

"Sami Ullah was asleep when it happened, and so his friends and neighbours had to tell him about the bomb that struck his house and what it did to him and his family," writes the *Independent's* Richard Lloyd Parry. "What do you say to a stranger who tells you he has just lost every member of his immediate family?"

One of Ullah's cousins is rescued alive. But no one else in his family is, Parry writes. "In the 11 hours between the explosion and the moment when he finally regained consciousness, the bodies of Ullah's wife, his four children, his parents, and five of his brothers and sisters had been lifted from the rubble of their home and buried."

"We heard the bombs falling often," Ullah says, "but we didn't feel afraid because everyone said that American bombs were accurate, and that they would bomb the Talibs, but not the innocent people."

Inside the al-Khidmat al-Hajeri hospital, Parry visits a ward where Dery Gul, “a woman perhaps 30 years old,” lies alongside her 10-year-old daughter, Najimu and a baby named Hameed Ullah.

“The little girls have bruised and cut faces; the cheek of the baby is cut neatly in a T-shape, as if by a knife,” Parry reports. The face of their mother is half-covered with bandages, her arm wrapped in plaster. “The bomb burned her eyes,” the doctor says. “The whole right side of her body is burned.” The reason Dery Gul is so battered and her daughters so lightly injured is because she cradled them. ^{clxvi}

On October 21st, U.S attack planes miss a long abandoned Taliban base and hit the Kabul residential area of Khair Khana instead, killing eight members of one family who have just sat down to breakfast. ^{clxvii}

That same day, cluster bombs shred a military hospital and mosque in Herat, killing 100. Most Afghans have no idea of why they are under such relentless attack. ^{clxviii}

SHAKAR QALA

One day later, U.S planes returning to Herat deliver more BLU-97s made by Aerojet/Honeywell onto the nearby village of Shakar Qala. Awakened from their sleep by the sound of aircraft, the villagers are deluged by cluster bombs. The banned munitions miss Taliban encampments located 500-700 yards away and kill eight people immediately. A ninth dies after picking up the parachute attached to one of the 202 bomblets dispersed by a single cluster bomb canister. Fourteen people are badly injured, dozens more wounded. Twenty of the village’s 45 houses are destroyed or badly damaged. ^{clxix}

Termed “an area denial cluster weapon,” optimized against targets as “soft” as human flesh, these barbaric weapons come so cheap, a single \$60,000 canister containing more than 200 fragmenting submunitions can be cost-effectively dropped from fighter-bomber or B-52 heavy bomber to “deny” many defenseless families the use of their homes, backyards, legs, arms, stomachs, genitals, faces and lives. ^{clxx}

A single-bomb attack on Shakar Qala scatters 202 hair-trigger cans of unexploded ordnance across the village. According to United Nations mine-clearing officials in the area, as many as 60 will not immediately explode, posing a lasting danger. ^{clxxi}

THE HOBBLING HUNGRY

Even before the bombs began falling, the *New York Times*

reported seven to eight million Afghan people narrowly skirting starvation through the daily intercession of international aid.

Many have to crawl toward assistance. After calculating “The Algebra of Infinite Justice,” Arundhati Roy remonstrates that in a country already inhabited by a half-million widows and a half-million maimed orphans, “hobbling stampedes” used to occur when artificial limbs were airdropped into inaccessible villages. Even before being inundated by cluster bombs, more than 10 million land mines have made Afghanistan the most heavily mined place on Earth.

The UN estimates that eight million Afghan people now require emergency aid, as indiscriminate American and British bomb and missile attacks cause wholesale panic among villagers and city residents, fleeing on foot, and in mule-carts and a few available taxis.

Instead of rendering assistance to the amputees and refugees it is causing, the United States demands that Pakistan cease the truck convoys that provide much of the food and other supplies needed by Afghanistan’s destitute civilian population. Though censored by the U.S. media, halting food convoys to millions of starving villagers is widely reported on national news throughout Europe. As one evacuated aid worker worries on-air, “The country was on a lifeline and we just cut the line.”

FOOD PROPS

Along with yellow cluster bombs, American PR planes are dropping similarly sized yellow canisters containing food. Al Martin reports “dozens and dozens” of instances in which 1,200 pound crates of food have landed on huts, killing the people inside. Camels crucial to a family’s survival have also been crushed. Loosely translated, the Peshawar alarm, “*Yabba dabba doo!*” means: “Falling crates that knock down huts and squash camels.”

Hearing this, ignorant U.S. troops figure ignorant Afghan peasants are referring to a television cartoon made famous for using the trademark phrase. Clueless concerning a culture that owns few televisions, and long predates their own, American GI’s begin referring to the local peasantry as “Flintstones.”

The soldiers enthusiastically yell back, “Yabba dabba doo,” says Martin,” and all the peasants look up in the sky, grab their camels and run like hell.”

Baffled U.S. commanders comment, “We can’t figure out what’s going on.”

Despite as many as 37,000 “snacks” dropped by cargo planes in a single day, experienced aid workers call the food drops counterproductive. Jim Jennings, president of the humanitarian aid organization Conscience International, reports that the air drops do not begin addressing the threat of mass starvation threat facing the people of Afghanistan—and pale in comparison to the relief provided before the strikes curtailed all UN World Food Program food convoys.

“Food drops from high altitudes alone absolutely cannot provide sufficient and effective relief that is urgently necessary to prevent mass starvation,” Jennings says. “The conditions of the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan earlier this year were the worst I have ever seen—and I have seen a lot. The camps inside Afghanistan are in even worse shape.”

One camp at Herat, this aid worker explains, holds more than 600,000 starving people who have never heard of the WTC. “If you provide one pound of food per day, the minimum for bare survival, it would take 500 planeloads a month to supply the one camp in Herat alone. And Afghanistan is the size of Texas.”

Meanwhile, Hamish McDonald reports for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, “Death comes in a little yellow package” picked up by hungry and inquisitive children and their parents. One is nutritious. The other lethal. Puzzling over peanut butter and other weird processed food they have never encountered, Afghan kids fling sampled rations into the dirt, exclaiming “bad taste!”

Others are blown up in the minefields where many of the ration-packages fall. Still others mistake yellow cluster bombs for similarly shaped yellow food packets. They too are blown to bits.

Warier warlords and Taliban troops confiscate many of the remaining airdropped rations.^{cxxxii}

“I expect America not to kill the poor Afghans. They are hungry and poor,” says Feriba, a young Afghan refugee in Pakistan, where she and her schoolmates weep for the dead.^{cxxxiii}

HOW TO INFLUENCE PEOPLE

“Since the American bombing started a lot of people died. Bombs were hitting people’s houses. They damaged lots of houses and they injured and killed lots of innocent people,” recounts Mohammed Gul, a worker at Kandahar’s military hospital. “Because of the bombing no one can sleep. Women and children cannot eat or drink anything. Everyone is looking to the sky and waiting and thinking when will the American aircraft come and start killing them.”

A resident of Kabul corroborates the trauma affecting small children. “The street next to my home was bombed, and 18 were killed and 23 injured. Everything was destroyed there. The doors and window glass of our homes were broken. I have a baby child, one and a half years old. Even she is afraid of the plane sounds and bombing, and she runs towards me and hugs me when the planes come over. I am surprised by those who claim to be defending human rights.”^{clxxiv}

As images of burned and decapitated children, grieving parents and destroyed homes flood the living rooms of millions of television viewers throughout Europe and the Gulf states, news agencies continue to report angry anti-U.S. demonstrations in Pakistan, the Gaza Strip, and other areas across the Middle East.

Lamis Andoni, an independent journalist with two decades of experience covering the Middle East, emphasizes the strains these images are putting on the Arab psyche and popular opinion. “The Arab people are obviously opposed to the September 11 attacks, but the U.S. is again proving that the only way it deals with the region is through coercion, extortion and violence,” Andoni reports. “Once again the U.S. is perpetuating the conditions of injustice in the region, which will feed the extremists.”^{clxxv}

Virtually none of this reporting reaches “sanitized” American airwaves.

LOSING US

On November 11, U.S. planes bomb another bus filled with refugees fleeing north out of Kabul. This time, 35 die. On the same day, a UN official once again pleads with Washington to stop the bombing so that aid can be brought to starving villagers. But after rejecting offers by the Taliban to turn over Osama bin Laden to a neutral court before the bombing began, Washington now demands that bin Laden be turned over before the U.S. will allow food to reach the starving refugees it has induced.^{clxxvi}

Doing the zero-sum math of fighting terror with terror, Arundhati Roy concludes, “Operation Enduring Freedom” is ostensibly being fought to uphold the American Way of Life. Instead, it will probably end up undermining it completely.”^{clxxvii}

As Eric Margolis reports in the *Toronto Sun*, a secret federal report reveals that the U.S. attacks on Afghanistan have not only “failed to diminish the threat to the United States”—but complicated counterterrorism by dispersing its radical foes around the world.

“The Bush administration and U.S. media grossly exaggerated al-Qaeda’s numbers. Hardcore al-Qaeda members never numbered more than 200-300. The reason 12,000 U.S., British and Canadian troops operating in Afghanistan can’t find al-Qaeda—a campaign that has so far cost over U.S.\$10 billion—is that there were few to begin with; by now, most have slipped away through Pakistan,” Margolis points out.

Tiny al-Qaeda “has been succeeded by a group of younger militants who have formed ad hoc alliances with other anti-U.S. groups from Morocco to Indonesia”—and “will remain a potent threat for years to come.” ^{clxxviii}

CHANGING U.S. MEDIA PRIORITIES

With the United States “bombing the crap” out of the children of Afghanistan, as one veteran puts it, The U.S. media’s recount of the 2004 election totals is called off.

“Our belief is that the priorities of the country have changed, and our priorities have changed,” a spokesman for the *Wall Street Journal* informs an incurious press. In the interest of “national unity”, America’s media monopoly will continue supporting the unconstitutional and murderous policies of an illegitimate administration. ^{clxxix}

Even as media spokesman Steven Goldstein speaks, a low-flying AC-130 gunship half a world away repeatedly strafes the farming villages of Bori Chokar and Chowkar-Karez with heavy automatic cannon-fire. Known as “the Arab CNN”, Qatar’s independent al-Jazeera news network films the corpses of 93 civilians—including 18 members of one family.

When queried about the Chowkar massacre, an irritated Rumsfeld replies, “I cannot deal with that particular village.”

A Pentagon official tells the world, “The people there are dead because we wanted them dead.” ^{clxxx}

The next day, U.S. forces bomb hit a fully loaded city bus at Kabul Gate in Kandahar, incinerating its passengers. ^{clxxxi}

On Saturday, October 27, a bomb and a missile fired from an American F/A-18 impact the village of Khan Agaha at the entrance of the Kapisa Valley, some 80 kilometers northeast of Kabul. After more warplanes drop 35 bombs in the area, a nearby hospital run by the Italian relief agency, Emergency, says up to 16 people were killed. ^{clxxxii}

Two days later, a single U.S. bomb flattens a flimsy mud-brick home in Kabul, shredding seven children as they are eating breakfast with their father. The blast shatters a neighbour’s mud-walled home,

killing another two children and leaving a nearby Taliban anti-aircraft gun unscathed. ^{clxxxiii}

That same day, 175 Protestant churches in 80 countries condemn the “criminal attacks,” calling for an end to American air strikes that “deepen the cycle of violence” and risk igniting an “inter-religious conflict.”

MONTH END

On October 30, the day after a heavy cluster bomb raid against the villagers of Jebrael killed 12 persons, a child picks up a bomblet and is killed. ^{clxxxiv}

“The more we talk about our power, the more apprehension there is around the world,” says Edward Luck, director of the Center on International Organization. “The more you talk about it, the more other countries think the major security threat to the world is the undisciplined use of American military power.” ^{clxxxv}

On October 31, while families across American hand out candy to Halloween trick-or-treaters, a doctor in a Kandahar hospital counts another 15 civilians killed by the bombs their tax dollars have purchased. The *Independent’s* Justin Huggler confirms the deaths of 100 civilians killed when B-52s begin carpet-bombing Bagram and Mazar-i-Sharif. ^{clxxxvi}

Taliban positions are also hit. But the front-line of Washington’s former friends “weaves its way through the typical Afghan mud hut villages,” where terrified penniless civilians continue living,” Professor Herold points out. ^{clxxxvii}

“Is the United States above international humanitarian law and below the standards of international morality?” asks the BBC’s Jonathan Marcus. ^{clxxxviii}

“When people decry civilian deaths caused by the U.S. government, they’re aiding propaganda efforts,” wryly notes media analyst Norman Solomon. “In sharp contrast, when civilian deaths are caused by bombers who hate America, the perpetrators are evil and those deaths are tragedies. When they put bombs in cars and kill people, they’re uncivilized killers. When we put bombs on missiles and kill people, we’re upholding civilized values. When they kill, they’re terrorists. When we kill, we’re striking against terror.” ^{clxxxix}

BOOTY

On October 30, 2001, emergency recovery crews breaking through the rubble of 5WTC into a service tunnel discover a ten-wheel

trailer-truck and “a number of” bullion-laden cars crushed by falling steel. Despite the interrupted gold transfer, no bodies are reported.

Possibly taken from the Bank of Nova Scotia’s vault beneath 4WTC, the gold “was clearly being moved away from the South Tower,” reports the *Sierra Times*. “There clearly was more going on than a human rescue operation on September 11.”^{cxc}

With a value officially estimated at more than \$230 million, the massive task of moving more than 12 tons of gold and 30 million ounces of silver begins immediately.^{cxc}

At least \$650 million in gold and silver was originally reported in the special vault four floors beneath Four World Trade Center: the silver ingots weigh about 70 pounds apiece; each gold bar about 28 pounds. The heavy silky-soft metal will take a week to locate and remove from the second biggest gold depository on Earth.^{cxcii}

A blowtorch’s scorch marks, and gouges from a crowbar around the vault doors suggest that some “rescuers” had tried earlier to help themselves to a fortune in precious metals. Nearly a quarter-mile below the top floors of the Twin Towers, workers surrounded by armed guards will eventually remove gold and silver valued at \$452 million.^{cxciii}

Much more is reportedly missing. According to the *New York Daily News*, as much as \$160 billion in bullion was stored in the Building 5 vault.^{cxciv}

BODY COUNT

Is American grief the only grief that matters? On November 17, U.S. bombs kill two entire families—one of 16 members and the other of 14—in the same demolished home. On the same day, heavy strikes near Kunduz kill another 100 people.^{cxcv}

“Multiply these scenes by a couple hundred and the reality on the ground in the Afghan October and November is approximated,” Professor Herold writes.^{cxcvi}

It is now estimated that over 3,000 Afghan civilians have been killed in the first eight weeks of the U.S. bombing campaign. This figure omits those killed indirectly, such as when air strikes cut off their access to hospitals, food, or electricity... victims who died later from their injuries... or those who have died due to the blocking of foreign aid to Afghanistan, Herold notes.

Many of the maimed probably wish they were dead. With winter coming on and aid supplies curtailed, they soon will be.

Calling the U.S. bombing “evil,” *The Guardian* writes, “It’s

nightmarish to see that the U.S. is slowly desensitizing the public to the level of destruction taking place in Afghanistan. They have progressed from medium-sized missiles to Tomahawk and cruise missiles, to bunker-busting 2,000 lb bombs, then to carpet-bombing using cluster bombs, and now the devastating daisy cutter bombs that annihilate everything in a 600-meter radius.”^{excvii}

Unable to concentrate their forces, the Taliban are in full retreat from Kabul and other cities.^{excviii}

They will be back.

OSAMA IN JALALABAD

Why are the Americans blowing up an already ruined country when the quarry they ostensibly seek is widely known among Pashtun tribal chiefs to be calmly conducting business in Jalalabad?

Perhaps because despite a \$25 million bounty on his head, none of Osama bin Laden’s followers are talking. Even if they did, American forces still scrambling to find reliable maps of the country could not have understood them anyway.

On or about November 10, Mary Anne Weaver reports for the *New York Times*, captured Taliban fighters interrogated separately claim that American bombs were exploding harmlessly around Osama as the legendary terrorist gave “a fiery speech” at the Jalalabad Islamic studies center to a roomful of tribal chieftains, whose arrival had somehow gone unnoticed by American air and ground patrols.

Fierce rivalries among these regional leaders damage their cause more than American air strikes. Showing no discomfort from the reported renal failure that can kill him at any moment, Osama vows that if the chieftains gathered here can finally unite, they will teach the Americans “the same lesson we taught the Russians.”

Toward this same end, the previous February, and again in April 2001, more than 400 Islamic extremists from Egypt, Pakistan, Jordan, Qatar, Yemen, the Sudan and Algeria had met in Beirut and Tehran to set aside their differences and unite for holy war against Israel and its sponsor, the United States.

Al-Qaeda had sent representatives. So had Hamas, Islamic *Jihad* and Hezbollah. In direct conflict with Zionist aims and more moderate Arab views, “The Jerusalem Conference” focused on winning exclusive Islamic control over Jerusalem. According to the blueprint drawn up in Beirut for The Jerusalem Project, “*jihad* in all its forms” is to be waged against “a second Israel”—the USA.^{excix}

For the clan chieftains now gathered in Jalalabad, Osama's renewed appeal for unity resonates like a plangent chord struck on a two-note *tar*. Many of the men around him fought in the war against the Soviets and had seen first-hand what Osama's forces had done to the Russian tanks and gunships caught in craggy defiles. ^{cc}

Outfitted in a gray *shalwar kameez*—the long shirt and bloused trousers favored by Afghans—along with his trademark camouflage jacket and a loaded Kalakov (the folding-stock paratroop version of the Kalashnikov)—the militant multimillionaire begins moving through the hall as more than a thousand voices shout, “*Zindibad Osama!*”

With their “Long live Osama” exhortation ringing in his ears, the honorary Afghani begins dispensing white envelopes. Weaver relates how, according to the number of extended families under each leader's command, some envelopes are bulky, some thin. Beginner chieftains without big clans receive the equivalent of \$300 in Pakistani rupees. Leaders of the biggest clans are each given up to \$10,000 to take care of their people.

But bin Laden does not have to buy the loyalty of Pashtun tribal chiefs “already devoted to him,” Mary Ann Weaver points out in an exclusive that stuns the world. Osama is after all, “the only non-Afghan Muslim of any consequence in the past half-century” who has stood with the Afghans to defeat a ruthless, high-tech army.

As Weaver traces his activities through a series of intelligence contacts, “the following evening, or the evening after” the Lion of Jalalabad dines in the city he'd so savagely defended from the Soviets. Sharing the repast are Pashtun tribal chiefs who are now fully in alliance with him. ^{cci}

According to this reporter's multiple sources, the last time Osama bin Laden is seen in this eastern Afghanistan city of 60,000 near the Khyber Pass is on the evening of November 13, 2001. A long-time Asia hand well acquainted with the area and its tribal leaders, Weaver relates how, on this evening Osama and other the clan chieftains successfully negotiate “a peaceful hand-over of power from the Taliban to a caretaker government.”

Sponsored by the Bush administration, this new *Shura* (government) will be “stacked with men who owe their loyalty” to the man Washington claims to be pursuing.

Under the terms of the American “victory”, Osama's long-time ally Yunis Khalis will take temporary control of Jalalabad. ^{ccii}

Khalis can handle it. As a major clan chieftain, he controls a vast

territory, including Tora Bora, The caves where Osama takes his tea are so close, Khalis can see them “from the verandah of his sprawling stucco home,” Weaver writes.

Michael Scheuer calls Khalis’ regard of Osama, “avuncular”. The former head of the CIA’s bin Laden unit tells Weaver that since Osama lost his father when he was young, “Khalis became a substitute father figure to him.”^{cciii}

Osama bin Laden will soon be heading back to the White Mountains to face pursuing American forces, who will be given one more chance to trap and kill the lion.

CENSORED

Even as Yasser Arafat writes George Bush with fresh Palestinian peace proposals on November 17, 2001, United States Senators praise their President for snubbing the Palestinian leader at the UN—refusing even to shake his hand.^{cciv}

Two days later, after sending Secretary of State Colin Powell to Qatar to lecture the independent *al-Jazeera* against reporting civilian casualties, the popular Arab news network receives more emphatic American censorship when its Kabul office takes a direct missile hit.

SHAKAR QATAL REDUX

On November 21, 12-year-old Mohibollah is collecting firewood in an impoverished neighborhood on the edge of Herat. Minutes later, documents Professor Herold, he is running down the street “screaming, his face splattered with blood. A stump of flesh, smashed bones and mangled fingers” dangles from the remains of his left arm. Mohibollah has just become the latest victim of the cluster bombs dropped a month earlier on his village.^{ccv}

THE TERRIBLE TALIBAN

Later this month, 32-year-old Ali Safi stands accused with nine other desperate men of hijacking an Afghan airliner and bringing it into Stansted airport in Essex, England the previous February. Safi and his companions tell the court they feared for their lives. They did not want to hurt anyone on the airplane. They wanted political asylum.

Safi had been in Kabul for his father’s funeral five years ago, when the Taliban murdered the president and invaded the city. He could not believe his eyes when he saw President Najibullah’s body hanging next to his brother’s from a traffic light.

Returning to his home in Mazar-i-Sharif in the summer of 1998, Safi said he saw regular killings in the street. The Taliban stormed a hospital, “shooting the nurses and the patients.”

Taliban death squads shot anyone who approached them. “I could see bodies in the streets and they were starting to smell. I saw the hands of a person in the mouth of a dog.”

Safi blamed Taliban oppression of women for the death of his two-year-old son. While he was away, the Taliban would not let his wife take their child to hospital to treat “a very ordinary” respiratory problem.

Safi testified he was tortured and whipped after being arrested for playing a game of chess. “Six people would beat us. One would hold us down and two people would sit on our legs and they took it in turns to beat us. We were also hit with an angled metal bar.”

In Kabul, Safi often saw amputated limbs hung from trees around the city. He also described seeing a woman stoned to death as her eight year-old child begged the Taliban to stop killing her. “It was one of the worst experiences of my life,” Safi said.

Other women were brought by the U.S.-backed Taliban regime to Kabul’s “room of pain” where *Telegraph* reporters Philip Sherwell and Julian West found outlawed “lipsticks, bracelets, compact cases, perfume, nail polish, hair-clips, even shiny black handbags” scattered across a filthy concrete floor. Rust-colored bloodstains still mar a wall gouged by the fingernails of women tortured for their “crimes” against the Taliban’s take on a Holy Book that nowhere specifies beatings for the wearers of lipstick or bracelets.

The Taliban’s ever vigilant “Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice” often dragged women to public squares to be stoned, flogged, executed or have their arms chopped off. Some were beaten near death for briefly lifting their veils to check a price tag or examine an item in a shop.

The murdering misogynists are now lying low after fleeing heavily bombed cities where their government-sponsored torture chambers have been in use, with Washington’s economic support, for the last five years.

MASSACRE AT MAZAR-I-SHARIF

Who are the real terrorists? Entering a prison near the first town retaken by the Northern Alliance, journalists and Red Cross workers encounter “a horrific scene of carnage” where nearly 800 Taliban prisoners were slaughtered in a three-day massacre directed by U.S. Special Forces and CIA operatives.

“At least 30 bombing attacks were carried out by U.S. warplanes and helicopter gunships, whose targets were pinpointed by Special Forces at the prison,” writes the Centre for Research on Globalization’s Jerry White.

After German television footage shows alliance soldiers firing over the walls into the mass of prisoners inside, stunned witnesses stumble across the dismembered corpses of hundreds of Taliban prisoners “strewn amidst the rubble and still burning buildings, the blasted parts of dozens of dead horses and bullet-raked vehicles.”

An Associated Press photographer finds the corpses of 50 prisoners, executed with their hands tied behind their backs with black scarves. The dead are mostly Pakistanis, Chechens, Arabs and other non-Afghans who surrendered on November 24, after the Taliban’s northern stronghold fell to alliance militias.

According to the *Times of London*, resistance by panicked Taliban prisoners began after CIA provocateurs shot and killed at least five unarmed POWs.

The newspaper reports that the carnage ended only when “U.S. and British special forces set fire to oil poured into a shelter where three Taliban prisoners remained. A Northern Alliance tank then drove over the bodies of several Pakistani and Arab Taliban volunteers, and fired three rounds at a range of 20 yards, obliterating the building and killing the last holdouts.”

The prisoners had been brought to the fortress under an agreement between the Taliban commander and Northern Alliance leader General Rashid Dostum to surrender the city. Dostum’s troops had just finished massacring Taliban prisoners in Kunduz— “stomping on faces of captured Taliban and shooting others as they lay wounded,” according to AP—after President Bush said he preferred to see Taliban prisoners killed.

As American bombing continues across Afghanistan, *New York Times* correspondent Tim Weiner winces to see civilian survivors struggling “over the steep old smugglers’ routes.” Newly arriving refugees report seeing thousands more on the road from Kabul, “some walking barefoot on the sharp stones, weeping and cursing.”

Tilawat Shah, 32, arrives alone after an exodus from Jalalabad. “I saw a family on the way, a husband, a pregnant wife, carrying two small children and their belongings,” Shah says through a translator. “They could carry them no longer. They kissed their children and left them in the mountains.”

Try telling Laila that “bombing works”. After losing two cousins to bombs dropped to “defend” them, she and her husband figured that they and their small son might be next. “The Arabs were not being killed,” Laila says. “The bombs were killing innocent Afghans instead. They were killing us.”

In Kabul and other “freed” towns, joyful women walk the streets and feel the breeze on their faces for the first time in seven years—only to hastily re-don their tent-like *burgas* under the disapproving eyes of North Alliance fighters. It is well known that their commanders have previously purchased arms by selling Afghan women as sexual slaves.

As veteran Middle East correspondent John Pilger points out, “This so-called Northern Alliance are the same people welcomed by similar scenes of jubilation in 1992, who then killed an estimated 50,000 in four years of internecine feuding.”

Writing for *The Observer*, Paul Harris watches former warlords exiled over the border in the Pakistan city of Quetta flooding back into Afghanistan to fill the power vacuum left by the fleeing Taliban. “In many areas local Pashtun warlords rule by rape, robbery and murder,” he writes. “In the skies above, U.S. bombers seek targets to destroy.”^{ccvi}

By late November 2001, a UN official estimates that live bombs and mines are maiming, on average 40 to 100 people a week in Afghanistan. At least half of these victims are dying before receiving medical help.^{ccvii}

As one mother says: “People in Afghanistan have no tears left.”^{ccviii}

TRAPPED

The good news is that America’s arch-boogeyman, Osama Bin Laden is “trapped in a mountain cave with escape routes blocked,” Richard Lloyd Parry reports from Tora Bora. Is it the al-Qaeda fighter’s last stand?^{ccix}

Brigadier General James Mattis thinks so. The commander of 4,000 gung-ho American marines is convinced that he can surround and capture the olive-sucking bin Laden. But Mattis is going quietly nuts. Mattis argues. He pleads. He demands permission to finish the job he and his soldiers have come halfway around the world to do.

Permission denied.

On November 30, more saturation air strikes on the Khost cave complex pave the way for Afghan fighters to fail. Just beginning an exhausting three-hour climb through bitter winds and snow to Osama’s unmarked front door, the demoralized raiders are ambushed

in a hellish first skirmish that lasts 10 interminable minutes before bin Laden's ghostly forces fade back upslope, and the Afghan survivors limp away.

Over the coming days, Weaver relates, the pattern is repeated as Osama relaxes in the warmth of his cave complex, while the shivering Afghans absorb mounting casualties, before retreating. ^{ccx}

WELCOME HOME

By December 3, at least 48,884 unexploded bomblets dropped by U.S. warplanes await a triggering jostle from the careless or the curious. In the village of Mengchuqur in northern Tokhar province, Islamudin, 20 has just returned after fleeing the Soviets in 1998. He is greeted by an American cluster bomb, which blows him right off the planet. ^{ccxi}

In a Quetta hospital, Rukia loses her family of five children on this day when the Americans bomb her neighborhood in Kandahar. Wounded in her stomach, with her left arm shattered in a bomb blast as mindless as any "terrorist" attack, Rukia is forced to flee before she can bury her children. On the Spin Boldak highway, as a relative drives her to hospital, she is nearly bombed again by American pilots hungry for more "kills".

"They're bombing anything that moves," the grief-stricken 39-year-old former mother tells a reporter. "It's not true that they bomb civilians by accident. They're targeting the innocent people instead of Osama bin Laden." ^{ccxii}

Hunting the ever-elusive bin Laden at three in the morning, huge B-52 bombers make four passes over Kama Ado, dropping twenty-five 1,000-pound bombs from high-altitude. Each 10-foot-long JDAM MK-83 bomb is hardened with hundreds of pounds of radioactive uranium. Once dispersed as a fine dust in the resulting blasts, the microscopic U-238 will remain lethal to human lungs, organs and wombs for the next four billion years.

Khalil Rahman temporarily survives because he had gone outside to urinate when one bomb disintegrate his home—along with his 12 relatives. Sprina, a 50-year-old widow wounded in the attack, loses 38 of her 40 relatives. The next day, Hassan and other villagers will see only a few dozen of Kama Ado's 250 to 300 residents. As many as 156 may have perished in heavy bombing reminiscent in its mindless ferocity to the B-52's "Arc Light" destruction of Cambodia.

Bombed a few hours earlier, the nearby village of Khan-e-Mairjuddin counts a toll of 100 to 200 dead. Visiting journalists report

huge bomb craters and the debris of houses spread over two hillsides. Mixed among children's shoes, dead cows and sheep is the tail fin of a MK-83 bomb. ^{ccxiii}

PEARL HARBOR DAY

When the sun sets on December 6, at least 3,767 Afghan civilians have died in U.S bombing attacks—roughly the [per capita] equivalent to about 38,000 U.S civilians. On Pearl Harbor day, an Afghan family visits relatives in the village of Sakhsalmun near Herat. Like their American counterparts, the kids don't want to stay inside listening to grown-ups talk. Racing outside, they scramble up a hillside and come across a little yellow soda can attached to a parachute. One little boy picks it up. It is his last act on Earth. ^{ccxiv}

RAMADAN

The toll is relentless. At 4 a.m. on Sunday morning, December 9th, American warplanes strike just as families are preparing the daily predawn meal that marks the Muslim holy month called Ramadan. The previous day, a pilotless drone must have spotted a group of people passing through their village. Unable to demand ID, distant CIA controllers looking through the robot plane's myopic video eye had no way of knowing that these "Arabs" were Afghan refugees fleeing Kandahar.

A single cluster bomb sprays the area with shrapnel, severing the spine of a 6-year-old girl named Palwasha and paralyzing her permanently. Her mother, Rose has her abdomen ripped open. The girl's aunt counts 13 people killed and more than 40 injured. ^{ccxv}

Just past midnight, Osama sits taking refreshment amidst the distant muted tremors of huge 15,000 pound bombs rolled down the extended rear ramp of C-130 transports to explode harmlessly on the granite karsts 350-feet above. Outside, a blustery wind brings bitter cold to the luckless, ill-equipped, nearly illiterate and completely expendable Afghanistan militia members chosen to go in after him, instead of the elite American forces.

Many passes in these formidable White Mountains are already blocked by snow. But inside the cozy cave complex carved with his father's heavy construction equipment and paid for by the Americans during his proxy war against the Soviets, Osama comfortably crunches olives and sips sugary mint tea while generators hum, keeping him and some 2,000 fanatical fighters toasty warm.

Shortly before dawn, the bombardment provides percussive punc-

tuation to bin Laden's "martyrdom" address. Everyone present agrees it's a terrific talk, as the mighty American military's inability to even scratch him swells the 44-year-old bin Laden's confidence in Allah's continued blessings.

A mile below, the 36 U.S. Special Forces troops Washington has finally sent against him are not making much headway. As Masood Farivar, a former Khalis officer who fought in Tora Bora during the *jihad* against the Soviets tells Mary Ann Weaver, the caves are "rugged, formidable and isolated. If you know them, you can come and go with ease. But if you don't, they're a labyrinth that you can't penetrate. They rise in some places to 14,000 feet, and for 10 years the Soviets pummeled them with everything they had, but to absolutely no avail."

The Pakistan border lies less than 20 miles away. And U.S. forces are not permitted to pursue bin Laden there.

AIRTIGHT SHIPMENTS

On December 11, 2001, after surrendering to Northern Alliance forces in Kunduz, dozens of Taliban prisoners are asphyxiated in shipping containers used to transport them to prison. Omar, a pale and slight youth, says through the bars of his prison wing that all but seven people in his container had died from lack of air over the two and three-day journey. In all, he estimates that more than 100 men have been murdered under the watchful eyes of U.S. Special Forces.^{xxvi}

HOUDINI

On December 12, Hajji Zaman, the militia commander in charge of ending the career of Osama bin Laden, understands that he is not going to defeat hardened al-Qaeda fighters much better armed and motivated than his own. As Weaver writes, he is also becoming irritated with rival commander Hazarat Ali, lack of American support, and the freezing snow. With the feast of Eid al-Fitr that concludes Ramadan about to commence in a few days, his ill-paid shivering men are already heading home.

Hajji Zaman radios bin Laden's commanders and offers a cease-fire. That night, as many as 800 seasoned al-Qaeda fighters escape Tora Bora with Zaman's blessing. "You've got to give him credit," Gary Schroen, a former CIA officer who led the first American paramilitary team into Afghanistan in 2001, tells Mary Ann Weaver of Osama's leadership. "He stayed in Tora Bora until the bitter end."

On or about December 16, 2001, Osama bin Laden vacates his

comfortable cave complex in Tora Bora. Along with his personal physician, bodyguards and aides, he and his small entourage are believed to have journeyed on horseback south toward sanctuary in Pakistan. “All along the route,” Weaver describes the scene, “in the dozens of villages and towns on both sides of the frontier, the Pashtun tribes would have lighted campfires along the way to guide the horsemen as they slowly continued through the snow and on toward the old Pakistani military outpost of Parachinar.”

At Tora Bora, the not-so-young lion had been confined to a cage several dozen square miles in area. Soon he will be ensconced in a mountain maze, Weaver points out, “that snakes across some 40,000 square miles.” ^{ccxvii}

VICTORY

In the end, there is no conclusion, no formal surrender. The Taliban evaporate, along with Osama, the bombing stops, and an American “victory” is declared. But in Heart, at least another 41 people are killed and another 46 injured as cluster bombs keep going off. At the Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital in Kabul, the Newhouse News Service reports, “All the beds in the children’s ward are occupied by youngsters injured by cluster bomblets.” For them and thousands like them, there is no “victory”. Only pain and poverty. ^{ccxviii}

After removing the Taliban from power, Washington backs the government of Hamid Karzai. During his days as a Mujahedin militant, Karzai was also a CIA-Pakistan ISI asset who enjoyed close ties with both CIA director William Casey and Vice President George Bush Senior. After the war, as a top advisor for UNOCAL, Karzai went to the States to help negotiate the CentGas deal. ^{ccxix}

With Afghanistan in ruins, the author of *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II* and *Rogue State: A Guide to the World’s Only Superpower* is not optimistic about its promised reconstruction. “The United States has a long record of bombing nations, reducing entire neighborhoods, and much of cities to rubble, wrecking the infrastructure, ruining the lives of those the bombs didn’t kill. And afterward doing nothing to repair the damage,” William Blum writes.

Perhaps he remembers how, soon after the Paris peace accords were signed in 1973, President Nixon sent a message to the Prime Minister of North Vietnam promising \$3.25 billion in aid to help rebuild a country shattered after a decade of heavy bombing, shelling and defoliation.

It never happened.

Chapter 12

BERSERKERS

The United Nations kicks off the new, post-9/11 year by announcing that U.S. warplanes have dropped outlawed cluster bombs on at least 103 cities in Afghanistan. And possibly another 25.

“Nobody knows how to detect them and nobody knows how to destroy them,” says Nazeer Ahmad, a de-miner based in Jalalabad. “In Herat when Americans dropped cluster bombs, there were little bomblets that were yellow color. Children thought they might be food. Thirty have been killed and 25 wounded by cluster bombs.” ^{xxxx}

Less than two weeks later, America announces that it has rejected the 1949 Geneva Convention on the treatment of POWs. U.S. soldiers invading other countries are lawful combatants, but prisoners taken while defending their families and homes are “unlawful combatants”.

“The U.S. government cannot choose to wage war in Afghanistan with guns, bombs, and soldiers and then assert the laws of war do not apply,” says Human Rights Watch Executive Director Kenneth Roth. Human Rights Watch director Jamie Fellner adds that Donald Rumsfeld “seems unaware of the requirements of international humanitarian law. As a party to the Geneva Conventions, the United States is required to treat every detained combatant humanely, including unlawful combatants. The United States may not pick and choose among them to decide who is entitled to decent treatment.”

Nearly 3,000 suspected “terrorists” have been detained by U.S. forces occupying their countries since September 11. Sequestered in more than two-dozen secret prisons around the planet, most have no ties with either the Taliban or al-Qaeda. Yet they are being held indefinitely, without formal charges, or access to lawyers or their families. These acts by the world’s self-professed “greatest democracy” are in violation of the Geneva Convention, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the U.S. Constitution.

At Guantánamo’s notorious Camp Delta, Amnesty International

describes the conditions among prisoners as “cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment in violation of international law.”^{ccxxi}

SEE NO EVIL

But George Bush is much more concerned about growing Congressional pressure for probes into 9/11. A phone call from the President to the Senate Majority Leader is followed up with one by the Vice President Dick Cheney, who suggests to Tom Daschle that the Democratic senate leader might like to limit any congressional investigation.

Instead of agreeing, Daschle reveals the pressure tactics to the media, telling CNN, “Clearly, I think the American people are entitled to know what happened and why.”^{ccxxii}

Less than one week later, the Senate entertains a motion to look into the attacks. It has been five months since the lives of our people were taken in the most devastating attack on America in history. There have been words of rage and revenge, vows to strengthen our security and to commit endless resources. There has been everything except a voice of inquiry,” Senator Torricelli tells reporters. “At least 260 million Americans, want to know what happened and why. Ten days after Pearl Harbor... FDR ordered an inquiry into how indeed we were so undefended,” he continues. “This instance deserves no less. Accountability is at the core of any representative government.”

The Presiding Officer of the Senate responds, “Without objection, it is so ordered.”^{ccxxiii}

WE NEVER IMAGINED

Inside the White House, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice calls a spin briefing for the national media. “I don’t think anybody could have predicted that these people would take an airplane and slam it into the World Trade Center,” insists the official who warned San Francisco mayor Willie Brown to be extra careful flying into New York on September 11, 2001.

But her spin threatens to spin out of control when reporters recall that since at least the mid-1990’s, law enforcement officials have known that terrorist organizations were considering suicide attacks using commercial jets. In the two years prior to the September 11 attacks, NORAD also conducted exercises simulating hijacked airliners used as weapons to crash into targets and cause mass casualties. One of the targets was the World Trade Center. In another scenario, the target was the Pentagon.

“Numerous types of civilian and military aircraft were used as mock hijacked aircraft,” a NORAD press statement admits. “These exercises tested track detection and identification; scramble and interception; hijack procedures; internal and external agency coordination and operational security and communications security procedures.” ^{ccxxiv}

After all this practice, what went wrong on September 11?

Congress wants to know. After two days of testimony on Capitol Hill by FBI agent Kenneth Williams, Bush is rattled enough to interrupt a European visit to condemn the call for a special commission looking into how his government failed to respond to detailed warnings prior to the 9/11 attacks.

Williams has revealed to Congressional investigators that his “Phoenix Memo” had identified a flight student linked through phone calls to bin Laden’s operational chief. In charge of running al-Qaeda’s terrorist training camps, Abu Zubaydah is suspected of helping run exercises for the September 11 hijackings. Captured by FBI and ISI officials in March 2001, Abu Zubaydah’s statements could have provided grounds to interrogate would-be terror pilot Moussaoui and search his laptop in August of that year.

The FBI field agent says he had also been worried about Arabs attending U.S. flight schools students, who were known associates of Sheik Omar Bakri Mohammed. The Sheik openly backs bin Laden’s *fatwa* call for a holy war against the United States. Omar Bakri is also known to be among several Muslim leaders who received a fax from Afghanistan in the summer of 1998 from Osama bin Laden laying out his *jihad* objectives. “Bring down their airliners. Prevent the safe passage of their ships. Occupy their embassies. Force the closure of their companies and banks,” bin Laden had written.

When agent Cloonan of the FBI’s bin Laden squad received William’s Phoenix Memo and request for a canvas of the rosters of all U.S. flight schools, he reportedly wadded it into a ball and bounced it off a wall. “Who’s going to conduct the 30,000 interviews?” he asked his supervisor? ^{ccxxv}

FBI LINKED TO SECOND WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACKS

Another close associate of Osama bin Laden and his mentor Ayman al-Zawahiri was Ali Mohamed. Writing of the “National Geographic Channel’s Whitewash of the Ali Mohamed Story” in the *Huffington Post*, Peter Lance relates how Ali Mohamed “trained most of al Qaeda’s top leadership—including Bin Laden and Zawahiri—and

most of al Qaeda's top trainers." He also helped trained the terrorists who later carried out the 1993 World Trade Center bombing under the eyes of the FBI. ^{ccxxvi}

Yet, Ali Mohamed not only avoided arrest, but also managed to become an FBI informant while writing most of the al Qaeda terrorist manual and helping plan attacks on American troops in Somalia and U.S. embassies in Africa. ^{ccxxvii}

During much of this time Mohamed was "an operative for the CIA and FBI, and a member of the U.S. Army, *Bloomberg News* confirms. The *San Francisco Chronicle* corroborates these assertions, reporting, "Ali Mohamed was an FBI informant, from at least 1993 and maybe 1989, until 1998. He worked for the FBI, the CIA, and U.S. Special Forces." ^{ccxxviii}

"Let me say this again," Peter Lance emphasizes, "One of al-Qaeda's top trainers in terrorism and how to hijack airplanes was an operative for FBI, CIA, and the Army." ^{ccxxix}

Specifically, this key planner of the 9/11 plot, and trainer in its hijackings, was simultaneously an informant for the FBI. Ali Mohamed also trained the terrorists who implemented the first WTC bombing, the intercepted New York landmarks plot, and the attacks against the American embassies in Somalia and Kenya.

Instead of being busted, "for four years Mohamed was allowed to move in and out of the country as an unindicted conspirator," Lance adds. According to the *Rocky Mountain News*, to this day the plea-bargaining Mohamed "may still not have been sentenced for any crime."

^{ccxxx}

In November 1990, Lance learned, three of Mohamed's trainees conspired to kill Meir Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League. Raiding the house of the killer, el Sayyid Nosair, police found formulas for bomb making and manuals supplied by Ali Mohamed from the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg marked "Top Secret for Training"—along with classified documents belonging to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The police also found maps and drawings of the Statue of Liberty, Times Square, and the World Trade Center. ^{ccxxxi}

The U.S. Government could have easily arrested, indicted and convicted Ali Mohamed, Lance contends. Yet only hours after the killing, Joseph Borelli, Chief of NYPD detectives, pronounced el Sayyid Nosir a "lone deranged gunman." Even though it knew of Ali Mohamed's direct involvement, the FBI concurred. ^{ccxxxii}

Shortly after 9/11, Larry Johnson, a former State Department and CIA official, publicly criticized the FBI for protecting Ali, when it should have recognized that the man was a high-ranking terrorist plotting against the United States. ^{ccxxxiii}

As Peter Lance recounts, within days of 9/11 the same agent Cloonan who quashed the flight school inquiries rushed backed from Yemen, where he was investigating the *Cole* bombing, to interview Mohamed Ali—“whom the Feds had allowed to slip into witness protection, and demanded to know the details of the plot. At that point Ali wrote it all out—including details of how he’d counseled would-be hijackers on how to smuggle box cutters on board aircraft and where to sit, to effect the airline seizures. ^{ccxxxiv}

Peter Dale Scott, a former Canadian diplomat and English Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, helped put these explosive revelations together. ^{ccxxxv}

FIXATED ON SADDAM

Six months after September 11, the Bush White House remains obsessed with Saddam Hussein—not al-Qaeda. In March 2002, George Bush interrupts a delegation of senators meeting with Condoleezza Rice. Crashing a confab he was not scheduled to attend, the President soon turns the discussion to Iraq. Used a vulgar epithet to refer to America’s former ally in Baghdad, he leaves no one in doubt about his intentions. “We’re taking him out,” Bush declares. ^{ccxxxvi}

A WEDDING FUNERAL

Back in Afghanistan, American warplanes are lighting up everything that moves. On July 21, 2002 UN spokeswoman Stephanie Bunker expresses concern that “non-combatant women and children” were pursued and “gunned down” by U.S. helicopters attacking their village of Niazi Qala. As Bunker relates, “After the women and children were killed in the village, a second group of civilians fled the attack and were gunned down by U.S. helicopters. All fifteen fleeing villagers were killed in addition to the ten women and twenty-five children they were trying to help.” ^{ccxxxvii}

Where is the honor in this?

DETENTION CAMPS R’ U.S.

Americans as unconcerned as Germans were in the 1930s about their government’s construction of illegal prison camps could soon be

sorry, warns Jonathan Turley. The professor of constitutional and public-interest law at George Washington University Law School, and a defense attorney in national security cases, says that an unchecked White House could soon be putting Americans into concentration camps—just like it did during the Second World War.

Writing in the *Los Angeles Times* under the headline, “Camps for Citizens: Ashcroft’s Hellish Vision”, Turley charges, “Attorney General John Ashcroft’s announced desire for camps for U.S. citizens he deems to be ‘enemy combatants’ has moved him from merely being a political embarrassment to being a constitutional menace.”^{ccxxxviii}

The Attorney General’s concentration camp proposal “should trigger immediate Congressional hearings and reconsideration of Ashcroft’s fitness for important office,” Turley urges. “Whereas al-Qaeda is a threat to the lives of our citizens, Ashcroft has become a clear and present threat to our liberties.”

Veteran journalist Nat Hentoff agrees, commenting in the *Village Voice* that under Ashcroft’s revised definition of “enemy combatant”—any American citizens, “can be held indefinitely by the government, without charges, a hearing, or a lawyer.”

“The camps are being prepared,” Hentoff warns.

Branded “enemy combatants”, American citizens Yaser Esam Hamdi and Jose Padilla are already locked up without any charges being brought against them. Held in solitary confinement in a windowless room, Hamdi’s case has frightening implications for every American, Hentoff implies, since “the government claims it can hold him for interrogation in a floating navy brig off Norfolk, Virginia, as long as it wants.”

After the Bush administration tells state and federal courts not to interfere, Harvard Law Professor Lawrence Tribe advises ABC’s Nightline:

It bothers me that the executive branch is taking the amazing position that just on the president’s say-so, any American citizen can be picked up, not just in Afghanistan, but at O’Hare Airport or on the streets of any city in this country—and locked up without access to a lawyer or court just because the government says he’s connected somehow with the Taliban or Al Qaeda. That’s not the American way. It’s not the constitutional way... And no court can even figure out whether we’ve got the wrong guy.”^{ccxxxix}

The *New York Times* is also concerned. “The Bush administration seems to believe, on no good legal authority, that if it calls citizens combatants in the war on terrorism, it can imprison them indefinitely and deprive them of lawyers,” America’s newspaper of record editorializes. “This defiance of the courts repudiates two centuries of constitutional law and undermines the very freedoms that President Bush says he is defending in the struggle against terrorism.” ^{ccxi}

SAUDIS WITHDRAW BILLIONS

In late August 2002, after a Rand Corporation analyst tells a high-level Pentagon briefing that Saudi Arabia is the “kernel of evil”, the Royal Family of Saud pulls at least \$200 billion in investments out of the United States. Youssef Ibrahim, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations re-examining U.S.-Saudi relations, tells the *Financial Times* that the Saudi withdrawals are being spurred by hawkish U.S. commentators calling for the freezing of all Saudi assets, as well as lawsuits filed by 9/11 victims’ families, frustrated by Washington’s refusal to question the country that issued nearly all of the hijackers’ passports.

“And if the latest lawsuit is not thrown out in court, it will mean no more Saudi money in the U.S.,” Ibrahim warns, referring to another \$600 billion that could suddenly take flight back to Riyadh. ^{ccxii}

MANDELA

Even more damaging in the glare of world opinion, the world’s most revered and effective leader for non-violent change since Ghandi condemns America’s racist bullying.

“What [America] is saying is that if you are afraid of a veto in the Security Council, you can go outside and take action and violate the sovereignty of other countries,” Nelson Mandela tells the world press the day before the first anniversary of September 11. “That is the message they are sending to the world. That must be condemned in the strongest terms. Why should there be one standard for one country, especially because it is black, and another one for another country, Israel, that is white?”

“When there were white secretary generals you didn’t find this question of the United States and Britain going out of the United Nations,” points out this courageous anti-Apartheid leader, whose post-prison efforts to establish Councils of Reconciliation instead of retribu-

tion averted a bloodbath after the voluntary secession of South Africa's white-supremacist regime.

"But now that you've had black secretary-generals like Boutros Boutros Ghali, like Kofi Annan, they do not respect the United Nations. They have contempt for it. This is not my view, but that is what is being said by many people," the frail but firm 84-year-old statesman continues. "There is no doubt that the United States now feels that they are the only superpower in the world and they can do what they like." ^{cxxii}

AN AMERICAN HERO

On the first anniversary of September 11, a full ceremony is held in Boston, with Senators Edward Kennedy and John Kerry, and the state's entire "blue blood" political establishment in attendance, the state of Massachusetts posthumously awards flight attendant Amy Sweeney its medal for civilian bravery.

The FBI has already recognized Amy Sweeney. Bestowing on her its highest civilian honor, the Director's Award for Exceptional Public Service, the agency says in its official commendation: "Sweeney is immeasurably deserving of recognition for her heroic, unselfish and professional manner in which she lived the last moments of her life."

Other recipients of heroism medals are Captain John Ogonowski and flight attendant Betty Ong.

9/11 FAMILIES, MARTIN LUTHER KING III CALL FOR RESTRAINT

Organizing an all night vigil with thousands of Americans in New York City's Washington Square Park, families of those killed in the September 11 attacks commemorate the first anniversary of 9/11, and protest its exploitation as a pretext for war. Their motto, "Our grief is not a cry for war" is repeated throughout the night to thousands of Americans by speakers who include former Nobel Peace Prize nominee Kathleen Kelly and Martin Luther King III.

Women of Diverse Faiths also mark the occasion by reminding Americans, "The manner in which we gather for these commemorations and the tone we set will be important aspects of our continued healing as a nation and our contribution to world peace. Let us emphasize in our commemorations our dedication to peace and harmony among peoples of diverse backgrounds and viewpoints."

As women from a variety of faith traditions working "together for deeper understanding and cooperation among religious justice-seekers,"

Women of Diverse Faiths, “call on the people of the United States of America to use words and actions that will lead to healing and reconciliation on the first anniversary of the violent attack on the World Trade Center and related tragedies.”

They also, “Call for a rededication to the values upon which this nation has been founded: equality, political and religious freedom, due process under law, compassion for persons seeking asylum and refuge, and generosity toward persons less fortunate in material blessings. Remembrance that refuses to see the whole of a story, to respect all viewpoints, or to learn from the unfinished nature of each human experience often leads to revenge and retaliation...”

Cautioning that remembrance “can also harden the human heart,” the women of faith reminds Americans that remembrance “that refuses to see the whole of a story, to respect all viewpoints, or to learn from the unfinished nature of each human experience often leads to revenge and retaliation.” ^{ccxliii}

“AN INTERNAL OPERATION”

But peace and reconciliation are not on the agenda of a man who set a record for state executions as a former Texas governor. Three days after the first September 11 remembrance, the Russian intelligence-linked weekly magazine *Zavtra* publishes an informed discussion concerning the United States and 9/11. Participants include *Zavtra* deputy editor Alexander Nagorny, strategic analyst General Leonid Ivashov, financial expert Mikhael Khazin, the well-known Russian television commentator Mikhail Leontyev and former high-level KGB official Leonid Shebarshin.

“September 11 was an internal operation in the United States,” says strategic specialist Ivashov. “It is not an accident that many Western commentators speak of September 11 as an attempted *coup d’etat*.”

The force that gave the order for the attacks, Ivashov believes, “is connected with the world financial mafias, having representatives in the power structures of the USA, including the intelligence and special services... Evidently the U.S. feels under itself under a tight time limit for securing control over world resources and political power in most countries... One has the feeling, that the financial oligarchy in power on this planet are not interested in maintaining the U.S. population at its present living standard.”

Interestingly, Ivashov also observes, “It is also no accident, that parallel with the investigation of the September 11 attack, investigations

are going on concerning the activities of a number of other structures, including the Mossad, within the U.S. intelligence community.”

Financial expert Khazin worriedly points to the option of using tactical nuclear weapons as part of Washington’s war plan. It would have the purpose of terrifying the whole world, showing the U.S. would stop at nothing, he says.

Zavtra’s deputy editor Nagorny acknowledges “a big internal fight in the U.S.” between the State Department and the PNAC-pushing Vulcans. “But nevertheless, it appears that the decision for a military operation has been taken” to take Iraq.

KGB official Shebarshin is impressed by the U.S. military’s recent use of overwhelming force against a defenseless nation, saying, “The Americans used Afghanistan to take over the positions of the former Soviet Union in Central Asia. They got very good bases in Kirgistan, bases in Tajikistan, agreements with Uzbekistan, pressure on Kazakhstan... Afghanistan was a ‘limited operation’, although the firepower used there was colossal. Even in World War II it never happened that such firepower was deployed to overrun a single, weak opponent.”

Nagorny concludes the round table by picking up on earlier remarks concerning Bush’s bankrupting a fully militarized nation by pursuing unlimited wars and weapons spending. “The myth of supposed omnipotence of the U.S. military-political machine has already been overcome,” the intelligence editor says. “The Americans are just as much idiots as we were...”

Drawing on his closeness to Russia’s oligarchy, TV commentator Mikhael Leontyev’s insights concurs, saying, “This crisis reminds us of the crisis of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1980s. At that time few people realized how quickly the country would disintegrate.” ^{cxliv}

AMERICA’S NUCLEAR HIT LIST

The entire world is concerned about the threat posed by the United States of America. All lingering post-9/11 sympathy and good will evaporates in global outrage following Bush’s leaked “hit list” of seven countries picked for nuclear attack.

Outlining presidential intentions on security issues ranging from global war to global warming, Bush’s leaked “National Security Strategy of the United States” seeks to dismantle nuclear nonproliferation treaties, while “declaring that the strategies of containment and deterrence—staples of American policy since the 1940’s—are all but dead,” the *New York Times* reports.

Applauding Bush's decision to initiate an internationally prohibited arms race in space by scrapping the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the new National Security Strategy further declares that the United States will never subject its soldiers or political leaders who commit war crimes to the newly created International Criminal Court, "whose jurisdiction does not extend to Americans.

"We will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting pre-emptively," declare the nuke-wielding architects of this latest PNAC update. ^{ccxlv}

Denouncing the secret policy as warmongering "lunacy", British Members of Parliament join the international outcry after another leaked Pentagon report reveals Bush's contingency plans to use nuclear weapons against China, Russia, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Syria and Libya. Frightened officials from Moscow to Tehran warn that after massively bombing Afghanistan, the "power crazy" American President could plunge the world into chaos.

Cabinet Minister Clare Short hints at her resignation if British Prime Minister Tony Blair supports a U.S. mass strike against Baghdad. "We need to deal with the problem of Saddam Hussein—we don't need to inflict further suffering on the people of Iraq," she declares.

Branding the plans of the only country to use nuclear weapons to revisit Hiroshima and Nagasaki on them a "lunatic" threat to world peace, the seven targeted nations accuse the United States of attempted intimidation, and "wreaking havoc on the whole world."

Known as the "Nuclear Posture Review", the Pentagon blueprint for nuclear mayhem is leaked as the United States lobbies Britain to break with the UN and join its unilateral invasion of Iraq. The new NPR insists that the White House should be ready to press the nuclear button in an Arab-Israeli conflict, a war between China and Taiwan, an attack by North Korea on South Korea, or an attack by Iraq on Israel or another neighbor.

"This indicates the U.S. is going to wreak havoc on the world to establish its domination," the *Tehran Times* warns.

"China won't be happy to be classified among rogue nations," predicts Professor Michael Yahuda, professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics. ^{ccxlvii}

But George Bush, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Connie Rice, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz and many other fundamentalists occupying the White House know that Armageddon is coming soon—and they have been appointed by "God" to help bring it on.

On reopen911.org, Jimmy Walter nervously points out, “Religious fanatics control the White House, Secretariat of State, House of Representatives, Senate, key military positions, Justice Department, and “god knows” how many other key positions in our government.”

Walter points to a German TV documentary showing “Bush’s Rapture supporters in drug like trances, chanting and swaying as they prayed for the end of the world. They have a 30-foot-tall tile mosaic of Bush with a halo, representing him as a saint, if not Christ. Many say that he is Christ.”

The Rapture, writes Walter, “is an insane belief that as Christ is about to end the world, he pulls straight to heaven all Christians and 160,000 Jews who convert at the last minute. The rest of us get eaten by monsters, die dreadfully of disease, and/or burn in hell for eternity. Because these nuts believe this, they do not care about the earth or the future—since in their demented minds there is no future!”

As British Labour MP Alice Mahon succinctly tells the press, “The lunatics have taken over the White House.”

THE COURAGE OF CYNTHIA MC KINNEY

Almost as Mahon is speaking, Congresswomen Cynthia McKinney becomes the first member of Congress to challenge Washington’s war fever. Addressing a House International Relations Committee Hearing, Representative McKinney says:

The American people are being called upon to send their young sons and daughters to go and kill young Iraqi sons and daughters. This war, like all wars, will be brutal and will leave many American and Iraqi families mourning the loss of their children. We’re not allowed to publicly question the Bush Administration for fear of being called unpatriotic. We know that this Administration has some trouble with telling the truth.

And this is the same Administration, which stole the 2000 election in Florida and then lied about it.

I’ve sat upon this committee for 10 years and I have seen our country repeatedly refuse to use to its military to save civilians from slaughter. I need only remind you of our country’s shameful failure to intervene in Rwanda in 1994 and in so doing we

allowed 1,000,000 Rwandan men, women and children to be butchered with axes and machetes in 100 days.

And, yes, we are the same country that abandoned the people of Afghanistan to the Taliban, that abandoned the people of the Democratic Republic of Congo to the invading Rwandans and the Ugandans, that abandoned the people of East Timor to the invading Indonesians, that abandoned the people of Sierra Leone to the brutal hand chopping killers of the RUF, that abandoned the people of Chechnya to the brutal Russian Army, that abandoned the people of the Philippines to brutalities of Ferdinand Marcos, that abandoned the people of Chile to monstrous crimes of General Pinochet and so on and so on.

Before we send our young men and women off to war, we need to really make sure that we're not sacrificing them so that rich and powerful men can prosecute a war for oil. I love this country too much to see it abused this way and I implore other Members of Congress to join me in denouncing this war of aggression. ^{ccxlvii}

The courageous southern congresswoman of American slave descent has just ended her political career. Three days later, as if to drive the PNAC point home, *Washington Post* headlines thunder: "U.S. ABANDONS GERM WARFARE ACCORD". ^{ccxlviii}

WTC FAMILIES PRESS FOR INQUIRY

Cynthia McKinney is not the only patriotic American rocking Bush's leaky rhetorical raft. With momentum for the blue-ribbon commission threatening to avalanche down Capitol Hill—and outraged 9/11 family members threatening to go public with their research—after three secret and contentious White House meetings, the Bush administration has "virtually no choice," *Newsweek* reports, than to call for an official inquiry into last year's terror attacks on American soil.

"There was a freight train coming down the tracks," admits one White House official.

That fast freight is being driven by the families of those killed on September 11.

"I never want to hear the phrase 'lessons learned' again," declares Sally Regenhard, whose firefighter son was killed in the World Trade Center. "I want people brought up on charges of malfeasance." ^{ccxlix}

CONGRESS FANS FLAMES OF MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

When it comes to the circular futility of violence and revenge, what lessons have been learned? As the 9/11-widowed Mrs. Regenhard speaks to the press, Congress adds another \$300 million to Israel's \$3 billion a year "aid" package, primarily used to purchase American weapons.

Even more worrying for Muslim nations, the proposal passed in Congress "recognizes" Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel. But followers of Islam regard al-Aqsa Mosque atop that city's Temple Mount as their third holiest site, after Mecca and Medina.

Chopping away at a popular experiment in democracy in the midst of ruination from Israeli bombardment, invasion and long occupation, Congress also slashes aid to Lebanon's fledgling Cedar Revolution. Promised aid to Palestinians left destitute under an even longer, harsher and repeatedly UN-condemned Israeli occupation is also cut from a bill that instead guarantees further profits for American corporations addicted to war. ^{cc1}

AMERICAN GULAG

Further tainting the American Dream, suicide attempts continue to be reported among prisoners illegally detained at "Gitmo"—marine slang for the Guantánamo Bay concentration camp in Cuba. At least four other prisoners, their spirits broken by constant caging, hazing, humiliation and the terrible black hole of despair that comes from not facing charges or knowing when they might ever be released, have tried to kill themselves since last summer. This time, the marines decline to say how many more have attempted to escape their illegal and inhuman confinement through suicide. ^{cc1i}

The world takes note. Speaking as the European Union's External Relations Commissioner in early October, Chris Patten tells the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations that the United States should not seek to "establish itself as the world hegemon, setting and imposing rules—but not itself bound by them—in pursuit of its own national interest."

The former Governor of Hong Kong observes that threats as grave as climate change, transnational crime, drugs, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and cybernetic information warfare all require response by coordinated international policy. Instead of blowing people up and embittering the survivors, the Commissioner suggests to his American hosts that the emphasis should be on preventive diplomacy including better use of development aid and a crackdown on corruption. ^{cc1ii}

“CLEAR EVIDENCE OF PERIL”

Expressing his “regret” over the toll of innocents from heavy U.S. bombing across Afghanistan, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld explains that civilian casualties are inevitable when eight-engine B-52s bomb their neighborhoods.

Of much more concern, Rumsfeld says is Saddam Hussein. This “murderous tyrant” whom Rumsfeld once did business with must now be deposed, he tells an American audience. “Facing clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof—the smoking gun—that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud.”

But intelligence officials in the CIA, the FBI, and the U.S. Energy Department say that Bush’s accusations against Iraq are a lie: “Basically, cooked information is working its way into high-level pronouncements,” says Vincent Cannistraro, former head of counter-intelligence at the CIA. “And there’s a lot of unhappiness about it in intelligence, especially among analysts at the CIA.”^{ccliii}

Mark Gwozdecky, chief spokesman for the Atomic Energy Commission tells reporters, “I don’t know where they have determined that Iraq has retained this much weaponization capability because when we left in December ‘98 we had concluded that we had neutralized their nuclear-weapons program. We had confiscated their fissile material. We had destroyed all their key buildings and equipment.”

Gwozdecky adds, “There is no evidence about Saddam’s nuclear capability right now—either through his organization, other agencies or any government.”^{ccliv}

BULLISH ON WAR

But Bush has found America’s new rhetorical hot button. In a PNAC-powered speech delivered to the nation on October 9, 2001 the presidential pretender uses the word “terror” 30 times in half an hour. He might be referring to his own policies in Guantánamo and Afghanistan.

President Bush also assures the world that America will never seek to impose its strip-mall “culture or our form of government” on another country.^{cclv}

His knee-jerk syllogisms work. On October 12, 2002, just hours after Congress authorizes his unilateral attack Iraq, an economic adviser who served under four U.S. presidents tells business leaders in Grand Rapids, Michigan that going to war “is probably the most bullish thing I can think of.”

Former FDIC chairman Bill Seidman, adds that taking out Saddam and controlling Iraqi oil is “at least as important as eliminating weapons of mass destruction.”

Gaining sway over oil-rich Saudi Arabia by “getting control of that oil,” he explains, “will make a vast difference (to the economy) in all sorts of things, but particularly the price of oil.”^{ccxvi}

Just as the U.S. War College called for.

BALI BLAST

The next day, C-4 explosives manufactured in the USA and released into the worldwide terror vortex explode in two blasts targeting holiday-makers and rescuers on the island of Bali. At least 182 tourists in a crowded Kuta resort nightclub are killed, and another 120 injured.^{ccxvii}

Stable and safe to handle, proliferating American C4 is said by experts to be “hard to detect and easy to hide.” In yet another deadly example of “what goes around, comes around,” al-Qaeda suicide attackers had stuffed a boat with American C4 and attacked the guided missile destroyer *USS Cole* in Yemen two years before, killing 17 American sailors and injuring another 39.

“I think we have to assume it’s al Qaeda,” Bush tells reporters on the White House lawn before heading to war-bullish Michigan. “I am very firm in my desire to make sure that Saddam is disarmed... there is a connection between al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein.”^{ccxviii}

At the campaign rally in Michigan, Bush once again warns that Saddam Hussein hopes to deploy al-Qaeda as his own “forward army” against the West. “We need to think about Saddam Hussein using al-Qaeda to do his dirty work,” Bush declares. “This is a man who we know has had connections with al-Qaeda.”

Does not, responds France’s leading terrorist investigator. Jean-Louis Bruguire says that years of investigation into radical Islamic terror groups have produced zero evidence linking Saddam’s sworn enemy to Iraq.

“We have not found any link between al-Qaeda and Iraq. Not a trace. The secular nature of Saddam’s regime deters him from getting into bed with the likes of bin Laden. It also makes cozying up to Saddam an anathema to the fundamentalists of al-Qaeda,” Bruguire points out. Widely quoted in Europe and Britain, his remarks are censored by the U.S. media, whose ratings soar during times of war.^{ccxlix}

Iraq’s Deputy Prime Minister disavows any link between his secular government and the hated al-Qaeda: “We don’t condone religious

fundamentalism, and therefore we don't have any relationship with those people," Tarik Aziz declares.

Adds veteran Middle East reporter Robert Fisk, "If Osama bin Laden ever acquired a nuclear weapon, he'd probably use it first on Saddam." ^{ccix}

Members of the U.S. media, who are as complicit in their country's widening spiral of slaughter as the pilots pickling the bombs, lap it up. But if reporters bothered to read anything besides White House press releases, they would know that Saddam's secular regime is a sworn enemy of al-Qaeda's revolutionary religious fundamentalism. And that feeling is mutual.

At least the *Wall Street Journal* reports, "There's no evidence of contact between al-Qaeda and the Iraqis, according to current and former intelligence officials." ^{ccxi}

SPIN DADDY

Never mind the truth. Just keep repeating the lie, master propagandist Josef Goebbels used to tell a failed painter. While developing the rationale Adolf Hitler would use to convince otherwise sane and sober Germans that they must attack peaceful countries and "purify" their race, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda studied the key principles of an American named Ed Bernays, who was the first to teach how masses of people can be swayed by endlessly repeating "patriotic" messages as simple as a God-given destiny and national superiority.

Hitler drew heavily on the Father of Spin, who taught America's corporate and political mass-marketers principles that would be finely honed after the Second World War by a new broadcast media whose power to mesmerize through the hypnotic flicker of televised images would have made Goebbels and his Fuhrer envious.

Mind and behavior control are the tools of fascism. The man who gave modern mass media mesmerizers the keys to the kingdom of malleable human behavior took the concepts of his famous uncle, Sigmund Freud and applied them to the emerging science of mass persuasion.

But Bernays was not interested in curing mental illness. He wanted to *induce it* by using Freud's formulas to mask agendas and to create mass illusions that deceive and misrepresent. "If we understand the mechanism and motives of the group mind, it is now possible to control and regiment the masses according to our will without their knowing it," Bernays preached. He called his scientific discovery of opinion molding, the "engineering of consent."

One of Bernays' first assignments was to help "sell" the First World War to the American public. He came up with the idea to "Make the World Safe for Democracy."

Remember that one? How about the artery-clogging notion of bacon and eggs for breakfast? Or the advertising format developed in cooperation with the American Medical Association that lasted for nearly 50 years, "proving" that smoking cigarettes is beneficial to health? Ed Bernays also persuaded American women to smoke formaldehyde-filled cigarettes as mindlessly as men to signal their "liberation".

These were the manipulative masterpieces of Ed Bernays, who invented modern PR to cleverly "reframe" issues by creating a desirable image that shows a particular product or concept in an extremely desirable light—while completely censoring contradictory evidence and dissent.

Describing the public as a "herd that needed to be led," Bernays said the best thought control occurs when people are unaware they are being manipulated. His fundamental axiom: "Control the masses without their knowing it."

From *Propaganda*: "In almost every act of our lives whether in the sphere of politics or business in our social conduct or our ethical thinking, we are dominated by the relatively small number of persons who understand the mental processes and social patterns of the masses. It is they who pull the wires that control the public mind."

While assiduously copying the American eugenics movement as a means to cull his own "human weeds"—such as Jews, gypsies, homosexuals and the mentally impaired—Hitler also studied Bernays' manual on mind control. The rapid rise to power of fascism in Germany demonstrated how easily precision propaganda abetted by national rites and archaic symbols can subvert democracy.

Ed Bernays was named as one of the 1,000 most influential people of all time. But it was no compliment. In a letter to President Franklin Roosevelt, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter later described Ed Bernays and his protégé Ivy Lee as "professional poisoners of the public mind, exploiters of foolishness, fanaticism and self-interest."

Bush's handlers and network propagandists all practice the tenets of Ed Bernays.

BOOGEYMAN

Forget Osama bin Laden. With their trans-Afghanistan pipeline and the resumption of Taliban-blocked opium production profits assured, the corporate-allied White House is now ready to incorporate Iraq. Even as cluster bombs continue to rain down on Afghan towns and villages, Washington spinmasters name Saddam Hussein as America's latest boogeyman.

They are careful not to mention that for decades the United States of America created, armed and supported Saddam, and others like him. As *U.S. News & World Report* details at length, and Robert Scheer summarizes in the *Los Angeles Times*:

Our CIA facilitated the rise to power of Iraq's Baath party and ultimately the succession of Saddam Hussein as its current leader. The first Bush administration supported Hussein, providing him with the means to wage chemical and biological war, up to the day he invaded Kuwait, another of our client states.

The same contempt for democracy has marked our policy toward Iran, that other member of the "axis of evil" we helped create. When Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh moved to eliminate foreign control over Iran's oil, the CIA and its British counterpart overthrew him in 1953. Despite our babbling about democracy, we had no compunction about replacing the elected Mossadegh with a guy who claimed the hereditary right to the throne as shah of all shahs. When the shah dared to act in the interest of his people—and his own bank account—by bolstering the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in the push for higher oil prices, we came to regard him, too, as expendable.

Even our support of Israel had less to do with the struggle of a brave people for a deserved homeland and more with the usefulness of that country as an agent of our Mideast ambitions... ^{ccxiii}

Bush puts his own policies and projections perfectly, when he tells reporters gathered outside the White House: "Anytime anybody is randomly shooting, randomly killing, randomly taking life, it's cold-blooded murder and it's—it's a sick mind who obviously loves terrorizing society."

In their latest "National Security Strategy of the United States"

urging nuclear proliferation and unilateral nuclear war, the Bush regime describes, “rogue states” as sharing “a number of attributes.”

Specifically and typically, rogue states:

- Squander their national resources for the personal gain of the rulers.
- Display no regard for international law.
- Threaten their neighbors.
- Callously violate international treaties to which they are party.
- And are determined to acquire weapons of mass destruction, along with other advanced military technology, to be used as threats or offensively to achieve the aggressive designs of these regimes; sponsor terrorism around the globe; reject basic human values.^{celxiii}

Around the globe, one country alone is now regarded as the most dangerous “rogue nation” of all.

OSAMA DID IT

“We have to protect ourselves,” many Americans counter. The danger is real enough. Referring to Osama bin Laden, his former body-guard at an al-Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan tells a court that referring to September 11, “He said there would be thousands of deaths.”

Shadi Abdalla is speaking at the trial of Mounir el Motassadeq, a Moroccan accused of supporting the al-Qaeda cell that led the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks.

“All the people [in the camp] knew that Bin Laden said that there would be something done against America, but what he had in mind we did not know,” Shadi testifies in October 2002. “All people who were there said that the aggressors against Islamic countries should be killed. Everyone there agreed on this.”

Mounir el Motassadeq is charged as an accessory to 3,045 murders in New York and Washington. The 28-year-old electrical engineering student belonged to Mohamed Atta’s cell in Hamburg.

Another suspected key member of the September 11 plot is Ramzi bin al-Shaibah. “He had a special position in the camp. He was very close to Bin Laden and spoke very often with him and gave lessons in

the mosque,” Shadi said of the man captured in Pakistan in September and handed over to the United States. “He was part of the inner circle.”

cclxiv

PLAN 1003

Designated “Plan 1003”, the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq kicks off on March 20, 2003. Before Marine Corporal Michael Hoffman’s unit shipped out to attack a country that had no role in 9/11 and is known by the White House to pose no threat to the United States, his First Sergeant addressed the enlisted men in Hoffman’s artillery battery. “Don’t think you’re going to be heroes,” said the sergeant. “You’re not going over there because of weapons of mass destruction. You’re not going there to get rid of Saddam Hussein, or to make Iraq safe for democracy. You’re going there for one reason and one reason alone: oil.”^{cclxv}

Their objective is not more gasoline at American filling stations—Saddam is already supplying all the oil America needs at below-OPEC prices—but rather the gas in other countries’ tanks. As Michael Klare, professor of peace and world security studies at Hampshire College and author of *Resource Wars* tells *Mother Jones*. “Controlling Iraq is about oil as power, rather than oil as fuel. Control over the Persian Gulf translates into control over Europe, Japan, and China. It’s having our hand on the spigot.”^{cclxvi}

But the United States is a signatory to the UN Charter. And the only situation in which the charter permits the use of armed force against another state is in self-defense, or when authorized by the Security Council. Since Iraq has not invaded the United States or any other country, and does not constitute an imminent threat to anyone, the Security Council has refused to sanction Bush’s personal war.

Dissenting European nations remember Nuremberg. Meeting to ensure no future repeats of the horrors of World War II, the International Military Tribunal had called the waging of aggressive war, “essentially an evil thing.” The tribunal went to rule, “To initiate a war of aggression... is not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime differing only from other war crimes in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole.”

Nuremberg prosecutor Justice Jackson labeled the crime of aggression “the greatest menace of our times.”^{cclxvii}

“AN ACT OF BETRAYAL”

At the very moment American soldiers are crossing the line from

Kuwait into Iraq, in an extraordinary 1 a.m. session in Washington, paunchy politicians cheer the “bravery” of kids too brainwashed or economically desperate to be anywhere else. Two hours later, *Newsday* reports, Bush’s Republican Congress “flips the finger at the future of those same troops—in the form of a budget resolution that cut \$14 billion from veterans programs over the next 10 years.”^{ccxviii}

While the stone-cold bodies of America’s sons and daughters are packed into metal tubes for shipment home, the Veterans Administration says that the transfer of so much of its funding to America’s wealthy elite—who remain well clear of the battlefields they so enthusiastically endorse—means the VA must cut as many as 9,000 doctors over the coming decade of “perpetual war”. Some 870,000 hospital-bed-days of care, and nine million nursing home-bed-days of care for those permanently maimed in Iraq and Afghanistan are to be immediately eliminated.

This does not make the grunts on the ground feel so great. Especially when at least 168,000 veterans disabled by vaccinations and radioactive munitions during Desert Storm are also “disenrolled” from benefits and cast aside like used Kleenex by chickenhawks masturbating on weaponry and war. The agonized editors of the U.S. Army’s official newspaper, *The Army Times* call it “An Act Of Betrayal”.^{ccxix}

AMBUSH ALLEY

Confusion reigns on the drive north. All along Highway 7, some 30,000 fanatical fighters dressed as civilians lay down a heavy cross-fire on a “wagon train” that will eventually stretch nearly 400 miles toward Baghdad.

American casualties are much heavier than reported as bands of “fleeing” Fedayeen lead pursuing GI’s into prepared killing zones, where comrades hidden in the dunes cut entire companies to pieces. In one incident outside Maseriah, a film crew from al-Minar TV stumbles across the bodies of some 40 U.S. soldiers strewn across the dunes. The TV crew calls American forces, who helicopter in, rough them up and smash their cameras.^{ccxx}

Though decimated by air and artillery attacks, Saddam’s surviving soldiers fight to defend their homeland. At An Nasiriyah, 120 Marines trying to cross the first of two exposed bridges lose 15 vehicles, including Humvees and seven-ton trucks. Half of their numbers are killed or wounded.^{ccxxi}

Supplies and spare parts never reach the battlefield.

Chickenhawks far from the fighting figured they could run the war on the cheap by contracting out crucial logistics to corporate cronies. But vultures like Halliburton's Brown and Root, Carlyle Group companies, and Bechtel prove allergic to combat.

"Americans don't know how bad it was when our convoys weren't getting through," reveals a senior NCO. "We had to go to some Iraqi people and trade socks and underwear for some food and a little water. That ain't no joke about getting help from the civilians right after the invasion. When we got the food from the people it made sure we could still operate as a functioning unit. It was a near thing that several guys almost died of dehydration because we ran out of clean water for a few days." ^{ccclxxii}

NAPALM

In desperation, American forces drop napalm near bridges over the Saddam Canal and Tigris River. Marine jets also drop Mark 77 firebombs on Safwan. "The generals love napalm... it has a big psychological effect," enthuses Colonel James Alles, commander of Marine Air Group 11. ^{ccclxxiii}

But Robert Musil, director of the organization Physicians for Social Responsibility, has a different take. "Most of the world understands that napalm and incendiaries are a horrible, horrible weapon. It takes up an awful lot of medical resources. It creates horrible wounds," Musil tells the press. ^{ccclxxiv}

Napalm was banned by the United Nations in 1980, after pictures of a naked, terrified girl fleeing an American napalm strike on her Vietnam village shocked the world. ^{ccclxxv}

SAYING NO TO WAR

On March 22, 2002 more than 15,000 protesters march to the U.S. embassy in Greece. German streets are also filled with people united against war, with 60,000 gathering in Berlin and many thousands more in Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Duesseldorf and other cities. Outside the U.S. Ramstein Air Base, Roman Catholic Father Norbert Kaiser reminds a crowd calling for peace, "People are watching television as though there are fireworks in Baghdad... but people are dying there."

In the southern German city of Stuttgart, thousands of demonstrators encircle the U.S. military's European Command, linking hands with each other, as well as with nationwide protests against the war. In Cape Town, South Africa, lawmakers, activists, trade union members

and religious groups join more than 10,000 protesters chanting slogans and burning American flags in front of the U.S. Consulate. In downtown Seoul, riot police clash with student protesters, chanting, “Stop the bombing, stop the killing.”^{ccxxvi}

In India, thousands mass before the U.S. embassy in New Delhi. A first-ever anti-war protest in Afghanistan brings more than 10,000 into the streets of Mehtarlam, capital of the eastern province of Laghman. In Lahore, 200,000 demonstrate in Pakistan’s biggest anti-war protest.

More than 1,500 Indonesians stage noisy but peaceful anti-war rallies at the U.S., British, and Australian missions in Jakarta, demanding an immediate end to the war.

A general strike brings Bangladesh to a halt. More than 13,000 Japanese march in Tokyo; thousands more demonstrate in Osaka, Kyoto and Okinawa, where popular anger at the U.S. military bases on the island sparks nearly a dozen more protests.

Opposing their government’s alliance with the U.S. invasion of Iraq, hundreds of thousands of Aussies also protest, including over 100,000 in Sydney, and thousands more in Perth, Brisbane and Melbourne.

In Ghana on the eve of the attack, a broad coalition of political parties, civil society organizations and members of the public had warned that war on Iraq would seriously affect developing countries and result in untold hardship for people. Now other protests in Africa take place in Nairobi and Mombassa, Kenya, Mogadishu, Somalia and Nouakchott, Mauritania. In Khartoum, Sudan, thousands march toward the U.S. embassy shouting, “No American embassy in Sudan!”

Calling U.S. aggression against Iraq “an immoral war,” Canadian longshoremen in St. John, Newfoundland refuse to handle military shipments destined for that conflict.

“Every death is painful for us, both the young Iraqis and the American soldiers who die, whether it’s one, ten or 100,” says Cuba’s President Fidel Castro. Expressing great concern about the effects of the bombings on Iraqi women and children, Castro adds that many people around the world were dismayed by the “colossal spectacle brought on by those extremely powerful bombs” shown on TV.

“Wars oppress, conquer, subjugate, enslave and displace,” novelist Carlos Montemayor tells 50,000 demonstrators in Mexico City. “The growing poverty and suffering of people throughout the world is not the result of a global policy of peace.”

In Sanaa, capital of Yemen, tens of thousands marched on the U.S. embassy.

In Cairo, protests begin after Friday prayers at the historic al-Azhar mosque before moving to the city center. Citizens protesting the war also take to the streets in Qatar, Kuwait, Lebanon, Jordan and Bahrain.

Demonstrators also march in cities throughout the United Kingdom. In London, where police estimate over 200,000 people attend a march and rally, Stop the War coalition chair Andrew Murray calls the American attack “an outrage against world peace, against the population of Iraq and against law and democracy in Britain.” Demonstrators also march on the Fairford airbase where U.S. B-52s are taking off to bomb cities in Iraq.

Mass protests calling for an end to war and state violence also sweep Spain, with 200,000 people from all walks of life demonstrating in Valencia alone. In Greece, hundreds of thousands of citizens throughout the country continue protesting outside the U.S. embassy and NATO facilities every day since the attacks began.

Rome is another center of continuous protests, where some 300,000 farmers hold an anti-war demonstration on March 21. After joining a Europe-wide, pre-invasion union stoppage earlier in March, Italian workers now conduct a two-hour strike. Other demonstrators march on the NATO base in Naples, while in Milan massive crowds wave the UN flag. In France, tens of thousands gather in Paris, Marseille, Toulouse, Montpellier, Perpignan and other cities. ^{ccbxxvii}

But the bombing and the killing continue. On April 9, 2003 Wall Street investors cheer as a handful of Iraqi “extras” flown in from Basra are arranged in carefully framed television images to depict a crowd applauding as Saddam’s statue topples in Paradise Square.

Ed Bernays would have clapped, too. Five days after stocks surge, Washington says it has no plans to remove radioactive debris left over from uranium-hardened bombs, cruise missiles and cannon shells fired into Iraq. ^{ccbxxviii}

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Chapter 13

THE MAGNIFICENT FOUR

Two years after the attacks, the only reason why the Bush administration has finally agreed to a formal inquiry into September 11 are a pride of tigresses they never anticipated: 9/11 widows and moms.

“The 9/11 Commission wouldn’t have happened without the four moms,” states the *New York Observer*. A “workers” website more fully explains: “The White House backed down only in the face of protests by the families of September 11 victims, which threatened to embarrass the administration in the weeks before the November 2002 congressional elections.”^{ccclxxix}

In December 2002 Bush and his backers finally give up trying to block an independent investigation. Instead, they rig the commission membership.

September 11th Advocates is the family group responsible for Bush’s reluctant establishment of an independent 9/11 Commission. Founding member Mindy Kleinberg lost her husband Alan on September 11, 2001 after he had gone to work as a NASDAQ security trader on the 104th Floor of the North Tower of the WTC.

Attending the first public hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States should be a triumph for the 9/11 widow. But Mindy Kleinberg is deeply saddened and troubled when she addresses the commission’s first open public hearing on March 31, 2003.

“We are trying to learn to live with the pain,” she begins, speaking for everyone who lost loved ones on Black Tuesday. “We will never forget where we were or how we felt on September 11th. But where was our government, its agencies, and institutions prior to and on the morning of September 11th?”

After asking many pertinent questions, Mindy Kleinberg summarizes the points she wants the commission to cover, asking, “Is it luck that aberrant stock trades were not monitored? 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.”

BURGLARS

Richard Grove’s luck is turning bad. On December 24, 2002, while he and his fiancée are out of town, their apartment in New York City is hit by thieves who leave “\$100,000 worth of fence-able loot” lying around and steal Grove’s company laptop, global cell phone, the video camcorder he used on 9/11, and “almost all” of the backup disks of his investigations into corporate complicity surrounding that day.

Less than three weeks later, he is terminated by his current software employer, Panacya, “probably in no small part due to what was found on the devices that were removed from my apartment,” Grove believes. Without warning, American Express also closes his account worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, demanding immediate payment-in-full. Mercedes Benz North America and Citibank also close his accounts. “All those who black-listed me were involved in the 9/11 frauds which I’d documented,” Grove realizes. ^{ccxxx}

BAD JU-JU

Everyone’s luck is also mostly sour in Iraq, where a U.S. reservist says, “Let me tell you about the cluster bomb raid we saw wipe out a whole bunch of little kids” after his unit watched “body parts flying up into the air after the bombs hit.

“It looked like they had already lost their parents and were trying to salvage food from a destroyed Iraqi convoy,” he continues in an act of contrition and outrage that will be echoed for years by American GIs spreading death and destruction in the name of freedom and democracy. “It was terrible and we could not do a damn thing but watch it happen and scream into the radio at the dumb shit pilot that was dropping the bombs.”

All his unit found afterwards were “bits and pieces of little kids.” The angry NCO concludes: “I would like to thank Bush, Cheney,

The Magnificent Four

Rumsfeld, and Congress for that nice huge cut they made to Veterans Benefits as soon as the war started. I am in the Reserves after years of active duty and now I cannot get PTSD [Post Traumatic Stress Disorder] counseling.

Not to worry, says Defense Minister Geoffrey Hoon, answering similar outcries in Britain. “One day, the mothers of children killed or maimed by British cluster bombs will thank Britain for their use.” ^{celxxxix}

The anticipated allied casualties from street-to-street fighting in Baghdad do not materialize after senior Iraqi generals accept bribes not to fight. Instead, hit-and-run tactics by angry teenagers, grieving husbands, and laid off members of Saddam’s former army keep Walter Reed operating at full occupancy. With Iraq adding to Afghanistan’s daily toll, staff at this stateside military hospital are working 70- and 80-hour weeks in wards so full, beds normally reserved for cancer patients have been commandeered to handle the grisly influx. By summer 2003, the army’s biggest hospital is so filled with wounded from both war theaters, patients are sent to convalesce in nearby hotels. ^{celxxxvii}

At the nearby National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland, a medical plane called the Nightingale delivers marine casualties almost daily. With seven Veterans Administration hospitals being closed due to tax transfers to Bush’s richest backers, wounded Iraq war veterans must now fall in “with more than 250,000 U.S. veterans already waiting at least six months to see a doctor.” ^{celxxxviii}

Though the burgeoning civilian death toll in Iraq is already in the tens of thousands, the only weapons of mass destruction to be found are America’s radioactive waste raining down in DU “dirty bombs” so profitably delivered on shattered neighborhoods like Sadr City, Ramadi and Fallujah,

At least, PNAC planner Paul Wolfowitz comes clean on the WMD scam. In a press release issued by the Pentagon on the reason chosen for the U.S. invasion, the PNAC architect reveals: “The truth is that for reasons that have a lot to do with the U.S. government bureaucracy, we settled on the one issue that everyone could agree on, which was weapons of mass destruction as the core reason.” ^{celxxxix}

MORE NUKES

The only nuclear and biological weapons of mass terror and devastation to be found near Iraq are in Israeli and American inventories. Appended to the 2003 “Energy Bill” is a little-remarked funding package includes more than \$49 million for developing and testing

Hiroshima-size “mini-nukes”. Another \$7.5 million is earmarked for developing nuclear “bunker busters”—which are the same thing. A further \$6 million will be spent not on health or education—or even road repairs at home—but in studying still more “low-yield” nuclear weapons.

Let’s see, Bush must calculate, that will be another \$711 million for ramping up the mass-manufacture of nuclear bombs, plus an additional \$25 million to ready the long-disused Nevada test for detonating some of them upwind of Las Vegas—while ripping up America’s core international agreement never to do so. Tens of millions of Americans needing health care will just have to tough it out. And if schools need books and pencils, they can hold bake sales. ^{celxxxv}

PERLE BEFORE SWINE

With billions of dollars in non-contested contracts flying out of the White House to corporations like Halliburton and Bechtel, the deluge of easy money is proving irresistible. Just two months previously, Richard Perle was caught with both hands in the war profiteering cookie jar after this PNAC planner was promised a \$1.2 million bribe to expedite wartime government contracts for a shaky company called Global Crossing. ^{celxxxvi}

“Richard Perle is a traitor. There’s no other way to put it,” writes Pulitzer-winning journalist Seymour Hersh. “He has set up a company that may gain from a war.” ^{celxxxvii}

FBI = FIB

Meanwhile, “the moms” are not going away. In mid-June, 2003, FBI director Robert Mueller and several senior agents gingerly receive a group of some 20 visitors in a briefing room of the J. Edgar Hoover Building in Washington, D.C.

The director himself narrates a PowerPoint presentation summarizing the leads and evidence his agents have collected during the 18-months of their post-9/11 investigation. After Mueller carefully plays his bells without blowing any whistles, senior agents in the room are braced by Kristen Breitweiser, a 9/11 widow accompanied by three other angry widowed mothers from New Jersey.

“I don’t understand, with all the warnings about the possibilities of al-Qaeda using planes as weapons, and the Phoenix Memo from one of your own agents warning that Osama bin Laden was sending operatives to this country for flight-school training, why didn’t you check out flight schools before September 11?” Mrs. Beitweiser gets right to the point.

The Magnificent Four

“Do you know how many flight schools there are in the U.S.? Thousands,” a senior agent shoots back. “We couldn’t have investigated them all and found these few guys.”

“Wait, you just told me there were too many flight schools and that prohibited you from investigating them before 9/11,” she comes right back. “How is it that a few hours after the attacks, the nation is brought to its knees, and miraculously F.B.I. agents showed up at Embry-Riddle flight school in Florida where some of the terrorists trained?”

“We got lucky,” comes the reply.

Kristen Breitweiser then asks how the FBI had known exactly which ATM in Portland, Maine would yield a videotape of Mohammed Atta. “I think you had open investigations before September 11 on some of the people responsible for the terrorist attacks,” she says.

“We did not,” the agent replies.

One month later, on the morning of July 24, the moms will learn that the FBI *did* have open investigations on 14 individuals who had contact with the hijackers while they were in the United States.

As the *New York Observer* observes:

Kristen and the three other housewives who also lost their husbands in the attack on the World Trade Center started out knowing virtually nothing about how their government worked. For the last 20 months they have clipped and Googled, rallied and lobbied, charmed and intimidated top officials all the way to the White House. They have no political clout, no money, no powerful husbands—no husbands at all since September 11—and they are up against a White House, an Attorney General, a Defense Secretary, a National Security Advisor and an F.B.I. director who have worked out an ingenious bait-and-switch game to thwart their efforts and those of any investigative body.

Which is too bad for the White House.

Once Lorie van Auken started surfing the Web, she couldn’t stop clicking on links. According to the official timeline provided by Ari Fleischer, Bush had arrived at Booker Elementary at 9 am, only to be told in the hallway of the school that a plane had crashed into the World Trade Center. This was 14 minutes after the first attack—apparently no one at the Pentagon or White House could reach their Commander-In-Chief or his high-tech Secret Service security teams in their limos.

The President had walked to a private room and spoken by phone with his National Security Advisor. Glancing at a TV in the room, Dubya had opined, “That’s some bad pilot.” Then, with the WTC burning, and Flight 175 inbound, the President had proceeded to a classroom and listened to some second graders read.

But the website of the Federal Aviation Authority boasts of an open phone line between the FAA; by 8:20, both federal organizations had known that two planes had been hijacked in the New York area and their transponders switched off.

How, after his chief of staff had specifically told him that “We are under attack,” could the Commander in Chief continue sitting with second graders and make a joke? Lorie van Auken wonders.

She replays the Booker school video again and again. “I couldn’t stop watching the President sitting there, listening to second graders, while my husband was burning in a building,” she later explains.

Just as nonchalantly, the “other half” of America’s National Command Authority— SecDef Donald Rumsfeld—had similarly ignored both attacks on the World

Trade Center and proceeded with his customary daily briefing until the third hijacked plane slammed into the building where he was sitting.

Mindy passes the information to Kristen: “Can you believe this? Two planes hitting the Twin Towers in New York City did not rise to the level of Rumsfeld’s leaving his office and going to the war room to check out just what the hell went wrong.”

Mindy is scared. This is beginning to look like some kind of coup. “This is my President. This is my Secretary of Defense. You mean to tell me Rumsfeld had to get up from his desk and look out his window at the burning Pentagon before he knew anything was wrong? How can that be?”

“It can’t be,” Kristen says.

SECRETS OF SUCCESS

Commission members and former U.S. Deputy Attorney General, Jamie Gorelick tells the first 9/11 public hearing: “I’m enormously impressed that laypeople with no powers of subpoena, with no access to insider information of any sort, could put together a very powerful set of questions and set of facts that are a road map for this commission. It is really quite striking. Now, what’s your secret?”

Mindy comes right back: “Eighteen months of doing nothing but grieving and connecting the dots.”

The Magnificent Four

Others are working overtime to erase the dots. At least 28-pages concerning the Saudi Royal Family's financial support for the 9/11 terrorists are scrubbed from the Commission's records. And although the Joint Intelligence Committee confirms that two hijackers posting their known terrorist names in the San Diego phone book "had numerous contacts with a longtime F.B.I. counterterrorism informant in California," according to the *Observer*; Commission members "are being denied access even to some of the testimony given to the JIC—on which at least two of its members sat!"^{celxxxviii}

Still, the government's official story is going down faster than the Twin Towers. In testimony given on July 24, 2003, CIA Director George Tenet admits to "some 12 reports spread over seven years pertaining to possible use of aircraft as terrorist weapons."^{celxxxix}

The widows are winning

MARIANI'S LAWSUIT

Now Ellen Mariana weighs in. Filed by lawyer Phillip Berg in federal district court, her lawsuit is a 62-page complaint charging that "President Bush and officials including, but not limited to "Cheney, Rumsfeld, Rice, Ashcroft and Tenet... failed to act and prevent 9/11 knowing the attacks would lead to an 'International War on Terror' which would benefit Defendants both financially and politically."

Just as Deep Pockets predicted, Mariani's RICO lawsuit specifically alleges:

Defendant GWB "owed a duty" not only to Plaintiff, but the American People to protect and defend against the preventable attacks based upon substantial intelligence known to Defendant GWB prior to "9/11" which resulted in the death of Plaintiff's husband and thousands of other innocent victims on "9/11".

Plaintiff asserts, contrary to Defendant GWB's assertion that OBL is responsible for "9/11," the compelling evidence that will be presented in this case through discovery, subpoena power by this Court and testimony at trial will lead to one undisputed fact, Defendant GWB failed to act and prevent "9/11" knowing the attacks would lead to our nation having to engage in an "International War on Terror (IWOT)" which would benefit Defendants both financially and for political reasons. Plaintiff asserts, her husband was murdered on "9/11" and Defendant

GWB and many of his cabinet members are now profiting from the IWOT.

Plaintiff will prove, the “Bush family” has had long ties to power in the federal government and with the OBL family which raises serious public trust questions yet to be answered, to include, but not limited to, the fact that Defendant Cheney is profiting immensely from his former company’s exclusive contracts to rebuild Iraq.

Plaintiff reasonably believes Defendants knew or should have known the attacks on “9/11” would be carried out and intentionally and deliberately failed to act and prevent these deadly attacks leading to the untimely death of her husband.

Plaintiff intends to prove to a “reasonable jury” the Defendants in this matter have engaged in a long history of foreign policy decisions and have possessed absolute control of power of her government and have not been honest and forthright with the American public as to “9/11” and have “obstructed justice” setting a second basis for a “RICO Act” claim as evident by its secrecy and refusal to comply with the “9/11 Commission” in the aftermath of “9/11.”

The facts will show, Defendants’ have engaged in both personal business and national security “deals” with alleged terrorists, “OBL” and Saddam Hussein, providing the foundational claim of Plaintiff that her husband was murdered due to Defendants’ “failure to act and prevent” the attacks on the United States of America on “9/11” for one overall chilling reason, to profit either personally or politically from the so-called “IWOT.”

FOX News appears at the official court filing of the Marian ‘suit, films for 40 minutes— and never airs an inch of tape. ^{ccsc}

DO-DO

When the United States Air Force generals responsible for defending American on September 11 appear before the 9/11 Commission on May 23, 2003, C-SPAN broadcasts the testimony of NORAD’s Major General Craig McKinley, Major General Larry Arnold and Colonel Alan Scott—live.

Major General McKinley starts off by pulling so many G's in his initial evasive maneuver, his testimony nearly spins in before getting off the ground.

McKinley informs the startled commissioners that the stateside mission of the United States Air Force was "to look outward" as he puts it, "to protect against Soviet long-range bomber penetration of our intercept zone."

Soviet bombers? There are no "Soviets". Much of the former Soviet Union is trying to join NATO, and Moscow is a trading partner whose mafia-style regime is making far too much money looting the country to crank up some rusting airplanes and risk nuclear annihilation.

9/11 Commissioner Richard Ben-Veniste pulls a high-speed "Yo-Yo" and flips back around on the general's tail. Taking his first shot, he wants to know "...whether the concept of terrorists using an airplane as a weapon was something unknown to the intelligence community on September 10th, 2001?"

"General Arnold was at the helm that morning," General McKinley says, diving away from any responsibility for the cratered WTC. "And information from the daily Joint Chiefs Intelligence Report on the morning of September 11th indicated no specific dangers or threats within the country."

But Ben-Veniste is not having it. "Well, let's start for example with September 12th, 1994," the head commissioner suggests. "A Cessna 150 crashed into the south lawn of the White House barely missing the building and killing the pilot.

"Similarly, in December of 1994, an Algerian armed Islamic group in Paris hijacked an Air France flight in Algiers and threatened to crash it into the Eiffel Tower. In October of 1996, the Intelligence community obtained information regarding an Iranian plot to hijack a Japanese plane over Israel and crash it into Tel Aviv.

"In August of 1998, the Intelligence community obtained information that a group of unidentified Arabs planned to fly an explosive-laden plane from a foreign country into the World Trade Center. The information was passed on to the FBI and the FAA.

"In September of 1998, the Intelligence community obtained information that Osama bin Laden's next operation could possibly involve flying an aircraft loaded with explosives into a U.S. airport and detonating it.

"In August 2001, the Intelligence Community obtained information

regarding a plot to either bomb the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi from an airplane or crash an airplane into it.

“In addition, in the Atlanta Olympics, the United States government and the Dept. of Justice and my colleague Jamie Gorelick were involved in planning against possible terrorist attacks at the Olympics, which included the potential of an aircraft flying into the stadium.

“In July 2001, the G8 Summit in Genoa, attended by our President - among the measures that were taken, were positioning surface-to-air missiles, ringing Genoa, closing the Genoa airport and restricting all airspace over Genoa. Was not this information, Sir, available to NORAD as of September 11th, 2001?

“Isn’t it a fact, sir, that prior to September 11th, 2001, NORAD had already in the works, plans to simulate in an exercise, a simultaneous hijacking of two planes in the United States. That was operation Amalgam Virgo.”

Wingman Major General Larry Arnold angles in claiming, “9:24 was the first time that we had been advised of American 77 as a possible hijacked airplane. Because our radar is looking outward and not inward, the only way for us to know where anything was for the FAA to pass along that information to us...we did not have an open line at that time with the FAA.”

But his shot misfires. Colonel Scott has already testified that the air force had picked up the loss of Flight 11’s transponder signal at 8:20—without any help from the FAA. A former air force radar operator has confirmed that NORAD’s radars scan everything that flies within U.S. airspace—including startled seagulls that sometimes find an F-16 vectored off their wingtips.

“But we are advised that there was indeed an open line,” Ben-Veniste reminds the general. “I see General McKinley is nodding.”

“The FAA was in contact with our Northeast Air Defense sector at Rome, New York,” McKinley admits. “It is my understanding from talking with both FAA and our supervisors at the Northeast Air Defense Sector in Rome that those lines were open and that they were discussing these issues.”

RICHARD BEN-VENISTE: “NORAD personnel in Rome, New York had information available to it in real-time—once it saw, and we were advised that this occurred at approximately 9:02... that Flight 77 first was observed deviating from its course—something, which in the context of what was going on that day would be quite interesting if not remarkable.”

The Magnificent Four

MAJOR GENERAL LARRY ARNOLD: “I have been retired a little while. We were in the middle of a NORAD exercise at that particular time. We had just come out of a video teleconference with the NORAD staff and with our folks at that particular time when I was handed note that we had a possible hijacking in Boston Center.

“And it had come from the Northeast Air Defense Commander Colonel Bob Myer, who is commander up there. And he had requested that I call him immediately. And I was upstairs in our facility. I immediately went downstairs and picked up the phone, asking on the way to my staff, is this part of the exercise? Because quite honestly and frankly, we do do hijacking scenarios as we go through these exercises from time-to-time. But I realized that it was not—that this was real-life.”

The general neglects to mention that four of those air defense exercises were taking place on September 11. Why bother performing hijacking exercises in U.S. airspace, when NORAD supposedly only looks “outward” for “Soviet” warheads?

“As I picked up the phone,” General Arnold continues...

Bob told me that Boston Center had called a possible hijacking within the system. He had put the aircraft at Otis on battle stations and wanted permission to scramble them. I told him to go ahead and scramble the airplanes and we’d get permission later. The route, if you follow the book, is that they go to the duty officer of the national military command center, who in turn makes an inquiry to NORAD for the availability of fighters, who then gets permission from someone representing the Secretary of Defense. Once that’s approved, then we scramble aircraft. We didn’t wait for that. We scrambled the aircraft, told them to get airborne and we would seek clearances later.”

Not true, general! Not the procedure, which before Rumsfeld’s rule-changing intervention saw interceptors routinely scrambled, on radar tech’s call. Nor the actual launch permission for Otis, which needlessly ping-ponged back-and-forth between NEADS and NORAD before those distant jets were finally allowed to aviate from Cape Cod.

“Colonel Duffy self-elected to hit the afterburner and to speed up

his way towards New York,” Major General Larry Arnold continues. “Excuse me...”

9/11 Commissioner John Lehman is interrupting. “I just wanted to make clear, there was no possibility, given the lateness with which you were notified from FAA of a possible hijacking, that those airplanes in full afterburner, flying supersonic, could have gotten there in time to intercept either of those two planes. Is that correct?”

Major General Larry Arnold lunges at this easy pitch. “That’s correct. That’s correct. The first aircraft, of course, American 11, crashed before our interceptors were airborne. And so, by the time, even the pilot accelerating to 1.5 mach, moving pretty fast, was still eight minutes out by the time the second aircraft had crashed into the tower.”

At 1.5 mach, Flight 175 would have been intercepted. But how could Nasty and Duff have been motoring along at nearly 2,000 miles-per-hour when their actual recorded groundspeed and published air force records have them flying at only 500 mph—slower than the airliners they were ostensibly pursuing?

Unaware that he has just shot himself down, General Arnold continues: “And then very shortly thereafter, we got a call on the United 93 flight being a possible hijacking. And that aircraft, as you, well, I don’t know as you know, but it wandered around. That aircraft wandered around and flew up over the northern part of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Mixed in with this was a call about a Delta flight that was possibly hijacked.”

So in direct contravention of long-established air force procedures he let a transponderless airliner “wander around” posing a serious hazard to air navigation—and the nation—without launching fighters to check it out?

Like Winnie-The-Pooh, the general carelessly floats another trial balloon toward a nest of bees, saying, “In the Northeast, at this particular time, we had no other aircraft available.”

What about the fighters much closer to the action: the two armed interceptors sitting on the pad at Andrews, the ready alert birds at Langley, the New Jersey jets already airborne near Manhattan, the planes patrolling the coastal Air Defense Zone, and who knows what other air assets the general has forgotten to mention?

General Arnold catches himself. “We had launched, almost simultaneously with that, we launched the aircraft out of Langley to put them over top of Washington, D.C.,” he amends. “Not in response to

The Magnificent Four

American Airlines 77, but really to put them in position in case United 93 were to head that way.”

Actually they were chasing a bogus Flight 11 blip “injected” by an air defense drill. And the Langley jets were initially sent at slow speed in the wrong direction.

This was “a predetermined departure route,” the general hastily explains. “And, of course, it’s out over water because our mission, unlike law enforcement’s mission is to protect things coming towards the United States.”

If all the air force does is gaze out over the empty ocean, why was it scrambling its interceptors on an average of twice a week on wayward airliners flying within U.S. airspace?

Major General Craig McKinley releases more confusing chaff, saying that the Langley jets were initially sent in the opposite direction from all known oncoming threats in order to avoid the risk of “mid-air collisions” with airliners already being ordered out of the area.

This is beginning to sound like Admiral Kimmell being ordered to pull his intercepting carrier task force away from the approaching Japanese. Apparently the air force high command felt that it was better to let known attacks proceed, than to depend on a fighter pilot’s eagle eyesight and sophisticated radars that routinely warn them away from transponder-silent private planes—never mind scheduled airliners loudly “squawking” bold blips on air defense radars—to avoid a potential “mid-air” while chasing down bogies coming in with deadly intent.

The NEADS and ATC-shared radars must have all failed without their operators knowing it. And frustrated fighter pilots must have turned off all their radios in a fit of pique. Because, as general Arnold next asserts, “We have no visibility on those [Langley fighter] aircraft, couldn’t see, we had no radars, couldn’t talk to our pilots...”

Is he serious?

The general will later repeat: “We couldn’t see into the interior of the country, we couldn’t talk to our aircraft that were airborne to the interior of the country, and we did not have a command and control system that would absorb the number of radars.”

Then what is the point of an spending \$175 billion on the USAF every year, purchasing useless interceptors that impoverish millions of Americans, training pilots so extensively and expensively, and activating extremely high-energy phased-array radars powerful enough to

illuminate a flock of birds at 200 miles while causing cancers in the surrounding populace—when nearly all air force fighters either stayed on the ground that day, or if already aloft, were not diverted to intercept hijacked airliners easily within their grasp had their pilots been alerted that their country was at “war”?

9/11 Commissioner John Lehman would also like to know what happened to the Andrews interceptors.

“The Andrews airplanes,” muses Major General Larry Arnold. It seems the Secret Service dialed up the 113th Fighter Wing at Andrews “and asked them to get anything they could airborne.” The 113th is “not part of NORAD” Arnold emphasizes.

But the ready alert F-16 with the 121st Squadron, and the filly fuelled and armed F/A-18 with the 321st belong to NORAD and NEADS. Why didn't the base commander launch them on his own initiative when he realized his country was under attack, instead of sending ground crews scurrying around o prepare whatever jets and weapons could be scrounged from the 113th?

“Who gave the order to scramble jets, F-16s also, I believe, out of Andrews?” Richard Ben-Veniste wants to know.

Perhaps frightened that the stood-down Andrews alert birds will be outed, General Arnold blurts, “It is my understanding that the FAA—that the Secret Service requested that they launch anything they could to get them airborne.”

Oops.

Wing Commander General Dave Worley fires a deflection shot by adding that Andrews already “had some airplanes returning from the range on the training mission.”

So why weren't more tankers ordered aloft to refuel the thirsty Otis fighters and other jets already in the air? This is standard air force protocol for routine intercepts.

9/11 Commissioner Richard Ben-Veniste gets a solid lock and fires a rocket right up Arnold's tailpipe by inquiring, “What would be the flight time from Andrews Air Force Base of two F-16s to the Pentagon?”

The correct answer for that eight-mile flight is “seconds”. But Arnold hauls back on his rhetorical stick and zooms away, firing flares: “Probably 15 to 20 minutes, because it takes about 10 minutes to get airborne,” he replies. “And they are not set up on alert for scramble. In fact, it could have taken—they didn't have any airplanes immediately ready to go—it could have taken them 20 or 30 minutes.”

The Magnificent Four

As Mark Twain would have put it: "Lies, lies and more damn lies!" According to the air force's own website, the two ready alert birds at Andrews are ready to launch within 6 minutes, around-the-clock, against all incoming aerial threats to the nearby White House and Pentagon.

Ben-Veniste fires again: "Right. Now if the order had been given to Andrews, even simultaneously with the order that you gave to scramble your planes, is it not fair to say that those planes would have reached the Pentagon sooner?"

"They might have. But they would have been unarmed," Arnold has to admit.

Really? According to the U.S. Air Force's official Andrews website, the F-16 and F/A-18 on standby alert at Andrews on September 11 were dripping with air-to-air missiles and cannons.

Richard Ben-Veniste acknowledges the "almost incredible" bravery of the two returning pilots flying unarmed jets, who were ordered "to bring down Flight 77 or 93 if they could interdict them. That meant to clip their wings, crash into them, perhaps, the pilots at the risk of their own lives."

Why were those fighter jocks returning from a distant range without ordnance and low on fuel, put on the chopping block when fully fuelled and armed fighters from the same airbase were sitting padlocked on the alert pad?

Alternately, with joint FAA-air force radars showing no further threats over New York City or the coast, why weren't the two Otis jets diverted to cover the Pentagon and White House?

9/11 Commission Vice-Chair Lee Hamilton poses another question: "As of September 11th, only the President had the authority to order a shoot down of a commercial aircraft?"

General Arnold responds, "That's correct, Sir."

That is not correct, sir. National Command Authority Donald Rumsfeld also has the authority to order the U.S. military to use lethal force.

Major General Craig McKinley quickly issues a correction, saying, "We see the President, delegated to the Secretary of Defense, delegated to the Combatant Commander of Northern Command and the North American Airspace Command and there are emergency authorities if that fails."

So presidential permission is not required to order fighter pilots to defend their country.

Lee Hamilton is curious about the gap between Flight 11's transponder blinking off at 8:20, the possible hijack alert 20 minutes later, and the eventual order to shoot down any attacking hijacked airliner.

"General Arnold you said that you did not learn of the Presidential order until after the United 93 had already crashed. That was about a little after ten o'clock in the morning. So there is a long lapse of time here between the time you are initially alerted and you receive the order that you could shoot that aircraft down. Am I right about that?"

"That's correct," the general acknowledges.

Commissioner Tim Roemer pounces from out of the sun: "Okay. You were in the room when Secretary Mineta talked a little bit about arriving at the White House at about 9:20 and then overhearing a conversation at about 9:24 or 9:25 between the Vice- President and a young aide, where he inferred that there was already an order in place for a shoot down. And he assumed it was for American Airlines 77.

"So sometime even before 9:20, there was an order in place that he overheard in the Presidential Executive Operations Center, that had some exchange between, I assume, the Vice President, the President, and maybe the Special Ops situation room. And they had determined that they would have the authority communicated to somebody to shoot down American Airlines Flight 77. Were you at all aware of anything sometime after 9:15 or 9:20 to shoot down American Airlines Flight 77?"

Major General Larry Arnold pulls the ejection handle and bails out: "I was never aware of any order given to shoot down American Airlines 77," he says. ^{ccxcxi}

What about Flight 93?

COMMISSION INTIMIDATED

In it's appointed task to discover what went wrong on September 11 and why, the 9/11 Commission is not receiving much federal cooperation. Following the generals' evasions, the commission's Republican chairman and Democratic vice-chairman castigate the Pentagon for withholding information pertaining to NORAD. The second subpoena to be issued by the independent commission fruitlessly demands all Pentagon records pertaining to the deployment of U.S. air defenses on the day of the attacks. ^{ccxcvii}

Did the Air Force and NORAD's response match the circumstances they had so often trained for? Did four simultaneous air defense drills significantly hinder their response times? Why did Dick Cheney

schedule those exercises on September 11? And why is the 9/11 Commission censoring its own findings by refusing to release the testimony of maintenance workers Rodríguez, Sanchez and David from their final report?

One answer could be that two key commission members are so closely involved with the Bush White House, they will be later interviewed as part of their own inquiry!

The commission's executive director, Philip Zelikow worked on the Bush-Cheney transition team as the new administration came in to "occupy" the Oval Office, advising his longtime associate, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, who had hired him to work for her when she was in the first Bush administration. The two have written a book together.

News of this gross conflict-of-interest "is greeted with dismay" by many of the relatives of the 9/11 victims who lobbied so hard and at such personal cost as single mothers to get the commission set up, reports UPI. "This is beginning to look like a whitewash," complains Kristen Breitweiser.

Relatives of the WTC victims accuse Zelikow of being in close touch with White House spinmaster and political strategist Karl Rove—"the man widely believed to be the most powerful figure in the administration," UPI adds. Zelikow was also appointed to help spin—"advise"—the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board in October 2001.

"Did he interview himself about his own role in the failures that left us defenseless?" asked Lori Van Auken, widow of Kenneth Van Auken. "This is bizarre." ^{ccxciii}

LEGATO

In June 2003, Richard Grove goes to work for the software company Legato, providing data recovery solutions and soon-to-be compulsory software aimed at preventing corporate money laundering and other types of accounting fraud. Still shaken by the corporate fraud he has uncovered around September 11, his interest in data "disaster recovery" is centered on the activities of corporations in the World Trade Centers who completed their own data recovery plans just before 9/11, and thereby escaped the costly downtime experienced by their rivals in the demolished towers. "Talk about having an advantage over competition," Grove exclaims. "Look at the insurance companies who survived post-9/11 and those who were eaten up or crushed."

Was the partial, pre-September 11 power-down inside the WTC a cover and incentive for chosen companies to back up their data?

At Legato, Grove is responsible for DynCorp, Northrop Grumman, Tyco, WorldCom, the IMF, the World Bank—among other major 9/11 beneficiaries. He soon learns that Legato’s “Compliance” product has myriad “back doors” that facilitate the undetectable deletion of financial transactions, documents and similar audit trails to evade SEC investigations—including audits of unusually heavy transactions taking place around September 11.

In August 2003, Grove also learns that DynCorp “was engaged in the international sex-slave trade, selling women and children in various parts of the world for the purposes of prostitution, slavery, and use in snuff films; wherein they are murdered for entertainment.”

DynCorp, he recalls, “was also partially responsible for Pentagon accounting, which led to the \$2.3 trillion dollars announced “missing” on September 10, 2001.

In addition, Grove finds that the Carlyle Group is profiting from the anthrax and smallpox vaccines being injected into U.S. troops, as well as placing thousands of lawless mercenaries in Iraq and around the world, and “collecting tens of billions in U.S. tax dollars via dirty contracts.” ^{cxcxiv}

With direct links to the Defense Policy Planning Board, as well as the Bush family, the Carlyle Group has already cashed in when Bush Junior signed a defence appropriation order in January 2002 for the \$12 billion Crusader Advanced Field Artillery System. Produced by United Technologies, the trouble-plagued Crusader has been so long in debugging, it is now hopelessly over-budget, antiquated junk. United Technologies has also cursed American GI’s with the Bradley Fighting Vehicle. Soon to be known as the “Bradley Crematorium,” this boxy personnel carrier is only armored enough to trap its crew inside. UT is owned by Carlyle.

GOD MADE ME DO IT

By June 2003, some 200 state-owned Iraqi companies, which *No Logo* author Naomi Klein describes as producing “everything from cement to paper to washing machines” have been sold off to privatize U.S. and allied firms with zero experience providing goods or services to a culture whose needs, methods, language and taboos they do not comprehend. Declaring Iraq “open for business,” Coalition Authority ruler Paul Bremer has fired a half-million state workers, most of them

soldiers, but also doctors, nurses, teachers, publishers, and printers. ^{ccxcv}

That same month, during a meeting with Palestinian leader Mahmud Abbas and Foreign Minister Nabil Shaath, George Bush had patiently explained to them, “Events aren’t moved by blind change and chance,” but by “the hand of a just and faithful God.”

Did he mean a God faithful to *him*? When Bush had used this same phrase to address a National Prayer Breakfast at the Washington Hilton, it worked like opium on the neural synapses of the True Believers gathered there. ^{ccxcvi}

But this time, the man who once confided in a reporter that he believed God wanted him to run for President only succeeds in frightening both Palestinian leaders when he goes on to tell the startled followers of Allah, “God told me to strike at al-Qaeda and I struck them, and then he instructed me to strike at Saddam, which I did, and now I am determined to solve the problem in the Middle East.” ^{ccxcvii}

Bush’s belief in the divine character of his mission allows him to act with serene ruthlessness, worries the *Moscow Times*. Murdering 100,000 civilians—mostly children—in Iraq is okay “because all of his actions are directed by God.” ^{ccxcviii}

“God made me do it, says St. George,” exults Chris Floyd in an article that would be hilarious if it wasn’t so disturbing:

There can be no doubt that Bush believes literally in the divine character of his mission. He honestly and sincerely believes that whatever “decision” forms in his brain—out of the flux and flow of his own emotional impulses and biochemical reactions, the flattery and cajolements of his sinister advisers, the random scraps of fact, myth and fabrication that dribble into his proudly undeveloped and incurious consciousness—has been planted there, whole and perfected, by God Almighty.

Even without detailing Bush’s escalating legal attacks on women’s rights, Floyd might be describing a Taliban *madrassa* when he relates how “the Bush administration hums to the sound of prayer. Prayer meetings take place day and night. It’s not uncommon to see White House functionaries hurrying down corridors carrying bibles.

“Moral certainty is the reward of the true believer. The ambiguities that beset the rest of us do not weigh on those who are sure that they are right,” Floyd adds. This has “destructive implications for the relationships between people and nations in a diverse and ambiguous world.”

What this commentator finds especially fascinating “is how much fundamentalists of dissimilar faiths resemble each other in their conviction that they have a monopoly on the truth and in their intolerance of those who believe differently.”^{ccxcix}

As the Ethical Atheist website points out: “Bin Laden states that all religions not following his set of beliefs and interpretations of the Koran are infidels, enemies and should be murdered. Jerry Falwell states that all religions not following his set of beliefs and interpretations of the Bible are infidels and ‘failures as human beings.’

Both men and their twisted belief systems promote intolerance towards many groups and generate hatred toward these groups through their followers. Examples of these targeted groups include all non-believers, gays, lesbians and women...”^{ccc}

“If he really believes he is on a mission from God, why would he care what the French, the Russians, or even the American people think? Nothing can stop a religious fanatic from doing God’s work on earth,” warns bushwatch.com.

But Bush has many backers in the USA. According to Jerry Falwell—recipient of Israel’s Vladimir Ze’ev Jabotinsky medal “for Zionist excellence”—the number of Americans who are evangelical, charismatic or conservative Christians now exceeds 100 million—nearly half the population.

“The centre has shifted. Control of the national debate has shifted. The entire country has shifted,” concludes Jimmy Walter of reopen911.org.^{ccci}

MOVEMENT

Which means more movement for the international bankers backing Black Tuesday’s corporate profiteers. On July 8, 2003, EMC purchases Legato. Described by Grove as “one of the largest technology entities on the planet,” EMC’s founder, Richard Eagan was Dick Cheney’s largest fundraiser in 2000, and appointed by Bush as Ambassador to Ireland in 2001.

Referencing the several months of data he can get his hands on, the software executive finds that “on average, out of, for example 4,000 transactions per month, approximately 1,000 of those transactions, or 25% were lacking some—if not all—of the required information through which they could legitimately be claimed as recognizable revenue—as per GAAP accounting regulations. The hidden transactions are being disguised by the software he used to sell.”^{cccii}

GRUNTS

American soldiers serving in Iraq are becoming beaucoup disgruntled. “If Donald Rumsfeld were here, I’d ask him for his resignation,” 3rd Infantry Division Specialist Clinton Deitz tells ABC’s “Good Morning America”. Another GI adds, “I would ask him why we are still here. I don’t have any clue as to why we are still in Iraq.”

ccciii

In August, “the temperature in Iraq is 30 degrees hotter than it is in Crawford, Texas, and 20 degrees hotter than what killed 3,000 French people and hundreds of other Europeans,” observes *The Hartford Advocate*. “Our troops are operating in this inferno without adequate water supplies, sanitation, shelter or any type of food.”

In sharp and revealing contrast, “George W. Bush’s month-long vacation, during which his only forays among the unwashed masses have been to whack his little white balls around a golf course—and to host a ‘down-home’ barbecue to shake down rich donors for another run at the White House,” the newspaper goes on to note. “Each of the 350 ‘very special guests’ paid \$50,000 to nibble on those Republican pig and cow carcasses.

“In the midst of Bush’s month-long AWOL from his duties as president during wartime (and crises like the worst blackout in U.S. history), the Department of Defense announced last week it intended to cut the pay of the 148,000 U.S. troops in Iraq and the 9,000 still in Afghanistan.”^{ccciv}

IRAQ INC.

Their sacrifices are making Iraq safe for incorporation. In September 2003, Occupation Order 39 allows foreign companies to own 100% of Iraq’s non-oil assets—and repatriate all earnings out of the country tax-free. Order 40 similarly welcomes foreign banks to control Iraq. Only Saddam Hussein’s law restricting trade unions and collective bargaining is retained.

“All of this is completely illegal,” Naomi Klein points out. In recognizing the United States and Britain as Iraq’s legitimate occupiers the previous May, UN Security Council Resolution 1483 stipulated that who must “comply fully with their obligations” under international laws stipulating that an occupier must abide by a country’s existing laws—and cannot sell its assets, which it does not own.^{cccv}

At a meeting in late October 2003 the 25 member Iraq Governing Council, and 25 interim ministers unanimously decide that they will

not participate in the privatization of Iraq's state-owned companies, or of its publicly owned infrastructure.

After an emergency meeting at the White House in November 2003, Bremer and Bush cancel promised elections and instead pledge to hand over power to a directly elected Iraqi government, but instead appointed Iraq's government to uphold "The laws, regulations, orders and directives issued by the Coalition Provisional Authority" and sell off Iraq to U.S. and allied corporations.

When Grand Ayatollah Ali al Sistani, the most senior Shia cleric in Iraq, called instead for immediate direct elections and a new constitution—and his followers on the Governing Council refused to sign over Iraq to U.S. interests, five bombs exploded in front of mosques in Karbala and Baghdad, killing nearly 200 worshippers. Al Sistani backed down and the Shia politicians signed.

With unemployment as high as 67% and a deluge of imported products and workers flooding across the borders fueling the resistance, Iraqi ministers begin talking openly about breaking contracts signed by the CPA. Then the IMF steps in, threatening to withhold loans worth as much as \$4.25 billion if the heavily indebted government does not agree to U.S. terms of extortion. ^{cccvii}

CASHING IN

By October 2003, Richard Grove has "captured multiple instances of voice recorded acts of fraud, coercion, and cover-up." Afraid that EMC was being defrauded by its Legato subsidiary, he takes his evidence to EMC—only to find out "the hard way" that EMC is "fully aware and approving of the schemes in progress." Grove thinks it's possible that EMC's main objective in acquiring Legato was "to inherit the maturing bevy of frauds and schemes.

"Putting two plus two together," the software insider unearths more accounts showing evidence that the Collective's "defense contractors and banks in particular" are "plausibly using" sleigh-of-hand software to hide money laundering activities from the sales of arms, drugs and bogus reconstruction contracts that directly and personally profit members of the White House administration.

Connecting the dots, Grove finds to his dismay that has "worked for and among people who participated in aspects of planning, perpetrating, and/or profiting from both the attacks and the aftermath."

In October of 2003, he goes to the SEC. But blowing the whistle on Dick Cheney's principle political contributor is not a smart move. "I

was told that they were not able to help me; and they further advised me that I would be ‘better off’ if I did not share my evidence with them,” Grove later relates.

A few months later, the Security and Exchange Commission purchases the Legato product, making it mandatory for companies trading on the NASDAQ to install SEC-evading, back-door-riddled software on their accounting computers. ^{cccvii}

BURYING THE GREEN CARD ARMY

Desperate to find fresh IED-fodder for Iraq, the Pentagon is using “back door” recruitment to fill its monthly basic training quotas. Though little-reported in the U.S. media, “Americans are actually a minority in the occupying United States Army,” John Kaminiski reports, “A majority of our troops are now green card soldiers, foreign nationals who have immigrated to the states and joined the military in order to get their citizenship—if they can live through the experience.”

^{cccviii}

According to the Pentagon, 37,401 non-US citizens on active duty have signed up for a special incentive—a U.S. passport. Other inducements include the promises of a college fund of up to \$50,000, post service employment and training. But Carlos Mendes of the Latinos Against the War in Iraq coalition says that many soldiers have told him that these promises often fail to materialize. ^{cccxix}

Death often intervenes. But as award-winning Israeli cameraman Dana Mazen discovered, only a fraction of U.S. combat deaths are being officially reported as green card corpses are buried surreptitiously beneath Arabian sands. After covering the Israeli “Duvdevan” death squads in his hometown of Hebron, Mazen’s next big scoop comes in Iraq, where he learns that American troops were burying human bodies wrapped in plastic out in the desert. ^{cccxx}

The corpses are not Iraqis. A U.S. mercenary tells Mazen that those being buried are foreign-born U.S. Army mercenaries who had been promised green cards and U.S. citizenship in return for serving in the American army. ^{cccxi}

Ten days before his death, Mazen calls home to Hebron to tell his family that he fears for his life because of the story he is investigating.

“Mazen told me by phone a few days before his death that he discovered a mass grave dug by U.S. troops to conceal the bodies of their fellow comrades killed in Iraqi resistance attacks,” his brother, Nazmi Dana later says. “He also told me that he found U.S. troops covered in

plastic bags in remote desert areas and he filmed them for a TV program.”

Before his tape can reach European and British audiences, in the bright noon sunshine on August 17 an American tank crew outside Abu Ghraib shoots Mazen Dana dead in front of horrified colleagues. According to eyewitness Nael al-Shyoukhi, the camera teams were well known to the Americans, who have checked their IDs and approved their day’s assignment. Mazen’s wife, Umm Hamza laments, “I lost the dearest man to my heart.” ^{cccxi}

ANDREWS

Completing another perfect karmic circle of deceit, wounded American soldiers who cannot be accommodated by the U.S. Army’s receiving hospital in Landstuhl, Germany continue to be flown back to the USA in twice-weekly transport flights to the place the carnage really began: Andrews Air Force Base near Washington D.C.. ^{cccxii}

“They come here 19, 20-years-old and when I see them leaving, missing limbs...” says Major Gene Delaune, his voice trailing off. “I’ve seen up to three limbs gone off people.” ^{cccxiv}

Iraq war veteran 1st Lieutenant John Fernandez is now a veteran of Ward 57. His wife, Kristi, has not left his side since he arrived at Walter Reed. Married less than a month when John shipped out, his hospital room is their first home together. The former West Point athlete is missing his foot and ankle on one side. Most of his lower leg is gone on the other. Despite a dozen operations, his lost toes burn. Painkillers are useless. There’s a chance he’ll have an artificial leg soon—and a chance he’ll lose more of the other.

This isn’t how they were supposed to start their life, or their intended family together. “John’s relentless pain makes sharing a bed impossible for now,” writes the *Washington Post*.

According to the Homeless Veterans coalition, nearly 300,000 veterans are homeless on any given night. Almost half served during the Vietnam era. ^{cccxv}

For hundreds of other sick and wounded reservists, the reward for their costly sacrifices is to languish in a sweltering Georgia barracks, “being treated like dogs,” according to one officer, while waiting up to six weeks to receive medical care. As hot, muggy and buggy as only summertime Georgia can be, there is no air conditioning in the warehouse-like barracks, swarms of insects feeding on festering wounds, and no latrine. GIs have to buy their own toilet paper. Many are being

The Magnificent Four

billed for their hospital meals, and ABC News learned that war veterans much older than their years “have had to beg for food and water.”

cccxvi

Clusters of strange heart and lung problems plague returning soldiers. The symptoms match World Health Organization warnings that “brief accidental exposure to high concentrations of uranium hexafluoride” from Depleted Uranium munitions causes acute respiratory illness, including “pulmonary edema [fluid in the lungs], hemorrhages, inflammation and emphysema, which may be fatal.” cccxvii

SEPTEMBER 11, 2003

On this second anniversary of dark remembrance, the FAA assures Americans that it has learned some lessons. During the first six months after 9/11, 100 jet fighters stationed at 30 air bases throughout the United States and Canada have been sent up 292 times—more than once a day on average—to intercept errant aircraft, escort planes carrying suspicious passengers, or circle airports reporting security threats.

cccxviii

Another big lesson learned by federal aviation administrators is not to go public with revealing information. The FAA still refuses to obey the first subpoena issued by the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States to disclose documents relating to how quickly it notified U.S. air defenses about four hijacked planes on September 11, 2001.

Led by former New Jersey Governor Tom Kean, the commission complains that the agency’s delay “has significantly impeded the progress of our investigation and undermined our confidence in the completeness of the FAA’s production.”

Inquiry members are also peeved at the Pentagon. A second subpoena issued by the independent commission demands all Pentagon records pertaining to the deployment of U.S. air defenses on the day of the attacks. Were “certain Air Force commands” and NORAD’s response quick enough given the circumstances they had trained for?

Citing unending roadblocks by the Bush administration, Kean and other commission members repeatedly complain that further delays will impair the panel’s ability to finish its work by the May 27, 2004 deadline. cccxix

STOP-LOSS

In November 2003 the army issues stop-loss orders covering 110,000 troops scheduled for rotation into Iraq through the following May. The order means that these GI's will be barred from leaving the army until the spring of 2005 at the earliest. During the previous two years, more than 40,000 soldiers—including 16,000 National Guard and Reserves—have been blocked from retiring or leaving. Regular army enlistment contracts carry an eight-year obligation—even if a recruit signs for only three or four years of active duty. ^{ccccx}

Jessica, an eighth-grade English teacher serving in a National Guard unit in Baghdad, may end up serving two years beyond her original exit date of July 2002. ^{ccccxi}

A senior U.S. Army aviator watches from Iraq while his newborn daughter grows into her toddler years. An army major has seen his daughter for 12 days in the past two years. "I'm furious. I'm aggravated. I feel violated. I feel used," says a reservist named Eagle. ^{ccccxii}

HURTING

As 2003 draws to an agonizing close, estimates on the number of U.S. soldiers, sailors and Marines medically evacuated from Iraq because of battlefield wounds, illness, mental breakdown, vehicle crashes or other reasons range as high as 22,000. ^{ccccxiii}

Retired Col. David Hackworth is stunned by the figures he receives. At least one in 10 of the total number of 135,000 troops then in Iraq "has been evacuated back to the USA!" ^{ccccxiv}

One grunt describes Iraq as "the worst hellhole you could ever imagine. I saw an officer with almost 15 years loose it and just start screaming after he lost ten guys in two days." ^{ccccxv}

ATOCHA ATROCITY

On March 11, 2004 that hell is visited on Madrid, where 10 powerful explosions rip through three commuter train stations during the morning rush hour, killing 200 people and leaving more than 1,500 hospitalized. Yet, even in the midst of their shock and outrage, the reaction of the Spanish people is dignified, unified—and sophisticated. ^{ccccxvi}

"Life stopped in the winter drizzle of Madrid," *The Guardian* reports the following day:

Offices, shops and cafes emptied, as funeral candles were lit in moving scenes of solidarity. Black bows of mourning appeared on shop windows, the cabs of commuter trains, and on lapels. People

looking at the wreckage in Atocha burst into tears. As dusk fell, every street around the railway station was crammed with people standing in the rain. The silence was overpowering. Spaniards turned out in their millions in a collective act of grief and protest. In the Basque country, as in the rest of the country, Spain emerged from its first day of mourning with dignity... ^{cccxvii}

On March 14, voters crying, “*No al guerra, no al violencia*”—“No to war, no to violence”—throw out the government that dragged Spain into the Iraq war.

After the terror bombings, a blogger at kiat.net comments, “Spain showed enormous political maturity and political sophistication in understanding the necessity to do four things simultaneously and powerfully:

- Mourn the dead.
- Condemn all terrorist attacks against innocent civilians.
- Mobilize against the government for its support of the U.S. war and for its three days of lying to Spain, to the UN and to the world.
- Turn out to vote in unprecedented massive numbers to replace their government, reclaim Spanish democracy and reclaim their country.” ^{cccxviii}

Writing from Montevideo, Diana Cariboni comments on the governing Popular Party’s resounding defeat, saying that many people in Spain “believe the tragedy would not have occurred if the Spanish government had not gotten involved in U.S. President George W. Bush’s ‘war on terrorism’... despite the mass protests held throughout Spain prior to and during the war.”

Voter turnout is the highest in 29 years as Spanish voters now react to the government’s attempts over the crucial 48 hours leading up to the national elections to blame the attacks on the Basque separatist group ETA—which lacked the know-how, motives and precedent for these atrocious terror bombings.

Cariboni reports that throughout Spain, “as many as 12 million people poured out into the streets, defying the cold and heavy rain” after a video left in a trash bin near a mosque in Madrid shows a “military spokesman” for al-Qaeda in Europe claiming responsibility for the Atocha atrocity.

Twelve million people!

“This is a response to Spain’s ‘collaboration with the criminals Bush and his allies... to the crimes that you caused in the world, and specifically in Iraq and Afghanistan, and there will be more if God wills it,” Abu Dujan al-Afgani says in Arabic.

Instead of threatening to bomb villages across Afghanistan, Spanish authorities move quickly, arresting five foreign suspects. None belong to ETA.

Bye-bye Prime Minister Aznar. In a lesson Americans would have done well to emulate, Diana Cariboni observes:

Jose Maria Aznar has been voted out of power by the people of Spain not because of al-Qaeda and the bombs in Madrid, but because of a big lie. His government took Spain to war in Iraq on a false premise; they lied about weapons of mass destruction; they lied about connections between Saddam Hussein and the Islamic terror network; they subverted Spain’s traditional foreign policy. And they refused to debate any of this in parliament. Aznar exploited terrorism for political purposes and appealed to the lowest inclinations of the Spanish electorate. ^{ccccxix}

Spain’s new Prime Minister, Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero immediately confirms his party’s promise to pull Spanish troops out of Iraq, telling the world, “The war in Iraq was a disaster, the occupation of Iraq is a disaster.”

FRIED RICE

Will the Bush administration also be held accountable for its lies and political opportunism rivaling that of vultures? On April 8, 2004 Condoleezza Rice’s cool façade starts to crumble soon after she takes her seat before a veteran Watergate prosecutor and 9/11 Commission head. Richard Ben-Veniste has a few questions concerning the attacks Bush’s National Security Adviser was charged with preventing.

This Rice starts sticking after repeating her tired claim that the Bush administration had received no warnings “of any substance” prior to September 11.

Ben-Veniste knows better. Under further prodding the National Security Adviser admits, “I remember very well that the president was aware that there were issues inside the United States. He talked to people

The Magnificent Four

about this. But I don't remember the al-Qaeda cells as being something that we were told we needed to do something about."

Lying under oath is a felony.

BEN-VENISTE: "Isn't it a fact, Dr. Rice, that the August 6 PDB warned against possible attacks in this country? And I ask you whether you recall the title of that PDB?"

The "PDB" is the Presidential Daily Briefing. Suffering from alcohol-addled Attention Deficit Disorder, Bush says that he never reads it, but simply asks those closest to him what's happening.

RICE: "I believe the title was, 'Bin Laden Determined to Attack Inside the United States'."

A collective gasp zips around the world at the speed of televised light.

"Now, the..." Rice attempts a qualifier.

BEN-VENISTE: "Thank you."

RICE: "No, Mr. Ben-Veniste...I would like to finish my point here."

BEN-VENISTE: "I didn't know there was a point."

Several days later, Condi ice is forced to produce the damning August 6, 2001 Presidential Daily Briefing. It quickly becomes a prized download on more than one million websites throughout this wired world.

Intended for the eyes of the President and his closest advisors only, the daily briefing paper issued through National Security Adviser Condoleezza concludes:

FBI information since that time indicates patterns of suspicious activity in this country consistent with preparations for hijackings or other types of attacks, including recent surveillance of federal buildings in New York. The FBI is conducting approximately 70 full field investigations throughout the U.S. that it considers Bin Laden-related. CIA and the FBI are investigating a call to our Embassy in UAE in May saying that a group of Bin Laden supporters was in the U.S. planning attacks with explosives."

ALARMS BLINKING RED

By the time President Bush saw the classified August 6 Daily Brief, writes Dana Priest for the *Washington Post*, "The President had seen a stream of alarming reports on al-Qaeda's intentions. So had Vice-President Cheney and Bush's top national security team."

In April and May 2001, Priest continues, the U.S. intelligence

community headlined some of their reports: “Bin Laden planning multiple operations”... “Bin Laden network’s plans advancing”... “Bin Laden threats are real.”

Describing hostage plots against Americans, those briefings warned that al-Qaeda operatives might hijack an aircraft. The CIA “consistently described the upcoming attacks as occurring on a catastrophic level, indicating that they would cause the world to be in turmoil,” the commission learns.

The commission is also told that similar reports similar to these were made available to President Bush in his morning meetings with Director of Central Intelligence, George Tenet. Priest and the *Post* run down the response:

- The CIA launched “disruption operations” in 20 countries.
- Tenet met or phoned 20 foreign intelligence officials.
- Units of the 5th Fleet were redeployed.
- United States embassies were put on alert.
- Dick Cheney called Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia to ask for help.
- Condoleezza Rice asked the CIA to brief Attorney General John Ashcroft about an “imminent” terrorist attack whose location was unknown.

By then, the FBI had also been informed of al-Qaeda’s plans to crash airliners into the Eiffel Tower in Paris, the Strasbourgh cathedral, and CIA Headquarters in Langley, Virginia. “The system was blinking red,” CIA Director George Tenet tells the commission in private testimony.

Even George Bush “had occasionally asked his briefers whether any of the threats pointed to the United States,” the 9/11 Commission later reported. The answer was printed in the first sentence of his August 6 President’s Daily Brief: “Clandestine, foreign government, and media reports indicate Bin Laden since 1997 has wanted to conduct terrorist attacks in the U.S.” ^{ccccxx}

SPECIFIC WARNINGS

Picking up on “a previously undisclosed report,” *the New York Times* will later note that in the months before the terror attacks,

“federal aviation officials reviewed dozens of intelligence reports that warned about Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda, some of which specifically discussed airline hijackings and suicide operations.”

In the spring of 2001, the Federal Aviation Administration warned airports that the intent of the hijacker might not be “to exchange hostages for prisoners, but to commit suicide in a spectacular explosion.”

The FAA added, “a domestic hijacking would probably be preferable” to snatching an airliner overseas.

From April 2001 to the day before the actual 9/11 hijackings, heads of the FAA received 52 intelligence reports from their security branch specifically mentioning Osama bin Laden or al-Qaeda. Five of those intelligence reports highlighted al-Qaeda’s capability to conduct hijackings.

The FAA “had indeed considered the possibility that terrorists would hijack a plane and use it as a weapon,” the 9/11 Commission concluded. In 2001, the federal aviation administrators distributed a CD-ROM presentation to airlines and airports citing the possibility of a suicide hijacking.

Deluged with warnings about the growing threat to U.S. airlines posed by terrorists, the FAA conducted classified briefings in mid-2001 for security officials at 19 of the nation’s busiest airports, warning of the threat posed in particular by Osama bin Laden.

But the FAA saw no need to increase its quota of gun-toting sky marshals. And the airlines were reluctant to give up revenues by providing free seats to them. Even as alarms continued coming in, security staff at U.S. airports were not alerted. Their passenger-scanning machines remained on the lowest “green” setting.

Though Jane Garvey, the FAA’s top administrator at the time, told the commission that she “was aware of the heightened threat during the summer of 2001,” other senior FAA officials “were basically unaware of the threat”—as were senior airline operations officials and veteran pilots.

Despite “threat advisories” issued by the FAA warning that al-Qaeda operatives had been in the United States for years, might be planning an attack in the United States and could be focusing on a building in Lower Manhattan as a target—neither the agency’s top administrator nor Secretary of Transportation, Norman Mineta was aware of the increased threat level—just like Admiral Kimmell at Pearl Harbor.

Nevertheless Commissioner Kerry says, when the first assault on Flight 11 came, that hijacking “was not a bolt out of the blue.” ^{ccccxxi}

So just where was the bottleneck in the chain-of-command, asks Justin Raimondo at antiwar.org?

It seems logical to assign the task of the nation’s security from terrorist attacks to the National Security Advisor, but Condi, as made clear in her testimony, is not taking responsibility. Whether the bottleneck was located in her office, or originated further down the federal hierarchy, answering the question of why is the ostensible purpose of the 9/11 Commission—which is charged with discovering how this vast “intelligence failure” occurred, and how to prevent it from ever happening again.

But what if there was no failure involved here, but instead a great success: a concerted effort to divert attention away from al-Qaeda (and toward Iraq) that succeeded—with crucial inside help provided by operatives working in the upper and mid-level echelons of the U.S. government?

SIBEL EDMONDS

What if agents within the super-secret National Security Agency had been diverting reams of intercepted communications pertaining to the upcoming attacks?

A former translator at the National Security Agency insists that she has proof that “spies” working inside her listening post tried to restrain her from translating certain taped phone conversations and other surveillance—and threatened her when she refused.

In a sworn affidavit filed with the Senate Intelligence Committee, Sibel Edmonds testifies that “investigations are being compromised, incorrect or misleading translations are being sent to agents in the field. Translations are being blocked and circumvented.”

The super-secretive “No Such Agency” employs ECHELON’s advanced computers to intercept and interpret a daily cataract of worldwide faxes, emails and phone calls—including two messages picked up on September 10, 2001:

“The match is about to begin.”

“Tomorrow is zero hour.”

Tagged “low priority” this compelling chatter was left untranslated until September 12, 2001.

The Magnificent Four

During three hours of secret testimony presented to the 9/11 Commission, Edmonds accused Condoleezza Rice of telling “an outrageous lie” by claiming the United States Government had no inkling of the impending attacks. Protesting her firing by going public despite a “gag order” compelling her silence, Sibel Edmonds says she told the commission of information circulating within the FBI in the spring and summer of 2001 suggesting that an attack using aircraft was just months away and the terrorists about to carry it out were already in place.

“I gave details of specific investigation files, the specific dates, specific target information, specific managers in charge of the investigation. I gave them everything so that they could go back and follow up. This is not hearsay. These are things that are documented. These things can be established very easily,” Edmonds insists.

“There was general information about the time-frame, about methods to be used but not specifically about how they would be used and about people being in place and who was ordering these sorts of terror attacks. There were other cities that were mentioned. Major cities—with skyscrapers.” ^{ccccxxii}

RUMBLING RUMSFELD

At four in the morning on March 23, 2004, writes Gail Sheehy in the *New York Observer*, three 9/11 moms from New Jersey drop off “their collective seven fatherless children with grandmothers” and race Kristin Breitweiser’s SUV down the Garden State Parkway to the Hart Senate Office Building on Capitol Hill.

It’s a journey they could make with their eyes drooping shut. But today the moms are wired, because the special commission investigating the intelligence failures leading up to September 11 will be interviewing Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. “He needs to answer to his actions on September 11,” asserts Mindy Kleinberg. “When was he aware that we were under attack? What did he do about it?”

This is precisely the question the commission the four moms worked so tirelessly to establish is determined *not* to answer. When Kristen Breitweiser, Lorie Van Auken, Mindy Kleinberg and Patty Casazza held a pre-hearing conference call with commission staffers to ask that they question the Secretary of Defense concerning his defense of the country on 9/11, they were told that this line of questioning would definitely not be pursued by the body set up to do precisely that.

Though Lorie Van Auken’s teenage daughter often accompanies

her to the hearings, her son still can't talk about seeing his father's building incinerated on television. Her next question is just six words: "Can I have my husband back now?"

But Donald Rumsfeld is not prepared to answer to anything. The Secretary of Defense opens defensively with a blatant denial that the many documented intelligence warnings the White House had received in the months leading up to September never happened.

Keep repeating that, Ed Bernays might be whispering in his ear. It's the new administration's mantra: If you say something didn't happen often and insistently enough—then it didn't. Not even when confronted with boxes of documents proving the contrary.

To help jog Rumsfeld's memory, commissioner Richard Ben-Veniste runs through a quick list of at least a dozen cases of foiled plots using commercial airliners to attack key targets in the U.S. and elsewhere. Surely the 1995 "Bojinka" ("Big Bang") plot to blow up airliners over the Pacific in 1995 must have been CIA director George Tenet's mind, if not his tongue when he met Rumsfeld for weekly lunches through 2001. Ditto the 1998 incident in which an Al Qaeda-connected group discussed *flying a commercial plane into the World Trade Center*.

"So when we had this threatened strike that something huge was going to happen, why didn't DOD alert people on the ground of a potential jihadist hijacking?" the commissioner wants to know.

Somehow lightening does not strike him down on the spot when Rumsfeld says, "The decision to fly a commercial aircraft was not known to me."

As he describes his casual morning meeting in a Pentagon under siege, "It is still incredible to the moms that their Secretary of Defense continued to sit in his private dining room at the Pentagon while their husbands were being incinerated in the towers of the World Trade Center," Sheehy writes:

National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, the Secret Service, the FAA, NORAD, American and United Airlines, CNN and most of the world knows that at least three airliners have been violently hijacked, their transponders turned off, cabin crew stabbed and shot to death, and thousands of Americans like their husbands annihilated in the World Trade Center by Middle Eastern terrorists—some of whom had been under surveillance by the FBI and even closer observation by Mossad—yet the nation's defense

chief didn't think it significant enough to interrupt his political pitch to a key Republican in Congress to reactivate the Star Wars initiative of the Bush I years?"

"Shortly thereafter, at 9:38 am, the Pentagon shook with an explosion of a then-unknown origin," Rumsfeld tells the commission. He says he has to go to the window to learn that the Pentagon had been attacked.

The moms are becoming agitated.

Rumsfeld says he then wandered outside to see what all the fuss was about. At 10 am, he testifies, the other half of the National Command Authority finally joined the Pentagon's Crisis Action team.

"Upon my return from the crash site, and before going to the Executive Support Center," he adds, "I had one or more calls in my office, one of which I believe was the President."

He "believes" he spoke with the man he works with every day. Did he or didn't he?

MIND THOSE MISSILES

Commission member Jamie Gorelick blindsides Rumsfeld, asking, "Where were you and your aircraft when a missile was heading to the Pentagon?" she asks. "Surely that is your responsibility, to protect our facilities, our headquarters—the Pentagon. Is there anything we did to protect that?"

Surely by "missile" she means an airliner used as a missile. Or is she trying to trip him up? Without responding to her "missile" remark, Rumsfeld replies that defending his own headquarters from enemy attack is not the job of the Secretary of Defense. That was a "law-enforcement issue," he says, referring to his missing air force interceptors.

For the widowed mothers of 9/11, Rumsfeld's dissembling is especially difficult to stomach. Philip Zelikow, the commission's staff director, has done his job well. As Sheehy writes, "The Moms knew that Zelikow—who was supposed to present their questions to Rumsfeld—was actually one of the select few in the new Bush administration who had been warned, nine months before 9/11 that Osama bin Laden was the No. 1 security threat to the country."

They want Zelikow fired.

Now is good.

"This is a legitimate concern," Commissioner Gorelick had earlier agreed with them. But time was too short, she said, to replace the compromised staff director.

This compromises the entire commission, the widows believe. Because it is Zelikow who decides who will be interviewed by the investigators—or ignored. And that’s a biggie because “efforts by the families to get the commission to hear from a raft of administration and intelligence-agency whistleblowers have been largely ignored at his behest,” Sheehy reports.

Plus, the same Zelikow who recently served in the Oval Office exercises the final censorship on what investigative material the commissioners will be briefed on,

POWELL

Secretary of State Colin Powell next appears before the 9/11 Commission to whine about the Clinton administration’s failure to hand over a military plan for routing al-Qaeda. But at least Clinton’s bad press, apparently resulting from leaked Israeli phone taps of his affair with Monika Lewinsky, had driven him to the diversion of lobbing cruise missiles at their empty training camps in Afghanistan.

General Powell concedes that on moving into the White House in January 2001, the new administration had received full briefings from the outgoing tenants. “The briefers... conveyed to us the gravity of the threat posed by al-Qaeda,” Powell admits. And Team Bush took note that “the previous administration had tried and not succeeded in eliminating the threat.” ^{ccccxxiii}

Powell then describes the new National Security Adviser’s response—a few desultory meetings on the topic of Osama bin Laden’s terror organization organized by Condoleezza Rice over the next eight months.

“Then 9/11 hit,” Powell says. And with most of the hijackers coming out of terror-financing Saudi Arabia, the Bush administration had to start implementing their previous-laid plans... to take out Iraq.

The Secretary of State also claims, “We did not know the perpetrators were already in our country and getting ready to commit the crimes we saw on 9/11.”

The widows groan. The CIA had known that al-Midhar and al-Hazmi were in the United States for months prior to the attacks, the wire-tapping Mossad had also been following Atta and other 9/11 conspirators to their personal mailboxes, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation was engaged in more than a dozen ongoing investigations on supporters of the hijackers before they struck.

Another key question the moms want answered is why “over 100

members of the Saudi royal family and many members of the bin Laden clan were airlifted out of the U.S. in the days immediately following the terrorist attacks—without being interviewed by law enforcement—while no other Americans, including members of the victims’ families, could take a plane anywhere in the U.S.”

But neither Powell nor the commission are going there.

RICE COOKER

Badly stung by the first day’s less than forthright testimony, the commission now insists that National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice appear at today’s session, despite strong warnings from the Bush administration to leave the presidential staff—who are ultimately responsible for September 11—alone.

Condoleezza Rice has also drawn heavy fire after a memoir by a forcibly retired Richard Clarke details the thoroughness of her incompetence. Widely known throughout the White House as a Bush sycophant and an inept manager, Clarke reveals her as nearly clueless concerning the seriousness of the threat posed by al-Qaeda. The former White House anti-terror expert wrote that she “gave me the impression she had never heard the term before.”

After an early meeting in January 2001, in which the counter-terrorism expert tried to make her realize the extent and immediacy of the danger, Rice abruptly changed the subject. She later decided to exclude Clarke from top-level meetings and downgraded the priority of information from his counter-terrorism security group.

Instead of appearing before the public inquiry, Condi has appeared on five talk shows, not to take issue with any of Clarke’s claims, but to attack him personally—a sure sign that he has struck some live nerves. Holding up a copy of Clarke’s book the previous day, Commissioner Timothy Roemer had been roundly applauded by the distraught widows when he says. “This discussion... belongs in this hearing room tomorrow.”

But Bush has stood by his close friend, cribbing to his cabinet, “Had my administration had any information that terrorists were going to attack New York City on September 11, we would have acted.”

The *Guardian* now reports that members of 9/11 National Commission On Terrorist Attacks Upon The United States are furious that Rice has “taken a high public profile after refusing to appear before a public session of the inquiry.”

The White House is already taking heavy flack from relatives for

using scenes from Ground Zero in its presidential campaign advertising. Its offer to let the president chat with chosen members of the commission behind firmly sealed doors has also provoked so much outrage, Bush has had to indicate his flexibility over the duration of the interview, which he still insists can only take place with his minder Dick Cheney holding his hand. ^{ccccxxiv}

CHOSEN BY GOD

Sinking deeper into denial and delusion, Bush insists that he cannot make mistakes because he is chosen by God to lead the world to the bloody “freedom” he—not God—envisions. Lest any grunts mistake their holy mission, in a startling press conference before the nation in April 2004, Bush reveals his vision of a divinely inspired apocalyptic struggle in which he is the leader of a Christian crusade bringing the Lord’s “gift” to a reluctant global populace—95% of whom reside outside America’s blinkered borders. ^{ccccxxv}

DIRTY PICTURES

Not even White House prayers can keep souvenir photographs of hooded Muslim prisoners stacked in naked pyramids and being forced to simulate demeaning sexual acts from flooding the global press, Internet and television airwaves.

The world recoils in shock and awe from additional “souvenir” shots that show vicious attack dogs snarling into the terrified faces of naked prisoners, and grinning American GI’s—some of them female—punching and poking them on-camera.

Just in case notions of a shared humanity fail Americans at arms, Article 17 of the Third Geneva Convention signed by the United States stipulates: “No physical or mental torture, nor any other form of coercion, may be inflicted on prisoners of war.”

Amnesty International first sounded the alarm at a Baghdad news conference in May 2003, just one month after the Iraqi capital fell to American occupation forces. Three months later, Baghdad’s Washington-appointed governor Paul Bremer repeatedly brought up the issue of prisoner abuse in discussions with Rumsfeld, Cheney and Rice.

On June 28, 2003 and again on May 26, 2004, Amnesty condemned similar U.S. torture of prisoners in Guantánamo Bay. Their case histories detail rape, sodomy—even the deaths of prisoners by American’s guards.

The Red Cross also delivered repeated warnings during the same

period, dispatching investigators to 14 detention centers in Iraq and delivering graphic reports revealing American torture. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the relief agency described in detail “humiliation, sleep and sensory deprivation, disorientation, and physical punishment.”

Torture techniques approved by Donald Rumsfeld has earned him a new sobriquet by his associates. Specific abuses approved by America’s new s “Himmler” include:

- Hooding—used to prevent people from seeing and to disorient them, and also to prevent them from breathing freely.
- Being stripped naked for several days while held in solitary confinement in an empty and completely dark cell that included a latrine.
- Threats of ill treatment, reprisals against family members, imminent execution, or transfer to Guantánamo.
- Being forced to remain for prolonged periods in stress positions such as squatting or standing with or without the arms lifted. ^{ccccxxvi}

“It is a common thing to abuse prisoners,” says Sergeant Mike Sindar, 25, of the Army National Guard’s 870th Military Police Company. “I saw beatings all the time.” ^{ccccxxvii}

Revealing what he terms, “war crimes,” the reporter who broke the My-Lai massacre story is the first journalist to report American prison abuses in the May 2004 issue of *New Yorker* magazine. But Seymour Hersh tells an audience in San Francisco that he left something out: “The boys were sodomised with the cameras rolling, and the worst part is the soundtrack, of the boys shrieking.” ^{ccccxxviii}

On May 12, 2004, after viewing photographs and video clips, stunned American lawmakers say the images depicting “disgusting” and “appalling” instances of torture and humiliation are even worse than they had anticipated. During an Armed Services Committee hearing the following day, U.S. Senators challenge Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz over the military’s prison rules.

“A bag over your head for 72 hours—is that humane?” asks Emendator Jack Reed.

“What you’ve described to me sounds, to me, like a violation of the Geneva Convention,” Wolfowitz is forced to concede.

But General Peter Pace, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, goes further, saying, “I would describe it as a violation, sir.” ^{ccccxxix}

OUTRAGE

More than one billion Muslims agree. On Arab-language satellite channels, it's "all torture, all the time," writes BBC correspondent Paul Wood. "All this is especially upsetting in a culture which prizes dignity, modesty and respect."

The news bulletin are playing so loudly on a TV in a café in Cairo's old town, Wood sees men look up from their chess boards and water pipes. One of the waiters says he is ready to go to Iraq to become a martyr fighting the Americans. He is not alone in that sentiment.

"This is shameful, shameful, shameful," says one, getting nods of agreement. "A soldier urinating on a prisoner, sexual abuse and humiliation—is this human?"

A male student says, "I was shocked. Why were these photographs taken at all? This implies the soldiers were enjoying themselves. This is what gives us most pain and sorrow."

Another set of photographs circulating on the Internet show two Iraqi women, both wearing traditional black robes, being raped at gunpoint by American mercenaries wearing U.S. Army uniforms.

Egyptian newspaper editor and democracy campaigner, Nabil Zaki says American proclamations of spreading peace and freedom throughout the Middle East are finished forever. "The U.S. is trying to export democracy throughout the Middle East. There is no chance of that. Now anything connected with the Americans is disliked. Ninety-nine percent of the people of this region hate the Americans. They consider them aggressors." ^{ccccx}

Humiliating an Arab by entering his home at night and embarrassing his wife in her nightclothes, or holding a husband on the ground before his family with a combat boot on his back are spectacularly insulting procedures. It's not just that Arabs never forget a kindness or a slight. The laws of Islam demand either an appropriate apology and compensation—or revenge.

Which is why the photographs and torture testimony coming out of Abu Ghraib and other Iraq prisons run by the United States and a no-longer-so Great Britain forever lose the hearts and minds of people happy to be liberated from Washington's former strongman—and betrayed by a brutal occupation that has become a neo-con nightmare.

"By a clear majority," ABC News concludes, citing the latest polls, "Iraqis want Americans to leave the country as soon as possible." ^{ccccxi}

Chapter 14

“WAKE UP, AMERICA”

One year after the 9/11 commission’s initial public hearing, on June 17, 2004 Major General Arnold and a contingent of Pentagon brass arrive to speak before the commission’s 12th and final public meeting. This time, they will testify under oath.

Air Force General Ralph Eberhart, commander of the North American Aerospace Defense Command, contradicts NORAD’s earlier claims that only the president can issue shoot-down orders, telling the 9/11 panel, “Yes, we could shoot down the airplanes.”

The head of U.S. air defenses on September 11 then makes headlines when he states that if his command had been notified immediately of the hijackings and ordered to intervene, U.S. fighter jets would have been able to shoot down all four of the airliners.

By the air force’s own admission, their battle exercise-alerted staff had picked up Flight 11’s course deviation and transponder shut-down immediately. And no one higher up the White House chain-of-command was needed to order fighters scrambled to intercept straying airliners—lower ranking officers were already doing that once or twice a week throughout the year—at least until Donald Rumsfeld personally abrogated long-standing air intercept rules not long before 9/11. His crucial, well-documented intervention is somehow omitted from press accounts—and the commission’s final report.

With the clock ticking toward its extended deadline, the commission zeroes in on why the stories told by Major General Arnold and Colonel Scott at the first public hearing were such fabrications. Why had the officers never mentioned the phantom American 11 chased by the Langley pilots, or their response to United 93, which they admit to have been tracking?

Harkening back to his days as a Watergate special prosecutor, Commissioner Richard Ben-Veniste leads off the first of two days’

questioning by asking Arnold, “General, is it not a fact that the failure to call our attention to the miscommunication and the notion of a phantom Flight 11 continuing from New York City south in fact skewed the whole reporting of 9/11?”

With friendly interviews obviously over, Michael Bronner writes in *Vanity Fair*, Marr’s eyes tense as he responds by saying that “29 different reports of hijackings nationwide” had left America’s defenders “confused” for days after those events.

But the commission blows away his fog-of-war excuse by pointing out that the air force had already reviewed the NEADS tapes before issuing falsehoods to hide their incompetence—or worse. “How good would it have looked for the government in general if we still couldn’t have stopped the fourth plane an hour and 35 minutes [into the attack]?” Azzarello asks. “How good would it have looked if there was a total breakdown in communication and nothing worked right?”

One answer is, *fishy*. As the *Washington Post* reports, 9/11 panel investigators “tersely conclude that authorities with NORAD repeatedly misinformed the commission in testimony last fall about its scrambling of fighters from Langley Air Force Base just north of Hampton, Virginia. NORAD officials indicated at the time that the jets were responding to either United 93 or American Airlines 77... In fact, they were chasing “a phantom aircraft”—American 11— “which had already struck the World Trade Center.” ^{cccciii}

According to NORAD, the FAA trashed longstanding procedures by never requesting any military assistance, and never notifying the air force about either Flight 77 or United Airlines Flight 93 before they crashed. Perhaps television sets capable of picking up CNN should be installed in the next generation of America’s top-line fighters.

And why did Dick Cheney inform the Secretary of Defense that U.S. fighters had shot down a couple of hijacked aircraft on his orders? Was he referring to Flight 93?

THE NMCC

The author of *Tell Me No Lies* is not impressed. “The Kean report says the NMCC was never informed. Why?” asks John Pilger. “Again, uniquely, all lines of communication failed, the commission was told, to America’s top military brass. Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defence, could not be found; and when he finally spoke to Bush an hour and a half later, it was, says the Kean report, ‘a brief call in which the subject of shoot-down authority was not discussed.’ As a result,

NORAD's commanders were "left in the dark about what their mission was."

"Vice-President Cheney was in effective control that day, and in close touch with the NMCC. Why did he do nothing about the first two hijacked planes? Why was the NMCC, the vital link, silent for the first time in its existence?" ^{cccxliii}

In fact, on September 11, the National Military Command Center was in the loop from the very beginning, the deputy administrator of the Federal Aviation Authority tells the commission. "For my 30 years of experience," says Monte Belger, "the NMCC was on the net and hearing everything real-time... I can tell you I've lived through dozens of hijackings... and they were always listening in with everybody else." ^{cccxliv}

9/11 widows sleeping alone in their marriage beds, who still have to explain to their young children why their fathers are not coming home are sick to their souls of hearing every witness tell the commissioners how he had done everything possible to combat the threat of terrorism—except to actually prevent it.

Richard Clarke is the only administration official to apologize. Before beginning his own testimony in May 2004, Bush's top anti-terror expert looks into the eyes of the families present who lost loved ones on 9/11 and says, "Your government failed you, and I failed you. We tried hard, but that doesn't matter because we failed you. And for that failure, I would ask, once all the facts are out, for your understanding and for your forgiveness." ^{cccxlv}

The families know that Clarke had worked unstintingly to get the Bush administration to heed his urgent warnings before finally—like John O'Neill—having to leave the White House at the pinnacle of his career because of his insistence on dealing with the al-Qaeda threat. ^{cccxlvi}

WAR GAMES

The only time 9/11's multiple war games are mentioned during the 9/11 Commission hearings is during the twelfth and final public hearing held June 16-17, 2004. A proud Nicholas Levis posts: "Ha, I finally got into the Official Record!"

KEAN: Three questions, then I know the general has to leave.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Ask about the war games that were planned for 9/11.

KEAN: Commissioner Gorelick?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Tell us about the 9/11 war games.

GORELICK: Could you please be quiet? We have only a few minutes with General Myers, and I'd like to ask a question. General Myers, the—I'm sorry.

KEAN: I would ask please people in the audience to be quiet if you want to stay here.

“Wimpy of me, but I stayed quiet,” Levis admits. “The cops that came up to ‘calm me down’ were a bit too beefy. So I ‘calmed down.’ Apparently, this was also sent out on CNN and audible over TV. The transcript doesn’t include the walk-out by another guy...”

Levis continues:

They introduced The Emperor’s New Timeline, in which all the times are now consistent and the blame is laid on the FAA. It’s completely ridiculous and we can dismantle it, but I suspect the straightforward way to do is to concentrate on UA93. The new timeline shifts FAA notification to NORAD of the UA93 diversion from 9:16 to 10:07 (after the crash), the crash time from 10:06 (according to the Army’s seismic study) to 10:03 and the Cheney shutdown order for UA 93 from 9:55 (according to the *Washington Post*) to somewhere between 10:10 and 10:20. If we can convincingly promote the evidence we already have of the UA93 shutdown, all this falls completely apart.^{ccclvii}

RUMIE

“We still don’t have a full accounting of Rumsfeld’s whereabouts and knowledge on the morning of 9/11,” complains commissioner Jamie Gorelick at the press conference following the release of the 600-page 9/11 Commission Report.

Though the National Military Command Center inside the Pentagon was the nerve center of the military’s response to the Black Tuesday attacks, *Mother Jones* correspondent Gail Sheehy records that the lead military officer that day, Brigadier General Montague Winfield had told the commission that the center had been leaderless.

“For 30 minutes we couldn’t find [Secretary Rumsfeld],” General Winfield testified, forgetting to mention how he had absented himself from the Pentagon’s command loop before the attacks got underway.

“Rumsfeld was in a breakfast meeting through the whole course of the attack,” writes Kyle Hence, head of the online watchdog, 9/11 Citizens’ Watch. “Clarke has them both in a White House directed videoconference beginning at approximately 9:12 am. Clarke quotes a Deputy Director of the Situation Room in the White House saying when Clarke arrives at approximately 9:10 that a Threat Conference Call was underway.”

Noting that the 9/11 Commission “has the ‘Threat conf.’ starting at 9:37 or 9:39... How could Rumsfeld, Myers and the President be left out of the loop over the 109 minutes?” Hence wants to know.^{cccxlvi}

Where was the National Command Authority in Washington DC on the morning of September 11?

“Was the commission comfortable with the fact that the country’s Secretary of Defense was not in the chain of command or present in the Pentagon’s command center until all four suicide hijacked planes were down?” the *New York Observer*’s Gail Sheehy asks the commission’s vice chair.

“I’m not going to answer that question,” Lee Hamilton replies, turning away.

“Don Rumsfeld is known as a take-charge kind of guy,” Sheehy notes. “Why was he so uncharacteristically passive in the face of terrorists who were able to kill nearly 3,000 Americans in one morning? It is impossible to answer, and now that the commission has rolled up its report, there will be no forum for follow-up questions.”^{cccxlvi}

DAYTON DISSES 9/11 COMMISSION REPORT

Joining the ranks of dissenters, Mark Dayton becomes the first United States Senator to publicly challenge the corporate media’s uncritical consensus that the final *9/11 Commission Report* settles the still open questions of that day.

Departing from official mythology, Senator Dayton is compelled to speak out after realizing that when a third airliner struck the Pentagon, the fighters from Virginia were further from Washington DC than when left the runway.

Dayton calls the commission’s findings “a profoundly disturbing report”—in part “because of serious discrepancies between the facts that you’ve set forth and what was told to the American people, to members of Congress, and to your own Commission by those, some of those authorities.”

In just one example, the senator tells a congressional 9/11 Commission review committee: “One week after 9/11... NORAD issued an official chronology that stated that the FAA notified NORAD of the second hijacking at 8:43. Wrong. FAA notified NORAD of the third hijacking at 9:24, according to your report. Wrong. FAA notified NORAD of the fourth hijacking at an unspecified time, and that prior to the crash in Pennsylvania Langley F-16 combat air patrol planes were in place, remaining in place, to protect Washington, DC. All untrue.”

Dayton concludes that NORAD officials “lied to the American people, they lied to Congress and they lied to your 9/11 commission.”

cccl

GROVE DIGGER

Richard Groves must have an overactive “justice gene”. By July 22, 2004, he is almost six months into his latest unemployment. Since leaving New York in 2003, the corporate whistle-blower and his fiancée have moved three times. He has had to sell most of his possessions. His Range Rover has been repossessed, and he no longer has health insurance, an address, telephone, credit card, cell phone or bank account.

With his fiancée’s waitressing tips keeping them afloat, this morning Grove is downloading what he soon will call the *9-11 Omission Report*—“a mirror image of the Warren Report, but much more blatantly misleading and comprehensively more treasonous.”

He was suspicious of the 9/11 Commission when its members began their work 444 days after the events they were supposed to be investigating. When “pipeline” Henry Kissinger was first picked to lead it, only to be replaced by “Hess Oil” Tom Kean, “from there the cast of characters resembled a police line up of infamously associated and similarly compromised misleaders—all of whom seemed to have a conflict of interest with the truth,” Grove says.

According to his research, 9/11 commissioner and Council on Foreign Relations member Jamie Gorelick also served on the board of the Collective-controlled United Technology Corporation, while “Bob Kerrey’s involvement in the BCCI cover-up—and the rest of the mercenary congressional representatives owned by the security-industrial complex”—have completely compromised its findings. cccli

CROSSING THE RUBICON

But other investigators are on it. In his extensively documented book, *Crossing the Rubicon*, Michael Ruppert refers to NORAD, DOD and NRO sources confirming, “on the day of 9/11 the Joint Chiefs of Staff (Myers) and NORAD were conducting a joint, live-fly hijack Field Training Exercise (FTX), which involved at least one (and almost certainly many more) aircraft under U.S. [military] control... posing as a hijacked airliner.”

In a speech before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco on September 1, 2004, Ruppert goes much further, saying, “I will name Richard Cheney as the prime suspect in the mass murders of 9/11 and will establish that, not only was he a planner in the attacks. But also that on the day of the attacks he was running a completely separate Command, Control and Communications system, which was superceding any orders being issued by the NMCC, or the White House Situation Room.” ^{ccclii}

In England, veteran author and reporter John Pilger is also choking on the commission report. But not because of the volume’s thickness. “America’s top military brass. Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defence, could not be found,” Pilger points out. “And when he finally spoke to Bush an hour-and-a-half later, it was, says the Kean report, ‘a brief call in which the subject of shoot-down authority was not discussed.’

As a result, NORAD’s commanders were ‘left in the dark about what their mission was.’”

Deliberately?

Corroborating Michael Ruppert’s observations, Pilger independently observes, “Vice-President Cheney was in effective control that day, and in close touch with the NMCC. Why did he do nothing about the first two hijacked planes? Why was the NMCC, the vital link, silent for the first time in its existence?”

John Pilger does not stop there: “On the afternoon of 11 September, Donald Rumsfeld, having failed to act against those who had just attacked the United States, told his aides to set in motion an attack on Iraq—when the evidence was non-existent. Eighteen months later, the invasion of Iraq, unprovoked and based on lies now documented, took place. This epic crime is the greatest political scandal of our time.”

Was September 11 a set-up?

The implications, Pilger says, are clear: “If we allow it to be normalized, if we refuse to question and probe the hidden agendas and unaccountable secret power structures at the heart of ‘democratic’ governments and if we allow the people of Fallujah to be crushed in our name, we surrender both democracy and humanity.” ^{cccliii}

“WE THE UNDERSIGNED”

On September 13, 2004, an open letter addressed to “The Congress of the United States” and hand-delivered to Eliot Spitzer, Attorney General for the State of New York, and William Casey, Chief Investigator for the Attorney General’s Office says in part: “We the undersigned wish to bring to the attention of the Congress and the people of the United States what we believe are serious shortcomings in the report and its recommendations... ”

We the “undersigned” include nine FBI Special Agents (serving and retired), two U.S. Customs officials, a former Foreign Service officer, a former FAA “Red Team” leader and a former FAA Risk Management Specialist, three former CIA officers, a retired DoD analyst, a retired Senior Intelligence Officer for the DIA, former military officers from the navy and army, a serving Special Response Team for the Department of Energy. ^{cccli}

DRIVE BY

Such protests come too late for the Khardoms. Returning home in their family sedan to Baghdad’s residential neighborhood of Hyatt al-Tunis, they never suspect that during their brief absence visiting relatives, American troops have invaded their quiet street and put up a roadblock. Fearing a bomb, trigger-happy American GIs open up with heavy weapons, pumping more than twenty rounds through the automobile’s windshield and chassis.

Blood-drenched seats and headrests are ripped apart as bullets plow into the warm flesh, organs and skulls of Anwar Adel Khardom’s husband and children. As Anwar runs towards a relative’s house, screaming for help, her 13-year-old daughter Hadil leaves bloody handprints on the outside of the car as she tries to follow her mother away from the crumpled bodies of her father, brother and two sisters.

No help comes as troopers from the First Brigade, First Armoured Division continue firing at anyone attempting to aid the victims. In the

fusillade, two American soldiers are shot by their panicked comrades “returning fire” from the end of the street.

Then a car driven by a 21-year-old university student enters the same street. American soldiers spooked by their own gunfire shoot Saef repeatedly. As his two wounded buddies stagger from the shot-up car, appalled neighbors watch an American soldier point a grenade-launcher at the still-living Saef and fire at point-blank range—engulfing the car and Saef in flames.

Onlookers next see young Hadil grabbed by a female soldier, who shakes her violently before pulling off the teenager’s gold earrings. As the trooper pockets her loot, Hadil runs to her grandmother’s house, bleeding from her own wounds and covered with the blood of her dead brother and sisters. Back at U.S. military headquarters, the incident is dismissed as routine.^{ccclv}

If so, is a routine war crime. As law school professor and representative to the American Association of Jurists, Marjorie Cohn explains, “Under the Geneva Conventions, an occupying power has an obligation to protect civilians and enable humanitarian assistance. The Hague Regulations mandate that an occupying power restore and maintain public order and safety in the occupied territory.”^{ccclvi}

Seven days later, reports *Counterpunch*:

Anwar Adel Khardom points to her heavily pregnant, shrapnel-sprayed stomach as she fluctuates between composure and frantic, inconsolable grief: “What sort of life will this child be born into?”

Her 13-year-old daughter Hadil, frail arms bruised and scarred with shrapnel, head bandaged with white gauze, remains wide-eyed and observant, fanning her mother with a woven fan as the heat of an oppressive, airless day reaches its midday climax. The room is crowded with relatives and friends who drink the bitter coffee and cry and keen in memory of Anwar’s husband, Adel, her 18-year-old son Haider, 17-year-old daughter Ola, and 8-year-old daughter Mervat: all shot dead by U. S. soldiers seven days before.

“How could they? Why did they do it? They must of known we were a family— how could they kill my babies?” Anwar asks continually as she holds a picture of Her beautiful, smiling children.^{ccclvii}

A TRUE AMERICAN HERO

Back at Abu Ghraib, several enlisted U.S. Army prison guards are immediately arrested and charged. But the four top army officers responsible for carrying out White House torture policy in Iraq—including Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez, the top commander in Iraq from June 2003 to June 2004—are quickly cleared of any wrongdoing. ^{ccclviii}

Relatives of Staff Sergeant Joseph Darby, the Reservist military police officer who first sounded the alarm about the abuse by fellow soldiers of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison, are still living in protective custody because of death threats against them.

“People were mean, saying he was a walking dead man, he was walking around with a bull’s eye on his head. It was scary,” says Darby’s wife Bernadette. “Joe is the type of person to take what is going on around him and be like, ‘How would I feel if that was my wife?’ ... He just could not live with himself knowing that that was happening and he did not do anything about it.”

Darby says he struggled with the decision to turn over the photos because he was friendly with one of the accused. But when he saw the CDs containing the photos, he said, the revolting pictures “violated everything I personally believed in and everything I had been taught about the rules of war.” ^{ccclix}

According to a senior British officer, his American counterparts view Iraqis as *Untermenschen*, a term that Hitler used in *Mein Kampf* to describe Jews, Romanies and Slavs as sub-humans. This is how the Nazi army laid siege to Russian cities, slaughtering combatants and non-combatants alike, the Brit points out. ^{ccclx}

Confirming this assessment, George Bush claims the “right” to rip up longstanding international agreements—as well as longstanding American laws prohibiting torture. ^{ccclxi}

A Justice Department memo has obligingly told Bush that in the war on terror, torture and *even the deliberate killing of prisoners* are justifiable U.S. terror tactics. Now, a November 27, 2004 update from Donald Rumsfeld approves several more innovate ways to violate Geneva Convention, including:

- Putting detainees in “stress positions,” such as standing, for up to four hours.
- Removing prisoners’ clothes. (Especially effective, the American military had found, against modest Muslims with “Christian” women present to ogle and play with their genitals.)

- Intimidating detainees with vicious dogs. (Biting allowed.)
- Interrogating prisoners for 20 hours at a time.
- Forcing manacled prisoners to wear hoods during interrogations and transportation. (Also during rare, “photo-op” visits with loved ones at Abu Ghraib. The heavy black hoods were proving particularly uncomfortable for prisoners forced to stand unmoving for hours under the tropical Cuban sun.)

A PRINCESSLY SUM

Lost in the storm over U.S. torture of prisoners—almost all of whom will later be found innocent—is a short May 13, 2004 news item reporting that federal regulators have fined the Riggs National Corporation, parent company of Riggs Bank, \$25 million for “failing to report suspicious activity.”

The largest penalty ever assessed against a domestic bank for money laundering stems from Riggs’s “failure over at least the last two years to actively monitor suspect financial transfers through Saudi Arabian accounts held by the bank,” the feds announce. It seems that Saudi Prince Bandar’s wife, Princess Haifa al-Faisal, “may have used a Riggs account to donate money to a charity that then gave some of it to the September 11 terrorists,” the regulators charge. ^{ccclxii}

PANCAKES

The following month, the American media similarly ignores the bomb-burst findings of an ad hoc group of concerned scientists, engineers and other professionals, who have gathered from around the world to investigate the collapse of the World Trade Center from an engineering standpoint. Calling themselves the Scientific Panel Investigating Nine-Eleven, SPINE states: “Our analysis of the detailed evidence implies a staged attack employing a variety of deceptive arrangements.”

The big point to consider, says SPINE, is that jet fuel “burns in free air at a temperature around 550 degrees Celsius...

The temperature of the support columns was initially not greater than 30-degrees Celsius. During the relatively brief time that the building was invested with open fires on the floors affected by the impacting aircraft, it is unlikely that the temperatures of the beams rose more than, say 100 degrees. The steel in the World

Trade Center twin towers would have had to reach 750 degrees Celsius before a catastrophic collapse could have occurred.

When the NY Fire Department arrived on the scene, the fire director reported no excessive heat in the vicinity of the floor struck by the incoming aircraft. Fire crews doused the small remaining fires and assisted evacuees. By this time the support columns were probably cooling and not heating.

Building Seven, which was not struck by an aircraft, also collapsed. There was no massive diesel fire, as claimed, only a small office fire on one floor, clearly insufficient to cause the building's collapse.

Physicist Derrick Grimmer from Washington University contributed an exhaustive research study to SPINE. "What immediately struck some observers, this author included, is how much these collapses resembled a controlled demolition," Grimmer writes. "Indeed, this was the first reaction of V. Romero of New Mexico Tech, until he recanted days later."

Most telling says this PhD physicist: "The observed near free-fall times of the WTC towers (and WTC7) were a dramatic signature of a controlled demolition."

The theory put forth by "establishment" engineers is that bolted floor assemblies weakened and gave way, pancaking all the way down, Grimmer goes on. But if that pancaking actually occurred, "why is it that no video of either of the WTC collapses shows any sign of stutter between floor collapses, which should have been very apparent—especially in the first few floors of collapse, when the speed of gravitational collapse was small?"

SPINE's answer: "The implication from the above is that there were major energy sources other than gravitational involved in the WTC towers collapses." ^{cclxiii}

DEMOLITION DERBY

Through replay after mind-numbing replay, there remains a terrible, compelling aesthetic to the sudden yet stately collapse of each proud tower. "Controlled demolitions have a striking and characteristic appearance of smooth, flowing collapse," observes 9/11review.org. Controlled Demolition Incorporated describes their own handiwork on

their homepage: “A two thousand ton skyscraper collapses like a house of cards, crumbling in on itself—a waterfall of well-fractured steel and concrete debris. It lasts only seconds, and buildings within a few meters stand untouched.”

This, say the professional demolition experts, is “the very essence of Controlled Demolition.” ^{ccclxiv}

It is also the overriding signature of the WTC takedowns on 9/11.

Though CDI is in no way implicated in those deliberate demolitions, “Having imploded, worldwide, more buildings, chimneys, towers, bridges, and other structures than our competitors combined,” there is no doubt that Controlled Demolition, Inc.—and companies like it—“have the technical expertise and track record to take on projects of any magnitude.”

CDI’s relationship with DOD goes back at least as far as November 1978, when the company used both conventional and “implosion” methods to destroy a former Soviet military Large Phased Array Radar facility in Skrunda, Latvia under the direction of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. ^{ccclxv}

Former MI5 agent David Shayler, who previously blew a loud siren on the British government for allegedly paying al-Qaeda \$200,000 to carry out political assassinations, goes back on record in June 2005 with his conviction that 9/11 was an “inside job”.

Shayler says his suspicions were aroused when the WTC debris were immediately seized and shipped off to China by the same company that had removed the remains of Murrah Building in Oklahoma City before any forensic structural analysis could be carried out.

I’ve seen the results of terroristic explosions and so on and no terrorist explosion has ever brought down a building. When the IRA put something like a thousands tonnes of home-made explosives in front of the Baltic Exchange building in Bishopsgate and let off the bomb, all the glass came out, the building shook a bit but there was no question about the building falling down and it doesn’t obey the laws of physics for buildings to fall down in the way the World Trade Center came down... they were demolished.

The more I look at it, you realize that it’s not incompetence. This wasn’t an accident, they were aware there was intelligence indicating those kind of attacks, there were FBI intercepts saying it in the days before the attacks. When you look at it all, that is a big big intelligence picture and yet these people were crucially

stopped from doing their jobs, stopped from trying to protect the American people.

The former British intelligence worker concludes, “They let it happen, they made it happen to create a trigger to be able to allow the invasion of Afghanistan, the invasion of Iraq, and of course what they’re trying to do now is the same thing with the invasion of Iran and Syria.”^{ccclxvi}

ABLE DANGER

Just 10 days before issuing its final report on July 22, 2004 the 9/11 Commission is advised by a uniformed military officer that their account will be incomplete without reference to what Navy Captain Scott Phillpott describes as a secret military operation that had identified the ringleader Mohamed Atta and several al-Qaeda associates operating in the United States long before September 11, 2001. Atta stood out in part because his family name as not spelled the more usual “Mohammed”.

Relying on computer-driven “data-mining” techniques employing sophisticated programming algorithms to sift at high speed through terabytes of data searching for related key words and phrases, the Able Danger unit had picked out Atta and three other future hijackers in the data stream. More than *18 months* before the eventual attacks, the military computer sleuths identified all four men as likely members of an al-Qaeda cell operating in Brooklyn.

But their attempts to persuade their superiors at Special Operations Command in Tampa, Florida to pass on this vital information to the FBI were rebuffed—just as similar warnings from their civilian superiors would block crack FBI anti-terror teams over the following months.

Instead of being fast-tracked to federal field agents already alarmed by the al-Qaeda menace, Able Danger’s documents and electronic files “were destroyed under standing orders that limit the military’s use of intelligence gathered about people in the United States,” one of the team said.

Captain Phillpott managed the Able Danger program for the Pentagon’s Special Operations Command. The U.S. Naval Academy graduate informed the Commission, “Atta was identified by Able Danger by January-February of 2000.”

Yet the final 9/11 Commission report concludes, “American intelligence agencies were unaware of Mr. Atta until the day of the attacks.”

“Amazingly,” writes Louis Freeh, a former FBI director and author of *My FBI*, “commission leaders acknowledged on August 12 [2004] that their staff in fact met with a Navy officer 10 days before releasing the report, who “asserted that a highly classified intelligence operation, Able Danger, had identified Mohammed Atta to be a member of an al-Qaeda cell located in Brooklyn.”

“I’m angry that my son’s death could have been prevented,” seethes Diane Horning, whose son Matthew was killed at the World Trade Center. ^{ccclxvii}

An outraged Mindy Kleinberg says, “To me, that says somebody there is not using good judgment. And if I’m questioning the judgment of this one case, what other things might they have missed?” ^{ccclxviii}

Congressman Curt Weldon of Pennsylvania also slams the commission’s final report, declaring that its “refusal to investigate Able Danger after being notified of its existence, and its recent efforts to feign ignorance of the project while blaming others for supposedly withholding information on it, brings shame on the commissioners, and is evocative of the worst tendencies in the federal government that the commission worked to expose.” ^{ccclxix}

TERROR WAR CAN’T BE WON—BUSH

What is the point of so much suffering and destruction? In an interview with Matt Lauer of the NBC News program, *Today*, George Bush is asked if the United States can win the war against terrorism.

“I don’t think you can win it,” Bush blurts. ^{ccclxx}

BURNING OIL

Four days after the third anniversary of September 11, an attack at three in the morning at Beiji blows up a key northern junction, where multiple oil pipelines cross the Tigris River. A plume of spilled oil burning on the Tigris River is visible 25 miles away, as melted power cables short out electricity across the country and the critical Ceyhan pipeline is shut down.

The sabotage comes two days after engineers completed a two-month replacement of critical valves destroyed by a previous bombing. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Lieutenant Colonel Lee Morrison says resignedly, “You fix it and it blows up.” So far, the continuing sabotage has cost Iraq more than \$2 billion. ^{ccclxxi}

“WAKE UP, AMERICA!”

“I damn sure will not go back over there even if they throw me in Leavenworth,” says Sergeant Garcia one week later, after placing a cross beside his dead friend’s boots. “I never could understand how a guy could be a conscientious objector until what I just went through. I wish more guys would stand up and tell Bush and the Pentagon they will not fight their war for oil. We should not have to die for these rich bastards profits and enrichment.”

Garcia’s advice: “Wake up, America! Your sons and daughters are dying for nothing! This war is not about freedom or stopping terrorism. Bring us home now! We are dying for oil and corporate greed.” ^{ccclxxii}

“We shouldn’t be here,” says another rifleman, with typical marine bluntness. “There was no reason for invading this country in the first place. We just came here and killed a lot of innocent people. I don’t enjoy killing women and children; it’s not my thing. Bush didn’t want to attack Bin Laden because he was doing business with Bin Laden’s family,” adds this veteran of Ramadi ambushes. ^{ccclxxiii}

After seeing too many dead children “littering the streets in Nasiriyah, along with countless other civilians,” Sean Huze reserves his wrath for one man. And it isn’t Osama bin Laden.

Or Saddam Hussein.

“Bush is a lying, manipulative motherfucker who cares nothing for the lives of those of us who serve in uniform,” Huze declares.

Hell, other than playing dress-up on aircraft carriers, what would he know about serving this nation in uniform? His silence and refusal to speak under oath to the 9/11 Commission further mocks our country. The Patriot Act violates every principle we fight and die for. And all of this has been during his first term. Can you imagine his policies when he doesn’t have to worry about re-election? We can’t allow that to happen, and there are so many like me in the military who feel this way. We were lied to and used. And there aren’t words to describe the sense of betrayal I feel as a result. ^{ccclxxiv}

THE SITUATION

On September 29, 2004, *Wall Street Journal* reporter Farnaz Fassihi writes an email that does not appear in his newspaper:

Iraqis like to call this mess “the situation”. What they mean by situation is this: the Iraqi government doesn’t control most Iraqi cities, there are several car bombs going off each day around the country killing and injuring scores of innocent people, the country’s roads are becoming impassable and littered by hundreds of landmines and explosive devices aimed to kill American soldiers, there are assassinations, kidnappings and beheadings.

The situation, basically, means a raging barbaric guerilla war. In four days, 110 people died and over 300 got injured in Baghdad alone. Insurgents now attack Americans 87 times a day. Cops are being murdered by the dozens every day—over 700 to date—and the insurgents are infiltrating their ranks. ^{ccclxxxv}

“The non-stop torrent of bomb blasts, shootings, kidnappings and U.S. military reprisals in Iraq clearly shows the country is in a state of anarchy and seriously risks becoming a failed state similar to warlord-run Somalia,” warns Agence France Presse. ^{ccclxxxvi}

THE BUTCHER’S BILL

Nestled in the forest on the outskirts of the small town of Landstuhl, Germany, the largest American military hospital outside the United States continues to receive injured American GI’s medivac’d “downrange” out of Iraq or Afghanistan. The most casualties received here on a single day: 168.

Some arrive without eyes. Others are missing limbs. Many who appear to be physically fit suffer from crippling waking nightmares. Still others are scorched by fire. Severe facial disfigurement can be particularly traumatizing, doctors say.

A doctor named H. is so stressed by the suffering around him, he takes four days off to fly home to see his family. Mistake. When they go out for dinner at a nice restaurant, the military MD looks around at the mindlessly chattering patrons eating fine food, drinking good wine, and thinks to himself, *They have no idea what’s going on here. Absolutely none.*

When asked how she feels seeing so many soldiers pass through her unit, Major Cathy Martin the head nurse of the Landstuhl Intensive Care Unit says simply, “It’s not right.” She pauses. “It’s just not right.”

^{ccclxxxvii}

GULF WAR ILLNESS REDUX

Shaking uncontrollably, one Fort Stewart casualty thinks something in the anthrax shots the Army gave him has made him sick. “They say I have Parkinson’s, but it is developing too rapidly,” he says. “I did not have a problem until I got those shots.” ^{ccclxxviii}

During Desert Storm, the supposedly attenuated mycoplasma germ inserted into the anthrax vaccines to accelerate their effectiveness were found—along with inhaling radioactive uranium dust—to be a primary causes of a debilitating Gulf War Illness that ended up being sexually transmitted by tens of thousands of returning soldiers to their spouses—and passed to their unborn children. ^{ccclxxix}

Before the Iraq invasion, fuel-hauler Gerry Mosley could run two miles in 17 minutes. Today this former First Sergeant suffers from shortness of breath, vertigo, migraines, and a nonstop ringing in his ears. He too is convinced that the anthrax shots got him. Never before depressed, Mosley finds himself looking at shotguns and contemplating suicide. ^{ccclxxx}

CBS estimates “thousands of soldiers” claiming serious illnesses from multiple military vaccines. But like the Gulf War Illness sufferers from Desert Storm, veterans of

America’s second Gulf War are finding that they don’t exist—at least not in the averted eyes of military brass. ^{ccclxxxi}

Are GIs being drugged to kill? “Many U.S. soldiers are being treated with a malaria drug that can cause psychotic episodes,” reports *Newsweek’s* Martha Brant. Developed for military use in the 1970s, Lariam is the Pentagon’s anti-malaria pill of choice. Also known as mefloquine, their label warns that these “red pills” can cause serious neuropsychiatric side effects. In other words, they can make healthy person nuts.

Sergeant George-Andreas Pogany believes that Lariam triggered his panic attacks in Iraq. Sleepless, vomiting and shaking after taking the red pills, Pogany was so disturbed on seeing a mangled body he disregarded a direct order. His court-martial for “cowardice” – the first such case since Vietnam—sent shock waves throughout the military community.

From October 2002 to September 2003 at least 45,000 Lariam pills were prescribed to U.S. troops.

DU FOR DUMMIES

The most dangerous roulette is breathing or ingesting the invisible

residue from exploded depleted and non-depleted uranium shells, bombs and missile warheads that spread cancer and genetic mutation randomly on the desert wind. Of the 580,400 soldiers sent to the first Gulf War, more than 11,000 are now dead. Another 325,000 Desert Storm enlistees are on Permanent Medical Disability. That's a casualty rate of 56%!

"The long-term effects have revealed that DU is a virtual death sentence," says Arthur Bernklau, executive director of Veterans for Constitutional Law Marion Fulk. The former nuclear chemist involved with the Manhattan Project, and since retired from the Lawrence Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab, interprets the new, rapid and multiple malignancies in soldiers returning from Iraq as "spectacular... and a matter of concern!" ^{ccclxxxii}

The U-238 in America's "depleted" uranium waste is extremely radioactive. As single gram emits 12,000 high energy Alpha particles per second. Inhaled DU particles bind with phosphate in human bones, as well as with DNA. Since Desert Storm, cancer rates among the people of Iraq have risen by 38%. ^{ccclxxxiii}

DU remains radioactive for 4.5 billion years. ^{ccclxxxiv}

In Baghdad one April afternoon, a UN team waving a Geiger counter over a pile of jet-black dust jumps back from a reading of 9,839 radioactive emissions in one minute—more than 300 times average background levels. Another dust mound hits 11,585 emissions-a-minute. ^{ccclxxxv}

More than 2,000 tons of DU lethally litters Iraq. ^{ccclxxxvi}

"It's everywhere," one GI says. "I know what it does. It's basically like leaving plutonium rods around. I'm 32-years-old. I have 80-percent of my lung capacity. I ache all the time. I don't feel like a healthy 32-year-old." ^{ccclxxxvii}

Symptoms associated with DU and even more lethal Non-DU poisoning include "emotional and mental deterioration, fatigue, loss of bowel and bladder control, joint pain, back and kidney pain, muscle weakness, memory problems and confusion and disorientation, flu-type illnesses, bleeding, runny noses, blood-stained mucous and many types of cancer," reports *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

"These symptoms are increasingly showing up in Iraq's children and among Gulf War I veterans and their offspring. And there is no indication that Gulf War II veterans will escape the plague they unleashed." ^{ccclxxxviii}

Even worse, new findings show that extremely toxic heavy metals in DU and Non-DU rounds, such as nickel, can switch on cancer

genes by their sheer toxicity, leading up to more than an eight-fold greater damage to human organs—including eggs and sperm. ^{ccccxxxix}

LEARNING TO KILL

In a culture addicted to weapons and violence, while remaining in deep denial over the trauma and anguish of killing, few in the military dare address the implications of socially sanctioned murder before “citizen soldiers” are snatched from city routines, handed a gun and ordered to kill.

The GI’s dilemma is compounded by modern military training intended to break innate inhibitions against taking human life so strong that only 15 or 20 infantrymen out of a hundred in the European and Pacific theaters of World War II fired their carbines—even at frightened people shooting at them. ^{ccccx}

“Improved” indoctrination making it easier to break the ultimate personal and religious taboo—and personal weapons capable of reaching out hundreds of yards with devastating effect—brought the firing rate up to 95% in Vietnam.

Still, former Army Ranger Lt. Col. David Grossman observes that many soldiers “have ‘Thou shalt not kill’ in the back of their minds, and think they’ve broken a profoundly moral law.” ^{ccccxi}

Dr. Shannon French teaches ethics at the Annapolis Naval Academy. “It has been very well documented that there is a close connection between severe combat stress and the sense of having crossed moral lines,” this MD says.

Army National Guardsman Paul Rieckhoff led a platoon through combat patrols, raids, and ambushes in Baghdad. Tens of thousands of returning veterans are going to need help, he says, but “all you get at the end of the war is a “a don’t-beat-your-wife briefing.””

Even worse, in a culture so saturated with media violence, the life-altering act of killing has become so trivialized, almost every veteran will be asked, “How many people did you kill?” ^{ccccxii}

Does the soldier’s guilt belong to all who send her to kill and destroy families and neighborhoods not so unlike our own? “Is there some collective psychosis at play? Are we working together to suppress something too awful to consider?” asks Slate reporter, William Saletan.

^{ccccxiii}

A Journal of Medicine study has found that 95% of Marines and Army soldiers in Iraq have been shot at; 57% percent have killed an enemy combatant; 95% have seen bodies or human remains. Because

face-to-face combat in an ambush, a mortar round, roadside rocket or improvised explosive device can happen at any moment, this constant vulnerability to violent death and killing changes something inside a person that is hard to undo.

A SOLDIER OBJECTS

Staff Sergeant Jimmy Massey is an unlikely peacenik. A Marine since 1992, he has been a recruiter, infantry instructor, and combat platoon leader. He went to Iraq primed to fight. “9/11 pissed me off,” he says. “I was ready to go kill a raghead.”

Shortly after Massey arrived in Iraq, his unit was ordered to set up roadblocks. To stop cars, the Marines would raise their hands—an “empty-handed” gesture interpreted throughout the Middle East as a welcoming signal to come ahead.

But if the drivers keep going, Massey says, “We would just light ‘em up.”

One day, he recalls, “there was this red Kia Spectra. We told it to stop, and it didn’t. There were four occupants. We fatally wounded three of them. We started pulling out the bodies, but they were dying pretty fast. The guy that was driving was just frickin’ bawling, sitting on the highway. He looked at me and asked, ‘Why did you kill my brother? He wasn’t a terrorist. He didn’t do anything to you.’”

Massey searched the car. “It was completely clean. Nothing there. Meanwhile the driver just ran around saying, ‘Why? Why?’ That’s when I started to question.”

The doubts led to nightmares and depression. Finally he told his commanding officer that he felt they were committing genocide in Iraq, and doing harm to a culture. When his superior called him “a wimp” Massey knew his 21-year career was over. He was soon diagnosed with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and given a medical discharge.

Back home in the Smoky Mountains of North Carolina, Massey got a job as a furniture salesman—only to be fired after addressing an antiwar rally. Two or three times a week, he puts on his Marine uniform and takes a long walk around the nearby town of Asheville carrying a sign that reads: “I killed innocent civilians for our government.”

People try to run him over. ccccxiv

It wasn’t the stress of combat that got to him, says this formerly gung-ho marine, but the contradictions of killing the people he’d come to liberate. “In a month and a half my platoon and I killed more than 30 civilians,” Massey says. He and Iraqi civilians saw Iraqi

corpses desecrated and robbed by American troops, and wounded civilians dumped into ditches without medical aid. ^{cccxv}

Early in April 2003 his unit shot and killed 10 unarmed demonstrators protesting the occupation just outside Baghdad. A single survivor crawled away with half his foot cut off—to the cheers and laughter of the troops. An 18-wheeler came speeding around the corner, so they lit it up too, killing the driver. His partner jumped out, burning alive. Then came a Toyota Corolla. “We killed the driver. The other guy came out with his hands up. We shot him too,” Massey recounts.

Five minutes later, Lima Company took up their positions and riddled a car carrying a woman and two children. “They all died.”

The next day his unit killed three more civilians. Stressed-out GIs kicked the charred corpses out of the vehicles and stuck cigarettes in their mouths.

“Time and time again,” Massey says, “I saw marines steal gold chains, watches and wallets full of money.”

“How do we expect people who’ve seen their brothers and mothers killed to turn around and welcome us with open arms?” Massey asks today. What do you say to someone dragged bleeding from a car when he says, “Why did you kill my brother? We didn’t do anything wrong.” ^{cccxvi}

In a report published by *The Lancet* medical journal, many of the 100,000 documented “excess deaths” over the past 18 months were caused by Vietnam-style U.S. air strikes on towns and cities. “The use of air power in areas with lots of civilians appears to be killing a lot of women and children,” says Les Roberts of the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health. “What we have evidence of is the use of air power in populated urban areas and the bad consequences of it. ^{cccxvii}

THE CRUCIFIXION OF FALLUJAH

After marines opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in Fallujah in April 2003, killing at least 18 people and wounding hundreds, the City of Mosques became the symbol of Iraq’s resistance. In the coming marine assault to “pacify” neighborhoods they have no business being in, Donald Rumsfeld says he does not foresee large numbers of civilian casualties. ^{cccxviii}

“The fighter jets were right on time and made their grand appearance with a series of massive air strikes,” recalls an American soldier who was there.

Between the pernicious bombs and fierce artillery, the sky seemed as though it were on fire for several minutes at a time. First, you would see a blaze of light in the horizon, like lightning hitting a dynamite warehouse, and then hear the massive explosion that would turn your stomach, rattle your eyeballs and compress itself deep within your lungs.

These air-deployed missiles make a banshee-like squeal and then suddenly would become inaudible. Seconds later, the colossal explosion would rip the sky open and hammer devastatingly into the ground, sending flames and debris pummeling into the air. And as always, the artillery—some rounds were high explosive, some were illumination rounds, some were reported as being white phosphorus (the modern-day napalm).

Suddenly, a transmission came over the radio approving the request for “bunker-busters.”

Circling continuously overhead throughout the battle was an array of attack helicopters. The most devastating were the Cobras and Apaches with their chain-gun missile launchers. Through the night vision, I could see them hovering around the carnage, scanning the ground with an infrared spotlight that seemed to reach for miles. Once a target was identified, a rapid series of hollow blasts would echo through the skies, and from the ground came a “rat-a-tatting” of explosions, like a daisy chain of supercharged black cats during a Fourth of July barbeque. More artillery, more tanks, more machine gun fire, ominous death-dealing fighter planes terminating whole city blocks at a time... this wasn't a war, it was a massacre!

We reduced Fallujah to rubble. We claimed victory and told the world we held Fallujah under total and complete control. CNN and Fox News harped and cheered on the television that the battle of Fallujah would go down in history as a complete success, and a testament to the United States' supremacy on the modern battlefield.

However, after the dust settled, and generals sat in cozy offices smoking their victory cigars, the front lines in Fallujah exploded

again with indomitable mortar, rocket, and small-arm attacks on U.S. and coalition forces.

I saw the look in the eyes of a reconnaissance scout while I talked to him after the battle. His stories of gore and violent death were unnerving. He described in accurate detail how some enemy combatants were blown to pieces by army-issued bazookas, some had their heads shot off by a 50 caliber bullet, others were run over by tanks as they stood defiantly in the narrow streets, firing an AK-47.

The soldier told me how one of his favorite sergeants died right in front of him. He was taking cover behind an alley wall, and as he emerged to fire his M4 rifle, he was shot through the abdomen with a rocket-propelled grenade. The grenade itself exploded and sent shrapnel into the narrator's leg. He showed me where a chunk of burned flesh was torn from his left thigh.

He ended his conversation saying that he was just a dumb kid from California who never thought joining the army would send him straight to hell. He told me he was tired as fuck and wanted a shower. Then he slowly walked away, cradling a rifle under his arm. ^{ccccix}

“My kids are hysterical with fear,” says Fallujah mom Farhan Salih. “They are traumatized by the sound but there is nowhere to take them.” ^{cd}

HITTING HOSPITALS

“Civilian hospitals organized to give care to the wounded and sick, the infirm and maternity cases, may in no circumstances be the object of attack but shall at all times be respected and protected by the Parties to the conflict,” the Fourth Geneva Convention on Warfare declares.

But in the Pentagon's new terror war, hitting hospitals is a priority. As international correspondent Pepe Escobar explains, “During the first siege of Fallujah in April, doctors told independent media the real story about the suffering of civilian victims. So this time the Pentagon took no chances: no gory, disturbing photos of the elderly, women and children... the civilian victims of the relentless bombing.” ^{cdi}

Fallujah's main hospital is seized by the U.S. troops in the first

days of the siege. The only other clinic, the Hey Nazzal, is hit twice by U.S. missiles. More than 20 civilian medics are killed, and its medicines and medical equipment destroyed. Two ambulances that arrived to tend the wounded are shot up and destroyed by U.S. troops. ^{cdii}

From a hospital in Baghdad, the *Guardian*'s Jonathan Steele and Iraqi journalist Dahr Jamail report:

She lays dazed in the crowded hospital room, languidly waving her bruised arm at the flies. Her shins, shattered by bullets from U.S. soldiers when they fired through the front door of her house, are both covered by casts. Small plastic drainage bags filled with red fluid sit upon her abdomen, where she took shrapnel from another bullet.

Fatima Harouz, 12 years old, lives in Latifiya, a city just south of Baghdad. Just three days ago soldiers attacked her home. Her mother, standing with us says, "They attacked our home and there weren't even any resistance fighters in our area." Her brother was shot and killed, and his wife was wounded as soldiers ransacked their home. "Before they left, they killed all of our chickens," added Fatima's mother, her eyes a mixture of fear, shock and rage.

Another young woman, Rana Obeidy, was walking home with her brother two nights ago. She assumes the soldiers shot her and her brother because he was carrying a bottle of soda. This happened in Baghdad. She has a chest wound where a bullet grazed her, unlike her little brother who is dead.

Lying in a bed near Rana is Hanna, 14 years old. She has a gash on her right leg from the bullet of a U.S. soldier. Her family was in a taxi in Baghdad this morning that was driving near a U.S. patrol when a soldier opened fire on the car.

In another room a small boy from Fallujah lays on his stomach. Shrapnel from a grenade thrown into their home by a U.S. soldier entered his body through his back, and implanted near his kidney. His father was killed by what his mother called, "the haphazard shooting of the Americans."

"They bombed my neighborhood and we used car jacks to raise

the blocks of concrete to get dead children out from under them,” another man says.

Out in front of the hospital three Humvees pull up. The armed Americans riding inside have not yet figured out that the best way to help is to stop blowing families apart and... “We don’t need you here! Get the fuck out of here! Bring back Saddam!” cry the families of the dead and maimed. “Even he was better than you animals! We don’t want to die by your hands, so get out of here! We can take care of our own people!” ^{cdiii}

The Arab press continues to report on families burying their dead in gardens, eking out an existence on flour or dates, bleeding to death without medical assistance or becoming ill after drinking contaminated water. “We have yet to discover how many newly minted orphans there are, courtesy of the marines, such as five-year-old Aysha Saleem who lost her parents and grandparents in one of the U.S. military’s ‘precision strikes’ writes the *Arab News*. ^{cdiv}

“Corpses were tied to U.S. tanks and paraded around like trophies,” *The Guardian* informs its readers. Even if they were trying to defend their homes by fighting the Americans, does that make them ‘terrorists’?” ^{cdv}

“Destruction was everywhere,” recounts Bilal Hussein, a 33-year-old Associated Press photographer who stayed behind to capture searing images. “I saw people lying dead in the streets, wounded were bleeding and there was no one to come and help them. There was no medicine, water, no electricity nor food for days.”

Bilal decided to swim to safety. But he changed his mind after seeing American helicopters “firing on and killing people who tried to cross the river.” The AP photog watched in horror as a family of five is shot dead as they try to flee across the Euphrates. He “helped bury a man by the river bank, with my own hands.” ^{cdvi}

MOOD MUSIC

“Only two songs send a shiver up my spine,” says a young marine. “The marine hymn, and that song by Toby Keith after 9/11, which says ‘we’re gonna kick you up the ass’—that’s the American way.” ^{cdvii}

“I’m not talking about leaving,” says U.S. presidential contender John Kerry when asked about his policy toward Iraq. “I’m talking about winning!” ^{cdviii}

But the only way to “win” against people defending their families

and homes is to kill as many as possible, raze their neighborhoods, and terrorize the survivors into fleeing for their lives. More than 2,085 civilian corpses are left strewn in the ruins of Fallujah by this latest U.S. urban assault. ^{cdix}

NO MORNING PRAYERS

Throughout the City of Mosques, it is estimated that 40% of the buildings are completely destroyed; one in five has major damage. Three of Fallujah's water purification plants are wrecked; a fourth is badly damaged. The municipal water distribution network no longer exists. "The scale of this human tragedy—the dispossession and displacement of 300,000 persons—is hard to imagine," reports *Agence France Presse*. ^{cdx}

For the first time in Fallujah's 1,200 mosques, there are no morning prayers. Almost half of these Islamic churches have been demolished by "Christian" air strikes and tank shells—"something that will haunt the United States for ages" predicts the *Asia Times*. ^{cdxi}

There are other sacrileges. A live report from a CNN correspondent in Fallujah describes U.S. tanks "blasting away inside the city" with outlawed phosphorous shells that burn exposed faces and limbs to the bone, while leaving clothing intact. Also dropped from A-10 attack jets are "large quantities of cluster bombs—one of the most inhuman weapons on the planet," CNN reports. Children often pick up the unexploded bomblets "because they look like toys." ^{cdxii}

But how can a country that has abandoned so many its own children to poverty, drugs and neglect care about the children of strangers whose daily existence revolves around their families?

GHOST TOWN

Ali Fadhil returns to a ghost town. The honking of geese flying over the Euphrates River echoes through empty homes filling block after block. Many have gaping holes in the walls and roofs. Entire blocks are piles of brick and masonry where "skinny, crazed-looking dogs roam the streets." ^{cdxiii}

"It was completely devastated, destruction everywhere," this Arab correspondent reports. "It looked like a city of ghosts. Fallujah used to be a modern city; now there was nothing. We spent the day going through the rubble that had been the centre of the city; I didn't see a single building that was functioning. Imagine sleeping in a place where any of the surrounding houses might have one, two or three bodies. I couldn't sleep with the smell of death on my clothes."

Ali enters a graveyard as the bodies of two young men are arriving. “The faces were rotting. I counted the graves: there were 74. The two young men made it 76,” Ali writes.

Salman Hashim is crying beside the grave of his son, who died defending his neighborhood against the American onslaught. “He is 18 years old. He wanted to be a doctor or engineer after this year; it was his last year in high school,” Salman says.

The next grave is inscribed with the name of a woman called Harbyah. One of her relatives tells Ali that he had “found her dead in her bed with at least 20 bullets in her body.”

Ali next goes into a house in the market. “There were four bodies inside the guest room. One of the bodies had its chest and part of its stomach opened, as if the dogs had been eating it,” the Arab journalist described. “It is the young men of the family who are usually given the job of staying behind to guard the house. It seemed to me as if they had been asleep and were shot through the windows.”

Tellaib, 33, a merchant tells the Arab correspondent: “We were stopped, in a line of cars, by some Humvees which had overtaken us. One soldier waved us forward, but as I drove up there was firing from another Humvee. I was shot in the side of the head, and my wife and elder son were shot in the chest. I think they must have died then. There was blood all over my eyes. I lost control of the car, which fell into the river. I managed to get out, and then tried to get the others out, but I could not and the car sank.”

A teacher named Rahim Abdullah saw two men shot. “They were just ordinary people,” he says. ^{cdxiv}

A builder named Abu Rabe’e has a message for the British s reporter: “We’re not looking for this sort of democracy, this attacking of the city and the people with planes and tanks and Humvees.”

Nihida Kadhim, a housewife, has just arrived back in the city to check out her house. She points to a message written in her lipstick on her living-room mirror. She couldn’t read English. It says: “Fuck Iraq and every Iraqi in it!”

“They are insulting me, aren’t they?” she asks.

Dr. Rafa’ah al-Iyssaue, director of the main hospital in Fallujah city, finds it “really distressing picking up dead bodies from destroyed homes, especially children.”

Dr. Rafa’ah’s hospital emergency team recovers more than 700 bodies from rubble where houses and shops once stood. More than 550 are women and children. A very small number are men, Reuters reports.

“Many bodies are found in a mutilated condition, some without legs or arms. These numbers are only from nine neighborhoods of the city—18 others had not yet been reached many of the dead had been already buried.”^{cdxv}

When Doctor Salam Ismael takes aid into Fallujah, it is the smell of rotting bodies— “men, women and children, many half-eaten by wild dogs”—that hits him. “A wave of hate had wiped out two-thirds of the town, destroying houses and mosques, schools and clinics,” he later writes to friends. “You may think you know what happened in Fallujah. But the truth is worse than you could possibly have imagined.”

From the Jolan district of Fallujah, 17-year-old Hudda Fawzi Salam Issawi relates how:

On November 9 [2005] American marines came to our house. My father and the neighbour went to the door to meet them. We were not fighters. We thought we had nothing to fear. I ran into the kitchen to put on my veil, since men were going to enter our house and it would be wrong for them to see me with my hair uncovered...

This saved my life. As my father and neighbour approached the door, the Americans opened fire on them. They died instantly.

Me and my 13-year-old brother hid in the kitchen behind the fridge. The soldiers came into the house and caught my older sister. They beat her. Then they shot her. But they did not see me. Soon they left, but not before they had destroyed our furniture and stolen the money from my father’s pocket.

She comforted her dying sister by reading verses from the *Koran*. After four hours her sister died. For three days Hudda and her brother stayed with their murdered relatives. But they were thirsty and had only a few dates to eat. But they were spotted by a U.S. sniper. Hudda was shot in the leg, her brother ran but was shot in the back and died instantly.

RESPECT AND DIGNITY

“Treat all civilians and their property with respect and dignity,” orders the U.S. Army Manual on *Combined Arms Operations in Urban Terrain*.

But manual goes on to explain that the lives of invaders illegally undertaking “Urban Operations Under Restrictive Conditions” are more precious than innocent family members—and can kill civilians at will, if “necessary to save U.S. lives.”^{cdxvi}

What are such arrogant American lives doing there in the first place? On November 12, Doctor Salam continues:

Eyad Naji Latif and eight members of his family—one of them a six-month old child—gathered their belongings and walked in single file, as instructed, to the mosque.

When they reach the main road outside the mosque they heard a shout, but they could not understand the word... It could have been “now” in English... American soldiers appeared on the roofs of surrounding houses and opened fire. Eyad’s father was shot in the heart and his mother in the chest.

They died instantly. Two of Eyad’s brothers were also hit, one in the chest, the other in the neck. Two of the women were hit, one in the hand, the other the leg.

The snipers next killed the wife of one of Eyad’s brothers. When she fell her five-year-old son ran to her and stood over her body. They shot him dead too.

The survivors made desperate appeals to the Americans to stop firing.

But Eyad told me that whenever one of them tried to raise a white flag they were shot. After several hours he tried to raise his arm with the flag. But they shot him in the arm. Finally he tried to raise his hand. So they shot him in the hand.

Doctor Salam “found people wandering like ghosts through the ruins. Some were looking for the bodies of relatives. Others were trying to recover some of their possessions from destroyed homes... In one queue some of the survivors were fighting over a blanket.”

An elderly woman, her eyes raw with tears, grabbed the doctor’s arm. “She told me how her house had been hit by a U.S. bomb during an air raid. The ceiling collapsed on her 19-year-old son, cutting off both his

legs. She tried her best to stop the bleeding, but it was to no avail. She stayed with him, her only son, until he died. He took four hours to die.”

As Doctor Salam goes on to describe:

In most of the houses, the bodies were of civilians. Many were dressed in housecoats, many of the women were not veiled—meaning there were no men other than family members in the house. There were no weapons, no spent cartridges. It became clear to us that we were witnessing the aftermath of a massacre, the cold-blooded butchery of helpless and defenseless civilians.

Nobody knows how many died. The occupation forces are now bulldozing the neighborhoods to cover up their crime. What happened in Fallujah was an act of barbarity. The whole world must be told the truth. ^{cdxvi}

SPREADING THE EMBERS

Comparing the carnage in Fallujah to the massacre of Guernica by Nazi dive-bombers during the Spanish Civil War, the entire civilized world is outraged.

The U.S. military claims that no civilians have been killed in the city. Rumsfeld and his generals call the slaughter “a complete success.” As James Petras puts it in *Counterpunch*, “The terror bombing of homes, hospitals and religious buildings by hundreds of airplanes and helicopter gunships are described by the media as ‘securing the city for free elections’.” ^{cdxviii}

In actuality, Ali Fadhil points out, the U.S. military “simply spread the fighters out around the country. They also increased the chance of civil war in Iraq by using their new National Guard of Shias to suppress Sunnis.” ^{cdxix}

NO VACANCY

Though more than 25,000 U.S. troops have assaulted Fallujah’s neighborhoods, it takes them nearly eight days to go down three main streets from north to south, advancing about a quarter mile a day.

Not everyone makes it to the end. A surgeon at Landstuhl describes the results:

The casualties are laying in the floors of the hospital—there are no free beds. The staff is working around the clock, the

Bundeswehr (German Army) is helping with medicals, blood and devices. Hourly, new planes with new heavily wounded casualties are arriving. Less serious casualties are flown to the U.S. or to other U.S. hospitals. But also the other U.S. hospitals have no more capacity (two in Italy, two in Belgium, three others in Germany). So, these casualties are flown to Water Reed Army Medical Center in Washington.”^{cdxx}

HALLIBURTON

Far from men screaming for their mamas, the bankers and the corporations, and politicians they back are battenning on the carnage. While paying former CEO Dick Cheney a million dollars a year in “back pay”, Halliburton has so far been handed more than \$11 billion of dollars in White House contracts—and still can’t provide American troops with adequate water and food.

Over the past year, federal auditors have issued at least nine reports criticizing Halliburton’s work in Iraq. Multiple criminal investigations into overcharging and kickbacks involving White House contracts with Cheney’s former company continue.^{cdxxi}

Frustrated American officers often hold “rants about Halliburton, Bechtel, DynCorp, Fluor, and the rest of the contracting mess,” says one NCO. “I have seen the profiteering on a first hand basis. I have never seen that level of outright greed even around the Pentagon at budget time. It makes you nauseous.”^{cdxxii}

IN COUNTRY

With 3,000 supply vehicles in 250 convoys on Iraq’s roads each day, the war against Iraq hangs on U.S. supply columns getting through. Such inviting targets are frequently ambushed. According to a leaked study prepared under the orders of the top U.S. commander in Iraq, Lieutenant General John Vines reports 15,527 attacks against Coalition Forces throughout Iraq from July 2004 to late March 2005. Of the 3,306 attacks in the Baghdad area during the past three-and-a-half months, 2,400 have been directed against Coalition Forces.^{cdxxiii}

“In traveling around Iraq, I always stay well away from American convoys,” writes *LA Times* reporter Andrew Cockburn. In a typical incident near the newly “secured” Fallujah, “Gunnery in an armored column responded to a roadside bomb blast by opening up, apparently indiscriminately, with heavy automatic weapons on traffic moving in the opposite direction on the other side of the highway median. Six

civilians died, including four in a single minivan, some of whom were decapitated.”

Cockburn also reports “other stress behaviors, including looting and pillaging” as widespread among the occupation forces. “Whenever they get the chance, they steal money from the locals,” says an American infantry soldier. “I’m not talking about small amounts of cash, I’m talking about a nice, fat bankroll. They take the money during raids, while searching cars, while detaining locals.”^{cdxxiv}

“I’m also afraid of the American convoys,” writes Nadia Ahmed. “Every morning when I leave my house, I obsess over avoiding them so I don’t end up like all the people who have died from their gunfire or under their armored Humvees. Bad luck for whoever gets too close! A few weeks ago, their tanks crushed a family inside their car. And that one was parked perfectly correctly alongside the sidewalk.”^{cdxxv}

An April 2005 audit by the inspector general will find that among 198 contracts, 154 “contained no evidence” that prepaid goods and services promised by contractors were ever delivered.^{cdxxvi}

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Chapter 15

TRIAL AND TRIBULATION

In an October surprise, a seven-minute taped segment aired on the al-Jazeera satellite network over White House objections shows the fugitive Osama bin Laden making his first video appearance in more than a year. Though the tape, which carries English subtitles, is undated, bin Laden mentions that it has been four years since 9/11, and that U.S. casualties in Iraq have reached 1,000. Acknowledging perhaps half of those Americans and green-card South American recruits actually killed in combat according to grunts on the ground—that official death toll was reached in early September 2004. ^{cdxxvii}

In that killer's last video episode aired throughout Arabia on September 10, 2003, Osama bin Laden was heroically framed strolling through rocky terrain with his top deputy al-Zawahri. Both men were carrying AK-47s, mentioning five hijackers by name on an accompanying audiotape, bin Laden praised the “great damage to the enemy” perpetrated on September 11, 2001.

Now, in his latest video message, bin Laden admits that the destruction on 9/11 exceeded his most “optimistic” calculations. Injected into the U.S. presidential campaign just four days ahead of the November 2 elections, the man now claiming responsibility for Black Tuesday warns Americans, “There are still reasons to repeat what happened.”

But Osama quickly adds that America can avoid a repeat of 9/11 if it stops threatening the security of Muslims. “Any state that does not interfere with our security, has naturally guaranteed its own security,” he pledges.

Inspired to attack the United States when tall buildings in downtown Beirut were destroyed during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the terror magnate explains that he ordered the September 11 attacks in retaliation for the injustices against the Lebanese and Palestinians perpetrated by Israel and its U.S. sponsor.

“While I was looking at these destroyed towers in Lebanon, it sparked in my mind that the tyrant should be punished with the same, and that we should destroy towers in America so that it tastes what we taste and would be deterred from killing our children and women,” bin Laden says. “God knows that it had not occurred to our mind to attack the towers. But after our patience ran out and we saw the injustice and inflexibility of the American-Israeli alliance toward our people in Palestine and Lebanon, this came to my mind.”

If so, it is a mind as vapid, vengeful and murderous as those he opposes. From Tel Aviv to Gaza, Manhattan, Kandahar and Fallujah, the most lasting result from the murder of innocents is... revenge.

Saying that his followers have left alone countries that do not threaten Muslims, Bin Laden accuses George Bush of misleading Americans by saying the attacks on their country were carried out because al-Qaeda “hates freedom.”

But he thanks the unelected U.S. President for his assistance. In planning the attacks, bin Laden says he told Mohamed Atta that the strikes must be carried out “within 20 minutes, before Bush and his administration noticed.”

After reviewing the televised footage of George Bush at the elementary school, bin Laden says it appears “that a little girl’s talk about her goat and its butting was more important than the planes and their butting of the skyscrapers. That gave us three-times the required time to carry out the operations, thank God. It never occurred to us that the Commander-In-Chief of the American armed forces would leave 50,000 of his citizens in the two towers to face these horrors alone,” he adds.

Likening the Bush administration to repressive Arab regimes run by the military and oligarchs, Osama says the resemblance became clear to him when Bush’s father was President and visited Arab countries, where “he wound up being impressed by the royal and military regimes, and envied them for staying decades in their positions and embezzling the nation’s money with no supervision.

“He passed on tyranny and oppression to his son, and they called it the Patriot Act, under the pretext of fighting terror,” bin Laden concludes his history lesson. “Bush the father did well in placing his sons as governors, and did not forget to pass on the expertise in fraud from the leaders of the [Mideast] region to Florida to use it in critical moments.” ^{cdxxviii}

HANDING VICTORY TO TERRORISTS

In response to Osama bin Laden's campaign message, George Bush vows that Americans "will not be intimidated" by Osama's threats. Or analysis.

Other lessons are delivered at home. In January 2005, a five-day court-martial at Fort Hood, Texas finds army prosecutors depicting the first soldier to be tried on charges arising from the Abu Ghraib torture scandal as an aberrant, sadist who took pleasure in seeing detainees suffer. Convicted of all five charges, Army Specialist Charles Graner Jr. faces up to 15 years in Fort Leavenworth—a military stockade where treatment of despised army prisoners is just slightly more restrained than at Abu Ghraib. ^{cdxxxix}

But several witnesses at Graner's trial testify that the bewildered enlisted man is being scapegoated. Colonel Thomas M. Pappas, the highest-ranking military intelligence officer at Abu Ghraib, and Lieutenant Colonel Steven Jordan, head of the Joint Interrogation and Debriefing Center at that prison are personally named as either having known about or specifically encouraged the tactics Graner and others used, including the siccing of vicious attack dogs on bound detainees.

A classified report confirms that Lieutenant General Ricardo S. Sanchez, top U.S. commander in Iraq at the time, approved the harshest interrogation methods for Bush's innovative and illegal category of "non-combatants".

Lawyer Harvey Volzer warns that the torture orders go all the way up the command chain to the White House. "Pappas gives them Sanchez, and they don't want that," Volzer notes. "Sanchez can give them Rumsfeld, and they don't want that. Rumsfeld can lead to Bush and Gonzales, and they definitely don't want that."

It was Alberto Gonzales who argued in a memorandum to President Bush that parts of the Geneva Conventions were "quaint" and "obsolete". The White House counsel and Attorney General nominee also assured the Commander-In-Chief that he could probably escape domestic criminal prosecution for violating the U.S. War Crimes Act of 1996: 18 USC 2441.

Side-stepped by Gonzales, Secretary of State Colin Powell had sent the White House council a written rocket on January 26, 2002 to warn that exempting detainees from the Geneva protections "will reverse over a century of U.S. policy and practice in supporting the Geneva conventions and undermine the protections of the law of war for our troops." ^{cdxxx}

Throughout Iraq, where fresh souvenir snapshots of American

abuses are still circulating widely, a teacher in the northern city of Kirkuk tells an American reporter that the Abu Ghraib nightmare reminds him of the crimes committed by Saddam Hussein's regime.

"When Saddam created the mass graves, we thought that it was a savage thing," says Sardar Mohammed, 38. "But when we saw the Americans and what they have done at Abu Ghraib, I was astonished because America came here carrying slogans of freedom and democracy."^{cdxxxii}

TERROR WAR

Many Americans slumber on. But in the wake of Abu Ghraib, Judge Richard Goldstone, one of the world's most eminent jurists and first chief prosecutor at the war crimes tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda, calls Bush's war on terror a threat to international justice, and a challenge to the rule of law in the 21st century.

Though the creation of the International Criminal Court is a "tremendous forward step," for which "Canada should get much credit," Goldstone observes that since September 2001, the United States has played into terrorist hands by detaining suspects without trial and deporting them to Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and Middle Eastern countries where torture is routinely used.

"In a democracy we are handing victory to terrorists if we change our way of life and abandon human rights," the judge declares.

Instead, he urges the United States to reclaim the moral high ground, as well as the initiative—by fighting terrorism "for what it is, that is, criminality. To use the analogy of a real war is to elevate the status of the terrorists, and hand them the advantage."^{cdxxxiii}

SUING RUMSFELD

Two months later, Rumsfeld's role in recommending torture is exposed when the American Civil Liberties Union and Human Rights First sue him on behalf of eight men subjected to "torture and abuse" at the hands of U.S. forces commanded by the Secretary of Defense. In its March 15, 2005 filing in an Illinois federal court, the ACLU alleges: "Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld bears direct responsibility for the torture and abuse of detainees in U.S. military custody,"

The first federal lawsuit to name a top U.S. official in the ongoing torture scandals seeks a court order declaring that Secretary Rumsfeld's actions violated the U.S. Constitution, federal statutes and international law.

“Secretary Rumsfeld bears direct and ultimate responsibility for this descent into horror by personally authorizing unlawful interrogation techniques and by abdicating his legal duty to stop torture,” Lucas Guttentag, lead counsel and director of the ACLU’s Immigrants’ Rights Project tells reporters.

Joined as co-counsel in the lawsuit are a retired U.S. Navy Rear Admiral, a former navy Judge Advocate General, a retired U.S. Army Brigadier General, a former Chief Judge of the U.S. Army Court of Criminal Appeals, and a former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights at the Department of Justice.

“Since Abu Ghraib, we have vigorously campaigned for an independent commission to investigate U.S. policies that have led to torture and cruel treatment of detainees. These calls have gone unanswered by the administration and Congress, and today many of the illegal polices remain in place,” observes Michael Posner, Executive Director of Human Rights First.

The men represented in the lawsuit were subjected to severe and repeated beatings, cutting with knives, sexual humiliation and assault, mock executions, death threats, and restraint in contorted and excruciating positions. None of the men was ever charged with a crime before finally being released. The lawsuit also seeks compensatory damages for “harms suffered”.

There are hundreds more like them.

The complaint specifically charges that brutal and illegal interrogation techniques were personally approved by Secretary Rumsfeld in December 2002. Those techniques included the use of “stress positions,” 20-hour interrogations, the removal of clothing, the use of dogs, isolation, and sensory deprivation.

Rumsfeld also approved an updated torture menu in April 2003 that included dietary manipulation, sensory deprivation and “false flag” interrogations leading detainees to believe that they have been transferred to a country that permits torture. The Secretary of Defense, who still has yet to answer for his dereliction of duty on September 11, also made clear in memos to the military that harsher techniques could be used with his personal authorization.

“Human rights law and military rules prohibit torture at all times and in every circumstance, a principle that applies to the highest commander as well as the lowest subordinate,” reminds former Justice Department official and co-counsel Lee.

Speaking for the armed services, Rear Admiral John Hutson states: “One of the greatest strengths of the U.S. military throughout our history has been strong civilian leadership at the top of the chain of command. Unfortunately, Secretary Rumsfeld has failed to live up to that tradition. In the end, that imperils our troops and undermines the war effort. It is critical that we return to another military tradition: accountability.”

“The effects of Rumsfeld’s policies have been devastating both to America’s international reputation as a beacon of freedom and democracy, and to the hundreds, even thousands of individuals who have suffered at the hands of U.S. forces,” said ACLU Executive Director Anthony D. Romero. His organization has filed three similar complaints in Connecticut, South Carolina and Texas against Colonel Thomas Pappas, Brigadier General Janis Karpinski and Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez.^{cdxxxiii}

Army Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, an Army Reserve officer who had been placed in charge of 17 prison facilities in Iraq—and the highest-ranking officer to be punished for the Abu Ghraib prison scandal—agrees with those charges. “People have escaped blame, all the way up to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and the vice president,” she says. “I’m not angry. I’m not avoiding blame,” she later says. “It’s about the truth.”^{cdxxxiv}

A NOBEL SPEECH

On Pearl Harbor Day, 2005, playwright Harold Pinter addresses an audience in Stockholm after receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature. In part, he says:

The majority of politicians, on the evidence available to us, are interested not in truth but in power and in the maintenance of that power. To maintain that power it is essential that people remain in ignorance, that they live in ignorance of the truth, even the truth of their own lives.

As every single person here knows, the justification for the invasion of Iraq was that Saddam Hussein possessed a highly dangerous body of weapons of mass destruction, some of which could be fired in 45 minutes, bringing about appalling devastation. We were assured that was true. It was not true. We were told that Iraq

Trial and Tribulation

had a relationship with al-Qaeda and shared responsibility for the atrocity in New York of September 11th 2001. We were assured that this was true. It was not true. We were told that Iraq threatened the security of the world. We were assured it was true. It was not true.

Innocent people, indeed, always suffer.

The United States finally brought down the Sandinista government. It took some years and considerable resistance but relentless economic persecution and 30,000 dead finally undermined the spirit of the Nicaraguan people. They were exhausted and poverty stricken once again. The casinos moved back into the country. Free health and free education were over. Big business returned with a vengeance. “Democracy” had prevailed. But this “policy” was by no means restricted to Central America...

The United States supported and in many cases engendered every right wing military dictatorship in the world after the end of the Second World War. I refer to Indonesia, Greece, Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay, Haiti, Turkey, the Philippines, Guatemala, El Salvador, and, of course, Chile. The horror the United States inflicted upon Chile in 1973 can never be purged and can never be forgiven.

Hundreds of thousands of deaths took place throughout these countries... But you wouldn't know it. It never happened. Nothing ever happened. Even while it was happening it wasn't happening. It didn't matter. It was of no interest...

The United States biggest blind spot, this Nobel playwright says, “is self-love...Listen to all American presidents on television say the words ... ‘I ask the American people to trust their president in the action he is about to take on behalf of the American people.’”

The words “the American people” provide a truly voluptuous cushion of reassurance. You don't need to think. Just lie back on the cushion. The cushion may be suffocating your intelligence and your critical faculties but it's very comfortable. This does not apply of course to the 40 million people living below the poverty

line, and the two million men and women imprisoned in the vast gulag of prisons, which extends across the US.

What has happened to our moral sensibility? Did we ever have any? What do these words mean? Look at Guantánamo Bay. Hundreds of people detained without charge for over three years, with no legal representation or due process, technically detained forever. This totally illegitimate structure is maintained in defiance of the Geneva Convention... by a country, which declares itself to be “the leader of the free world”.

The invasion of Iraq was a bandit act, an act of blatant state terrorism, demonstrating absolute contempt for the concept of international law. The invasion was an arbitrary military action inspired by a series of lies upon lies and gross manipulation of the media and therefore of the public; an act intended to consolidate American military and economic control of the Middle East... A formidable assertion of military force responsible for the death and mutilation of thousands and thousands of innocent people.

We have brought torture, cluster bombs, depleted uranium, innumerable acts of random murder, misery, degradation and death to the Iraqi people and call it “bringing freedom and democracy to the Middle East.” How many people do you have to kill before you qualify to be described as a mass murderer and a war criminal? One hundred thousand? More than enough, I would have thought.

The United States now occupies 702 military installations throughout the world in 132 countries. The United States possesses 8,000 active and operational nuclear warheads. Two thousand are on hair trigger alert, ready to be launched with 15 minutes warning. It is developing new systems of nuclear force, known as bunker busters. Who, I wonder, are they aiming at? Osama bin Laden? You? Me? Joe Dokes? China? Paris? Who knows? What we do know is that this infantile insanity—the possession and threatened use of nuclear weapons—is at the heart of present American political philosophy. We must remind ourselves that the United States is on a permanent military footing and shows no sign of relaxing it.

Many thousands, if not millions, of people in the United States itself are demonstrably sickened, shamed and angered by their government's actions, but as things stand they are not a coherent political force—yet. ^{cdxxxv}

AMERICA'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM DOUBLED

Though his speech is expunged from U.S. press accounts and many Web sites, Pinter is right about the nukes. Hidden behind the uproar over ongoing torture at more than two dozen secret U.S. military detention facilities, the Bush administration pushes through funding increases that more than doubles the spending on their apocalyptic “mini-nuke” program. More than \$4.5 billion will be spend to build a modern production facility capable of pumping out as many as 450 warheads per year. ^{cdxxxvi}

“How could we claim to support non-proliferation while building our own arsenal and developing plans for testing it?” asks Joel Wendland in *Political Affairs*.

The Global Security Institute warns, “The NPR reflects a major shift in the military and ethical rationale for nuclear weapons, no longer defining them as devices of deterrence, but as weapons of war.”

Beijing's *China Daily* describes America's nuclear turnabout as having “reduced the trustworthiness of the United States,” for which it will pay a “high diplomatic price.”

Even worse, predicts the *Moscow Times*, Bush's policy “may drastically lower the nuclear threshold and trigger numerous local and regional nuclear wars.”

The PNAC gallery remains confident that they will be able to use their new nuclear toys “safely” because if all goes exactly according to plan, the burrowing bombs will explode like small suns a dozen feet or so below the ground.

But weapons experts warn that radioactive fallout from such “dirty” detonations cannot be contained. Writing in the *Journal of the Federation of American Scientists*, Robert Nelson warns that a strike using “low-yield” atomic weapons “does not appear possible without causing massive radioactive contamination.” ^{cdxxxvii}

POPPERS

Widespread use of uranium-tipped bombs and cannon shells has already spread permanent radioactive contamination throughout Afghanistan and Iraq — and around the globe.

But other sources of radiation are also being introduced into both theaters.

Desperate to eliminate images of civilian carnage, US commanders begin using portable electromagnetic-frequency weapons in Fallujah and other ‘hot spots’ to pacify restive neighborhoods by scrambling the minds and depressing the moods of everyone exposed to their invisible electromagnetic radiation.

The grunts call the plastic, dome-shaped devices “poppers”. Once activated, each hidden transmitter emits a widening circle of invisible energy capable of passing through metal, concrete and human skulls up to half a mile away.

More than a decade in development, poppers were derived from experimental emitters mounted on destroyers produce underwater 3-D snapshot. According to a Gulf War veteran whom I have come to call “Hank”, whales and dolphins affected by the powerful sonars would either go into a frenzy, or “lay so laconically, dazed, that they drown.”

Having experimented with remote mind and mood manipulation at least as long as the U.S. Air Force, which produced its first major study on turning people into puppets in the early 1960s, the Office of Naval Intelligence noted the death of a popper-exposed navy diver and wondered if human mammals would be similarly effected.

“The poppers’ are capable of using a combo of ULF, VLF, UHF and EHF wavelengths in any combination at the same time, sometimes using one as a carrier wave for the others,” Hank explains, in a process called superheterodyning. The silent frequencies daily sweeping Fallujah and other trouble spots are the same Navy “frequencies that drove whales nuts and made them go astray onto beaches.”

Each pulse from a “popper” placed in the tinderbox slums of Sadr City, “turns you into a tuning fork, finding *your* frequency,” this former military technician explains. When brains start “humming along” with this superimposed signal, they are “entrained.”

Now shift the frequency slightly, and unwilling audiences targeted by an inaudible electronic wind bending their neurons back-and-forth thousands of times per second can easily become agitated, lethargic and confused without knowing why.

After first being “tested” against the people of Afghanistan, 25 poppers were redeployed into Iraq in June 2004. Hidden on rooftops in Fallujah, Sadr City and other towns resisting the U.S. occupation, and powered by trailer-mounted 3- to 5-kilowatt generators, the poppers saturated already hard-hit local populations with electromagnetic

radiation for up to four days at a time—elevating the risk of serious illness, suicidal depression, impaired cognitive ability, even death. Particularly among pregnant women and children.

Armed American patrols sent in to check and refuel the pallet-size generators report encountering local residents so out of it “they can’t really think.” After 32-hours’ exposure, people become “disoriented like cattle,” members of Hank’s former unit told him.

But the experiment backfires when some resistance fighters hit by the poppers lose all restraint in attacking American troops. At the same time, many affected GIs begin acting like “mean drunks,” Hank says. Agitated, sleepless and disoriented, as many as 15 grunts out of every hundred wander away from their units—only to sheepishly return a day or two later when the electromagnetic effects have worn off.

Hoping to neutralize a fiery young Shia cleric named Muqtada al-Sadr, ONI operatives next target Iraq’s political leadership. Urging his followers to kill the American occupiers in one sermon, preaching accommodation with the hated infidels in the next, swearing he will never participate in Iraq’s budding political process, then telling his bullying army of eager martyrs to put down their weapons and become politicians—the man who runs Iraq can’t seem to make up his mind.

But that’s understandable. It may no longer belong to him.

In early 2004 the anti-American firebrand announced his 10,000-member militia’s unilateral ceasefire with U.S. forces in Sadr City. Telling his resistance army to “go home” and stop attacking Iraqi security forces, Muqtada said he intended to form a political party and run for the coming 2005 Iraq elections.

Now, in July 2004, with the Taliban resurgent the poppers are hurriedly transferred back to Afghanistan. Later that month, Muqtada announces his intention to boycott the upcoming national conference, claiming through a spokesman that the exercise in democracy is “a sad joke” and “a trick on the Iraqi people.”

A month later, puzzled American officials remark on Muqtada al-Sadr’s shifting motivations and goals. His disapproval of the occupation “waxes and wanes” they say.

In early February 2005, Muqtada becomes kingmaker by sending his most persuasive representatives to convince Iraq’s governing council members to abandon their preference and choose the Ibrahim al-Jaafari for a second term as a prime minister. Ibrahim will soon be insisting on a timetable for the invaders to depart.

But on February 13, 2005, Muqtada tells Syrian television, “The

United States is targeting Islam, the Muslim and Arab states in the Middle East and beyond. It wants to control the world.”

On May 16, 2005, Muqtada al-Sadr comes out of hiding for the first time since his fighters clashed with American forces in Najaf the previous August. Holding a press conference in his father’s home in that holy Shiite city 100 miles south of Baghdad, the man said to be the direct descendent of the Prophet Mohammed delivers a fiery speech demanding that coalition forces leave Iraq.

In July 2005, in what one commentator calls, “a stunning transformation” following a series of bloody engagements against American forces in Sadr City and cities through the south, Muqtada al-Sadr abruptly tones down his rhetoric’s against the American occupation.

But on February 25, 2006 the same cleric with a wide following among Iraq’s majority Shi’ite population blames the United States for fomenting internal sectarian violence. Once again, he demands immediate American withdrawal.

Then his foes take him aside. “We didn’t tell him how, we didn’t tell him the when’s and the where’s” that he had been zapped, Hank relays from a member of the American delegation who asks Muqtada al-Sadr “remember when you walked in ready to burn the house down and ended up signing statements.”

According to Hank’s on-scene source, the successor to one of Iraq’s most revered Saddam-fighters and spiritual leaders is told, “We have the ability to make you or any of your leaders change your mind. We won’t take your will if you don’t use your will to make the wrong decisions.”

Since then, Hank says, Muqtada “has become convinced that he has made decisions not entirely his own.”

The experiment in mind and mood control ends outside the key industrial town near the Syrian border when an American unit hoping to subdue al-Qaim activates five poppers for calibration in the last week of February 2006.

Hank describes what happens next: “Fire, flames, smoke, crackle, pop—*oooh*, that’s not good.” In electronics, this is a response “you don’t want,” he adds. Especially not with military equipment hardened against outside energy inputs.

Nobody knows what happened. All poppers in theater are hastily retrograded back stateside for diagnosis and re-evaluation, where they apparently still remain. But Hank is worried. “Psyops is no longer an idea or a name, it’s a way to get what you want done. Not weapons of

force—weapons of *will*. And if we take yours away, we win.” He pauses. “What really scares me is that they’re going to do it here.” ^{cdxxxviii}

OUT OF LUCK

“The Iraqi people are out of luck, the way it stands right now,” says Patrick Burns. But the spokesman for the U.S. watchdog group, Taxpayers Against Fraud is referring to a law created by the Coalition Provisional Authority just days before it ceded sovereignty to Iraq’s new government in June 2004 that gave American contractors immunity from prosecution in Iraq. The illegal, U.S.-imposed law “makes Iraq into a ‘free-fraud zone,’” says Alan Grayson, a Virginia attorney who is suing the private security firm Custer Battles. ^{cdxxxix}

With Iraq’s oil production now under the control of former ExxonMobil executive Gary Vogler, the people of Iraq will find it even more difficult to pay back nearly \$300 billion in foreign debt left over from the Saddam years. Servicing these debts will require further “privatization” of the country’s assets in a “firesale” to U.S. and allied corporations. ^{cdxli}

Software consultant Richard Grove has also noticed the Coalition Authority’s lack of accounting protocols, and reports of “open unguarded flatbed trucks with bricks of billions of U.S. dollars out in the open, driving around without anyone keeping track of where the money was going, or who was receiving it.”

After stripping the Iraq treasury and oil-for-food funds, and turning off the meters measuring on the oil flowing out of the country under its control, the U.S. coalition ultimately controlled at least \$21 billion in Iraqi funds. Bremer’s “last gig before capitalizing on the Iraq war was at Marsh & McLennan,” Grove relates. ^{cdxlii}

OSAMA WHO?

At least the long hunt for Osama bin Laden is over. In late 2005 the Central Intelligence Agency closes Alec Station, the unit tasked with hunting him down. Michael Scheuer, a former senior CIA official who first headed Alec Station, says the move ignores the threat still posed by bin Laden. “This will clearly denigrate our operations against al-Qaeda,” Scheuer says. ^{cdxliii}

But Bush is no longer interested. After telling Americans and the world that the United States of America wanted outlaw Osama bin Laden “dead or alive,” within days of 9/11, the presidential pretended had pledged, “We will smoke them out of their holes.” Warning

that bin Laden's days were numbered, Bush had added, "If he thinks he can hide and run from the United States and our allies he will be sorely mistaken." ^{cdxliii}

Four years later, when asked why he thought bin Laden still had not been caught, Bush had told the *Washington Post*, "Because he's hiding." ^{cdxliv}

Dubya is still irked that Americans don't get it. On another occasion, he had lost patience with reporters asking when Osama bin Laden would be brought to justice for September 11. "I don't know where he is," Bush had barked. "You know, I just don't spend that much time on him... And, again, I don't know where he is. I—I'll repeat what I said: I am truly not that concerned about him." ^{cdxlv}

The FBI is. Osama bin Laden made the agency's "Ten Most Wanted" roster in the summer of 1999 after being indicted for murder, conspiracy and other charges in connection with the American embassy bombings. Though the \$5 million reward placed on his head at that time was upped to \$25 million after September 11, the terrorist mastermind has never been officially cited for those atrocities.

"It makes sense from a legal point of view," explains David Kelly, a former U.S. Attorney in New York who was in charge of Osama's U.S. embassy bombing case. "If I were in government, I'd be troubled if I were asked to put up a wanted picture where no formal charges had been filed, no matter who it was." ^{cdxlvi}

MOUSSAOUI ON TRIAL

The only person held to account in the United States for the atrocities of September 11 is Zacarias Moussaoui. On trial for his life, every time U.S. District Judge Leonie Brinkema and the jury leave the courtroom for a lunch break, America's only accused 9/11 participant launches into loud tirades. "May God curse Zerkin and MacMahon!" the shackled prisoner denounces his own lawyers. "God curse America and bless Osama bin Laden!"

In denouncing his own court-appointed lawyers, Moussaoui's outbursts seem to substantiate the contention of his attorneys that their client is delusional. Defense psychologist Xavier Amador testifies that Moussaoui's surreal fantasies include the firmly held beliefs that George W. Bush will free him from prison, and that his attorneys are conspiring to kill him.

Who knows? Moussaoui testifies that he and would-be shoe-bomber Richard Reid were slated to dive a fifth airplane into the White

House on September 11. But the prosecution has to admit there is no evidence that the equally confused Reid had any prior knowledge of 9/11, or that al-Qaeda was desperate enough to have him work with Moussaoui. ^{cdxlvii}

On March 13, 2006, after learning that a federal attorney has coached prosecution witnesses in violation of court rules, Judge Brinkema comes close to canceling the entire circus.

“It is very difficult for this case to go forward,” declares the U.S. District Judge after learning that a lawyer for the Transportation Security Administration sent an email to seven Federal Aviation Administration officials outlining the prosecution’s opening statements, and commenting on the testimony given by government prosecution witnesses. Judge Brinkema says that the rule against witnesses hearing testimony in advance is “a very important protection of the truth-seeking process.”

This show-stopping development comes on the trial’s fifth day. While being led from the courtroom, Moussaoui calls out, “The show must go on.” ^{cdxlviii}

It does. Judge Brinkema refrains from calling a mistrial. And so, after four years of legal wrangling and a six-week trial, a jury of three women and nine men takes just seven days to deliberate the government’s best evidence against Moussaoui—before rejecting its call to kill the only person charged as an accessory in the deaths of nearly 3,000 people on September 11, 2001. ^{cdxlx}

After the guilty verdict is read out, Zacarias Moussaoui smiles boastfully and flashes “V” for “victory” signs to the public in attendance.

Judge Leonie Brinkema invites relatives of the victims to address the condemned man. Sentenced to life in an American prison, where he will likely not be treated gently by his fellow inmates, Moussaoui sits erect and attentive as he is berated by families who finally have an outlet for their grief and anger.

Looking directly across the court at Moussaoui, Rosemary Dillard wishes him the worst. “I hope you stay in that jail without seeing the sun, without seeing the sky, without contact with the world,” she says.

But when he gets his chance to speak, Moussaoui mocks the victims of 9/11. “I have seen an amount of hypocrisy beyond any belief. Your humanity is very selective humanity,” he begins. “You have branded me as a terrorist or a criminal... you should look at yourselves first ... I am a mujahid and you think you own the world, and you must admit you are wrong.”

Picking up rhetorical steam, Moussaoui brands the trial a “wasted opportunity for this country to understand and to learn why people like me and people like Mohamed Atta and the rest have so much hatred for you. You don’t want to hear, America. You will feel. We will come back another day,” he declares.

“God curse America! God save Osama bin Laden! You’ll never get him!” Moussaoui shrieks towards relatives who lost loved ones in the World Trade Center attacks. “My liberation will be proof we are the soldiers of God and you are the army of Satan!”

“There is still one final judgment day,” Lisa Dolan reminds him. She lost her navy captain husband in the aerial assault on the Pentagon.

Referring to Dolan’s husband, Moussaoui shoots back, “Of course he was developing peace and love in the world in his warship. You say that we are a hate organisation,” screams the al-Qaeda agent. “I say the CIA is a peace and love organisation!”^{cdl}

It is a considerable relief to everyone present when the failed flier is finally led away.

BRIBES AND CENSORSHIP

That same month, 9/11 Commission members should have been put on trial after Pakistan’s foreign office admits that it has paid tens of thousands of dollars to get all “anti-Pakistan” references deleted from the commission’s final report. Paid to unnamed commissioners, the bribes have assured that all damaging revelations on Pakistan’s role in 9/11—including the only identified September 11 paymaster—have been cut. The *London Times* claims “a lot of money” was spent to silence corrupt Commission members.^{cdli}

Through it all, America’s “Apocalyptic President”—as Sidney Blumenthal describes him—remains unfazed. Writing for *The Guardian*, the veteran correspondent describes Bush’s performance at a public meeting in Cleveland, Ohio “to answer the paramount question on Iraq” that is on American minds.

Namely, what is their country doing there?

A questioner identified as Phillips thinks he knows. Zeroing in on *American Theocracy* and the *Book of Revelation*, Phillips informs the President that these two books “make the point that members of your administration have reached out to prophetic Christians, who see the war in Iraq and the rise of terrorism as signs of the apocalypse. Do you believe this? And if not, why not?”

Bush’s response is not reassuring. “Hmmm,” he says.^{cdlii}

BUSH'S PALACE

Also that month, a U.S. Inspector General's report into reconstruction finds that water, sewage and electricity are still operating at prewar sanction levels. During the last week of March 2006, oil production is 2.18 million barrels per day. Before the war it was 2.6 million. ^{cdliii}

The people of occupied Iraq continue to fear U.S. intentions. The *Times of London* reports how "Irritation grows as residents deprived of air-conditioning and running water three years after the U.S.-led invasion watch the massive U.S. Embassy they call 'George W's palace' rising from the banks of the Tigris"—behind a 15-foot-thick perimeter wall.

"They are not impressed by the architects' claims that the diplomatic outpost will be visible from space and cover an area that is larger than the Vatican city They are more interested in knowing whether the U.S. State Department paid for the prime real estate or simply took it," the British newspaper continues. "While families in the capital suffer electricity cuts, queue all day to fuel their cars and wait for water pipes to be connected, the U.S. mission due to open in June next year will have its own power and water plants to cater for a population the size of a small town."

Looming over Baghdad's skyline, the new embassy's 21 buildings represent the only big U.S. building project in Iraq that is on time and within budget. ^{cdliv}

RAMADI

By June 2006, the city of Ramadi has become another Fallujah. Visiting Ramadi regularly from a nearby village, Sheikh Majeed al-Ga'oud says, "The American snipers don't make any distinction between civilians or fighters, anything that moves, he shoots immediately. This is a very dirty thing. They are killing lots of civilians who are not fighters."

Just as in Fallujah, the resistance owns Ramadi. "They are controlling the ground and they are very self-confident. They don't cover their faces with masks, and the Americans are running away from them. The Americans cannot win an infantry war with them, so they began using massive airpower to bomb them," Sheik Majeed observes. "You will see that they bombed the power stations, water treatment facilities, and water pipes. The phone station was attacked by U.S. troops, and now even the building is completely destroyed. And the train station also, one hundred percent destroyed—day after day F-16s bomb it."

Before the Americans came, “It was a very quiet city, there was order,” Sheikh Majeed recounts. “Though there are many different tribes there, and there is tension between the tribes, there was order. They respected each other, they respected the law.”

Trouble began when a “peaceful demonstration against the occupation” of just 30 people caused the American military to break its agreement with the tribal chiefs not to enter the city.

“Iraqis were killed, and following tribal policies of revenge, a cycle of violence began,” the sheik explains after one of his friends saw a young boy “going to his school at about eight in the morning, carrying his books and crossing the street.”

As his friend described it: “Suddenly he fell down. I thought he just had a problem in his leg and fell, but he stayed for a long time like this.”

One of boy’s brothers, named Haithem took two steps to help him.

“Snipers shot and missed him. So he didn’t try again. The boy remained there four hours, bleeding. He had been shot in the head.”^{cdlv}

Where is the honor in shooting children?

What will happen when these GIs come home?

THE AGONY OF IRAQ

When George Bush assures Americans that everything is going well in Iraq, he must mean for Halliburton and the Carlyle Group. Over just two days in early July 2006, retaliatory massacres by gunmen and suicide bombers linked to rival Shia and Sunni sects leave more than 130 people dead across the country in what government leaders are now calling a civil war.^{cdlvi}

“Iraqi leaders have all but given up on holding the country together and, just two months after forming a national unity government, talk in private of ‘black days’ of civil war ahead,” Reuters reports.

There is even talk of pre-empting worse bloodshed by using the Tigris River like Beirut’s “Green Line” to divide Baghdad between Shi’ite eastern and Sunni western zones. A third zone would grant autonomy to the Kurdish north, where Iraq’s biggest oil fields await exploitation.

“Iraq as a political project is finished,” one senior Iraq government official declares.

“The situation is terrifying and black,” adds Rida Jawad al-Takki, a senior Shi’ite member of parliament. With U.S. forces powerless to

stop the “ethnic cleansing” of mixed Shia and Sunni neighborhoods, this parliamentarian says, “People are taking the protection of their neighborhoods into their own hands.” ^{cdlvii}

Speaking to the international press, the Speaker of the Iraqi Parliament likens the American invasion and its consequences to “the work of butchers.” ^{cdlviii}

Writing for the *Times of London*, James Hider says that two nights spent listening to gunfire blazing over the telephone and listening to his terrified Iraqi staff facing have persuaded him “that Baghdad is now verging on total collapse.”

Were they the Mahdi Army, the Shia militia blamed for drilling holes in their victims’ eyes and limbs before executing them by the dozen? Or were they Sunni insurgents hunting down Shias to avenge last Sunday’s massacre, when Shia gunmen rampaged through an area called *Jihad*, pulling people from their cars and homes and shooting them in the streets?

A local journalist told me bitterly this week that Iraqis find it ironic that Saddam Hussein is on trial for killing 148 people 24 years ago, while militias loyal to political parties now in government kill that many people every few days. Those that can are leaving the country. At Baghdad airport, throngs of Iraqis jostle for places on the flights out.

Last month that there were 644,500 refugees in Syria and Jordan in 2005—about 2.5 per cent of Iraq’s population. In total, 889,000 Iraqis had moved abroad, creating the biggest new flow of refugees in the world. And the exodus may only just be starting.

^{cdlix}

MUSLIMS

Weary of the mounting disaster in Iraq, angered by the Bush administration’s lack of response to a global warming and Hurricane Katrina, and frightened by rising crime rates and collapsing state and city budgets as hundreds of billions of dollars continue to be funneled into the pockets of the Oval Offices closest corporate cronies, by July 2006, the American public has just about had enough.

The Bush cabal responds by cranking up the fear rhetoric. American Muslim leaders protest his use of the term “Islamic fascists”.

Shortened to “Islamafascist” the meaningless racist phrase sounds menacing. A *USA Today*-Gallup pole shows 39% of Americans saying they feel at least some prejudice against Muslims. ^{cdlx}

Replacing black men as their favorite bogeymen, a majority of Americans now say that Muslims “are disproportionately prone to violence.” The truth, as the rest of the world knows, is that it is Americans who are disproportionately prone to blow up entire city blocks occupied by non-white families whose traumatized and irradiated children are as precious as their own. ^{cdlxi}

At least one-in-four Americans, most of whom have never lived among the 96% of the world’s population residing beyond their imaginations and blinkered borders, believe racist stereotypes as dangerous as those that once hung the innocent descendents of slaves from Alabama trees.

Another poll shows the belief that “Muslims value life less than other people” has become a popular projection that inverts the murder of more than 110,000 Iraqi civilians—mostly children under the age of 18—since America’s trumped-up aggression in 2003. “The Muslim religion teaches violence and hatred” blare hate-filled Christian fundamentalist broadcasts. When a young American girl asks on her website how many children Jesus killed, she receives a flurry of death threats.

^{cdlxii}

But American anger is also beginning to swing toward the White House. As this book goes to press, more than one in three Americans suspect that federal officials either directly assisted in the September 11 massacre—or deliberately absented themselves from taking any action to stop it so that Washington could go to war in the Middle East.

Transpose “Europe” for the “Middle East” and the motives behind both Pearl Harbors are exactly same.

IRAQ WHERE?

After the senseless deaths of so many, and the squandering of so much treasure and good will in a fruitless search for weapons of mass destruction long-reported destroyed, George Bush thought he knew where they went. Looking under his desk in the Oval Office, Bush had told laughing reporters in 2004: “Nope. No weapons over there.” Camera shutters whirred as he moved around his office. “Maybe under here.” More laughter. And again no luck. “No weapons over there.” ^{cdlxiii}

Now even that callous display is trumped. In August 2006, betrayed American soldiers serving in the lethal ruins of Iraq

remove worn snapshots of the burning Twin Towers taped to their helmets after the President who sent them halfway around the globe to extract revenge from families like their own tells a White House press conference that Iraq had nothing to do with September 11.

Bush: “The terrorists attacked us and killed 3,000 of our citizens before we started the freedom agenda in the Middle East.”

Reporter: “What did Iraq have to do with it?”

Bush: “What did Iraq have to do with what?”

Reporter: “The attack on the World Trade Center.”

Bush: “Nothing. Except it’s part of — and nobody has suggested in this administration that Saddam Hussein ordered the attack. Iraq was a—Iraq—the lesson of September 11th is take threats before they fully materialize, Ken. Nobody’s ever suggested that the attacks of September the 11th were ordered by Iraq.”^{cdlxiv}

THE DEVIL INSIDE

On September 20, 2006, the day after George Bush’s violent address to the UN, President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela takes the same podium and delivers a different message to the world.

“Yesterday, the devil came here,” Chávez tells the assembly, making the sign of the cross. “And it smells of sulfur still today...”

When the chuckling and applause die down, Chávez continues: “Yesterday, ladies and gentlemen, from this rostrum, the President of the United States, the gentleman to whom I refer as the devil, came here talking as if he owned the world. As the spokesman of imperialism, he came to share his nostrums, to try to preserve the current pattern of domination, exploitation and pillage of the peoples of the world.”

Waving a copy of *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Dominance*, Hugo Chávez recommends Noam Chomsky’s book to General Assembly. The United States, he goes on, is “the gravest threat looking over our planet, placing at risk the very survival of the human species. We appeal to the people of the United States to halt this threat, like a sword hanging over our heads.”^{cdlxv}

Accusing Bush of neglecting the poor in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, Chávez has ordered Venezuela’s U.S.-based oil company Citgo to sell discounted heating oil to disadvantaged American families. The 40 million discounted gallons sold so far will be doubled, the Venezuelan President now tells the U.N., adding that he hopes Americans will choose an “intelligent president” in the future.

“Believe me, if I were to decide tomorrow to stop sending oil to

the United States... the price would go up to US\$150, US\$200 a barrel. But we don't want to do it, and we aren't going to do it," Chavez promises. "We ask only for respect." ^{cdlxvi}

His speech to the world's nations receives a five-minute standing ovation.

DEADLY DUST

There is no cheering on a bleak day in early January 2006, when an NYPD motorcycle honor guard leads the body of Detective James Zadroga to rest in a New Jersey cemetery. One of 40,000 responders to the World Trade Center disaster, Zadroga had worked more than 450 hours on the "Pile" and at the Staten Island landfill, where the rubble from the WTC was dumped.

The detective survived every danger, except one. Within a few weeks, he began coughing constantly. Over the following months, the formerly vital 29-year-old developed severe shortness of breath, acid reflux, and the frightening constrictions of breathing in his sleep called apnea. He started passing out. Coughing incessantly, he was unable to walk more than 100 feet without gasping for air.

By late 2003, Zadroga requires oxygen continuously. On January 5, 2006, with his 4-year-old daughter asleep by his side, Zadroga dies. He leaves behind \$50,000 in medical bills and an orphaned Tylerann, who is taken in by her grandparents.

The coroner's report lists the cause of death as "granulomatous pneumonitis".

"It is felt with a reasonable degree of medical certainty that the cause of death in this case was directly related to the 9/11 incident," writes Dr. Gerard Breton. The pathologist later tells reports, "I cannot personally understand that anyone could see what I saw in the lungs, and know that the person was exposed to ground zero, and not make the same link I made."

Zadroga is the third responder to die from inhaling the dust heaped in deadly drifts from Ground Zero through lower Manhattan. Often cited as the first official confirmation that service on "The Pile" had proven fatal, the definitive coroner's report is dismissed by city officials as "inconclusive". Health Commissioner Thomas Frieden says he would be "surprised" if Zadroga's suffocation could be conclusively linked to particles breathed in at Ground Zero.

On August 6, 2004, retired firefighter Stephen Johnson is the next to die from service in the line of duty. "Yet the rolls of honor do not

bear his name, nor has the mayor or the fire commissioner stood in public tribute to this fallen hero,” the *New York Daily News* remarks.

Another 12,000 responders to the Twin Towers are ill. Falsely assured that the dust-clogged air was safe, most were not provided with respiratory masks against clouds of concrete dust, pulverized glass and asbestos that swirled around them for weeks and months. The materials burned their air passages, causing inflamed sinuses, bronchitis and RADS, reports the *Daily News*. Reactive Airways Dysfunction Syndrome is an irritant-induced asthma that can feel like suffocation.

Other Ground Zero responders contract cancers. After Stephen Johnson’s partner was killed on 9/11, Johnson went back to work at Ground Zero, “wading in dust up to his knees,” recounts the *Daily News*. “He was a big, strapping guy, fit and healthy. And his every breath moved him closer to death.”

Early in 2004, Johnson becomes short of breath while shoveling snow. Over the next few weeks, his breathing difficulties worsened. In hospital that March doctors feared he was suffering a heart attack. Instead, he was later diagnosed with ILD.

Caused by inhaling irritants, Interstitial Lung Disease is a rare condition found in miners who work in clouds of coal dust. Mobilizing to fight particles in the lungs, the immune system surrounds each particle with nodules called granulomas that retard breathing by scarring oxygen-extracting tissues.

By the time Johnson is diagnosed, 80% of his lungs are destroyed. He too requires oxygen 24-hours-a-day. After he suffers a fatal heart attack, his wife Rose is not awarded the full-salary death benefit given to the widows of firefighters who die in the line of duty.

James Godbee is the next responder to die after contracting ILD. The 19-year NYPD veteran and father of two had worked at Ground Zero for 12 to 15 hours each day for 80 days from September 13, 2001 to June 2002. He was never issued respiratory equipment, the *Daily News* learns.

In November 2003 Godbee develops a cough, shortness of breath, joint pains, fever, weight loss and swelling in his salivary and tear glands. Doctors suspect sarcoidosis. Caused by foreign irritants, in addition to the lungs, the illness attacks organs such as the heart, skin and kidneys, and can lead to progressive multi-organ failure.

Five days after Christmas 2004, Godbee tells his wife Michelle that he feels “a little down, a little sick.” After taking their daughter to an evening movie, he returns home to Manhattan’s Stuyvesant Town,

gives his daughter “a long hug good night”—and minutes later suffers a seizure. He is pronounced DOA at the hospital.

An autopsy of the 44-year-old World Trade Center responder finds granuloma in his lungs, colon and heart. But the city pension board denies his family enhanced benefits, cynically ruling that Godbee could not have contracted sarcoidosis in the line of duty because the condition is “not known to be related to employment in the police force.”

Paramedic Debbie Reeve spent more than six months collecting human remains from the “Pile” and staffing a morgue at Ground Zero. Early in 2004, Reeve, too, developed a cough and shortness of breath after exertion. Antibiotics proved useless for the mesothelioma later found in her lungs. This rare cancer is caused by asbestos.

Her husband, David, also an FDNY paramedic, is still battling the city’s Law Department for workers’ compensation to cover the \$90,000 in medical bills decimating his paychecks, and memories of his wife’s service.

Anxiety is widespread among those who served so valiantly. David Worby, a lawyer waging a lawsuit on behalf of 8,000 WTC responders and their survivors, says that more than 170 of his clients have developed cancers and 57 have died. “It’s a horror show,” he says.

Praised as a “hero” on 9/11, NYC Mayor Giuliani is nowhere to be found. ^{cdlxvii}

TOUGH LOU

Lou Cacchioli spends most of his spare time hanging around his former firehouse, staying close to the department he loves, and offering guidance to some of the kids coming onboard. After four long years, Tough Lou’s gentle heart is finally able to cope with the horror and grief of 9/11.

“They finally found Tommy’s body in the debris about 10 days later,” the firefighter says of his partner, who was not behind him in that hallway, after all. “I went back to Ground Zero every day for a long time... until I finally went to a doctor and was put on medical leave. It got to the point I couldn’t breath anymore and I lost a lot of vision due to the broken glass getting into my eyes.”

Called to testify privately before the 9/11 Commission, Cacchioli walked out on what felt more like an interrogation than an opportunity to simply tell what happened in the North Tower that day.

“They were trying to twist my words and make the story fit only

what they wanted to hear. All I wanted to do was tell the truth and when they wouldn't let me do that, I walked out," Cacchioli tells the *Arctic Beacon*. "It was a disgrace to everyone, the victims and the family members who lost loved ones. I don't agree with the 9/11 Commission. The whole experience was terrible." ^{cdlxviii}

GETAWAY

Richard Grove now sees 9/11 as "the getaway vehicle" for the theft of trillions of dollars, "and our collective future." The national security whistle-blower says, "Our country has been under attack now for almost five years, and not one of the legitimate terrorists has been named in the media, let alone brought to justice for their part in these events."

Yet, the "junk-media" that Americans consume everyday "emboldens the denial" of White House racketeers, Grove observes. "As a result the American people have become so estranged from the truth that they basically have to risk insanity to follow the diabolical machinations of the events to their source of origin." ^{cdlxix}

FULL STOP

Awoken from a recurring dream, air traffic controller Danielle O'Brien still sits bolt upright in bed most nights, "reliving, reseeing, rehearsing" the events of a morning as fresh in its horrors as if it happened yesterday.

Mostly she dreams of the green radar display in front of her. In her dream it is always the same: The radarscope is a pool of green gel. When she reaches into it to stop Flight 77, she does not harm the plane. She just holds it in her hand. And somehow that stops everything. ^{cdlxx}

SPIRITS OF 9/11

In early August 2006, Rich Valles is driving into New York City with his family to catch a flight back to the west coast, after visiting his birthplace in New Jersey. At a crossroads offering several routes uptown, the investment representative for a private offshore minerals firm has to make a decision.

Only one sign points "downtown". Without knowing why, Rich turns that way. Or the rental car turns itself. He used to drive a truck in the City, so he knows his way around. But driving up Broadway, he doesn't realize where he is until the street takes a sudden jog. Then he sees a crane against a gap in the skyline and knows exactly where he is.

My God, I'm at the Twin Towers site, he thinks. The road straightens and Rich Valles finds himself staring at a ruined stairwell from one of the towers. The burnt-out skeleton of another building is still standing.

"Tower Five," I tell him after he parks with the cop cars right on the site, gets out of the car with Cathy and India, and calls me on his cell phone.

Rich says that the fences and the barricades surrounding the site remind him strongly of the Pearl Harbor memorial. Years ago in Oahu, on a day just like this he had remarked to his business partner that he could feel the souls of drowned sailors around them. "They're still here," Rich had said to his startled companion. "A lot of them haven't left."

Now he says the same thing to me.

"They're here," my friend exclaims over the phone.

"Who?" I ask.

"The people who died here. There's a lot of them. It's the same thing here. I have the same exact feeling as I had at Pearl Harbor: lies and deception. It's the same message: 'Tell the truth. We were betrayed.' That's all I'm getting. I get the same feeling I got at the *Arizona* memorial... the same message: 'We were fodder. We were just used.' They were sacrificed. I get the same thing, man!"

On this Saturday afternoon just shy of five years since the towers were toppled, Rich estimates upwards of 2,000 people are at Ground Zero. The crowd is very quiet, he reports. Even the children appear somber. Looking at the people around him, he counts 13 women and three men. Another group includes 10 women and only one man. "Women outnumber the men by 10 to one," Rich says over the phone.

"Why do you think that is?" I ask him.

After a pause, he says, "The women are being pulled because they're sensitive to the souls. When women give birth to children, they're sensitive to this." But the women drawn in such numbers don't know why they're here, he adds. "They all have the look of lost children."

The phone is silent for another moment. When Rich next checks in, he says he is standing nearly alone on an observation platform overlooking Ground Zero. "They led me here," he tells me, referring not to helpful onlookers but the lost souls of the WTC. "I'm 28-feet above the hole," he says in a voice hushed with awe. "There's no fence. No obstructed view."

In the faces of the few people standing in silence nearby, he observes the same troubled look: Something is wrong with the story they'd been told.

There is no laughter among the children, including his own usually happy daughter. His four-year-old is standing apart, quiet and wide-eyed, as if listening to unheard voices. As he watches, India shrinks back from the observation fence.

“They are very quiet. Very slow to walk. Very silent,” Rich relates. “The children have a different look on their face.”

“What kind of look?” I ask.

“Of feeling the connection,” Rich replies, with the souls whose bodies died here on September 11, 2001. “They’re still young enough connect.”

All the adults around them are connecting, too. “Only most of them don’t know it.”

What’s the vibe, I want to know. What kind of vibrations is he picking up now?

“It’s a heavy feeling, man. I’m getting besieged with energy.”

“What kind of energy?”

“Energy from the people who haven’t left. More than half are still here. You’ve got to remember that these people were pulverized when the buildings came down. There’s no opportunity to realize that you’ve crossed over. *Bang!* All of a sudden you’re...”

My friend falls quiet for a moment.

Then he says, “Wow.”

Then he says, “Yeah.”

“Just keep telling the truth,” he says into the phone. “That’s what the souls from September 11 are saying. ‘Nothing can outlast the truth.’”

Apparently, the book I’m writing about this day of deception is going to help “bring down this fraudulent event.”

“Tell them we are on it, and we are honored,” I say. “Everyone who reads my book is going to want to come down here.”

Rich gasps.

“The biggest hit!” he shouts over the phone. “Every hair on my body stood up when you said everyone’s going down here after they’ve read your book. Every time you say something, the energy comes in waves. They are comparing it to the sacrifice at Pearl Harbor. With the same long-term results. It’s still going on.”

As he speaks into his cell phone, the sun is setting in the gap where the Twin Towers once stood.

“You are the outlet for our legacy,” he says to me. “This isn’t me speaking. These are the souls speaking: ‘The people who are lying to our nation will be exposed.’”

Rich reads from a plaque commemorating Moira Smith. After helping a broker from Aon named Edward Nicole to safety, the NYPD officer had re-entered the WTC to render further assistance. So did NYTD officer Christopher Amorosi. The list of dead heroes covers six big panels—each with 11 rows of 42 names each.

“We want our nation back. They will not steal it.”—that’s from the police officers and the firemen,” Rich says.

“I wasn’t coming for this,” he insists. “I was pulled. The souls pulled me here. I had no intention to come here. This is not an intention. It’s not even a thought.”

For both of us, the most fitting memorial to those who perished here would be to leave the site exactly as it is.

PART III – EMERGENCE

PART III

EMERGENCE

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

Chapter 16

WHAT NOW?

What are we going to do while awaiting whatever comes next? With cheap oil running out, Gaia's gravest ecological thresholds already behind us, and fundamentalist lunatics armed with weapons of unholy destruction echoing each other's twisted intolerance, we gaze down at the abyss between our curled toes and realize as a species that only two options remain:

Fall

or...

Fly

We are talking transformation, of course. And why not? We are here to get the lessons we have arranged for ourselves. And we have attracted some doozies.

The good news is that we are already graduating. Good people everywhere are sick to their souls of the killing and destruction documented in this "witnessing" book of narrative and exploration. Even before "America's New War"—as CNN so enthusiastically promoted mass murder—kicked off with a high-explosive rain of America's radioactive waste over the families of Iraq, millions of ordinary citizens, from toddlers to elders, some using canes and others in wheelchairs, rallied 'round the globe, crying out for peace and condemning state-organized mass murder as totally unacceptable in this, the "Last Chance Century" to get together and get it right.

That assault went ahead. And it continues today with hundreds of thousands of civilians dead, and as many American soldiers totally FUBAR'd in their bodies, spirits and minds. But *10 million* Internet-networked people pouring into streets from Antarctica to Athens to call for an end to war marked a sea change in human history.

The worldwideweb has come of age, and so have we. According to the Nielsen Net ratings, there are an estimated *half-billion* Internet users interacting online today—an increase compounding by approximately 10% annually. ZDNet reports, “A new Web site every four seconds.”¹

If support for Bush’s lawless aggression was initially as shallow as the lies his handlers concocted for it (and the Net so quickly exposed), it is nonexistent now. People everywhere understand that with so many challenges motivating us to start pulling together to save our foundering spaceship, we can no longer afford to divert our treasure, time and talent into unchecked militarism and the wasteful destruction and distraction of war.

TUBED

So why don’t we focus our wealth, creativity and technologies on meeting our basic needs, while sustaining the planet we steward?

Because, say many thoughtful commentators like Chellis Glendinning, the illusions of power and control have become more seductive in a male-oriented culture that almost exclusively emphasizes technology and oppression, while denigrating our connection to all life and ourselves. In an America made increasingly uneasy by our unstat-ed guilt and phantom fears, we feel we need more bombs; fighter jets; nearly autonomous robotic weaponry, satellite lasers and body counts to “protect” ourselves from our own projections—and “prove our grandiosity,” as Glendinning puts it.

This is suicidal. In *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, evolutionary philosopher Gregory Bateson concludes, “It is doubtful whether a species having both an advanced technology and this strange polarized way” of pitting mind against body—and by extension, technology against the natural world— “can survive.”

Our desire for control “often backfires,” Glendinning points out. “When humans assume a position of extreme dependence on technical artifacts... the lines blur between who is master and who is slave.”

Don’t think so? What happens to our well-being when our car breaks down, or our computer or telephone go out?

Meanwhile, survival and advancement in a technological society requires “that we act ‘cool’ and behave like machines,” this psychiatrist writes. To “function in a mechanistic world, we used to fragmented thinking—which isn’t thinking at all, but a kind of “clicking” through a constant stream of disparate thoughts and emotions that keep us

constantly off-balance and distracted, while we ignore our deepest feelings, guiding intuitions and conflicted conscience.

Plugging into TV, the Internet, music, the radio and our phones now occupies 30% of our North American day, versus less than 21% for work. An additional 39% of the remaining day is spent wired into media while involved in some other activity, such as working, cooking, eating or lovemaking. How can we be fully present in such important moments?

As David Appell points out in *Media and Entertainment*, “That’s a whopping 69% of a day spent in one medium or another.” Though iPods and cellphones are making inroads, television is still by far the dominant medium, with the average American spending 241 minutes in front of the boob tube every day—that’s six hours! Home computers captivate most of us for another two hours every day. That’s a total of eight hours out of every 24 spent consuming virtual reality “programmed” by the corporate interests who supply it. ⁱⁱ

Bemused by video images, our own denial and media-fed fantasies, “many of us tend to reside in a semiconscious state,” Glendinning says. As a result, our unconscious mind becomes a garbage bin of dark, repressed feelings that we individually and nationally act out in places like our kid’s room, Hiroshima or Fallujah by exhibiting “behaviors we neither feel nor understand.”

A pioneer in understanding abuse, Terry Kellogg emphasizes that abusive behaviors directed toward ourselves, people with whom we share identical genomes, or kindred species occur because something unnatural has happened to us, and we have become damaged.

As this psychotherapist reveals in *Broken Toys, Broken Dreams*, addictive behavior occurs not because we are “bad”—or because a mythical Eve ate a metaphorical apple—but because some untenable violation has hurt us so deeply we feel compelled to pass on our pain.

“What could this “something” be?” Glendinning asks.

It all started quite recently, about 12,000 years ago with the domestication of plants—and the human species. In our Fall from grace, Glendinning writes, “the fence was the ultimate symbol of this development.”

Today, we are dissociated survivors of a relatively recent—and all the more severe—post-traumatic stress disorder. The violation of our participation the natural world is our original trauma, she writes.

It is a severance that in the western world was initiated slowly and subtly at first with the domestication of plants and animals, grew in intensity with the emergence of large-scale civilizations, and has developed to pathological proportion with mass technological society until today you and I can actually live for a week or a month without smelling a tree, witnessing the passage of the moon, or meeting an animal in the wild, much less knowing the spirits of these beings or fathoming the interconnections between their destinies and our own.

Original trauma is the disorientation we experience, however consciously or unconsciously, because we do not live in the natural world. It is the psychic displacement, the exile that is inherent in civilized life. It is our homelessness.ⁱⁱⁱ

LEGENDS OF OUR FALL

Our collective trauma “explains the insidious reality of addiction and abuse infusing our lives in mass technological society,” Glendinning believes. “The trauma endured by technological people like ourselves is the systemic and systematic removal of our lives from the natural world: from the tendrils of earthy textures, from the rhythms of sun and moon, from the spirits of the bears and trees, from the life force itself.”

The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder* defines trauma as “an event that is outside the range of human experience and that would be markedly distressing to almost anyone.” Pointing to this medical prognosis, she continues:

Human beings evolved over the course of some three million years and a hundred thousand generations in synchronistic evolution with the natural world. We are creatures who grew from the Earth, who are physically and psychologically built to thrive in intimacy with the Earth. A mere three hundred generations ago, or 0.003 percent of our time on Earth, humans in the Western world began the process of controlling the natural world through agriculture and animal domestication. Just five or six generations have passed since the industrial societies emerged out of this domestication process. Our experience in mass technological society is indeed “outside the range of human experience”... this way of life has been “markedly distressing” to almost everyone.

What Now?

Could it be that the linear perspective that infuses our vision from our glorification of intellectual distancing to our debunking of the earthier realms of feeling and intuition; to our relentless “lifting” upward with skyscrapers and space shuttles; to the ultimate techno-utopian vision of “downloading” human knowledge into self-perpetuating computers to make embodied life obsolete that such a perception is the result of some traumatic violation that happened in our human past?

ADDICTS

Our self-destructive impulses, denial and despair are hallmarks of addiction. In *The ReEnchantment of the World*, social philosopher Morris Berman observes, addiction in its myriad forms “characterizes every aspect of industrial society.” Our related dependence on alcohol, drugs, junk food, tobacco, sex, pornography and violent movies, he says, “is not formally different from dependence on the need to build more ingenious bombs, or the need to exercise control over everything.”

Vice-President Al Gore even claims that the inhabitants of overdeveloped countries like the United States—and wanna-be’s like China, India and almost every developing nation on the globe—have or could become addicted to the cancerous consumption of the living Earth that sustains us. ^{iv}

Total immersion, loss of perspective, and loss of control tip us off to technological addiction, Chellis Glendinning observes. “Addiction can be thought of as a progressive disease that begins with inner psychological changes, leads to changes in perception, behavior, and lifestyle, and then to total breakdown. The hallmark of this process is the out-of-control, often aimless compulsion to fill a lost sense of meaning and connectedness.”

But more empty purchases and credit card debt cannot fill our emptiness.

Have you ever thought it nuts that with the ice caps melting and our planet in extremis from extreme carbon poisoning, automobile manufacturers keep cranking out carbon-burning cars, television runs ads for them, and we continue to buy and operate these portable carbon-burners in the “closed garage” Earth’s paper-thin atmosphere?

“A hallmark of any addiction is the presence of denial,” Glendinning says, that “pretends that everything is normal and holds up appearances at all costs.” A big part of our denial is our refusal to admit

that we have no lifeboats, while inhabiting a speeding space colony surrounded by the cold irradiated vacuum of deep space. And that while we baby boomers will escape the worst consequences of our folly by dying off, our children and most other species will not.

ADDICTED TO VIOLENCE

In war and violence addiction, the jaw-dropping dishonesty stemming from such deep denial reveals itself most blatantly in the behavior of corporations and government agencies whose self-interest lies in purveying violence and destruction as necessary “solutions” to invented or over-hyped “threats” that are only inflamed by violence—and never cease because they mostly our own ignorance and paranoia projected onto convenient “others”.

As consumers of violent videos, “news” and political rhetoric, we Americans are just as dishonest if we Americans continue to ignore the connection between our addictive consumption and our violent thoughts and utterances, which have led to three-million dead in Vietnam, another one-million in Cambodia, and two million more in Iraq—mostly children just as loved by their parents as our own.

“The ‘smart weapons’ unleashed during Desert Storm and televised at home advertise that American technology and America are ‘Number One’”, Glendinning writes. But the selectively edited “virtual reality” of “news” and movies showing only the destruction of military targets in remote rock and sand settings is bogus. In real life—and death—these massively destructive weapons most often target urban neighborhoods not unlike our own.

Problem is, says the author of *When Technology Wounds*, “We are so entrenched in our technological world that we hardly know it exists.”

As someone “in recovery from Western Civilization,” Chellis Glendinning speaks of our recognizing our “Techno-Addiction” as the first step toward healing. We need urgently to reconnect, re-integrate with a coherent world-view that acknowledges stark physical realities, along with our obligation to protect, nurture and celebrate life—especially the lives of the voiceless or the powerless in plant, animal, aquatic and human communities. ^v

Searching with optical and radio telescopes out to 20,000 light years, we have not seen any other Earths. “We are rare,” Glendinning reminds us. “Life is... precious.”

What Now?

Human life is one of the most precious and rare items in the entire universe. To stifle it, confuse it, threaten it, deprive it—of nutrition, information, freedom, a chance to achieve its potential—may be the most heinous, insidious crime in our universe. Each child is the culmination of the potential of this universe.

To provide the child with safety, gentleness and awareness of that uniqueness and preciousness, to provide all of the encouragement and information they can handle, is the prime responsibility of adulthood.

This guardianship of children... includes the nurturing of our own childness, our newness in our expanding universe.

Otherwise...

Children learn cruelty, self-destructiveness, apathy, anger, fears, shame, anxieties that not only prevent the continuation of learning and seeking, the enjoying of the but it begins a legacy of cruelty, greed, narcissism, judgments, parochial defensiveness, covert manipulation, violence, abuse, neglect and carelessness. This spreads like a fire, burning and destroying the potential and the gratitude, the chance for more awareness, to achieve new heights of conscious being.

To begin recovery, we addicts must make “a searching and fearless moral inventory” of our own and our nation’s behavior, Chellis Glendinning urges. On the collective level, we can begin by claiming responsibility for and working to halt our society’s mindless violations against humanity, animals, the plant world, and the Earth.

CO-DEPENDENCY FOR BEGINNERS

Most of us think of co-dependency as over-dependence on a partner to provide our sense of identity and self-worth—which, of course, we would never allow.

But co-dependency can also result from an addiction to technology or material things. It can also be an avoidance of meaningful relationship with the Earth, the feminine, other perspectives—or ourselves.

Anyone who is isolated from warm physical and psychic snuggling with the Earth and others is in pain. As co-dependency counselor,

Terry Kellogg points out:

Co-dependency becomes a destructive force because it involves an absence of self-respect, a lack of respect for life, manipulation and denial of consequences. It involves the absence of boundaries that enables and creates violence. Co-dependency involves collusion and the enabling of inappropriate activities, the violations of environment and of people. Co-dependency brings with it a sense of helplessness and unwillingness to make the changes we need to make.

We have become the collusive enablers and participants in the destruction of our planet, in the ignoring of vulnerable life on our planet and in the neglect of self. This is co-dependency.

Co-dependence threatens the survival of all of us. It is the basis of... the need for control and power to destroy and hurt. Co-dependency is the inability to stand up for what we believe and feel. In the face of crazy, destructive courses, it is the feeling of helplessness to effect change and bring about peace.

THE MESSAGE OF COMPLEXITY

The fallacy of the activist's despair is the hopeless notion that nearly everyone has to be convinced, nearly everyone has to act for "the world" to change. Complexity Theory—the order-seeking child of Chaos—teaches that the closer any tightly-knit system courts instability, the more likely a small disturbance can nudge it into profound change.

This can work both ways—toward overnight catastrophe, or transformation. In each possibility, the "phase-locked" feedbacks resulting from disintegrating glaciers, or one-too-many exposed government lies can cause massive upheaval in Earth's geological processes—or societies. Pushed by a slight change in conditions, such as the shutting down of the northward warmth-bringing Gulf Stream, or presidential impeachment, a phase transition can switch to its opposite mode very quickly.

What we are now discovering is that interacting involves a multitude of perspectives. Take 100 people, each interacting with the other 99, and *10 billion possibilities* result.

Now multiply by 10 million peace marchers. Or one billion Internet dialoguers.

GOING STRAIGHT

Unhappily, this is not the way politicians usually look at problems. Thinking Tools president John Hiles cautions, “When you’re up against a complex system, you may have to consider dozens or hundreds of points of view. If you don’t, you’re in for a surprise. You could get blindsided. This is what I think is happening to governments on the local, state and national levels. One of the sad things about modern leadership is that it has a control model predisposed to linearity.”^{vi}

As you might have noticed from the unpredictability of your own life, people and events are not linear. Only the clinically insane keep pulling the same levers expecting different results.

The good news is that intelligence is the mark of emergent behavior. And 9/11 and its aftermath are *all about emergence*. People with fresh vision are changing the world. Or at least our way of seeing and interacting with it, which is ultimately the same thing.

HOMEBODIES

Once we recognize that destructive co-dependency is passed on through the dysfunction of families who neglect and disregard the preciousness of children, we can begin showing “little people” who can grow up into saints or monsters our own gentleness and respect for the dignity of all life.

“One of the best antidotes to war is to take care of your kids,” says one of 90 women in British Columbia trained to counsel children witnessing abuse. “Just love them and don’t hurt them, and feed them well,” says this radiant mother from Dawson Creek, who has been healing traumatized children for 14 years. “Play with them on their level, keep them from harm, show interest in them, celebrate their achievements encourage them. It’s just amazing what they turn out to be,” Maureen says. “If every family did that, then we would never have war. Never.”^{vii}

“Children who are abused, hurt, neglected, tend to continue this pattern, not just toward themselves, their relationships and their children, but toward their physical environment as well. Children who have been hurt will hurt their surroundings,” echoes Terry Kellogg.

The healing antidote, he says, is to find the “self-integrity” of balance, wholeness and holiness by recognizing the interdependence that emphasizes shared “lifeboat” behavior—specifically, the values “of caring, nurturing and cooperation.”

“Kindness and caring are spirituality,” comments Kellogg.

We must accept that both our perceptions and the reality of our lives have an impact. Simply changing our perceptions does not heal the hurt from the reality of the past. We cannot think and affirm our way through recovery with unresolved hurts and trauma buried in the past or continuing in our present, nor can we process and deal with the hurts if we are actively involved with [addictive behaviors].

True interdependence recognizes that all creatures and creation are interwoven and that we all have a place to belong. Humans, with our capacity for imagination, creativity and industry, have been granted the guardianship of our planet. This stewardship requires embracing the interdependence of creation and living a life of balance. It requires taking responsibility for our excess dependency on externals and our over-consumptiveness. We must notice the intricacies and fragility of our world and its inhabitants.

In this “process of knowing ourselves and gaining self-respect,” we begin to respect and protect vulnerable groups—and the Nature that is our own nature, after all.

Putting down our tendency to put ourselves down, we can go easy. We don’t have to buy into the controlling agendas of priests or politicians by blaming ourselves. “The process is a gentle one,” Glendinning reminds us. “Gentle with ourselves, our choices, our mistakes and others.”

The first priority in our own awakening awareness must be “to look at the consequences of our behavior, to be gentle and supportive of all life itself and to insure the survival and balance of our planet,” Glendinning suggests. “In healing our co-dependency we may be taking the most important step in the healing of our planet. Recovery is the healing of relationship... with ourselves, others and the environment that flows through our blood and breath.”

Remembering that no role—from the crow’s to the commodore’s—is superior, our own part is self-exploration, to make choice and mistakes, and get the lessons we arrange for ourselves. In this self-correcting upward spiral of learning and awakening, we look for models that fit our spiritual, emotional and physical situation—rather follow than the dictates of vested interests, often with profit-minded agendas inimical to life and well-being, including our own.

Recovering to full interdependence means “trusting the process of

growth and taking risks,” Glendinning concludes. “Self-empowerment comes from a non-blaming posture of reconciliation and allows us to first accept and assign responsibility and then forgive.”

For examples of the power of this mode of conscious action see the lives of Christ, Buddha, Ghandi and Mandela. Or better yet, your own. ^{viii}

OUR CHOICE

There is no time to lose in rediscovering the solidarity of all crewmembers onboard our foundering spaceship. And there is no way informed and empowered people *can* lose. Right this minute is the perfect time to begin redirecting our lives toward creating a better world.

First, we can get together personally and electronically in envisioning where we want to go, keeping uppermost in our mindful hearts the children of all cultures and species 50 generations from now.

Like sailors setting out on a voyage of mutual self-discovery, we can then draw our destination toward us by turning away from distracting enticements and paying attention to the daily details that will make our vision real.

We do this by acting on the understanding that every image we allow into our mind, every thought we give our energy to, every word we utter, everything we believe, everything we purchase and recycle or discard helps or hinders the adventure of our lifetime—shared so briefly and blessedly with every other life onboard this glittering blue oasis.

It is our choice. Not Bush’s, or his software-selected successor’s. Not the corporations. Not the generals. Not Osama bin Laden’s.

Ours.

Because we understand that resisting something feeds it energy, we engage in musical peace rallies instead of angry “anti-war” demonstrations.

We practice the power of non-cooperation everyday by staying out of the Wal-Marts that thrive on Chinese prison camp labor and the abuse of their own employees, by refusing to buy junk we don’t need, by swapping and recycling and offering a smile and prayer of thanks to every encounter.

As Gandhi demonstrated, and the people of Hungary taught their Soviet occupiers, passive resistance—the refusal to participate in our own oppression and the repression of others—works brilliantly. Bullets cannot be fired at people who are not there.

Why not disengage? Why not remove the street signs to our wallets? Why not simply walk away from the pathology and pathos of paranoid ideologues?

THE IMPOSSIBLE WILL TAKE A MOMENT—PLEASE DON'T STAND BY

Why not panic now and avoid the rush?

Or not, suggests Paul Rogat Loeb, author of the best selling, *The Impossible Will Take a Little While*.

And do not be disheartened thinking that what you see around you will continue. It never does. We forget how often we have been astonished by the sudden crumbling of institutions, by extraordinary changes in people's thoughts, by unexpected eruptions of rebellion against tyrannies, by the quick collapse of systems of power that seemed invincible. What leaps out from the history of the past hundred years is its utter unpredictability.

Whether this makes you optimistic—or nervous—history shows that empires appear strongest just before they collapse from their own moral and financial contradictions and conceits.

Assaulting defenseless urban neighborhoods with bombs, missiles, heavy bombers and tanks is a sign of ultimate weakness, not strength. The apparently overwhelming power of those with the most guns and biggest debt disguised as money has, “again and again, proved vulnerable to moral fervor, determination, unity, organization, sacrifice, wit, ingenuity, courage, patience—whether by blacks in Alabama and South Africa, peasants in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Vietnam, or workers and intellectuals in Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union itself,” Loeb lists.

Consider, too he urges, “The transformation, in just a few decades, in people's consciousness of racism, in the bold presence of women demanding their rightful place... in the long-term growing skepticism about military intervention despite brief surges of military madness.”

Skepticism, indeed! Five thousand years of calumny and carnage has left nearly everyone on the planet demanding peace. But what do we mean by this word? And how might we achieve it in time to flip our threatened termination as a species into the true transformation that transcends dogma and superstitious beliefs?

THE PROBLEM WITH PEACE

The problem with peace, Misha said one night upstairs in the Wind Spirit Room, “is that it’s flat.”

“Flat!” I exclaimed. “What do you mean, peace is flat?”

To a warring, over-stimulated culture, violence promises excitement, my *sensei* explained. By comparison, peace seems flat. Which is why blood-drenched drama drives so many of the films, newspapers and broadcasts, novels and video games that condition us into either condoning or actually pulling the trigger on distant strangers no different in their hopes, aspirations—and earliest ancestry—than us!

Like so many arguments put forward by warmongers who are careful to avoid the battlefields they promote, the notion that peace is boring is another fallacy, Misha declared. “The practice of true peace is vibrant. Peace is creative. Making peace is dynamic.”

Wendell Berry certainly agrees. He and his family farm in Kentucky, which makes them philosophers, too. This author of many thoughtful books and essays believes that what leads to peace is peaceableness, “which is not passivity, but an alert, informed, practiced, and active state of being.”^{ix}

GOOD VIBES

Misha expressed the same notion differently. “When we come from a place of peace in our hearts, everything is clear, everything *is*,” she said. “Practicing nonviolence is very creative, very exciting, because when we access and activate the awareness of peace, we become One with each other.”

I could run with this. After all, everything—*every thing*—is an expression of frequency and vibration. “In the beginning was the Word” refers to a hot inchoate quantum vibration that, once slowed and cooled very slightly a few milliseconds after the Big Bang, began coalescing into... everything.

Peace cannot be found in words, Misha went on before I could get too spaced out. “As symbols of abstract concepts, words are twice removed from direct experience”—which is why something as dynamic as peace is not expressible in any language.

“Peace is a resonance that *must be felt*,” emphasized this former Haight Ashbury girl, who used to hang with Santana and Fleetwood Mac *before* the Fillmore opened. “Peace just *is*.”

HUMAN DOINGS

Which is great. Except that I'm a word guy. Words can be pointers, like maps. But their greater value lies beyond meaning, in the way they vibrate on the air and in our minds. Which is why writing is so much like arranging a musical melody.

Discussing Misha's insight, we allowed the insistent dynamical "is-ness" of peace to expand into a joint expression of its resonance that we posted on her fridge: "Peace equals a nonviolent exploration that needs to move, needs to be, wants to be."

A few minutes later, Misha recalled a passage in a book lit by a candle downstairs. "There is too much human doing, and not enough human being," she paraphrased.

"I like that," I said, laughing delightedly. Picking up on her theme, I extemporized: "Peace begins with each one of us. And it will only arrive in our lives when our 'being' informs our 'doing'. This is the Buddhist concept of 'right action'."

What the Buddha actually said was to think twice, and avoid "unskillful action." Because we reap what we sow. Because what goes around comes around. And because the next knock on our door could be the Karma Collection Agency.

KEEP YOUR SHIP TOGETHER

Of course, we don't have to be Buddhists to practice this, I went on. Sailors do it all the time. On the boat we trim the sails to the course we want relative to the wind blowing across the deck. Just as we adjust the sails to varying conditions, we can trim our actions to changing circumstances, moving attentively yet effortlessly to keep our ship together and everything in balance. We know we're accomplishing this when the boat finds her way, our life is in harmony, and everything around us is as it should be.

"As within, so without," Misha picked up the thread and wove another row. "What we see around us mirrors who and what we are inside."

"Maybe it's all about being congruent," I agreed. "That's a word I find myself using a lot. Do my actions match my words and thoughts? Maybe peace comes from being congruent."

Everyone says they want peace. Then we refuse to consider other viewpoints, utter angry threats, and continue arming for war. And guess what we get?"

What Now?

More arrows sticking out of us, observes Pema Chodron in the eminently peaceful *Tricycle* magazine. “Each time you retaliate with words and actions that hurt, you are strengthening the habit of anger. Then, without doubt, plenty of arrows will always be coming your way.

“Since you set the target up yourself, only you can take it down,” Chodron suggests.

STRANGE ATTRACTORS

Put another way, we get back what we put out.

“Whatever gets the highest charge around our thoughts seems to be the key to manifesting,” observes Barbara Marciniak, author of *Earth, Bringers Of The Dawn* and *Path of Empowerment*. “Our choice is love or fear. Thinking about these things we hold them in our field, and then they attract the events. This is the most powerful thing that people need to understand.”

Put into quantum terms, thoughts manifest matter. Whatever we think about the most and put the highest emotional charge on, we pull towards us. This is easily demonstrated. Just go around for a day greeting every being you encounter with a silent prayer of love and peace. And see what happens.

Or focus on fear. Constantly express your dissatisfaction, suspicions and anger. Find conspiracies everywhere. Obsess on arming yourself with more and more and still more weapons. See if this makes you feel safer. See what this attracts.

Get the lesson.

INTENT

The power of intention trumps laziness and inattention every time. Which is why people dedicated to destruction are initially so successful. And why massed public intention can stop them every time. “When you say something with your whole being, not just with your mouth or your intellect, but with your whole being, it can transform the world,” says Thich Nhat Hanh.

This can only mean that when 10 million people speak as one from their hearts, the world is already transformed.

HOW TO TRANSFORM THE WORLD

Smile.

That’s it. That’s all.

Smile.

It's all about changing the vibe. If everything is vibration... and if everything and everyone is instantly connected through resonance... and we go around emanating only good vibrations, our energy becomes contagious and irresistible. And the chuckling universe is transformed.

This is not just happy talk. During an eight-year voyage among Pacific islands that took me from an electric encounter with “Stone Age” hunter-gatherers on a remote beach under a fall of volcanic ash, to an encounter with modern day pirates, and glaring Communist officials in a city long closed to outsiders, I found then—and later as a peace emissary in a Middle Eastern country not kindly predisposed toward Gulf War-waging westerners—that almost everyone everywhere responds with warmth and welcome to a smiling stranger coming openly from his heart.

It works a whole lot better than brandishing threats and guns.

WAR, PEACE AND SEX

What do we know about war, Misha asked? She had seen my award-winning video documentary of Kuwait's oil fires and the Highway to Hell, and thought this environmental emergency response team member might have some insights.

“War is a violent resolution of differences that rarely leads to a lasting resolution,” I said without hesitation.

This is the clear lesson of this book. Sometimes we have to stand against acts as shortsighted as clearcut logging, or as reprehensible as killing kids. But all “anti-” movements risk getting stuck if they fail to actively promote solutions that include all sides. Insistence breeds resistance. And resistance invariably breeds more conflict.

“Peace is something to shoot for anyway,” the coyote prankster in me grinned. “Or maybe not,” I hastily amended after gauging the look from a woman with the power to grant such exquisite favors—or taketh them away.

After we stopped laughing, I said that the darndest thing Thea and I ever encountered during *Celerity's* eight-year Pacific circumnavigation occurred on a remote and paradisiacal atoll where a couple of dudes defied a ban on drinking, quaffed some coconut toddy, and got into an argument. Then one of them pulled a knife.

No one got hurt. But the women of the village were not impressed. When the culprit returned to his hut, he discovered a pile of sticks on the ground. The women who had dismantled it invited him to

leave and not come back—which he did. All of the remaining men were immediately cut off.

Worked great! The more the men begged for the return of feminine favors, the more intense the lesson as it traveled from their lower chakras to burn deep into their thick skulls. In the end, the return of good lovin' won over alcohol's less siren call.

Why the wider sisterhood does not apply such powerful persuasion to end war forever remains a mystery to this day.

PEACE AND POWER

Why fight when dialoguing is so much less fatal? Thomas Moore is the author of many books, including *Care of the Soul* and *Original Self*. This former Catholic monk says, "Peace is not the absence of conflict. It is the transformation of brute power into strength of mind and heart. Peace is the humane focusing of anger and ambition on the needs of the world and on creative contributions to life and culture.

"Peace is an active thing, strong and bold. Peace is not passive. In the face of war, peace must be assertive, even aggressive—a forward-stepping force to be reckoned with that disturbs others and demands to be heard."

Violence, on the other hand, is a measure of moral bankruptcy, a failure to rally others by example. "It is always an expression of weakness," Moore observes. "It occurs only when an aggressor has no morality or imagination left and must act out with weapons that, no matter how powerful, betray ignorance and desperation to all."

Any fool can pick up a gun. Only the bravest and most creative choose to respond to aggressive words and acts with nonviolent language and actions that heal and inform.

AMERICAN SOLDIERS SAY NO TO WAR

Common sense, and full engagement in family and community quickly starve wars of willing participants, Moore points out. "People who are totally involved in their work and families can't imagine going off to kill other families and destroy their lives and neighborhoods while risking their own lives and souls. It makes no sense."

Which is why more and more American reservists on receiving orders to leave their loved ones and careers to travel halfway around the globe to harm families and destroy neighborhoods not unlike their own are saying, "Forget it, no thanks, I'm not going." In the biggest voluntary draw down of combat forces in American history, since the

year 2000 at least *40,000* GIs from all branches of the U.S. military have deserted. And those are Pentagon figures. ^x

When Army National Guard Specialist Katherine Jashinski became the first woman GI to take a public stand for peace by refusing to deploy to Iraq in November 2005, she told a rally at Fort Benning:

I have a deeply held belief that people must solve all conflicts through peaceful diplomacy and without the use of violence. Violence only begets more violence. Because I believe so strongly in nonviolence, I cannot perform any role in the military. Any person doing any job in the army contributes in some way to the planning, preparation or implementation of war.”

Now I have come to the point where I am forced to choose between my legal obligation to the Army and my deepest moral values. I have a moral obligation not only to myself but to the world as a whole, and this is more important than any contract.”

Jashinski belongs to Courage to Resist, a small group of peace activists, veterans, and military families supporting antiwar resistance and dissent within the military. “I am completely resolute,” she says. “I will exercise my every legal right to not pick up a weapon.” ^{xi}

Thomas Moore can relate to Katherine Jashinski’s stand. The point of peace, he writes, “is not to do away with war, but to transform it into moral battles that we can safely wage within ourselves, and with those around us.”

Sometimes these internal conflicts lead to tough decisions. During the Vietnam War, this author had to resign his navy commission and abandon a lifelong ambition to fly carrier jets when I realized that I could not commence flight training at Pensacola and go on to napalm families who had as much right to live and love their children as my own. In writing my own letter of resignation the Department of the Navy, I realized that the contract I had signed with pride and in good faith to defend my country had been invalidated by false presidential pretenses, an illegal war, and illegal orders to commit war crimes against civilians.

INSIGHTS FROM THE DALAI LAMA

Who better to turn for insight than the spiritual leader of a land where questions of peace and armed aggression are not theoretical but

a daily ordeal of beatings, imprisonment and desperate treks into exile across the roof of the world? Faced with Beijing's ongoing theft of Tibet's natural treasures and the crushing of this planet's oldest spiritual culture, audiences are perpetually asking the Dalai Lama, "Why don't you fight back against the Chinese usurpers?"

At a recent talk, the Dalai Lama pondered the question anew, before looking up and saying with a gentle smile, "Well, war is obsolete you know."

After a few moments' silence, his countenance grew grave. "Of course the mind can rationalize fighting back. But the heart—the heart would never understand. Then you would be divided in yourself, the heart and the mind, and the war would be inside you."

An often-ignored law of cause-and-effect stipulates that aggression and abuse directed inward by inhuman circumstances must eventually vent in outward expressions of abuse and aggression against the most convenient and helpless surrogates for guilt and blame. When we see how we have become imprisoned by plentitude in societies "advanced" in their disregard for life, we will be able to step back from commercial coercion and regain control of our ethics and our lives.

The arrogance that often runs so heedlessly hand-in-hand with ignorance is a poor substitute for the wise humility needed to find our place in this world, and the next.

Instead of exploiting and ruining them, we would do well to learn from "backward" countries whose sophisticated inhabitants live closer to the realities we have largely forgotten in our pampered yet futile efforts to keep up with the uncaring machines that increasingly circumscribe and command our daily lives at a pace and frequencies that are burning us out.

WOLVERINE

One afternoon, while sitting around a campfire at Gustafson Lake waiting for Canadian tactical weapons and armor to roll against his small band of women, kids and defending Sundancers, a chieftain named Wolverine shared his vision that stomping on his resistance movement would "scatters the embers" into a countrywide conflagration.

Even more importantly, I learned that so-called "terrorists" are usually people with legitimate grievances who just want to be heard.

When I understood this, I moved quickly to publicize demands never given voice in a lynch-mob media demanding the extermination

of “renegades” never reported to be defending their shaman from vigilante attacks. Working round-the-clock with influential local allies, we were able to prevent a massacre that would have derailed this refugee’s adopted country.

In truth, we are all “natives” of planet Earth. Whether speaking to our own personal nature, or to collective tribal perspectives called “nations”—every “side” is really just another aspect of the whole.

We are all One.

WHAT CAN NONVIOLENCE SAY TO VIOLENCE?

Alastair McIntosh is a Fellow of Edinburgh’s “Centre for Human Ecology”. Over the past five years, the author of *Soil and Soul: People versus Corporate Power* relates how he has had the “the unusual experience” of annually addressing 400 senior military officers at the Joint Services Command and Staff College—Britain’s foremost school of war.

Typically, this Quaker pacifist arrives at Shrivenham the night before his talk to dine with army brigadiers, wing commanders and naval commodores. “These are people of dignity and integrity,” McIntosh says. But in the heat of battle, “decent people can do terrible things.”

Unlike violence, which is short-term (or we all die)—nonviolence “is a long-term and big-picture approach,” this good Fellow tells the senior officers. “Nonviolence is actually a different way of engaging with power. It’s about the love of power yielding to the power of love.”

What his presentation is really about, McIntosh next confides, is “the spirituality of transformation.”

These are not words found in most military manuals! But isn’t warfare an attempt to violently “transform” a perceived and often self-projected “enemy” opposed to our coercion into doing what we want? Using this approach, we can attempt to change resistant minds through reason-deafening explosions of white phosphorous, cruise missiles, cluster bombs, fuel-air bombs, napalm, DU, and automatic gunfire that drags every participant deeper into the mire of negativity, destruction and despair.

Or we can actually “change the vibe” through the kind of massed prayer and intention demonstrated by a united world community on December 16, 1998 when President Bill Clinton was psychically persuaded to call off his carrier-launched bombers before they reached their release points over Baghdad.^{xii}

Alastair McIntosh didn't exactly put it this way. But the 2,000 senior officers that he has so far addressed understood and shared his desire to transform the violence they faced into something more manageable and much less dire.

"They can't relate to cowards, but they do have time for those who, like any true warrior, will look death in the jaws. They too know that any fool can live in conflict but it takes guts to live in peace," McIntosh writes.

Having several times faced people threatening to kill him, this plucky pacifist has found, "If you seriously renounce the option of violence and don't even prepare for it, then a whole new range of tactics can come into play. There's nothing more disconcerting when trying to pick a fight than being told, "Well, you can hit me if you must, but I won't strike you back." Because violence only understands violence, it gets confused and has to think twice when faced with the opposite.

In addition, practicing nonviolence "can open the doors to experience and powers not normally of this world," McIntosh asserts. "There is a path here that we discard at our peril."

But does it work on the international scale?

"Consider India's independence struggle, the Philippines' revolution, the liberation of several former Eastern-bloc countries, and South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission," Alastair McIntosh offers. "All these demonstrate nonviolence as a credible force in the face of tyranny." ^{xiii}

Then check the results of Big Power aggression against Vietnam, Cambodia, Chechnya, Nicaragua, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. Are people better off there? Has their suffering ended war? Has war ended their suffering?

The compassionate Quaker concludes his presentation by emphasizing to the officers present, "The similarity between us is a willingness to die for our beliefs. The difference, however, is whether we will also kill for them."

CHRISTMAS IN THE TRENCHES

While many military histories extol the valor of millions of hoodwinked young men who died for bankers' profits and empty slogans at places like Vimy Ridge and Verdun, the "Christmas Truce" along the Western Front in December 1914 is omitted by official Orwellian histories of this grotesquely misnamed "Great War".

In Silent Night: The Story of the World War I Christmas Truce,

Stanley Weintraub breaks that cynical embargo, chronicling how “as night fell on Christmas Eve the British soldiers noticed the Germans putting up small Christmas trees along with candles at the top of their trenches, and many began to shout in English, ‘We no shoot if you no shoot.’”

The firing stopped along miles of trenches as the combatants emerged to mingle and exchange chocolates for cigars and newspaper accounts of the war mirroring the same high-toned rhetorical bullshit from their respective homelands. If both sides were “right” wasn’t everybody wrong to be shooting at each other?

More than 80,000 young Germans had gone to England before the war. Employed as waiters, cooks, and cab drivers, many of these drafted soldiers spoke English very well. As Lieutenant Geoffrey Heinekey of the 2nd Queen’s Westminster Rifles, wrote to his mother, “The Germans then beckoned to us and a lot of us went over and talked to them and they helped us to bury our dead. This lasted the whole morning and I talked to several of them and I must say they seemed extraordinarily fine men... It seemed too ironical for words. There, the night before we had been having a terrific battle and the morning after, there we were smoking their cigarettes and they smoking ours.”

Threatening courts-martial and firing squads, officers on both sides tried to prevent such subversive “fraternization”—but the soldiers ignored them. After helping bury each other’s dead and recover the wounded, on Christmas morning the former “enemies” met between the trenches to sing Christmas carols—fervently repeating renditions of “Silent Nacht”.

Having discarded their weapons, the soldiers recited the 23rd Psalm together, and played soccer and football. Then the opposing armies exchanged Christmas gifts, and shared meals prepared openly between the trenches. As one soldier said, “Never... was I so keenly aware of the insanity of war.”

“A candle lit in the darkness of Flanders,” Weintraub writes of the Christmas cease-fire that was “the only meaningful episode in the apocalypse. It belied the bellicose slogans and suggested that the men fighting and often dying were, as usual, proxies for governments and issues that had little to do with their everyday lives.”

As Major Wood concluded after meeting with his former German adversaries, “We were on the most friendly terms, and it was only the fact that we were being controlled by others that made it necessary for us to start trying to shoot one another again.”^{xiv}

So why allow ourselves to be controlled by others? Why allow anyone to “make” us kill people we’d rather share a meal with? The Great War killed over ten million soldiers, and hideously wounded many more. The next Not-So-Great War killed more than fifty million people, over half of whom were civilians. The next world war—or the looming biological collapse of our space colony—could kill us all.

PIRATES

If we refuse to take up weapons, can we be nonviolently creative in the face of aggression? When a desperately decrepit longliner hove like a mirage out of a shimmering monsoon horizon and made a run on us while we drifted becalmed one afternoon in the South China Sea, my immediate and most fervent wish was for the M-16 and extra clips offered to me on Guam. I am a good shot with a variety of automatic weapons.

As the listing, rust-streaked vessel drew closer, I ‘glassed him with the 7x50s. No fishing gear was in evidence anywhere on the derelict’s canted decks.

Cutting through my terror, my next thought was profound gratitude that Thea and I had mutually decided not to sail armed. A plywood trimaran is no place to fight a gun battle. And just brandishing a firearm in these waters would invite instant retaliation by desperate seamen with nothing to lose.

Instead, I activated a plan I had spent many nights considering. Making a command decision, I started the outboard and told Thea to change into a man’s clothing. When she reappeared on deck a moment later wearing blue jeans and a long sleeve shirt, with her long blond hair tucked under a ball cap, the would-be pirates had gone to full power and were closing fast.

As captain, I rammed our own throttle fully open and ordered my mate to turn hard into our attacker. “Keep aiming for his rudder,” I instructed, before ducking below to put out a PAN radio call for any friendlies in the area. “They can’t turn inside us. Whatever you do, you must keep them from laying alongside.”

It worked! Surprised by our aggressive move, the suddenly shy pirates sheered off. We ran the other way, eventually fetching Hong Kong after a nighttime encounter with a British destroyer squadron, whose absence when most needed had allowed this lesson to be learned.

THE FAILURE OF WAR

Peace has not failed us. We Americans have never fully intended nor practiced it. Instead, we have only fallen into war's absence like an unmade bed when exhausted from warfare—and then used this unacknowledged respite to prepare for the next round.

If we remove the profit from mass destruction and killing, and direct our elected governments and boycotted media to spend a fraction of the talent, treasure, adulation and attention to promoting and practicing peace as they do to war, the need and conditioned desire for war would be largely eliminated.

On the contrary, it is war that has failed us by insisting that many must lose so that a few can win. Only now is a bruised and bloodied humanity emerging from a troubled adolescence to understand that when someone loses—everyone loses. And for there to be lasting winners onboard an enclosed space colony, everyone must win.

Count the costs and you will find that no nation has ever “won” a war. As farmer, poet, philosopher and conservationist Wendell Berry points out, a glance at his-story makes it “hard not to doubt the efficacy of modern war as a solution” to anything. Even the costs of a “successful” war, Berry points out, in terms of lives, wealth, resources and talents squandered “may amount to a national defeat.”^{xv}

Another downside of perpetual war is that “militarization in defence of freedom reduces the freedom of the defenders,” this farmer-philosopher adds. As so many Americans are finding at home, as in Iraq, “It is impossible to damage your enemy without damaging yourself.”

Since the biggest universal law stipulates that whatever thoughts and energy we put out comes back to us amplified, Wendell Berry figures.

To have an economy that is warlike, that aims at conquest and that destroys virtually everything that it is dependent on, placing no value on the health of nature or of human communities, is absurd.

Obviously, we would be less absurd if we took better care of things. We would be less absurd if we founded our public policies upon an honest description of our needs and our predicament, rather than upon fantastical descriptions of our wishes. We would be less absurd if our leaders would consider in good faith the proven alternatives to violence.

More and more people all over the world are recognizing that this is so, and they are saying that world conquest of any kind is wrong, period... How many deaths of other people's children by bombing or starvation are we willing to accept in order that we may be free, affluent, and (supposedly) at peace? To that question I answer: none. Please, no children. Don't kill any children for my benefit. ^{xvi}

Amen brother! If unbridled consumption lies at the root of violence and aggression, why not adjust our purchases and perspectives?

The key to peaceableness is innovation and continuous practice, Berry believes. "If our enemies are now to be some nations of Islam, then we should undertake to know those enemies. Our schools should begin to teach the histories, cultures, arts, and language of the Islamic nations. And our leaders should have the humility and the wisdom to ask the reasons some of those people have for hating us." ^{xvii}

VICTORY GARDENS

"Peace must be tended," I said to Misha the next morning while brushing her hair. "Just as we've forgotten how to grow our food, we've forgotten how to grow peace. Or allow it to grow."

In leading me to reconnect with the Earth, and reconcile with my own alienated nature, I have found my back-deck veggie garden a good Way to rediscover the peace that is all around us.

"We should promote, the ideal of local self-sufficiency," Wendell Berry concurs. "We should recognize that this is the surest, the safest, and the cheapest way for the world to live. We should not countenance the loss or destruction of any local capacity to produce necessary goods. We should protect every intact ecosystem and watershed that we have left, and begin restoration of those that have been damaged."

Then we can help tend the garden of our children's open minds...

We need to change our present concept of education. Education is not properly an industry, and its proper use is not to serve industries. It's proper use is to enable citizens to live lives that are economically, politically, socially, and culturally responsible. This cannot be done by gathering or "accessing" what we now call "information"—which is to say facts without context and therefore without priority. A proper education enables young people to

put their lives in order, which means knowing what things are more important than other things; it means putting first things first.

The first thing we must begin to teach our children (and learn ourselves) is that we cannot spend and consume endlessly. We have got to learn to save and conserve. We do need a “new economy,” but one that is founded on thrift and care, on saving and conserving, not on excess and waste. An economy based on waste is inherently and hopelessly violent, and war is its inevitable by-product. We need a peaceable economy. ^{xviii}

So let’s get on with it. We can’t wait for the bankers, and the corporations, politicians and media they own to limit their own power by initiating the changes we want to see.

“Perhaps if we citizens, empowered with soulful imagination, would take the initiative to offer peaceful alternatives, our leaders might follow,” Richard Falk suggests. And perhaps they will go on ignoring us... until we “speak in numbers sufficient to be heard and in language that is persuasive and inescapable.”

Today, too many North Americans have given up because they feel powerless to change war-loving governments installed with a fraction of their votes. So fire them all! As we have seen again and again in recent decades, millions of people acting in concert can peacefully toss out illegitimate rulers out while choosing alternatives to violence in all forms.

HARMONIOUS INTENSITY

“Since making peace is really creative and exciting,” Misha next suggested, “why don’t more people choose to live with harmonious intensity?”

I kissed her shoulder. “‘Harmonious intensity’—I like that,” I said.

“But people don’t know it’s an option. Because they won’t stop long enough and breathe to get to that place,” she continued her thought. “Because distraction is everywhere so that the war machine can keep going. Because without distraction, the war machine couldn’t exist.”

TEEVEE

The biggest distraction, of course, is not bare shoulders, but teevee. Norman Solomon is not a major fan of the brainwashing box found in almost every room of most American homes. As the author of *Target Iraq: What The News Media Didn't Tell You* puts it:

The numbing effects of corporatized media, it seems to me, fit in comfortably with the kind of militarism that runs through American society and gets unleashed periodically with yet another war. A culture accustomed to finding substantial meaning in TV commercials and an array of phony prime-time shows is unlikely to rouse itself to human connection and moral action when the nation's powers-that-be decide on yet another war. While a grisly reality prevails elsewhere, courtesy of the Pentagon, an air of unreality dominates countless living rooms.

Bill Moyers, former host of the too-popular PBS program NOW, once quoted *Newsweek* reporting on, “‘the appalling accretion’ of violent entertainment that ‘permeates American life’—an unprecedented flood of mass-produced and mass-consumed carnage masquerading as amusement and threatening to erode the psychological and moral boundary between real life and make-believe.”

That just about nails it. Except that the boundary Moyers mentioned between “virtual” reality and “real” reality vanishes when your buddy’s brains are splattered across your face. At which point, it is too late to fully appreciate the distinction. Or express regret at being duped by so many movies and the cowardly cackling of chickenhawks...

Which is how wars are perpetuated among each succeeding generation of testosterone-challenged, video-addicted youth, who discover that not even the coolest made-for-Hollywood uniform is impervious to a stack of artillery shells wired into an “improvised explosive device”.

So how do we counter such pernicious “programming”?

Simple.

Turn It Off.

TURN IT BACK ON

Or flip it around and use television as a teaching tool to disclose its own manipulation, Misha suggested. “Sit back like Don Juan said, and watch with ‘soft vision’.”

She meant to scan the screen with slightly out-of-focus eyes. “And then you see it from the other side,” she explained. The side of the manipulators. As for toxic TV “news”: “Don’t watch it and believe it. Watch it as a play without getting sucked in.”

And take care to remember, this mother emphasized, that young children hypnotized by “the box” cannot do this.^{xix}

TAP DANCING

We may have to filter or turn off our taps, as well as our teevees. Mary Sparrowdancer points out that weight gain and obesity are among the most visible signs of thyroid dysfunction, that often leads to “profound behavioral changes, neurological problems, sleep and memory disturbances, dementia, psychoses, depression, lethargy or loss of initiative, increased cholesterol levels, and according to the Thyroid Foundation of Canada, ‘general intellectual deterioration.’”

Sound familiar?

According to Sparrowdancer, “feelings of emotional detachment and emotional numbness” sometimes accompany the depression induced by lowered thyroid function.

Synthroid, a drug used to treat thyroid malfunction, is one of the most-prescribed drugs in the United States. The author of *The Love Song of the Universe* also points out that two-thirds of American adults “are now struggling with their weight.” The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention also states that approximately two-thirds of Americans are drinking and bathing in “water dosed with minute amounts of fluoride compounds”—the same method of delivery used in Germany to decrease thyroid functioning back in the 1930s.

“Perhaps the ongoing occurrences of rage and other unexplained, bizarre behaviors in the US, as well as the numerous epidemics now plaguing us, are, in fact, all related to the fact that two-thirds of our population is being dosed on a daily basis with a known thyroid toxin, at an unknown dose. Poison the thyroid, and the entire body as well as the mind will be affected,” Sparrowdancer says.^{xx}

SHOOT ‘EM UP

On April 20, 1999 Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold entered Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado and murdered 13 fellow students. The two boys wounded 23 others before shooting themselves. It turns out that both Prozac-challenged “youths” enjoyed playing Doom, a video game licensed by the U.S. military to brainwash soldiers

to kill. Harris' website offered a version of Doom he had customized to allow shooters with extra weapons and unlimited ammo to fire on people who could not fight back.

For a class project, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold made videotape similar to their personalized Doom. In the video, the two students dressed in trench coats, brandished guns, and killed school athletes. Their unsettling, graded submission was not deemed a warning by school authorities who were themselves steeped, as are all Americans, in video violence.

Such violent "games" now dominate the market. Of 33 popular Sega and Nintendo games, nearly 80% are violent in nature. Nearly a quarter of these games enabled interactive violence against women.

According to the American Psychological Association, each time people play violent video games like Doom, Wolfenstein 3D or Mortal Kombat, "they rehearse aggressive scripts that teach and reinforce vigilance for enemies aggressive action against others, expectations that others will behave aggressively, positive attitudes toward use of violence, and beliefs that violent solutions are effective and appropriate.

"Furthermore, repeated exposure to graphic scenes of violence is likely to be desensitizing."

The Washington DC-based APA is the largest professional organization representing psychology in the USA. It is also the world's largest association of psychologists, with a membership that includes more than 159,000 researchers, educators, clinicians, consultants and students.

One major concern is the interactive nature of repetitive video game learning, say the authors of the APA studies. For this reason, "This medium is potentially more dangerous than exposure to violent television and movies, which are known to have substantial effects on aggression and violence."

Scientific corroboration comes from MRI scans of gamers' brains. Carried out at the Indiana University School of Medicine, the scans show less brain activity in the frontal lobe during violent video mayhem.

"The frontal lobe is the area of the brain responsible for decision-making and behavior control, as well as attention and a variety of other cognitive functions," explains principal investigator MD Vincent Mathews. "There appears to be a difference in the way the brain responds depending on the amount of past violent media exposure through video games, movies and television."

While individuals predisposed to Disruptive Behavior Disorders are especially vulnerable to violent video game programming, Dr. Mathews believes, “There also may be a relationship between violent media exposure and brain activity in normal subjects.”^{xxi}

Just ask the children of Fallujah.

BREASTS ‘R’ US

“After turning off violent videos, parents may want to exchange violent video games for more exciting virtual challenges like *Myst*—or, better yet, having their kids play sports outdoors. But there is one more Big Thing we can do to curb violence at home and abroad. This pleasurable solution is contingent on the realization that packing Big Macs, fries and Cokes may be almost as dangerous as playing with six-shooters. Especially if boys aren’t allowed to suckle breasts until making out in high school.

For decades, researchers have focused on the human health consequences of toxic metals—mainly asking, do they cause cancer?” writes Peter Montague in his thoroughly referenced *Rachel’s* weekly newsletter. “New research seems to be telling us that we should also be looking at the way these pollutants are affecting human *behavior*.

Toxic pollutants—specifically the toxic metals lead and manganese—cause learning disabilities, an increase in aggressive behavior, and—most importantly—loss of control over impulsive behavior.”

Lead in the brain damages the glia cells associated with inhibition, while manganese lowers levels of Serotonin and dopamine, the neurotransmitters associated with impulse control and planning. Low levels of Serotonin cause mood disturbances, poor impulse control, and increases in aggressive behavior.

Children raised from birth on infant formula absorb *five-times* as much manganese as infants given the breast they crave. And calcium deficiency increases the absorption of manganese. For these reasons, infant formula should be considered toxic. (Polluted breast milk still contains natural immune boosters and antibodies. Mothers who are badly contaminated may choose to offer their infant a cleaner, alternative breast.)

Children also absorb up to 50% of the lead, which means that even low exposures in the womb and during early childhood can have permanent effects on intelligence and behavior, Montague notes. Current measured lead levels have direct effects on the neurotransmitters known to affect cognition and influence impulse control. The highest levels of lead uptake are reported among inner city minority youths.

After spending more than three decades examining the relationship between diet and behavior, PhD Barbara Reed Stitt is convinced that many criminals have lived too many years on “dead” food. She ought to know. For 20 of those years, Stitt served as a probation officer in Ohio, where she placed offenders on diet modification programs and charted their reactions in an avalanche of evidence that resulted in two books.

She maintains that hypoglycemia is the root of most evil.

“In criminal and offensive behavior, we cannot ignore biochemistry,” Barbara Stitt pleads. “Lack of blood sugar starves the brain—the very organ that is responsible for thought, learning, and moral and social behavior. I am convinced that if we could eradicate hypoglycemia, many other mental illnesses and behavioral disorders would take care of themselves.”

Her message is so simple, people fail to grasp it. “If they only knew what a positive impact whole foods, fresh foods could make in our society,” Stitt sighs. “I guess it’s harder to educate people on the food-behavior connection than to just give them a [prison] sentence.”^{xvii}

EAT YOUR PEACE AND CARROTS

At least some folks have fully digested the connection between violence toward our bodies and others. The Central Alternative High School in Appleton, Wisconsin used to totally out of control. “Kids packed weapons. Discipline problems swamped the principal’s office,” reports the newsletter *Pure Facts*.

“The kids now behave. The hallways aren’t frantic. Even the teachers are happy.

What happened?... Did they spray valium gas in the classrooms?... Did they build holding cells in the gym?”

What happened was yummy. A group called Natural Ovens began installing a “healthy lunch” program. Over the howls of young diners, fast-food burgers, fries, and burritos went bye-bye. In their place appeared fresh salads, whole grain bread, fresh fruits, and meals “prepared with old-fashioned recipes.” Good drinking water was in. Vending machines were out.

This dietary insurgency was based on the breakthrough work of Dr. Feingold, who found that electrochemical brains and beings of all ages sparked more calmly and coherently on diets lacking synthetic colors, synthetic flavors—and heavy-duty preservatives as ubiquitous in processed “food” as BHA, BHT, and TBHQ.

As *Pure Facts* purred, once this chemical warfare ceased,

“Grades are up, truancy is no longer a problem, arguments are rare, and teachers are able to spend their time teaching.”

Filing annual state reports, principal LuAnn Coenen has turned in some staggering stats since 1997. “Drop-outs? Students expelled? Students discovered to be using drugs? Carrying weapons? Committing suicide?” *Pure Facts* asked her. “Every category has come up ZERO. Every year.”

Teacher Mary Bruyette is stoked. “I don’t have disruptions in class or the difficulties with student behavior I experienced before we started the food program,” she states.

Though initially frightened by such “boring” foods, students now extol their flavors—and favors. As one pupil ponders, “Now that I can concentrate I think it’s easier to get along with people.”

What a concept! Eating healthy food (and eliminating fluorescent lights and cell phones from the classrooms)—increases concentration, and spells well-deserved ruin for the ruinous Ritalin industry. Principal Coenen says she “can’t buy the argument that it’s too costly for schools to provide good nutrition for their students. I found that one cost will reduce another. I don’t have the vandalism. I don’t have the litter. I don’t have the need for high security.”

When this Good Food experiment caught on at a nearby middle school, teacher Dennis Abram reported that after teaching there for almost 30 years, “I see the kids this year as calmer, easier to talk to. They just seem more rational. I had thought about retiring this year and basically I’ve decided to teach another year—I’m having too much fun!”^{xxiii}

GARLIC EATERS

We are not here to be comfortable until we croak. We are here to wake up. Our every act, from slicing garlic to electing to skip garlic for dinner can become part of a daily practice that reflects our liberation from socially conditioned values, unconsidered assumptions, and as the mass marketer Ed Bernays taught, someone else’s priorities.

Peacemaking is no different. A Buddhist monk for more than 55 years, Thich Nhat Hanh says: “If you do not begin your peace work with yourself, where will you go to begin it? To sit, to smile, to look at things and really see them, these are the basis of peace work. Mindfulness can be practiced when we eat breakfast. Each breath we take, each step we make, each smile we realize is a positive contribution to peace.”

What if we lived every moment in the spirit of “one chance, one

encounter”? While living in Japan, I learned that no experience, no matter how ritualized or rote, is ever repeated. Moment by moment, cell by cell, atom by atom, everything changes. From walking down a “familiar” street to tasting garlic in the tomato sauce, or embracing a spouse of many years—every act is truly “first time, every time.”

How would you act if you knew that you will die within the hour? Someday—most likely sooner than you think—you will.

ENDING THE CHRISTIAN CONTRADICTION

What if the consequences of your actions determine your next life? Isn’t this what all religions preach? So why don’t they walk their sanctimonious talk?

When it comes to places like Afghanistan and Iraq, there really is no debate. Killing children is wrong. It does not matter what uniforms are worn, or idiot-ologies are espoused. Harming kids is wrong. Full, as the British say, stop.

Howard Zinn knows about this. He became a philosopher after serving as a gunner on an American heavy bomber that struck cities across Germany during World War II. “Dropping bombs from five miles high, I had seen no human beings, heard no screams, seen no children dismembered,” writes the author of *A People’s History of the United States*.

But after the war Zinn had time to think “about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the fire bombings of Tokyo and Dresden, the deaths of 600,000 civilians in Japan, and a similar number in Germany.”

After much reflection he says: “However ‘just’ or ‘humanitarian’ may be the claims, at the irreducible core of all war is the slaughter of the innocent, organized by national leaders, accompanied by lies.”

After slaughtering faceless strangers while wrapped in his country’s flag and uniform, Howard Zinn came to call nationalism “one of the great evils of our time”—along with the racism it engenders.

“Nationalism is given a special virulence when it is blessed by Providence,” he now adds. “Today we have a President, invading two countries in four years, who believes he gets messages from God. Our culture is permeated by a Christian fundamentalism so poisonous... it permits mass murder.”

With its propensity to poison wombs for the next *four billion* years, how does the widespread use of uranium weaponry by supposedly Christian soldiers square with their nightly prayer that blesses the fruit of a sacred womb?

Are not all wombs sacred?

Speaking man to man for a moment: How can we pray to a Christ who respected women and never harmed a child, caress our women in their most intimate places, hug our children—then go into the neighborhoods of strangers who never threatened us, and maim, terrorize and kill other women; other fathers' children?

How did such a drastic disconnect ever come to be? And how can we rediscover the congruence between the love and care we sometimes allow ourselves to feel, and the things that we do?

LET US PRAY

Dick Sheppard, founder of the Peace Pledge Union and author of the 1927 bestseller, *The Impatience of a Parson* logically argued that the Church should be “obliged to outlaw all war and to demand from its members that they should refuse to kill their brethren... I do not think a Christian can take part in any work of killing, or do anything he cannot believe that Christ would have done.”

Worried about the war raging in China, in February 1932 Sheppard joined two other American ministers in inviting a “Peace Army” of volunteers to stand between the Chinese and Japanese firing lines. The peaceful parson also journeyed to The Hague to hear Albert Einstein “appeal to all men and women that they will refuse to give any further assistance to war or the preparations for war.”

This good Sheppard next listened intently to a sermon preached on Armistice Sunday in New York. Like himself, Minister Harry Emerson Fosdick had served as a military chaplain in the First World War. Pastor Fosdick told his congregation:

I renounce war. I renounce war because of what it does to our own men... I renounce war because of what it compels us to do to our enemies... I renounce war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in place of democracy, for the starvation that stalks after it. I renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will I sanction or support another.

Where are our fearless Fosdicks today? Thinking perhaps of the *10 million* young men who had died for no purpose in the mud of France, and the many more who came home maimed, Dick Sheppard next wrote a widely published essay in which he said, “It seems

essential to discover whether or not it be true, as we are told, that the majority of thoughtful men in this country are convinced that war of any kind or for any cause, is not only a denial of Christianity, but a crime against humanity which is not to be permitted by civilised people.”

The local postmaster rang to inquire whether someone would be at home to receive the return mail. There were thirty thousand replies. And still they came.

MAHATHIR ROCKS!

Believe it! The times—and people everywhere—are a-changin’. On opening the 13th Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Kuala Lumpur in February 2003,

the recently retired Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mohamed Mahathir, delivered an address that basically saluted war with the middle finger firmly extended.

The provocations of September 11, before and since, have “removed all the restraint in the countries of the north. They now no longer respect borders, international laws or simple moral values. They are even talking of using nuclear weapons,” Mahathir warned the assembled national leaders.

“But our people are getting restless. They want us to do something. If we don’t then they will, and they will go against us. They will take things into their own hands. They cannot be ignored any longer. We cannot incarcerate them all for we do not always know who they are or where they are.”

Though he is usually the last to get the word, hopefully Dubya was listening when the Malaysian leader went on to observe that even though many Americans claim they are defending themselves from the consequence of their decades of violent aggression against others... “The U.S. response is no longer just a war against terrorism. It is in fact a war to dominate the world. No single nation should be allowed to police the world, least of all to decide what action to take, when.”

In looking for an alternative to perpetual war, Mahathir mentioned an existing model:

CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN

Article 9: Renunciation Of War

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign

right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

“When Japan was defeated, it was allowed to spend only one-percent of its GDP on its armed forces,” Mahathir pointed out, before asking, “If such a condition can be imposed on Japan, why cannot it be imposed on all countries?”

Thunderous applause!

Chapter 17

WHAT WE CAN DO

Can we do it? Will we transform our societies and ourselves in time to avoid the most unpleasant consequences of sudden Climate Flip and the current Sixth Great Extinction Event?

We already are, asserts Joanna Macy, author of *World as Lover, World as Self* and *The Dharma of Natural Systems*. “New values must arise now, while we still have room to maneuver. And that is precisely what is happening. They are emerging at this very moment, like green shoots through the rubble. It’s not in the headlines or the evening TV news, but if you open your eyes and fiddle a bit with the focal length, you can see it.

“Now people are rapidly becoming aware of the rape of the world, and the attack on democracy built into corporate privilege. At the same time, new and sustainable social and economic arrangements are mushrooming, from local currencies to local marketing and consumer cooperatives, from ecovillages to renewable, off-the-grid energy generation. They may look fringe, but they hold the seeds of the future.”^{xxiv}

As the Women of Diverse Faiths reminded Americans on the first anniversary of September 11: “Human persons hold the fate of each nation and, indeed, of all nations in their hearts and in their dreams. What future do we wish for our children and for all children? What hope do we have for peace for ourselves and for all persons? What price are we willing to pay in order that all peoples might live as we would wish to live?

“We urge us to begin together to speak from our hearts, listen from our souls, give voice to our dreams, and work together toward a future that enriches all of us.”^{xxv}

We are in deep shift. Riane Eisler, author of the paradigm-changing *The Chalice And The Blade*, sees us “rapidly approaching an

evolutionary crossroads.” She asks: “Since going backwards is not the answer, how do we move forward? In practical terms, what does this mean? A transformation... to what? In terms of both our everyday lives and our cultural evolution, what precisely would be different, or even possible, in the future?”

“Is a shift from a system leading to chronic wars, social injustice, and ecological imbalance to one of peace, social justice, and ecological balance a realistic possibility? Most important, what changes in social structure would make such a transformation possible?”

Enraptured by violence, we feed its insatiable demands with our participation or acquiescence. Fanatics of all flavors say there is no difference: all are culpable and therefore vulnerable. Eisler suggests that the first step in creating the peaceful and caring world we want “is to understand and rid ourselves of the mechanisms and systems that hold violence in place.”

This means we can decide to exchange the unworkable dominator model of rule by an unelected hidden elite for the fully participatory partnership model that has guided millennia of human experience:

In societies adhering closely to the dominator model, we find top-down authoritarianism (strong-man rule), the subordination of one half of humanity to the other, and a high degree of institutionalized or built-in violence, whether in the form of wife and child beating or in the form of warfare.

Moving toward the partnership side of the spectrum we see a more democratic organization, economically as well as politically. Both halves of humanity are equally valued, and stereotypically feminine values such as caring and nonviolence are highly regarded, whether they are embodied in women or men.

PARTNERS

The excellent news—as the residents of Indonesia, Thailand and the U.S. Gulf Coast have rediscovered—is that the basic human default setting is cooperation.^{xxvi}

“Our hidden past reveals a long period of peace and prosperity when societies that were not male dominant, violent, and hierarchic,” writes Riane Eisler, author of *The Chalice And The Blade*. Only the

violent overthrow of the earliest goddess cults found across Europe, and the conquest of Crete's celebratory Minoan civilization by sky-god worshipping Kurgan warriors armed with high-tech bronze weapons saw the "partnership" model so long favored by human societies forcibly replaced by a "dominator" model, in which a few strongmen ruled and exploited the many.

What Eisler calls the "pathological omission of women from history" followed the subjugation of more than half of humanity by men who feared the power of the feminine—and fear women still. Look around. From the resurgent Taliban to attacks by the Bush fundamentalists on Roe vs. Wade, every fresh outbreak of women's oppression presages a renewal of war.

Why not just embrace each other and return to the partnership model that worked so well for so long? It's painfully obvious that what we're doing isn't working.

FOR BETTER AND WORSE

"We have insurmountable opportunities," the great Yogi, Berra reminded us. Workable alternatives that are sane, sustainable and in harmony with the myriad lives that support all life can be found in a New Economics that penalizes pollution and waste, while rewarding those who pay attention to the way they do business and the ways they live. Take heart, brave hearts. More and more people are waking up to what is going down. We can turn this around. We *must* turn this around.

And who better to direct the lives of people living in widely varying circumstances than... us?

Region by naturally-defined bioregion, the good will of Iraqis, Afghans, Chinese, Russians, Venezuelans, Uzbeks, Canadians, Costa Ricans, Americans—and so many more decent and determined people who simply desire to live in peace and delight in their children's laughter are an irresistible force finding increasing expression through a worldwide communications web.

Desperation coupled with perspiration are the handmaids of invention. Which is why the worse things get, the more optimistic I become. As new economist Hazel Henderson reminds us, "Things are getting a lot worse—and a lot better—at the same time."

The outcome depends on where we put our individual and collective attention and energy. To change our behavior, we need only change our minds—and drop the addictions that rob us of our birthright as embodied beings of light.

On a practical level, the co-creator of the Quality of Life Indicator now replacing the much cruder “GNP” of economic measurement in such advanced countries as Bhutan describes a positive economic future in which the roles of women and men are fundamentally rebalanced. This will entail, Hazel Henderson says, facing up to the fact that our “masculine” militarism is the “most energy-intensive entropic activity of humans, since it converts stored energy directly into wasting destruction without any useful intervening fulfillment of basic human needs.”

The task is to dismantle our projections and start seeing clearly. By becoming aware, we abandon harmful patterns that have not served us.

WELCOME ABOARD

Today’s disastrous wars do not take place in isolated sandboxes. Everything tossed into our ship’s closed recirculating life-support systems—including microscopic radioactive residue from Depleted Uranium and Non-Depleted Uranium weapons eventually comes around on winds and rain into our tissues, uteruses, testicles and lungs. Warfare’s persistent poisons, including the aerosolized radioactive uranium criminally spread by U.S. and U.K. forces across Afghanistan and Iraq are being picked up by the shamal desert winds. Borne aloft, this fallout is carried in hurricanes spawned off the African coast back to the countries of their origin.

There may be a kind of justice in this. But our children, and the offspring of all species conceived with crippled DNA for the next four billion years of DU’s active half-life did not ask for this.

Look at what we’re doing to ourselves: 96 million Americans live within fifty miles of a DNA-altering nuclear power plant, 135 million residents in 122 cities and counties breathe contaminated air, while everyone in the United States of America is exposed to *2.6 billion* pounds of pesticide poisons each year...

This is Not Good. Viewed from the perspective of furthering life, health and happiness this is insane. As every Trekkie knows, dumping radioactive waste and other mutagenic industrial poisons into our spaceship’s water and air recyclers, eroding big holes in her radiation shielding with jetliners and rocket propellants and spraying chemtrails across an atmospheric roof as thin as a sheet of paper covering a beach ball are species-limiting activities that even now threaten the safety of our entire ship.

You know the place. It's called Earth.

“What can we do?” bleat the politicians and their private banking sponsors who pull our bogus debt strings. Cleaning up this mess without further contaminating the worldwide commons is “too expensive” for make-believe, digital readouts not worth a single tuna or tree.

Truth is, the only unaffordable cost is war.

Just ask John Robbins. After writing a brilliant book on protecting our planet by changing our diet, the author of *Diet For A New America* forsook his Baskin-Robbins ice cream fortune to found EarthSave International. By Robbins' reckoning:

In 1998, the United Nations Development Program estimated that it would cost an additional \$9 billion (above current expenditures) to provide clean water and sanitation for everyone on earth. It would cost an additional \$12 billion, they said, to cover reproductive health services for all women worldwide.

Another \$13 billion would be enough not only to give every person on Earth enough food to eat but also basic health care. An additional \$6 billion could provide basic education for all. This \$40 billion would largely eliminate the futility and hopelessness that makes otherwise good people “terrorists”.

That's one-fifth of the \$200 billion the Bush administration recently paid Cheney-connected Lockheed to build a new generation F-35 Joint Strike Fighters that are 100% powerless to stop global warming—or deter someone on a subway cradling a thermos filled with anthrax.

Plenty of magical money to repair our space colony is available. It's just going to the wrong overpaid executives for inappropriate endeavors. It seems stupidly shortsighted to keep killing people whose urgently needed energy and talents are shackled by scarcity and anger over injustices that could be eliminated for a fraction of cost of the weapons used to keep them down.

Unless you happen to be a banker or weapons-maker, of course.

How is it that we continue to allow a few feckless families to hold nearly seven billion people for ransom on a wounded planet that could be an Eden again? If we aren't full of care, we could arrive where we're going. Our machines could end up inheriting an uninhabitable Earth.

DON'T BREATHE

Want an issue to get excited about? More than ten-times the amount of radiation, released during atmospheric testing has been

released from the detonation of Depleted- and Non-Depleted Uranium missiles, bombs and cannon shells since 1991. Most has been detonated into our spaceship's closed recirculating air exchange by the United States of America. 100% of the depleted uranium in the munitions used every day against neighborhoods in Iraq is aerosolized upon impact and immediately released into the atmosphere. This amount can be as much as 1.5 tons in large bombs, warns DU expert and activist Leuren Moret.

xxvii

The alpha particles in inhaled or ingested U-238 transfers so much destructive energy to human cells, they have been likened to miniature atomic explosions. Radioactive iodine also emits high-energy gamma radiation, which can destroy thyroid cells. A wonky thyroid can really mess a person up. ^{xxviii}

The half-life of the waste Uranium-238 used in America's DU and NDU munitions is 4.5 billion years—the expected life expectancy of this planet before our sun burns out.

Airborne Uranium oxide remains suspended in radioactive dust haze for months due to summer heat. ^{xxix}

Fast-moving *ajajas* and *haboobs* are fast moving walls of sand that often sweep Iraq, scooping 30 to 40 million tons of dusty sand into a writhing wall 15,000 feet high.

In southern Iraq—where the heaviest concentrations of DU fallout is found—the Tigris and Euphrates floodplains spawn many dust storms, particularly during Shamal events, when dust particles leap toward human lungs at wind speeds up to 25 knots. ^{xxx} Radioactive DU and NDU particles are then transported vast distances in various directions, according to the vagaries of the winds at various altitudes. In the upper atmosphere, the subtropical jet stream enhances the vertical velocities of radioactive dust, carrying this menace worldwide. ^{xxxi}

These dust storms are a million square miles. They're huge, and they come right across the Atlantic, the Caribbean, and Texas coastline, and right up the East Coast. It's in the food, drinking water, dairy products," Moret alleges. ^{xxxii}

Since 1991, the United States of America has inflicted the entire planet with atomicity equivalent to 400,000 Nagasaki bombs, calculated physicist and respected radiation expert, Professor Yagasaki in a report and speech delivered to the 2000 Depleted Uranium conference.

xxxiii

Dust storms likely laden with highly toxic plutonium, uranium and heavy metals are also dusting the southwestern states, where

uninformed “off-road” enthusiasts continues to tear up the sands still carrying the radioactive fallout from the 1,200 nuclear weapons detonated at the Nevada test site—for distribution across the USA. ^{xxxiv}

Meanwhile, the cancer epidemic afflicting Iraqi children, the 1,000-times jump in sterility among their fathers, and miscarriages among their mothers from America’s latest nuclear war is being called “Silent Genocide”—is spreading around the globe.

Dr. Busby calls the use of uranium weapons by the U.S. and a copycat UK, “A crime against humanity, which may, in the eyes of historians, rank with the worst atrocities of all time.”

This Fellow of the University of Liverpool in the Faculty of Medicine says this is because, “Globally: the radiation from depleted uranium can travel literally anywhere. It’s going to destroy the lives of thousands of children, all over the world. We all know how far radiation can travel. Radiation from Chernobyl reached Wales and in Britain you sometimes get red dust from the Sahara on your car.” ^{xxxv}

“The reason they were able to convince the Senate to sign the partial test ban treaty in 1963 was because of the increase in infant mortality.” Leuren Moret relates. “Russia and the US stopped atmospheric testing, and the infant mortality rate started going down right away. Now they are going up again. It’s the global pollution with this radiation.” ^{xxxvi}

DU affects all living systems. “This planet is being turned into a death star,” Moret says. “It’s a global nuclear holocaust. It affects all living things. That’s why they call it ‘omnicide,’ which means it kills all living things—the plants, the animals, the bacteria. Everything.” ^{xxxvii}

We’d better get on it. Please Google: “Stop DU” and “Stop Depleted Uranium”.

IT’S NOT YOUR FUNERAL

“War is not innate in us,” I repeated to Misha. “What *is* innate in humans is fear.” At root, all fear stems from our organism’s natural aversion to the cessation of sensory experience we call ‘death’.

But what if we don’t die?

Is there a funeral in your future? Who’s will it be? When “you” are dead, who exactly is dead? After all, if matter cannot be destroyed but only transmuted into other forms of energy, as Einstein taught—how can any “spirit-person” who simply takes off their body and takes off for distant dimensions be “dead”?

“That’s a nice thought. But you’re getting pretty existential,” Misha admonished.

We both laughed.

“Most people aren’t afraid of their government killing them,” she offered. “What we’re mostly afraid of is losing our addictions and distractions. It’s the death of our style of life that we really fear.” So that if we step too far out of line... “They will put us in prison and take away our goodies.”

“If we allow ourselves to think that way, we already are in prison,” I said.

NEGATIVE THOUGHTS SUCK

Death does not have to be a negative notion. The nearness of our own dimensional departure can inform our present lives with resolve, attention and gratitude. I recommend two hurricanes at sea onboard a 31-foot trimaran, and a few weeks spent traipsing the minefields of Kuwait looking for oiled seabirds with two brothers from EarthTrust to really rearrange a person’s acceptance of death. And his appreciation for life.

In contrast, truly negative thoughts attached to anger, despair or fear—suck our energy, promote paralysis, and attract tons more negativity. Such prolonged negative blockage invariably results in dis-ease. Which is why all cautionary messengers of bad news are ethically obliged to offer alternatives and solutions at the same time.

Taking care not to pollute our physical, mental and spiritual energy with despair is *not* an endorsement of denial.

POSITIVELY NEGATIVE

Please be careful that your book is not too negative, advised Maureen, who rightly worried that such a relentless chronicle of mayhem might turn people off.

War *is* negative, I can only reply. Killing children *is* negative.

If children are our teachers, what are their corpses telling us? *We must confront the consequences of our uncaring complicity head-on.* If we keep pushing unpleasantness away and focus only on feeling good, our shadow side is bound to pop up and blindside us somewhere else. And more sweet kids and their parents and elders who have never wished or done us harm will suffer and die.

Trying to eliminate violence by ignoring it as futile as trying to bomb it into extinction. It is our individual responsibility to acknowledge and accept the violent impulses inside each of us—and find the creativity, courage and awareness not send it on by indulging in violent language, thoughts and imagery.

I WITNESS

Instead of ignoring the distant murders conducted daily in our names, peace is best served by seeking ways to reducing our complicity. How can we best respond while living in a society that sponsors violence, while paying taxes that support it? (Hint.)

Besides pressing for legal reforms that give us control over where our tax dollars are directed, it is always helpful to write to our political representatives and local newspapers pointing out a few truths most would prefer to ignore—while letting go of the outcome.

Gay Watson, organizer of a pathfinding conference on “Psychology of Awakening” suggests that changes we call “positive” can only occur “if we can allow ourselves truly to be with whatever arises, *to witness it*, yet not to identify with it.”

PRUDENT AVOIDANCE

Don't do it. Bad idea. Don't go there... Our intuitive voice unfailingly informs us when we can skillfully avoid yet another snare set by a culture dependent on our complicity and consumption for its mindless continuance. We just have to listen. And trust a quiet voice that is *never wrong*.

Isn't avoidance better than dealing with the consequences of stupidity? What if we simply refuse to cooperate with those who lie and exploit?

“I study everything I do,” Barbara Marciniak says. “Is this something that will be good for me? There's a certain amount of electronics I participate in, and then I say, ‘Okay, I've been on the phone too long, I've done this too much or this,’ and then I balance it with nature. If you really want to stay sane and have your nervous system survive what's happening, we have to be able to integrate this energy”—by staying in close communion with the Nature that is our own nature, after all.

Hug a friend. Hug a tree. Hug yourself!

SMALL CHANGE

Since we got into this mess incrementally by making small compromises to stay comfortable, while allowing the usurpers to keep taking a little more—we can help make things better in steps as small as turning off unnecessary lights and appliances, running water only when it's actually being used, and leaving our portable carbon burners chained to a fence until we absolutely must drive to fulfill a list of accumulated errands that cannot be accomplished by any other mode of transport—including our two hind legs.

Fact is, the biggest move we can make to break the suicidal cycle

of global violence is to park cars so crudely powered they might as well be burning coal.

It is that simple. That urgent.

In late 2001, one of journalism's most respected voices gave a keynote environmental address. Bill Moyers' message was succinct: "Reduce organized violence by reducing our addiction to oil. America's unchecked consumption of oil has become our Achilles heel. It constrains our military options in the face of terror. It leaves our economy dangerously vulnerable to price shocks. It invites environmental degradation, ecological disasters, and potentially catastrophic climate change."

His solution?

"Hug the economist who tells you that the most efficient investment of a dollar is not in fossil fuels but in renewable energy sources that not only provide new jobs but cost less over time. Want to send the terrorists a message? Go for conservation. Go for clean, homegrown energy. And go for public health. If we reduce emissions from fossil fuel, we will cut the rate of asthma among children. Healthier children and a healthier economy—how about that? The bankers may not like it. But is this our world, or theirs?" ^{xxxviii}

OPEN YOUR PRESENT

Feeling overwhelmed? To handle the big things, we only have to take care of the small things—one at a time. As Paul Loeb reminds us, don't worry about your inability as a student or a working mom or dad to engage in "grand, heroic actions." Instead, he recommends, "Small acts, when multiplied by millions of people, can transform the world."

The outcome, he concludes, will be determined by "what we choose to emphasize." And it's best to be in the moment, because "the future is an infinite succession of presents."

Loeb is speaking to the need for much more human "being" and much less human "doing" that Misha mentioned. The whole thing is about staying awake and paying attention.

DON'T FORGET TO TAKE YOUR MEDITATIONS

Maybe we're trying too hard. So why not stop already? Chill for a few minutes or days. Or weeks, if you can. Don't use the "m" word if it bothers you. Think, "quiet mountaintop." Think, "deep cathedral forest." Think, "drifting kayak on calm waters." Switch off all the machines that you can reach within range of your senses, and make wherever you find yourself a momentary sanctuary.

Ahhh.

Just sitting still, looking out our eyes and letting our thoughts come and go with each breath strengthens the neuro-circuits that calm the fear and anger triggers in our overheated brains.

Chillin' also increases the brain activity associated with positive emotions, making us happier and less prone to dis-ease. As these positive feelings start to raise our personal vibration through the silent absence of our usual mental chatter, our higher frequency floats right off the radars of the ill-intentioned, whose lower-energy no longer attracts us, nor registers our presence.

If the Shift really hits the fan, by being in touch with our internal guidance and its uncanny ability to see ahead, we will intuitively know where to go and what to do, while the heaviest events pass our elevated energy field right on by.

Some people call this prayer. But by daily cultivating this quiet, watchful state we are not “praying” for something to happen—thereby giving more energy to its present lack. Rather, we are tuning into what is already there. (Christ taught the Gnostics this. His main message was not an agonized crucifixion but personal resurrection—without the need for parasitical priests, or their controlling shackles of “sin”.)

All this for free!

Walter Zeichner has gone to the medical literature for us and extracted clinical studies showing the myriad benefits of just breathing in and out without worrying about the rent:

- Greater Orderliness of Brain Functioning
- Improved Ability to Focus
- Increased Creativity
- Improved Perception and Memory
- Deeper Relaxation
- Decrease in Stress Hormone
- Lower Blood Pressure
- Reversal of Aging Process
- Reduced Cholesterol
- Reduced Need for Medical Care
- Increased Self-Actualization and Improved Self-Concept
- Bye-bye to Drugs
- Increased Productivity
- Improved Relation-Ships at Work, School and Home
- Significant Reduction In Conflict and Crime Rate

What happens during meditation, Zeichner has found, is that brainwaves between and within our two cerebral hemispheres become much more coherent. This is especially good news for linear, “handy” men, whose left and right brains are cleaved more deeply than networking, multi-tasking women. (Which might explain why we’re meant to work together.)

Here’s the deal: Meditate regularly for two years and spreading coherence across all brain frequencies will occur *even before* your session begins. For beginners, this occurs about halfway through each meditation period. For all meditators, this coherence continues after we open our eyes and re-engage the world. ^{xxxix}

One big benefit of improved “cognitive clarity” is the stabilization of our internal frame of reference. We are not easily scammed or scattered, or knocked off-kilter by all this talk of DU. ^{xi}

Counting gray hairs? Check this out: “Long-term meditators who had been practicing meditation for more than five years were physiologically *twelve years younger* than their chronological age, as measured by reduction of blood pressure, and better near-point vision and auditory discrimination. Short-term meditators were physiologically *five years younger* than their chronological age. The study controlled for the effects of diet and exercise.” ^{xli}

A study of health insurance statistics on over 2,000 people practicing meditation over a five-year period found that meditators consistently had less than half the hospitalization than did other groups with comparable age, gender and profession... The difference between the meditation and non-meditation groups increased in older-age brackets. ^{xlii}

“Results show that 24 cities in which 1% of the population had been instructed in meditation by 1972 displayed decreased crime rates during the next year and decreased crime trends during the subsequent five.” ^{xliii}

Sure, most of us are too busy to spend every morning sitting in the pretzel position—even if we could wrap our legs around our minds. But everyone can grab a minute here and there throughout their day, close their eyes, dive into their mental sanctuary... and b-r-e-a-t-h-e.

This is especially handy when baby Janet gurgles with artistic pleasure and paints the kitchen walls and floor with her oatmeal.

PERMISSION GRANTED

Who says we “can’t do anything” to divert and transmute a few unconscious madmen? Who says we need their permission?

“Your physical body is an electromagnetic frequency device. All experiences—eating, having sex, using your senses—send it signals,” Marciniak reminds us. “You change your molecular structure by changing your brainwashing, energy patterns and belief systems, and by expanding your concepts.”

So...

“Dream big. Whatever you intend, shall be so.”

GHANDI TIME

Is it time for a new Gandhian moment?

Richard Falk is Professor Emeritus of International Law at Princeton University. The author of many books, including *The Great Terror War* points out that as early as

1931 Mahatma Gandhi realized that beneficial change could only be achieved by a nonviolent struggle that breaks the violent cycle of retribution and revenge.

“I would wait, if need be, for ages rather than seek the freedom of my country through bloody means,” Gandhi wrote. “I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart that the world is sick unto death of blood-spilling. The world is seeking a way out, and I flatter myself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show the way out to the starving world.”

Thanks to the world’s newest and most convincing teacher of destructive futility, a contemporary worldwide outpouring of revulsion against war and violence is bringing us rapidly to a new Gandhian Moment, Falk feels.

The man is talking revolution. The velvet kind.

Addressing the Bush regime, Falk writes: “We are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activity to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government. We desire to show that the Government exists to serve the people, not the people the Government.”

This acknowledged expert in international law insists that the means to do so must include “both the renunciation of violence as a political instrument, and the engagement in struggle for the sake of justice. One without the other is untenable.”

Can this stratagem possibly work against a modern state employing secret police, torture, arrest without charges or trial, and more firepower than all other nations combined?

You bet, says Falk:

The earliest indications of this trend can be connected with the rather remarkable Iranian Revolution in 1978-79 that toppled the military regime of the Shah. That occurred entirely on the basis of a massive popular movement that refused to rely on violent tactics in mounting its struggle for change. Somewhat later, a similar phenomenon was evident in the Philippines, where Ferdinand Marcos, a longtime corrupt dictator, was driven into exile by the People Power movement, which was also nonviolent in means and ends.

Other pro-democracy movements were evident in a series of Asian countries including China, Nepal, Indonesia, Burma, Taiwan, Thailand, and South Korea.

And then in the late 1980s, encouraged by the new governing style in Moscow associated with Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership, impressive mobilizations of popular opposition occurred in a series of countries in Eastern Europe, culminating in the breaching of the Berlin Wall in late 1989. Two years later the Soviet Union collapsed, and the internal empire run from the Kremlin disintegrated, again without notable violence.

This astonishing spectacle was followed by the heroic and inspirational South African experience. Thanks largely to Nelson Mandela's charismatic ability to emerge from 27 years' confinement and assume leadership of the black African "struggle for a constitutional democracy, despite massive impoverishment and an entrenched white minority," Falk writes, "somehow, Mandela's spirit of reconciliation and moral radiance was able to guide this transition"—without succumbing to the understandably strong temptation to extract revenge.

All of these movements, the professor notes, "were reinforced by a disillusionment with military approaches."^{xiv}

Just like now.

Except this time, when we say "No more war," we really mean it. Pro-life *beyond* the womb, our complicity in the culture of death is over.

Once again, Americans are awakening from their violence-saturated cultural trance to recognize the folly of war. Once again, the majority wants the troops to come home. But this time—*this time!*—World War II veteran Howard Zinn is certain that a nation sickened by senseless slaughter will not succumb to spin.

“At least America’s tragic adventure in Iraq has made harsh realities visible,” he writes. “The troops will have to come home. And while we work with increased determination to make this happen, should we not think beyond this war?”

“Should we begin to think, even before this shameful war is over, about ending our addiction to massive violence and instead using the enormous wealth of our country for human needs?”

“Should we begin to speak about ending war—not just this war or that war, but war itself? Perhaps the time has come to bring an end to war, and turn the human race onto a path of health and healing.”^{xiv}

Banksters like the Carlyle Group won’t like it. But they’ll just have to get on the peace train—or be left at the station. There are a lot of more of us than there are of them. And they can’t make everyone keep buying their lies, and paying for their bombs.

MONEY, MONEY, MONEY, MONEY, MONEY

Still, those with the gold make the rules. As Deep Pockets distressingly pointed out: 90% of us own 5% of the money and don’t want war, while 5% of the people own 90% of the money and *do want war* because they profit from it while we stay distracted.

And as he further revealed during our last conversation, the secret to running the world like an ant farm is simple:

1. Make sure everyone has to use some kind of currency—paper or electronic—that you can control.
2. Ensure that as much human activity as possible goes through a financial hub, with everyone and everything plugged into it, 24/7. Take your cut on as many transactions as possible. Then, when all hell is busting loose in Iraq, Iran or wherever else you and your complicit media choose—you’re sitting on a beach earning 20%.

“We gotta stop ‘em,” my money mentor insisted. “Because this is insane. This doesn’t make any sense.”

“That’s great,” I told him. “Knowing that the biggest players effecting our grandchildren and every other creature on the planet are completely invisible and beyond our control, what can we do?”

“We can acquire information and knowledge, Deep Pockets replied. And take responsibility for what we know.”

“What does ‘taking responsibility’ mean?”

“I can choose how it affects me,” Deep Pockets explained. We can choose where we put our energy and attention. And by “taking responsibility for what we know, we can then make a conscious decision not to take part in it. Not empower it. Not give it so much energy.”

“But how do we stop this globe-gobbling juggernaut when we can’t even identify the main players?” I demanded once again.

“The best thing that everyone could do is basically dismiss all these activities on the planet as futile acts of profit and don’t buy into them. See, everyone’s buying into it, and that’s what they count on. That’s why they have power,” Deep Pockets advised.

“If money is not your primary motivation, you are completely out of control,” he concluded. “Everyone on the planet could really decide to just walk outside. We could just all walk away. That would completely derail all the guys in control.”

How?

“We could come up with a better way of exchange other than dealing with people who don’t produce any goods or service,” Deep Pockets suggested. “We could come to a different kind of exchange without involving them. They do everything they can to stop that from happening.”

If we withdraw our money from the banking casino and stock exchanges, if we cut up our credit cards, leave our wallets in our jeans and swap or recycle—or just do without the gadgets that further enslave us—“they don’t have power.”

One more Big Thing: *The biggest single act Americans, Canadians, and Britishers can undertake to reclaim their country and their children’s destiny is to immediately abolish their privately held Federal Reserve banks and reinstitute an interest-and-debt free currency issued by the government they elect. Americans can support the American Monetary Institute, which is introducing a motion in Congress to eliminate the Federal Reserve.*^{xvii}

We can also turn to the Internet—and protect this people’s superpower from the corporate-government interests who seek to usurp or otherwise control it. “The meek will inherit the Earth—and they’ll probably do it with Windows.” Deep Pockets laughed. “It’s how we use it. It’s what we do with this powerful tool.”

STEALTH WEALTH

He’s on to something. Eco-economist Hazel Henderson believes we are at a bifurcation point, where whatever comes next diverges

radically from what came before. A sharp turn away from monetary exchange is already seeing countries and corporations using computer networks to swap services and goods—without dollars, dinars or dineros.

Alongside an official \$21 trillion global economy, Henderson points to an estimated *\$16 trillion* worth of trades taking place every year *without exchanging a cent*. This changes every economic equation, Henderson insists. Local currencies are also springing up everywhere, “raising consciousness, building community, and restructuring our economies in a sustainable direction.”^{xlvii}

Why not? As info-freedom-fighter Richard Grove asks, “What else is life for if not to live as free people, and to express our minds for the purposes of living in reality, not some hostage to Orwell’s 1984; a place were Newspeak rules and Thought is a Crime?”

“We as individuals must assume the responsibility that we all share for allowing this situation to go on... and we, as a country must take action, identify common ground, and then take all measures necessary to defend what we love and to stand as one against the real terrorists, and our true enemy—corporate fundamentalism and greed.”

If you do, he adds, “Don’t forget to thank yourself.”^{xlviii}

ATTENTION DEFICIT ERODERS

And don’t forget not to frighten yourself by allowing blue-flickering TV flames to cast shadows from your dark side up on walls of your cave.

Fear erodes attention.

So does anger.

So does desire. Like all projections, the desire for peace and an end to war can be another craving that sets us up for more disillusionment and disempowerment when we don’t think our fearful desire through, and our undefined expectations are not met.

PEACE NOW

“Don’t desire peace,” Misha said the next morning while I was brushing her hair. “*Be peace.*”

“What do you mean?” I asked. “How do we create peace?”

“It’s already here,” she said.

Already here?

“We are praying for, intending, what is already there,” she insisted. “We don’t have to create peace; only recognize that peace is already

here. It's just lost under distractions and fear. Only when violence is no longer an option, can peace reveal itself to us. But people don't know it's an option. Because they won't stop long enough and breathe to get to that place. Most people don't want the quiet excitement of peace."

Like jaded junkies hooked on violent stimulation, she continued her thought, people "prefer the jagged energy that matches the energy coming from their computers and televisions and cell phones."

THAT'S INTERESTING

Zingo! I watched my reaction to my own electromagnetic hot button light up my neocortex like pinballs. Why can't otherwise rational people whose brains and bodies are basically electrochemical interactions understand the dangers of bathing constantly in so much invisible electro-smog?

Then I remembered that judgment of any kind hooks us into attachment that often frightens, disheartens and disempower us. Which is what television "programming" is all about. Especially when involved with environmental and peace work, or while making a passage aboard any relation-ship, it is absolutely vital that we "stay in the moment" and do not become attached to outcomes.

How can we do this when the mind-controllers are showing us replay after replay of a giant airliner smashing into the World Trade Center? Or more kids starving in Somalia? Or another bus crash in Bolivia?

Get some psychic distance. When confronted by disturbing information, try saying, "That's interesting." Voicing this neutral phrase as a protective mantra provides space to maintain our detachment for a moment—allowing us to choose, in the next, how we will respond.

FOR WHOM THE DEATHS TOLL

Practice right now by considering the math of mass murder. Based on surveys by Iraqi doctors, the British medical journal *Lancet* reported in October 2006 that since March 2003, "an additional 2.5% of Iraq's population has died above what would have occurred without conflict."

In a country of 24 million people, this means that the U.S.-led invasion and the resulting lawlessness currently tearing that country apart has killed more than 600,000 people. Most of these dead are children.

This record "beats" Saddam Hussein's tally of 250,000 to 290,000 people murdered over 20 years, according Human Rights

Watch. The *Lancet* study's lead researchers, Gilbert Burnham and Les Roberts of Johns Hopkins have conducted similar surveys in the Congo and Rwanda. "This is a standard methodology that the U.S. government and others have encouraged groups to use in developing countries," Burnham says, defending their newest numbers as "a scientifically extremely strong paper."^{xix}

Twice terming the U.S. actions against Iraq, "genocide", the UN estimates that another one million Iraqis—again mostly children—were killed during the first Gulf War, and the decade of bombings and sanctions that followed. Another three million people were murdered in Vietnam. The death count from Cambodia, where 2,756,941 tons of high-explosives were dropped during 230,516 illegal sorties on 113, 716 locations by the same type of American B-52s that went on to unload their "daisy cutters" over Afghanistan and Iraq, is not known. But as one American official put it, "nothing could survive" the ferocity of bombing attacks that hit single small villages with dozens of payloads over several hours.¹

Enough already! As Howard Zinn puts it, "The government of the United States, indeed governments everywhere, are becoming exposed as untrustworthy: that is, not to be entrusted with the safety of human beings, or the safety of the planet, or the guarding of its air, its water, its natural wealth, or the curing of poverty and disease, or coping with the alarming growth of natural disasters that plague so many of the six billion people on Earth."

This time it will be different, this war veteran believes. This time, nearly seven billion people have had a bellyful of senseless killing and destruction that profits a few who remain comfortably far from the fighting, their own conscience, and the screams of those shorn of their limbs and balls and guts.

"I don't believe that our government will be able to do once more what it did after Vietnam—prepare the population for still another plunge into violence and dishonor. It seems to me that when the war in Iraq ends, and the war syndrome heals, that there will be a great opportunity to make that healing permanent," Zinn declares.

"Governments will resist this message. But their power is dependent on the obedience of the citizenry. When that is withdrawn, governments are helpless. We have seen this again and again in history. The abolition of war has become not only desirable but absolutely necessary if the planet is to be saved. It is an idea whose time has come."ⁱⁱ

NVC IS NOT THE NORTH VIET CONG

Sheila showed me that we can productively engage in everyday conflicts within and outside ourselves by practicing the recently recovered art of Nonviolent Communication, which is not just a more considerate mode of speaking, but a deeply attentive way of *listening*.

“All humans have the need both to receive and to express compassion,” says Lucy Leu, Certified Trainer, Center for Nonviolent Communication. Especially soldiers.

Dr. Marshall Rosenberg came up with Nonviolent Communication after noticing our frustrated tendency to revert to “suicidal language”. This means, says Leu, “the more we are in pain and are wanting others to respond, the more likely we are to choose words... which, in fact repel and disincline others to respond to us in the way we’d like.”

For example, wanting others to behave in ways that match our values and desires, we often express ourselves through judgments labeling them “immoral,” “bad” or “wrong”. If we want someone with a differing perspective to agree with us, we revert to calling them “stupid” or “ignorant”—which is hardly persuasive. Try calling your lover “cold” and “selfish” and see how much lovin’ you get.

This kind of unthinking speech leads to self-fulfilling expectations of negative behavior in those we insult. Nations are no different. Rosenberg’s insight is to stop making our antagonists even more defensive by shutting up and listening hard to what is being conveyed behind words being fired at us like shrapnel.

First we observe the speaker’s current state of mind. What are the people who cheered those planes flying into the Twin Towers really saying?

Next, we postpone judgment and acknowledge the speaker’s feelings: “Mmm, I can see that you’re really pissed off. Is it something we have done as a nation to you or your family or clan that has made you so upset?”

The third step is to identify with the unfulfilled and often unexpressed need that is generating the feelings and behavior we observe: “I share your need for your family and friends to live full and productive lives and not get blown up.”

Step four frames the listener’s response to the speaker’s need with a request for an immediate, concrete, and doable action: “Would you be willing to take off your bomb vest while we work out some solutions to your people’s immediate needs? How about granting safe passage

for an unarmed relief convoy carrying food and medicine, instead of more bombs and tanks?”ⁱⁱⁱ

As Sri Nisargadatta says, it takes hearts to cross the abyss that minds create.

OUR UNWARLIKE NATURE

One of the biggest lies perpetrated by warlike patriarchies is that there will always be war because “humans are warlike by nature.”

Yes, we can be as violent as any animal when cornered or attacked. But organized mass warfare is a recent manipulation by agriculture-based, patriarchal city-states that began sprawling around storehouses some 10,000 years ago.

For millions of years as co-operating hominids—and for more than 100,000 years as fully developed humans—there is zero evidence in art, implements, grave sites or campsites that we ever bowed before kings—or went to war. “The human species is not unswervingly aggressive, not genetically driven to violence. There is no evidence of frequent violence or warfare in human prehistory until after about 10,000 years ago, when humans began to practice food production,” asserts the famed archaeologist Richard Leakey.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ

Killing strangers whom we would prefer to share a pint with *is not part of our nature*. Armies have had to deal with this problem for centuries.

“War is conditioned, not innate,” I said to Misha. “What *is* innate is our extreme reluctance to kill another human being face-to-face. The military has found it extremely difficult to get someone to kill another person. Even when they are being shot at.”

As Howard Zinn points out, the “killer ape” myth is a crock:

We don’t find people spontaneously rushing to make war on others. What we find, rather, is that governments must make the most strenuous efforts to mobilize populations for war. They must entice soldiers with promises of money, education, must hold out to young people whose chances in life look very poor that here is an opportunity to attain respect and status. And if those enticements don’t work, governments must use coercion: They must conscript young people, force them into military service, threaten them with prison if they do not comply.

When you look at the endless series of wars of this century you do not find a public demanding war, but rather resisting it.^{liv}

TALKED OUT

What about people who fly airliners into office buildings, or order Prisoners Of War tortured? What can we do about desperados and dictators opposed to decent lives lived happily beyond their twisted beliefs and control? What happens when talking fails?

Since the first human hominid swiped someone's wildebeest bone, the question persists: What is an appropriate response to unreasoning aggression?

Depending on the urgency of the situation and the violence a few unhappy souls are capable of unleashing, we might take a page from ancient Pacific societies that called a circle of women and male elders in deciding to:

A: Banish recalcitrant wrongdoers.

or

B: Bonk them on the head.

Few will argue against police keeping the local peace, macrophages destroying malevolent viruses, or, as a last resort, tightly focused "police actions" undertaken with the consensual participation of all nation-tribes to capture or shut off broken robotic fanatics bent on murder and mayhem.

But—and this is a crucial caveat—our children's survival in an increasingly crowded and depleted global village depends on their parents finding ways to resolve legitimate differences without resorting to the use of weaponry that invariably make things much worse. Though it might feel cathartic to bomb problems until they "go away", the ever-turning wheel of karma and tribal memory ensure that people put down by force eventually find a way to give the wheel of vengeance another shove.

Favored in almost every instance, banishment in olden times in places like the Marquesas Islands meant marching malefactors down to a double-canoe, handing them some breadfruit and coconuts, and inviting them to shove off and not come back.

While it might be delightful to put Saddam Hussein, both Bushes, and Osama bin Laden in the same boat and send them up a crocodile-crowded creek *sans* paddle, a more modern form of banishment fires incompetent leaders, withdraws all military and monetary support for repressive regimes, holds war criminals accountable in the World Court, shuts down the money laundries, turns off the drugs-for-arms torrent, and curbs corporations from usurping human rights as their own.

HERE COME THE JUDGE

Of course, Judge Richard Goldstone notes, “We must be realistic about terrorism, and not naïve. Enforcement officials need to be given tools that might have been unthinkable not too long ago. Because of modern technology, when criminals make use of the Internet, electronic banking and access to travel, law enforcement must be able to deal with them.”

The key to ensuring legality, this judge rules, is “oversight, preferably judicial. The main thing is that people who are using tools like wiretapping know somebody is watching. If not, you can be absolutely certain there will be abuse.”

The best way of protecting the rule of law is to strengthen the UN Security Council, which has the power to authorize the use of force, the judge advises. “The council must be enlarged to reflect the world community in 2005. It’s very important to add voices. But a mechanism should also be found for avoiding a situation where one veto can stop a resolution that is supported by the other nations.”^{iv}

TIME FOR A GLOBAL HUDDLE

To avoid becoming an intimidated tool of a New World Order that Hitler envisioned as the return of a Fourth Reich, the UN must be re-invented to reflect the needs and desires of all nations, all life. After extending their “deepest sympathies and heart-felt condolences to the families and friends of the victims and to the people of the United States” and condemning “this barbarous act of terrorism” whose perpetrators “must be sought out and brought to justice”—seven Nobel Peace Prize Laureates further declared:

In this moment of crisis we are confronted by a challenge whose outcome will determine the future of this first century of the new millennium. The UN General Assembly has declared the first ten years of the 21st century to be the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World. We believe that the time has come to implement that decision.

Many have compared the attack on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon to the attack on Pearl Harbour. But this is not 1941. In the past 60 years we have learnt many hard lessons about the downward spiral of violence and have been misled by false expectations about the ability of military power to solve problems.

Sadly, our political leaders continue to take decisions, which produce confrontation instead of negotiation. The result has been more death and destruction and an increasing sense of fear, anxiety, and hopelessness among us all.

We therefore call upon the world community and especially upon the American people to take up the challenge, which is presented to them in the midst of adversity. We recognise the need to respond quickly and decisively to these terrible acts of terrorism. Yet we appeal to the American government to refrain from military retaliation.

Instead we call upon the United Nations to organise in the very near future: An international conference on terrorism, which will investigate its root, causes, propose measures to address those causes, and provide international standards to ensure that security needs are met and that the perpetrators of such acts are brought to justice. An international day of commemoration for all the victims of terrorism with public manifestations of solidarity and programs for teaching peace education and the principles of nonviolence in schools and universities.

Terrorism threatens the very principles to which our societies aspire and which are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The best response to those who would undermine democracy and the rule of law is to reaffirm those very values and institutions.

In conclusion, we call upon the governments and peoples of the world to take concrete steps in developing a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence. The response of the United States and its allies should not be driven by a blind desire for vengeance, but rather a renewed determination to work for a peaceful and just world. The single great evil that must be opposed is not one group of people or another, but rather the fear and hatred that continue to find root in human hearts.

What We Can Do

Mairead Corrigan Maguire	Nobel Peace Prize 1976
Betty Williams	Nobel Peace Prize 1976
Adolfo Perez Esquivel	Nobel Peace Prize 1980
Desmond Mpilo Tutu	Nobel Peace Prize 1984
Tenzin Gyatso, 14th Dalai Lama	Nobel Peace Prize 1989
Joseph Rotblat	Nobel Peace Prize 1995
Jody Williams	Nobel Peace Prize 1997

A PEOPLE'S UN

Is truly representative governance possible? Why not return to the Iroquois model first followed by America's Founding Dads, and establish a true world council offering equal representation to every continent of creatures on Earth?

Whatever world we wish, we will manifest. Fast. Writing in a publication outrageously called *Positive News*, Jane Taylor suggests: "It is time to move away from the logic of war to the logic of peace. We must create a culture of peace in place of the culture of violence and the logic of war."

Among our spaceship's fellow-voyagers, such sentiments run deeper than the few who hate. As Taylor testifies:

This was the message of the 4th Assembly of the People's UN, which took place in Perugia in Italy. This extraordinary Assembly, organized by the Italian Peace Round Table and the National Federation of Local Municipalities for Peace, heard testimony from individuals from 100 different countries on the reality of war for the poor of the world, and the reality of daily life in countries subjected to what was described as the economic terrorism of corporate globalization and structural adjustment programmes, imposed by the IMF and the World Bank.

Carrying banners proclaiming "Food, Water and Justice for All", 300,000 participants took part in this year's March for Peace. This Italian event takes place every two years, packing peaceful people into a 24-kilometer route winding from Perugia to Assisi, the home of St. Francis. This year, the line of peace pacers stretched over six miles.

The American media's disregard of this major news story did not detract from a European-covered event that saw nearly as many

people “walking their talk” for peace as the half-million song-filled souls who first gave this vision impetus and voice at a festival that forever modified my mind, called Woodstock.

“This is the march of the new global movement,” declared Flavio Lotti. The visionary who first assembled the People’s Assembly explained, “We are the people who want a different globalization, a globalization of human rights, democracy and solidarity. We cannot expect very much from our governments, but we must expect much from ourselves.”

Is this cool or what?

HOW TO STOP TERRORISM

Want to stop terrorism in its tracks? Stop looking the other way just because protesting injustices against others is inconvenient and draws attention to us. Stand together. Insist on justice. Stop sending arms to people with twisted beliefs and violent agendas. Shut down terror training camps, beginning with Fort Benning, Georgia.

Ensure education and emancipation for all women everywhere. Give angry kids in refugee camps a home and the hope that comes from an educated stake in a worthwhile future. Give them respect. Listen to what oppressed peoples are saying, before they feel compelled to say it with 30-pounds of amyl nitrate strapped to their chests.

FEED THEM

A mother and her daughter were walking in the woods today playing a game. Aine was pretending there were monsters in the forest and that they were coming to eat them. She and her mom had to be vigilant. They had to defend themselves.

Her mother asked her, “What is the plan? What are we going to do if we see one of the monsters?”

She replied, “Feed them.”

“Feed them?”

“Yes,” she said. “If we feed them they won’t want to eat us.” (Nations spend as much on weapons every two weeks as it would take to feed everyone on Earth for one year.)^{lvi}

WHAT TO DO?

This message reached me in March 2002: “As I have stated so often, I am well aware of the New World Order and the malevolence

behind it. We need solutions. The media is completely controlled. They are in the control of the military—and create an atmosphere of fear, amongst many other insidious operations—to get control of the world. What to do?”

12 WAYS TO DEAL WITH MASS MEDIA, THE INTERNET, AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Step 1: Stand together. Love and support one another. Calmly and compassionately correct the misinformed privately and personally. Never attack people and organizations working with good hearts and intentions on the worldwide web. Refrain from forwarding or contributing hurtful gossip on the Net.

Step 2: Ignore mass media mesmerizers. Learn to read between the lines of newspapers, or save trees and don't read them at all. Network news is mostly disinformation and distraction. Televised negativity sent hypnotically into your central nervous is spiritual and physical poison. Unlike information garnered from print, video images cannot be “edited” out. Be as selective in what you watch as what you eat. Never watch television “news” or violent videos while eating, or before sleeping.

To catch the news, grab fleeting radio news broadcasts before 7 a.m. Most stories will be edited soon after; truthful slip-ups will never be rebroadcast. To catch vital “stories” on television, load a fresh tape into your VCR and tune into live, on-the-scene interviews with eyewitnesses immediately following major events. This could be your only opportunity to get the truth from network affiliates—such as the shutdown of Flight 93 over Pennsylvania, the bombing of the WTC, or military pilots describing the missile that destroyed Flight 800 over Long Island Sound. After taping these segments, post pertinent clips and verbatim transcripts on the Net.

Step 3: Vote with your wallet. Boycott products from corporations engaged in weaponry, warmaking, environmental degradation, fake processed “food” and drugs that harm human health. Search the Web and learn who really owns the companies offering goods

and services. When purchasing necessities, buy from local producers whenever possible. Buy used. Recycle. Repair. Swap. Park your car and check out electric-assisted bikes (3,000,000 now in use in Japan). When upgrading computer gear, give away your older, working equipment to activists and community orgs. Otherwise your PCBs might end up in India, making workers and their families sick.

Step 4: Support independent authors, reporters, documentary filmmakers and webmasters. Recent polls show that the majority of North Americans with Internet access are ignoring “managed” network news in favor of first-hand news sources, commentaries and analysis on the worldwide web. Crosscheck all information with your heart as well as your head. Does it “ring true”? Does it resonate? The most reliable reports include references and sources. If belief is required to accept unsubstantiated claims, don’t.

Step 6: Demand that your tax dollars be spent on enhancing lives—not diminishing or taking them. The money, talent and resources squandered annually on armaments that failed to protect America from a few fanatics armed with Exacto knives is enough to eliminate the scarcity, female oppression, environmental degradation and illiteracy that drive most conflicts.

Step 7: Remember who and where you are onboard a rare, inhabitable space colony neither too close nor too far from its warming star. Every Trekkie knows it makes sense not to rip apart the ship’s solar radiation shielding, pave over water-purifying wetlands, cut down oxygen-replenishing forests, or pour DNA-altering poisons into her fresh water recirculators. There are no lifeboats. Respect your spaceship. It’s the only one you have.

Step 8: Vote “yes” for reality. If you like it, celebrate it. If you don’t like it, change it. Remember why dope is called “dope”. Take yourself and your children off Ritalin, Prozac and Paxil. Keep vaccination needles out of their arms, and your own.

Enjoy and protect your freedoms by exercising them in responsible ways every day. Call local authorities and the media if you spot chemtrails being spread over your community. Call them back. Call them again. Know that real power has nothing to do with megatons or megabucks, and

is instantly accessible through the truth of an open heart. Do not fear the warmongers. Though there is immensely destructive power in aligning with dark forces, the power of love and compassion is greater. Evildoers always collapse from their own corruption, conceits and contradictions. This is the Law of Karma. There are no exceptions.

Step 9: Express gratitude at every opportunity. Encourage your laughing coyote. Remember that well-informed ridicule is the surest way to skewer the arrogant. Be vigilant without becoming paranoid. Authorities caught in their own fearful projections are most likely far too busy to notice you. Taking sensitive information public is your best defense against those who want to restrict it.

Step 10: Always support, encourage and congratulate conscientious officials. Exercise every available democratic process to hold the rest accountable. After all, you are paying government officials, police and military personnel to serve and protect you and your community. Be passionate! Show your outrage at injustice in creative, constructive and nonviolent ways. Avoid expressing or supporting hatred, which leads to blind intolerance. Foster and learn from diversity in gender, customs, locale and individual viewpoints. Remember that the most contagious and subversive act is a smile.

Step 11: If you are reporting something, strive to be accurate. Help other reporters do their jobs by using proper punctuation and capitalization in news messages posted to the Net. When posting articles, provide the time/date and name of the source publication, book or news broadcast—plus the author's Email and URL if available. Be careful. Seek second opinions on the most alarming information you receive online. Reflect on hysteria-heightening messages for at least 24 hours before forwarding widely, or posting on the Web.

Misinformation can be destructive. Issue full retractions immediately. Remember that information cannot be recalled like faulty tires. No matter how quickly errors are caught and corrected, once posted they can haunt the sender for months. I know! Be helpful. Accompany all issues of public concern with suggested solutions, including descriptions of working alternatives already in practice. Include access phone numbers, URLs and mail addresses to publications and organizations that address public problems in ways that affirm and protect life.

Step 12: Love your Mother, Earth. Respect and learn from your elders. Remember that all children are in our care. Honor their trust. Our shared future is either enhanced or encumbered by every choice you make. Celebrate your victories. Thank yourself often for your choices.

HOPI CHECKLIST

Speaking from Oraibi, Arizona, the Hopi Elders suggest that during this time of Great Purification—also known as the Great Turning—we personally consider the following:

- Where am I living?
- What am I doing?
- Am I in relationships that further all?
- Where is my water source?
- Have I planted a backyard or rooftop garden?

“All that we do now must be done in a sacred manner and in celebration. Banish the word struggle from your attitude and your vocabulary,” the Hopi say. “We are the ones we’ve been waiting for.”

SOME MORE THINGS WE CAN DO:

- Love and respect the children. Why are we “debating” the current and next wars? Regardless of uniform or creed, there is *never* an excuse for harming a child.
- Depart from everyone else’s script immediately. If someone tries to sell you a box of bombs and flags, tell them, “Forget it. I’m not buying anything until I read the fine print.”
- Do not sign up, do not subscribe, do not join any party line. It invariably leads to a mental or physical gulag. Then over a cliff. When in danger or in doubt—move always toward the light.
- Call home immediately. Remember that prayer is more powerful than any weapon ever devised. The power of massed prayerful intention is awesome.
- Listen to the quiet voice speaking through your heart. It is never wrong.
- Listen to each other’s stories. There is more wisdom in personal experience than any agenda-serving propaganda or analysis.

What We Can Do

- Unplug all brainwashing broadcast machines within eye and earshot.
- Teach the corporations to be responsible. Buy only necessities. Recycle and reuse as often as you can.
- Stop mind-control in its broadcast tracks. Turn it off.
- Eight glasses of water and four hugs a day are a healthy minimum. Hug someone you care about right now. Hug yourself. You're nicer than you think.
- Stop shooting. Stop shouting. Who can think straight—or hear their heart—in all that racket?
- Remember that those with grievances just want to be heard. You don't have to agree with them. Just put yourself in their sandals—and listen with the respect you would like them to accord to you.
- Humanity's greatest accomplishment is the harmonious arrangement of audible vibrations. Play music often, support musicians of talent and heart. Best yet, make your own music with whatever instruments come to hand—including your own throat chakra. (Don't forget the power of whistling, humming, and “OM”.)
- Whenever you feel love and gratitude, express it aloud. Do this often. The universe hears you. Every creature benefiting from your benediction will bless you for it.
- Grant loyalty and respect only when they are earned.
- Resist much, obey little.
- Think for yourself.

TAKE A WALK

“The most formidable military machine depends ultimately on the obedience of its soldiers, Zinn reminds us. “The most powerful corporation becomes helpless when its workers stop working, when its customers refuse to buy its products. The strike, the boycott, the refusal to serve, the ability to paralyze the functioning of a complex social structure—these remain potent weapons against the most fearsome state or corporate power.”

If we all walk away from the lie that says violence solves problems, the swindlers will fall silent. Then we can build something new.

LIGHT UP AND LIVE

Just before I excitedly phoned to read her the part about Christmas in the trenches and that war quenching “candle flame” in Flanders, Misha called with a final thought. Even if people don’t know what to do, they can light a candle for the good of all, she said, referring to “flat” tea candles secured behind colored glass that can’t burn the place down.

“Think of all your pictures of peace vigils and memorials,” she reminded me. Why is everyone invariably holding a lit candle?

“A burning candle brings us to being,” she said. “It speaks to us from a primal place [that] always signifies something holy, something peaceful—something of the Light.

“If we all start lighting candles, and walk into house with candles lit...” we will no longer walk alone in darkness.

CHOOSE LIFE AND SELF-RESPECT: RESIGN FROM KILLING NOW!

I wear the uniform of a “first ashore, first to die” United States Marine and salute a flag with stripes denoting bloodshed. You wear the garb of al-Qaeda and bow to a cause of martyrdom and bloodletting. In “fighting for freedom”, we both have allowed our pride, patriotism and beliefs to be manipulated and deceived into terrorizing and killing women, children, husbands, fathers, mothers, siblings, elders.

What is the difference?

When we all say “no” to war, it stops.

If you are a member of the U.S. military who feels that killing civilians for lies and corporate profit is wrong—or if you know someone whose combat boots are pinching—phone the GI Rights Hotline at (800) 394-9544.

THE 12 R’S OF PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

Feeling helpless, buffeted and off-balance, unable to make a difference or even be heard by unelected politicians bent on mindless mayhem? For fast, long-lasting relief try any combination of these 12 “R”s.

REMEMBER who you are: “hu-man” = “spirit-person”. As an Infinite Being of Light, you are an unbounded reflection of God. But as a forgetful spirit preoccupied by being human, your primary restriction r is fear of your own death. Have a good one!

What We Can Do

Until it's time to pass through that doorway into whatever comes next, try sitting quietly in some serene spot. Cup your open hands on each knee, thumb and first finger joined in a circle. (Christ taught this.) Close your eyes, deeply inhale... and feel the power and clarity that is your divine birthright radiate through your being. Check back here often.

RETHINK assumptions and priorities. Remember that your beliefs and emotionally charged attention attract your reality. What are you afraid of? Why? What is most important to you? What kind of future do you want? Where do you most often direct your thoughts?

REDUCE your consumption of fossil fuels, media messages, and manufactured "goods" that may be "bads" for the natural functioning of a space colony called Earth. Consider your children's children 10 generations hence. To check the status of your personal enslavement, total your financial debts. The amount of debt you cannot pay off at this moment marks your indentured servitude to a system that is leaping over an ecological and ideological cliff. Use a pair of sharp scissors to remove your credit card handcuffs.

REPAIR, RESPECT AND REUSE. Within the closed recirculating systems of Spaceship Earth, nothing can be thrown "away". Recycle instead. Treat yourself by salvaging older manufactured items, which are often better made than cheap Chinese slave labor consumer crap. (If you must, after inquiring about their provenance, buy quality Chinese goods at fair prices.) Better yet, instead of having to pollute, use more energy, and cut more forests or strip-mine for new products, used ones have already amortized their environmental debts over the years since they were made.

RESTORE damaged habitat and your own connection to place. Plant trees. Repair streams. Remember that wounded ecologies often regenerate best by being left alone. While working locally to prohibit polluters and plunderers, maximize your personal happiness and freedom by limiting your impacts on the land and watersheds around you.

RESIST police state tactics by exercising your Constitutional rights to assemble and speak freely. Do not resist with anger that feeds your oppressors. Resist by denying them permission to subjugate yourself and others in your name. Network. Seek solidarity with others willing to stand for their children and their convictions. After each act of peaceful resistance, *let go of the outcome*. Blocked energy causes stagnation and illness.

REFUSE to participate in dead-end death trips. When pressed to buy insane policies or products just say, “No thanks”. Buy less. Live more.

RESPECT life. Engage in “right livelihood” that blesses your work with grace while enhancing the world around you. Your smile is a universal passport. Stay out of the unraveling stratosphere. Hop a freight or a freighter instead, and travel as inexpensively and extensively as you can. Or stay home and cultivate a sense of community and place. Wherever you find yourself, harmonizing your spiritual, emotional, intellectual and physical well-being with your surroundings will do more to “raise the frequency” of our planetary passage into adulthood than any other activity.

RELAX. Stress triggers personal paralysis and dis-ease. Hug trees, float on the water, sit on summits... breeeaaathe. Observe and *listen* to the voices of Nature and her creatures. (What is owl telling you?) Always heed your own inner voice. When it says, *Don't go there...* don't go there. Steer easy toward the light.

REJOICE. You are a miracle! Life is the most precious gift of all. Understand that the present turmoil signals the birth pangs of a new world. Help make it a better one. Get serious about not being so serious! Dance often! Make music! Practice kissing! If you're having fun, you're doing it right. Indulge often in a healthy coyote's irreverence. Laughter is the best antidote to fear. As Barbara Marciniak says, “If you can't laugh and you can't change your mind, it can be a tough journey.”

SWAMI FOR PRECEDENT

Fed up with PAC politics? Concerned about “electile dysfunction”, “Mad Cowboy Disease” and “irony deficiency”?

Then maybe its time for “politics as unusual,” suggests Steve Bhaerman. Running annually as the “Swami for Precedent,” Bhaerman believes we ought to choose laughter as our pretension-popping pin of choice because “there is definitely something funny going on!” In his 2006 State of the Universe Address, Swami Beyondananda called for a mass “Up-Wising” saying, “Now finally, it looks as if the shift is about to hit the fan. This is good news for all those shift fans who’ve been wondering if the new age will arrive before old age does.”

“If there was any warm feeling in 2005,” the swami observed, “chalk it up to climate change. [And] despite being panned by critics everywhere, the Iraqi Horror Picture Show continued its run, as thousands and thousands of born fetuses—ours and theirs—lost their right to life.

“Sure, there are still plenty of Not-Sees out there who insist on not seeing that we humans are all in the same boat. The good news is, more and more Americans are getting that sinking feeling that there’s only one Earthship, and ignoring a leak because it’s ‘on the other side of the boat’ is a mistake of titanic proportions.”

And since Jesus said the meek shall inherit the earth, maybe it’s time for the meek “to boldly step forth and accept our inheritance,” the Swami said. As his personal guru Harry Cohen Baba teaches, “Life is like a good deli. Even if something isn’t on the menu, if enough people order it they have to make it.”

So what is our order for the new world, the swami asks? Do we feed fear and buy into the “It’s everyone for themselves” story? Or do we nourish love and evolve into the “We’re all in it together” story?

“Can we shift our karma into surpassing gear? I cannot say for sure, but if we choose to give up that old Dodge and trade it in for an Evolve, that’s a good first step. Let the golden rule overrule the rule of gold!” ^{lvii}

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

This is no joke. Democratic representative Dennis Kucinich wants to create a U.S. Department of Peace. Backed by 43 representatives, in his “call to action” made in the House, the congressman who tried to ban chemtrails said:

We have reached a moment in history where it is urgent that people everywhere speak out... and caution leaders who generate fear through talk of endless war or the final conflict... to consider that their own bellicose thoughts, words and deeds are reshaping consciousness and can have an adverse effect.

Because... one faction thinks: *war!* and starts a war. One nation thinks: *nuclear!* and approaches the abyss. What then, of one nation, which thinks *peace*, and seeks peace? We are citizens of a shared planet, "bound to a common destiny," Kucinich went on. "So connected are we, that each of us has the power to be the eyes of the world, the voice of the world, the conscience of the world—or the end of the world. And as each one of us chooses, so becomes the world."

With a world at risk, we must find the bombs in our own lives and disarm them. We must listen to that quiet inner voice which counsels that the survival of all is achieved through the unity of all. We must overcome our fear of each other, by seeking out the humanity within each of us.

We need to create a new, clear vision of a world as one, of people working out their differences peacefully. A new, clear vision with the teaching of nonviolence, nonviolent intervention and mediation, where people can live in harmony within their families, within their communities, and within themselves. A new clear vision of peaceful coexistence in a world of tolerance.

This is a call to action: to replace expanded war with expanded peace. This is a call for action to place the very survival of this planet on the agenda of all people, everywhere. This is the time to organize for peace. This is the time for new thinking. This is the time to conceive of peace as being not simply the absence of violence, but the active presence of the capacity for a higher evolution of human awareness. This is the time to conceive of peace as respect, trust and integrity. This is the time to take the infinite capabilities of humanity to transform consciousness, which compels violence at a personal, group, national or international level. This is a time to develop new compassion for others and ourselves.

Congressman Kucinich then announced his new bill to create a Department of Peace. As he explained to the House of Representatives, Bill HR2459:

envisioning new structures to help create peace in our homes, in our families, in our schools, in our neighborhoods, in our cities, and in our nation. It aspires to create conditions for peace within and to create conditions for peace worldwide. It considers

the conditions, which cause people to become the terrorists of the future: issues of poverty, scarcity and exploitation. It is practical to make outer space safe from weapons so that humanity can continue to pursue a destiny among the stars.

As the hymn says, “Let there be peace on Earth and let it begin with me.”

Dennis Kucinich concluded his call with an exhortation: People worldwide need to gather in peace, now. People worldwide need to march and to pray for peace, now. People worldwide need to connect with each other on the Web, for peace, now.

This is the work of the human family, of people all over the world demanding that governments and non-governmental actors alike put down their weapons. This is the work of the human family, responding in this moment of crisis to protect the planet and all life within it. We can accomplish this through upholding a holistic vision where the claims of all living beings to the right of survival are recognised.^{lviii}

GRANNY D TURNS 93

The cycle of violence is broken the instant we insist on the sanctity and dignity of life. And live as though we mean it. Doris “Granny D” Haddock urges people of conscience across America to be part of “the largest American uprising in modern history.”

But she asks that we do it “not in anger, but in joy. Not in frustration, but in peace. Aren’t we privileged to live in a time when everything is at stake, and when our efforts make a difference in the eternal contest between the forces of light and shadow, between togetherness and division? Between justice and exploitation? Oh, be joyful that you are a warrior in this great time!”

At 93, this wise elder urges each of us to take time and create space for our peace of mind. “Examine your life and begin to make the adjustments you think wise and appropriate,” she suggests.^{lix}

“Will we rise up? Will we represent love in the world? If we represent love in the world, you see, we have already won.”

Think peace

Speak peace

Act peace

Be peace

Peace

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

PART I REFERENCES

- iv *Day of Infamy* by John Toland; *Pearl Harbor, Mother of All Conspiracies*
by Mark Emerson Willeycccc508238
- v *Pearl Harbor* ibid
- vi *The Secret War Against Hitler* by William Casey
- vii *Pearl Harbor* ibid
- viii *At Dawn We Slept* by Gordon W. Prange, Donald M. Goldstein; *Day of Deceit*
by Robert Stinnett
- ix www.independent.org
- x *Day of Deceit* by Robert Stinnett
- xi *War And Empire* by Paul Atwood
- xii *War And Empire* ibid
- xiii *War And Empire* ibid
- xiv Diary entry Oct 18/4
- xv *Pearl Harbor* ibid
- xvi *Pearl Harbor* ibid
- xvii *Naval History* by Daryl Borgquist
- xviii *Congressional Report* Vols. 4; 12 1942-1946
- xix *Day Of Infamy* ibid
- xx *Day Of Infamy* ibid
- xxi <http://history.acusd.edu>
- xxii www.cedemo.info
- xxiii www.colonybeachresort.com; Sarasota Herald-Tribune Oct 10/02
- xxiv Longboat Observer Oct 26/01
- xxv www.cooperativeresearch.org; Time 9/4/2002; Longboat Observer, 12/21/2001;
St. Petersburg Times, 8/4/2004
- xxvi *New Book of Knowledge*
- xxvii Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting Apr 11/01
- xxviii www.chicagomediawatch.org
- xxix Sydney Morning Herald, London Telegraph Oct 22/01
- xxx www.vanityfair.com
- xxxi Newhouse News Service Jan 25/02; www.unansweredquestions.net
- xxxii Interview with the author
- xxxiii ABC News Oct 11/02; Aviation Week and Space Technology July 3/02
- xxxiv www.oilempire.us; *Day Of Infamy*; NORAD press release Sept 9/01
- xxxv Toronto Star Dec 9/01
- xxxvi AP Nov11/03; CNN June20/02
- xxxvii PNAC; Guardian Sept 6/03
- xxxviii Observer Feb 23/03
- xxxix *All Fall Down: The Politics of Terror and Mass Persuasion*; “The Final Crusade”
by William Thomas
- xl Sydney Morning Herald Dec 26/02
- xli www.911review.org
- xliv New internationalist Apr/01; Harper’s May 17/06
- xlvi www.corpwatch.org Apr 4/03
- xlviii Guardian Mar12/03; www.corpwatch.org Apr 4/03
- xliv San Francisco Bay Guardian Nov13/00; Independent Sept 15/02
- xlvi CounterPunch Nov 1/02
- xlvii CNN Oct 29/05; Neue Zurcher Zeitung Mar 10/03; Sydney Morning Herald Mar
27/03; AP Mar 29/03
- xlviii New Statesman Dec 16/02
- xliv CNN Sept4/02

References

- I Ha'aretz Sept 21/03; Washington Post Sept 28/01
li As reported to the author
lii London Times June 8/02; ABC News July 6/02
liii BBC June 7/02; London Times June 8/02
liv www.questionsquestions.net
lv St. Petersburg Times Oct 17/01
lvi 9/11 Commission Final Report; Newsweek Sept. 24/01; Newsweek Oct 15/01
lvii Washington Post Feb 28/04
lviii Baltimore Sun Feb 27/04; 9/11 Commission Feb 27/04
lix 9/11 Commission Sept 21/04
lx NewsMax Sept 23/02; Sunday Times Sept 22/02
lxi NBC News July 26/04
lxii 9/11 Commission Feb 27/04; Baltimore Sun Feb 27/04
lxiii San Francisco Chronicle Aug 23/04
lxiv Reuters June 2/02
lxv Baltimore Sun Feb 27/04; 9/11 Commission Feb 27/04
lxvi First public hearing of the National 9/11 Commission; 9/11 Commission Final Report
lxvii 9/11 Commission Final Report
lxviii SF Chronicle Sept 12/01; Pacifica Radio May 17/02
lxix MSNBC; Newsweek Sept 24/01; CNN June 19/02
lxx U.S. News & World Report Dec12/01
lxxi U.S. News & World Report Dec12/01; ABCNews.com Oct 23/02; 9/11 Commission report
lxxii Washington Post Sept 15/01; <http://911research.wtc7.net>
lxxiii Washington Post Sept 15/01
lxxiv Washington Post Sept 15/01
lxxv Time Sept 4/02
lxxvi AP Sept 19/02
lxxvii AP Sept 19/02; <http://911research.wtc7.net>
lxxviii TIME Sept 14/01
lxxix Newsweek Sept. 24/01; 9/11 Commission Final Report
lxxx AP Jan 14/02; Chicago Tribune Jan 13/02
lxxxi Post Gazette Oct 28/01
lxxxii Post Gazette Oct 28/01
lxxxiii NYT Feb 16/03; New York Observer Apr 17/03; New York Magazine May 18/05
lxxxiv Christian Science Monitor Sept13/01
lxxxv www.911review.org; Boston Globe Sept15/01; Boston Globe Dec 23/01; New York Times Nov 16/01; MSNBC Oct 11/02
lxxxvi <http://911research.wtc7.net>; AP Sept 19/02
lxxxvii Village Voice Sept13/01; CNN Oct 17/01; New York Times Nov 16/01
lxxxviii Omaha World-Herald Oct 10/02; Omaha World-Herald Mar 27/02; *Code Names* by William Arkin; AP Mar 21/02; Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists Dec 12/97; Times-Picayune Oct 8/02; Space Observer Apr 23/01
lxxxix IA newsletter July 1/98
xc New York Times May 18/04
xci UPI Apr 6/02; Washington Post Apr 2/02; ABC News Aug 18/02
xcii USA Today Aug 13/02
xciii NYT Jan 28/04; AP Jan 28/04
xciv Associated Press, 9/19/2002; CNN, 10/17/2001
xcv www.AttackOnAmerica.net; www.CNN.com
xcvi Washington Post June17/04; Nashua Telegraph Oct 13/01; MSNBC Oct 11/01 and Oct 15/02; AP Sept 12/02

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

- xcvii *The 9/11 Commission Report: Omissions and Distortions*
 xcvi TIME Sept 14/01; 9/11 Commission Testimony May 23/03
 xcix MSNBC Oct 11/02; 9/11 Commission July 17/04
 c FAA Order 7610.4J 7-1-2
 ci FAA news release Aug/9/02; AP Aug13/02; ABC News August 13/02
 cii New York Observer July17/04
 ciii New York Times Nov 16/01; Boston Globe Dec 23/01; MSNBC Oct 11/02; New York Times Oct 12/01; Guardian Nov 17/01; Channel 4 News (London) Oct 13/01; Village Voice Oct 13/01
 civ Christian Science Monitor Sept13/01; MSNBC Oct 15/01; Christian Science Monitor Oct 13/01
 cv CJCSI-3610.01A June1/01
 cvi FAA Order 7610.4J 7-1-2
 cvii ABC News Oct 6/02; Wall Street Journal Nov 15/01; Aviation Week and Space Technology July 3/02; ABC News Oct 11/02
 cviii ABC News - 20/20 Oct 24/01
 cix Wall Street Journal Nov 15/01; *St. Petersburg Times* Sept 7/02
 cx 9/11 Commission July 17/04
 cxi ABC News Aug 18/02
 cxii Boston Globe Dec 23/01; New York Observer, Mar 11/04; Portland Press-Herald; AP Sept 13/01
 cxiii MSNBC Oct 11/02; USA Today Sept 13; Aug 13/02
 cxiv New York Times Nov 16/01; Guardian Nov 17/01; 9/11 Commission July 17/04
 cxv ABC News Aug 18/02; San Francisco Chronicle Aug 23/04
 cxvi USA Today Aug 13/02
 cxvii Guardian Oct 17/01
 cxviii MSNBC Oct 11/02
 cxix 9/11 Commission July 17/04
 cxx Aviation Week and Space Technology, July 3/02; BBC Oct 1/02; Cape Cod Times Sept 21/02 Aviation Week and Space Technology July3/02
 cxxi BBC Oct 1/02; 9/11 Commission July 17/04; www.vanityfair.com
 cxxii www.vanityfair.com
 cxxiii *Crossing The Rubicon*; www.vanityfair.com
 cxxiv Newhouse News Service Jan 25/02; www.unansweredquestions.net
 cxxv www.vanityfair.com
 cxxvi Cape Cod Time Sept 8; 21/02
 cxxvii Aviation Week and Space Technology July 3/02; www.vanityfair.com
 cxxviii www.vanityfair.com
 cxxix www.sf.indymedia.org
 cxxx ABC News, Oct 11/02
 cxxxi 9/11 Commission July 17/04; ABC News Oct 11/02
 cxxxii Toledo Blade Jan 9/02; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Dec 27/01; Ottawa Citizen Oct 11/02; *All Fall Down*
 cxxxiii Bergen Record, Jan 5/04; 9/11 Commission July 17/04; BBC Feb 22/05
 cxxxiv Bergen Record, Jan 5/04; 9/11 Commission July 17/04
 cxxxv National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States Mar 31/03
 cxxxvi New York Times May 4/02; New Yorker Mar 24/03
 cxxxvii Ananova Sept 8/02
 cxxxviii Vanityfair.com
 cxxxix Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Nov 28/01; Newsweek Oct 22/01; Boston Globe Dec 23/01
 cxl MSNBC Oct 11/02
 cxli New York Times Oct16/01

References

- cxlii Telegraph Sept13/01
- cxliii Air Line Pilots Association; Boston Globe Nov 23/01
- cxliv AP Sept 13/01; MSNBC Oct 15/01; Christian Science Monitor Oct 13/01; 9/11 Commission July 17/04; New York Times Nov 16/01; Boston Globe Dec 23/01
- cxlv Telegraph Sept13/01
- cxlvi Washington Post Sept 17/01; 9/11 Commission July 17/04; Newsday Oct 10/02
- cxlvii MSNBC Oct 11/02
- cxlviii NORAD Oct 18/01
- cxlix CNN Oct 26/99; Dallas Morning News Oct 26/99
- cl Aviation Week and Space Technology Oct 9/02; AP July 16/00
- cli USA Today Aug 13/02
- clii ABC Oct 17/02
- cliii Telegraph Sept13/01
- cliv Toronto Sun Sept 16/01
- clv *Scorched Earth* by William Thomas
- clvi www.vanityfair.com
- clvii 9/11 Commission report
- clviii Time Sep 24/01
- clix 9/11 Commission July 17/04; Los Angeles Times Oct 20/01; ABC News Aug 18/02
- clx www.pbs.org
- clxi Washington Post Sept 15, Sept 21/01
- clxii Victor Thorn; NY Newsday Sept 12/01
- clxiii Reuters Sept 24/02
- clxiv Newsweek Oct 15/01
- clxv Sydney Morning Herald May 28/02
- clxvi Washington Times May 23, May 25 /02
- clxvii Washington Post May 22/02
- clxviii New York Times May 17/02
- clxix All Fall Down
- clxx CNN Oct 12/01; New York Times Oct 11, Oct 12/01; NORAD Oct 18/01; AP Sept 19/02; USA Today Jan 20/02
- clxxi USA Today Jan 20/02
- clxxii Washington Post Sept 21/01
- clxxiii CNN Sept 11/01
- clxxiv ABC News Oct 11/02
- clxxv USA Today Aug 13/02
- clxxvi USA Today Aug 13/02
- clxxvii New Yorker Oct /9/02
- clxxviii Washington Post Mar 16/03
- clxxix Wall Street Journal Sept 27/01; Paul Thompson; Washington Post Mar 16/03
- clxxx CBS Dec 1/02; CNN Nov 25/03; Newsweek Oct 27/03
- clxxxi ABC News Oct 11/02; American Forces Press Service Nov 23/01
- clxxxii Calgary Herald Nov 1/01
- clxxxiii Washington Post Sept 15/01
- clxxxiv New York Times Feb 12/02
- clxxxv En.wikipedia.org
- clxxxvi Time Sep 24/01
- clxxxvii Filson 2004
- clxxxviii USA Today Aug 13/02
- clxxxix MSNBC Oct 11/02
- cxcl Wall Street Journal Nov 15/01
- cxci ABC News Oct 14/02; USA Today Oct 24/01; Time Oct 14/01
- cxcii 9/11 Commission

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

- exciii Boston Globe Nov 23/01
exciv www.vanityfair.com
excv Cape Cod Times Sept 21/02
excvi Guardian Oct 17/01; New York Times Oct 16/01
excvii www.vanityfair.com
excviii 9/11 Commission Testimony May 23/03
excix Cape Cod Times Oct 16/01; North American Aerospace Defense Command Oct 18/01
- cc BBC Oct 1/02; Cape Cod Times, Sept 21/02
cci Aviation Week and Space Technology July 3/02
ccii Air Force News Aug 30/97
cciii ABC News Oct 11/02; Filson 2004; BBC Oct 1/02
cciv MSNBC Oct 23/01; Slate Feb 16/02
ccv Dallas Morning News Oct 16/01
ccvi New York Times Oct 14/61; *Towers Of Deception* by Barrie Zwicker
ccvii Filson 2004
ccviii Christian Science Monitor Mar 8/02; North American Aerospace Defense Command Oct 18/01
- ccix San Francisco Chronicle Aug 23/04
ccx CNN Oct 14/01
ccxi Daily Telegraph Apr 5/02
ccxii CNN Oct 12, 14 /01; Newsweek Oct 29/01
ccxiii Hannity & Colmes Oct 14/01
ccxiv Daily Telegraph Apr 5/02
ccxv Evening Standard Oct 12/01; Boston Globe Dec 23/01
ccxvi St. Petersburg Times Dec 11/00
ccxvii Sydney Morning Herald March 20/00
ccxviii Boston Globe Nov 23/01
ccxix www.vanityfair.com
ccxx www.pbs.org
ccxxi Washington Post Sept 15/01
ccxxii Boston Globe Dec 23/01; Newsday Oct 23/01; Guardian Nov 17/01
ccxxiii New York Times Nov 16/01; Guardian Nov 17/01 9/11 Commission July 17/04
ccxxiv 9/11 Commission Feb 27/04
ccxxv www.vanityfair.com
ccxxvi www.vanityfair.com; 9/11 Commission Report
ccxxvii 9/11 Commission Report
ccxxviii Washington Post Sept 15/01
ccxxix *Against All Enemies* by Richard Clarke
ccxxx 9/11 Commission
ccxxxi Boston Globe Nov 23/01
ccxxxii National Law Enforcement and Security Institute conference Sept 6/02; www.thememoryhole.org Aug 14/02; www.jfcom.mil
ccxxxiii 9/11 Commission, Aug 24/04; Wall Street Journal Nov 15/01; TIME Sept 14/01
ccxxxiv USA Today Aug 13/02
ccxxxv Washington Post June 18/04; The Nation Oct 6/03
ccxxxvi ABC News June 22/02
ccxxxvii Washington Post Sept 21/01
ccxxxviii Cape Cod Times Sept 8/02
ccxxxix www.vanityfair.com
ccxl USA Today Aug 13/02
ccxli www.vanityfair.com
ccxlii Guardian Oct 17/01; 9/11 Commission

References

- ccxliii American Free Press Aug 28/02
- ccxliiv www.aon.com
- ccxlv USA Today Jan 20/02
- ccxlvi 9/11 Commission
- ccxlvii USA Today Aug 13/02
- ccxlviii Toronto Star Dec 9/01
- ccxlix Washington Times Oct 7/02
- ccl www.cooperativeresearch.org
- ccli Nation Sept 18/03
- cclii Times-Picayune Sept 8/02
- ccliii New York Times May 26/02
- ccliv Washington Post Sept 15/01
- cclv American Free Press Aug 28/02
- cclvi Community Currency July 8/04
- cclvii New York Times Aug /24/98, Nation Feb 15/99
- cclviii Guardian Sept 29/01
- cclix SF Chronicle Nov 2/01; CNN Oct 15/96; Times of India Nov 29/99; Star Tribune Sept 30/01
- cclx The Final Crusade
- cclxi SAPRA, May 22/01
- cclxii Times of India Mar 7/01; Time May 6/02
- cclxiii *All Fall Down*
- cclxiv ABC News Feb 7/02; BBC Dec 31/99
- cclxv Newsweek Mar 13/02
- cclxvi New York Times Aug 12/05
- cclxvii New York Times Aug. 12/05
- cclxviii Arctic Beacon July 13/05
- cclxix Arctic Beacon July 19/05
- cclxx Arctic Beacon July 19/05; Towers Of Deception
- cclxxi New York Times Oct 28/93
- cclxxii New York Times Aug 12/05; World Trade Center Task Force Interviews Dec 6, 21
- cclxxiii Washington Post Sept 15/01
- cclxxiv Arctic Beacon July 19/05
- cclxxv New York Times May 26/02
- cclxxvi *The Day America Died*
- cclxxvii American Free Press Aug 28/02
- cclxxviii Las Vegas Tribune July 29/05; Conservative Voice Aug 25/05; Arctic Beacon July 13/05
- cclxxix Arctic Beacon July 13/05
- cclxxx www.chiefengineer.org; *Towers Of Deception*
- cclxxxi Washington Post June 18/04
- cclxxxii E-mail from Expedition Three Cmdr. Frank Culbertson Sept 12/01—
www.spaceref.com
- cclxxxiii www.vanityfair.com
- cclxxxiv Cape Cod Times Sept 21/02; ABC News Oct 14/02; BBC Oct 1/02; Aviation Week and Space Technology July 3/02
- cclxxxv MSNBC Oct 11/02
- cclxxxvi www.michaelmoore.com Sep 15/01
- cclxxxvii www.letsroll911.org
- cclxxxviii www.vanityfair.com
- cclxxxix *All Fall Down*
- ccxc Newsweek Jan 31/02; *Against All Enemies*
- ccxci *Against All Enemies*

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

- ccxcii www.pluralism.org
ccxciii Independent Sept.10/02
ccxciv www.tikkun.org
ccxcv Guardian Oct 28/02
ccxcvi ReportersNotebook.com Mar 28/03
ccxcvii CBS Oct 7/73
ccxcviii www.mediamonitors.net
ccxcix Studies in Conflict & Terrorism #26 2003
ccc BBC Mar 13/03; Israel Foreign Ministry Jan 25/03
ccci Israel Foreign Ministry Jan 25/03
cccii Guardian Dec 2/01; USA Today Sept 11/02
ccciii USA Today Sept 11/02
ccciv New Yorker Jan 14/02
cccv *Air War Over America*
cccevi New York Times May 26/02
cccevi 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cccevi 9/11 Commission Aug 24/04, July 17/04; Aviation Week and Space Technology, 7/3/2002
cccix 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cccix ABC 20/20 Oct 24/01
cccxi Washington Post Dec 3/01; 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cccxi 9/11 Commission July 17/04; Washington Post Apr 28/04; UPI May 10/04; Clarke 2004
cccxi 9/11 Commission July 17/04; Washington Post Apr 28/04; UPI May 10/04; Clarke 2004
cccxi Australian, Apr 27/04
cccxi 9/11 Commission July 17/04; ABC News Oct 14/02
cccxi New York Observer July 17/04
cccxi Aviation Week and Space Technology July 3/02; Newhouse News Service Feb 25/02
cccxi Toledo Blade Jan 9/02; Ottawa Citizen Oct 11/02
cccxi Toledo Blade Jan 9/02; Ottawa Citizen Oct 11/02
cccxi San Francisco Chronicle Aug 23/04; 9/11 Commission Feb 27/04; Las Vegas Review-Journal Oct 13/01; Las Vegas Review-Journal Oct 15/01
cccxi Time Sep 24/01
cccxi U.S. Department of Transportation; Saint Petersburg Times Aug 4/04
cccxi Post Gazette Oct 28/01
cccxi Toronto Sun Oct 16/01; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Nov 28/01; ABC News Oct 12/01; MSNBC Aug 30/02
cccxi London Times Sept 11/02
cccxi 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cccxi American Forces Press Service Oct 23/01
cccxi Mirror Nov 13/03; AP Aug 22/02; Monterey Herald July18/02
cccxi AP Aug 22/03
cccxi 9/11 Commission Report
cccxi www.vanityfair.com
cccxi www.vanityfair.com
cccxi AP Sept 19/02
cccxi BBC Oct 1/02
cccxi BBC Oct 1/02
cccxi 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cccxi ABC News Oct 11/02
cccxi MSNBC Oct 11/02; 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cccxi Post Gazette Oct 28/01
cccxi www.cooperativeresearch.org; Toronto Sun Oct 16/01; Post Gazette Oct 28/01

References

- cccxl 9/11 Commission Aug 24/04
- cccxli MSNBC Oct 3/02; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Nov 28/01; Newsweek Oct 22/01
- cccxlii Newsday Oct 23/01; 9/11 Commission July 17/04
- cccxliii Newsweek Dec 25/01; 9/11 Commission July 17/04; Guardian Nov 17/01; New York Times Aug 22/04
- cccxliv Newsweek Oct 22/01; Toronto Sun Oct 16/01; MSNBC Aug 30/02; 9/11 Commission July 17/04
- cccxlv Newsweek Dec 25/01
- cccxlvi 9/11 Commission July 17/04
- cccxlvii 9/11 Commission
- cccxlviii *Bringing The War Home*
- cccxlix <http://usinfo.state.gov>
- cccl BBC Oct 1/02
- cccli NORAD Oct 18/01; ABC News Oct 11/02; Washington Post Oct 12/01
- ccclii AP July 16/00
- cccliii 9/11 Commission July 17/04
- cccliv Wall Street Journal Apr 22/04
- ccclv ABC News Oct 11/02; AP July 16/01, Sept 19/02 9/11 Commission June 23/03
- ccclvi New York Observer Feb 16/04
- ccclvii MSNBC, Newsweek Sept 24/01
- ccclviii *Against All Enemies*
- ccclix BBC Apr 12/06
- ccclx MSNBC Oct 22/01
- ccclxi BBC Apr 12/06
- ccclxii www.vanityfair.com
- ccclxiii www.vanityfair.com
- ccclxiv 9/11 Commission Report
- ccclxv BBC Apr 12/06
- ccclxvi Wall Street Journal Nov 15/01; www.cooperativeresearch.org
- ccclxvii 9/11 Commission July 17/04; USA Today Sept 13/02; Guardian Nov 17/01
- ccclxviii 9/11 Commission July 17/04
- ccclxix Newsday Oct 23/01
- ccclxx New York Times Oct 15/01
- ccclxxi CBS News Oct 21/01; Boston Globe Dec 23/01
- ccclxxii Boston Globe 11/23/01
- ccclxxiii TIME Sept 14/01
- ccclxxiv 9/11 Commission July 17/04
- ccclxxv www.asile.org; ABC 20/20 Oct 24/01; ABC News - 20/20 Oct 24/01
- ccclxxvi Arctic Beacon July 17/05
- ccclxxvii Guardian Nov 17/01; New York Times Nov 16/01
- ccclxxviii Minneapolis Star-Tribune Oct 11/02
- ccclxxix *The Baxter Bulletin*, Sept11/01
- ccclxxx Guardian Sept 12/01
- ccclxxxi The Retired Officer Jan/02
- ccclxxxii MDW News Service Sept28/01
- ccclxxxiii Guardian Sep12/01; ashington Post Sept 11/01
- ccclxxxiv eWeek.com Sep13/01
- ccclxxxv Toronto Sun Oct 16/01; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Nov 28/01; MSNBC Aug 30/02
- ccclxxxvi CNN Oct 11/01
- ccclxxxvii NBC Oct 10/16/01
- ccclxxxviii New York Times Oct 13/01
- ccclxxxix Scripps Howard News Service Sept 1/02
- cccx Daily Telegraph Jan 16/02; Office of Representative Christopher Cox Oct 11/01

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

cccxc	Washington Post Sept 11/01
cccxcii	www.4president.org
cccxciii	Leader-Telegram Sept 12/01
cccxciv	Washington Post Sept 11/01
cccxcv	Washington Post Oct 21/01; CBS News Oct 21/01; Scripps Howard News Service Sept 1/02
cccxcvi	Los Angeles Times Sep12/01
cccxcvii	9/11 Commission, 7/17/2004
cccxcviii	ABC News - 20/20 Oct 24/01
cccxcix	www.vanityfair.com
cd	Washington Post Sept 11/01
cdi	www.whatreallyhappened.com
cdii	Washington Post Sept 11/01
cdiii	Washington Post Sept 11/01
cdiv	Washington Post Sept 16/01; Office of Medical History Sept/04
cdv	www.mcsweeneys.net
cdvi	Leader-Telegram Sept 12/01
cdvii	U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Aug/02; Fire Engineering Dec/02
cdviii	Guardian Sept 12/01
cdix	Guardian Sept 12/01; Los Angeles Times Oct 16/01
cdx	U.S. Department of Defense Oct 5/01; CNN Oct 17/01; Guardian Nov 17/01; USA Today Sept 13/02; NORAD Oct 18/01; AP Sept 19/02
cdxi	www.weblearn.ca; AP Aug 22/03
cdxii	USA Today Aug 13/02
cdxiii	TIME Sept 14/01; USA Today Aug 13/02
cdxiv	ABC News - 20/20 Oct 24/01
cdxv	USA Today Sept 12/02
cdxvi	CNN Oct 4/02
cdxvii	Daily Telegraph Oct 16/01
cdxviii	www.cooperativeresearch.org
cdxix	BBC Apr 12/06
cdxx	9/11 Commission July 17/04; MSNBC Oct 3, 11/02; CNN Oct 17/01
cdxxi	9/11 Commission July 17/04
cdxxii	BBC Apr 12/06
cdxxiii	Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Nov 28/01
cdxxiv	Post Gazette Oct 28/01
cdxxv	<i>All Fall Down</i>
cdxxvi	BBC Apr 12/06
cdxxvii	www.fromthewilderness.com
cdxxviii	Washington Post June18/04
cdxxix	www.vanityfair.com
cdxxx	Boston Globe Dec 23/01; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Nov 28/01; Newsweek Oct 22/01; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Oct 16/01, Nov 28/01
cdxxxi	Washington Post June18/04
cdxxxii	New York Times Oct 14/01
cdxxxiii	Herald Sun Oct 25/01; Fox News Oct 24/01
cdxxxiv	9/11 Commission Report
cdxxxv	ESPN Sept 14/01
cdxxxvi	www.kokushi.com; ESPN.com
cdxxxvii	www.kokushi.com; ESPN Sept 14/01; www.bstkd.com
cdxxxviii	www.blackbeltmag.com
cdxxxix	Telegraph Oct 21/01; ESPN.com
cdxl	Telegraph Oct 21/01

References

- cdxli ESPN Sept 14/01
cdxlii Telegraph Oct 21/01; ESPN.com
cdxliiii 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cdxliv 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cdxlv Toledo Blade Jan 9/02
cdxlvi BBC Apr 12/06
cdxlvii 9/11 Commission July 17/04
cdxlviii CBS News Oct 4/02; CBS Sept 4/02
cdxlx Baltimore Sun^{*} April 24/01
cdl www.cooperativeresearch.org; Telegraph Oct 21/01
cdli www.vanityfair.com
cdlii CBS News Oct 11/02; Washington Post Feb 27/02; USA Today Oct 16/01; Newsday Oct 23/01
cdliii Post Gazette Oct 28/01
cdliv Post-Gazette Sept 16/01
cdlv Telegraph Oct 21/01
cdlvi www.kokushi.com
cdlvii www.kokushi.com; www.bstkd.com; ESPN.com
cdlviii BBC Apr 12/06
cdlix 9/11 Commission
i Pittsburgh WPXI Oct 13/01
ii Post Gazette Oct 28/01

PART II REFERENCES

- ii www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
iii www.pbs.org; CNSNews.com Sept 12/01; www.8thestate.com;
www.sierratimes.com; Daily News Nov 1/0; <http://911research.wtc7.net>;
AFP Nov 1/01; Telegraph Sept 19, Nov 2, Nov 21/ 01; New York Times Nov 1/01;
TimesOnline Nov 1/01
iv <http://forum.physorg.com>; www.disaster.pandj.com
v www.lyon.edu
vi Guardian Sept 13/01
vii www.epa.gov
viii American Journalism Review January/February 03
ix Fallout: The Environmental Consequences of the World Trade Center Collapse by
Juan Gonzales
x www.neha.org
xi CBC Sept 12/02
xii BBC Sept 13/01
xiii www.moveon.org
xiv Guardian Sept 13/01
xv www.blackbeltmag.com
xvi ESPN Sept 14/01; www.kokushi.com
xvii ESPN.com
xviii Washington Post Sept 15/01
xix Time Sep 24/01
xx Post Gazette Oct 28/01
xxi ABC News - 20/20 Oct 24/01
xxii NBC News July 26/04
xxiii Guardian Sept 13/01
xxiv New York Times Sept 12/01
xxv Guardian Sept 13/01

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

- xxvi AP Sept 12/01
- xxvii *All Fall Down*
- xxviii globalresearch.ca; Observer Nov 11/01; CNN Oct 19/00; Guardian Sept 19/01; Washington Times June 22/01; Charleston Gazette Nov 30/98; TIME May 6/96; ABC News Nov 1/01; AP Nov 8/01; Jane's Intelligence Review Oct 1/95; Reuters Oct 8/01
- xxix www.slate.com
- xxx Alex Jones interview with Greg Palast Feb 25/03
- xxxi Newsnight Sept 15/03
- xxxii Guardian Nov 7/01
- xxxiii National Review Sept 11/02
- xxxiv National Review Sept 11/02; Guardian Nov 7/01
- xxxv Newsnight Sept 15/03
- xxxvi *The Outlaw Bank, A Wild Ride Into the Secret Heart of BCCI*
- xxxvii Nexus Feb-Mar/00; www.stewwebb.com; www.copvicia.com
- xxxviii www.madcowprod.com
- xxxix *All Fall Down*
- xl *All Fall Down*
- xli Independent Oct 14/01
- xlII San Francisco Chronicle Sept 29/01
- xlIII "Black Tuesday: World's Largest Insider Trading Scam?" ICT Sept 19/01
- xliv *All Fall Down*
- xlv American Free Press Apr12/04; Wall Street Journal Oct 2/01
- xlvi CBS "60-Minutes" Sept 17/01
- xlVII The Old Boys: The American Elite and the Origins of the CIA by Burton Hersh
- xlVIII Guardian Oct 1/01
- xlIX PBS Sept 30/98; New York Times Sept 29/01; Chicago Tribune Nov 17/02; CNN, Oct 16/01; US Congress July 24/03
- l Asian Wall Street Journal Sept 28/1; Guardian Oct 10/1
- li www.fromthewilderness.com
- lii Guardian Sept 13/01
- liii Guardian Sept 13/01
- liv S.C. Spangler/Tribune-Review Sept 12/01
- lv Post Gazette Oct 28/01
- lvi The Record Sept 14/01
- lvII American Forces Press Service Oct23/01; WKOPN Apr 2/02
- lvIII NORAD Oct 18/01
- lix www.envirosagainstwar.org
- lx Official transcript: Gen. Myers confirmation hearings Sept 13/01
- lxi White House Press Release Oct15/01
- lxii www.whitehouse.gov
- lxiii White House Press Conference Sept 10/01; CBS News Jan 29/02; www.sysplan.com; http://911research.wtc7.net
- lxiv CBS News Jan 29/02
- lxv Daily Mirror Sept 23/03
- lxvi www.groups.colgate.edu
- lxvII www.whatreallyhappened.com; ABC News Sept 18/01
- lxvIII www.firehouse.com
- lxix American Free Press
- lxx www.whatreallyhappened.com
- lxxi Running Toward Danger: Stories Behind the Breaking News of 9/11
- lxxii *Barbarians Inside the Gates*
- lxxiii www.Prison Planet.com Apr 24/06

References

- lxxiv www.whatreallyhappened.com
- lxxv www.screwloosechange.blogspot.com
- lxxvi BBC Sept 23/01
- lxxvii London Telegraph Sept 23/01; *The Terror Timeline* by Paul Thompson
- lxxviii CNN Sept 20/01
- lxxix Guardian Sept 22/01
- lxxx New Delhi Nov 21/00; CNN Jan 8/02
- lxxxi www.oilempire.us
- lxxxii Independent Jan 10/02
- lxxxiii *All Fall Down*
- lxxxiv CNN Sept 25/01
- lxxxv FoxOct 24/01
- lxxxvi Independent Sept 22/01
- lxxxvii San Francisco Chronicle Sept 22/01
- lxxxviii www.commondreams.org
- lxxxix www.lasarletter.com
- xc Ummat (Karachi) Sept 28/01
- xci Arab News Sept 28/01
- xcii New York Times, Sept 28/01
- xciii Middle East Times Sept 28/01
- xciv NBC's Meet the Press Sept 30/01
- xcv LA Times July 27/01
- xcvi AP May 17/02
- xcvii London Times June 14/02
- xcviii Reuters June 2/02
- xcix Guardian Oct 1/01
- c CNN Oct 6/01
- ci MSNBC Dec 11/01; CNN Oct 1/01
- cii Newsweek Nov 11/01; New York Times July 10/02
- ciii MSNBC Dec 11/01
- civ MSNBC Dec 11/01; Guardian Oct 1/01; MSNBC Dec 11/01; *The Terror Timeline: Year by Year, Day by Day, Minute by Minute* by Paul Thompson
- cv Karachi News, Sept 10/01
- cvi SARPA July 2/01
- cvii Washington Post May 18/02
- cviii Salon Sept 14/01
- cix Vero Beach Press Journal Sept 12/01; Salon Sept 14/01; New York Times June 3/02
- cx CBS News Jan 28/02
- cxii Independent Sept 7/02
- cxiii Sydney Morning Herald Sept 27/01
- cxiv Times of India Mar 7/01; CNN Feb 27/02
- cxv Pittsburgh Tribune-Review Mar 3/02
- cxvi Miami Herald Sept 16/01; New York Times Sept 13/01; Reuters Sept 13/01
- cxvii Wall Street Journal Oct 10/01
- cxviii Dawn Oct 9/01
- cxviiii Washington Post Mar 28/02
- cxix MSNBC Apr 5/02; BBC May 7/02, May /16/02. July 16/02
- cxx IAP News; Israeli Radio Oct 3/01
- cxxi www.antiwar.com Dec 17/01
- cxviii Washington Post Apr 8/84
- cxviiii www.tikkun.org Media-Monitors Network Nov 8/05
- cxviiii Ha'aretz Sept 30/02
- cxvix Guardian Oct 9/01

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

- cxvvi Independent Oct 10/01.
www.almartinraw.com
- cxviii New York Times Oct 8/01
- cxviii Pakistan Observer Oct 9/01
- cxix www.cursor.org Feb 1/02; Hindustan Times Oct 26/01
- cxvii Frontier Post Oct 17/01
- cxviii UN Press Release Oct 12/01
- cxviii Guardian Oct 17/200; Daily News Oct 16/01; www.therationalradical.com
- cxviii New York Times, South China Morning Post Oct 15/01
- cxvix Newsweek Oct 15/01
- cxvix www.freefroknterror.net; www.whatreallyhappened.com
- cxvix see shipping dates and invoice numbers in *Bringing The War Home*
by William Thomas
- cxviii *Bringing The War Home*
- cxvix interview with the author
- cxli Wall Street Journal Oct 3/91
- cxli ABC Nightline June 9/01; Colombia Journalism Review March-April/01
- cxlii Nexus Feb-Mar/00; www.stewwebb.com; www.copvicia.com
- cxliii www.madcowprod.com Jan. 7/02
- cxliii www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
- cxlv ABC News Oct 18/01
- cxlvi Washington Post Jan 20/02; New Scientist Oct 25/01
- cxlvii Washington Post Dec 16/01; Reuters; AP Dec 13/01; Vancouver Sun Oct. 21/01
- cxlviii www.tetrahedron.org Nov. 19/01; New York Times Dec 2/01
- cxlix www.freefromterror.net
- cl Bulletin of Atomic Scientists July-August/99
- cli *Bringing The War Home*
- clii New York Times Nov 14/01
- cliii Newswatch Dec 21/01
- cliv Newswatch Dec 21/01; www.tetrahedron.org
- clv New York Times Oct 16/01
- clvi New York Times Nov 16/01, *Bringing The War Home*
- clvii AP Nov 14/01; New York Times Oct 23/01
- clviii Newswatch Dec 21/01
- clix www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
- clx Arctic Beacon Nov 15/05
- clxi BBC Oct 19/01; Reuters Oct 20/01
- clxii Herald Oct 25/01
- clxiii Guardian Oct 29/01
- clxiv *All Fall Down*
- clxv Guardian Oct 17/01
- clxvi Herold; www.cursor.org
- clxvii Independent Oct 25/01
- clxviii XTRAMS Oct 22/01
- clxix Guardian Oct 23/01
- clxx Times Oct 26/01; Landmine Action News Oct 26/01
- clxxi www.globalsecurity.org
- clxxii New York Times Nov 23/01
- clxxiii Sydney Morning Herald Dec 17/01; *All Fall Down*; AlterNet Oct 9/01.
- clxxiv BBC Oct 25/01
- clxxv BBC Oct 25/01
- clxxvi IPA Media www.accuracy.org
- clxxvii Pakistan News Service Nov 7/01; Guardian Nov 21/01; Times of India Nov 21/01

References

- clxxviii Guardian Sept 27/01
clxxix All Fall Down
clxxx CNN Special 2001; Sydney Morning Herald Oct 22/01
clxxxii Al Jazeera, BBC, Dawn Nov 1/01; Chicago Tribune Oct 27/01; Globe & Mail Nov 3/01; Telegraph Oct 24/01
clxxxiii Guardian Oct 26/01
clxxxiiii Hindustan Times Oct 28/01
clxxxv Times of India; Reuters, AFP Oct 26/01
clxxxvi Times of India Oct 31/01
clxxxvii LA Times Oct. 30/02
clxxxviii www.YellowTimes.org Sept 11/02; Dawn Nov 1/01; Independent Nov 19/01
clxxxix www.cursor.org
cxc BBC News Online Aug 2/00
cxc www.fair.org
cxci www.sierratimes.com
cxcii Reuters Nov 17/01; <http://911research.wtc7.net>
cxciiii Reuters Nov 17/01
cxciiv Telegraph Nov 2/01
cxci v NY Daily News Nov 1/01
cxci vi Los Angeles Times Nov 19/01; Los Angeles Times Nov 19/01
cxci vii Herold; www.cursor.org
cxci viii Guardian Nov 8/01
cxci x www.robert-fisk.com
cc FOX News Sept 16/01
cci www.afghanmagazine.com
ccii Christian Science Monitor Mar 4/02; New York Times Sept 11/05
cciii New York Times Sept 11/05
cciv *Imperial Hubris* by Michael Scheuer
ccv New York Times Nov 17/01
ccvi Guardian Jan 28/02
ccvii BBC Nov 23, Nov 27/01; In These Times Nov 12.01; Observer Dec 2/01; Centre for Research on Globalisation Dec 1/01
ccviii Toronto Star Dec 4/01
ccix New Yorker Dec 3/01
ccx Independent Dec 15/01
ccxi New York Times Sept 11/05
ccxii San Francisco Chronicle Dec 3/01
ccxiii Sydney Morning Herald Dec 8/01
ccxiv Independent Dec 4/01; AP Dec 3/01
ccxv Herold www.cursor.org
ccxvi Herold www.cursor.org
ccxvii Newhouse News Service Dec 28/01.
ccxviii New York Times Sept 11/05
ccxix Newhouse News Service Dec 28/01.
ccxx *All Fall Down*
ccxxi Christian Science Monitor Jan 4/02
ccxxii Human Rights Watch Jan 11/02
ccxxiii CNN Jan 29/02
ccxxiv Congressional Record: Feb 5/02
ccxxv White House press briefing May 16/02; Gannett News Service Apr 19/04
ccxxvi The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11 by Lawrence White; CBS May 23/02

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

- ccxxvii *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* by Lawrence Wright;
Huffington Post Aug 29/06
- ccxxviii www.miami.com
- ccxxix Bloomberg News Aug 28/06; San Francisco Chronicle Oct 21/01
- ccxxx Huffington Post Aug 29/06
- ccxxxi Rocky Mountain News Aug 28/06; *1000 Years for Revenge* by Peter Lance
- ccxxxii *1000 Years for Revenge* by Peter Lance
- ccxxxiii New York Times Nov 8/90; Village Voice Mar 30/93; *9/11 and Empire:
Intellectuals Speak Out* by Dr. Peter Dale Scott
- ccxxxiv San Francisco Chronicle Nov 4/01
- ccxxxv Huffington Post Aug 29/06
- ccxxxvi www.peterdalescott.net
- ccxxxvii TIME May 5/02
- ccxxxviii New York Times July 21/02
- ccxxxix Los Angeles Times Aug 14/02
- ccxl Village Voice Sept 4-10/02; ABC's Nightline Aug 12/02
- ccxli New York Times Aug 8/02
- ccxlii Financial Times Aug 20/02
- ccxliii Newsweek Sept 10/02
- ccxliv www.pluralism.org
- ccxlv Zavtra Sept 14/02
- ccxlvi New York Times Sept 20/02
- ccxlvii Daily Mirror Sept 16/02
- ccxlviii House International Relations Committee Hearing Sept 19/02
- ccxlix Washington Post Sept 19/02
- cccl Newsweek Sept 22/02
- cccli Sydney Morning Herald Oct 2/02
- ccclii Guardian Oct 3/02
- cccliii London Times Oct 4/02
- cccliv Harper's Oct 15/01
- ccclv Washington Times Sept 27/02
- ccclvi Independent Oct 9/02
- ccclvii Grand Rapids Press Oct 12/02
- ccclviii Guardian Oct 13/02; BBC Oct 16/02
- ccclix White House Oct 14/02
- ccclx Sunday Herald Oct 13/02
- ccclxi Independent Oct 9/02
- ccclxii Wall Street Journal Oct 23/02
- ccclxiii Los Angeles Times Oct 21/02
- ccclxiv YellowTimes.org Oct 18/02
- ccclxv Guardian Nov 28/02
- ccclxvi New Yorker Apr 7/03; Truthout.org Aug 9/04
- ccclxvii Mother Jones March/April 2003
- ccclxviii www.truthout.org Nov 9/04
- ccclxix Newsday Apr 6/03
- ccclxx Rep. Lane Evans, Committee On Veterans Affairs Press Release Mar 13/03
- ccclxxi Special Forces interview with the author; Washington Post Apr 1/03
- ccclxxii Washington Post Apr 1/03
- ccclxxiii CFTM Oct 13/03
- ccclxxiv Independent Aug 10/04
- ccclxxv AP Aug. 6/03
- ccclxxvi Sunday Mirror Nov 28/04
- ccclxxvii Guardian Mar 29/03

References

- cclxxviii People's Weekly Mar 29/03
cclxxix BBC Apr 14/03
cclxxx WSWS July 18/03
cclxxxi www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
cclxxxii Independent Apr 5/03
cclxxxiii Independent May 24/03; Guardian Aug5/03; Washington Post July 21/03; Reuters Jan 11/04

cclxxxiv Washington Post July 21/03; Guardian Aug5/03; Counterpunch Jan 9/04
cclxxxv San Jose Mercury-News May 31/03
cclxxxvi Political Affairs July 5/04; *Scorched Earth* by William Thomas
cclxxxvii Sydney Morning Herald Mar 27/03; AP Mar 29/03
cclxxxviii New York Times Mar 10/03
cclxxxix New York Observer Aug 21/03
ccxc PBS NOW Sept 10/04
ccxci www.nancho.net
ccxcii 9/11 Commission Testimony May 23/03
ccxciii WSWS July 18/03
ccxciv UPI Jan/04
ccxcv www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
ccxcvi Harper's Sept/04
ccxcvii White House Press Release Feb 6/03
ccxcviii Ha'aretz June 25/03
ccxcix Moscow Times June 27/03
ccc www.bushwatch.com Mar 17/03
ccci www.ethicalatheist.com
cccii Media-Monitors Network Nov 8/05; www.bushwatch.com Mar 11/03
ccciii www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
ccciv Reuters July 16/03
cccv Hartford Advocate Aug 21/03
cccvii Harper's Sept/04
cccviii www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
cccix www.johnkaminski.com
cccxi Al Jazeera Sept 1/03
cccxi Islamonline Aug 19/03
cccxi Aon.com Aug 9/03
cccxi Aon.com Aug 19/03; Islamonline Aug 19/03
cccxiv Guardian Aug5/03
cccxi Minnesota Public Radio Sept 14/03
cccxi ABC News Apr 8/04; UPI Dec 7/04
cccxi UPI Oct17/03
cccxi www.johnkaminski.com
cccxi Christian Science Monitor Mar08/02; FAA news release Aug9/02; AP Aug13/02
cccxi Washington Post Nov 8/03
cccxi New York Times Oct 3/04
cccxi Washington Post Dec 29/03
cccxi Sydney Morning Herald Jan 10/04; Washington Post Dec 29/03
cccxi National Public Radio Jan 7/04
cccxi www.hackworth.com Dec 30/03
cccxi CFTM Feb7/04
cccxi BBC Mar 11/04
cccxi Guardian Mar 13/04
cccxi www.kiat.net

Days of Deception: Ground Zero and Beyond

- cccxxx www.zmag.org
cccxxxi Le Monde Mar 8/06; 9/11 Commission Report
cccxxxii New York Times Feb 10, Apr 18/05
cccxxxiii Independent Apr 2/04
cccxxxiv Independent Mar 24/04
cccxxxv Guardian Mar 24/04
cccxxxvi Moscow Times June 27/04
cccxxxvii Newsday June 22/04; SF Chronicle May8/04
cccxxxviii Reuters May7/04
cccxxxix Independent July 16/04
cccxl Washington Post May 14/04
cccxli BBC May 4/04
cccxlii ABC Aug 8/04
cccxliii Washington Post June 17/04
cccxliv New Statesman Nov 11/04
cccxlv www.9/11truth.org Aug 1/04
cccxlvi CNN May 19/04
cccxlvii Sunday Times Sept 22/02
cccxlviii www.oilempire.us
cccxlix www.9/11truth.org Aug 1/04
cccl Mother Jones July 22/04
cccli www.9/11truth.org Aug 1/04; Minneapolis Star-Tribune July 31/04
ccclii www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
cccliii SF Indy Media Sept 2/04
cccliv New Statesman Nov 11/04; www.truthout.org May /06
ccclv Online Journal Nov 21/04
ccclvi Counterpunch Aug 20/03
ccclvii www.truthout.org Aug13/04
ccclviii Counterpunch Aug 20/03
ccclix Seattle Post Intelligencer Nov 2/05
ccclx Reuters Aug 16/04

PART III REFERENCES

- i www.Nielsen-NetRatings.com; ZDNet Jan15/04
ii Media and Entertainment.Sept 28/05
iii www.beatingheartspress.com
iv *An Inconvenient Truth* by Al Gore
v *Ecopyschology; When Technology Wounds* by Chellis Glendinning; www.primativism.com
vi Interview with the author
vii interview with the author
viii www.mlode.com
ix Agribusiness Examiner Oct16/01
x [Gannett News Service Aug 5/06]
xi www.CouragetoResist.org
xii CNN Dec 16/98
xiii Resurgence issue 219
xiv *The Costs Of War* by John Denson Silent Night: The Story of the World War I Christmas Truce, Stanley Weintraub www.lewrockwell.com
xv Resurgence issue 215
xvi Resurgence issue 215
xvii Resurgence issue 215

References

- xviii Agribusiness Examiner Oct16/01
- xix *Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television* by Jerry Mander
www.sparrowdancer.com; Parents of Fluoride Poisoned Children www.bruha.com
- xx www.apa.org; APA Press Release Apr 23/00; Journal of Personality and Social Psychology Apr/00
- xxi
- xxii *Junk Food: The Ultimate Child Abuse; Food & Behavior: A Natural Connection* by Dr. Barbara Reed Stitt
- xxiii Pure Facts, Earth Rainbow Village Oct 14/02
- xxiv Resurgence issue 186
- xxv www.pluralism.org
- xxvi *Moral Animal* by Robert Wright
- xxvii Journal of International Issues July 1/04
- xxviii Yearbook of Science and the Future, Supplement of the Encyclopedia Britannica 1980; www.mindcontrolforums.com
- xxix www.uraniumweaponsconference.de
- xxx Army News Service Mar 4/03
- xxxi www.birdskorea.org
- xxxii www.iconoclast-texas.com May 9/05
- xxxiii www.sfbayview.com; arcticbeacon.com Aug 20/05;
www.uraniumweaponsconference.de
- xxxiv Lone Star Iconoclast May 9/05
- xxxv Vive le Canada Apr 29/05
- xxxvi www.sfbayview.com
- xxxvii www.commondreams.org Nov 11/04; www.iconoclast-texas.com
- xxxviii *An Inconvenient Truth* by Al Gore, book and video
- xxxix Psychosomatic Medicine
- xl Perceptual Motor Skills
- xli International Journal of Neuroscience
- xlii Psychosomatic Medicine
- xliiii Journal of Crime and Justice; www.walterzeichner.com
- xliv www.hartford-hwp.com; Resurgence issue 222
- xlv TomDispatch.com Sept 8/05
- xlvi www.monetary.org
- xlvii Wired Feb/97; Red Herring Apr/98
- xlviii www.rinf.com; www.meria.net; www.progressiveindependent.com
- xliv Wall Street Journal Oct 11/06
- l The Walrus Oct/06
- li TomDispatch.com Sept 8/05
- lii *Nonviolent Communication*