Chapter 8: Did U.S. officials block captures and investigations after 9/11?
Outline of chapter 8

- Continuing the anti-hunt for Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda
- Concealing the role of Pakistan's ISI
- Were hijackers trained at U.S. military schools?
- The FBI's quick release of Omar al-Bayoumi
- Later developments involving Moussaoui
- Promotion instead of accountability
- The anthrax attacks and 9-11 (not in book)
The anti-hunt for Osama and al-Qaeda

- October 10th, 2001: U.S. forces enter Afghanistan to root out the Taliban
- November 2001: convoy of 1000 vehicles escapes Kabul
- November 2001, Jalalabad: no action taken to capture al-Qaeda forces fleeing to Tora Bora
- November 2001, Kunduz: Pakistani military planes are allowed to fly out of Afghanistan carrying Pakistani military and al-Qaeda fighters
The rise of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)

- In the 1980's the ISI was the local agency through which the CIA supplied the mujaheddin in Afghanistan.
- Osama bin Laden was originally brought to Afghanistan to fight with mujaheddin, where he rose to leadership.
- ISI turned to controlling heroin trade, which was extremely lucrative, while at the same time receiving Western money.
- The power of the ISI within Pakistan rivals that of the official government.
- Taliban was extremely dependent on the ISI.
Abu Zubaydah is known to be bin Laden's 'lieutenant'.

Author Gerald Posner reports that Zubaydah was present in 1996 when bin Laden struck a deal with ISI.

Shortly after Abu Zubaydah's confession, Mushaf Ali Mir, the ISI officer in the deal, died when his plane went down in normal weather.

Khalid Sheikh Mohammed's earlier history in kidnapping British tourists suggests that he was connected to the ISI.
The $100,000 question

- The Wall Street Journal reported that $100k was wired from ISI agent Saeed Sheikh to Mohammed Atta shortly before 9-11.
- Reportedly, the transfer was made under the direction of Gen. Mahmoud Ahmad of the ISI.
- General Ahmad was in Washington on the morning of the attacks, having breakfast with Rep. Porter Goss.
- During his visit Ahmad met with CIA director George Tenet, members of the National Security Council, State Department, and congressional intelligence committee members.
The tip of the CIA-ISI iceberg?

- New York Times reported that $325k was transferred from Pakistan to Atta over two years by Mustafa Ahmed.
- CNN and the U.K. Guardian speculate that Mustafa Ahmed was an alias for Saeed Sheikh.
- Meanwhile, Ahmad resigns quietly from the ISI on October 8th, 2001.
- Indian papers report the Ahmad resignation came only after Indian intelligence provided the U.S. with irrefutable proof of Ahmad's connection to the Atta money.
The kidnapping and murder of Daniel Pearl

- January 2002: Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl kidnapped in Pakistan
- Pearl was investigating ties between "shoe bomber" Richard Reid and al-Fuqra leader Ali Gilani
- Gilani reportedly had links to Saeed Sheikh and the ISI
- Kidnappers demanded that U.S. sell F-16 jets to Pakistan
- Kidnappers rarely make demands to benefit governments
Saeed Sheikh and the ISI

- Saeed Sheikh turned himself in to Ejaz Shah, former ISI chief in Punjab
- ISI held Sheikh secretly for a week, then announced his capture
- Saeed Sheikh initially confessed to part in Pearl's murder, then recanted
- Sheikh also revealed that the ISI had helped him plan, finance, and execute attacks on the Indian Parliament
More connections between ISI and 9-11

- Khalid Sheikh Mohammed is interviewed by Yosri Fouda and claims to be operational planner of 9-11
- Robert Baer, former CIA agent, told Pearl about Khalid Sheikh Mohammed's links to Richard Reid and al-Qaeda
- Josef Bodansky, director of the Congressional Joint Task Force on Terrorism, stated in 2002 that KSM was linked to ISI, and that they had acted to shield him
- October 2003: John Lumpkin of Associated Press reports that investigators believe Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was Pearl's killer
Summary: Pearl killing and 9-11

- $100k to $325k sent by confessed ISI operator Saeed Sheikh to Mohammed Atta, lead 9-11 hijacker
- Saeed Sheikh and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed participate in Daniel Pearl's killing
- Yet, for months Saeed Sheikh is never interrogated by U.S.
- Yet, the U.S. never requests Saeed Sheikh’s extradition
- Yet, Sec. of State Colin Powell publicly denies links between Pearl's murder and 9-11
- Yet, a criminal indictment of Saeed Sheikh by Atty Gen. Ashcroft does not mention 9-11 financing
Were the hijackers trained at U.S. military flight schools?

- On Sept. 16th, 2001 the Washington Post and Newsweek reported that men with same names as hijackers were listed on the graduation rolls of several military bases.

- Bases included Pensacola AFB, Maxwell AFB, Brooks AFB, Monterrey Language Institute, others.

- Air Force acknowledged that some graduates had similar names to foreign graduates, but claimed discrepancies existed.

- However, when journalist Daniel Hopsicker pressed an Air Force spokeswoman on whether Mohammed Atta's age was different from the Atta that graduated from Maxwell, the answer was "um, er, no."
Were the hijackers trained at U.S. military flight schools?

- Florida Senator Bill Nelson attempted to verify whether some hijackers had indeed trained at Pensacola in Florida.
- Senator Nelson never got an answer from the Justice Department.
- FBI: "We're looking through something complicated and difficult."
- Yet, the FBI investigation into the hijacker's backgrounds ended inconclusively October 10th, 2001.
Why did U.S. pass on Omar al-Bayoumi?

- When hijackers Nawaf al-Hazmi and Khalid al-Midhar first entered the U.S. they were met by Omar al-Bayoumi, a Saudi
- al-Bayoumi helped them get bank accounts, car insurance, Social Security cards, and other essentials
- al-Bayoumi seemed to have access to unlimited amounts of money
- One of the FBI's best sources in San Diego speculated that al-Bayoumi was an intelligence agent for Saudi Arabia
- Yet, when al-Bayoumi was arrested in England he was let go after a week without charge
Later developments with Zacarias Moussaoui

- Moussaoui was thought to be the 20th hijacker, detained prior to 9-11 in Minneapolis
- Documents in the case were kept sealed for nearly a year
- In July 2002 he claimed to have information showing that the U.S. government wanted the attacks to happen
- Yet, the Justice Department pointedly refused the standard procedure of negotiating a plea bargain with Moussaoui
- Weren't they interested in learning anything more from him?
Moussaoui case takes strange twists

- In July 2003 the government refused to make captured al-Qaeda planner Ramzi Binalshibh available for deposition.
- This move risked dismissal of the charges.
- Dismissal would probably lead to prosecution through a military tribunal.
- Military tribunals have many more restrictions on introduction of evidence.
- The U.S. government seems more interested in keeping Moussaoui out of open court than prosecuting him.
Accountability?

- The official story is that incompetence was one of the root causes of failure on 9-11
- Yet, the list of culpable agencies and individuals who were promoted or given more resources is long
  - General Richard Myers, who as acting Chief of Staff presided over NORAD's failure to intercept
  - David Frasca, former head of FBI Radical Fundamentalism Unit, failed to act on or distribute the Phoenix memo
  - Marion "Spike" Bowman, the agent at FBIHQ who blocked the Minneapolis search warrants
  - Michael Maltbie, the agent at FBIHQ who removed information from the Minneapolis search warrants
  - Two unnamed members of the CIA who should have watch-listed al-Hazmi and al-Midhari were promoted
The anthrax attacks

- First case appeared in Florida at the offices of The Sun tabloid
- More letters sent out Sept. 18th, arriving Oct. 4th
- Letters with live anthrax spores are received by
  - Tom Daschle, D-ND
  - Patrick Leahy, D-VT
  - NBC news
  - New York Post newspaper
- Eleven people become infected, five people die
The anthrax investigation

- The anthrax used in the attacks was refined to a trillion spores per gram - weapons grade.
- Some experts speculated that only the weapons labs of either the former Soviet Union or U.S. had such a capability.
- Initial tests suggest that the strain used was the main U.S. strain, identified as the Ames strain.
- Yet, a week after the letters arrive the FBI allows the original batch of Ames bacteria to be destroyed, complicating identification.
- Later, the strain is confirmed to be the Ames strain.
The anthrax investigation

- Don Foster, a forensic linguist and professor of English, participated in the anthrax investigation task force
  - He concluded, based on the language of the notes and other characteristics, that the attacker was likely an educated American trying to appear foreign
  - “Never have I encountered such reluctance [by the FBI] to examine potentially critical documents”
  - Based on his work he came to suspect former AMRIID employee Steven Hatfill
Who is Steven Hatfill?

- Hatfill’s resume lists service in the Rhodesian Selous Scouts from 1978 to 1980
- Black townships in Rhodesia experienced anthrax biowarfare attacks infecting 10,738 people in this period
- Later, he went to work for USAMRIID, writing biowarfare scenarios, at least one of which was carried out by persons unknown using non-lethal spores
- In 2001, he was working for SAIC, a corporation closely linked with the CIA
- Foster: “...hoax anthrax attacks appeared to follow [his movements] like a vapor cloud”
Conspiracy theory time: why were the anthrax attacks useful?

- The attacks amplified the fear initiated by the 9-11 attacks
- The initial assessment of the attacks as coming from Iraq gave a boost to the future Iraq war justification
- The attacks were useful in convincing Congress to pass the so-called Patriot Act
- Most importantly, the anthrax attacks quickly shifted attention away from the events of 9-11 before anyone could start to question them
- Finally, the choice of recipients (Democrats and media) may have been a warning to anyone who thought that they were on the ‘inside’ and were tempted to speak out
Resources for chapter 8

• Book: "Charlie Wilson's War," by George Crile


• Crucial web article "The Many Faces of Saeed Sheikh" by Paul Thompson at http://www.cooperativeresearch.org/essay.jsp?article=essaysaeed

• “The Message in the Anthrax,” by Don Foster, Vanity Fair, October 2003
Chapter 8: unanswered questions

- Why was Pakistan allowed to airlift military and al-Qaeda fighters out of Kunduz in November 2001?
- Why was there no visible investigation of Gen. Mahmoud Ahmad's connection to Mohammed Atta through the $100k wire transfer?
- Why is there no investigation of Pakistan's ISI?
- Why are the U.S. government and media failing to make the connections between Daniel Pearl’s murder and 9-11?
Chapter 9: Is Complicity by U.S. officials the best explanation for 9/11?
Summary of chapter 9

- Who benefits?
- Evidence for complicity: a summary
- Possible problems for a complicity theory
- Problems for a coincidence theory explanation
Who benefits?

• Principal beneficiaries of the destruction of the World Trade Center
  • Bush zoomed in polls as war president
  • The Pentagon, CIA, and defense industries were given huge increases in budgets
  • The oil and gas industries were given access to formerly closed resource fields
  • The right-wing was given carte blanche to pass laws that rolled back civil liberties
President Bush

• The week of September 11th, 2001 Newsweek, The Guardian, and other media had the lead story of looking back at the Florida vote

• David Kaplan's book, "The Accidental President," raised questions about the legitimacy of the voting process

• Bush's polls were at the lowest point yet of his eight-month-old presidency

• Following the attacks, his ratings went skyrocketing as the nation reacted in fear
Covert agencies

- George Tenet wanted authorization and funding for covert operations
- Operations were summarized in Worldwide Attack Matrix
  - Covert operations were planned or in progress within 80 countries
- Four days after 9/11, Tenet had his funding
Polls showed support for missile defense jumped from 53% in July to 70% in September following the attacks.

A defense budget increase of $48 billion was easily passed in 2002.

Republican Congress rammed through the Patriot Act, which some members had not even read at the time it was passed.
Oil and gas interests

- 9/11 was used as the justification for wars in Afghanistan and Iraq
- Afghan war led to successful access for pipeline
- Iraq war led to successful takeover of Iraq oil fields by American oil companies
Principle: those who benefit the most should be regarded as the prime suspects
Strongest evidence for complicity

- Evidence that wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were planned in advance for geopolitical reasons
- Evidence that men with connections to al-Qaeda were allowed into the country in spite of regulations that should have kept them out
- Evidence that men with connections to al-Qaeda trained at U.S. flight schools
- Evidence that the attacks of 9/11 could not have succeeded without orders from the highest level of government to suspend or confuse normal responses to hijackings
- Evidence that the collapse of World Trade Center 7 was brought about by explosives, with the government preventing examination of the debris and steel
Evidence for complicity (cont'd)

• Evidence that Flight 93 was shot down in Pennsylvania after authorities learned that the passengers were gaining control of it

• Evidence that President Bush feigned ignorance of the occurrence and seriousness of the attacks

• Evidence that the FBI had specific knowledge of the time and targets of the attacks at least a month in advance

• Evidence that U.S. intelligence agencies would have had very specific warnings by means of the put options purchased before 9/11
Evidence for complicity (cont'd)

- Evidence that the Bush administration lied about not having specific warnings before the attacks
- Evidence that the FBI and other federal agencies prevented investigations prior to 9/11 that might have uncovered the plot
- Evidence that U.S. officials sought to conceal evidence of involvement by Pakistan's ISI
- Evidence that those allegedly guilty of incompetence were not fired, but in some cases promoted
Possible problems for a Complicity Theory of 9/11

- Complex scheme, seeming to involve many players to succeed
- Requires both complicity and incompetence
  - Example: ludicrous stories and improbably lies regarding
    - NORAD response
  - Attacks not envisioned
- Why risk exposure with demolition of WTC-7?
- Why such an extreme scheme?
Problems with a Coincidence Theory

• Several FAA flight controllers exhibited incompetence on 9-11, and evidently that day only

• Officials in charge at NORAD and NMCC also acted incompetent on 9/11, and evidently that day only

• In particular, officials were incompetent and ordered fighters from distant bases

• After public statements that Andrews AFB had no jet fighters on alert to protect Washington, its website, which had previously claimed that many jets were always on alert, was altered
Problems with a Coincidence Theory

- These same pilots flew their planes at much less than the maximum speed in responding to an emergency.

- Several air force pilots who are normally airborne and going full speed in under three minutes took much longer on 9/11.
Problems with a Coincidence Theory

• The collapse of the World Trade Center buildings, besides occurring at almost free-fall speed, exhibited other signs of being controlled demolitions (molten steel, seismic shocks, fine dust)

• The video and physical evidence of controlled demolition co-exists with witness reports that they heard, felt, and saw the effects of explosions

• Government agencies had the debris and steel from the WTC site removed without investigation, which is what one would expect if the government wanted to prevent evidence of explosives from being discovered
Problems with a Coincidence Theory

- The fact that the alleged pilot of Flight 77 exhibited flying skills worthy of a fighter pilot, a month after being turned down to rent a single-engine Cessna.
- The fact that the aircraft that hit the Pentagon did so only after executing a very difficult maneuver co-exists with the fact that it hit the only blast-hardened, empty section of the Pentagon.
- On the same day that jet fighters were unable to protect the Pentagon, the missiles that would normally protect the Pentagon failed to do so.
Problems with a Coincidence Theory

- Sounds from cell phones inside Flight 93 suggesting that the plane had been hit by a missile were matched by many reports to this effect from witnesses on the ground.

- This evidence that Flight 93 was shot down coexists with reports from both civilian and military leaders that there was intent to shoot this aircraft down.

- The only plane that was shot down, Flight 93, was one in which it appeared that the passengers were going to gain control.

- This coincidence co-exists with the fact that when the cockpit voice recording of Flight 93 was released, the final three minutes were missing.
Problems with a Coincidence Theory

• Evidence showing the that U.S. government had far more specific warnings of what was to occur co-exists with evidence that it actively blocked investigations that might have prevented the attacks.

• Reports of obstruction from FBI agents in Minneapolis co-exist with reports from Chicago and New York.

• Reports of obstruction prior to 9/11 co-exist with reports of obstruction after 9/11.

• Agents who were involved in obstructing were promoted, while agents trying to honestly do their jobs suffered negative treatment from superiors.
Problems with a Coincidence Theory

- Reports of obstruction co-exist with puzzling evidence that U.S. commanders let important al-Qaeda leaders escape multiple times in Afghanistan.

- Evidence that some hijackers had the same names as men who trained at U.S. military flight schools.

- The traumatic events of 9/11 occurred just a year after a document published by the Project for a New American Century referred to the benefits from a new Pearl Harbor.

- Credible reports of pre-planning for Afghan and Iraq wars.
Problems with a Coincidence Theory

- The assassination of independent Northern Alliance leader Ahmad Masood, who would have posed problems for U.S. plans in Afghanistan, occurs just days before 9/11.
- Masood is assassinated by Taliban figures, who were supported by Pakistan's ISI, whose head was in Washington on Sept. 11th.
- Evidence of other involvement by Pakistan's ISI also exists in the form of large sums of money wired by admitted ISI operatives to known hijackers.
- The evidence of ISI involvement exist with evidence that U.S. officials attempted to cover up ISI involvement.
The bottom line: David Ray Griffin does not attempt to tell you what happened.

He just makes the case that a serious, independent investigation without preconceived assumptions is necessary to discover the truth.
Chapter 10: The need for a full investigation
Outline of chapter 10

• The Joint Inquiry of fall 2002
• The 9-11 Independent Commission
  • History of its creation
  • Review of its members and key conflicts
  • Performance
• Recent events
2002 Congressional Joint Inquiry

- Carried out by the intelligence committees of House and Senate in 2002
- Assumed that the official story is true from the outset
- All of its findings fall neatly under the coincidence and incompetence theories
- Accepted all testimony from possibly complicit agencies at face value
- Created a 900-page report, 20% redacted
Example of Joint Inquiry failings

• NSA intercepted specific warnings between 8th and 10th of September

• NSA officials told the Joint Inquiry that warnings were not translated until after September 11th

• No attempt by the Inquiry to corroborate this statement with testimony from lower level employees
Example of Joint Inquiry failings

- FBIHQ went to ridiculous lengths to block the Moussaoui search warrant
- FBI officials told the Inquiry that agents didn't understand the standards for FISA warrants
- However, FISA warrants were routinely issued in other previous cases
Was the Joint Inquiry intimidated?

- August 2002: allegations of leaks related to 9/11-related materials led to an FBI investigation
- FBI agents questioned nearly all 37 members of congressional intelligence committees
- Senators and representatives were given lie detector tests and asked for phone and appointment records
- Sen. John McCain: "What you have here is an organization compiling dossiers on people who are investigating the same organization"
The National Commission on the Terrorist Attacks upon the U.S.

- Originally opposed by the White House
- Created under pressure from the victim's families
- Established by the 2003 Intelligence Authorization Act to
  - Conduct an investigation
  - Identify, review, and evaluate lessons learned
  - Prepare a report with findings and recommendations
Problems with the Commission

• Not supposed to investigate areas that the Joint Inquiry already looked into, i.e. intelligence agencies

• Short-funded: initial budget of $3 million, later expanded to $11 million

• Compare this with the $400 million NASA spent investigating the crash of the space shuttle Columbia in 2002 - $30 million alone on the board of inquiry

• Structurally deadlocked: ten members, with six required to agree on subpeonas

• Given a short timeline, then hobbled by delays in security clearances
Commission personnel

- Originally, President Bush proposed Henry Kissinger as chair of the commission.
- This led to an outcry from the victim's families - Kissinger hardly an independent political creature.
- After Kissinger's refusal to reveal his consulting conflicts of interest, Thomas Kean of New Jersey was selected.
- Congressional leaders from Democratic and Republican parties chose the other members.
Who is Thomas Kean?

- Former Republican governor of New Jersey
- President of Drew University
- On the board of Amerada-Hess, one of world's leading independent oil companies
- Amerada-Hess is partnered with Delta Oil in developing Caspian Sea petroleum reserves
- Delta Oil is part of Centgas, the consortium that was given the Afghan pipeline contract
Who is Thomas Kean? (cont'd)

- Kean was also co-chair of the Homeland Security Project, which eventually led to Homeland Security department
- Long-time member of the Council on Foreign Relations
- Kean is also a general partner in Quad Ventures LLC
- Quad Ventures LLC is partnered with Citigroup, JP Morgan Chase, Merrill Lynch, Wells Fargo, Prudential, Wachovia, others
Who is Lee Hamilton?

- Vice-chair of 9-11 Commission
- One-time Democratic chair of House Foreign Affairs, House Select Intelligence committees
- In 1987 Hamilton chaired the House Select Committee on Iran/Contra
  - When asked to investigate whether the Contras were smuggling drugs, Hamilton reported no drug connections found
  - Later, the CIA admitted that there was a drug connection
  - Admitted on PBS Frontline that he didn't wish to indict Reagan or Bush over Iran-Contra because it “wouldn't be good for the country”
Who is Jamie Gorelick?

- Vice-chair of giant mortgage lender Fannie Mae
- From 1994-1997 she was Deputy Atty Gen. under Reno
- She co-chaired the Intelligence Community Law Enforcement Policy Board with George Tenet in 1995
- She was part of Clark Clifford's legal defense team in the BCCI scandal
- Gorelick also served on Clinton's Central Intelligence National Security Advisory Panel and the President's Review of Intelligence
- Currently employed by Washington law firm Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering
- Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering is defending Saudi Prince Mohammed al Faisal against victim's families suit
Who is Richard Ben-Veniste?

- Former Clinton White House lawyer
- Until February 2003 a partner in Weil, Gotshal, and Manges, one of the biggest bankruptcy firms in the world
- Weil, Gotshal and Manges are involved in the Enron bankruptcy
- Former Democratic counsel to the Senate Whitewater Investigation
- Lawyer for Barry Seal, drug-running CIA confederate of the Contras
Who is Slade Gorton?

- Former Republican senator from Washington state
- Lawyer for Seattle law firm Preston, Gates and Ellis
- Preston, Gates and Ellis clients include Delta Airlines and Boeing Employee's Credit Union
- Sept 13th, 2001: "...there was nothing intelligence officials could have done to thwart the attack"
- Close friend of Trent Lott
- Served on Senate Intelligence Committee
Who is Timothy Roemer?

- Democratic member of the House Intelligence Committee
Who is Fred Fielding?

- Former deputy counsel under John Dean in Nixon administration
- In Watergate he helped John Dean clean out Howard Hunt's safe, subsequently went to jail
- Fielding served on the Bush transition team in early 2001
Who is Jim Thompson?

• Former Republican governor of Illinois
• Chairman of Winston & Strawn law firm in Chicago
• From 1997 through 2002, Winston & Strawn received $1.66 million for federal lobbying on behalf of American Airlines
• Winston & Strawn were alleged by muckraker Sherman Skolnick to have been involved in drug trafficking for the CIA
Who is John Lehman?

- Secretary of the Navy under Ronald Reagan 1981-1987
- Special counsel and senior staff member to Henry Kissinger under Nixon
- Many connections to the neocon cabal in Bush White House
- Currently a director on the board of Ball Aerospace, which has received numerous defense contracts
Who is Max Cleland?

- One-term Senator from Georgia who succeeded Sam Nunn
- Former head of Veteran's Administration under Jimmy Carter
- Cleland became increasingly outspoken about the role of the Commission during 2003
Max Cleland: "Bush is scamming America"

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

- "They had a plan to go to war, and when 9/11 happened that's what they did."

- "The Warren Commission blew it. I'm not going to be part of that... I'm not going to be part of political pressure to do this or not do that."

- In December 2003 President Bush appointed Cleland to the U.S. Export-Import Bank, and he resigned the Kean Commission
Who is Philip Zelikow?

- Zelikow is the Executive Director of the Kean Commission
  - He frames the agenda
  - He leads the research staff
  - He decides what evidence the commission sees
- Like Kean, Zelikow was appointed by President Bush
An example of Zelikow's power

- From the New York Times, April 25, 2004

Jet fighters stationed at Andrews AFB, a few miles outside Washington, were not scrambled despite urgent telephone pleas... from the Secret Service for help in defending the White House.
An example of Zelikow's power

- Late editions had several paragraphs on NORAD response deleted, with this editor's note

There is also much closer communication between Norad and the F.A.A., which now supplies Norad with instantaneous feeds of its domestic air-traffic control radars, allowing military commanders to track individual passenger jets.

*Editors' Note: April 26, 2004, Monday*

A front-page article Sunday about the commission investigating the Sept. 11 attacks reported that commission officials said the panel, on the basis of its examination of the Pentagon's domestic air-defense command, would suggest that quicker military action might have prevented the attack on the Pentagon. After early editions had gone to press, the commission's executive director, Philip D. Zelikow, telephoned The Times and said it was wrong to suggest that such a conclusion had been reached. For late editions, the article was revised to reflect his comment and to make it clear that some commission officials, including Mr. Zelikow, who will be instrumental in writing the final report, say it is too early to draw conclusions about what the report might say on the issue.

A closer look at Philip Zelikow

- Zelikow also closely linked with Condoleeza Rice, with whom he co-authored a book.
- He served as a member of the Bush transition team in 2000-2001, evaluating terror threats.
- He went back to work at the White House after 9/11, on a foreign intelligence advisory board.
- He serves the Kean Commission in a crucial role.
- Yet, he has been interviewed by the Kean Commission as a witness.
The Family Steering Committee and Philip Zelikow

- Zelikow was briefed by Sandy Berger alongside Condoleeza Rice in December 2000, January 2001
- These meetings included information on the seriousness of the al-Qaeda threat
- Part of the 9-11 commission's mandate is to investigating why the Bush team failed to prioritize the emerging threat
- These conflicts of interest led the Family Steering Committee to call for his resignation and appearance before the Commission in sworn public testimony
Critics who expect a cover-up cite the agreement reached over access to the President's Daily Briefs (PDB's).

The White House wrangles and stalls for months before agreeing to a deal.

Only two members of the commission, Gorelick and Zelikow, would get access to PDB's.

The White House would get to decide which portions of PDB's were relevant enough to be shared.

Notes could be made, but could not be taken from the White House.

The White House would have to be informed what would be shared with other Commission members.
The Kean Commission vs. White House, round two

- The White House orchestrates an elaborate campaign of suspense over whether Condoleeza Rice will testify
- She agrees to testify eventually, but
- ... the Kean Commission agrees that no further White House staff will appear in front of the Commission
She asserted repeatedly that there were no indications of a domestic al-Qaeda threat.

Then why did CBS report that Attorney General Ashcroft switched from domestic airlines to leased aircraft in July 2001?

She asserted repeatedly that there was no specific advance knowledge of time, place or method of attacks.

Yet, the Aug 6th PDB mentions New York, mentions domestic hijackings.

It also contradicts the many reports of foreign intelligence service warnings, human penetrations of al-Qaeda.

Most significantly, no one on the Commission asked Rice specific questions related to her assertions.
The testimony of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld

- Much of the testimony focused on shoot-down orders
  - Shoot-down authority would have been complicated by the war games known to be running on Sept. 11th
- Yet, the Commission failed to inquire about war games at all
- Donald Rumsfeld: "I had no idea hijacked airliners would be used as weapons"
- Yet, the Commission failed to inquire whether William Cohen, his predecessor, had told him about an October 24th, 2000 exercise simulating a plane crash into the Pentagon
The Family Steering Committee
questions

- Examples:
  - FBI Director Mueller: please explain how the passports of two hijackers were found after the inferno of the crash at the World Trade Center
  - VP Dick Cheney: please discuss the advice and plans of the Energy Advisory Council specifically as they relate to pipeline development and gas/oil exploration in Afghanistan, Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries
  - Nearly all of the questions have been ignored by the Commission, as they do not fit neatly into the incompetence/coincedence theory
Summary

- The Commission members have many obvious conflicts of interest or connections to the parties that should be investigated.
- The Commission lacks the prosecutorial intent to determine culpability.
- The Commission is failing to ask the obvious questions that would uncover what really happened.
Recent events - Michael Meacher

• Former environmental minister under Tony Blair
• Interviewed by the U.K. Guardian in September 2003
• Meacher suggested that the Project For A New American Century documents provide a better explanation for 9/11 than the global war on terrorism thesis
• "The information provided by European intelligence agencies prior to 9/11 was so extensive that it is no longer possible for either the CIA or the FBI to assert a defence of incompetence."
Recent events - the Mariani lawsuit

- Ellen Mariani's husband, Louis Neil Mariani, died on Flight 175
- She has engaged Philip Berg, former Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania to represent her
- Her suit alleges that
  - The Bush administration knew the attacks were coming, and intentionally failed to stop them
  - The Department of Justice intentionally quashed crucial investigations that would have uncovered the hijackers
Resources for chapter 10

• Book: "Barry and the Boys" by Daniel Hopsicker

• Web site: Jim Rarey's "Medium Rare" (http://www.worldnewsstand.net/MediumRare/Archives.htm)

• Pamphlet: "9/11 Coverup Guide" (available from http://www.911truth.org)

• Article: "Slow-walked and Stonewalled" by John Prados http://www.thebulletin.org/issues/2003/ma03/ma03prados.html

• Ellen Mariani's web site: www.911forthetruth.com

• The Family Steering Committee website, www.911independentcommission.org