

9/11 SYNTHETIC TERRORISM

MADE IN USA

By Webster Griffin Tarpley

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To my wife Leah and my daughter Chloe, for their love and support during the wilderness years.

E s'io al vero son timido amico,
Temo di perder vita tra coloro
Che questo tempo chiameranno antico.
Paradiso XVII, 117-120

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INTRODUCTION

There exists a shadowy government with its own Air Force, its own navy, its own fundraising mechanism, and the ability to pursue its own ideas of the national interest, free from all checks and balances, and free from the law itself. – Senator Daniel K. Inouye during the Iran-contra scandal.

This book would not have been possible without the efforts of the 9/11 truth movement, a true planetary cooperation by citizens of the world, which was called into being by the crimes of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent coverup. I am indebted for many insights to numerous authors of print and internet studies of 9/11; the extent of this indebtedness and the names of the individual researchers are acknowledged in the text and the bibliography. The 9/11 truth movement, its activists, organizers, filmmakers and demonstrators, has had the immense historical merit of opposing those who have sought to incarcerate the intellectual life of the world in a grim new prison house of the human spirit, the monstrous 9/11 myth.

On September 7, 2001 I left Dulles Airport in northern Virginia on an Air France flight en route to Europe. 9/11 itself overtook me in Berlin. Because of the time difference, I learned of the terror attacks in the afternoon. I immediately concluded that the events of that day, because of their scope, complexity, and technical precision, could not have been possible without the massive complicity of a faction of the US political and military command structure. This is what the US taxpayers were paying \$40 billion a year for! It was also clear to me that the goal of this operation was a new world war on a vast scale – something along the lines of the Thirty Years' War of 1618-1648, which killed about a third of the population of central Europe. In the intentions of its planners, this new conflict was to be a population war, designed to exterminate large parts of the population of the developing sector, including the Arab and Moslem countries, and eventually China. It was the desperate bid of a bankrupt and declining power to re-assert world domination based on blackmail. It was a world-historical turn towards disaster.

On the evening of 9/11, I attended a memorial service at the Berliner Dom, the Berlin cathedral which had been destroyed by allied bombing during World War II, and which had lain in ruins through most of the communist era in East Berlin. I listened and approved as a leading prelate called for a peaceful response to the gigantic atrocity. This was the wisdom of Berlin, a city which had undergone, not one, but scores days of 3,000 dead during the world wars. This was the lesson of the twentieth century which the neocons refuse to learn: the utter futility of war. A day later, I went to the Kaiser-Wilhelms-Gedächtniskirche, the Emperor William II memorial church on the Kurfürstendamm in what had been the western sector. This church had also been reduced to rubble by the allied bombing. The ruined parts had been kept as shell-scarred rubble, and a modern chapel erected next to them during the early 1960s. And here prayer services were being held around the clock in response to the immense tragedy. Here I realized that it was my duty to do everything in my power to establish the truth of 9/11,

and to tear down the absurd myth that was already being elaborated as the pretext for new world wars and incalculable human losses.

I issued my first challenge to the prevailing orthodoxy regarding 9/11 on October 26, 2001 at the Indiana Consortium of International Programs, which was held in the beautiful hoosier countryside about fifty miles east of the Wabash at Brown County State Park. Here I invited an audience of academics and scholars to think back to Vietnam as a time when the government, most professors, the media, and the pundits were all tragically wrong about virtually everything – facts in the case, diagnosis of the world situation, strategy, and tactics. We were now living through another such time, I argued. The invasion of Afghanistan, then under way, was as I argued not a military operation, but the systematic bribing of the CIA's old network of druglords and warlords, backed up with bombing and special forces as enforcers.

I gave an expanded, more detailed, and above all more radical version of this critique on January 20, 2002 at Hanover College, a picturesque Indiana campus set on the bluffs of the Ohio River overlooking the wooded hills on the Kentucky side. This time the audience was larger, some 150 people in a packed lecture hall. Here I was able to build on the pioneering insights of French activist Thierry Meyssan and the Réseau Voltaire website, on former SPD German Technology Minister Andreas von Buelow's landmark interview to the Berlin *Tagespiegel* of January 13, 2002, and former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's incisive remark of December 10, 2001 to German N-TV that the activation of Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty on mutual assistance among the alliance members was illegitimate, since "proof had to be delivered that the Sept. 11 terror attacks came from abroad... [and] that proof has still not been provided." (N-TV, Dec.10) As of September 11, 2004, three years and many failed commissions and investigations later, it has still not been provided. My own understanding of the 9/11 events developed further through my participation, as speaker and listener, in the Lucern, Switzerland, conference of November 1-2, 2003, which was attended by Andreas von Bülow, Gerhard Wisnewski, Peter Dale Scott, Mike Ruppert, Nick Begich, and Thomas Meyer; in Carol Brouillet's San Francisco International Inquiry-Phase One of March 26-29, 2004; in the Toronto International Inquiry Phase Two of May 25-31, 2004, organized by Barrie Zwicker, Ian Woods, and Michel Chossudovsky; and in the Manhattan Center conference of September 11, 2004 in New York City, organized by Nico Haupt and Nick Levis with the support of Jimmy Walter. I also derived encouragement and ideas from a manuscript on the collapse of air defense on 9/11 sent to me by my good friend Maurizio Blondet, a courageous Catholic journalist who writes for *Avvenire*, the Milan daily newspaper of the Italian Catholic Bishops' Conference.

At the conferences mentioned and others, I have advocated the creation of an Independent International Truth Commission (IITC) on 9/11 in which a panel of distinguished international personalities, including statesmen, artists, philosophers, historians, scientists, and humanitarians would hear evidentiary briefs prepared by the leading experts in the 9/11 truth movement, for the purpose of rendering an authoritative finding on the veracity of the official version. The approximate model for such proceedings would be the Russell-Sartre Tribunal of 1966-67; without wanting to endorse

the philosophical views of its two leading personalities, it is clear that this was an effective forum in educating the intellectuals of the world against the Vietnam War, and could have a similar function in the age of the phony “war on terrorism.” I have since benefited from the wise advice of Ralph Schoenman of KPFA in San Francisco, who was the general secretary of the Russell Tribunal. He and I belong to a very exclusive club, that of graduates of Princeton University who have made the critique of the current US oligarchy and ruling class into the central business of their lives. It is my hope that this book will add new momentum to the forces around the world that are converging on the IITC as an indispensable part of the effort for 9/11 truth, and thus for world peace and economic development, in the months and years ahead.

A key feature of this study is its approach to the roots of 9/11. I do not see 9/11 as an event growing exclusively or even primarily out of conditions in Afghanistan or the Middle East. Rather, I see 9/11 as the culmination of a decade-long crisis of economics, finance, politics military affairs, and culture in the United States. In the broadest sense, 9/11 is the wages of a disastrous decade of economic globalization, and of the impoverishment and weakening of an entire society. 9/11 does not grow out of US strength, but represents a desperate flight forward in an attempt to mask US weakness. 9/11 fits within the tradition of NATO geopolitical or spheres of influence terrorism as it was practiced in Italy and West Germany during the years from 1965 to 1993.

I reject the naïve or sociological explanation of terrorism. This approach says that misery, oppression, and desperation give rise to terrorist organizations which spontaneously express these underlying moods. But we live in an era in which political and social reality are incessantly manipulated by huge and pervasive intelligence agencies – CIA, FBI, MI-6, FSB (KGB), Mossad, BND, SDECE, SISMI and the like – whose cumulative effect is to over-determine or sur-determine observed reality. I therefore contend that the more reliable conceptual model for understanding terrorism is one that situates the secret intelligence agency, or factions thereof, in the center of the process, recruiting prospective terrorists from the immiserated masses and forming them into clandestine organizations which are henceforth subject to guidance from outside, behind, and above. High-profile international terrorism is not spontaneous; it is artificial and synthetic. It requires expert terrorist controllers. Because of this, the starting point for realistic appraisal of 9/11 is not primarily the sociology of the Middle East, but rather the historical record of NATO and CIA state-sponsored terrorism in western Europe and elsewhere in the post-World War II period. For it is here, and surely not in some distant cave of the Hindu Kush, that we can find the methods and personnel which produced 9/11. If the term grotesque originally meant something that came out of a cave, we can justifiably dismiss the official explanation of 9/11 – Bin Laden with his laptop in an Afghan cave – as the grotesque theory of terrorism.

Synthetic terrorism is a strategy used by oligarchs for the purpose of waging war on the people – that is to say, on the middle class in Machiavelli’s sense of *popolo*. Terrorism must therefore be opposed. My own understanding of these events is informed by having experienced first hand, as analyst, journalist, and author, the Italian and German terrorism of the 1970s and 1980s.

In June 1978, while working as a correspondent in Rome, I was contacted by Giuseppe Zamberletti of the Italian Christian Democratic Party. The kidnap-murder of former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro had reached its tragic climax in May 1978, when Moro's body was found in the trunk of a car in Via Caetani in downtown Rome, three blocks from my office at that time. Zamberletti had been one of the very few Italian political leaders who had suggested a NATO role in the attack on Moro. Two days after Moro was kidnapped, and his bodyguards murdered, Zamberletti attracted the attention of the British press, which wrote that "Signor Zamberletti, an intelligent Christian Democrat who has worked as deputy Interior Minister in charge of the Italian secret services, made a number of interesting comments about NATO. It seems that Zamberletti said that De Gaulle left NATO because of the dozens of assassination attempts against him, and that France, after that, and by implication as a result of that, had succeeded in keeping terrorism under control." (*London Times*, March 17, 1978) In another interview, Zamberletti said that an effective defense against terrorism would have to be vigilant in all directions – "360 degrees," as he put it. (*Panorama*, July 4, 1978) Here was de Gaulle's celebrated formula of defense "*tous azimuths*," against nominal allies as well as adversaries, west as well as east, US and UK as well as USSR. With this, Zamberletti became the target of the Anglo-American party in Italy.

Zamberletti asked me to prepare a study of how the mass media had treated the Moro case, which had been the dominant news story for two months. I gathered a group of friends and co-workers from the EIR news agency I was working for at the time, and told them of the proposal. Out of a desire to defeat the nightmare of terrorism and provide justice for Moro, most of them -- Italians and a couple of Americans -- volunteered to spend their month-long summer vacation assembling the study that Zamberletti had requested. No money was ever involved. The more we looked, the more we found, and soon our study -- entitled *Chi ha ucciso Aldo Moro?* (Who Killed Aldo Moro?) had grown far larger than the brief overview Zamberletti seemed to have had in mind. The writing was done during the summer of 1978 in what was then the EIR European headquarters in the Schiersteinerstrasse in Wiesbaden, Germany, not far from Frankfurt airport. The resulting product was released at a press conference in Rome in September 1978. It was extensively if unfavorably reviewed in the newsmagazine *Panorama*. The main finding was that Moro had been killed by NATO intelligence, using the Red Brigades as tool and camouflage at the same time. The cause of the assassination was Moro's determination to give Italy a stable government by bringing the Italian Communist Party into the cabinet and the parliamentary majority. This plan was opposed -- as a violation of the Yalta spheres of influence, which made Italy a vassal of the US -- by the Henry Kissinger wing of the US foreign policy establishment, as well as by certain factions of the Italian ruling elite, grouped around the reactionary P-2 lodge, which was still secret at that time. Accordingly, my study named Kissinger, NATO, and British intelligence as prime suspects, and not the Warsaw Pact embassies named by the Italian media. Later, Moro's widow revealed that her husband had been directly threatened by a leading US figure over the issue of expanding the majority to include the PCI. This figure had told Moro that any attempt to bring the PCI into the government would bring terrible consequences for him personally. Some commentators identified this US figure as

Kissinger, and here they were on firm ground. With this, the thesis of the study, *Chi ha ucciso Aldo Moro*, was vindicated. I therefore have a track record as someone who opposes terrorism; I have shown in practice that I understand how terrorism works. This is something which sets this book apart from the babblings of the tribe of “terror experts” who populate cable television and purvey disinformation.

Another thesis of the 1978 study was that those who glorify and lionize terrorism, providing the terrorists with ideological cover, should be investigated as its accomplices. One pro-terror ideologue whom I singled out in this regard was Antonio Negri, Professor of Doctrine of the State at the University of Padua, near Venice. Later, in April 1979, Judge Calogero of Padua issued arrest warrants for Toni Negri, Franco Piperno, and other leaders of the allegedly defunct Potere Operaio group. They were charged with being not just the ideologues and sympathizers, but part of the leadership of the Red Brigades. It was said that Calogero had been influenced by my Moro dossier. Today Negri is still operational from his jail cell, helping to inspire a regroupment of violent anarchist “criminal energy” groups like the Black Bloc, which represent the culture medium from which future terrorists are being recruited by intelligence agencies in Europe. After the publication of *Imperial Hubris*, this thesis should be applied to the CIA, home of what appears to be the most influential chapter of the Bin Laden fan club.

I have also learned much from three European experts. One is Brigadier General Paul Albert Scherer of Germany, one of the truly great counter-intelligence specialists of recent decades. Scherer, a Social Democrat, was the chief of the Militärischer Abschirmdienst (MAD), the West German military counter-intelligence service, in the early 1970s. Between 1985 and 1994 I had the opportunity of spending many hours with General Scherer, primarily discussing Soviet questions, but also branching out into historical matters and other themes. This book is, after all, an exercise in counter-intelligence. I do not know what he will think of my present conclusions, but I have derived permanent benefit from his insights, and I thank him.

Another who deserves my thanks is the late G. L. Bondarevsky, the distinguished Soviet orientalist and member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. A Russian Jew born in Odessa, Bondarevsky became the dean of Soviet and later Russian experts on the five republics of central Asia and beyond into the Middle East; he was the author of the definitive scholarly study on the pre-World War I Berlin to Baghdad railway. At a conference in Germany in the spring of 1991, when the world was still reeling from the shock of the First Gulf War, I briefed Bondarevsky on some preliminary research into George H.W. Bush and his clan. I stammered out an important conclusion in my substandard Russian: “Ego otets zaplatil Gitleru!” – his father, meaning Prescott Bush, paid Hitler, was what I wanted to express. “Vy you don’t tell vorld real story of bastard Bush?” replied Bondarevsky in his unique English. It was thanks to Bondarevsky’s interest and engagement that I was able to overcome the bureaucratic inertia of EIR, still my employer at that time, and obtain the time necessary to write the 1992 *George Bush: The Unauthorized Biography* together with Anton Chaitkin. Bondarevsky, who at the age of 83 was also one of the world’s leading experts on the petroleum industry, was found dead in his apartment on August 8, 2003, the victim of a mysterious murder, most likely

arranged by the Anglo-American oil cartel or their agents. His friends are determined to keep his memory alive, and to secure justice for him some day.

The third recipient of my thanks is the late Professor Taras Vasilievich Muranivsky of the Moscow State University of the Humanities. Professor Muranivsky was the President of the International Ecological Academy of Moscow and later the Schiller Institute of Russia at the time I was the President of the Schiller Institute of the United States, and he made it possible for me to visit the Russian capital in October 1993, just after Yeltsin's tanks had bombarded the Russian White House. He nominated me as a consultant to the IEA, one of the first intellectual associations to be formed in Russia after the loosening of the police state. Thanks to Muranivsky, I worked in Moscow under the curfew for two weeks, had the opportunity to stand before the White House, looking up at the fire-blackened structure. I saw the daily tragedy of the Soviet middle class in the streets. Russia, it was plain to see, was being destroyed by the Anglo-American finance oligarchs. Who would be next? Muranivsky died on July 17, 2000. During one visit to the United States, Muranivsky had said in a briefing: "The US would like to treat Russia like a banana republic. But it's a nuclear banana." This reality of this thermonuclear danger is present in these pages.

The present study embodies a number of criteria which I believe derive directly from the 9/11 events. 9/11 was an example of state-sponsored, false-flag, synthetic terrorism, hereinafter called synthetic terrorism. My thesis is that the 9/11 events were organized and directed by a rogue network of high government and military officials of the United States, with a certain participation by the intelligence agencies of Britain and Israel, and with a more general backup from the intelligence agencies of the other Echelon states (Australia, New Zealand, Canada). This US network represents the current form of the Dulles Brothers-Lemnitzer-Landsdale network of the early 1960s, of the Bay of Pigs-Kennedy assassination-Gulf of Tonkin networks of a slightly later era, and of the invisible government/secret government/parallel government/shadow government that was widely understood to have been the prime mover of the Iran-contra affair. The 9/11 rogue network subsumed some of the asteroids of the 1990s, that is to say, the privatized intelligence enterprises operating under Reagan's executive order 12333. The September criminals were financiers, top-level bureaucrats, flag-rank military officers, top intelligence officials, and technical specialists; the prime focus of their operations was in all probability a series of private sector locations, where confidentiality could be best assured by excluding elements loyal to the constitution. It is therefore probably misleading to think of people like Cheney as the hand-on field commanders of the terrorist forces of 9/11, although Cheney appears to have been complicit in other ways. Bush was expendable enough to undergo an assassination attempt that morning; he owes his continued tenure in office to his speedy capitulation to the demands of the September criminals. As time has gone on, Bush has undoubtedly learned something more about the invisible government he allowed to take over his administration. By 2004, Bush had to be considered as witting as it was possible for a person of his faculties to be about the basic facts of terrorism.

Because of the wretched performance of the Kean-Hamilton 9/11 commission, many well established facts and timelines pertaining to 9/11 have been blurred and defaced. The 9/11 commission has corrupted and confused public awareness of the basic facts of 9/11 far more than it has enhanced it. It is a rule of thumb for researchers that some of the most revealing information on a cataclysmic event like 9/11 generally becomes available in media reports in the immediate aftermath of the event. This is before the editors and producers have fully assimilated the party line of the oligarchy on what has happened, so they may well publicize facts which are incompatible with the official, mythical version of events. As time goes by, such heuristic revelations become rarer, although they may yet inflict fatal blows on the official story, particularly if the official story is beginning to break up. The 9/11 commission represents the triumph of oligarchical scholasticism, the embalming of what had been a living tragedy into a smoothed-over textbook account from which virtually all of the truth has been drained. This book therefore often gives priority to materials generated soon after 9/11, before the mind-control line of the regime became totally hegemonic.

The reader will understand this book better after a short note on the criteria of selection which have informed it. There already exist encyclopedias and encyclopedic timelines on 9/11 by such writers as Nico Haupt and Paul Thompson, to both of whom I am indebted for much empirical material. My aim has not been to compete with them in exhaustive completeness, but rather to offer a definite hypothesis about what happened on 9/11. This book has therefore been constructed along the following conceptual lines:

1. Mass gullibility about the events of 9/11 is based on unmediated sense certainty re-enforced by merciless and repetitious media bombardment. Receptivity to the 9/11 myth is correlated with a Hollywood-style, sense-impressionist naïve epistemology, complicated by the schizophrenic and autistic elements present in Anglo-American culture. Belief in the 9/11 myth is agreeable to a way of thinking in the tradition of John Locke's empiricism, which is here formally rejected and repudiated. I do not offer information so much as a method, and the method used here is that of Plato, Machiavelli, and Leibniz. I join Plato in refusing the illusions of the cave in favor of dialectical reason. I assert that understanding 9/11 requires a conceptual framework; my approach is therefore conceptual and empirical, but not empiricist. The framework here is that of patsies, moles, and expert professionals discussed below.
2. This book stresses those aspects of 9/11 which indicate state sponsorship by a rogue network or invisible government operating inside the US government and military. Other aspects are given less consideration or omitted entirely.
3. This book stresses those aspects of the official version which are physically impossible. Many dubious aspects and contradictions of the official story are not treated if they can be construed as a matter of opinion, rather than being susceptible to rigorous physical proof. The same goes for physical evidence, such as pictorial evidence, where individual interpretations of what is seen may diverge. At the same time, I urge researchers interested in these aspects of the

problem to continue their efforts so that the catalogue of physical impossibilities can be expanded as it doubtless deserves to be.

4. I have sought to be guided by Machiavellian political realism, rather than by the irrational appeals of propaganda.

I express my gratitude to my old friend Raynald Rouleau of Quebec City for his matchless computer expertise. Finally, this book would have been impossible without the patience and good will of my publisher, John Leonard.

Webster Griffin Tarpley
Washington DC
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I: THE MYTH OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In some ways she was far more acute than Winston, and far less susceptible to Party propaganda. Once when he happened in some connection to mention the war against Eurasia, she startled him by saying casually that in her opinion the war was not happening. The rocket bombs which fell daily on London were probably fired by the Government of Oceania itself, "just to keep the people frightened." Orwell, *1984*, 127.

With the publication of the Report of the Commission to Investigate Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (also known as the Kean-Hamilton Commission after its chairman and vice-chairman), the pattern of coverup and incompetence on the part of the officially constituted investigative agencies of the United States Government is complete. Since September 11, 2001, no part of the United States Government has offered a convincing, coherent, complete explanation of the events of that day, and of other events related to them. Indeed, no US government agency has ever so much as proposed to prove the truth of the official account, even in the way that the Warren Commission attempted to demonstrate the veracity of its version of the Kennedy assassination.

The Kean-Hamilton Commission called no hostile witnesses, no skeptics, no devil's advocates. It ignored a growing number of book-length studies which have appeared in English, French, German, and other languages around the world. It never invited to its plenum FBI whistle-blowers like Colleen Rowley (who shared *Time Magazine's* Person of the Year honors at the end of 2002), nor did it call FBI agent Kenneth Williams, the author of the famous Phoenix memo, to testify in its plenary meetings. The Commission was, by contrast, happy to invite the obsessive anti-Iraq ideologue Laurie Mylroie, a fanatic so notorious that she is dismissed with contempt as "totally discredited" even by Richard Clarke in his book, *Against All Enemies*. (Clarke 232) As we will show at various points in this study, the Kean-Hamilton Commission represents a cynical and meticulously orchestrated exercise in coverup and obfuscation. The net overall result of the Kean-Hamilton Commission has been to obscure even those few relevant facts which had become well established in the mainstream media prior to its inception.

Before the Kean-Hamilton Commission, the chronology of events regarding the interplay among the Federal Aeronautics Administration (FAA), the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), and other government agencies had been fairly well established by the 9/11 truth movement. The deliberately doctored chronologies offered by the Kean-Hamilton staff have turned that clear picture into chaos. Before the Kean-Hamilton operation went to work, there was an important debate about whether phone calls received at the White House on the morning of September 11 had indicated that unauthorized persons were in possession of top-secret US government code words. The Kean-Hamilton Commission has now assured us that this crucial incident in effect never

happened. Before Kean-Hamilton, Congressional Committees and the National Institute of Standards and Technology had been forced to grapple in public with the blatant anomalies of three modern steel skyscrapers collapsing on the same day as the result of fire – something that has happened on no other day of world history. For the Kean-Hamilton Commission, this problem simply does not exist – it has disappeared from the official narrative. No account has been taken of critical or skeptical commentaries, even when these have been the centerpieces of books which have reached the top of the best-seller charts in important countries like France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, or have been telecast in prime time in these same places. The demands of the bereaved families of 9/11 have been ignored – even though it was because of the persistent lobbying of these families that the Kean-Hamilton Commission ever came into being in the first place. A cruel hoax has been practiced on these families, and those who thought that an attempt to cooperate in good faith with the Kean-Hamilton Commission to guide it toward the truth have received a bitter disappointment. The Kean-Hamilton Commission in short has shown no decent respect for the opinions of mankind, and has submitted no important facts to a candid world.

The Kean-Hamilton Commission has turned out to be nothing more than a colossal exercise in begging the question. Everything that was controversial, everything that was dubious in the eyes of billions around the world has been simply assumed to be true and posited as the starting point for the entire inquiry. As a fallacy this has been around since the medieval schoolmen, who called it *petitio principii*. In the hands of the Kean-Hamilton Commission, begging the question is meant to work as an arrogant, bureaucratic act of superior power. Believe this, said the Inquisition, or be damned. Believe this, says the Kean-Hamilton Commission, or be vilified as a paranoid obsessed with conspiracies. Thus, when the 9/11 commission was created, it formed nine investigative teams. The first of these was entitled: “Al Qaeda and the Organization of the 9/11 Attack.” That is a clear case of rush to judgment and jumping to conclusions, since such a finding should be the end result of an inquiry, and not its starting point.

For the Kean-Hamilton Commission is not a contribution to scholarly debate. It is just as much a part of the US government’s assault on the world as an F-16 bombing Fallujah. For the Kean-Hamilton Commission is an act of ideological terrorism worthy of Senator Joe McCarthy. Behind it stands the taboo proclaimed by the figurehead of the regime:

We must speak the truth about terror. Let us never tolerate outrageous conspiracy theories concerning the attacks of September the 11th, malicious lies that attempt to shift the blame away from the terrorists themselves, away from the guilty. (UN General Assembly, November 10, 2001)

It is a point of view at variance with the best moments in American history, as we intend to show. But no amount of bureaucratic arrogance has been able to paper over the manifold absurdities, the contradictions, the impossibilities, the outrageous flaws that infest the official version of the 9/11 events. The Kean-Hamilton Commission simply has no answer for questions about how the alleged hijackers were identified, how they were

able to operate, why WTC Building 7 collapsed, why air defense was non-existent, what hit the Pentagon, what happened over Shanksville, what happened to the insider trading, and many more. For any serious, intelligent person – and there are many – the Kean-Hamilton pastiche can only be rejected.

The failure of the Kean-Hamilton Commission leaves the world with the imbecilic myth: the four airliners were hijacked by nineteen Arabs, from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Kuwait. Their squad leaders were Atta, Shehhi, Hanjour, and Jarrah. Their “mastermind” was Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. Their rear echelon was Ramzi Binalshib. Their guru was Osama Bin Laden, the terrorist pope who lives in a cave. From his distant grotto in the mountains of Afghanistan, Osama Bin Laden, the diabolical genius of the twenty-first century, directed the worldwide network that attacked the United States.

THE SEPTEMBER CRIMINALS ARE STILL AT LARGE

At a deeper level, closer to the heart of the matter, the Kean-Hamilton has failed to indict the real September criminals. It leaves untouched the network of moles in the US government without whose efforts, both in preparation and in coverup, the events of 9/11 could never have happened. It has not identified the clandestine command center which directed the operation. It has taken not one step towards locating the technocrats of death who actually had the physical and technical capability to make these events happen, in contrast to the supermarket-caliber terrorists who are supposed to have caused them. All of these networks remain in place, and remain anxious to avoid detection. The September criminals and their project, the clash of civilizations in the form of a new Thirty Years War, remain at large, their desperation magnified, but their power undiminished. Think of this when you hear the strident clatter of the Bush regime as it warns the public that a new wave of terror attacks, quite possibly using weapons of mass destruction of the atomic, bacteriological and chemical varieties, is inevitable before the November 2004 elections. The government has failed us, and the Kean-Hamilton Commission has failed us, before, during and after 9/11. The September criminals remain in place, with every intention of striking again, then to take cover behind the shield of martial law.

We are opposed to terrorism. We seek to prevent a new wave of terrorism. We want to identify the September criminals and bring them to justice, because no one has laid a glove on them so far. We have no illusions about the psychotic Arab patsies whose antics are being used to cover up what was in reality a coup d’etat made in the USA, a coup d’etat not against Bush but in favor of a specific policy, that of the clash of civilizations. We condemn terrorism because terrorism is the means used by oligarchs to wage secret war against the people. But the terrorism we fight is the real terrorism of the real world, not the idiotic distortions dished up by the regime and the media.

The official 9/11 account has by now taken on all the characteristics of a myth. In the minds of many, credulousness in regard to the myth has taken on the overtones of religious sanctity. It has taken root deeply in the dark places of the American mind. The myth is a sensitive subject, hedged round with powerful reaction formations and fearful taboos. Challenge these and the subject will often respond with irrational anger and

indignation. Nevertheless, the fact remains: the official version has never been proved. It is an unproven assertion, and in the end a myth. Attempts to base an entire world order on unproven assertions and lies did not fare well in the twentieth century: the war guilt clause of the Versailles Treaty of 1919, which assigned exclusive responsibility for the war to Germany and her allies, while completely exonerating the Allies, was intended as a means to extort some 55 billion gold dollars in reparations. But it turned out to be the key to Hitler's successful demagoguery, and generally one of the main causes for fascism, Nazism, and World War II. Let us not build our political house on unproven assertions. Indeed, we should recall that it was the Nazis themselves who avidly embraced myth as the basis for politics: the official chief ideologist of the Nazi movement was Alfred Rosenberg, and his famous work was *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*. The story of Osama in the distant cave is already the myth of the twenty-first century.

Because of the events of 9/11, the regime proclaims, the world as we knew it has disappeared. We are confronted with a new world of preventive and pre-emptive war, of first use of nuclear weapons, of unilateral aggression, of barbarian racism and hatred, of the glorification of violence and killing, of force and the threat of force. Yet before we go willingly into this monstrous new world, it is our right to demand that the events of 9/11 – precisely because they are said to have caused all this – be more thoroughly examined. Before we accept the neocon death warrant for civilization, culture, and every human value, we demand the right of an appeal to the court of reason.

That project will be undertaken in this book. We will draw on the extensive research completed by the 9/11 truth movement during the time since that catastrophic day. Specific indebtedness and especially meritorious works will be acknowledged in the text, or in the footnotes. Participants in the 9/11 truth movement have almost always been private citizens, more or less isolated, more or less bereft of means, but nevertheless determined to seek the truth. The researchers, writers, scientists, historians, websites, and activists of the 9/11 truth movement have upheld the values of universal intellect – *la république des lettres* – as these were spurned by the mass media, the US government, and most academics. They have produced what can now be seen as a coherent body of work which is readily accessible to anyone who wants to learn. This field is no more free from aberrant theories, petty squabbles, and crank positions than any other, and not everything can be taken for pure gold, but the difference between this honest research and the corrupt, controlled corporate media and official pronouncements is as day and night. The 9/11 truth movement is a work in progress which has already accomplished much, and which now awaits wider discussion and the further refinement which that greater exposure will undoubtedly bring.

We urge you to grapple with the issues presented in this book. This is important because of the imminent threat of new terrorist attacks, organized in large part by the original September criminals. It is important also because this is a time of aggravated world economic, political, and strategic crisis, wars, depression, and breakdown crisis, as we will have occasion briefly to show as part of our explanation of why the 9/11 attacks happened. We must also be aware of the underlying long waves of American history. As we will outline towards the end of this book, the 2004 election has completed a fateful

cycle of that history – the pattern of party re-alignment which has recurred every 36 or so years since the ratification of the federal Constitution, taking place in 1828, 1860, 1896, 1932, and 1968. We are due for a profound shakeup in the party structure and the basic pattern of political life in this country. The reason for sending this book into the world is this: if the 9/11 myth can be dismantled, discredited, and denounced before the masses, there is hope that the party re-alignment may unfold in a progressive direction, perhaps with the collapse of the Republican Party, perhaps with the split of the Democratic Party into factions representing roughly the views of Senator Lieberman and those of Senator Kennedy. Under these conditions, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan can be terminated, and new aggressions warded off. The neocons can be brought to justice. International monetary reform, world reconstruction and economic development, vast projects of infrastructure can be addressed. But if the 9/11 myth is allowed to stand intact as the basis for US national life, the current regime, and the Republican and Democratic Parties, then there is every reason to fear that the likely party re-alignment will represent the transition to fascism in some form whose outlines we can already see.

The dominant oligarchies of the United States and several other countries committed a serious error when they decided to accept the crude conspiracy theory peddled by the Bush regime concerning 9/11. This was a matter where a careful and judicious ruling class would have exercised more restraint, and kept more options open. The wholesale endorsement of the official 9/11 myth by the controlled corporate news media, by the two major political parties, and by large parts of academia has created a situation in which the 9/11 myth is now the indispensable basis of large sectors of American life. Many institutions have in effect wedded their entire credibility to the myth. This was very unwise. We cannot be entirely certain that the truth about 9/11 will ever become generally accepted by the masses, but if such revelations should ever occur, they will now destroy far more than the 9/11 myth. The dismantling of the myth in favor of an account at least closer to reality will have the most profound institutional implications. The Republican Party, because it has presided over the institutionalization and exploitation of the myth, would tend toward extinction. The contradictions inside the Democratic Party would explode. Many careers would go by the boards. Because the entire society is so heavily invested in the myth, the entire social order would be called into question. Even the prevalent property relations, at least in regard to media, defense industries, oil and some other sectors, would inevitably be called into question. The current status of the 9/11 myth as the substratum of so many hegemonic institutions helps to explain the absolute hysteria of the ruling elite whenever substantive critiques of the myth arise, as they must ever tend to do.

Everything depends on intellectual activists like you. The 9/11 myth is the last line of defense of a bankrupt regime. Was the Iraq war based on lies? Do the atrocities of Abu Ghraib violate the laws of war and the Geneva Convention? Is the middle class being crushed? The regime, with its back to the wall, has only one answer, “9/11.” The mantra of 9/11 is the carte blanche for black propaganda, war crimes, a police state, and thievery until the end of time, if we listen to those now in power. And there is an irony: if the regime itself has been able to cite the need for wartime solidarity in regard to Afghanistan, the Democratic Party has had only the litany of 9/11 to fall back on. The

Democratic Party has portrayed itself as the true believers in the 9/11 myth, eyes fixed on the quest to find Bin Laden, while the Republicans were going astray in Mesopotamia. Senator Kerry, until he can be convinced to think otherwise, is more married to the 9/11 myth than Bush is. The Democrats are Johnny one note, while Bush has the means to modulate. Result: 9/11 is the lever used by all factions of the oligarchy to keep the masses in submission. This lever we will break before their faces.

WHAT DO YOU KNOW AND HOW DO YOU KNOW IT?

Many readers are by now spluttering with indignation. We can hear them expostulating: “The official version of 9/11 is a myth and a lie!” – followed by a string of obscenities worthy of Dick Cheney. But think for a minute: if you think you know all about 9/11, how do you know what you think you know?

The first identification of Osama Bin Laden and al Qaeda as the perpetrators came during the day on September 11, as various commentators and announcers for cable, broadcast, and public television began floating the charge that Bin Laden and al Qaeda were behind the attacks. Apparently CNN was the first to mention Bin Laden, and the other myth-mongers immediately followed its lead. In retrospect, we know that many of these leaks came from two important functionaries in the Washington bureaucracy. These were George Tenet, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, who should have been fired that same day, but who was allowed to resign in disgrace in June 2004, on the eve of the publication of a Senate Intelligence Committee report which pilloried him and his agency for gross incompetence. This was the same Tenet who later assured Bush that the case for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq as a pretext for a US invasion was a “slam dunk.” The other prime myth-monger was Richard A. Clarke, the former terror czar of the Clinton administration who had been kept on by Bush. Clarke had a long history, of which many of his gulled victims at those hearings were unaware. He had been dropped from the State Department by James Baker III because he was accused of concealing Israeli exports of US military technology to the People’s Republic of China which were banned under US law, and which the Israelis had agreed in advance not to carry out. In some quarters, Richard Clarke’s name was mentioned at the time of the hunt for MEGA, the Israeli mole thought to be operating in the White House. Clarke is a close friend of Israeli defense officials, among them David Ivry of the Israeli Defense Ministry.

As Clarke recounts in his recently published memoir: “At the outset of the first Gulf War, Ivry and I conspired to get our governments to agree to deploy a US Army Patriot unit in Israel. No foreign troops had ever been stationed before in Israel. We also worked together to sell Patriots to Israel, and to tie in the Kiriati [the Israeli Pentagon] with American satellites that detected Iraqi Scud missile launches towards Israel. After the war, the CIA circulated unfounded rumors that Israel had sold some of the Patriots to China. Many in the State Department who thought I was ‘too close to Israel’ sought to blame me.” (Clarke 46) Clarke was a protégé of Arnold L. Raphael (killed in the same plane crash with Gen. Zia of Pakistan), and worked closely with Morton Abramowitz.

On the morning of Sept. 11, as the White House was being evacuated for fear that it could be hit after the strikes against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the first top official to say “This is Al Qaeda!” had been Richard Clarke. (*New York Times*, December 30, 2001). When Clarke arrived at the White House a little after 9 AM on 9/11, he found Cheney and Condoleezza Rice alone in Cheney’s office. “What do you think,” asked the horrified Cheney. Clarke’s immediate reply: “It’s an al Qaeda attack and they like simultaneous attacks. This may not be over.” (Clarke 2) This is the moment of conception of the 9/11 myth. At this moment Clarke, as a New Yorker would say, didn’t know from nothing. Had he ever heard of strategic deception? Had he ever heard of diversionary tactics? Had he ever heard of feints?

Clarke tells us in his memoir that he attempted to collect his thoughts about the events going on around him as he walked from the White House Secure Videoconferencing Center just off the Situation Room across the White House to the Presidential Emergency Operations Center, which was Cheney’s underground bunker:

In the quiet of the walk, I caught my breath for the first time that day: This was the “Big al Qaeda Attack” we had warned was coming and it was bigger than almost anything we had imagined, short of a nuclear weapon. (Clarke 17)

This is already one of the most fateful snap judgments in world history. Had Clarke utterly forgotten the lessons of Oklahoma City, when leakers had inspired the report that the explosion was the world of Moslems? Clarke had no proof then, and has come forward with none since.

Rushing to overtake Clarke as the leading hipshot in snap strategic diagnosis was CIA Director Tenet. While Bush was cowering in his spider hole at Offutt Air Force Base in Nebraska, he conducted a National Security Council meeting by means of teleconference screens. “Who do you think did this to us?” Bush asked Tenet. Tenet was emphatic: “Sir, I believe it’s al Qaeda. We’re doing the assessment, but it looks like, it feels like, it smells like Al Qaeda.” (Bamford 2004 91) In other words, Tenet also had no proof, no evidence, no case – just his crude Lockean sense certainty.

Later, after World Trade Center 7 had gone through its inexplicable and embarrassing collapse at about 5:20 PM, Clarke addressed a high-level interagency meeting from the Situation Room. Present by video link were Armitage of State, General Meyers of the JCS, and other important officials. Clarke stated: “Okay, we all know this was al Qaeda. FBI and CIA will develop the case and see if I’m right. We want the truth but, in the meantime, let’s go with the assumption it’s al Qaeda. What’s next.?” (Clarke 23) Before he went to bed in the White House, Bush jotted a note to himself: “The Pearl Harbor of the 21st century took place today. We think it’s Osama Bin Laden.” (Bamford 2004 92)

Given the fecklessness of Bush, Cheney, and Rice, Richard Clarke was running the US government on 9/11, and it was he who made the myth of the exclusive responsibility of al Qaeda/Bin Laden into the official policy of the US. Clarke can thus claim pride of

place as the originator of the 9/11 myth. And Clarke was more than a mythograph. Clarke also shared in the responsibility for the bungling and stupid attack on an aspirin factory in Khartoum, Sudan, after the bombing of US embassies in east Africa in the summer of 1998. If there were an Oscar for deception, Clarke's performance at the Kean-Hamilton Commission hearings in April 2004 would have won it. It was that virtuoso performance which launched Clarke on his current career as a television commentator predicting imminent WMD terrorist attacks on this country and advocating the speedy imposition of martial law. We will hear more about this gentleman later. All we need to note right now is that anyone would be foolish to buy a used car from Clarke or Tenet.

Another early official fingering of Osama Bin Laden as the guilty party came from Secretary of State Colin Powell on September 13. At this point Powell was competing for attention with the fulminations and *Schrecklichkeit* of neocons like Wolfowitz, who was ranting that the US would "end states harboring terrorism," and would do so unilaterally, without reference to the collective security of the United Nations. Already voices of caution were being raised about another ill-prepared rush to judgment. Professor Paul Rogers, of Bradford University's peace department, warned against assuming Middle East extremists were behind the tragedy. "We've been here before. With Oklahoma, everybody assumed it was Middle East [terrorists], then it turned out to be home-grown Timothy McVeigh," he said. "Again with the pipe bomb in Atlanta, it turned out to be domestic." (*Guardian*, September 11, 2001) In any event, this was the same Colin Powell, who in February 2003, before the United Nations Security Council, perjured himself on the question of Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction. This was the same Colin Powell who alleged mobile biological weapons labs, chemical weapons dispensers, and tubes being used for centrifuges in the process of uranium enrichment. This was the same Colin Powell who committed the most spectacular perjury in the history of the United Nations Security Council.

On September 14, the FBI, which had known nothing about anything before the attacks, published its infamous list of nineteen hijackers. As we will soon see, the mortality rate among those supposed kamikazes was less than 100%, with no less than seven of the suspects named turning up alive and well in the days after this list was published. More importantly, this was a list prepared by the same FBI which had been responsible for the Waco massacre of men, women, and children in 1992, the agency that illegally withheld documents in the capital murder trial of Timothy McVeigh, an abuse which ought to have caused his conviction to be thrown out, but which only caused it to be delayed. This is the agency whose vaunted Crime Lab turned out to be a sewer of incompetence and corruption. This is the same FBI which clumsily attempted to entrap and frame up the innocent Richard Jewel during the 1996 Atlanta Olympic games, while the real culprit went free. This is the same FBI which persecuted the Chinese-American scientist Wen Ho Lee without any grounds, accusing him of having transferred secrets to the People's Republic of China. This is the same FBI which permitted the Soviet mole Robert Hanssen to operate inside it for fifteen years. This is the agency which ostracized John O'Neill, and which ignored the Phoenix memorandum and Colleen Rowley's warnings from Minneapolis. This is the same FBI which could not capture the Unabomber over decades, until his own brother turned him in. This is the same agency which, over the

previous months, in the words of Governor Kean of the 9/11 Commission, “failed and failed and failed and failed and failed.” Are we then to believe that on September 14 this troubled and incompetent agency enjoyed a brief interlude of success, as represented by the list of the 19? And if they did succeed that day, they must have soon lapsed back into incompetence again, as seen in their utter failure to prevent the October 2001 anthrax attacks, or ever to identify the perpetrator, perhaps because the anthrax in question was weapons grade material which had come from a US military lab, probably Fort Detrick, Maryland. This was the same FBI whose main activity after 9/11 seemed to consist in confiscating relevant evidence and tampering with witnesses, telling them that had not seen what they knew they had. Anyone familiar with the record will have a very hard time taking seriously such allegations coming from the discredited, dysfunctional FBI.

BUSH AS INVETERATE LIAR

The definitive identification of Osama Bin Laden and al Qaeda as the authors of the atrocity came only on September 20, in Bush’s address to a joint session of Congress. Bush stated:

The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are the murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for the bombing of the USS *Cole*. [...] This group and its leader – a person named Osama Bin Laden – are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction. The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda’s vision for the world. [...] And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: deliver to the United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. [...] These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share their fate. [...] Our war on terror beings with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated. (Bush 10-11)

Here we can see how inextricably the naming of Bin Laden and al Qaeda is bound up with the unilateral preventive war doctrine, the attack on Afghanistan, and the aggression against Iraq. But let us put these remarks into contact. Some months later, delivering his January 2003 State of the Union address from the same podium in the well of the House of Representatives, this same Bush intoned: