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Bakalářská práce TERORISTICKÉ ÚTOKY 9/11 – JAK SE ZMĚNIL SVĚT

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Undergraduate Thesis 9/11 ATTACKS – HOW THE WORLD CHANGED

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci vypracoval/a samostatně s použitím uvedené literatury a zdrojů informací.		
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ABSTRACT

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The subject of this undergraduate thesis is to describe the events of the September 11, 2001. The thesis is divided into three main sections. The first part provides some general information about what happened on September 11 and describes first moments after the attacks. It also covers relationship between America and the Islamic world and gives information about wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. It describes the politics of Bill Clinton's administration and George W. Bush's administration. It includes the information about Al Qaeda and explains some of the reasons that led to the events of 9/11. These events had an enormous impact on that day. The second part is devoted to the history of the World Trade Center and describes the day of September 11 in details, with the evacuation of the World Trade Center and with the description of the events in the Pentagon. The final part is dedicated to the days that followed, with the investigation of the attacks. It mentions the War on Terror and suggests who could have benefited from the attacks and reveals the conclusions from the investigation made by the architects and engineers who tried to find the truth about September 11.

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Introduction

On September 11, 2001 four passenger airliners were hijacked. At 7:45 a. m. the American Airlines flight Nr.11 departed from Boston en route to Los Angeles. At 7:58 a. m. the United Airlines flight Nr.175 left for Los Angeles. At 8:01 a. m. the United Airlines flight Nr.93 headed from Newark to San Francisco. At 8:10 a. m. the American Airlines flight Nr.77 departed from Dulles airport and was flying to Los Angeles. The terrorists steered the airplanes towards Manhattan and Washington. The flight 11 crashed into the North tower of the World Trade Center in New York at 8:45 a. m. The flight 175 crashed into the South tower at 9:05 a. m. Within an hour and 42 minutes both towers collapsed. The flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the U. S. defence, at 9:38 a. m. The flight 93 was steered toward Washington but thanks to the courageous passengers who tried to overpower the hijackers it crashed into a field near Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania at 10:10 a. m. Other buildings in the World Trade Center complex were damaged including 7 World Trade Center that collapsed at 5:21 p. m. There were the mayor's command post and the Secret Service field office in this building.

On the day of September 11 people had no idea what had exactly happened, and who was responsible for the attacks. They were scared and they did not know if they were safe, if the attacks were over or if it was the beginning of a war. The headlines in newspapers read "Terror, U.S. Attacked, Assault on America, 9/11 – The day the world changed". These headlines did not help the panic. The next reaction was to mourn and grieve over the loss of the thousands of people. Then the anger came and the Americans wanted the people responsible for the attacks dead. The positive thing of all that fear and anger was the way Americans got together and helped each other. Most people wanted the answers. Who did it and why. And more than 16 years after the attacks, people still do not know the whole truth. In my thesis I would like to present several versions how the attacks happened and who could have been responsible for those acts. I believe that the American government was covering a lot of information from the public and that there were reasons why they let September 11 happen.

1. The Minutes after the Attacks

After the aircraft had struck the World Trade Center, the Counterterrorism Security Group with Richard A. Clark in the lead was mobilized. The CSG evacuated the White House. The President visited a kindergarten in Florida at that time and he needed to be moved to a secret and safe place. Condoleeza Rice, as National Security Advisor, chaired the Principals Committee. The Principals Committee consisted of the Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defence, the CIA Director and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. The administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration Jane Garvey announced that the two aircrafts that hit the World Trade Center were American flights 11, 767, and United 175, also 767- all hijacked. Eleven aircrafts were reported to be out of communications, maybe hijacked. Simultaneous attacks on America overseas were expected so the embassies had to be closed. The Air Force got the authorization to shoot down any aircraft that looked suspicious or might have attacked and caused major casualties.

It was announced that there had been an explosion in the Pentagon. According to the first news from the Reuters agency," the Pentagon was hit by a helicopter that exploded." (Meyssan, 2002, p. 10) After a few minutes this information was corrected that it was a plane. Only a part of the Pentagon was damaged. Also the Pentagon got the permission from the President to shoot down hostile aircrafts. COG – Continuity of Government – program from the Cold War was initiated. During the periods of the national emergency the administration officials were relocated to various places.

All bridges and tunnels leading into Manhattan were closed by the Port Authority and all landmark buildings around the country like the Sears Tower, Disney World, the Liberty Bell, and the Trans America Building in San Francisco were ordered to evacuate. Dale Watson, the counterterrorism chief at FBI, gave Dick Clarke the information that "there were Al-Qaeda operatives on board of the aircrafts." (Clarke, 2004, p. 13) After the flight 93 crashed outside Pittsburgh, the borders were closed and the ports were sealed. Mortuary units were sent to Manhattan. A global alert, DEFCON 3, was announced. That had not happened since the Arab-Israel War in 1993.

President George W. Bush made a statement: "Make no mistake. The United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts." (Clarke, 2004, p. 16)

The President was the only one in the air. FAA landed more than four thousand aircrafts. The flights from Europe were diverted to tiny Canadian fields and the Canadians offered their homes to strangers to stay.

The CIA Director George Tenet was sure that Al-Qaeda was behind these attacks. Rich Armitage, the Deputy Secretary of State, responded "We told the Taliban that if this happened, there is no difference between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. They both go down" (Clarke, 2004, p. 23) The Taliban was the radical Muslim group controlling Afghanistan. Just before 7:00 p. m. the President addressed the nation from the Oval Office. "We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbour them." (Clarke, 2004, p. 23) The President asked Richard Clarke to prevent other possible attacks. When the Secretary Donald Rumsfeld noted that the international law allowed the use of force only to prevent future attack and not for retribution, President George W. Bush replied that he did not care what the international lawyers said. "We are going to kick some ass." (Clarke, 2004, p. 24) President George W. Bush had learned that some of the hijackers were people from Al-Qaeda and that they were in the USA. CIA apparently knew about them. They did not inform FBI about it for a long time. When FBI did find out, they were not able to find them.

President George W. Bush wanted the banks, the stock market, everything opened the next day so the economy would not suffer. The weeks that followed the attacks were filled with meetings. People found out the reason why the United Airlines flight had crashed in Pennsylvania. The heroic passengers had fought and died, and since the White House was one of the possible targets for terrorists, they probably saved lives of many people.

2. Before 9/11 - America and the Islamic World

What brought us to the September 11 and today's war on terrorism and Iraq did not start with Bill Clinton or George W. Bush. It had started with Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush. Every action is followed by a reaction. Every decision that people make influences others. And that is especially true for presidents.

During the Cold War Ronald Reagan wanted to put the Soviet Union off balance by inserting U. S. Military in new regions. Before 1979, there was hardly any American military presence in the Indian Ocean or Persian Gulf.

After the 1974 Arab Oil Embargo against US, it was clear to Washington how important the resources of oil in Persian Gulf were. Iran, America's greatest ally in the Persian Gulf, was violently overthrown by a radical Islamic group in 1979 and became an Islamic Republic with the Supreme Leader of the country Ayatollah Khomeini. As stated in The History Guy "A group of Iranian students belonging to the Muslim supporters of the Iranian revolution took over the U. S. Embassy in Tehran and held fifty two American diplomats and citizen hostage for over a year in 1979." (The History Guy: Iran-U. S. Hostage Crisis 1979-1981. Web Historyguy.com)

The Iran-Iraq War lasted from 1980 to 1988. Saddam Hussein, a new President in Iraq attacked Iran to enlarge Iraq's petroleum reserves and to make Iraq the region's superpower. He wanted to take advantage of the weakness of the new revolutionary government to seize the country. Reagan's administration decided that Saddam Hussein should not be allowed to be defeated by a radical Islamist, anti-American regime in Tehran. In 1982, Iraq was removed from the list of nations that sponsored terrorism. In 1983, a presidential envoy led by Donald Rumsfeld was sent to Baghdad to support Saddam Hussein. The Iraqis could use the U. S. satellites and could prepare well for the Iranian attacks. The United States resumed full diplomatic relations with Iraq. Although the U. S. never sold arms to Iraq, the Saudis and Egyptians did. Some of the bombs that the Saudis had were from the USA. The governments were threatened with sanctions from the USA not to sell arms to Iran. The Iran-Iraq War continued with attacks on oil tankers until 1986. Iraq shifted its products to neutral Kuwaiti tankers to protect the oil. The USA proposed that the Kuwaiti tankers would be registered and the names changed so they would become American ships under the protection of the United States Navy. The Iranians were defeated by Saddam Hussein with the American help.

The United States had a growing military presence in the Middle East from the 1980's. Ronald Reagan allowed the U. S. military to operate against any Soviet threat into the Mediterranean or Persian Gulf. He also built new relations with Israel by proposing the "Strategic Cooperation", which was a military alliance. Some Arab radicals recruited

terrorists to their anti-American matters because of the closer relationship between the U. S. and Israel.

2. 1. Afghanistan

By invading Afghanistan in 1979, the Soviet Red Army moved south in the direction of the Persian Gulf. The Soviets started to build a strategic bomber base in Afghanistan. What if the Soviet bombers attacked U. S. Naval forces in the Indian Ocean? According to analyses that were made, this war would place a serious burden on Soviet economy. First fighting showed the weaknesses of the Red Army. However they gained control thanks to the heavily armed helicopters, which had devastating effects. The USA helped Afghanistan by sending Stingers, a man-portable air-defence system that operates as an infrared homing surface-to-air missile. CIA provided the Stingers to the rebels, which was controversial since CIA had been operating with the pretence that the USA were not involved in the war directly.

The USA also helped by training mujahedeens. During 1980's and 1990's, the volunteers from the Muslim world were trained in Pakistan by the best western instructors used in the fights against the Red Army. They were called Afghan Arabs. For some of them it was the only reason to get away from their own country, where they could have been arrested as terrorists. Fighting in the holy war against the Soviets would pardon what they had done before, according to the Muslim world. A mujahedeen would become a hero. According to R. Jacquard (2001) "The irony is that those were the same fighters that later led the war against the West" (p. 79). The USA supported jihad also financially. In his book Richard Clarke (2004) stated: "The overall covert action program cost about 600 million dollars in 1987"(p. 50). The funds bought material was given to Afghan fighters mostly by Pakistan's intelligence service. The Soviets agreed to withdraw from Afghanistan in 1988. A few months later, the military ruler of Pakistan died in an unexplained aircraft crash. Was America right to have armed the Afghans and to involve the Saudis? There are many who believe that these were mistaken Cold War policies that laid the seeds of Al-Qaeda.

According to Richard A. Clarke, the U. S. made four mistakes during Reagan's administration. First, CIA became dependent on the Pakistani intelligence service to help the Afghans. Next mistake was to engage the Saudis, Egyptians, and other Arab states in fighting against the Soviets. They did not consider who these people were or what would happen to

them after the Soviets left. Prince Turki, the Saudi intelligence chief, empowered the son of a man from a wealthy construction family, Usama bin Laden, to recruit and train the Arab volunteers in Afghanistan. Many of them were misfits in their own societies and many had connections to the Muslim Brotherhood. Many of them later became part of the Al-Qaeda terrorist group. Third, America quickly left Afghanistan, leaving the country to its own fate. The refugees went from Afghanistan to Pakistan. The Pakistani intelligence used the Taliban, a new religious fraction, to bring order to the country. The Taliban also used the Arab Afghan War veterans who formed Al-Qaeda to fight for them. Fourth, the U. S. did not help Pakistan to deal with mix of millions of Afghan refugees and the wealthy and fanatic Arabs who came to Pakistan and stayed. Instead, the U. S. cut aid to the country because of the nuclear threat. After the Soviet Union defeat some Afghans and some Arab fighters wondered what they could do with money, Koran, and a few good weapons. They could even overthrow a government and destroy a superpower like they had done with the Soviets in Afghanistan. They could attack and destroy the USA.

2. 2. Iraq

In 1990 Iraq was intimidating Kuwait to affect oil prices and soon after Iraq invaded Kuwait. President George H. W. Bush was hesitant about how America should react. Richard Clarke (2004) states in his book that "Saddam Hussein would think that he could get away with seizing Kuwait and also the Saudi's eastern oil fields if America did nothing in response" (p. 57). They would control most of the world's available oil if that happened. So George H. W. Bush decided to defend the Saudi oil fields. If Iraq and Kuwait were just two poor countries in the Middle East without oil being sold to the USA, would America be so keen on solving their problems by sending their men to fight there? One of the possible reasons why the terrorists attacked America is their military interference in the Middle East.

He needed to persuade the Saudi King to accept U. S. forces in Saudi Arabia. The mission was given to the Defence Secretary Dick Cheney. President George H. W. Bush promised the king that the U. S. forces would leave as soon as the threat was over or whenever the king would order them to leave. What the Americans did not know was that the intelligence chief, Prince Turki, had been approached by Usama bin Laden at that time. "He offered help to drive Saddam out of Kuwait and to defend Saudi Arabia" (Clarke, 2004, p. 59). But his help was not necessary. Instead, the king asked the U. S. President to send his

army. Letting infidels into the Kingdom of the Two Holy Mosques was unbelievable. It was against the beliefs of the Wahhabist branch of Islam. Bin Laden disagreed with large numbers of American military in the Kingdom. It would violate Islam. In the following months, President George H. W. Bush and Secretary Baker created a coalition of over one hundred nations. Many of them agreed to send forces to defend Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. Saddam Hussein did not want to leave Kuwait so the U. S. plan changed from defending Saudi Arabia to invade Kuwait. After the ground war had started, Iraqi units began to flee Kuwait. U. S. did not plan to march on Baghdad. The Bush White House wrongly assumed that Saddam would not last. The United States should have probably continued the war with Saddam. They would have stopped the slaughter of the Shi's and the Kurds who rose up against him. Saddam massacred them with his Republican Guard and he remained in power. Iraq was required to destroy its chemical, biological, nuclear, and missile programs. It became clear that some of the American military would remain in Saudi Arabia. Saudi dissidents, among them Usama bin Laden, protested. Usama bin Laden had broken with the Saudi regime and moved in with a radical state sponsor of terrorism.

2. 3. 1993-1996: Clinton's Administration

In 1993 when Bill Clinton's administration came to office, they had to deal with the post-Cold War era problems. Terrorism was not on their agenda. Same as terrorism was not a major issue during George H. W. Bush's administration either. There was a bomb in the World Trade Center in 1993 and six people were killed and hundreds were wounded. FBI arrested Muhammad Salameh. After getting more information, FBI developed a list of the cell that had performed the bombing. One of them was Ramzi Yousef, who disappeared overseas after the attack. The investigation connected FBI to Nosair whose legal bills were ultimately paid by bin Laden.

Usama bin Laden had formed Al-Qaeda in 1990 but no one in CIA or FBI ever heard of it. Apparently they had never heard of bin Laden either. Bin Laden's name never came up as a suspect in 1993 World Trade Center attack. He appeared to be Ramzi Yousef's uncle and he appeared to be behind Yousef's mysterious money. The search for Ramzi Yousef continued in 1994. He was found in Philippines but he got away. He was planning to blow up U.S. airliners in the Pacific with bombs smuggled on board, using liquid explosives. U.S. owned airlines were told to ground the airplanes. The cabin crews searched for them but nothing was found.

Since that day there was a new policy that passengers were not allowed to carry any liquid on board. Ramzi Yousef was arrested in Pakistan by Pakistani and American officers on his way to Afghanistan. He was sent back to New York.

Since 1995 the USA cut economic ties with Iran. Clinton's administration introduced legislation to ban all trade with Iran. This ended a billion-dollar deal between Conoco and Iran. Dick Cheney, the head of Halliburton, opposed the U. S. sanctions. New gas and oil pipelines were supposed to be built without crossing the Iranian territory. The Iranian government still believed that Washington wanted to overthrow the revolutionary regime in Iran, even though the U. S. had promised not to do that as part of the agreement after releasing the embassy hostages in 1981.

Even though the American military promised to leave Saudi Arabia, the soldiers were still there in 1996, although not so many. Terrorists using a devastating truck bomb attacked the U. S. Air Force base in Khobar in June 1996, killing nineteen Americans. Before, in 1995, there was another attack on Riyadh headquarters of the U. S. military training mission, killing five Americans. After this attack, the Saudis arrested four men and executed them. After the Khobar attack the Saudis had no intention of cooperating with FBI. FBI was denied the access to the evidence and witnesses.

Three weeks after the Khobar bombing, TWA 800, a 747 from Kennedy Airport on its way to Paris blew up. There were 230 people on board. Even though there was no evidence of a criminal act, new airline security measures were developed. The passengers would be allowed on board only with a government-issued photo ID that would match the name on the ticket. In 1996 Clinton gave a speech about continuing threat of terrorism. "He requested \$1.097 billion for counterterrorism-related activities. The Congress approved the funds" (Clarke, 2004, p. 130). The Gore Commission on Aviation Safety and Security got funding for programs involving baggage screening, luggage checks, passenger screening. It would continue to be the job of the airlines which would use the low-wage staff instead of hiring the federal government staff. FBI even proposed eliminating the FAA's small Federal Air Marshal program.

2. 4. Al-Qaeda and Usama bin Laden

Since the first World Trade Center attack, 11 terrorist events happened during Clinton's administration that needed high-level attention. Neither CIA nor FBI blamed any of them on something called Al-Qaeda. Richard Clark (2004) explains what Al-Qaeda is:

Al-Qaeda is a worldwide political conspiracy masquerading as a religious sect. Its goal is a fourteenth-century-style theocracy in which women have no rights and everyone is forced to be a Muslim. They also use a global banking network and financial system to support its activities. These people are smart and their goal is to destroy the USA. (p. 218)

Usama bin Laden had to leave Saudi Arabia and he went to Sudan. The leader of the National Islamic Front was Hasan al-Turabi who dominated the government in Sudan. He welcomed Bin Laden with his money and with the Arab veterans from Afghan War. Bin Laden with Turabi plotted several projects, one of them was the overthrow of the Egyptian President Mubarak. "Saudi Arabia and Egypt were among the countries supporting to capture Bin Laden" (Bodansky, 2002, p. 182).

Bin Laden also sent arms and money to Afghan Arab veterans in Chechnya. Bosnia was predominately a Muslim province and it was a guidebook to bin Laden's network. Money, men, logistics and so called charities came with the Arabs. Identification papers, visas, jobs and funds were provided by these charities. They also arranged front companies and banking networks. Alija Izetbegovic, the Bosnian President, decided to take aid where he could. Al-Qaeda sent trained, tough fighters. "Many of the men from Bosnia were later working for Al-Qaeda" (Jacquard, 2001, p. 100). In 2002, the Bosnian police and the United States identified the Al-Qaeda cells in Bosnia.

President Bill Clinton organized several snatches to catch Usama bin Laden. In 1996 bin Laden was welcomed back to Afghanistan by Taliban. There were plans to catch bin Laden on his farm in Afghanistan but that place was so well-protected that the frontal assault did not happen. Instead, the CIA's Afghans would look for another way how to get him. There was also a plan to snatch Khalid Sheik Muhammad, uncle of Ramzi Yousef and a close associate

of bin Laden's, but he learned of the plan and left the country. Because of a merger with Egyptian Islamic Jihad and his leader Ayman Zawahiri, Al-Qaeda grew stronger in 1998.

In August 1998, American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, in East Africa, were struck almost simultaneously. In Kenya 257 people were killed and 5000 were wounded. These attacks were part of "the fatwa that Al-Qaeda had declared on the USA in 1996." (Bergen, 2001, p. 75) CIA reported that bin Laden and his top staff were planning a meeting on August 20, so Bill Clinton decided to send cruise missiles. As stated in Jacquard (2001) "Bin Laden was not killed in the raid. Al Zawahiri called to a Pakistani reporter that bin Laden was still alive" (p. 103). According to the media and many in Congress, Bill Clinton had launched a military strike to divert attention from the Monica scandal. On the same day the cruise missiles were sent into Afghanistan, President Bill Clinton signed Executive Order 13099, imposing sanctions against Usama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda.

It cost a lot of money to run everything that Al-Qaeda organized. They raised money through Islamic charities and non-governmental organizations. They also used the hawala system, an ancient underground system that offers money transfers without money movement and virtually no paper trail. CIA and FBI did very little about it. Only after 9/11 the U. S. strengthen the laws to fight money laundering and terrorist financing. President Bill Clinton stated in USA Today "I tried to take bin Laden out...the last four years I was in office." (Clarke, 2004, p. 204)

Cofer Black, the head of CIA's Counterterrorism Center, declared that he had evidence that Al-Qaeda was planning attacks around the millenium rollover in December 1999. Secretary Albright approved that the White House would secure the embassies. During a routine screening on a boat ride from British Columbia to Washington State, Ahmed Ressam behaved suspiciously and the U. S. Customs officers took him into a custody. They found explosives and a map of Los Angeles International Airport in his car. Ressam was connected to a sleeper cell of Algerian mujahedeen in Montreal. Al-Qaeda attacked a U. S. destroyer in Aden, Yemen called USS Cole and killed 17 American sailors. At that time neither CIA nor FBI would state that Al-Qaeda did it.

2. 5. George W. Bush

It is unbelievable that after all these terrorist attacks, terrorism had not been mentioned in the presidential campaign in 2000. Instead, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney talked about Iraq and the strategic energy policy. George W. Bush was elected a president in 2000 after a close and controversial win over a democratic rival Al Gore. George W. Bush won with the great help of his brother Jeb, the Governor of Florida. In his second week in the office, President George W. Bush established the National Energy Policy Development Group, directing it to "develop a national energy policy designed to help the private sector, and, as necessary and appropriate, State and local governments, promote dependable, affordable, and environmentally sound production and distribution of energy for the future." America in the year 2001 faces the most serious energy shortage since the oil embargoes of the 1970 (Report of the National Energy Policy Development Group, May 2001)

George W. Bush made his personal wealth from selling stocks of Harken Energy
Corporation while being a member of the company's board of directors. He sold stocks
shortly before the company announced substantial loss, which resulted in an investigation of
probable insider trading. Surprisingly in 1990 Bahrain awarded exclusive offshore drilling
rights to Harken Oil, a small company which had never drilled outside Texas but whose
director was the son of the US President. A. Thompson in his article *George W. Bush and Harken Oil – Recovered History* mentions: "The Financial Crimes Enforcement Network and
FBI were reviewing accusation that the entrepreneur James R. Bath guided money to Houston
from Saudi investors who wanted to influence US policy under Reagan and Bush's
administrations." In sworn depositions, Bath said that "he represented four prominent Saudis
as a trustee and that he would use his name on their investments." In return, he said, "he
would receive a 5 percent interest in their deals." The tax documents and personal financial
records showed that Bath personally had a 5 percent interest in Arbusto '79 Ltd., and Arbusto
'80 Ltd., both limited partnerships controlled by George W. Bush. By the way Arbusto means
bush in Spanish.

According to the 1976 trust agreement, drawn shortly after George H. W. Bush was appointed director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Saudi Sheik Salem M. Bin Laden appointed Bath as his business representative in Houston. Bin Laden, along with his brothers,

owned BinLaden Brothers Construction at that time, one of the largest construction companies in the Middle East.

After the Harken debacle, George W. Bush got the position on the board of a company owned by the Carlyle group. It is a multinational conglomerate that invests in telecommunications, healthcare and particularly defence. Both George W. Bush and George H. W. Bush worked for the Carlyle company, the company that accounted the bin Laden family among their investors. There seemed to be a close business relationship between the Bush and the Saudi families.

The Principals Committee meeting on Al-Qaeda that Richard Clarke called for urgently from January, finally met on September 4, 2001 but Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz were concerned mostly about the terrorists from Iraq, even though there was no actual threat from them. Even though CIA knew that two known Al-Qaeda terrorists had come into the United States in summer 2001 and FBI got the information that some strange things had been going on at flight schools in the United States, no one really paid much attention to it. How is it possible that Khalid Sheikh Mohamed, the main person behind the attacks of September 11, a man who, in 1994, worked with his nephew Ramzi Yousef on the Bojinka plot, a plot to destroy twelve commercial airliners flying routes between the United States and Asia, a man who was on the FBI list of the most wanted terrorists, was able to legally enter the USA? "He got visas in July 2001 and he was also able to get the American visas for others on the embassy in Saudi Arabia. " (Babáček, 2010, p. 49-56) CIA was informed about other terrorists from Al-Qaeda, Chalid al-Midhar or Salem al-Hazmi, that they had applied for the American visa, but did nothing to stop them. Mohamed Atta was allowed to the USA in spite of the fact that he overstayed his previous visit in the USA. Many foreign agencies also informed the USA about the planned attacks. Just a month before the attacks, on August 6, the warnings that Al-Qaeda soldiers had infiltrated the United States, and seemed interested in hijacking a plane, were delivered to the President under the headline, "Bin Laden Determined to Strike in the U. S." (Dwyer & Flynn, 2005)

3. The History of the World Trade Center

The idea to build the trade center came from the ambitions of the Rockefeller brothers David and Nelson in the 1960s. They were members of a wealthy family powerful in politics and finance. The Port of New York Authority, an agency that had access to mighty streams of cash, got the job of building the trade center. This agency was under the control of the governors of New York and New Jersey and it operated many of the toll bridges and tunnels in the region. Nelson Rockefeller was then the governor of New York. As originally intended, the complex would have 5 million square feet of office space. It would spread across 13, 5 acres on the east side of Manhattan near the Brooklyn Bridge. The area would increase from 13, 5 to 16 acres when the Port Authority moved the site to the west, closer to the Hudson and above a commuter rail terminal. This rail terminal served New Jersey, which controlled the Port Authority. "The project doubled to 10 million square feet and the Port Authority decided it would include the world's tallest building, not one but two." (Dwyer & Flynn, 2005, p. 103, 104)

It would be built according to the city code from 1938 as the Port Authority decided in 1963. It is very likely that a very different world trade center would have been built, had that code actually been used. Mayor Robert F. Wagner selected the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute to renovate the code in April 1962. The 1938 code did not include the improvements in technology, particularly the availability of lightweight materials. The city officials revealed the draft code. Although the new code was still only in a draft form, the executive director of the Port Authority, Austin J. Tobin, decided that the World Trade Center would be built according to the new code. The trade center would be much cheaper to build. The old code required specific bricks and masonry. The new code would require that the wall had to resist flames for a specified number of hours. Three hours should the columns in high buildings stand against fire. The fire towers, which were stairwells running the height of the building and were accessed through a vestibule, disappeared. They functioned as an air lock to keep smoke out. The number of stairways was lowered from six to three. "The minimum fire resistance for walls around the shafts was reduced from three to two hours according to a new code." (Dwyer & Flynn, 2005, p. 105-109)

Many years earlier, even before the towers were built, the concerns of a plane striking one of the towers had been anticipated by people who opposed their construction. They ran an advertisement in The New York Times with an illustration of an airplane striking the north part of the north tower. The Port Authority responded that according to its engineer's calculations and computer simulations the building itself would stand and the destruction would wreak across seven floors. The trade center opened in 1993. There was the largest collection of government offices inside the towers.

The private developer Larry Silverstein signed the lease of the entire trade center in the weeks before September 11. Larry Silverstein, a real estate, bought a number of large office buildings in Midtown and Lower Manhattan in the late 1970s. Silverstein won a bid from the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey to construct 7 World Trade Center, to the north of the World Trade Center site in 1980. Silverstein was interested in obtaining the entire World Trade Center complex. He put in a bid when the Port Authority put it up for lease in 2000. New York was suffering from the effects of the stock market crash in 1987 and it led to high vacancy rates at the World Trade Center. George Pataki, Governor of New York since 1995, decided to privatize the World Trade Center. Goldberger (2004) mentions "A sale of this property was considered too complex so the Port Authority decided to open a 99-year lease for competitive bidding" (p. 28).

When the initial winner Vornado Realty withdrew from the bidding, Larry Silverstein via Silverstein Properties won the bidding and he signed the lease on July 24, 2001. This was the first time that the complex had changed management in the building's 31-year history. This lease agreement applied to One, Two, Four and Five World Trade Center and it gave Silverstein, as leaseholder, the right to rebuild the structures if destroyed. Silverstein said that he usually spent his mornings in the restaurant Windows on the World. However, on the morning of September 11, he had a medical appointment with his dermatologist and he escaped almost certain death. (Silverstein Properties, New York Observer)

Soon after the September 11 attacks Silverstein declared his intent to rebuild the buildings. There was a prolonged dispute between Larry Silverstein and the insurers that went on for several years over the amount of coverage available for rebuilding the World Trade Center and whether the attacks had constituted one event or two under the terms of the

insurance policy. "A settlement was reached and the insurers agreed to pay out \$4.55 billion in 2007." (Litigation settled, 2007) Silverstein also ran into multiple disputes with the Port Authority. They reached an agreement in 2006 and Silverstein retained rights to build three office towers, while One World Trade Center, and Tower Five would be owned by the Port Authority.

4. The Day of September 11

The north tower of the World Trade Center was hit by the flight 11 at the speed of 450 miles per hour, having travelled the full length of Manhattan Island, fourteen miles from north to south, in less than two minutes. The pieces of the plane erupted from the opposite side where the plane had entered. A part of the landing gear fell five blocks south and the jet fuel ignited and thundered across the sky. The fuselage of the flight 11 had entered between the floors 95th and 97th. Because the aircraft had banked, the tip of its right wing cut into the 99th floor. Smoke got into the top of the building. Each floor was designed as a fire-tight compartment able to compress an outpouring of flames and smoke. That fire containment was obviously not working. The 911 system would record some 3000 calls during the first ten minutes after the crash. Many of them were from people on the upper floors of the north tower. They would report the explosion. The stairs were destroyed, blocked with rubble, or filled with smoke or fire. It was impossible for sprinklers to suppress the flames. The people in the north tower were certain that the tower would endure the crash since the towers were built to survive a hurricane of 140 miles per hour. The impact of the jetliner was easily absorbed by the building. The building was held up by the pinstripe columns that gave the towers their distinctive look. The columns stood in the central core.

Lloyd Thompson, the deputy fire safety director for the north tower wanted to order an immediate evacuation of the building but the plane had destroyed the building's public-address system. There was no water pressure upstairs for drinking, putting out fires, or dampening cloths because the plane had severed the pipes. People were falling from the building minutes after the crash. The complex's police desk was located in 5 World Trade Center. Pfeifer, the battalion chief, was the first fire commander to arrive at the scene. He got there at 8:50 a. m., just four minutes after the plane hit. He informed the dispatchers and they

sent nineteen fire trucks to the building. Jules Naudet, the filmmaker, had been making a documentary for months about the progress of a rookie firefighter as he grew into the job. Now he recorded the first arrivals of the rescue teams. It would later become the largest rescue operation in New York City history. More than 1000 firefighters reported to help. They decided they would concentrate on helping people evacuate and not extinguish the fire without water. They did not know where the fire was. The airplane crash into the building badly damaged the fire-detection system. Almost all of the 99 elevators in the building were out of order and many were stuck between floors with people trapped inside.

It would take hours for the firemen to get upstairs without elevators. The firefighters had to carry a weight of twenty-nine and a half pounds of their coats, pants, boots and helmets and additional twenty-seven pounds of heavy masks and oxygen tanks. Some of them carried hoses, extinguishers, hooks, axes and the Halligan tools. The operators for the 911 system were giving callers the instructions to stay put and that the firemen were coming to get them. Earlier in 2001, the Fire Department had also distributed new handheld radios, the Motorola XTS3500R, that would work better in multiple layers of concrete and steel at high-rises. Because of many complaints, the new radios were taken out of service. So on September 11, many of the firefighters used the old radios.

A Level 4 mobilization, the police department's highest state of alert was issued. About 1000 officers would be responding. Most of them were given assignments outside the buildings. The ESU cops were sent inside the building. They would work under Fire Department direction. The Police and Fire Departments ran completely independent rescue operations. They did not train together, they could not talk to each other by radio because their frequencies did not match and they did not share equipment. "The police helicopters lifted off without any firefighters. In the eight years after the 1993 attack, the city did not organize a single cooperative drill involving all the emergency units at the trade center." (Dwyer & Flynn, 2005)

The emergency agencies had to evacuate its own offices from 7 World Trade Center only minutes after the flight 11 hit the north tower. 7 World Trade Center was a forty-seven-story building at the northern edge of the complex and a 13 million dollars emergency bunker. The bunker had been conceived a few years earlier. It was a place where emergency officials and Mayor Giuliani could supervise during crisis. According to some experts and politicians, the

location was not wise because the trade center had a status as a terrorist target. Now the agencies had to reposition to a special command bus prepared as a backup headquarters.

When the north tower was hit, people from the south tower started to evacuate the building. Some of them were sent back to their offices by the guards that told them that this building was secure. Some people decided to take the rest of the day off. The firefighters trusted the building itself to protect the tenants. To remain on the floor that was free of fire and smoke posed less hazard than evacuation. All the technical literature on high-rise fires recommended that people should remain in their places. The World Trade Center was not constructed for total evacuation. Only people who were on the same floor as the fire, or on the floor directly above it, should be evacuated.

The national association of code officers and the insurance industry's fire-safety group suggested in the months before September 11 that the stairways actually could be made narrower than some codes required. The stairs were not rentable space so by squeezing a few inches out of them, the developers could add several thousands of rentable square feet. Tall buildings need to be capable of putting any fire out. Flames must be stopped by the fireproofing. The steel structure of the building must be protected from the effects of fire for at least two hours, the floors, for three hours. The engineers and architects working for the Port Authority in the 1960's did not know if the inventive floors would survive a fire. The floors were thin, lightweight webs of steel built into the trusses. No one had experience in fireproofing those webbed trusses. The Port Authority had no records of any tests to determine if the lightweight structural steel was adequately protected, the assurance the city code required. The federal investigation found no evidence that such tests were done. Neither in 1966, when the buildings were being planned, nor in 1975, when the tower's structural engineering firm demanded it. Frank Lombardi, who had become the agency's chief engineer had ordered that the density of the fireproofing would be tripled by 1999. They would increase it from a half inch of coating to an inch and a half. The Port Authority would pick up the cost, about 1 million per floor and the work would be done only as tenants renovated their floors. However, the federal investigation in 2003 found that the adequacy of the new fireproofing had not been tested.

The people in the south tower got very different instructions whether to evacuate or not, depending on which police officer answered the phone. Some told them to stay, some told

them to leave. Nine minutes after the flight 11 had struck the north tower, a voice from the public address system announced that they should return to their offices in order to preserve the stairs and lobbies for the rescuers and for the people in immediate danger.

The commander of the Port Authority police, Capt. Anthony Whitaker, had ordered to evacuate both buildings around 9:00 a. m. Whitaker would take the full responsibility for a complete evacuation. Five other buildings in the complex were also closed down. To close the trade center was not something that anyone would order casually. Around 9:00 a. m. the fuel on the flight 11, some 10,000 gallons, had ignited into giant fireballs in the north tower. The gaping holes were now where the elevators had been before. At least two of the three stairways were in flames or filled with smoke. The stairway C, the one farthest south, was the best route to get out. Between 25 and 40 people used this way to escape through the stairwell.

At 9:02 a. m. in the south tower on the 81st floor, Stanley Praimnath looked out of the window and saw an airplane approaching. He could see the letter U and the red and blue markings. It was the United Airlines Flight 175. It plunged through the south tower of the World Trade Center. Since the plane had banked slightly at the last second, its wingspan run diagonally across nine floors, from 77th through 85th. The wing of the jet was crammed into the door, twenty feet from Praimnath. He was hidden beneath his desk, still alive. The plane's speed, when it struck the building, was 545 miles per hour and the building was pitching from side to side. Many stairwell doors were locked. Only every fourth floor had an unlocked reentry door according to the building code.

The Port Authority had spent 2.1 million on emergency lighting since 1993. The exit signs were lit by light-emitting diodes. In the south tower only one single stairway remained open, but only a few people knew about it. In both towers, the people had nowhere to go but up to the higher floors above the crash. The Port Authority's plan for escaping fire in the towers did not include roof rescues. Some people went up to the roof anyway but they found the doors locked. The roof doors were being locked for decades by the Port Authority against vandals, daredevils and suicides. The city building code required that people could get onto roofs during an emergency. However, the trade center, was exempted from the code.

At 9:15 a.m. in the North tower Frank De Martini, a construction manager, was delivering a warning that the express elevators could be in danger of falling. In January 2001,

Frank De Martini was interviewed for the History Channel documentary about the towers. "The building was designed to have a fully loaded 707 crash into it" he said. "That was the largest plane at the time" (Dwyer & Flynn, 2005, p. 149)

In 1854, Elisha Graves Otis had invented the automatic safety braking system for the elevators. (Glanz, Lipton, 2003, p. 22) Engineers developed multiple elaborations of Otis principle over the years. The elevators at the trade center had these features naturally incorporated in them. Even though the elevators were equipped with sensors that were designed to return elevator cars to their lowest floor and open the doors, the cars returned to their original floors, but in most cases, the doors did not open. Other elevators stopped in blind shafts. Eighty elevator mechanics worked for the two buildings, but all of them left the trade center after the second plane hit. When the situation stabilized, they planned to come back. "It had taken nearly half an hour for a squad of strong men, with access to a toolbox, to open just one stuck elevator." (Dwyer & Flynn, 2005, p. 154-162)

4. 1. The Evacuation

Many people were directed to the nearby Marriott Hotel and some evacuees were sent to the underground shopping mall that stretched two blocks under the plaza of the trade center. Soon after the planes had hit, most of the seventy-five stores closed. Due to the disclosures from the 1993 bombing, many stores and restaurants were demolished and turned into corridors that enabled people to get out. These improvements cost 34 million. (Dwyer & Flynn, 2005, p. 173) The evacuation was nearly complete in each of the towers, at least on the floors below where the planes had hit. Most of the middle floors were empty. The firefighters were mostly alone on the stairs as they made their way past the 30th floor.

Just before 9:30 a. m., there was a report that a third plane was approaching. The airspace around New York had already been closed to civilian traffic by the federal aviation officials. But thousands of planes were still in the air across the country. Air-traffic-control officials knew as much about the attacks as anyone watching television. The controllers at La Guardia Airport had continued to send out flights until 9:07 a. m., unaware of the hijackings. It was nearly an hour after the first plane had been hijacked and five minutes after the second plane had struck the south tower. The pilots in helicopters were informed that the incoming aircraft

was most likely a military jet, ready to protect the skies over New York. They evacuated 7 World Trade Center, because of worries that the third plane was destined for New York.

An engineer from the Department of Buildings informed that the structural damage seemed to be enormous and that the stability of both buildings was compromised. By 9:30 a. m. fewer than 1,000 of the workers from the south tower had not yet left the building, according to the evidence. 600 of these would never leave. 200 were already killed when the plane hit.

Even though Pete Ganci, the Fire Department chief, knew well that skyscrapers do not collapse from less than an hour of fire, he could see the south tower collapsing at 9:59 a. m. The scientists would later describe the burst of power as equal to 1 percent of a nuclear bomb. The waves were captured on a seismograph in Lisbon, New Hampshire, 265 miles distant. 131 feet travelled the blast of air from the south tower into the lobby of the north tower and then erupted through the passageways across the complex. But hardly any civilians or rescuers in the north tower realized that the other building had fallen. What was not even widely known inside the towers was the fact that the buildings had been struck by a commercial aircraft. All of the NYPD emergency service officers were ordered to get out of Building 1.Marriott Hotel that lay between the two big towers cleaved in from top to bottom because of the collapse of the south tower. The reinforced beams that had been installed after the 1993 bombing turned out a part of the lobby into a safe zone during the collapse.

Nearly all of the 6,000 civilians below the impact zone had left the north tower before its collapse. Approximately 200 firefighters died in the north tower when helping the civilians. Federal investigators determined that it had been primarily the impact of the planes and the extreme fire that had caused the buildings to fall. And that it was not due to a "design" flaw. No one had fully considered the effects of a plane crash, when the buildings were being designed in the 1960s, particularly the loss of fireproofing followed by intense fire. No one had done any tests to determine how long the spray-on fireproofing could protect the floor system that connected the building's core to the external. Long, unsupported trusses held up those floors. The fireproofing was tested only in summer 2004. 2,749 people died at the trade center. 7 World Trade Center collapsed at 5:20 p. m. with no one inside.

4. 2. The Pentagon

According to the Reuters news agency, that was first on the scene, the Pentagon has been hit by a helicopter explosion. The DOD corrects the information several minutes later that it was an airplane. The Secretary himself, Donald Rumsfeld, left his office and went to help the victims. The section of the Pentagon that was hit collapsed at around 10:10 a. m. In order not to interfere with the rescuers, the press was kept away from the drama scene. It was a shock for everyone that the most powerful army in the world could not protect its own headquarters.

The local air-traffic controllers had reported the hijacking of a plane to FAA headquarters. Most of the national officials had gone to Canada for a professional conference. The officials on duty thought that they were receiving yet another notification about the second plane hijacked to New York. Only after half an hour they realized that the report was about a third hijacked plane and they informed military authorities. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Richard Myers, when questioned on September 13 by the Senate Armed Forces Committee, was not capable of reporting the actions which had been taken to stop the Boeing. NORAD issued a communique the next day that they had been informed of the hijacking at around 9:24 a. m. and that they ordered two F-16 fighters from Langley in Virginia to intercept the Boeing. But the fighters were sent north to New York since the position of the Boeing was apparently not known. Is it really believable that US military's radar system was incapable of locating a Boeing within only a few miles of radius and that the anti-aircraft defense system in the Pentagon let the Boeing approach the Pentagon?

According to the official version, it struck the façade at the ground level even though it was much easier and it would make more damage to hit it from the top. Its nose and fuselage were supposed to have entered the building. Perhaps both wings burned outdoors, while the fuselage fragmented inside. The fuel stored in the wings burned just long enough to start a fire in the building. Then it was transformed to a puddle which moved itself to the spot where the plane's nose supposedly came to a halt. "But the facts remain that 125 passengers died at the Pentagon and that an airplane carrying 64 passengers disappeared." (Meyssan, 2002, p. 21) The wingspan of a Boeing is at least 38 meters but the façade of the Pentagon was damaged along 19 meters. According to the DOD, the entire plane was consumed by the fire, which would defy the laws of physics if the fire was caused by the jet fuel. Looking closely at the photographs of the section that was hit by the plane, some questions arise. Why did it

make such a small hole and what happened to the wings? Also the fragments from the plane should have been scattered over the area outside the Pentagon but they were not there.

5. The Investigation

Thierry Meyssan in his book "The Big Lie" tries to prove that the planes that hit the WTC towers were probably guided to their targets by radio signals from inside the towers and that the buildings could not fall only from the explosions of the planes' fuel but also because dynamites were placed inside the towers. How could the planes hit their targets with such accuracy? If the jet fuel caused both buildings to collapse, how was it possible for the south tower to collapse 30 minutes ahead of the north tower, given that the north tower was struck 20 minutes before the south tower? His theory is supported by comments from pilots, engineers and other specialists. Also 7 World Trade Center collapsed in just 8 seconds, not hit by any plane or significantly damaged by the twin towers earlier collapse. The videos show similar features with a controlled demolition. According to some people, there was a secret CIA base inside the 7 WTC. Also someone initiated an email warning to the occupants of the offices in the towers two hours before the attacks. Apparently there were less occupants in the twin towers that day.

According to President Bush's own statement, he saw the first airplane hit the North tower while sitting outside the class of a school in Florida. It must have been secret images transmitted to him without a delay in the secure communications room. How could he watch this if it was a surprise attack? How could the US intelligence services have filmed the first attack without knowing about it? And after the first hit, what actions were taken by the President? He went inside the classroom to lecture the kids. Later, Andy Card his Chief of Staff, whispered to him that the second tower was hit as well.

According to the Presidential spokesman Ari Fleischer, the secret service was informed by the attackers that they were planning to destroy the White House and Air Force One. The New York Times claimed that the attackers proved the credibility of their call by using the

Presidential identification and the transmission codes. On September 11, at 9:42 a. m., ABC broadcasted live images of the fire break in the White House.

Within days FBI and other intelligence and security agencies presented a list of 19 possible hijackers. The leader of the operation Muhammad Atta left his suitcase full of clues in the transit between the two connecting flights. In his bag they found training videos on piloting Boeing aircraft, a book of Islamic prayers and an old letter in which he announces his intentions to die as a martyr. They also found his passport in the smoking ruins of WTC intact. Why would Muhammad Atta take baggage when he was about to commit a suicide? None of the four black boxes of hijacked aircrafts were found but FBI was lucky enough to discover Muhammad Atta's passport in the debris of WTC. Although all the US agencies were unable to prevent the terrorists from committing this crime in years, they were somehow able to put things together within hours and determine with certainty that these terrorist attacks were conducted by Usama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda network. The 19 hijackers were all Arab-Muslims at the age of 25-35. None of the hijacker's names were on the list of the victims published by the airline companies on September 13 and five of them were found alive in their own countries later on.

Interestingly enough, the stock exchange was extremely busy in the weeks ahead of the attacks. It involved an insider trading targeting all the airline companies with the planes hijacked on that day. Also the companies which had offices in the WTC buildings and the insurance companies involved in the post 9/11 claims. The Securities and Exchange Commission of Chicago raised an alert after noticing this. Apparently they found out that someone collected \$5 million from trading United Airlines stocks. It probably prevented the insiders from collecting another 2.5 million USD on their deals. Since Usama Bin Laden's money were frozen by the USA, it is very unlikely that he could have been behind these money transfers. The money transactions were made by Deutsche Bank and an American firm Alex Brown. The head of this firm is A. B. Krongard, who worked for CIA since March 2001. FBI should have tracked down the insider financial dealers but they never did. The head of FBI was Robert Mueller III., who was assigned to this position by the President just in the week of September 11.

One of the benefactors from September 11 was the Carlyle group, mentioned previously. Interesting thing is that the Carlyle's 2001 investor conference took place on September 11 in

Washington and it was reported that a member of Bin Laden's family, Shafig, was present together with George H. W. Bush and George Mayor. "Since this company invested money in defense and military, they earned the profit of 237 million in a single day after a month from the attacks." (Fahrenheit 9/11, 2004) The military budget increased and over the five years it would represent more than two trillion dollars. George W. Bush condemned the ABM Treaty, which fixed limits to the weapons development.

The United States government evacuated 142 Saudis including 24 members of the bin Laden family shortly after the attacks, without subjecting them to any form of interrogation, and at the time when all other flights were forbidden. Also George W. Bush invited Saudi Prince Bandar for a private dinner in the White House two days after the attacks even though Usama bin Laden, blamed for the attacks, was a Saudi and fifteen out of nineteen hijackers were also Saudis.

6. The Days after the Attacks

The police officers and firefighters had saved the lives of 25,000 people. The mayor Rudy Giuliani created a special charitable fund for the city rescuer's families and later extended it to include Port Authority police officers. 216 million was poured into it by a grateful nation.

Following the prayer by the President of the United States, at noon on 14 September, the 43 states of the Council of Europe (including Russia) and many other countries on the whole continent, observed three minutes of silence in memory of the victims of the attacks.

Congress created an independent national investigative commission more than a year after the attacks. This commission was created under the pressure from the families who lost their husbands, wives, and children, and against the wishes of President George W. Bush and Rudy Giuliani, who was no longer the mayor of New York. The commission recognised years of difficulties in the intelligence management, in the border control, in the airline security, and in the emergency response. The commission found that the threat reports were more urgent

than the government had acknowledged. And instead of dismissing the Director of CIA because of his apparent failure on 9/11, the agency funding was increased by 42%.

It was obvious after September 11 that the airline security had to be improved. George W. Bush did not want the airport security screeners run by federal employees. Instead he placed an old family friend, John McGaw, as the head of the new agency to run the security screeners.

It was also evident that the U. S. forces should be sent to Afghanistan to search for Al-Qaeda and to kill their leaders. But Bush's efforts were too slow and small. He sent only a few Special Forces to Afghanistan. After the Taliban and Al-Qaeda leaders escaped, he sent additional forces. But there were fewer U. S. troops for all of Afghanistan than the number of NYPD assigned to Manhattan. On October 7, 2001 began the U. S. military campaign against Afghanistan. There were plans to bomb the Al-Qaeda camps and Taliban military facilities that were prepared but unused since Clinton's administration. Bush's administration used these plans and bombed Afghanistan. Usama bin Laden was unscathed by the bombing and was not caught by any CIA or Special Forces. He released a videotape condemning the bombing. Only after seven weeks since the operation started, in November 25, the United States sent the Marines to the Al-Qaeda and Taliban facility near Kandahar. When the ground force units entered the city, they found neither bin Laden nor Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader. During the late-November operation the U. S. forces did not seal the border with Pakistan and did not prevent the al Qaeda leaders to escape. In March 2002, in Operation Anaconda, the U. S. ground forces had arrived to sweep the mountainous areas in Afghanistan to capture Al-Qaeda personnel. Despite two years of the U.S. forces in Afghanistan, Taliban was not eliminated. The troops were sent to Iraq.

Was the USA bombing Afghanistan only because Taliban harbored bin Laden? Could there be another reason? M. Moore in his documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11* claims that in 1997 when George W. Bush was a governor of Texas, "a delegation from Taliban flew to Texas to meet the executives from UNOCAL to discuss a building of a pipeline from Turkmenistan via Afghanistan to Pakistan, bringing natural gas from the Caspian Sea." (Fahrenheit 9/11, 2004)

6. 1. The Beneficiaries of September 11

The energy lobby benefited from the war in Afghanistan. The Pakistani President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf and the Afghan interim leader, Hamid Karzai agreed on February 9th 2002 that their two countries would develop mutual relations and cooperation on a proposed gas pipeline from Central Asia to Pakistan via Afghanistan. (Meyssan, 2002, p. 125)

Hamid Karzai was a top adviser to the El Segundo, California-based UNOCAL
Corporation which was negotiating with the Taliban to construct a Central Asia Gas pipeline
from Turkmenistan through western Afghanistan to Pakistan. Karzai was a member of the
mujahedeen that fought the Soviets during the 1980s. He maintained close relations with CIA
Director William Casey and Vice President George Bush. Later he moved to the USA and
continued to serve CIA and the Bush family. His main rival Abdul Haq was assassinated.
During the 1990s, Karzai worked with an Afghani-American, Zalmay Khalilzad, on the
CentGas project. Khalilzad worked for the Rand Corporation, a special liaison between
UNOCAL and the Taliban government and for UNOCAL. He was President Bush's Special
National Security Assistant and Special Envoy for Afghanistan. He worked on Afghan issues
under National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, a former member of the board of
Chevron. His efforts complemented those of the Enron Corporation. (Meyssan, 2002, p. 115)

The Enron Corporation was a major political contributor to Bush's campaign. Enron conducted the viability study for the CentGas deal. The Enron Corporation filed for bankruptcy in late 2001. A number of Enron stockholders, including Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, became officials in Bush's administration. Thomas White, a former Vice Chairman of Enron and a multimillionaire in Enron stock, served as the Secretary of the Army.

A chief benefactor in the CentGas deal would have been Halliburton. Halliburton was a huge oil pipeline construction firm. Dick Cheney, the former Secretary of Defense during the George H. W. Bush Presidency, was the Chairman and the CEO of Halliburton Company from 1995 to 2000. He became the Vice President during G. W. Bush administration. "Halliburton provided the Bush-Cheney campaign with large amounts of money." (Madsen, 2002)

The Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India Pipeline construction started in Turkmenistan on 13 December 2015 and the pipeline is expected to be operational by 2019. (Reuters, 2015)

6. 2. The War on Terror

Just 45 days after the September 11 attacks, Congress passed the USA PATRIOT Act. Many parts of this far-reaching legislation take away checks on law enforcement and threaten the very rights and freedoms. For example, without a warrant and without a probable cause, FBI now has the power to have access to the most private medical records, library and student records. The USA PATRIOT Act gives new law enforcement powers to federal agents. It gives CIA broad authority of spying on Americans. It empowers the Attorney General to detain a non-citizen of he believes he may be a threat to the national security. People were willing to give up some liberties to fight terrorism. "No member of the Congress actually read the Patriot act before signing it." (Fahrenheit 9/11, 2004)

With the Afghanistan war over, there was a new threat for the American people. High alert was announced, there were possible terrorist attacks expected but there was nothing specific. People were scared. President Bush stated: "The world has changed, since we are no longer safe" The anthrax attack helped people realize that there was an imminent threat from the biological weapons. And who had the biological and nuclear weapons? Saddam Hussein.

6. 3. The War in Iraq in 2003

The USA should have been improving relations with the Islamic world, but instead they invaded an oil-rich Arab country Iraq. America spent six times more money in the first year of the Iraq war that they would spend on homeland security. "The Administration chose to run up the national debt to pay for Iraq, but not to pay for what the police and fire personnel needed to defend people in the USA." (Clarke, 2004, p. 261) Iraq was on the agenda of

George W. Bush's Administration. Many people who had made the decisions in the first war with Iraq were back: Dick Cheney, Colin Powell and Paul Wolfowitz.

What they intended to do was to unseat Saddam Hussain. They wanted to finish what they failed to do during the first Bush's administration. Bush's administration also planned to improve Israel's strategic position by eliminating a large, hostile military and to create an Arab democracy that could be a model to other friendly Arab states like Egypt and Saudi Arabia. They wanted to permit the withdrawal of U. S. forces from Saudi Arabia and to create another friendly source of oil for the U. S. market.

In September 2003, only after occupying Iraq, the President clearly stated that there was "no evidence that Iraq was involved in the September 11 attacks." (Clarke, 2004) The number of U. S. troops in Iraq was too small, about 150 000, according to many military analysts. Hundreds of U. S. military personnel were killed and many others injured in the months of the Iraqi occupation partly because there were not enough U. S. military assets to see snipers and landmines. The U. S. invasion of Iraq increased the support for Al-Qaeda and radical anti-Americanism in many Muslim countries.

After the 9/11 attacks Pakistani General Musharraf ordered his agencies to help the U. S. to find any Al-Qaeda presence in the country. Khalid Sheik Muhammad and Abu Zubayda were two of Al-Qaeda's top operational managers and they were arrested during the Pakistani-American actions. "There have been far more major terrorist attacks by al Qaeda and its regional clones in the thirty months since September 11 than there were in the thirty months prior to that momentous event." (Clarke, 2004, p. 287)

Richard Clarke went from the counterterrorism to the cyber security after the September 11. Wayne Downing, the retired four-star Army general, replaced him in his position. He quit within months in frustration at the White House Administration's continued bureaucratic response to the threat. John Gordon and Randy Beers replaced him. Randy Beers also wanted to quit. He said: "Instead of going against al Qaeda they wanted to invade Iraq. There is no threat from Iraq, but 70 percent of the American people think Iraq attacked the Pentagon and the World Trade Center." (Clarke, 2004)

Since the war in Iraq was not the retaliation for September 11, could September 11 serve as an excuse to invade Iraq? Could America sacrifice almost three thousand people? It is very

much possible. Thierry Meyssan (2002) in his book *The Big Lie* mentions several proposals on Cuba codenamed Operation Northwoods. On March 13, 1962 the Joint Chiefs of Staff L. L. Lemnitzer provided the Secretary of Defense Robert Mc Namara with a document, titled "Justification for U.S. Military Intervention in Cuba". The Top Secret memorandum describes US plans to covertly cause various ploys that would justify a US invasion of Cuba. It was part of a secret anti-Castro program. It included enactment of the assassinations of Cubans living in the United States, developing a fake Cuban terror campaign in Florida and even in Washington, real or simulated sinking a boatload of Cuban refugees, faking a Cuban air force attack on a civilian jetliner, blowing up a US ship in Cuban waters and then blaming the incident on Cuban sabotage. A copy of this memorandum is enclosed in the book. (Meyssan, 2002, p. 211-215)

Also hijacking attempts of a civil aircraft were encouraged. A supposed incident that would demonstrate that a Cuban aircraft had shot down a civil airliner was suggested. It could be a group of college students off on a holiday and the aircraft would be painted and numbered as an exact duplicate for an aircraft belonging to CIA. The duplicate would be substituted for the actual civil aircraft and it would be converted to a drone. Both planes would meet and the passenger-carrying aircraft would descend and the passengers would evacuate. The drone aircraft would continue to fly and when over Cuba the drone would transmit that it is under attack by Cuban MIG aircraft. The Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara refused this plan but he kept a copy of this document. Also President John F. Kennedy opposed the politics of L. L. Lemnitzer and his people.

Susan Lindauer, a former CIA asset and an expert on Middle East affairs, wrote a book *Extreme Prejudice* where she explains situation around September 11. She was summoned to her CIA handler's office in Great Falls, Virginia, in April 2001 to give a message to Iraqi diplomats. The message demanded that if Baghdad possessed any kind of information involving airplane hijackings and took no action to warn the USA, they would later face military reprisal. She was instructed to warn Baghdad by the CIA Director Dr. Fuisz but he told her that those "threats of War did not come from him or anyone at CIA." They originated at the highest levels of government so it could have been either from the President George Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney or Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. At that moment, because of the international repugnance, the U. N. sanctions on Iraq were about to

stop. According to World Health statistics, the sanctions caused the deaths of 1.7 million Iraqis, including 1 million children under the age of 5. Also unknown to Americans or the international community, there was a fluent communication between the U.S. and Baghdad about an extensive peace framework.

Already in February 2001, Baghdad had invited FBI to send an Anti-Terrorism Task Force into Iraq. The original 9/11 Commission never got to hear about Iraq's welcome to FBI. Iraq agreed to deliver priority contracts to American corporations in telecommunications, health care, hospital equipment and pharmaceutical and non-dual use factory equipment. Iraq had even agreed to import 1 million American manufactured automobiles from Indiana and Detroit every year for the next 10 years. They were ready to give America all the oil contracts it wanted. This would mean profit for many Americans.

Many people knew that the attack was coming and that it was going to be in late August or early September. Susan Lindauer said in her interview that a high-ranking State Department official with a top security classification declared that a couple of weeks before 9/11, strange vans were arriving at the World Trade Center at three o' clock in the morning for about two weeks. They were staying from about three o'clock to about four-thirty or five. He swore to her that he had personally investigated the janitorial services and that none of them were tied to these trucks. It had never happened before, just right before the attack on the World Trade Center. He was convinced that this was government-level thermite that had been put into either the stairwells or the elevator shafts.

7. The Architects & Engineers for 9/11 Truth

Architects & Engineers for 9/11 Truth is an American non-profit organization of architects and engineers who deny the results of the official 9/11 investigations. This organization was founded in 2006. They demand a truly independent investigation of the attacks. Members of the organization argue that the buildings could not have collapsed only because of the impact of the planes or as a result of the fire. They claim to have evidence pointing to an explosive demolition of the WTC buildings. Some of the evidence that it was a controlled demolition: the destruction followed the path of the greatest resistance, the debris

was symmetrically distributed, the rapid onset of the destruction, explosions and flashes reported by witnesses, steel elements were expelled from the building at high speed, the pulverization of the concrete, expanding pyroclastic clouds, lack of pancaked stories in the debris, isolated explosions 20 to 40 stories below the wave of the destruction. Molten steel found in the debris was the evidence of the existence of thermite. The researchers found unignited nano-thermite in the dust of the WTC. The office fire did not have half the temperature required to melt steel.

According to Richard Gage, the founder of the organization, 7 World Trade Center is the most obvious example of a controlled demolition. The only way to bring a building down with a free-fall acceleration would be to remove its columns. Scott Grainger, a fire protection engineer and a member of the group, told the BBC that the evidence he had seen indicated the fire in 7 WTC were scattered about on the floors and thus could not have developed enough heat to cause the collapse of the building. Gage discharges the explanation of the collapse of 7 World Trade Center given by the National Institute of Standards and Technology. According to them, uncontrolled fire and the buckling of a critical support column caused the collapse.

Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to write about an important moment in the US history, a moment when the world changed for many people. People watched the events unfold in Afghanistan and in Iraq and they believed that it was the right thing to do. They believed that it was better to fight terrorism outside the country than in the streets of America. They wanted to feel safe again. Some of them sent their husbands and sons to fight in Afghanistan and Iraq because they believed that they went to protect their country.

While searching for the information included in my thesis I realized that the official version and the version from the media does not always have to be accurate and what we believe does not necessarily have to be true. The truth is that many people died on September 11 in America. The truth is that many people had the information that these attacks would happen and did very little about it. The truth is that many lies were said to cover the main reason behind these acts. The truth is also that behind all the actions were money and business deals.

The struggle to control the world's remaining energy reserves culminated in bloody conflicts and the killing of innocent civilians. The Caspian Sea contained the world's largest amount of untapped oil and gas resources. The United States, Russia, China and Iran were competing to dominate the Caspian region in a clash of the imperial ambitions.

The United States were highly dependent on increasingly expensive oil imports. As President George W. Bush said in 2002: "America imports more than 50 percent of its oil. Sometimes we rely upon energy sources from countries that don't particularly like us." Much of the oil imports came from the Middle East where two thirds of the planet's fossil reserves lie. Ousting a terrible tyrant like Saddam Hussein was a good cause but the American and European governments were indifferent for decades how badly the Middle Easterners regimes treated their people. Also the American presence on the Arab soil motivated many Muslim men to join in the war against the Americans. Some people became terrorists just because America had invaded their country. What was needed was a sustainable alternative energy policy to reduce the dependence on oil, for the environmental and for the security reason.

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Summary in Czech

Předmětem této bakalářské práce je popsat události z 11. září 2001. Práce je rozdělena do tří hlavních částí. První část obsahuje některé obecné informace o tom, co se stalo 11. září a popisuje první okamžiky po útoku. Zahrnuje také vztahy mezi Amerikou a islámským světem a poskytuje informace o válkách v Afghánistánu a Iráku. Dále popisuje politiku vlád Billa Clintona a George W. Bushe. Práce zahrnuje informace o Al-Qaedě a vysvětluje některé důvody, které vedly k událostem z 11. září. Druhá část je věnována historii Světového obchodního centra a detailně popisuje den 11. září včetně evakuace Světového obchodního centra a popisuje události v Pentagonu. Závěrečná část je věnována dnům, které následovaly po 11. září a vyšetřování útoků. Zmiňuje válku proti teroru a válku v Iráku z roku 2003 a navrhuje, kdo by mohl mít z útoků užitek. Nakonec odhalí závěry z vyšetřování architektů a inženýrů, kteří se pokoušejí o odhalení pravdy o 11. září.