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 TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
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SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 170698 020218Z
 AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE
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 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BEIJING IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT R STRAND
 DATE/CASE ID: 19 MAY 2008 200700764

UNCLASSIFIED

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AMEMBASSY DOHA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY RIYADH IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TASHKENT IMMEDIATE
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DIRNSA FORT GEORGE G MEADE MD IMMEDIATE
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SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 170698 020218Z
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TAGS: PTER, PINR

SUBJECT: SEPTEMBER 11: WORKING TOGETHER TO FIGHT THE
PLAGUE OF GLOBAL TERRORISM AND THE CASE AGAINST AL-QA'IDA

CLASSIFIED BY THE SECRETARY; REASON 1.5 (B) AND (D)

1. (U) ALL ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO BRIEF SENIOR HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ON THE INFORMATION LINKING THE AL-QA'IDA TERRORIST NETWORK, USAMA BIN LADIN, AND THE TALEBAN REGIME TO THE SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACK ON THE WORLD TRADE CENTER AND PENTAGON AND THE CRASH OF UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 93. PLEASE NOTE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT OBLIGED IN ANY WAY TO MAKE ANY KIND OF SHOWING AS A PREREQUISITE OR PRECONDITION TO THE EXERCISE OF ITS RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE UNDER ARTICLE 51 OF THE UN CHARTER, WHETHER NOW OR IN THE FUTURE. ALSO NOTE THAT THIS IS PRELIMINARY INFORMATION. THE DEPARTMENT, DURING THE COURSE OF ITS INVESTIGATION, IS DEVELOPING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. IN ADDITION, POSTS SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THE SECRET CLASSIFICATION OF THIS MESSAGE PRECLUDES THE SHARING OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT

SOURCES AND METHODS. APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES IN HOST COUNTRIES MAY SEEK MORE DETAILED INFORMATION IN

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ESTABLISHED INTELLIGENCE CHANNELS. POST SHOULD DRAW FROM THE INFORMATION BELOW IN PREPARING THE PRESENTATION. POSTS
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 170698 020218Z
SHOULD PROVIDE ORAL BRIEFINGS ONLY AND NOT/NOT LEAVE THE DOCUMENT BELOW AS A NON-PAPER. POST SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE FOCUS OF THE ORAL BRIEFING, ESPECIALLY AT THE OUTSET, INCLUDES THE OVERALL TERRORIST THREAT WE FACE (DRAWING ON THE FIRST THREE PARAGRAPHS BELOW) AND THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN WE INTEND TO UNDERTAKE AGAINST TERRORISM AND THE STATES THAT HARBOR AND SUPPORT IT.

2. (C) BEGIN TEXT:

(C) THE TERRORIST THREAT THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PARTNERS CONFRONT IS A BROAD-BASED NETWORK OF CELLS. MANY OF THESE GROUPS SUPPORT EACH OTHER AND ARE SUPPORTED BY STATES. GIVEN THE EXTENSIVE NATURE OF THIS NETWORK, THE UNITED STATES HAS A MULTI-PHASE, LONG-TERM STRATEGY. WE WILL NEED COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE FROM AROUND THE WORLD, POSSIBLY FOR YEARS TO COME. AS PRESIDENT BUSH HAS SAID, WE ARE EMBARKING ON A LENGTHY CAMPAIGN THAT WILL COMBINE DIPLOMACY, FINANCIAL MEASURES, MILITARY ACTION, INTELLIGENCE, AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS OF POWER AND INFLUENCE. WE WANT TO STARVE TERRORISTS OF FUNDING, AND WE WANT TO DEPRIVE THEM OF REFUGE.

(C) THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACK INDICATES THAT THE THREAT HAS GROWN MORE SOPHISTICATED AND DANGEROUS. WE HAVE SUFFERED PREVIOUS ATTACKS, SUCH AS THE BOMBING OF THE USS COLE AND THE ATTACKS AGAINST OUR EMBASSIES IN KENYA AND TANZANIA. THOSE ATTACKS, AND OUR EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE NETWORK OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS THAT CONDUCTED AND SUPPORTED SUCH ATTACKS, HAVE GIVEN US A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE GLOBAL BREADTH AND REACH OF THE
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 170698 020218Z
TERRORIST THREAT WE FACE. THEY POINT TO THE KEY ROLE PLAYED BY AL-QA'IDA. BUT THE SHADOWY NATURE OF THE TERROR NETWORK AND ITS SUPPORTERS STILL LEAVES US WITH UNCERTAINTY ABOUT ITS REACH, MEMBERSHIP, CAPABILITIES AND LINKAGES.

(C) THE INFORMATION WE CAN SHARE, POINTS CONCLUSIVELY TO AN AL-QA'IDA ROLE FOR THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS. ALTHOUGH WE ARE CERTAIN ABOUT THEIR ROLE, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT WHO ELSE MIGHT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED. AS WE CONTINUE OUR INVESTIGATION, NEW INFORMATION SUGGESTS

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

INVOLVEMENT BY OTHERS AS WELL. THE WEB OF ACTIVITY AMONG HUNDREDS OR THOUSANDS OF EXTREMISTS WORKING IN COMPARTMENTED CELLS IN DOZENS OF COUNTRIES WORLDWIDE WILL REQUIRE A CONSISTENT, LONG-TERM EFFORT, COUPLED WITH COOPERATION FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, TO WEAVE TOGETHER THE THREADS OF THE PROBLEM. THUS, OUR CAMPAIGN TO FIGHT INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS THAT CARRY OUT SUCH ACTS MUST EXTEND WELL BEYOND AL-QA'IDA AND USAMA BIN LADIN. WE MUST ADDRESS THE ENTIRETY OF THE LOOSE CONFEDERATION OF DISPARATE GROUPS, SOME OF WHOM TRAINED IN AFGHANISTAN, THAT RELY ON TERROR TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR GOALS, WORKING WITH STATES COMMITTED TO THEIR EFFORT. THESE GROUPS AND STATES REPRESENT A THREAT NOT ONLY TO THE UNITED STATES, BUT ALSO TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS THAT OPPOSE THEIR IDEOLOGY.

(U) ON SEPTEMBER 11, TERRORISTS HIJACKED FOUR JETLINERS FROM AIRPORTS IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, WASHINGTON, D.C., AND NEWARK, NEW JERSEY AND PROCEEDED TO COMMIT THE MOST HEINOUS ACT OF TERRORISM IN HISTORY. THE TERRORISTS USED THE AIRLINERS AS WEAPONS, KILLING CIVILIANS FROM 79

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 170698 020218Z
NATIONS WHEN UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 175 AND AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 11 FROM BOSTON WERE CRASHED INTO THE TWIN TOWERS OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN NEW YORK CITY AND AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 77 WAS FLOWN INTO THE PENTAGON OUTSIDE WASHINGTON, D.C. THE FOURTH HIJACKED PLANE, UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 93, WENT DOWN WITH ALL ABOARD IN SOUTHERN PENNSYLVANIA. NEARLY 7,000 INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN WERE KILLED OR ARE MISSING AND PRESUMED DEAD. THIS WAS AN ATTACK NOT ONLY ON PARTICULAR BUILDINGS AND THEIR OCCUPANTS, BUT ALSO ON THE BASIC FREEDOMS AND STABILITY OF THE ENTIRE CIVILIZED WORLD.

(U) THE FACTS ARE CLEAR AND COMPELLING. WE KNOW THAT THE INDIVIDUALS WHO CARRIED OUT THESE ATTACKS WERE PART OF THE WORLDWIDE TERRORIST NETWORK KNOWN AS "AL-QA'IDA," (THE BASE OR MILITARY HEADQUARTERS) HEADED BY USAMA BIN LADIN AND HIS KEY LIEUTENANTS AND PROTECTED BY AFGHANISTAN'S

TALEBAN, AND CURRENTLY OPERATING IN DOZENS OF NATIONS. THE HIJACKERS' ACTIONS MATCH THE PREVIOUS MULTIPLE-ATTACK OPERATIONS MASTERMINDED BY AL-QA'IDA, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT TO COMPLETION AND OTHERS WHICH AUTHORITIES THWARTED. EXAMPLES INCLUDE THE MURDER OF 224 KENYANS, TANZANIANS, AMERICANS AND OTHERS IN THE 1998 BOMBINGS OF THE U.S. EMBASSIES IN NAIROBI AND DAR ES SALAAM, AND THE MILLENNIUM PLOT OF 2000 WITH PLANNED STRIKES IN THE U.S., JORDAN, AND YEMEN. THE SEPTEMBER 11

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ATTACKS ALSO ARE CONSISTENT WITH USAMA BIN LADIN'S OFTEN-REPEATED PUBLIC STATEMENTS VOWING TO KILL AS MANY AMERICANS AS POSSIBLE.

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 170698 020218Z

(U) AL-QA'IDA WAS ABLE TO PLAN AND PREPARE TERRORIST ACTS BECAUSE OF THE SANCTUARY AND SUPPORT PROVIDED BY THE TALEBAN REGIME IN AFGHANISTAN. IN DEFIANCE OF THE WILL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY-AS EXPRESSED IN RESOLUTIONS AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON EVERY CONTINENT-THE TALEBAN HAVE HARBORED AL-QA'IDA AND MAINTAINED CLOSE MILITARY, INTELLIGENCE, AND FINANCIAL TIES. THE TALEBAN ARE WITTING OF AL-QA'IDA'S GOALS AND USE OF TERRORISM.

(U) THE TALEBAN ARE THEREFORE COMPLICITOUS IN THESE ACTIONS, WHICH CONSTITUTE A BETRAYAL OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ALL CIVILIZED NATIONS AND ALL RELIGIONS, INCLUDING ISLAM. IN FACT, ISLAMIC SCHOLARS AND ARAB POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE CONDEMNED BIN LADIN AND AL-QA'IDA'S ATTEMPT TO HIJACK THEIR RELIGION FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES. THE U.S. MET WITH THE TALEBAN DOZENS OF TIMES, PRESENTED INFORMATION, AND WARNED THEM TWICE THAT THE U.S. WOULD HOLD THEM DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE.

(U) THE TERRORIST THREAT WE FACE IS A BROAD THREAT, FROM A NETWORK OF TERRORIST GROUPS OF GLOBAL REACH AND STATES THAT SUPPORT THEM AND WORK WITH THEM. THEY ARE SOPHISTICATED AND DETERMINED IN CONCEALING THEIR ACTIVITIES AND THEIR CONNECTIONS. THERE IS MUCH ABOUT THEM WE ARE STILL LEARNING. WE ALMOST SURELY WILL LEARN ADDITIONAL FACTS ABOUT THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE SUPPORT PROVIDED TO AL-QA'IDA BY NOT ONLY THE TALEBAN BUT POSSIBLY ALSO BY OTHER GROUPS OR GOVERNMENTS.

(U) THE FOLLOWING REPORT DETAILS THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER
SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 170698 020218Z

11; REVIEWS THE STRUCTURE, THE PAST TERRORIST ACTIONS OF AL-QA'IDA; PRESENTS THE EVIDENCE ESTABLISHING CLEAR LINKS BETWEEN THE PERPETRATORS OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS AND THE AL-QA'IDA TERRORISM NETWORK; AND OUTLINES THE CLOSE LINKS BETWEEN AL-QA'IDA AND THE TALEBAN REGIME IN AFGHANISTAN; AND PLACES THE RECENT ATTACKS IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF THE GLOBAL TERRORISM THREAT.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PART I. WHAT HAPPENED ON SEPTEMBER 11

(U) ON THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 11, TERRORISTS, OPERATING IN TEAMS, HIJACKED FOUR JETLINERS DEPARTING FROM AIRPORTS IN THE NORTHEAST U.S. THEY DELIBERATELY CRASHED TWO OF THE PLANES INTO THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BUILDINGS IN NEW YORK AND A THIRD PLANE INTO THE PENTAGON BUILDING IN ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA. THE ATTACKS WERE CAREFULLY PLANNED AND EACH TEAM INCLUDED AT LEAST ONE HIJACKER WHO HAD TRAINED TO FLY COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT.

(U) THE 767 AIRCRAFT THAT STRUCK THE WORLD TRADE CENTER CAUSED MASSIVE LOSS OF LIFE IN ADDITION TO KILLING THE 148 PASSENGERS AND CREW ON BOARD. THOUSANDS WERE KILLED IMMEDIATELY AND THOUSANDS MORE WERE TRAPPED BY FIRE AND SMOKE ON THE TOWER'S UPPER FLOORS. WITHIN 90 MINUTES BOTH TOWERS--STRUCTURALLY WEAKENED BY THE INTENSE HEAT OF THE FLAMES--COLLAPSED, KILLING THOUSANDS MORE INCLUDING SEVERAL HUNDRED POLICE AND FIRE FIGHTERS WHO HAD RUSHED INTO THE BURNING BUILDINGS ON A COURAGEOUS RESCUE MISSION.

SECRET

PAGE 09 STATE 170698 020218Z

(U) AT THE PENTAGON, THE RISK OF COLLAPSE PREVENTED RESCUERS FROM REACHING MANY OF THE VICTIMS. 190 PEOPLE WERE KILLED, INCLUDING THE 64 PASSENGERS ON AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 77, AND MANY OTHERS WERE HOSPITALIZED.

(U) PASSENGERS ON THE FOURTH HIJACKED PLANE, UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 93, LEARNED OF THE ATTACKS IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FROM CELL PHONE CONVERSATIONS AND ATTEMPTED TO

OVERPOWER THE TERRORISTS. THEIR PLANE CRASHED IN AN OPEN FIELD IN PENNSYLVANIA, KILLING ALL 45 PEOPLE ON BOARD BUT NO ONE ON THE GROUND.

(U) THE DEATH TOLL FROM THE TRAGIC EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER 11 IS STILL UNCERTAIN, BUT IS ESTIMATED AT NEARLY 7000--THE SINGLE BLOODIEST DAY IN U.S. HISTORY SINCE THE CIVIL WAR. THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE STILL MISSING AND PRESUMED DEAD. NEW YORK IS AN INTERNATIONAL CITY AND THE VICTIMS INCLUDED HUNDREDS OF PERSONS FROM 79 DIFFERENT NATIONS. THE WORLD TRADE CENTER WAS HOME TO THREE FOREIGN MISSIONS AND 430 COMPANIES FROM 28 COUNTRIES.

(U) IN ADDITION TO THE LOSS OF LIFE, THE TERRORIST ATTACKS INFLECTED MASSIVE PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC DAMAGE. IN NEW YORK ALONE, THE ATTACKS DESTROYED AN ESTIMATED 22 BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE. REPAIRS TO THE

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PENTAGON WILL COST OVER \$250 MILLION.

SECRET

PAGE 10 STATE 170698 020218Z
PART II. AN INTRODUCTION TO AL-QA'IDA:

A. AL-QA'IDA AND ITS LEADERS

(U) WHILE SERVING AS AN UMBRELLA FOR VARIOUS LIKEMINDED GROUPS, AL-QA'IDA IS ALSO A HIERARCHAL ORGANIZATION AND USAMA BIN LADIN AND HIS KEY LIEUTENANTS ARE ITS UNDISPUTED LEADERS. IT WAS FOUNDED BY BIN LADIN TO CARRY OUT "JIHAD" OR HOLY WAR, AGAINST THOSE HE SAW AS INFIDELS AND NONBELIEVERS. BY 1992, AL-QA'IDA'S PRIMARY ENEMY WAS THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS FOCUSED ON DRIVING AMERICAN TROOPS OUT OF THE HOLY LAND (SAUDI ARABIA). IN HIS FEBRUARY 1998 "FATWA," BIN LADIN EXPLICITLY STATED THAT IT WAS THE DUTY OF EVERY MUSLIM WHO CAN DO IT, IN ANY COUNTRY, "TO KILL THE AMERICANS AND THEIR ALLIES..." BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY PERSONS. FURTHERMORE, HE SAID, "...ALL EFFORT MUST BE DIRECTED AT THIS ENEMY, KILL IT, FIGHT IT, DESTROY IT, BREAK IT DOWN, PLOT AGAINST IT, AMBUSH IT, AND GOD THE ALMIGHTY WILLING, UNTIL IT IS GONE."

(U) A FORMER MEMBER OF AL-QA'IDA TESTIFIED IN OPEN U.S. COURT AT THE EMBASSY BOMBING TRIAL ON THE STRUCTURE OF AL-QA'IDA. HE STATED THAT BELOW BIN LADIN THERE WAS THE GOVERNING BODY, KNOWN AS THE SHURA COUNCIL, WHICH INCLUDED PROMINENT MEMBERS SUCH AS EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (EIJ) LEADER AYMAN ZAWAHIRI AND AL-QA'IDA MILITARY COMMANDER ABU HAFS AL-MASRI. UNDER THE SHURA COUNCIL ARE SEVERAL COMMITTEES: THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE, THE MEDIA COMMITTEE, AND THE FATWA AND ISLAMIC STUDY COMMITTEE.

SECRET

PAGE 11 STATE 170698 020218Z

(U) PRIOR TO JOINING THE GROUP OFFICIALLY, PROSPECTIVE AL-QA'IDA MEMBERS ARE GIVEN A CONTRACT THAT STATES AL-QA'IDA'S AGENDA. THE CONTRACT EXPLAINS THE RULES, STRUCTURE, AND THE DUTIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. TO JOIN AL-QA'IDA, A MEMBER MUST MAKE A BAYAT, OR PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE, TO FOLLOW THE ORDERS OF THE EMIR OF THE GROUP (BIN LADIN).

B. BIN LADIN'S PUBLIC THREATS

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

(U) BIN LADIN HAS BEEN VERY CLEAR ON WHAT HE EXPECTS FROM HIS CO-CONSPIRATORS. HE HAS MADE NO SECRET OF HIS BELIEF THAT THE ORGANIZATION HAS A DUTY TO KILL AS MANY AMERICANS AS POSSIBLE-INCLUDING MILITARY PERSONNEL, CIVILIANS, AND EVEN FELLOW MUSLIMS-AND HAS WORKED HARD TO CONVINCE OTHERS TO ACT ON THIS BELIEF.

(U) - IN HIS 1996 "DECLARATION OF JIHAD," BIN LADIN URGED COORDINATED EFFORTS TO KILL AMERICANS AND ENCOURAGED OTHERS TO JOIN THE JIHAD AGAINST THE AMERICAN "ENEMY."

(U) - BIN LADIN ISSUED A DECLARATION THAT WAS PUBLISHED IN THE ARABIC NEWSPAPER AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI ON FEBRUARY 23, 1998 WHICH STATED THAT MUSLIMS SHOULD KILL AMERICANS-INCLUDING CIVILIANS-ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD WHERE THEY CAN BE FOUND.

(U) - IN AN INTERVIEW AIRED ON AL JAZIRA (DOHA, QATAR) TELEVISION IN JUNE 1999, BIN LADIN STATED, "OUR ENEMY... IS EVERY AMERICAN MALE, WHETHER HE IS DIRECTLY FIGHTING US OR
SECRET

PAGE 12 STATE 170698 020218Z
PAYING TAXES."

(U) - AND PERHAPS MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, HE HAS PUBLICLY STATED HIS INTENT TO STRIKE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES. IN TWO INTERVIEWS AIRED ON U.S. TELEVISION IN 1997 AND 1998, HE DESCRIBED THE TERRORISTS WHO BOMBED THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN 1993 AS ROLE MODELS AND URGED HIS FOLLOWERS TO "TAKE THE FIGHTING TO AMERICA."

C. AL-QA'IDA'S RECORD OF TERRORISM

==THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE TO BIN LADIN'S PREVIOUS ATTACKS==

(U) THE U.S. HAS PREVIOUSLY PRESENTED EVIDENCE OF AL-QA'IDA'S TERRORIST ACTIVITIES TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE UN RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO OUR REQUEST TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS AGAINST BIN LADIN FOR HIS ACTIONS, AS WELL AS AGAINST THE TALEBAN FOR HARBORING HIM AND HIS ORGANIZATION. UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION (UNSCR) 1333 PLACED AN ARMS EMBARGO ON THE TALEBAN AND DECLARED THAT ALL STATES SHOULD FREEZE THE ASSETS OF BIN LADIN AND AL-QA'IDA. UNSCR 1267 EARLIER DEMANDED THAT THE TALEBAN TURN BIN LADIN OVER TO A COUNTRY IN WHICH HE HAD BEEN INDICTED. MOST RECENTLY, UNSCR 1368 CONDEMNED THE TERRORIST ATTACKS OF SEPTEMBER 11 AND STATED THE COUNCIL'S READINESS TO TAKE

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ALL NECESSARY STEPS TO COMBAT ALL FORMS OF TERRORISM.
SUMMARIES OF MAJOR AL-QA'IDA OPERATIONS PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER
11 FOLLOW.

==THE 1993 WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING AND THE MANILA
SECRET

PAGE 13 STATE 170698 020218Z
AIRPLANE BOMBING CONSPIRACY==

(S/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) IN LATE 1994,
PHILIPPINE AUTHORITIES FOILED A PLOT BY SEVERAL TERRORISTS
TO BOMB 12 AMERICAN FLAG AIRLINERS WHILE THEY WERE IN MID-
AIR. THREE OF THE PERPETRATORS WERE CONVICTED OF THE
PLOT. THEY INCLUDED RAMZI YOUSEF (WHO WAS LATER CONVICTED
OF HIS EARLIER ROLE AS THE TERRORIST WHO DIRECTED THE 1993
WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING) AND WALI KHAN A/K/A "AZMARAI."
AZMARAI WAS A CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF BIN LADIN. BIN LADIN
PUBLICLY PRAISED AZMARAI IN A STATEMENT LAST YEAR THAT
ALSO CALLED FOR A JIHAD TO FREE THE "BROTHERS" FROM JAIL,

INCLUDING SHEIKH OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN, CONVICTED OF A
CONSPIRACY TO BOMB LANDMARKS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1993, AND
MOHAMED AL-'OWHALI WHO WAS CONVICTED OF PARTICIPATING IN
THE EAST AFRICA EMBASSY BOMBINGS. ABDUL RAHMAN YASIN, THE
ONE INDICTED MEMBER OF THE 1993 WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING
WHO IS STILL AT LARGE, WENT FROM IRAQ TO AFGHANISTAN IN
LATE 1993 OR EARLY 1994. IN MID-1997, YASIN WAS UNDER BIN
LADIN'S PROTECTION IN AFGHANISTAN. PHILIPPINE AUTHORITIES
REPORTED THAT SAUDI NATIONAL MUHAMMAD JAMAL KHALIFAH, WHO
RAN TWO ISLAMIC NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN MANILA,
WAS THE MAJOR FINANCIER OF THE TERRORISTS ARRESTED THERE.
KHALIFAH, WHO HAS ALSO BEEN IMPLICATED IN TERRORIST
ACTIVITIES IN JORDAN, IS BIN LADIN'S BROTHER-IN-LAW.

==THE EAST AFRICA EMBASSY BOMBINGS==

(U) ON AUGUST 7, 1998, THE U.S. EMBASSIES IN NAIROBI,
KENYA, AND DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA WERE BOMBED ALMOST
SECRET

PAGE 14 STATE 170698 020218Z
SIMULTANEOUSLY. A TOTAL OF 224 KENYANS, TANZANIANS,
AMERICANS, AND OTHERS WERE KILLED. THE TERRORISTS WHO
CARRIED OUT THE ATTACKS IN KENYA AND TANZANIA HAVE BEEN
IDENTIFIED PUBLICLY: THE PRINCIPAL PARTICIPANTS WERE
MEMBERS OF AL-QA'IDA AND/OR THE AFFILIATED TERRORIST GROUP
EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (EIJ). MOHAMED RASHED DAUD AL-
'OWHALI-A SAUDI WHO ADMITTED HE WAS IN THE BOMB TRUCK USED
IN NAIROBI, CONFESSED THAT HE HAD BEEN TRAINED IN AL-

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

QA'IDA CAMPS, AND WITH UBL'S DIRECT PERMISSION FOUGHT ALONG SIDE THE TALEBAN IN AFGHANISTAN. AL OWHALI ADMITTED HE ASKED USAMA BIN LADIN FOR ANOTHER MISSION; HE RECEIVED IT. HE WAS DISPATCHED TO EAST AFRICA AFTER UNDERGOING EXTENSIVE SPECIALIZED TRAINING AT CAMPS IN AFGHANISTAN. ANOTHER DEFENDANT, MOHAMED SADEEK ODEH, IN WHOSE RESIDENCE WAS FOUND A SKETCH OF THE AREA WHERE THE BOMB WAS TO BE PLACED, ADMITTED HE WAS A MEMBER OF AL-QA'IDA AND IDENTIFIED THE OTHER PRINCIPAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE BOMBING AS AL-QA'IDA MEMBERS. ODEH ADMITTED THAT HE WAS TOLD THE NIGHT PRIOR TO THE BOMBINGS THAT BIN LADIN AND THE OTHERS HE WAS WORKING WITH IN AFGHANISTAN HAD RELOCATED FROM THEIR CAMPS BECAUSE THEY EXPECTED THE AMERICAN MILITARY TO RETALIATE.

(U) THE WOULD-BE SUICIDE BOMBER AL-'OWHALI RAN AWAY FROM THE BOMB TRUCK AT THE LAST MINUTE AND SURVIVED. HE HAD NO MONEY, PASSPORT, OR PLAN TO ESCAPE KENYA, SO, DAYS LATER, HE CALLED A TELEPHONE NUMBER IN YEMEN AND ARRANGED TO HAVE MONEY TRANSFERRED TO HIM IN KENYA. A CALL WAS PLACED TO THAT TELEPHONE NUMBER IN YEMEN FROM USAMA BIN LADIN ON THE SAME DAY AS AL-'OWHALI WAS ARRANGING TO GET MONEY.

SECRET

PAGE 15 STATE 170698 020218Z

(U) AL-'OWHALI AND ODEH BOTH IMPLICATED MEN NAMED "HARUN," "SALEH," AND "ABDEL RAHMAN," ALL NOW FUGITIVES, IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NAIROBI BOMBING. ALL THREE ARE AL-QA'IDA AND/OR EIJ MEMBERS. DOCUMENTS RECOVERED IN A 1997 SEARCH OF A HOUSE IN KENYA SHOWED HARUN TO BE AN AL-QA'IDA MEMBER. THE HOUSE WHERE THE NAIROBI BOMB WAS ASSEMBLED ALSO WAS RENTED BY HARUN. MOREOVER, THE RECORDS FOR THE TELEPHONE LOCATED AT THE BOMB FACTORY SHOWED CALLS TO THE SAME NUMBER IN YEMEN THAT AL-'OWHALI AND USAMA BIN LADIN HAD CONTACTED BEFORE AND AFTER THE BOMBINGS.

(U) THE SUSPECT ARRESTED FOR THE TANZANIA BOMBING, KHALFAN KHAMIS MOHAMED, ALSO IMPLICATED "SALEH" AND "ABDEL RAHMAN" IN THE TANZANIA BOMBING - AS DID ODEH. TELEPHONE RECORDS CONFIRMED THAT THE KENYA AND TANZANIA CELLS WERE IN CONTACT SHORTLY BEFORE THE BOMBINGS.

(U) FOLLOWING THE BOMBING, ALI MOHAMED, A U.S. CITIZEN AND ISLAMIC ACTIVIST, WAS ARRESTED IN THE UNITED STATES. HE LATER ADMITTED THAT HE HAD HELPED TRAIN TERRORISTS BELONGING TO AL-QA'IDA AND EIJ IN AFGHANISTAN IN THE EARLY 1990S. THOSE THAT HE TRAINED INCLUDED MANY PERSONS INVOLVED IN THE EAST AFRICA BOMBINGS. MOHAMED ADMITTED DURING HIS GUILTY PLEA THAT HE SURVEILLED THE AMERICAN

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

EMBASSY IN NAIROBI IN LATE 1993 ON BEHALF OF AL-QA'IDA AND LATER DISPLAYED A FILE OF SKETCHES AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE EMBASSY TO BIN LADIN HIMSELF IN SUDAN. ALI MOHAMED ALSO DESCRIBED SECRET CONTACTS BETWEEN AL-QA'IDA, EIJ, AND HIZBALLAH. IN LATE 2000, L'HOUSSAINE KHERCHTOU, AN ADMITTED FORMER MEMBER OF AL-QA'IDA, PLED GUILTY AND AGREED TO TESTIFY, ADMITTING THAT HE HAD HOSTED THE AL-SECRET

PAGE 16 STATE 170698 020218Z
QA'IDA SURVEILLANCE TEAM (INCLUDING ALI MOHAMED) IN NAIROBI IN 1993.

(U) ADDITIONAL PROOF OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF AL-QA'IDA AND EIJ IN THE EAST AFRICA BOMBINGS CAME FROM A SEARCH CONDUCTED IN LONDON OF SEVERAL RESIDENCES AND BUSINESS ADDRESSES BELONGING TO AL-QA'IDA AND EIJ MEMBERS. IN THOSE SEARCHES, A NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS WERE FOUND, INCLUDING CLAIMS OF RESPONSIBILITY IN THE NAME OF A FICTITIOUS GROUP. AL-'OWHALI, THE WOULD BE SUICIDE BOMBER, ADMITTED THAT HE WAS TOLD TO MAKE A VIDEOTAPE OF HIMSELF USING THE NAME OF A FICTITIOUS GROUP, THE SAME NAME FOUND ON THE CLAIMS OF RESPONSIBILITY. THE CLAIMS OF RESPONSIBILITY WERE RECEIVED IN LONDON ON THE MORNING THE BOMBINGS OCCURRED, PROBABLY EVEN BEFORE THE BOMBINGS TOOK PLACE. THE CLAIM DOCUMENTS WERE TRACED TO A TELEPHONE NUMBER THAT HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH BIN LADIN. THE CLAIMS, WHICH WERE DISSEMINATED TO THE PRESS, WERE CLEARLY AUTHORED BY SOMEONE FAMILIAR WITH THE BOMBING CONSPIRATORS. THEY STATED THAT THE BOMBINGS WERE CARRIED OUT BY TWO SAUDIS IN KENYA AND ONE EGYPTIAN IN TANZANIA. THE NATIONALITY OF THE BOMBERS DID NOT BECOME KNOWN TO INVESTIGATORS UNTIL WEEKS LATER. MOREOVER, ALTHOUGH THE PLAN CALLED FOR TWO SAUDIS TO BE KILLED IN THE NAIROBI BOMBING, ONLY ONE WAS ACTUALLY KILLED BECAUSE AL-'OWHALI RAN AWAY AT THE LAST MINUTE. THUS, THE CLAIMS WERE WRITTEN BY SOMEONE WHO KNEW THE PLAN BEFORE THE ACTUAL RESULTS WERE KNOWN.

==THE MILLENNIUM PLOT==

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PAGE 17 STATE 170698 020218Z
(SECRET/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) IN DECEMBER 1999, JORDANIAN AUTHORITIES DISCOVERED AND THWARTED A PLOT BY MEMBERS OF AL-QAIDA TO BLOW UP THE FULLY BOOKED 400-ROOM RADISSON HOTEL IN AMMAN, AS WELL AS SEVERAL HOLY SITES AND A BORDER CROSSING, BEGINNING ON DECEMBER 31. AT THE SAME TIME, CANADIAN AND U.S. AUTHORITIES DISCOVERED A

UNCLASSIFIED

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NETWORK OF TERRORISTS LINKED TO AL-QA'IDA ATTEMPTING TO CONDUCT ATTACKS INSIDE THE UNITED STATES. AHMED RESSAM, AN ALGERIAN WHO WAS STOPPED AT THE U.S.-CANADIAN BORDER WITH OVER 100 POUNDS OF BOMB MAKING MATERIALS IN HIS CAR, ADMITTED THAT HE WAS PLANNING TO SET OFF A LARGE BOMB AT LOS ANGELES INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ON NEW YEAR'S DAY. HE SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED TERRORIST TRAINING AT AL-QA'IDA-RUN CAMPS IN AFGHANISTAN UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF SENIOR

BIN LADIN LIEUTENANT ABU ZUBAIDA AND WAS INSTRUCTED TO GO ABROAD AND KILL U.S. CIVILIANS AND MILITARY PERSONNEL.

(U) JUST A FEW DAYS LATER, ON JANUARY 3, A GROUP OF AL-QA'IDA MEMBERS AND OTHER TERRORISTS WHO HAD TRAINED IN THE GROUP'S CAMPS IN AFGHANISTAN ATTEMPTED TO ATTACK A U.S. DESTROYER WITH A SMALL BOAT LOADED WITH EXPLOSIVES IN YEMEN. THEIR BOAT SANK, FOILING THAT ATTACK, BUT THEY SUCCEEDED NINE MONTHS LATER.

==THE ATTACK ON THE USS COLE==

(U) ON OCTOBER 12, 2000, THE USS COLE WAS STRUCK BY AN EXPLOSIVES-LADEN BOAT WHILE REFUELING IN ADEN HARBOR, YEMEN. THE EXPLOSION KILLED 17 CREWMEMBERS AND INJURED APPROXIMATELY 40 OTHERS. THE INVESTIGATION HAS

SECRET

PAGE 18 STATE 170698 020218Z
IDENTIFIED MULTIPLE SUSPECTS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF THE ATTACK. SEVERAL OF THE PERPETRATORS (MOSTLY YEMENIS AND SAUDIS OF YEMENI ORIGIN) TRAINED AT BIN LADIN-SPONSORED MUJAHIDIN TRAINING CAMPS IN AFGHANISTAN. THE TWO COMMANDERS OF THIS OPERATION HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS HAVING PARTICIPATED IN THE PLANNING AND LOGISTICS OF THE EAST AFRICA EMBASSY BOMBINGS.

PART III. THE INVOLVEMENT OF AL-QA'IDA IN THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

(U) IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT AL-QA'IDA IS A SECRETIVE, CLANDESTINE ORGANIZATION, ITS MEMBERS TRAINED TO MAINTAIN A HIGH LEVEL OF OPERATIONAL SECRECY WHILE THEY CONDUCT THEIR OPERATIONS. IN ADDITION, THE INVESTIGATION INTO THESE ATTACKS IS STILL IN THE EARLY STAGE. THERE ARE STILL GAPS IN OUR KNOWLEDGE. WE EXPECT TO LEARN MORE OVER TIME AS WE CONTINUE OUR INVESTIGATION. HOWEVER, THE FACTS TO DATE DEMONSTRATE CLEARLY THAT AL-QA'IDA CONDUCTED THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

(U) NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE NOT LIMITING OUR INVESTIGATIVE EFFORTS TO AL-QA'IDA ALONE. WE CONTINUE TO SEARCH FOR ANY

INFORMATION THAT WOULD IDENTIFY OTHER GROUPS, GOVERNMENTS, OR ORGANIZATIONS THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THESE
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PAGE 19 STATE 170698 020218Z
ATTACKS.

==1. AL-QA'IDA MEMBERS CONDUCTED THE ATTACK==

==AMERICAN AIRLINES #77 HIJACKERS KHALID AL-MIHDHAR & NAWAF AL-HAZMI==

(FOUO) ANALYSIS OF THE PASSENGER MANIFEST FOR AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT #77 - THE FLIGHT THAT CRASHED INTO THE PENTAGON - REVEALS THAT THE AIRCRAFT CARRIED AT LEAST TWO PASSENGERS WHOSE NAMES MATCH THOSE OF KNOWN OPERATIVES OF AL-QA'IDA: KHALID AL MIHDHAR, SAUDI ARABIAN, BORN 16 MAY 1975, AND NAWAF AL HAZMI, SAUDI ARABIAN, BORN 9 AUGUST 1976. WE HAVE INFORMATION THAT IDENTIFIES THEM AS AL-QA'IDA OPERATIVES.

==SENIOR BIN LADIN TERRORIST: "KHALLAD"==

- (SECRET/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) IN ADDITION, IN AUGUST 1998 A SOURCE INVOLVED IN THE EAST AFRICA EMBASSY BOMBINGS IDENTIFIED "KHALLAD THE SAUDI" AS PLAYING A KEY ROLE IN ORGANIZING THOSE ATTACKS.

- (SECRET/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) A DIFFERENT SOURCE INVOLVED IN THE ATTACK ON THE USS COLE (WHO WAS NOT IN CONTACT WITH THE FIRST SOURCE) INDICATED THAT KHALLAD ACTED AS THE SENIOR BIN LADIN HEADQUARTERS COMMANDER FOR THE COLE OPERATION.

- (SECRET/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) WE OBTAINED
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PAGE 20 STATE 170698 020218Z
INFORMATION POSITIVELY IDENTIFYING KHALLAD AS ONE OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO WAS OBSERVED MEETING WITH AL-MIHDHAR AND AL-HAZMI IN EAST ASIA DURING A SERIES OF CLANDESTINE MEETINGS.

==ADDITIONAL HIJACKERS IDENTIFIED AS UBL ASSOCIATES==

(SECRET/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) A LAW

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ENFORCEMENT SOURCE WITH DIRECT ACCESS TO SENIOR OFFICIALS

OF AL-QA'IDA HAS POSITIVELY IDENTIFIED SEVERAL OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 HIJACKERS AS KNOWN BIN LADIN ASSOCIATES FROM PHOTO SPREADS AND POSSIBLY RECOGNIZED OTHER ADDITIONAL HIJACKERS AS WELL. MORE DETAILED INFORMATION CAN BE OBTAINED THROUGH INTELLIGENCE CHANNELS.

==2. AL-QA'IDA HAD KNOWLEDGE PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 11 OF A MAJOR TERRORIST ATTACK==

(U) IN THE RUN-UP TO SEPTEMBER 11, BIN LADIN AND HIS ASSOCIATES SEEMED TO BE ANTICIPATING WHAT WE COULD ONLY IDENTIFY AS AN IMPORTANT EVENT OR ACTIVITY, POSSIBLY AN ATTACK, ALTHOUGH LOCATION AND TARGET WERE NOT CLEAR. THESE GENERAL INDICATIONS, WHEN VIEWED IN HINDSIGHT AND COMBINED WITH THE SPECIFIC EVIDENCE CITED ABOVE, FURTHER BOLSTER THE CASE AGAINST BIN LADIN AND AL-QA'IDA FOR CULPABILITY IN THE SUICIDE HIJACKINGS.

(U) BIN LADIN PRECEDED HIS 1998 ATTACK IN EAST AFRICA WITH A PROPAGANDA VIDEOTAPE THAT EXTOLLED VIOLENCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER TARGETS. IN THE MONTHS BEFORE THE

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PAGE 21 STATE 170698 020218Z
SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS, PROPAGANDA VIDEOTAPES WERE AGAIN DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST AND AMONG MUSLIM POPULATIONS WORLDWIDE BY AL-QA'IDA IN WHICH USAMA BIN LADIN AND OTHERS WERE SHOWN ENCOURAGING MUSLIMS TO ATTACK AMERICAN AND JEWISH TARGETS. BIN LADIN HAS ALSO BEEN SHOWN IN SEVERAL TELEVISION NEWS REPORTS, INCLUDING COVERAGE OF HIS SON'S WEDDING, MAKING STATEMENTS CALLING FOR JIHAD, AND PRAISING THOSE WHO HAD ALREADY DIED FOR THAT CAUSE OR WOULD SO SACRIFICE THEMSELVES IN THE FUTURE.

(SECRET//REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) FINALLY, ALL SOURCE INTELLIGENCE REPORTING INDICATES THAT BIN LADIN AND SENIOR LIEUTENANTS HAD ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE OF THE OPERATIONAL PLANNING AND TIMING FOR THE ATTACKS. SPECIFIC WARNINGS WENT OUT TO SELECTED BIN LADIN CONFIDENTS IN AFGHANISTAN AND ELSEWHERE TO MOVE TO SAFEHAVENS IN ANTICIPATION OF AN IMMEDIATE U.S. RESPONSE FOLLOWING THE ATTACKS.

==3. TACTICAL SIMILARITY TO EARLIER ATTACKS==

(U) METICULOUS PLANNING, A DESIRE TO INFLICT MASS CASUALTIES, (INCLUDING NON-AMERICANS) AND MULTIPLE, SIMULTANEOUS SUICIDE ATTACKS, HAVE CHARACTERIZED AL-

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QA'IDA'S OPERATIONS.

(U) - SOME OF AL-QA'IDA'S FORMER OPERATIVES-INCLUDING WITNESSES IN THE EAST AFRICA BOMBING TRIAL-HAVE DESCRIBED HOW THE GROUP SPENDS YEARS PREPARING FOR AN ATTACK: REPEATEDLY DOING SURVEILLANCE, PATIENTLY GATHERING
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PAGE 22 STATE 170698 020218Z
MATERIALS, AND IDENTIFYING AND VETTING OPERATIVES WHO HAVE BOTH THE TECHNICAL SKILLS NECESSARY TO CONDUCT A SUCCESSFUL ATTACK AND THE WILLINGNESS TO DIE FOR THEIR CAUSE.

(U) - THE TERRORISTS WHO ATTACKED THE WORLD TRADE CENTER AND THE PENTAGON MADE SIMILAR LENGTHY PREPARATIONS. THEY ATTENDED FLIGHT SCHOOLS, USED FLIGHT SIMULATORS TO STUDY THE CONTROLS OF LARGER AIRCRAFT, AND EXAMINED POTENTIAL AIRPORTS AND ROUTES THROUGH REPEATED SURVEILLANCE.

(U) - THE EAST AFRICA BOMBINGS-FOR WHICH FOUR AL-QA'IDA OPERATIVES WERE CONVICTED IN U.S. COURT-KILLED 212 KENYAN AND TANZANIAN CIVILIANS UNCONNECTED TO HIS CAUSE AND WOUNDED THOUSANDS OF OTHERS, INCLUDING MANY MUSLIMS. IN AN INTERVIEW LATER THAT YEAR, BIN LADIN CALLOUSLY ATTEMPTED TO JUSTIFY THEIR DEATHS BY CLAIMING THAT THE NEED TO ATTACK THE UNITED STATES EXCUSED THE KILLING OF OTHER INNOCENT CIVILIANS, MUSLIM AND NON-MUSLIM ALIKE. CITIZENS OF 79 NATIONS WERE KILLED IN THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS.

(U) - THE PHILIPPINE AIRLINES PLOT AND THE RESSAM CASE POINT TO A CONTINUING INTEREST BY AL-QA'IDA AND ASSOCIATED GROUPS IN ATTACKING CIVILIAN AVIATION TARGETS, CONSISTENT WITH WHAT HAPPENED ON SEPTEMBER 11. SIMILARLY, THE PHILIPPINE AIRLINES PLOT, THE MILLENNIUM PLOT AND THE EMBASSY BOMBINGS ALL INVOLVED MULTIPLE, NEAR SIMULTANEOUS ATTACKS, LIKE THOSE ON SEPTEMBER 11.

==ADDITIONAL REPORTING SINCE SEPTEMBER 11 POINTING TO AL-
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PAGE 23 STATE 170698 020218Z
QA'IDA==

- (SECRET/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) SINCE SEPTEMBER 11 SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS AFFILIATED WITH BIN LADIN INDICATED AL-QA'IDA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACKS.

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PART IV. LINKS BETWEEN THE TALEBAN AND AL-QA'IDA

==WHO ARE THE TALEBAN?==

(U) THE TALEBAN EMERGED FROM THE AFGHAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN PAKISTAN. THE EARLY FOLLOWERS WERE YOUNG MEN, MAINLY ETHNIC PUSHTUNS, WHO HAD ABSORBED AN EXTREMIST INTERPRETATION OF ISLAM AT RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED WITHIN THE CAMPS BY PAKISTANI RELIGIOUS GROUPS WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF PAKISTAN'S MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, THE ISID. IN THE EARLY 1990S, THE NOW 41-YEAR-OLD MULLAH OMAR, A VETERAN OF THE FIGHT AGAINST THE SOVIETS, BEGAN TO COLLECT AROUND HIM A GROUP OF YOUNG MEN FROM THE CAMPS. OMAR HAD THE BACKING OF THE PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT, WHICH BEGAN ITS ACTIVE SUPPORT OF THE TALEBAN IN LATE 1994. PAKISTAN WANTED A FRIENDLY REGIME THAT WOULD PROVIDE IT STRATEGIC DEPTH, AND ACCESS TO THE CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES. OMAR'S ORIGINAL TASK WAS TO CLEAR THE ROADWAY FROM PAKISTAN TO THE AFGHAN CITY OF QANDAHAR, WHICH IS NOW HIS HEADQUARTERS. HE AND HIS FIGHTERS DEVELOPED AN AURA OF SUCCESS AND BEGAN TO ATTRACT ALLIES WITHIN AFGHANISTAN, INCLUDING SOME OF THE

SECRET

PAGE 24 STATE 170698 020218Z
CONTENDING COMMANDERS. THEY TOOK THE WESTERN CITY OF HERAT IN 1995 AND THE CAPITAL CITY, KABUL, IN 1996. BY 1996, THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE, COMPOSED MAINLY OF NON-PUSHTUN GROUPS (TAJIKS, HAZARAS, AND UZBEKS), WAS THE ONLY FORCE STANDING IN THE WAY OF COMPLETE VICTORY.

==THE TALEBAN'S ACTIONS TO HARBOR USAMA BIN LADIN==

(U) BIN LADIN MOVED TO AFGHANISTAN FROM SUDAN IN 1996 AND BEGAN TO SUPPORT THE TALEBAN. OMAR AND BIN LADIN QUICKLY DEVELOPED A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP, BASED ON COMMON INTERESTS AND A SHARED RELIGIOUS VISION. OMAR PROVIDED BIN LADIN A SAFE HAVEN AND ASSISTED HIM IN SETTING UP AND MANNING TERRORIST TRAINING CAMPS. HE OCCASIONALLY USED PUBLIC RELATIONS TO PROTECT BIN LADIN (E.G., DENIED HIS CULPABILITY IN THE 1998 U.S. EMBASSY BOMBINGS IN EAST AFRICA AND THE RECENT BOMBINGS IN NEW YORK CITY AND WASHINGTON D.C.) AND CLAIMED HE "DISAPPEARED" WHEN THE WORLD WAS LOOKING FOR HIM.

(U) BIN LADIN HAS PROVIDED THE TALEBAN TROOPS, ARMS, LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AND MONEY TO FIGHT THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE; GIVEN INFRASTRUCTURE ASSISTANCE, AND

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HUMANITARIAN AID; AND PROBABLY ORCHESTRATED THE RECENT ASSASSINATION OF NORTHERN ALLIANCE COMMANDER AHMED SHAH MASOOD. EVIDENCE AT THE RECENT TRIAL CONCERNING THE 1998 EAST AFRICA EMBASSY BOMBINGS INCLUDED A REPORT ENDORSING THE TALEBAN, WHICH WAS WRITTEN BY AL-QA'IDA'S MILITARY COMMANDER.

SECRET

PAGE 25 STATE 170698 020218Z

(U) THE TALEBAN HAVE PROVIDED SAFE HAVEN AND SOMETIMES ASSISTANCE TO OTHER TERRORISTS GROUPS, SUCH AS THE EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD, AL GAMA'AT EL ISLAMIYYA (ALSO EGYPTIAN), THE CHECHEN ISLAMIC MUJAHIDIN, KASHMIRI MILITANT GROUPS, AND THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF UZBEKISTAN. MUCH OF THIS ASSISTANCE WAS WITH THE COLLABORATION AND SUPPORT OF BIN LADIN.

(U) WITH THE BACKING OF BIN LADIN AND THE PAKISTANIS, THE TALEBAN DROVE THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE BACK TO A RELATIVELY SMALL AREA (5 - 10 PERCENT OF THE COUNTRY) IN THE NORTHEAST, INCLUDING MASOOD'S NORTHERN ALLIANCE STRONGHOLD. LIMITED FIGHTING BETWEEN THE TALEBAN AND NORTHERN ALLIANCE FORCES CONTINUES, BUT THE FEAR OF U.S. ACTION HAS PROMPTED THE TALEBAN TO SCATTER THEIR FORCES AND AL-QA'IDA VIRTUALLY TO ABANDON THE TERRORIST TRAINING CAMPS.

==U.S. ENGAGEMENT WITH THE TALEBAN AND AFGHANISTAN==

(U) THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN MEETING WITH THE TALEBAN SINCE THEY CAPTURED KABUL IN 1996 TO DISCUSS TERRORISM, PEACE, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, DRUGS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

SINCE OCTOBER 1999, THE U.S. MET DIRECTLY--DOZENS OF TIMES--WITH THE TALEBAN TO URGE THEIR ABANDONMENT OF UBL AND SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM. WE PROVIDED EVIDENCE OF USAMA BIN LADIN'S INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORIST ATTACKS IN EAST AFRICA DIRECTLY TO SENIOR TALEBAN LEADERS. IN OUR TALKS, WE STRESSED THAT UBL HAS MURDERED AMERICANS AND CONTINUES TO PLAN ATTACKS AGAINST AMERICANS AND OTHERS. WE

SECRET

PAGE 26 STATE 170698 020218Z

UNDERLINED THAT THE U.S. CANNOT IGNORE THESE THREATS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH THE TALEBAN TO EXPEL ALL TERRORISTS AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT TERRORISM. THESE TALKS WERE FRUITLESS.

(U) IN JUNE 2001, WHEN THREATS OF AN IMPENDING AL-QA'IDA

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ATTACK INCREASED, WE WARNED THE TALEBAN THAT THE U.S. HAD THE RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF AND THAT WE WOULD HOLD THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR ATTACKS AGAINST U.S. CITIZENS BY TERRORISTS HARBORED IN AFGHANISTAN. THE TALEBAN RESPONDED TO THESE WARNINGS WITH DECLARATIONS THAT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT USAMA BIN LADIN IS CONDUCTING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES FROM AFGHANISTAN, AND THAT NEITHER HE NOR HIS NETWORK WOULD BE EXPELLED AS DEMANDED BY THE U.S. AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THROUGH UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 1363 (2001), 1333 (2000) AND 1267 (1999).

(U) TALEBAN STEPS TO CLOSE THE TERRORIST NETWORK AND CAMPS WOULD HAVE ENABLED THE U.S. TO DISCUSS OTHER ISSUES WITH THE TALEBAN IN AN IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE. DESPITE TALEBAN REBUFFS, THE U.S. CONTINUALLY DEMONSTRATED SUPPORT FOR THE AFGHAN PEOPLE.

(U) SINCE 1999, THE U.S. HAS BEEN THE SINGLE LARGEST DONOR OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO AFGHANISTAN WITH CONTRIBUTIONS TOTALING \$600 MILLION. DURING THIS PERIOD, THE U.S. SOUGHT WITH AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE TALEBAN AND THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE TO SEEK A CEASE-FIRE AND PRISONER EXCHANGE. WE CALLED UPON THE TALEBAN TO ADHERE TO INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED HUMAN RIGHTS NORMS AND PRACTICES, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING WOMEN AND YOUNG

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PAGE 27 STATE 170698 020218Z
GIRLS. WE SUPPORTED UNSYG ANNAN'S REPRESENTATIVE FOR AFGHANISTAN TO SEEK A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT AND OTHER INITIATIVES TO INCLUDE ALL AFGHANS IN A PROCESS TO ESTABLISH A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT.

PART V. THE WIDER CONTEXT OF THE GLOBAL TERRORIST THREAT

(U) THIS REPORT MAKES CLEAR THAT THE AL-QA'IDA NETWORK OPERATES WITH GREAT SOPHISTICATION AND SECRECY, BUT NONETHELESS DEMONSTRATES DISTINCTIVE PATTERNS AND LINKAGES THAT WE HAVE SEEN AGAIN CLEARLY IN THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS. IT IS LIKELY THAT INVESTIGATIONS IN THE U.S. AND ELSEWHERE WILL REVEAL MORE ABOUT HOW AL-QA'IDA PLANNED AND CARRIED OUT THE TERRORIST ACTIONS OF SEPTEMBER 11. WE MAY ALSO LEARN ADDITIONAL FACTS ABOUT THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE SUPPORT PROVIDED TO AL-QA'IDA BY THE TALEBAN AND, PERHAPS, OTHERS. BUT ONE FACT IS CLEAR AND INCONTROVERTIBLE; AL-QA'IDA OPERATIVES PLAYED A CENTRAL ROLE IN THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER 11, A ROLE MADE POSSIBLE BY THE TALEBAN.

(U) MEETING THE THREAT OF TERRORISM POSED BY AL-QA'IDA AND

UNCLASSIFIED

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OTHERS WILL TAKE GREAT EFFORT. AS PRESIDENT BUSH DECLARED ON SEPTEMBER 20: "OUR WAR ON TERROR BEGINS WITH AL-QA'IDA, BUT DOES NOT END THERE. IT WILL NOT END UNTIL EVERY TERRORIST GROUP OF GLOBAL REACH HAS BEEN FOUND, STOPPED, AND DEFEATED. . . . AND WE WILL PURSUE NATIONS THAT PROVIDE AID AND SAFE HAVEN TO TERRORISM."

(U) WE FACE AN EVEN GREATER DANGER--THE DANGER OF WEAPONS
SECRET

PAGE 28 STATE 170698 020218Z
OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN THE HANDS OF TERRORIST GROUPS OR THEIR STATE SUPPORTERS. WE KNOW THAT THEY ARE ACTIVELY SEEKING SUCH WEAPONS AND ARE WILLING TO USE THEM TO DO GRIEVOUS HARM TO AMERICANS AND OUR FRIENDS. THIS MAKES OUR BROAD CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TERRORIST THREAT EVEN MORE URGENT AND COMPELLING.

(U) THE TASK IS THEREFORE AS THE PRESIDENT STATED ON SEPTEMBER 20: "WE WILL DIRECT EVERY RESOURCE AT OUR COMMAND--EVERY MEANS OF DIPLOMACY, EVERY TOOL OF INTELLIGENCE, EVERY INSTRUMENT OF LAW ENFORCEMENT, EVERY FINANCIAL INFLUENCE AND EVERY NECESSARY WEAPON OF WAR--TO THE DESTRUCTION AND TO THE DEFEAT OF THE GLOBAL TERROR NETWORK."

(U) MEETING THE THREAT OF TERRORISM WILL ALSO REQUIRE COMMON EFFORT. SUCH COOPERATION IS BOTH NECESSARY AND APPROPRIATE. THE TARGETS OF THE HORRIBLE ACTS OF

SEPTEMBER 11 WERE NOT ONLY INNOCENT AMERICANS BUT ALSO INNOCENT INDIVIDUALS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. TERRORISM IS A THREAT TO US ALL, REGARDLESS OF RELIGION, NATIONALITY, OR RACE. ALL CIVILIZED NATIONS AND CIVILIZED PEOPLE EVERYWHERE MUST BAND TOGETHER TO DEFEAT THIS THREAT.

--A THREAT TO THE ENTIRE WORLD--

(U) AL-QA'IDA DOCTRINE DEMONSTRATES A PROFOUND INDIFFERENCE TO THE FATE OF INNOCENT PEOPLE--NOT ONLY AMERICANS--THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IN HIS OWN PUBLIC
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PAGE 29 STATE 170698 020218Z
STATEMENTS, BIN LADIN HAS SAID THAT HE BELIEVES THE DEATH OF LARGE NUMBERS OF INNOCENT BYSTANDERS IS AN ACCEPTABLE PART OF HIS OPERATIONS.

(U) THE VAST MAJORITY OF AL-QA'IDA'S VICTIMS IN THE

UNCLASSIFIED

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BOMBINGS OF THE U.S. EMBASSIES IN KENYA AND TANZANIA WERE INNOCENT AFRICAN BYSTANDERS IN NO WAY CONNECTED TO THE UNITED STATES.

(U) ALONG THE SAME LINES, THE TOLL OF MISSING AND DEAD FROM THE RECENT ATTACK ON THE WORLD TRADE CENTER INCLUDES HUNDREDS OF NON-U.S. CITIZENS FROM 79 NATIONS.

(U) AL-QA'IDA ALSO PROVIDES GUIDANCE, FUNDING, TRAINING, OPERATIVES, AND LOGISTIC SUPPORT TO TERRORIST GROUPS THAT TARGET THE MANY OTHER GOVERNMENTS IT OPPOSES--SUCH AS OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES AND GOVERNMENTS IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT SUPPORT ITS EXTREME INTERPRETATION OF ISLAM. THE FOLLOWING ARE ONLY A FEW OF THE MANY EXAMPLES THAT ILLUSTRATE AL-QA'IDA'S WIDER TERRORIST TIES AND THE BREADTH OF ITS AGENDA.

--(U) THE EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD--THE ORGANIZATION THAT KILLED 16 PEOPLE IN A BOMBING OF THE EGYPTIAN EMBASSY IN PAKISTAN IN 1995--IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF AL-QA'IDA, AND ITS LEADER, AYMAN AL-ZAWAHIRI, IS ONE OF BIN LADIN'S TOP DEPUTIES.

--(U) TERRORISTS WHO CONFESSED ON SAUDI TELEVISION TO HAVING BEEN INSPIRED BY BIN LADIN BOMBED A JOINT U.S.- SAUDI MILITARY TRAINING MISSION IN RIYADH IN 1995, KILLING
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PAGE 30 STATE 170698 020218Z
FIVE AMERICANS AND TWO EMPLOYEES OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

--(U) IN 1994, AUTHORITIES IN THE PHILIPPINES DISCOVERED A CELL THAT INCLUDED RAMZI YOUSEF, MASTERMIND OF THE FIRST ATTACK ON THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN 1993, AND WALI KHAN

AMIN SHAH, ONE OF BIN LADIN'S CLOSEST ADVISORS. THEY WERE PLANNING TO BOMB A DOZEN PASSENGER AIRLINERS OVER THE PACIFIC OCEAN AND ASSASSINATE THE POPE.

--(U) IN DECEMBER 2000, AUTHORITIES IN FRANKFURT, GERMANY, ARRESTED MEMBERS OF A TERRORIST CELL WHO HAD TRAINED IN AFGHANISTAN. THEY WERE ASSEMBLING BOMBS AND HAD PRODUCED SURVEILLANCE TAPES OF A CROWDED CHRISTMAS MARKET AT A DOWNTOWN SQUARE IN STRASBOURG, FRANCE.

--(U) AL-QA'IDA SUPPORTS THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF UZBEKISTAN (IMU), A TERRORIST GROUP THAT HAS CONDUCTED TERRORIST OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA. TALEBAN LEADER MULLAH OMAR HAS APPOINTED THE IMU'S MILITARY CHIEF, JUMABOY NAMANGANI, AS THE COMMANDER OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FIGHTING ALONGSIDE THE TALEBAN.

--- (U) WHAT MOSLEM SCHOLARS SAY ABOUT BIN LADIN'S TACTICS---

(U) BIN LADIN HAS DISTORTED THE TEACHINGS OF ISLAM IN AN ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY HIS SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN OF ALL FAITHS. AS IT IS WRITTEN IN THE KORAN, SURAT AL BAQARA (SURE II), VERSE 190: "FIGHT IN THE CAUSE OF GOD THOSE WHO FIGHT YOU, BUT DO NOT

SECRET

PAGE 31 STATE 170698 020218Z
TRANSGRESS LIMITS, FOR GOD DOES NOT LOVE TRANSGRESSORS." BIN LADIN'S TWISTED INTERPRETATIONS HAVE BEEN REJECTED REPEATEDLY AND FORCEFULLY BY SOME OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED FIGURES IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD.

-- (U) SHEIKH MOHAMMED SAYYED AL-TANTAWI OF AL-AZHAR, THE HIGHEST INSTITUTION IN SUNNI ISLAM, DECLARED TO THOUSANDS OF THE FAITHFUL IN HIS SEPTEMBER 14, 2001 SERMON IN CAIRO THAT "ATTACKING INNOCENT PEOPLE IS NOT COURAGEOUS, IT IS STUPID AND WILL BE PUNISHED ON THE DAY OF JUDGMENT."

-- (U) THE GRAND MUFTI OF THE REPUBLIC OF SYRIA, HIS EMINENCE SHEIKH AHMAD KIFTARU, ON SEPTEMBER 15 DENOUNCED THE ATTACKS, SAYING THAT "MUSLIMS SHARE THE AMERICAN'S GRIEF OVER THIS PAINFUL TRAGEDY."

-- (U) FORTY-SIX ISLAMIC OPPOSITION GROUPS AND MOVEMENTS, INCLUDING THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPT, RECENTLY SIGNED A STATEMENT EXPRESSING OUTRAGE AT THE SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS ON INNOCENT CIVILIANS.

END TEXT

3. (U) THE FOLLOWING GLOSSARY OF NAMES AND TERMS OFFERS USEFUL REFERENCE.

BEGIN GLOSSARY

==NAMES==

(U) A. ABU HAFS AL-MASRI ((HAFS)): AL-QA'IDA MILITARY
SECRET

PAGE 32 STATE 170698 020218Z
COMMANDER. AL-MASRI MEANS THE EGYPTIAN.

(U) B. NAWAF AL-HAMZI ((NAWAF HAMZI)): SUSPECTED HIJACKER OF AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 77, WHICH CRASHED INTO THE

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PENTAGON.

(U) C. HARUN ((HARUN)): BIN LADIN OPERATIVE AND ORGANIZER OF THE 1998 EAST AFRICA EMBASSY BOMBINGS. RENTED THE HOUSE WHERE THE NAIROBI BOMB WAS ASSEMBLED.

(SECRET/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) D. MUHAMMAD JAMAL KHALIFA ((KHALIFA)): BIN LADIN'S BROTHER-IN-LAW. FINANCIER OF THE TERRORISTS ARRESTED IN THE MANILA AIRPLANE BOMBING CONSPIRACY.

(SECRET/REL TO SELECT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS) E. KHALLAD: A SENIOR BIN LADIN LIEUTENANT WHO HAS SERVED ON BIN LADIN'S SECURITY DETAIL AND WHO HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED BY A SOURCE INVOLVED IN THE ATTACK ON THE USS COLE AS THE MASTERMIND OF THE BOMBING.

(U) F. WALI KHAN A/K/A "AZMARAI" ((KHAN)): CONVICTED OF 1994 PLOT TO BOMB 12 U.S. AIRLINERS OPERATING FROM THE PHILIPPINES. BIN LADIN HAS PUBLICLY PRAISED AZMARAI AS RECENTLY AS THE FALL OF 2000.

(U) G. L'HOUSSAINE KHERCHTOU ((KHERCHTOU)): AN ADMITTED FORMER MEMBER OF AL QAIDA. ADMITTED THAT HE HAD HOSTED THE AL-QA'IDA SURVEILLANCE TEAM (INCLUDING ALI MOHAMED) IN NAIROBI IN 1993.

SECRET

PAGE 33 STATE 170698 020218Z

(U) H. USAMA BIN LADIN ((BIN LADIN)): FOUNDER AND LEADER OF AL-QA'IDA. HAS DECLARED THAT HIS GOAL IS TO DRIVE AMERICANS FROM THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST BY KILLING U.S. CITIZENS, GOVERNMENT, MILITARY OR CIVILIAN, WHENEVER POSSIBLE.

(U) I. KHALID AL-MIHDHAR ((MIHDHAR)): SUSPECTED HIJACKER OF AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 77, WHICH CRASHED INTO THE PENTAGON.

(U) J. KHALFAN KHAMIS MOHAMED ((MOHAMED)): CONVICTED FOR HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE 1998 DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, EMBASSY BOMBING.

(U) K. MOHAMED SADEEK ODEH ((ODEH)): PARTICIPANT IN THE 1998 NAIROBI, KENYA, EMBASSY BOMBING.

(U) L. MULLAH MOHAMMAD OMAR ((OMAR)): LEADER OF THE TALEBAN IN AFGHANISTAN.

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(U) M. MOHAMED RASHED DAUD AL-'OWHALI ((OOWHALI)): WOULD-BE SUICIDE BOMBER WHO CARRIED OUT THE 1998 NAIROBI, KENYA, EMBASSY BOMBING.

(U) N. ABDEL RAHMAN ((RAHMAN)), NAME VARIANT 'ABD AL-RAHMAN: BIN LADIN OPERATIVE AND ORGANIZER OF THE 1998 EAST AFRICA EMBASSY BOMBINGS.

(U) O. SHEIKH OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN ((SHEIKH RAHMAN)), NAME VARIANT SHEIKH OMAR 'ABD AL-RAHMAN: CONVICTED OF
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PAGE 34 STATE 170698 020218Z
CONSPIRACY TO BOMB LANDMARKS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1993. IN 2000 BIN LADIN CALLED FOR A JIHAD TO FREE THE "BROTHERS" FROM JAIL, INCLUDING SHEIKH OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN.

(U) P. AHMAD RESSAM ((RESSAM)): ALGERIAN NATIONAL WHO WAS STOPPED AT THE US-CANADIAN BORDER WITH OVER 100 POUNDS OF BOMB MAKING MATERIALS IN HIS CAR. LATER ADMITTED THAT HE WAS PLANNING TO SET OFF A LARGE BOMB AT LOS ANGELES INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ON NEW YEAR'S DAY. HE SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED TERRORIST TRAINING AT AL-QA'IDA-RUN CAMPS IN AFGHANISTAN AND WAS INSTRUCTED TO GO ABROAD AND KILL US CIVILIANS AND MILITARY PERSONNEL.

(U) Q. SALEH ((SALEH)): BIN LADIN OPERATIVE AND ORGANIZER OF THE 1998 EAST AFRICA EMBASSY BOMBINGS.

(U) R. RAMZI YOUSEF ((YOUSEF)): BIN LADIN ASSOCIATE AND TERRORIST. CONVICTED OF 1994 PLOT TO BOMB 12 U.S. AIRLINERS IN FLIGHT OVER THE PACIFIC OCEAN. ALSO CONVICTED FOR HIS ROLE AS MASTERMIND OF THE 1993 WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING.

(U) S. AYMAN ZAWAHIRI ((ZAWAHIRI)): HEAD OF THE ISLAMIC RADICAL GROUP EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (EIJ) AN ORGANIZATION CLOSELY LINKED WITH BIN LADIN'S AL-QA'IDA.

(U) T. ABU ZUBAIDA ((ZUBAIDA)): ZAYN AL-ABIDIN MUHAMMAD HUSAYN, A SENIOR BIN LADIN LIEUTENANT AND TERRORIST FACILITATOR.

==TERMS==

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PAGE 35 STATE 170698 020218Z

(U) AA. AL-QA'IDA - ARABIC FOR "THE BASE," AS IN A

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MILITARY BASE.

(U) BB. FATWA - A RULING ISSUED BY AN ISLAMIC SCHOLAR REGARDING THE LEGITIMACY OF A PARTICULAR ACTION.

(U) CC. JIHAD - HOLY WAR

(U) DD. MUJAHIDIN - A MUSLIM FIGHTER IN A HOLY WAR.

(U) EE. TALEBAN - AFGHANISTAN'S RULING ORGANIZATION. ORIGINALLY A MILITIA GROUP MADE UP OF FORMER RELIGIOUS STUDENTS. DEVOTED TO A STRICT, FUNDAMENTALIST INTERPRETATION OF ISLAM.

END GLOSSARY.

POWELL

SECRET

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