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*Triste cosa es no tener amigos, pero más triste ha de ser no tener enemigos porque quién no tenga enemigos señal es de que no tiene talento que haga sombra, ni carácter que impresione, ni valor temido, ni honra de la que se murmure, ni bienes que se le codicien, ni cosa alguna que se le envidie. A sad thing it is to not have friends, but even sadder must it be not having any enemies; that a man should have no enemies is a sign that he has no talent to outshine others, nor character that inspires, nor valor that is feared, nor honor to be rumored, nor goods to be coveted, nor anything to be envied. -Jose Marti*

## **Briefing Paper**



## **Saudi Arabian nation-state involvement in 9/11 Attacks on WTC**

From the desk of Craig B Hulet?

September 12, 2011

## **Saudi Arabian nation-state involvement in 9/11 Attacks on WTC/WTO**

**By Craig B Hulet?**

Although the use of the term *al Qaeda* remains dubious and as I've stated many times it was never used prior to the 9/11 attacks in any diplomatic cable, declassified documents, state department travel warnings, nor anywhere else for that matter, one is forced into this paradigmatically *useful term* after ten years of that forced usage. And bearing this in mind and that it was not Ussamah Bin Laden who orchestrated 9/11, please allow the point to be taken here for making my argument, which is all we can do these days.

The FBI never claimed he did 9/11 under his [their] "Most Wanted" description, nor was there ever any grand jury indictment handed down as Alan M. Dershowitz charged in his diatribe against Noam Chomsky's late arguments which mirrored my own of ten years. And nor was there any proper translations of any such "taking credit" for 9/11 by Bin Laden. But here below we are seeing someone recognize that there was no way anyone, no entity, no group no matter what they called themselves or didn't call themselves that could have pulled off 9/11 without the Saudi state apparatus's involvement:

"Lloyd's insurance says the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its banks and charities, which sponsored al Qaeda, should pay the more than \$215 million the insurer has spent on insurance settlements to families of the victims of 9/11. "Absent the sponsorship of al Qaeda's material sponsors and supporters, including the defendants named herein, al Qaeda would not have possessed the capacity to conceive, plan and execute the September 11th Attacks," the insurer says.

Named as defendants are the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Saudi High Commission for Relief of Bosnia & Herzegovina, the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya, the Saudi Red Crescent Society, National Commercial Bank, Al Rajhi Banking and Investment Company, Prince Salman Bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, Suleiman Abdel Aziz Al Rajhi [CEO of al Rajhi Bank], and Yassin Al Qadi [employee of al Rajhi Bank].

Plaintiff, The Underwriting Members of Lloyd's Syndicate 3500, says it has already paid more than \$215 million in claims for the "9/11 Aviation cases."

"Through the instant action, plaintiff seeks recovery of amounts paid on behalf of its insureds in settlement of the 9/11 Aviation cases, and amounts expended in relation to the defense of its insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation, from parties who knowingly provided material support and resources to al Qaeda in the years leading up to the September 11th Attacks, and who by virtue of their intentional conduct bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the September 11th Attacks." [end quote]

(See: <http://www.courthousenews.com/2011/09/12/Lloyds911.pdf>)

That the charges do not include the Saudi's highly sophisticated intelligence organizations, it is implied in the arguments made herein. One can only hope the Lloyds legal team finds its way to the classified documents removed from the 9/11

Commission's possession by the FBI and classified for 30 years; this then is where Senator Bob Graham stated in his press conference immediately thereafter the documents were seized which detailed nation-state involvement in the act of 9/11.

Senator Bob Graham argued on NPR regarding the 9/11 hearings:

"I think there is very compelling evidence that at least some of the terrorists were assisted, not just in financing -- although that was part of it -- by a *sovereign foreign government* and that we have been derelict in our duty to track that down, make the further case, or find the evidence that would indicate that that is not true and we can look for other reasons why the terrorists were able to function so effectively in the United States."

GWEN IFILL: "Do you think that will ever become public, which countries you're talking about? "

SEN. BOB GRAHAM: It will become public at some point when it's turned over to the archives, but that's 20 or 30 years from now. And, we need to have this information now because it's relevant to the threat that the people of the United States are facing today."

Though he failed at that press conference at the time to detail Saudi Arabia as one of the maybe more than one nation-state's involved it is improbable that the evidence he did discover failed to include that nation. With the recent release of the documents titled "*Al Qa'ida's Foreign Fighters in Iraq: A First Look at the Sinjar Records* (Source: November 2007, the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point ) which outline in some great detail, that well-over half of all foreign fighters fighting in Iraq (purportedly in Afghanistan and now in Libya) are of Saudi birth including the majority of suicide bombers in all cases, it is contestable that the Saudi regime and its most sophisticated intelligence operations have no knowledge or control over such combined asymmetric warfare. Add to that the Lloyds of London combined law suits against the Saudi regime and the Royal family the picture becomes clearer.

Of course immediately after Bob Graham's bombshells were dropped on Sept. 12<sup>th</sup> President Obama immediately went public Sept. 16<sup>th</sup> side by side with the most corrupt King Abdullah stating US and Saudi relationship was doing just fine even though the push for Palestinian statehood the same week has "upset" the little King to no end. And the Arab Spring? Well that too has upset the little King but President Obama has assured the King no Arab Spring will upset our "special relationship" we have with Saudi Arabia, no matter what they perpetrated on 9/11. The latter I added as it is clear Graham's and Hulet's remarks, per contra bear no weight at all.

By Sept. 20<sup>th</sup> Lloyds had withdrawn the lawsuit without prejudice though they can always file it again if the Saudi's do not settle the claim plus treble damages. Buy \$1 billion to the Royal family is nothing but change and after all this Obama kissed the ring and with his blessing all is right in the Kingdom.

Notwithstanding the gathering evidence! Here is but a bit of the evidence still coming.

### **Former Sen. Bob Graham calls for new 9/11 investigation**

Former Democratic Senator Bob Graham on Monday called on the U.S. government to reopen its investigation into 9/11 after a report found that links between Saudi Arabia and the hijackers were never disclosed by the FBI to the 2002 joint Congressional intelligence committee investigating the attacks.

“In the final report of the congressional inquiry, there was a chapter related primarily to the Saudi role in 9/11 that was totally censored, every word of the chapter has been withheld from the public,” Graham said on MSNBC’s *The Dylan Ratigan Show*.

“Some of the other questions we ought to be asking are if we know that the Saudis who lived in San Diego and now apparently in Sarasota received substantial assistance, what about the Saudis who lived in Phoenix, Arizona? Or Arlington, Virginia? ... What was happening in those places?”

“I believe these are questions for which there are definitive answers, but the American people and largely their elected representatives have been denied that information.” Also watch this video, courtesy of MSNBC:

<http://www.rawstory.com/rawreplay/2011/09/former-sen-bob-graham-calls-for-new-911-investigation/>

Any law enforcement officer can point out that too often it is who gains the most by any criminal act that it is then discovered it is they who committed the act or participated in its commitment.

Only Saudi Arabia and Israel truly have gained by 9/11 and the wars fought allegedly over this act of terror. While it can be argued US and Western multinational banks and corporations gained via pipelines and other discoveries of raw materials in, say Afghanistan, and that is obvious. (Recall JP Morgan’s elation over its discovery of Rubies and Gold, in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan during 2011!) Iraq’s oil reserves and major water thoroughfares the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers, its central landlocked location encircling Iran which must be isolated according to every US national security study, and the elimination of its war fighting capabilities inclusive of *conventional capabilities* according to the April 1990 Task Force Report to the White House [the meeting itself was held at the White House] on the Israeli Palestinian Issue, and other notable benefits to both nations already mentioned. That the United States gains is too obvious to contemplate but less so is the obviousness that Saudi Arabia gains the most outside of Israel itself.

The present President has issued an executive order outlining the Administration’s efforts to curtail organized crime syndicates from exploiting the deficiencies in the US Justice System. Titled *Order--Blocking Property of Transnational Criminal Organizations*

My argument therefore remains the same as it was on September 20<sup>th</sup> 2001, live in Washington DC when I refuted then President George W. Bush Junior's first Terrorism speech to the nation, that "bin Laden did not perpetrate the WTO attacks, but that there was nation state involvement". I didn't at that time guess it would be Saudi Arabia. Ten years later it could only have been that nation and its highly trained (by the United States' intelligence agencies) intelligence services.

Craig B Hulet?

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### **FBI found direct ties between 9/11 hijackers and Saudis living in Florida; Congress kept in dark**

**Dan Christensen**



United Airlines Flight 175 hits the World Trade Center's south tower

Just two weeks before the 9/11 hijackers slammed into the Pentagon and World Trade Center, members of a Saudi family abruptly left their luxury home near Sarasota, leaving a brand new car in the driveway, a refrigerator full of food, fruit on the counter — and an open safe in the master bedroom.

In the weeks to follow, law enforcement agents not only discovered the home was visited by vehicles used by the hijackers, but phone calls were linked between the home and those who carried out the death flights — including leader Mohamed Atta — in discoveries never before revealed to the public.

Ten years after the deadliest attack of terrorism on U.S. soil, new information has emerged that shows the FBI found troubling ties between the hijackers and residents in the upscale community in southwest Florida, but the investigation wasn't reported to Congress or mentioned in the 9/11 Commission Report.

Former U.S. Sen. Bob Graham, the Florida Democrat who cochaired the bipartisan congressional Joint Inquiry into the attacks, said he should have been told about the findings, saying it “opens the door to a new chapter of investigation as to the depth of the Saudi role in 9/11. ... No information relative to the named people in Sarasota was disclosed.”

The U.S. Justice Department, the lead agency that investigated the attacks, refused to comment, saying it will discuss only information already released.

The Saudi residents then living at the stylish home, Abdulazzi al-Hijjii and his wife Anoud, could not be reached, nor could the then owner of the house, Esam Ghazzawi, who is Anoud’s father. The house was sold in 2003, records show.

### **GRAHAM HAS QUESTIONS**

For Graham, who served as Florida’s governor from 1979 to 1987, the connections between the hijackers and residents raise questions about whether other Saudi nationals in Florida knew of the impending attacks, which killed nearly 3,000 people.

The FBI investigation began the month after 9/11 when Larry Berberich, senior administrator and security officer of the gated community known as Prestancia, reported a bizarre event that took place two weeks before the hijackings of four passenger jets that originated in Boston, Newark and Washington.

The couple, living with their small children at the three-bedroom home at 4224 Escondito Circle, had left in a hurry in a white van, probably on Aug. 30.

They abandoned three recently registered vehicles, including a brand-new Chrysler PT Cruiser, in the garage and driveway.

After 9/11, Berberich said he had “a gut feeling” the people at the home may have had something to do with the attacks, prompting the FBI’s probe that would eventually link the hijackers to the house.

As an advisor to the Sarasota County sheriff — Berberich was with the group that received President Bush during his aborted visit to a Sarasota school on the morning of 9/11. He alerted sheriff’s deputies.

Patrick Gallagher, one of the Saudis’ neighbors, had become suspicious even earlier, and had fired off an email to the FBI on the day of the attacks. Gallagher said law enforcement officers arrived and began an investigation, with agents swarming “all over the place, in their blue jackets,” he recalled.

Jone Weist, president of the group that managed Prestancia, confirmed the arrival of the FBI, which requested copies of the Saudis’ financial transactions involving the house.

## SIGNS OF A FAST EXIT

Berberich and a senior counterterrorism agent said they were able to get into the abandoned house, ultimately finding “there was mail on the table, dirty diapers in one of the bathrooms ... all the toiletries still in place ... all their clothes hanging in the closet ... TVs ... opulent furniture, equal or greater in value than the house ... the pool running, with toys in it.”



Inside the home at 4224 Escondito Circle

“The beds were made ... fruit on the counter ... the refrigerator full of food. ... It was like they went grocery shopping. Like they went out to a movie ... [But] the safe was open in the master bedroom, with nothing in it, not a paper clip. ... A computer was still there. A computer plug in another room, and the line still there. Looked like they’d taken [another] computer and left the cord.”

The counterterrorism officer, who requested his name not be disclosed, said agents went on to make troubling discoveries: Phone records and the Prestancia gate records linked the house on Escondito Circle to the hijackers.

In addition, three of the four future hijackers had lived in Venice — just 10 miles from the house — for much of the year before 9/11.

Atta, the leader, and his companion Marwan al-Shehhi, had been learning to fly small airplanes at Huffman Aviation, a flight school on the edge of the runway at Venice Municipal Airport.

A block away, at Florida Flight Training, accomplice Ziad Jarrah was also taking flying lessons. All three obtained their pilot licenses and afterwards, in the months that led to 9/11, spent much of their time traveling the state, including stints in Hollywood, Fort Lauderdale and Delray Beach, among other areas.

The counterterrorism agent said records of incoming and outgoing calls made at the Escondito house were obtained from the phone company under subpoena.

Agents were able to conduct a link analysis, a system of tracking calls based on dates, times and length of conversations — finding the Escondito calls dating back more than a year, “lined up with the known suspects.”

The links were not only to Atta and his hijack pilots, the agent said, but to 11 other terrorist suspects, including Walid al-Shehri, one of the men who flew with Atta on the first plane to strike the World Trade Center.

Another was Adnan Shukrijumah, a former Miramar resident identified as having been with Atta in the spring of 2001. Shukrijumah is still at large and is on the FBI’s Most Wanted list.

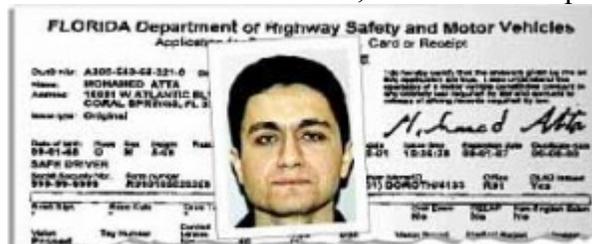
But it was the gate records at the Prestancia development that produced the most telltale information.

People who arrived by car had to give their names and the home’s address they were visiting. Gate staff would sometimes ask to see a driver’s license and note the name, said Berberich.

## LICENSE PLATES PHOTOGRAPHED

More importantly, he added, the license plates of cars pulling through the gate were photographed.

Atta is known to have used variations of his name, but the license plate of the car he



owned was on record.

The vehicle and name information on Atta and Jarrah fit that of drivers entering Prestancia on their way to visit the home at 4224 Escondito Circle, said Berberich and the counterterrorism officer.

Sarasota County property records identify the owners of the house at the time as Ghazzawi and his American-born wife Deborah, both with a post office box in al-Khobar, Saudi Arabia, and another address in the capital, Riyadh.

Ghazzawi was described as a middle-aged financier and interior designer, the owner of many properties, including several in the United States, said the counterterrorism agent.

While Ghazzawi visited the house, the people living there were his daughter Anoud and her husband al-Hijjii, who appeared to be in his 30s and once identified himself as a college student, said Berberich, who met the son-in-law.

The couple's sudden departure two weeks before 9/11 was tracked in detail by the FBI after the attacks, the counterterrorism agent said.

First, they traveled to a Ghazzawi property in Arlington, Va., then — with Esam Ghazzawi — via Dulles airport and London's Heathrow, to Riyadh.

The counterterrorism agent said Ghazzawi and al-Hijjii had been on a watch list at the FBI and that a U.S. agency involved in tracking terrorist funds was interested in both men even before 9/11.

"464 was Ghazzawi's number," the officer said. "I don't remember the other man's number."

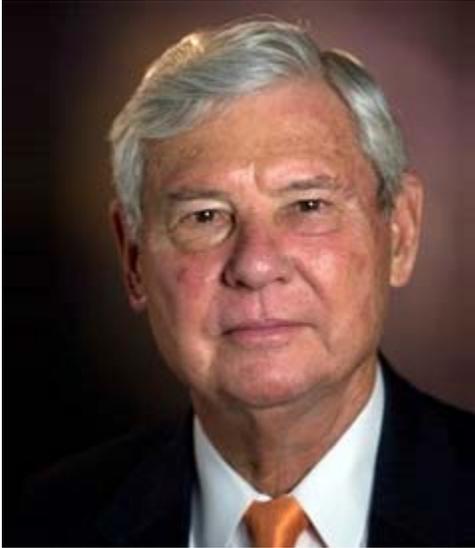
About a year after the family abandoned the home, the FBI made an attempt to lure the owner back.

Scott McKay, a Sarasota lawyer for the Prestancia homeowners' association in its claim for unpaid dues on the property, said the FBI tried to get him to bring the Saudis back for the transaction.

"They didn't say you must do this. It was more like, 'But we'd really, really like you to make this happen,'" said McKay said.

McKay said he tried to get the Ghazzawis to sign the necessary documents in person, but the ploy failed because the documents could legally be signed elsewhere using a notary. Records show Ghazzawi's signature was notarized by the vice consul of the U.S. embassy in Lebanon in September 2003. Deborah Ghazzawi's signature was notarized in Riverside County, Calif.

## **CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY KEPT IN DARK**



Former Florida U.S. Senator Bob Graham

During an interview on Sunday, Graham said he was surprised he wasn't told about the probe when he was co-chair of Congress' Joint Inquiry into 9/11 — even though he was especially alert to terrorist information relating to Florida.

“At the beginning of the investigation,” he said, “each of the intelligence agencies, including the FBI, was asked to provide all information that agency possessed in relation to 9/11.”

The fact that the FBI did not tell the Inquiry about the Florida discoveries, Graham says, is similar to the agency's failure to provide information linking members of the 9/11 terrorist team to other Saudis in California until congressional investigators discovered it themselves.

The Inquiry did nevertheless accumulate a “very large” file on the hijackers in the United States, and later turned it over to the 9/11 Commission. “They did very little with it,” Graham said, “and their reference to Saudi Arabia is almost cryptic sometimes. ... I never got a good answer as to why they did not pursue that.”

The final 28-page section of the Inquiry's report, which deals with “sources of foreign support for some of the Sept. 11 hijackers,” was entirely blanked out. It was kept secret from the public on the orders of former President George W. Bush and is still withheld to this day, Graham said.

This in spite of the fact that Graham and his Republican counterpart, U.S. Sen. Richard Shelby of Alabama, both concluded the release of the pages would not endanger national security.

The grounds for suppressing the material, Graham believes, were “protection of the Saudis from embarrassment, protection of the administration from political embarrassment ... some of the unknowns, some of the secrets of 9/11.”

Former Florida governor and senator Bob Graham is calling on President Obama to reopen the investigation into the Sept. 11 attacks after new information has emerged about the possible role of prominent Saudis in the 9/11 plot. According to recent news reports, a wealthy young Saudi couple fled their home in a gated community in Sarasota, Florida, just a week or so before Sept. 11, 2001, leaving behind three cars and nearly all of their possessions. The FBI was tipped off about the couple but never passed the information on to the 9/11 Commission investigating the attacks, even though phone records showed the couple had ties to Mohamed Atta and at least 10 other al-Qaeda suspects. Graham joins us to discuss the news he's called "the most important thing about 9/11 to surface in the last seven or eight years." As the former chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, a post he held on September 11, 2001, Graham chaired the Congressional Joint Inquiry into the attacks. He's just written a novel called "Keys to the Kingdom," which follows a fictitious former senator and co-chair of the 9/11 congressional inquiry who is murdered near his Florida home after he uncovers an international conspiracy linking the Saudi Kingdom to Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda. Graham says he chose to write the novel after his 2004 non-fiction book, "Intelligence Matters," was heavily censored.

[includes rush transcript] **JUAN GONZALEZ:** Former Florida Senator Bob Graham is calling on President Obama to reopen the investigation into the September 11th attacks after new information has emerged about the possible role of prominent Saudis in the 9/11 attack.

According to recent news reports, a wealthy young Saudi couple fled their home in a gated community in Sarasota, Florida, just a week or so before 9/11, leaving behind three cars and nearly all of their possessions. The FBI was tipped off about the couple but never passed the information on to the September 11 Commission, even though phone records showed the couple had ties to Mohamed Atta and at least 10 other al-Qaeda suspects.

Former Senator Bob Graham described the news as, quote, "the most important thing about 9/11 to surface in the last seven or eight years." Graham said, "The key umbrella question is: What was the full extent of Saudi involvement prior to 9/11 and why did the U.S. administration cover this up?"

**AMY GOODMAN:** Back in 2004, documentary filmmaker Michael Moore drew attention to the fact that the White House had also approved planes to pick up the bin Ladens and numerous other Saudis shortly after the Twin Towers were hit. In this clip from his documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11*, Michael Moore speaks with Democratic Senator Byron Dorgan of North Dakota, who was on the Senate Subcommittee on Aviation at the time.

**SEN. BYRON DORGAN:** We had some airplanes authorized at the highest levels of our government to fly to pick up Osama bin Laden's family members and others from Saudi Arabia and transport them out of this country.

**MICHAEL MOORE:** It turns that the White House approved planes to pick up the bin Ladens and numerous other Saudis. At least six private jets and nearly two dozen commercial planes carried the Saudis and the bin Ladens out of the U.S. after September 13th. In all, 142 Saudis, including 24 members of the bin Laden family, were allowed to leave the country.

**AMY GOODMAN:** That was a clip from *Fahrenheit 9/11* by Michael Moore.

We're joined now by former Florida governor and senator, Bob Graham. He's in Washington, D.C. As the chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, a post he held on September 11, 2001, he chaired the Congressional Joint Inquiry into the deadly attacks. He has just written a novel called *Keys to the Kingdom*.

Senator Bob Graham, welcome to *Democracy Now!* Let's start with this new information that we have learned. It may not be new information to the government, but talk about this Saudi couple in Sarasota, Florida.

**BOB GRAHAM:** Thank you, Amy, and good morning.

One of the questions around 9/11 is whether these 19 hijackers were operating alone or whether they had a support network that assisted them and gave them anonymity. It's been my feeling that it was very unlikely that they could have been successful without such a network. We know a great deal about the network component that existed in San Diego. What we've just learned is about another pod of this network in Sarasota. What we know to date is that there was a wealthy Saudi family living in a gated community near Sarasota, which had numerous contacts with Atta, the leader of the hijackers, and two others who were doing their pilot training near Sarasota. We also know that this family left the United States under what appear to be very urgent circumstances on August the 30th, 2001, just before 9/11.

**JUAN GONZALEZ:** And is there any indication why this information was never revealed to the September 11th Commission?

**BOB GRAHAM:** No, but the same was true in San Diego. The FBI, although they were asked to provide the congressional inquiry all the information they had about 9/11, did not tell us about these extensive contacts—contacts in San Diego. It was because we had a very curious and effective investigative team, which went to San Diego and was able to uncover the relationship between, particularly, a key Saudi agent living in San Diego and the first two hijackers to have entered the United States.

**JUAN GONZALEZ:** Now, this is not—you have raised in the past concerns about a possible Saudi involvement with the hijackers. Could you talk about how your concerns have arisen over the years? Obviously you're privy to information as a former head of the Senate Intelligence Committee that the average American or even the average politician or member of Congress is not. But why you have had these concerns?

**BOB GRAHAM:** Well, it started with the disbelief that 19 people, most of whom didn't speak English, had never been in the United States, could have come here, plotted, practiced and then executed such a complex plan as 9/11. My assumption had been that they had some support system that was already in place in the United States, which facilitated their activities. We learned a lot about such a facilitation in San Diego. Now we're beginning to learn about Sarasota. The question in my mind is, what happened in places like Arlington, Virginia; Paterson, New Jersey; Phoenix, Arizona; Delray Beach, Florida, where we know hijackers lived for a considerable period of time? Were there similar facilitators in those communities?

**AMY GOODMAN:** Explain who Bassnan is, and Bayoumi, and their relationship in San Diego.

**BOB GRAHAM:** Yeah. Right after the first Persian Gulf War, the monarchy in Saudi Arabia became very concerned that they were going to be the next Iran, a youth-led revolt. In order to avoid that, one of the steps they took was to begin to establish monitors in those areas of the world where there were significant number of Saudi youth, particularly college and university students. One of those places was San Diego. The man who was listed by the FBI, described prior to 9/11 as a Saudi agent, had the responsibility of that monitoring in Southern California, but he also, in January of 2000, took on a second task, which was to provide assistance to two Saudis who had recently entered the country. We know that they had been very important and experienced operatives of al-Qaeda, because, among other things, they had just attended a summit of terrorists held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the first week in January in 2000. Bayoumi, the agent in San Diego, and Bassnan, who was the successor to Bayoumi, provided substantial assistance to these two men. Now, it appears in Sarasota that it may not—that the facilitators may not have come from the same network of persons who were monitoring students, but rather from people who were close to the royal family and were considered reliable and who were given this assignment of helping hijackers.

**AMY GOODMAN:** Can you talk, Senator Graham, about the 9/11 Commission and the suppressed pages of that commission, what you believe is in them, and if it links to the Saudi royal family?

**BOB GRAHAM:** The suppressed pages were in the Congressional Joint Inquiry. We worked diligently throughout 2002 to gather as much of the information as we could and to make recommendations. We had an 800-plus-page report, one chapter of which, which related primarily to the role of the Saudis in 9/11, was totally censored. Every word of that chapter has been denied to the American people. One of the reasons that I wrote a novel, *Keys to the Kingdom*, was because I felt that that was a means of beginning to tell the American people some of the things which they have not been able to be told because of the degree of cover-up that has surrounded the Saudi activities in the United States prior to 9/11.

**JUAN GONZALEZ:** And your novel is based on a fictional former senator from Florida who's basically involved in trying to ferret out the secrets that the rest of the public is denied knowledge of? Could you talk a little bit about the novel?

**BOB GRAHAM:** The novel does commence with a retired U.S. senator who's living in Florida, who is obsessed with the unanswered questions of 9/11. He contacts a young intelligence officer who had previously worked with him in the inquiry into 9/11 and asks if he will come to Florida to discuss what the senator's concerns are and some ideas of how to find those answers. The senator also writes a very detailed memorandum, which he would use for his discussion with the young man. Unfortunately, before that meeting can take place, the senator is killed in a very suspicious hit-and-run accident. That event starts the action of the novel, as the young intelligence officer reads the memo, agrees to undertake this assignment, as well as attempting to find out who killed Senator Billington.

**AMY GOODMAN:** Now, you had written in 2004 a non-fiction book called *Intelligence Matters* that was heavily censored. Is this why you're choosing to write a fictional book now that actually deals with a number of the issues that you were not able to get out more than five years ago?

**BOB GRAHAM:** Yes. The standards of censorship are much lower if you are not representing the book to be reality, but rather fiction. The fact is, the *Keys to the Kingdom*, about 40 percent of the material is truth, with the exception that I changed the names of most living people. Another 40 percent is fiction, and 20 percent is a blend.

**JUAN GONZALEZ:** Now, you've been critical of the Bush administration—the second Bush administration and its handling of the aftermath of 9/11, specifically in terms of beginning to develop the plans for the invasion and occupation of Iraq. Could you talk about how you reached these critical conclusions and what affected you in terms of taking that stance?

**BOB GRAHAM:** Well, the first concern about the degree of cover that has been given to the Saudi relationship around 9/11, there are multiple instances in which the Bush administration precluded the official investigators, a citizens' 9/11 Commission and our commission of the Congress, and denied to the American people information which was not of a national security level, but rather could have been politically embarrassing.

A year after 9/11, the Senate was debating whether to authorize the United States to go to war against Iraq. I was strongly opposed to that, first because I thought that it would be a diversion from Afghanistan, which should have been our priority, and second, that the evidence that had been submitted on weapons of mass destruction was highly suspect. I'm afraid that, as it has turned out, the fact that we are still in Afghanistan 10 years later is in large part because we shifted our focus to Iraq, and, of course, there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

**AMY GOODMAN:** Bob Graham, if you could speak more about the Bush administration's relationship with the Saudi royal family and the bin Ladens in the Saudi royal family, as well as others, what the relationship was, what was being protected, who was allowed to get out of this country after September 11th, and who wasn't?

**BOB GRAHAM:** There are a number of suggestions as to why did the Bush administration engage in such a comprehensive cover-up. One of them is the close family relationship, which goes back to the president's grandfather, Preston Bush—Prescott Bush, and the Saudi family. Another reason is for since ever—ever since World War II, the United States has had an understanding with the Saudis that they would provide us with oil, we would provide them with defense assistance. So, you can pick which reason you think explained it. A more current reason was that the United States, after 9/11, was obsessed with the question of—or avoiding another attack. And the feeling was, we can't antagonize an important Middle Eastern country that may be able to give us good intelligence and other assistance in avoiding that other attack. All those are speculative, and history will have to come to the answer of which one really describes the basis of the Bush administration's cover-up.

As to the Saudis who escaped, the Michael Moore movie accurately depicts it. Prince Bandar, the ambassador to the United States from Saudi Arabia, shortly after 9/11, within hours, went to the president and asked that Saudis who were in the United States, who felt that they might be subjected to some kind of adverse treatment because of the public attitude, knowing that 15 of the 19 hijackers were Saudi, that he asked if they could exit the country as quickly as possible. The president approved that, even though domestic aviation in the United States was shut down. And approximately 140 Saudis, including several members of the bin Laden family, left. The FBI later stated that there were people on that plane that the FBI would have desired to have interviewed before they left the United States but were denied the opportunity to do so.

**JUAN GONZALEZ:** Now, you have called on the Obama administration to reopen the investigation, but given the original 9/11 Commission Report, your joint inquiry, what body or what group of people do you think would be independent enough to be able to conduct an investigation that could lay to rest all the many questions that still exist among the American people about what happened on 9/11 and who was responsible?

**BOB GRAHAM:** The White House is where this investigation should be conducted. The agencies that are involved are all executive agencies, the leadership appointed by the president. The president has the capability of declassifying, for instance, the 28-page chapter, if it chooses to do so. It would only be if the White House was unwilling or unable to carry forward the answer to a number of secrets about 9/11 that I would advocate that some independent group outside of the executive branch be assembled to do so.

**AMY GOODMAN:** Bob Graham, we want to thank you very much for being with us. Bob Graham is former Florida Democratic governor, as well as U.S. senator, founder of the Bob Graham Center for Public Service, former chair of the Senate Select Committee

on Intelligence, a post he held on September 11, 2001. Graham's newest book is called *Keys to the Kingdom*. It's billed as fiction.

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## Order--Blocking Property of Transnational Criminal Organizations

### EXECUTIVE ORDER

#### BLOCKING PROPERTY OF TRANSNATIONAL CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) (IEEPA), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*) (NEA), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code,

I, BARACK OBAMA, President of the United States of America, find that the activities of significant transnational criminal organizations, such as those listed in the Annex to this order, have reached such scope and gravity that they threaten the stability of international political and economic systems. Such organizations are becoming increasingly sophisticated and dangerous to the United States; they are increasingly entrenched in the operations of foreign governments and the international financial system, thereby weakening democratic institutions, degrading the rule of law, and undermining economic markets. These organizations facilitate and aggravate violent civil conflicts and increasingly facilitate the activities of other dangerous persons. I therefore determine that significant transnational criminal organizations constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat.

Accordingly, I hereby order:

Section 1. (a) All property and interests in property that are in the United States, that hereafter come within the United States, or that are or hereafter come within the possession or control of any United States person, including any overseas branch, of the following persons are blocked and may not be transferred, paid, exported, withdrawn, or otherwise dealt in:

- (i) the persons listed in the Annex to this order and
- (ii) any person determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of State:

(A) to be a foreign person that constitutes a significant transnational criminal organization;

(B) to have materially assisted, sponsored, or provided financial, material, or technological support for, or goods or services to or in support of, any person whose property and interests in property are blocked pursuant to this order; or

(C) to be owned or controlled by, or to have acted or purported to act for or on behalf of, directly or indirectly, any person whose property and interests in property are blocked pursuant to this order.

(b) I hereby determine that the making of donations of the types of articles specified in section 203(b)(2) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1702(b)(2)) by, to, or for the benefit of any person whose property and interests in property are blocked pursuant to this order would seriously impair my ability to deal with the national emergency declared in this order, and I hereby prohibit such donations as provided by subsection (a) of this section.

(c) The prohibitions in subsection (a) of this section include, but are not limited to:

(i) the making of any contribution or provision of funds, goods, or services by, to, or for the benefit of any person whose property and interests in property are blocked pursuant to this order; and

(ii) the receipt of any contribution or provision of funds, goods, or services from any such person.

(d) The prohibitions in subsection (a) of this section apply except to the extent provided by statutes, or in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses that may be issued pursuant to this order, and notwithstanding any contract entered into or any license or permit granted prior to the effective date of this order.

Sec. 2. (a) Any transaction by a United States person or within the United States that evades or avoids, has the purpose of evading or avoiding, causes a violation of, or attempts to violate any of the prohibitions set forth in this order is prohibited.

(b) Any conspiracy formed to violate any of the prohibitions set forth in this order is prohibited.

Sec. 3. For the purposes of this order:

(a) the term "person" means an individual or entity;

(b) the term "entity" means a partnership, association, trust, joint venture, corporation, group, subgroup, or other organization;

(c) the term "United States person" means any United States citizen, permanent resident alien, entity organized under the laws of the United States or any jurisdiction within the United States (including foreign branches), or any person in the United States;

(d) the term "foreign person" means any citizen or national of a foreign state, or any entity organized under the laws of a foreign state or existing in a foreign state, including any such individual or entity who is also a United States person; and

(e) the term "significant transnational criminal organization" means a group of persons, such as those listed in the Annex to this order, that includes one or more foreign persons; that engages in an ongoing pattern of serious criminal activity involving the jurisdictions of at least two foreign states; and that threatens the national security, foreign policy, or economy of the United States.

Sec. 4. For those persons whose property and interests in property are blocked pursuant to this order who might have a constitutional presence in the United States, I find that because of the ability to transfer funds or other assets instantaneously, prior notice to such persons of measures to be taken pursuant to this order would render these measures ineffectual. I therefore determine that for these measures to be effective in addressing the national emergency declared in this order, there need be no prior notice of a listing or determination made pursuant to section 1(a) of this order.

Sec. 5. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to the President by IEEPA, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. The Secretary of the Treasury may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the United States Government consistent with applicable law. All agencies of the United States Government are hereby directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order.

Sec. 6. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to submit the recurring and final reports to the Congress on the national emergency declared in this order, consistent with section 401(c) of the NEA (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)) and section 204(c) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1703(c)).

Sec. 7. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to determine that circumstances no longer warrant the blocking of the property and interests in property of a person listed in the Annex to this order, and to take necessary action to give effect to that determination.

Sec. 8. This order is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by any party against the United States, its departments, agencies, or entities, its officers, employees, or agents, or any other person.

Sec. 9. This order is effective at 12:01 a.m. eastern daylight time on July 25, 2011.

BARACK OBAMA

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
July 24, 2011.

## ANNEX

### Entities

1. THE BROTHERS' CIRCLE (f.k.a. FAMILY OF ELEVEN; f.k.a. THE TWENTY)
2. CAMORRA
3. YAKUZA (a.k.a. BORYOKUDAN; a.k.a. GOKUDO)
4. LOS ZETAS

## **Files Note Close CIA Ties to Qaddafi Spy Unit**

Saturday 3 September 2011

*by: Rod Nordland, The New York Times News Service | Report*



**Walid Musbah, a self-proclaimed fighter loyal to Col. Moammar Gadhafi, in the custody of rebels near Gadhafi's Bab al-Aziziya compound, in Tripoli, Libya, Sept. 2, 2011. (Photo: Moises Saman / The New York Times)**

Tripoli, Libya - Documents found at the abandoned office of Libya's former spymaster appear to provide new details of the close relations the [Central Intelligence Agency](#) shared with the Libyan intelligence service — most notably suggesting that the Americans sent terrorism suspects at least eight times for questioning in Libya despite that country's reputation for torture.

Although it has been known that Western intelligence services began cooperating with Libya after it abandoned its program to build unconventional weapons in 2004, the files left behind as Tripoli fell to rebels show that the cooperation was much more extensive than generally known with both the C.I.A. and its British equivalent, MI-6.

Some documents indicate that the British agency was even willing to trace phone numbers for the Libyans, and another appears to be a proposed speech written by the Americans for Col. [Muammar el-Qaddafi](#) about renouncing unconventional weapons.

The documents were discovered Friday by journalists and Human Rights Watch. There were at least three binders of English-language documents, one marked C.I.A. and the other two marked MI-6, among a larger stash of documents in Arabic.

It was impossible to verify their authenticity, and none of them were written on letterhead. But the binders included some documents that made specific reference to the C.I.A., and their details seem consistent with what is known about the transfer of terrorism suspects abroad for [interrogation](#) and with other agency practices.

And although the scope of prisoner transfers to Libya has not been made public, news media reports have sometimes mentioned it as one country that the United States used as part of its much criticized rendition program for terrorism suspects.

A C.I.A. spokeswoman, Jennifer Youngblood, declined to comment on Friday on the documents. But she added: “It can’t come as a surprise that the Central Intelligence Agency works with foreign governments to help protect our country from terrorism and other deadly threats.”

The British Foreign Office said, “It is the longstanding policy of the government not to comment on intelligence matters.”

While most of the renditions referred to in the documents appear to have been C.I.A. operations, at least one was claimed to have been carried out by MI-6.

“The rendition program was all about handing over these significant figures related to Al Qaeda so they could torture them and get the information they wanted,” said Peter Bouckaert, emergencies director of Human Rights Watch, who studied the documents in the intelligence headquarters in downtown Tripoli.

The documents cover 2002 to 2007, with many of them concentrated in late 2003 and 2004, when Moussa Koussa was head of the External Security Organization. (Mr. Koussa was most recently Libya’s foreign minister.)

The speech that appears to have been drafted for Colonel Qaddafi was found in the C.I.A. folder and appears to have been sent just before Christmas in 2003. The one-page speech

seems intended to depict the Libyan dictator in a positive light. It concluded, using the revolutionary name for the Libyan government: “At a time when the world is celebrating the birth of Jesus, and as a token of our contributions towards a world full of peace, security, stability and compassion, the Great Jamhariya presents its honest call for a W.M.D.-free zone in the Middle East,” referring to weapons of mass destruction.

The flurry of communications about renditions are dated after Libya’s renouncement of its weapons program. In several of the cases, the documents explicitly talked about having a friendly country arrest a suspect, and then suggested aircraft would be sent to pick the suspect up and deliver him to the Libyans for questioning. One document included a list of 89 questions for the Libyans to ask a suspect.

While some of the documents warned Libyan authorities to respect such detainees’ human rights, the C.I.A. nonetheless turned them over for interrogation to a Libyan service with a well-known history of brutality.

One document in the C.I.A. binder said operatives were “in a position to deliver Shaykh Musa to your physical custody, similar to what we have done with other senior L.I.F.G. members in the recent past.” The reference was to the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, which was dedicated to the overthrow of Colonel Qaddafi, and which American officials believed had ties to Al Qaeda.

When Libyans asked to be sent Abu Abdullah al-Sadiq, another member of the group, a case officer wrote back on March 4, 2004, that “we are committed to developing this relationship for the benefit of both our services,” and promised to do their best to locate him, according to a document in the C.I.A. binder.

Two days later, an officer faxed the Libyans to say that Mr. Sadiq and his pregnant wife were planning to fly into Malaysia, and the authorities there agreed to put them on a British Airways flight to London that would stop in Bangkok. “We are planning to take control of the pair in Bangkok and place them on our aircraft for a flight to your country,” the case officer wrote.

Mr. Bouckaert of Human Rights Watch said he had learned from the documents that Sadiq was a nom de guerre for Abdel Hakim Belhaj, who is now a military leader for the rebels.

In an interview on Wednesday, Mr. Belhaj gave a detailed description of his incarceration that matched many of those in the documents. He also said that when he was held in Bangkok he was tortured by two people from the C.I.A.

On one occasion, the Libyans tried to send their own plane to extradite a member of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, Abu Munthir, and his wife and children, who were being held in Hong Kong because of passport irregularities.

The Libyan aircraft, however, was turned back, apparently because Hong Kong authorities were reluctant to let Libyan planes land. In a document labeled “Secret/ U.S. Only/ Except Libya,” the Libyans were advised to charter an aircraft from a third country. “If payment of a charter aircraft is an issue, our service would be willing to assist financially,” the document said.

While questioning alleged terror group members plainly had value to Western intelligence, the cooperation went beyond that. In one case, for example, the Libyans asked operatives to trace a phone number for them, and a document that was in the MI-6 binder replied that it belonged to the Arab News Network in London. It is unclear why the Libyans sought who the phone number belonged to.

The document also suggested signs of agency rivalries over Libya. In the MI-6 binder, a document boasted of having turned over someone named Abu Abd Alla to the Libyans. “This was the least we could do for you to demonstrate the remarkable relationship we have built over recent years,” an unsigned fax in 2004 said. “Amusingly, we got a request from the Americans to channel requests for information from Abu Abd through the Americans. I have no intention of doing any such thing.”

## **Crashed Jet Carrying Cocaine Linked to CIA**

by Jeremy R. Hammond / September 13th, 2008

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A number of jets connected to drug-trafficking, including a Gulfstream II carrying more than 3 tons of cocaine that crashed in the Yucatan Peninsula in Mexico last year, have been linked to the CIA through both its extraordinary rendition program and a supposed sting operation known as “Mayan Express”.

A private jet that crashed last year in eastern Mexico and was found to be carrying more than 3 tons of cocaine was also used by the Central Intelligence Agency for clandestine operations, the Mexican daily *El Universal* reported last week.

The newspaper cited documents from the United States and the European Parliament which “show that that plane flew several times to Guantanamo, Cuba, presumably to transfer terrorism suspects.” It said the European Parliament was investigating the jet for its possible use in “extraordinary rendition” flights, whereby prisoners are covertly transferred by the U.S. To a third country.

In June, 2006, the British Department for Transport website published flight data on US aircraft into or out of the UK. According to the site, “This data had previously been released by Eurocontrol to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to assist with its enquiry into allegations of ‘extraordinary rendition’ flights operating in Europe.” The jet that crashed in Mexico, with registration number N987SA, is listed in the data report.

According to *El Universal*, FAA records show that the jet flew to Guantanamo on May 30, 2003. From June 23 to July 14, the jet flew from New York to Iceland, France, Italy, and Ireland. From July 16 to 20, it flew from the U.S. To Canada, the UK, Ireland, the UK, Canada, and back to the U.S. Again. From April 7 to 12, 2004, it went from New York to Canada, the UK, Canada, and again to the U.S. The jet then flew to Guantanamo again. On April 21, it flew from the U.S. To Canada, France, the UK, Canada, and back to the U.S. It left the U.S. For Guantanamo once more on January 21, 2005.

The jet crashed on September 24, 2007. According to an Aviation Safety Network description of the accident, the Gulfstream Aerospace G-1159 Gulfstream II jet with registration N987SA crashed near Tixkokob in the northern part of the Yucatan

Peninsula. ASN describes it as an “Illegal Flight” and reports that “When being chased by Mexican military helicopters, the crew carried out a crash-landing. No bodies were found in the wreckage, but soldiers found 132 bags containing about 3.6 tons (3.3. Metric tons) of cocaine.”

An initial Reuters report on the crash noted that “Drug planes packed with South American cocaine — often with passenger seats ripped out to make space — frequently fly through Mexico and Central America en route for the United States. Some unload their cargo at clandestine airstrips south of the border where traffickers send it on by road or sea.”

*El Universal*, in its initial report on the crash in 2007, stated that the cocaine was in 132 bags and noted the registration number of the wrecked plane.

McClatchy Newspapers observed a few days after the crash that “news reports have linked the plane to the transport of terrorist suspects to the U.S. Detention center at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, but those reports cite logs that indicate only that the plane flew twice between Washington, D.C., and Guantanamo and once between Oxford, Conn., and Guantanamo.”

In November of last year, reporters from the Tampa Tribune followed up on the international investigation that resulted after the Gulfstream II crash. An expert on the drug trade from the University of Miami told the reporters that cocaine is being moved by air through Florida more frequently, as an alternative to being brought into the U.S. In the southwest.

The Gulfstream II jet was one of two planes being used by the Mexican Sinaloa drug cartel, also known as the Pacific Cartel, to carry cocaine. The other jet, a DC-9, had been seized and was found to be carrying 5.5 tons of cocaine. Both aircraft were purchased by the cartel from St. Petersburg-Clearwater International Airport.

The DC-9 with tail number N00SA, was seized on April 11, 2006 carrying an amount of cocaine valued at an estimated \$82,500,000, according to Airport-Dat.com. Reportedly sold in March, the jet was scheduled to depart for Simon Bolivar International airport in Venezuela on April 5. FAA records show that at the time of the seizure, it was still registered to Royal Sons Inc., which operates out of St. Petersburg-Clearwater International Airport. It was deregistered two days after the seizure and listed as exported to Venezuela.

At the time of the crash, the Gulfstream II was registered to Donna Blue Aircraft Inc., owned by Joao Luiz Malago and Eduardo Dias Guimaraes, who had reportedly purchased the jet in July and then sold it to two Florida men on September 16. Two days later, the jet left Fort Lauderdale for Cancun. Then, according to Mexican authorities, it flew to Columbia to pick up the cocaine and was en route to deliver the drugs when it came to the attention of the military and crashed in the resulting chase.

Some have speculated that Donna Blue Aircraft may have been a front company. The Florida Department of State Division of Corporations lists the “Date Filed” for the company as March 29, 2007. And from June 1, it was listed at an address in Coconut Creek, Florida. Then, on June 18, 2008, the company name was changed to North Atlantic Aircraft Services, Corp., listed at the same address, but with Malago as the sole owner.

Journalist Daniel Hopsicker visited the Coconut Creek location and found no sign that such a business existed there. Hopsicker wrote, “Moreover the brief description of Donna Blue on its Internet page, apparently designed to ‘flesh out the ghost a little,’ is such a clumsy half-hearted effort that it defeats the purpose of helping aid the construction of a plausible ‘legend,’ or cover, and ends up doing more harm than good... For example, the website features a quote from a satisfied Donna Blue Aircraft customer. Unfortunately his name is ‘John Doe.’ And the listed phone number is right out of the movies: 415.555-5555.”

The company’s website (now offline) stated only, “we are in this business over 20 years, attending South, North and Central america, with outstanding service, we are today most trusted company in this market. our customer loyalty make us different” (sic). According to *Whois*, the site was created on August 20, 2007, a month after the Gulfstream II was reportedly bought by the company and less than a month before it crashed carrying the cocaine. Once uploaded, the site was apparently never updated and seems to have gone offline sometime after February 2008. According to the site description still available on Alexa, the company opened in 1995 despite the fact, as noted above, that the date the company was filed with the Florida Department of State was in March 2007.

Malago sold the jet to Clyde O’Connor. The name of Gregory D. Smith also appeared as a co-signer on the bill of sale.

A reporter from the *Broward-Palm Beach New Times* contacted Gregory D. Smith of Global Jet Solutions. When asked about the plane crash, Smith replied, “I’m not allowed to discuss that — I’m sorry,” and hung up. Contacted a second time, he said, “I’m not going to divulge anything.”

O'Connor had once written a letter to the editor in response to an article on the death of a police officer saying that "one less cop is not a bad thing." He was convicted in 2001 for criminal air safety violations. In October 2007, he was detained by Canadian officials after they searched a Cessna 210 he had flown to Nova Scotia and found two Derringer pistols he had failed to report.

Reporters from McClatchy Newspapers attempted to reach O'Connor at one of his companies, Execstar Aviation in Fort Lauderdale, but the number had been disconnected. "Adding to the plane's mystery", their article noted, "are allegations that it made trips in 2003, 2004 and 2005 between the United States and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, where the U.S. detention center for suspected terrorists is located."

Baruch Vega, a Columbian who has worked with the FBI, DEA, and CIA in law enforcement operations told Narco News that one of the main pilots used in operations for flights between Florida and South America was named Greg Smith. Vega said,

Well originally ... I met Greg Smith ... we needed a pilot, a very trustful pilot, someone we could trust to bring in the [Colombian] drug traffickers to surrender. Then the members of the FBI recommended to get in contact with this guy [Smith] because he was very close to them. Ever since we flew only with him. Everything was with him. ... I never asked anything [about Smith's background]. But he [Smith] brought a couple of pilots because we always have two pilots in the plane. He occasionally brought pilots from the US Customs. I tell you one thing. We flew with Greg Smith easily 25 to 30 times. All [the] operations [were] between the end of 1997 to 2000.

He added that there were "DEA agents in the plane and of course drug traffickers who were coming to surrender with attorneys." He also said the name of the company from which the aircraft were chartered was Aero Group Jets. A court document confirms one instance in which the CIA had worked with the DEA to bring a fugitive Colombian drug trafficker, one Mr. Cristancho, to Florida by means of an aircraft rented from Aero Group Jets.

According to *Narco News*, "A check of the public records available through Florida's Department of State lists the registered agent/officer of that now inactive company as Gregory D. Smith."

When contacted by Narco News, the Gregory Smith identified in the *Broward-Palm Beach New Times* story denied that he was the same Greg Smith as the one whose signature appeared as co-signer on the bill of sale of the Gulfstream II. He said his middle initial is "J" and that he had been wrongly identified.

*Narco News* obtained a copy of a 2007 document with the signature of Gregory Smith from Global Jet Solutions and compared it with the signature Gregory D. Smith in a 1998 annual report from Aero Group Jets filed with the state of Florida. The signatures “appear to be different,” *Narco News* concluded. They do indeed appear to be different signatures, but the fact that the two samples are 9 years apart also must be taken into consideration, as a person’s signature may evolve over time.

In a follow up report, *Narco News* tracked down Malago, who denied that he operated a front company. “Some people told on internet,” he said, “that my company is a CIA cover office and that bring me a lot of problems. First this is not true and you can imagine if this people came to talk with me. I have family and dont want any more problems there” (sic).

Malago also agreed to share a copy of the bill of sale of the Gulfstream II jet with *Narco News*, which reported that “In comparing the two signatures, there are some differences, such as one is signed as Gregory D. while the other is signed simply as Greg, with no middle initial. However there are some striking similarities as well, including the fact that some of the letters appear to be penned in precisely the same way.”

Mike Levine, a former undercover DEA agent who has worked as an expert witness in court cases, told *Narco News*, “I did much of this handwriting comparison work, without using an expert, but my opinion was accepted before grand juries as having a significant amount of work experience in comparing handwritings (IRS, BATF, Customs and DEA). I would say the samples you sent me are definitely the same handwriting.”

Although inconclusive, there is thus compelling evidence that the Gregory Smith who cosigned with O’Connor for the purchase of the Gulfstream II from Malago was indeed the same Gregory Smith who was involved in piloting flights for CIA and DEA operations out of Florida.

The recent article from *El Universal* noted that the Gulfstream II jet had also been previously owned by AGI Holdings Corp., which sold it to S/A Holdings LLC, a company for which, the paper says, there is virtually no information.

The use of front companies by CIA to provide cover for its operations is well known and documented.

In December 2005, the *Toronto Star* ran a story on CIA “ghost flights”. It noted that a plane with registration N196D was registered with the FAA under Devon Holding and Leasing, Inc. — but that no such company existed.

There is no Devon Holding and Leasing Inc. at 129 W. Center St. in Lexington, N.C. There is no phone listing. The city offices have never heard of it; neither has the Chamber of Commerce. The law offices of James A. Gleason are at 129 W. Center St., but five days of inquiries there failed to yield an answer to this simple question: Does anyone in this office know of a company called Devon Holding and Leasing? It is almost certainly a CIA shell company, existing on paper only, and the turboprop was likely carrying a “ghost” prisoner to a country where torture is used during interrogations.

Devon Holding and Leasing was being investigated by the European Parliament for its possible role in the CIA’s rendition program, and was named by investigators as a CIA “shell company”.

In one documented case of extraordinary rendition, the *Toronto Star* story continues, the CIA flew Maher Arar, who is from Ottawa, from New York’s John F. Kennedy Airport to Syria, where he was tortured as a suspected terrorist. In another case, Osama Moustafa Hassan Nasr was abducted from the streets of Milan and taken to Egypt, where he was tortured. Saad iqbal Madni was similarly taken from Jakarta and flown to Cairo, where he was held for two years before being delivered to Guantanamo Bay. He claims he was tortured in Egypt.

On the use of front companies by the CIA:

“It’s careless tradecraft,” says John Pike, an expert on U.S. intelligence matters at GlobalSecurity.org. “They (the CIA) have allowed the tail-spotters into the game and they have not come to grips with the advent of the Internet, and not come to grips with the massive parallel processing which is underway with all those tail-spotters.” The planes are supposed to be registered with legitimate companies, so they just blend in and can’t be traced to the CIA, Pike says. “These are not real companies. They should be using good-looking companies which arouse no suspicion at all.”

The *New York Times* ran a story in 2005 stating that Aero Contractors Ltd. was a CIA front company. “When the Central Intelligence Agency wants to grab a suspected member of Al Qaeda overseas and deliver him to interrogators in another country,” the *Times* report said, “an Aero Contractors plane often does the job. If agency experts need to fly overseas in a hurry after the capture of a prized prisoner, a plane will depart Johnston County and stop at Dulles Airport outside Washington to pick up the C.I.A. team on the way.”

The *Times* also stated that “The company was founded in 1979 by a legendary C.I.A. officer and chief pilot for Air America, the agency’s Vietnam-era air company” and that “Aero appears to be the direct descendant of Air America”.

The article in the *Times* declined to note, however, the CIA’s well-documented role in heroin trafficking through Air America in southeast Asia during the war in Vietnam.

Adding to the intrigue, in December, 2007, *Narco News* reported that according to DEA officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity, the crashed Gulfstream II jet “was part of an operation being carried out by a Department of Homeland Security agency” codenamed “Mayan Express”. The effort was “spearheaded by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the sources claim.” The report continues:

The operation also appears to be badly flawed, the sources say, because it is being carried out unilaterally, (Rambo-style), by ICE and without the knowledge of the Mexican government — at least it was up until the point of the coke-packed Gulfstream jet’s abrupt impact with the Earth.

“This is a case of ICE running amok,” one DEA source told *Narco News*. “If this [operation] was being run by the book, they would not be doing it unilaterally,” — without the participation of the DEA — “and without the knowledge of the Mexican government.”

The DEA confirmed to *Narco News* that it was handling the investigation into the crash. The pilots were apprehended after their initial escape from the crash site and apparently “spilled the beans on the ICE operation during their interrogation by Mexican authorities, DEA sources tell *Narco News*.”

“One proposition that all of the law enforcers who spoke with *Narco News* agreed on with respect to the Mayan Express is that even if DEA was precluded from participating in the effort, the CIA almost certainly was involved on some level.”

*Narco News* also noted that a report from a British government agency listed the Gulfstream II jet as one “European investigators were interested in obtaining more information about in relation to a probe into CIA rendition flights” and added that other sources also suggested that “Mayan Express” might have been a CIA operation using ICE for cover.

*Narco News* reported again in 2008 on yet another plane that was apparently involved in a drug trafficking operation. On November 26, 2004, a twin-prop Beechcraft King Air

200 landed and was abandoned on a makeshift runway in a cotton field in Nicaragua. Traces of cocaine were found in the plane. The cocaine had apparently been loaded onto a truck. Several days after the plane was abandoned, law enforcement officials arrested the occupants of a truck carrying 1,100 kilos of cocaine.

The abandoned aircraft's tail number was N168D, registered to none other than Devon Holding and Leasing Inc., the same company used as a front by the CIA for its extraordinary renditions operations, as noted previously.

Then the story of that plane gets even more convoluted, as FAA records show that the plane registered under Devon Holding and Leasing Inc. with tail number N168D actually belongs to a different kind of plane, model CN-235-300. The Beech 200's actual tail number is N391SA, registered with the FAA under Sky Way Aircraft Inc.

Sky Way Aircraft Inc. can also be linked to Royal Sons Inc., which, as noted above, was still the registered owner of the DC-9 that was seized carrying more than 5 tons of cocaine. The parent company of Sky Way Aircraft was Skyway Communications Holding Corp., which had originally arranged to purchase the DC-9 that was ultimately registered with Royal Sons Inc. The president of Royal Sons, Frederick J. Geffon, was also a shareholder in Skyway Communications. In addition, the two companies had at one time jointly filed for a loan to purchase another DC-9, tail number N120NE. The CEO of Skyway Communications, James Kent, had also served under contract with the Department of Defense, the National Security Agency, and the Department of the Navy.

Like the DC-9, the Beech 200 was sold to a buyer in Venezuela in October 2004, about one month before it was abandoned in the cotton field and linked by authorities to cocaine trafficking.

The Beech 200 may have been a part of the Mayan Express operation. According to Narco News, "Mark Conrad, a former supervisory special agent with U.S. Customs, ICE's predecessor agency, speculates that the Mayan Express operation is not controlled by ICE at all, but is, in fact, a CIA-run operation using ICE as a cover. He adds that the CIA has agents operating inside many federal law enforcement agencies utilizing what is known as an 'official cover.'"

A former ICE agent also told Narco News he suspected the CIA was behind the drug plane operations.

There is no shortage of precedents for alleged CIA involvement in drug trafficking.

Alfred W. McCoy's "The Politics of Heroin", first published in 1972, documented CIA complicity in drug trafficking such as its involvement the opium and heroin trade in southeast Asia.

Journalist Gary Webb's "Dark Alliance" series is a well known investigation into allegations of the CIA's involvement in the Los Angeles crack epidemic in the 1980s to help finance the Contras in the terrorist war to overthrow the elected government of Nicaragua.

Michael Ruppert, former narcotics officer with the Los Angeles Police Department, famously confronted CIA director John Deutch at a televised conference with information on specific CIA operations, which he cited by name and said he had documentation on, and said the CIA had been dealing drugs in L.A. for a long time.

And there is evidence that the CIA flew drugs into Mena, Arkansas during Bill Clinton's governorship, in its operations to finance the Contras.

In 1993, CBS *60 Minutes* ran a show headlined "The CIA's Cocaine". The former head of the DEA, Judge Robert Bonner, told Mike Wallace, the show's host, that the CIA had an unauthorized operation to bring drugs into the U.S. "If this has not been approved by DEA or an appropriate law-enforcement authority in the United States," Bonner said, "then it's illegal. It's called drug trafficking."

Bonner, asked to rationalize the operation, suggested that it might "lead to some valuable drug intelligence about the Colombian cartels."

A DEA agent interviewed for the show said that she had been told by the CIA officer in charge of the CIA station in Caracas, Venezuela, that they had to keep the cartel happy by delivering their cocaine to their dealers in the U.S. "The CIA and the Guardia Nacional," she explained, "wanted to let cocaine go on into the traffic without doing anything. They wanted to let it come up to the United States, no surveillance, no nothing."

The CIA had gone to the DEA with its proposal, which was rejected. "They made this proposal," said Bonner, "and we said, 'No, no way. We will not permit this. It should not go forward.' And then, apparently, it went forward anyway."

Senator Dennis DeConcini of the Senate Intelligence Committee also told Wallace, "It was an operation that I don't think they should've been involved in.... I don't doubt that the drugs got in here." He called the operation "a mistake."

Morley Safer closed the piece by saying, “And what happened to the tens of millions that were paid for the CIA’s cocaine? Well, General Guillen insists he didn’t get any of it. But Judge Bonner says one thing is certain, the Colombian cartel did. They got their money once the dope made it to our streets.”

Senator and 2004 presidential candidate John Kerry told NBC Dateline that the CIA was complicit in the flow of drugs into the U.S. His Senate Foreign Relations Committee’s Subcommittee on Narcotics, Terrorism, and International Operations found that “it is clear that individuals who provided support for the Contras were involved in drug trafficking” and that this activity did not go unnoticed by the government agencies.

Kerry also headed up a Senate investigation in to the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) which documented the CIA’s involvement in the bank, which was a criminal front for money launderers, drug traffickers, arms dealers, and even nuclear proliferators.

The government went into damage control. In 1997, the Department of Justice issued a report addressing the allegations of CIA involvement in drug trafficking, and the CIA released its own report the following year.

The full story behind the crashed Gulfstream II jet and the other planes that were found to have been involved in drug trafficking is far from known. But the facts that have surfaced to date strongly indicate CIA involvement of one kind or another. The agency’s fingerprints, one might reasonably say, are all over this one.

*Jeremy R. Hammond is the editor of [Foreign Policy Journal](#), a website providing news, analysis, and opinion from outside the standard framework provided by government officials and the corporate media. He was among the recipients of the 2010 Project Censored Awards for outstanding investigative journalism and is the author of [The Rejection of Palestinian Self-Determination](#). You can contact him at: [jeremy@foreignpolicyjournal.com](mailto:jeremy@foreignpolicyjournal.com). [Read other articles by Jeremy](#), or [visit Jeremy's website](#).*

## **US, Saudi relationship in good shape: top US official**

AFP

AFP – Fri, Sep 16, 2011 Related Content



US President Barack Obama (L) speaks alongside King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia (R) ...

The key diplomatic relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States is in "good shape" despite "scratchy" disagreements over Arab Spring revolutions, a senior US official said Friday.

President Barack Obama and Saudi King Abdullah also have a very good understanding, US National Security Adviser Tom Donilon said, days after new concern emerged over one of America's most vital Middle Eastern alliances.

"I would be less than honest if I didn't indicate there were disagreements about how the United States should go about handling" uprisings against longtime Arab leaders, Donilon said at an Economic Club lunch in Washington.

"I think it is fair to say, and I have said this publicly before, that our conversations with the Saudis about this were scratchy.

"There were some disagreements about this."

Analysts say Saudi Arabia was angered at the Obama administration after it distanced itself from long-time Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak -- a linchpin of US security policy in the region, before he was deposed.

But Donilon said that it had since become clear that the turmoil and revolt sweeping the Arab world was an indigenous uprising, and was not orchestrated by the United States or any other external forces.

"I have talked directly with the leadership of Saudi Arabia... and I think the relationship is in very good shape. Why? I think because it is based in shared strategic interests," he said.

"We have had a relationship for 70 years based on a set of shared strategic interests."

Donilon expressed optimism that the key allies would get past earlier disagreements, pointing to the "very good relationship" between Obama and King Abdullah.

Speculation over the state of relations between Washington and Riyadh were stirred again this week when the former Saudi ambassador to Washington, Prince Turki al-Faisal, wrote a blistering New York Times opinion piece.

He warned that if Washington carried out its threat to use its veto to halt the Palestinian drive for statehood recognition in the UN Security Council, it would put at risk Saudi-US cooperation in numerous areas.

"The 'special relationship' between Saudi Arabia and the United States would increasingly be seen as toxic by the vast majority of Arabs and Muslims, who demand justice for the Palestinian people," Prince Turki wrote.

In the commentary headlined "Veto a State, Lose an Ally," he warned that Saudi cooperation with the United States in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen and the Gulf could also be at risk.

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**  
THE UNDERWRITING MEMBERS OF  
LLOYD'S SYNDICATE 3500

Plaintiff,

v.

THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA, THE  
SAUDI HIGH COMMISSION FOR RELIEF  
OF BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA, SAUDI  
JOINT RELIEF COMMITTEE FOR  
KOSOVO AND CHECHNYA, SAUDI RED  
CRESCENT SOCIETY, NATIONAL  
COMMERCIAL BANK, AL RAJHI  
BANKING AND INVESTMENT  
COMPANY, PRINCE SALMAN BIN  
ABDUL AZIZ AL SAUD, SULEIMAN  
ABDEL AZIZ AL RAJHI, YASSIN AL QADI  
Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION NO.:

**COMPLAINT**

**JURY TRIAL DEMANDED**

**THE PARTIES**

1. Plaintiff Underwriting Members of Lloyd's Syndicate 3500, in its own right and as successor in interest to Lloyd's Syndicate 271, is a United Kingdom based insurance syndicate

with a principal place of business located at 161-163 Preston Road, Brighton, England.

2. Defendant Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a foreign state within the meaning of 28 U.S.C. §1603(a). Saudi Arabia maintains an Embassy within the United States at 601 New

Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

3. Defendant Saudi High Commission for Relief of Bosnia & Herzegovina ("Saudi High Commission" or "SHC") is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the government of Saudi

Arabia. Although the Saudi High Commission has its headquarters in the Kingdom, its operations are conducted primarily outside of Saudi Arabia.

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4. Defendant Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya ("SJRC") is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the government of Saudi Arabia. Although the SJRC has its

headquarters in the Kingdom, its operations are conducted primarily outside of Saudi Arabia.

5. Defendant Saudi Red Crescent Society ("SRC") is a controlled agent and alterego of the government of Saudi Arabia. Although the SRC has its headquarters in the Kingdom,

its operations are conducted primarily outside of Saudi Arabia.

6. Defendant National Commercial Bank (“NCB”) is a Saudi-based international financial institution, with a principal place of business located at King Abdul Aziz Street, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. NCB maintains operations throughout the World, providing a broad range of financial services, including Shariah compliant finance products and services, to individual and institutional clients.

7. Defendant al Rajhi Bank (“al Rajhi Bank”), formerly known as al Rajhi Banking and Investment Company, (“al Rajhi Bank”) is a Saudi-based international financial institution, with a principal place of business located at Olaya Street, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Al Rajhi Bank maintains operations throughout the World, providing a broad range of financial services, including Shariah compliant finance products and services, to individual and institutional clients.

8. Defendant Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud (“Prince Salman”) is a resident of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and at times material hereto headed the SHC.

9. Defendant Suleiman Abdel Aziz al Rajhi is a citizen and resident of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and at times material hereto was the CEO of al Rajhi Bank, founder of the Saar Foundation, and an officer of the International Islamic Relief Organization.

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10. Defendant Yassin al Qadi is a citizen and resident of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and at times material hereto was an agent of National Commercial Bank, employee of al Rajhi Bank, and the founder of the Muwaffaq Foundation.

#### **A. JURISDICTION**

11. The jurisdiction of this Court is invoked pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1331 (federal question), 28 U.S.C. § 1332(a)(2) (diversity), and 28 U.S.C. § 1350 (Alien Tort Claims Act).

12. The jurisdiction of this Court over defendants Saudi Arabia, Saudi High Commission, Saudi Joint Relief Committee, Saudi Red Crescent, and National Commercial Bank is invoked pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1330, as the claims against those defendants fall within the exception to immunity set forth at 28 U.S.C. §1605(a)(5) (Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act).

13. Venue in this district is proper pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§ 1391(b)(2) and 1391(f)(1), as a substantial part of the events giving rise to the claims asserted herein occurred in this district.

#### **B. FACTUAL BACKGROUND**

14. On September 11, 2001, nineteen members of the al Qaeda terrorist network, fifteen of whom were citizens of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, hijacked four commercial

airliners, and used those planes as weapons in a coordinated terrorist attack upon the United States and its citizens (the “September 11th Attacks”).

15. The September 11th Attacks resulted in the tragic loss of several thousand lives, personal injuries to countless other persons, and property damage on a catastrophic scale, including the complete destruction of the World Trade Center Complex.

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16. Following the September 11th Attacks, various persons injured as a result of the Attacks, including families of individuals killed in the Attacks and parties who suffered economic losses as a result of the Attacks, brought civil claims against certain airlines, airport

authorities, security companies, airplane manufacturers and other parties, generally alleging that

those defendants were in some way responsible for their September 11 injuries under unintentional tort theories (the 9/11 Aviation cases).

17. By Order dated July 24, 2002, as amended by an Order issued on November 1, 2002, all of the 9/11 Aviation cases were consolidated before the Honorable Alvin K. Hellerstein, under the consolidated caption *In Re September 11 Litigation, 21 MC 101* (the 9/11

Aviation Litigation).

18. By Order dated November 1, 2002, Judge Hellerstein prohibited the defendants in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation from joining as additional defendants any alleged terrorist or terrorist supporter, thereby precluding the defendants from asserting third-party claims in that

litigation against those intentional tortfeasors.

19. After several years of pre-trial proceedings, the vast majority of the claims advanced in the 9/11 Litigation were resolved through a series of individual settlements.

20. At all times material hereto, plaintiff herein provided liability insurance coverage to one or more of the parties named as defendants in the 9/11 Aviation cases.

21. Pursuant to the terms of the applicable policies of insurance, plaintiff herein made payments on behalf of its liability insureds towards the settlements referenced above, in an

amount in excess of \$215,000,000.00.

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22. Through the instant action, plaintiff seeks recovery of amounts paid on behalf of its insureds in settlement of the 9/11 Aviation cases, and amounts expended in relation to the

defense of its insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation, from parties who knowingly provided

material support and resources to al Qaeda in the years leading up to the September 11th Attacks,

and who by virtue of their intentional conduct bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the September 11th Attacks.

23. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were carried out by the al Qaeda

terrorist organization. Although the Attacks represented a tragedy of historic proportions to America and its allies, the Attacks were, to al Qaeda and its adherents, simply a targeted operational strike carried out as part of a broader mission to wage jihad against the United States.

24. The success of al Qaeda's agenda, including the September 11th Attacks themselves, has been made possible by the lavish sponsorship al Qaeda has received from its material sponsors and supporters over more than a decade leading up to September 11, 2001.

25. Each of the defendants named herein was a knowing and material participant in al Qaeda's conspiracy to wage jihad against the United States, its nationals and allies.

26. The conspiracy among the defendants to wage jihad against the United States, its nationals and allies, included the provision of material support and resources to defendant al

Qaeda and affiliated terrorist organizations, persons, and entities, as discussed herein.

27. Absent the sponsorship of al Qaeda's material sponsors and supporters, including the defendants named herein, al Qaeda would not have possessed the capacity to conceive, plan

and execute the September 11th Attacks.

### **C. THE ORIGINS OF AL QAEDA**

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28. Al Qaeda has its origins in the jihad against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, although the ideological foundation for the al Qaeda movement long pre-dates that conflict.

29. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan served as a rallying point for Islamic extremists in the Middle East, who flocked to Afghanistan to wage jihad against the Soviet Union.

30. Osama bin Laden travelled to Afghanistan in 1980 to participate in the jihad, and gained prominence during this period for his role in establishing the financial and logistical

infrastructure that sustained the Arab-Afghan fighters, commonly referred to as the mujahideen.

According to the Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United

States (the 9/11 Commission):

Bin Ladin understood better than most of the volunteers the extent to which the continuation and eventual success of the jihad in Afghanistan depended on an increasingly complex, almost worldwide organization. This organization included a financial support network that came to be known as the "the Golden Chain," put together mainly by financiers in Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf states. Donations flowed through charities and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Bin Ladin and the "Afghan

Arabs” drew largely on funds raised by this network, whose agents roamed world markets to buy arms and supplies for the mujahideen or “holy warriors.”

31. Together with Abdullah Azaam, bin Laden founded the Maktab al Khidmat (“the Office of Services”) to facilitate the provision of financial and logistical support to the mujahideen.

32. Throughout the Afghan jihad, Maktab al Khidmat worked in concert with a network of purported charities and relief organizations (including among others the Muslim

World League (MWL), International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), World Assembly of

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Muslim Youth (WAMY), Rabita Trust, and Saudi Red Crescent Society) to provide travel

documents, funds, transportation, training, facilities, arms, physical assets, and other support to the mujahideen.

33. This network of ostensible charities and relief organizations established a vast financial and logistical infrastructure to support the mujahideen opposition to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

34. At the conclusion of the Afghan jihad, bin Laden determined that the network that supported the mujahideen in Afghanistan should not be abandoned, but rather adapted to

serve as a foundation for waging a global jihad against all of the perceived enemies of Islam, and

in particular, the United States.

April 19, 1988 brought victory for the Afghan jihad. Moscow declared it would pull its military forces out of Afghanistan within the next nine months. As the Soviets began its withdraw, the jihad’s leaders debated what to do next.

Bin Ladin (and Abdullah Azzam) agreed that the organization successfully created for Afghanistan should not be allowed to dissolve. They established what they called a base or foundation (al Qaida) as a potential general headquarters for future jihad.

9/11 Report at p. 56

#### **D. AL QAEDA’S OBJECTIVES AND TACTICS**

35. In establishing al Qaeda in 1988, bin Laden sought to create a multi-national Islamic army to challenge the perceived domination of the democratic West, and to engage in

armed combat wherever Muslim communities were perceived to be under duress, in furtherance

of the ultimate objective of establishing a Pan-Islamic Caliphate.

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36. Al Qaeda employs a range of operational tactics and initiatives in the pursuit of its

goals, which complement one another as part of a carefully conceived and coordinated global strategy.

37. Although high profile terrorist attacks are an important aspect of that campaign, al Qaeda has historically devoted far greater resources to military campaigns in conflict regions, and to supporting and fostering regional jihadist organizations and Islamic separatist movements throughout the World.

38. In this context, al Qaeda has been deeply involved in regional jihad campaigns, involving both traditional forms of combat and terrorist activities, in Bosnia, Chechnya, Kosovo, Sudan, Kashmir, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, Algeria, the Philippines, Somalia, Palestine, Yemen, Kenya, Tanzania and Egypt.

39. Al Qaeda's participation in these regional conflicts has taken many forms. Al Qaeda provides funding and logistical assistance to local extremist and terrorist organizations, in support of their military and terrorist activities. In addition, al Qaeda deploys its own members to fight in these conflicts, train new volunteers, and assist in the planning and execution of terrorist attacks.

40. Through its engagement in these regional jihad campaigns, al Qaeda aims to establish and support radical Islamic regimes and extend its sphere of influence, as critical components of its long-term objective to eradicate democratic societies and establish a pan-Islamic Caliphate.

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41. In describing the importance of these regional military campaigns within the overall context of al Qaeda's jihad against the West, a 1998 Department of Defense Intelligence

Report states as follows:

[al Qaeda] seeks to establish a worldwide Islamic state capable of directly challenging the US, China, Russia, and what it views as judeo-Christian and Confucian domination.

The means by which the above goals are to be met are via terror, ethnic cleansing, "latent penetration" (NEI), and control over nuclear and biological weapons (Jikhad). Further, radical Islamic (predominantly Sunni) regimes are to be established and supported everywhere possible, including Bosnia, Albania, Chechnya, Dagestan, the entire northern Caucasus "from Sea to Sea," central Asian Republics, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, all of Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, Sudan, and the states of the Persian Gulf.

42. In addition to the value its participation in regional military conflicts yields in relation to its long-term strategic objectives, al Qaeda has derived significant immediate benefits

from its participation in these regional jihad campaigns.

43. Al Qaeda's military operations bolster the organization's image among local Muslims, thereby facilitating al Qaeda's ongoing recruiting and fundraising efforts. These campaigns also afford the organization an efficient vehicle to provide new members with battle

experience, in preparation for terrorist operations and the ongoing military conflict with the

United States. In addition, al Qaeda's financial and operational support for local Islamist and

separatist movements has allowed al Qaeda to co-opt local conflicts and organizations to its own

ends. As a result, many pre-existing terror and extremist organizations evolved into al Qaeda

proxies, thereby extending al Qaeda's operational capabilities, resources, and sphere of influence.

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44. Al Qaeda's participation in such regional conflicts and jihad campaigns fueled al Qaeda's growth and development in the years leading up to the September 11th Attacks. Indeed,

according to the 9/11 Commission, al Qaeda's operational involvement in regional conflicts

between 1988 and 1998 served to establish the organization as the vanguard of the global jihadist

movement, and directly enhanced al Qaeda's operational capacity to carry out large scale terrorist attacks:

By the time he issued his February 19, 1998 declaration of war, bin Ladin had nurtured (the al Qaeda) organization for nearly ten (10) years. He could attract, train, and use recruits for ever more ambitious attacks, rallying new adherents with each demonstration that his was the movement of the future.

9/11 Report at p. 55.

45. The findings of the 9/11 Commission further confirm that al Qaeda relied heavily on its global infrastructure in planning, coordinating and staging the September 11th Attacks, and

that al Qaeda could not have successfully mounted those Attacks absent the impressive resources

and assets amassed by the organization over the thirteen years preceeding the Attacks.

46. In this regard, the 9/11 Commission found that the "9/11 attack was a complex international operation, the product of years of planning." The 9/11 Report confirms that plans

for the Attacks were carefully vetted through al Qaeda's most senior leadership over a period of

nearly six years, while those leaders were safely ensconced in training camps and safe houses funded by al Qaeda's financial supporters; that the individuals selected to participate in the Attacks were chosen from an enormous pool of potential candidates, all of whom were recruited, trained, and indoctrinated with funds provided by the organization's supporters; and that details of the plans were revised up until the last minute, through a global communication network, the existence of which was also dependent on the financial sponsorship of al Qaeda's supporters.

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47. Based on the findings of its investigation concerning the relationship between al Qaeda's global infrastructure and the organization's operational capability to plan, coordinate and mount those Attacks, the 9/11 Commission reached the following conclusion regarding the

basic organizational requirements for staging a sophisticated terrorist attack:

A complex international terrorist operation aimed at launching a catastrophic attack cannot be mounted by just anyone in any place.

Such operations appear to require

Time, space, and ability to perform competent planning and staff work;

A command structure able to make necessary decisions and possessing the authority and contacts to assemble needed people, money, and materials;

Opportunity and space to recruit, train, and select operatives with the needed skills and dedication, providing the time and structure required to socialize them into the terrorist cause, judge their trustworthiness, and hone their skills;

A logistics network able to securely manage the travel of operatives, move money, and transport resources (like explosives) where they need to go;

Access, in the case of certain weapons, to the special materials needed for a nuclear, chemical, radiological, or biological attack;

Reliable communications between coordinators and operatives; and

Opportunity to test the workability of the plan.

48. Consistent with the findings of the 9/11 Commission, U.S. counter-terrorism officials have repeatedly affirmed the critical importance of al Qaeda's broader infrastructure and resources to its capacity to conceive, plan, coordinate, and successfully conduct sophisticated

terrorist attacks, including the September 11th Attacks, as reflected by the following statements:

There are some who question the effectiveness of our strategy to prevent terrorism by attacking the financing that supports it. They  
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note that terrorist attacks themselves cost very little money to carry out – the trivial cost of a suicide belt or similar device – and then leap to the conclusion that our efforts to combat terrorism by attacking terrorist resources are wasted or futile.

The 9/11 Commission wisely rejected this point of view. In the first place, the cost of financing terrorist activity cannot be measured by the cost of a primitive destructive act. The maintenance of those terrorist networks, like al Qaeda, which threaten our national security, is expensive – even if a particular attack does not cost much to carry out. As the 9/11 Commission explained, groups like al Qaeda must spend money for many purposes – to recruit, train, plan operations, and bribe corrupt officials for example. If we can eliminate or even reduce their sources and conduits of money, we can degrade their ability to do all of these things, and thus can make them less dangerous.

Testimony of Stuart A. Levey, Undersecretary of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, August 23, 2004.

As this Committee knows well, tracking and combating terrorist financing are critical facets of our overall efforts to protect our citizens and other innocents around the World from terrorist attacks.... While any single terrorist attack may be relatively inexpensive to carry out, terrorist groups continue to need real money. They depend on a regular cash flow to pay operatives and their families, arrange for travel, train new members, forge documents, pay bribes, acquire weapons and stage attacks. Disrupting money flows stresses terrorist networks and undermines their operations. In recent months, we have seen at least one instance of what we look for most – a terrorist organization indicating that it could not pursue sophisticated attacks because it lacks adequate funding.

Testimony of Stuart Levey, Undersecretary of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence before the

House Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, July 11, 2006.

(T)errorist organizations require significant funding. Although individual terrorist attack may be inexpensive, terrorist organizations require far more than explosives to sustain themselves. They need money to train, recruit, pay operatives and their families, travel, bribe officials, procure cover and false documents, as well as purchase arms. If implemented effectively, targeted financial sanctions can put terrorist organizations in a

financial box, effectively depriving them of the resources they need to conduct this range of activity.

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Prepared remarks of Daniel L. Glaser, Acting Assistant Secretary for Terrorist Financing and

Financial Crimes before the Annual Meetings Program of Seminars: The Importance of Expanding Targeted Financial Transactions Programs Around the Globe: Challenges and Opportunities, September 23, 2005.

The primary reason why combating the financing of terrorism efforts are both necessary and important is that terrorist groups need money. Although mounting an individual terrorist attack is relatively inexpensive, the cost to maintain the infrastructure to support terrorist activities is high. Terrorist networks need cash to train, equip and pay operatives, to secure materials and to promote their cause. To eliminate or reduce the cell's means of raising and transferring funds is to significantly degrade that cell's capabilities.

*(The Money Trail: Finding, Following and Freezing Terrorist Finances)*, Michael Jacobsen and

Matthew Levitt (Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis of the Treasury Department from 2005 – 2007), November 2008, at p. 3.

Although manning a terrorist attack is relatively inexpensive, the cost to maintain a terrorist infrastructure is high. Terrorist networks need cash to train, equip and pay operatives and their families and to promote their causes. Recruiting, training, traveling, bribing corrupt officials and other such activities also cost money. Limiting their ability to raise funds therefore limits their ability to function.

*Follow the Money – The Obama Administration Should Continue to Track How Terrorists get*

*Their Money*, Michael J. Jacobsen and Matthew Levitt, December 23, 2008

49. Given the financial needs of terrorist organizations, as documented above, Congress has concluded that money is the lifeblood of terrorism, and that any contribution to a

terrorist organization furthers acts of terrorism. The State Department has affirmed in proceedings before the United States Supreme Court that “[t]he experience and analysis of the

U.S. government agencies charged with combating terrorism strongly support[t]”

Congress’s

findings on those points.

#### **E. THE MEANS THROUGH WHICH AL QAEDA BUILT AND SUSTAINS ITS GLOBAL INFRASTRUCTURE**

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50. Given the infrastructural requirements inherent in al Qaeda’s mission to wage

jihad globally, and its ambitious goal to stage spectacular international terrorist attacks against the United States as a component of that mission, the development and sustainment of the al Qaeda organization required massive funding on an ongoing basis over a period of many years, through secure and reliable channels.

51. Indeed, in the wake of the September 11th Attacks, U.S. counter-terrorism officials estimated that al Qaeda required \$35 million annually to sustain the infrastructure that supported the September 11th Attacks, a view that was endorsed by the 9/11 Commission as well.

52. To realize these immense fundraising needs, al Qaeda simply and ingeniously adapted the network developed during the Afghan jihad, relying from its inception on Islamic da'awa organizations (frequently described inaccurately as "charities") to fuel its growth and development.

53. As the United Nations Security Council Committee concerning al Qaeda and the Taliban succinctly explained:

From its inception, al-Qaida has relied heavily on charities and donations from its sympathizers to finance its activities. Charities provide al-Qaida with a very useful international channel for soliciting, collecting, transferring and distributing the funds it needs for indoctrination, recruitment, training, and logistical and operational support. These funds are often merged with and hidden among funds used for other legitimate humanitarian or social programs. Al-Qaida supporters and financiers have also established front charity networks whose main purpose is to raise and deliver funds to al-Qaida. The roots of these charity networks stem from the anti-Soviet Jihad in Afghanistan during the last 1980s. During that time, al-Qaida could draw on a number of state-assisted charities and other deep pocket donors that supported the anti-Soviet cause.

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Today, al-Qaida continues to rely heavily on those charities to facilitate and mask the collection and movement of its funds.

54. The 9/11 Commission's Staff Monograph on terrorist financing similarly concluded that "al Qaeda was funded, to the tune of approximately \$30 million per year, by diversions of money from Islamic charities."

55. Purported charities provide an attractive mechanism for al Qaeda to raise and launder funds for a variety of reasons. Unlike for-profit organizations, charitable funds are

meant to move in one direction only, meaning that large purported charitable transfers can move without any corresponding return of value. In addition, charities are often cash intensive, and frequently have considerable access to funds. Charities with global operations offer an infrastructure for international transactions, often within or near areas that present strategic opportunities for terrorist activity and recruitment. Further, the legitimate relief work carried out by charities related to terrorist organizations allows terrorists to generate support for their causes and assists terrorists in propagating violent and extremist ideologies.

56. Although al Qaeda has in limited instances established its own charities to serve as channels of support for particular initiatives, al Qaeda's development into a sophisticated global terrorist network was fueled primarily by the massive support it received from purported charities acting as agents and alter-egos of the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, many of which worked with the al Qaeda leadership during the Afghan jihad. These governmental agents have served as the primary conduits for channeling financial, logistical, operational, and ideological support for al Qaeda's global jihad for more than twenty years. To this day, many of these arms of the Saudi government remain dedicated to promoting al Qaeda's goals and operational objectives, and continue to play a singular role in propagating the violent

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and virulently anti-Western ideology that provides religious legitimacy for al Qaeda's terrorist activities and draws new adherents to al Qaeda's cause.

57. Although representing themselves to the West as traditional "charities" or "humanitarian organizations," these organizations are more accurately described as Islamic da'awa organizations, created by the government of the Kingdom to propagate a radical strain of Islam throughout the World, commonly referred to as Wahhabism.

58. Under the direction of the Saudi government, these organizations have aggressively pressed the view that Western society, under the leadership of the United States, is conducting a coordinated "Western Cultural Attack" (Ghazu Fikari in Arabic) on Islam, designed to destroy the fabric of Muslim society as a predicate for Western conquest of Muslim territories.

59. These organizations fervently believe that this so-called “Western Cultural Attack” (and other perceived or imagined threats to Islam) must be aggressively countered

through jihad and the indoctrination of Muslims throughout World into Wahhabi Islam, a strategy the Kingdom has promoted and implemented through government agencies, state controlled media, government sponsored publications, and a variety of other channels.

60. Consistent with this view, the Saudi government controlled charities have embraced al Qaeda and its affiliates as partners, and actively supported al Qaeda’s global jihad at every level, from the organization’s inception.

61. These so-called charities, including among others the IIRO, MWL, SHC, SJRC, SRC, WAMY and al Haramain Islamic Foundation (al Haramain), have provided the vast majority of the funding that allowed al Qaeda to build and sustain its massive global

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infrastructure over the thirteen years leading up to the September 11th Attacks. Beyond their

massive financial sponsorship of al Qaeda’s global jihad, the Saudi charities have been intimately involved in all aspects of al Qaeda’s operations, and allowed al Qaeda to use their

infrastructures and resources as a platform for carrying out jihad. As further detailed herein, the

Saudi government controlled charities have: (1) raised and laundered funds on behalf of Islamic

terrorist organizations and associated separatist movements, including al Qaeda; (2) channeled

donated funds to Islamic terrorist organizations, fighters and associated separatist movements,

including al Qaeda; (3) provided financial and logistical support and physical assets to Islamic

fighters and terrorists, including al Qaeda; (4) permitted Islamic fighters and terrorists to use

ostensible employment with their organizations as a vehicle for gaining access to conflict regions, thereby allowing those individuals to carry out militant and terrorist activities in those

areas; (5) performed reconnaissance within conflict regions on behalf of Islamic terrorist organizations and separatist movements, including al Qaeda; (6) served as liaisons to localized

terrorist organizations on behalf of al Qaeda, thereby assisting al Qaeda in expanding its operational base and sphere of influence; (7) funded and facilitated shipments of arms and

supplies to Islamic terrorist organizations and associated separatist movements, including al

Qaeda; (8) funded camps used by al Qaeda and associated jihadist organizations to train soldiers

and terrorists; (9) actively recruited new members for Islamic terrorist organizations and

associated separatist movements, including al Qaeda; (10) worked throughout the World to spread al Qaeda's jihadist ideology and draw new adherents to its cause; (11) served as channels for distributing information and documentation within Islamic terrorist organizations and associated separatist movements, including al Qaeda, and from Islamic terrorist organizations and separatist movements to the media; (12) disseminated publications designed to advance al

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Qaeda's radical Islamist ideology throughout the Muslim world and legitimize violent jihad against Christians and Jews on the grounds that they are "infidels" who do not deserve to live; and (13) openly advocated for young Muslims to take up arms against Western and democratic societies.

#### **F. THE SAUDI ORIGINS OF THE GLOBAL JIHADIST MOVEMENT**

62. The emergence of al Qaeda and the global jihadist movement under the patronage and stewardship of these Saudi government charities is rooted in the origins of the Saudi state

itself, and the unique relationship between the House of Saud and Wahhabi Islam.

63. The modern Saudi state is a product of a pact forged in the 18th century between Muhammad Ibn al Saud, the head of the al Saud tribe in Arabia, and Muhammad Ibn Abd al

Wahhab, a Muslim scholar from the Najd region of Arabia.

64. Ibn Abd al Wahhab's ideas and teachings form the basis of the Islamic school of thought commonly known as Wahhabism, which forms the ideological foundation for the al

Qaeda movement. According to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United

States, al Qaeda finds inspiration and religious justification for its actions "in a long tradition of

intolerance" that flows "through the founders of Wahhabism."

65. In the late 1730's, Ibn Abd al Wahhab began a campaign to impose a puritanical Islamic rule in the Najd region, zealously preaching and writing against Shia Islam as well as the

"popular" practices of many Sunni Muslims.

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66. In furtherance of his goal to establish broad rule pursuant to Wahhabi doctrine, and to eradicate Islamic practices he deemed deviant or improper, Ibn Abd al Wahhab sought out

an alliance with a political and military leader.

67. In 1744 Ibn Abd al Wahhab achieved that goal, when he swore a traditional

Muslim oath with Ibn al Saud, pursuant to which they promised to work together to establish a state run according to Islamic law (Shariah).

68. The pact with Ibn Abd al Wahhab provided religious legitimacy and justification for Ibn al Saud's political authority, and offered Ibn Abd al Wahhab political and military resources to compel adherence to Wahhabi religious doctrine by force.

69. In keeping with the pact forged with Ibn Abd al Wahhab, Ibn al Saud began leading his armies in a campaign to eradicate Islamic practices deemed deviant by Ibn Abd al Wahhab, and to establish Wahhabi Islamic rule throughout the Najd region of Arabia.

70. Over the ensuing century, the decedents of Ibn al Saud and Ibn Abd al Wahhab sustained and reinforced their politico-religious alliance, even as the political fortunes of the

Saud clan waned.

71. With the aid of a movement of fervent Wahhabi fundamentalists known as the Ikhwan, the House of Saud mounted a military offensive in the early 20th Century under the

leadership of Abd al Aziz, which succeeded in uniting much of the Arabian Peninsula under

Saudi rule, culminating in the establishment of the modern Saudi state.

72. Upon taking control of Mecca and Medina, Abd al Aziz assumed the title Khadim al Haramain (servant of the Two Shrines), thus reaffirming the religious precondition and justification for the House of Saud's political authority.

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73. During the early years of the Saudi state, the Kingdom's affairs were governed pursuant to a generalized power-sharing agreement between the House of Saud and the Wahhabi

Ulema (Islamic Religious Leaders), under which the Saudi kings and princes controlled political

and financial decisions, while the Ulema governed religious and judicial affairs, including the

issuance of fatwas (religious edicts that judged the compatibility of temporal decisions with

Islamic law).

74. In the early period of the Saudi state, the balance of power tipped heavily in favor of the House of Saud, largely because the King appointed the Ulema to their positions, and

retained largely unchecked authority to dismiss them from their posts.

75. However, in the last three decades of the 20th Century, several developments occurred that fundamentally transformed Saudi society, and ultimately led to a massive investment by the Kingdom in the promotion of Islamic extremism as an accommodation to the

Ulema.

76. First, the oil boom of the 1970s thrust the Kingdom into the modern era, a development that created tension between the regime and Senior Ulema, given the latter's deep

animosity and resistance to modernization and technological advancements.

77. In order to gain the approval of the Ulema for modernization essential to the exploration and development of Saudi Arabia's oil reserves, and thereby maintain the Ulema's

endorsement of the legitimacy of the regime's rule, the regime embedded the Ulema in the

Kingdom's developing administrative and bureaucratic systems, thereby further integrating the

Ulema into the power structure of the Saudi state.

78. In addition, the regime channeled resources from its new-found oil wealth to support the religious goals and priorities of the Wahhabi Ulema. In this setting, the

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increased the funding of existing organizations like the Muslim World League, and created a

host of new da'awa organizations, to promote the propagation of Wahhabi Islam and the establishment of states governed pursuant to Shariah outside of Saudi Arabia.

79. Although these accommodations succeeded in appeasing certain segments of the Ulema, an emerging group of scholars, largely influenced by prominent members of the Muslim

Brotherhood who fled Egypt and were welcomed by Saudi Arabia and given prominent positions

in the Kingdom's state controlled Islamic universities and mosques, became increasingly wary of

the modernization of Saudi society. These religious scholars were especially discontented by the

perceived failure of the Saudi state to adequately apply its new-found wealth to the service of

Wahhabi Islam, the failure of the Saudi government to support Islamist movements throughout

the world, the absence of a banking system adhering to principles of Shariah, and the un-Islamic

excesses of the Saudi royals themselves.

80. In the face of modernization, these Sheikhs increasingly advocated that the Ummah (the Muslim community throughout the globe) were under a sophisticated cultural and

intellectual attack organized by the West, the objective of which was to destroy the fabric of

Muslim society as a precursor to a Western re-conquest of the Middle East, and the subordination of Muslims to western faiths and values. In this context, the Saudi Ulema did not

differentiate between the United States and Communist Russia, advocating that the two "superpowers"

were but opposite sides of the same coin, and that both were enemies of Islam.

81. In 1979, three events occurred that empowered these members of Ulema, and

served to endorse their worldview, both within Saudi society and the broader Muslim world.

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82. In January of 1979, the Shah of Iran fled his country in response to popular protests, leading to the establishment shortly thereafter of a Shia'h Islamic regime in Iran, a direct threat to the Saudi state's then perceived hegemony as the preeminent "Islamic" nation in the world. To the Saudi Ulema, who viewed as heretical the version of Islam espoused by the Iranian clergy, the Iranian Revolution presented a threat to Islam itself, to be countered at all costs.

83. Shortly thereafter, on November 20, 1979, a group of armed insurgents stormed and took control of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, the holiest site of Islam. The insurgents were led by Juhaiman ibn Muhhamed ibn Saif al Utaibi, a member of a powerful Saudi family and student of Sheikh Abdel Aziz bin Baz, a revered member of the Ulema who would later become the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, the Kingdom's supreme religious leader.

84. Broadcasting throughout Mecca over the Grand Mosque's speakers during a siege that lasted for several weeks, the jihadists asserted that the House of Saud had lost its legitimacy through corruption and imitation of the West, and called for a purification of Islam and the absolute repudiation of modernizing influences.

85. Because any violence within the Grand Mosque is strictly forbidden by Islamic law, the Saudi regime was paralyzed from taking action to oust the jihadists from the Grand

Mosque without a formal fatwa from the senior Ulema authorizing force, a reality that underscored the increasing influence of the Ulema within the modernizing Kingdom.

86. After the senior Ulema issued a fatwa authorizing the use of deadly force to retake the Grand Mosque, Saudi forces under the command of senior members of the Royal family

mounted several offensives to oust the jihadists, but were repelled and suffered massive

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casualties in a series of embarrassing clashes. In the end, the regime had to turn the entire mission over to the Pakistani military, which then carried out a successful operation to reclaim the Grand Mosque.

87. The regime's inability to protect and recapture the Grand Mosque on its own further undermined the legitimacy of its rule, requiring greater reliance by the House of Saud on

the continuing support of the Ulema, and compelling the regime to find new ways to bolster its

Islamic credentials within the Muslim world.

88. On the heels of the Grand Mosque siege, the Soviet army invaded Afghanistan on December 27, 1979. For the Ulema who had been cautioning against the Western Cultural

Attack, the invasion validated their thesis, and offered a compelling platform for promoting their Islamic agenda.

89. In response to the invasion, Abdullah Azzam, an Egyptian member of the Muslim Brotherhood who fled to Saudi Arabia and was appointed by the government of the Kingdom to

a prominent lecturing position at the King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah, issued a fatwa

entitled *Defense of the Muslim Land*, in which he declared it the personal obligation of all Muslims to wage jihad against the Russians in Afghanistan and the the Israelis in Palestine.

90. Azzam's fatwa was endorsed by Sheikh bin Baz and the senior Saudi Ulema, which endorsement necessarily required the approval of the Saudi regime.

91. In response to the Ulema's call for jihad, the most radical young Saudis – many of whom were graduates of the Kingdom's new religious universities – flocked to Afghanistan to

join the mujahideen.

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92. As discussed above, Osama bin Laden was among the Saudis who went to Afghanistan to wage jihad during this time period, and worked closely with Abdullah Azzam in

organizing the infrastructure to support the mujahideen fighters.

93. For the Saudi government, the Afghan jihad presented an opportunity to restore the Kingdom's Islamic credentials. By supporting the jihad, the regime could portray itself to

the Muslim world as a leading force in the defense of the Ummah against the Western Attack,

without requiring that the Kingdom directly intervene in the conflict. At the same time, the jihad

drew the most radicalized young Saudis away from the Kingdom, thus limiting the ideological

and security threat they posed to the regime.

94. The Kingdom seized on the opportunity, mobilizing and deploying its vast da'awa infrastructure to support the jihad. Under the guise of performing humanitarian work, Saudi

government controlled organizations, including the Muslim World League, International Islamic

Relief Organization, World Assembly of Muslim Youth, Saudi Red Crescent Society and Rabita

Trust, established an efficient network to channel support to the mujahideen fighters. Among other activities, these organizations recruited new volunteers for the conflict, established safe houses for new recruits arriving in the region, provided false documentation to the fighters and otherwise assisted them in gaining entry to the conflict zone, supported training camps for the fighters, purchased and delivered weapons and equipment to the mujahideen, raised funds to support the jihad, performed reconnaissance for military initiatives, and evacuated wounded jihadists.

95. In connection with its support of the Afghan jihad, the government of the Kingdom appointed a young Saudi jihadist named Wa'el Jelaidan to serve as the Director of the

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Muslim World League/International Islamic Relief Organization offices in Peshawar, Pakistan in 1985. Prior to that appointment, Jelaidan had served for several years as the Director of the Islamic Center of Tucson, the de facto office of Makhtab al Khidmat in the United States. Jelaidan developed close ties to bin Laden during the Afghan jihad, and as detailed below would go on to become a founding member of al Qaeda.

96. Bin Laden and Jelaidan were joined in their organizing efforts by another young Saudi named Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, who would later become bin Laden's brother-in-law.

Khalifa and bin Laden had become close friends while studying together at King Abdulaziz University, where they became further radicalized by government paid religious scholars. The

two joined the Afghan jihad together, and Khalifa excelled at recruiting volunteers from throughout the world to the cause, including over 100 Philippino Muslims, among them Abdulrak Janjalani. Following the Afghan jihad, Janjalani was selected by Khalifa and al Qaeda

to head abu Sayyaf Group, a Philippine proxy for al Qaeda established by Khalifa using funds and resources of the International Islamic Relief Organization.

97. After nine years of combat, the Soviet army began withdrawing from Afghanistan in 1988, delivering the young jihadists a stunning victory.

98. To the leaders of the Afghan jihad, the defeat of the Soviets demonstrated the divine supremacy of their Islamist movement, and reinforced their belief that the United States

could be defeated by guerilla warfare and terrorism. By virtue of their unwavering belief in the

Western Cultural Attack narrative, this group viewed waging jihad against the United States as

an absolute religious duty and imperative, and established al Qaeda in 1988 for that purpose.

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99. Around this same time, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia, where he went back to work for the bin Laden family construction empire, the Saudi Bin Laden Group, and began

organizing al Qaeda and planning for the next phase of the global jihad.

100. From the outset, the Saudi regime was aware of bin Laden's ongoing efforts to organize a mujahideen army to conduct jihad throughout the world, and in particular bin Laden's

desire to wage jihad against the United States.

101. Indeed, during a February 13, 2006 speech at the Council on Foreign Relations, Prince Turki al Faisal al Saud, the Saudi Intelligence Chief from 1977 through September 1,

2001, stated that "we [the Saudi regime] were pretty much aware of bin Laden from the very

beginning, if you like." Turki confirmed that he personally met with bin Laden after the conclusion of the Afghan jihad, and that bin Laden presented himself at that time as the leader of

a jihad army, recounting as follows:

I met Osama bin Laden five times in my life as intelligence director. Mid-'80s to end of 1989 or beginning of 1990 was the last time I saw him. And when the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan occurred, bin Laden and his supporters within Afghanistan—and by the way, that's where al Qaeda was born. As I like to—prefer to say, the al Qaeda was born in the hills of Afghanistan rather than in the deserts of Saudi Arabia. And they decided that they were going to form a group that will, in their view, protect Muslim interests throughout the world as they identified themselves as being the primary claimants to the credit of driving the Soviets out of Afghanistan.

And so, by 1990 when I last saw him at the beginning of that year, he had come to me with a proposition that he wants to bring his Mujaheddin as he called them, to liberate the then-Marxist regime in south Yemen.

102. Moreover, bin Laden made no effort to conceal his jihadist ambitions in public speeches within the Kingdom during this period. Upon returning from Afghanistan, bin Laden

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was greeted as a hero by the Saudi populace, who were astonished that a wealthy member of the Saudi elite had risked his life to carry out jihad. Bin Laden was in great demand to give speeches and interviews, and made clear in his statements his continuing dedication to jihad against the perceived enemies of Islam.

103. Speaking in 1988, bin Laden expressly affirmed what he believed to be the personal obligation of all Muslims to wage jihad against the enemies of Islam, stating as follows:

the blessing of jihad in the cause of God – the peak of true Islam, which people in this age have forgotten is a religious duty....Praise be to God for allowing us to perform jihad in Afghanistan as he did for the best of men, our Prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him...I would like to advise my brother Muslims in all parts of the East and West to take the initiative and leave what they are doing to assist in raising the banner of jihad for the cause of God. This banner is the best banner and the mujahidin are the best people...May God accept our and your prayers and our urging of believers to perform jihad in order to deter the infidel forces and be truthful.

104. Speaking in 1990 to an audience of hundreds in the Bin Laden family mosque in Jeddah, bin Laden singled out the United States as the primary target of this global jihad, asserting that "[t]he Americans won't stop their support of Jews in Palestine until we give them a lot of blows. They won't stop until we do jihad against them."

105. In that same year, bin Laden organized and funded the travel of an estimated 4,000 mujahideen fighters to Afghanistan for training, as part of his ongoing efforts to build his jihadist army.

106. To the regime, neither bin Laden's status as an organizational leader of a jihad movement nor his ambition to target America were at all surprising. The Saudi government was intimately familiar with bin Laden's role as a logistical, financial and operational organizer of the

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Afghan jihad, and the Saudi regime knew well that the young radicals who had travelled to Afghanistan to wage jihad had no intention of abandoning the cause. Through its security apparatus, the government of the Kingdom closely monitored the activities of the returning mujahideen, chief among them bin Laden, to ensure that their jihadist fervor remained focused on targets outside of the Kingdom. The Kingdom also knew that several of the chief organizers

of the Afghan jihad network (including Jelaidan and Khalifa) remained embedded in senior positions within the Saudi government da'awa infrastructure, and therefore had access to that infrastructure in relation to their ongoing jihadist efforts. More fundamentally, the jihadist worldview bin Laden was promoting was firmly grounded in Wahhabi ideology and the Western Cultural Attack narrative, as promoted by the Saudi regime itself over a period of many years. In simple terms, the Saudi regime had unique access to information concerning bin Laden's jihadist agenda and organizational efforts from the earliest date. Moreover, the House of Saud understood implicitly the ideological foundation for bin Laden's global jihadist movement, and was well aware that members of that movement firmly believed that they owed a religious duty to wage jihad against the United States.

107. On August 2, 1990, bin Laden's ongoing efforts to build support for the global jihad received a transformative boost, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. The invasion by the region's most sophisticated army of Kuwait posed an imminent threat to the security of the Kingdom.

108. At the height of the security crisis, bin Laden again used his prominence and family's close ties to the House of Saud to secure a meeting with a senior member of the Saudi royal family, in this case Prince Sultan, the Saudi Minister of Defense.

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109. Accompanied by several mujahideen commanders and veterans of the Afghan jihad, bin Laden laid out a detailed plan of attack, indicating where trenches and protective measures would be constructed along the border using the Saudi bin Laden Group's earthmoving equipment. Again making clear his continuing role as an organizer of a jihadist army, bin Laden assured Sultan that he could amass 100,000 mujahideen quickly to defend the Kingdom, drawing primarily on the Arab veterans of the Afghan jihad.

110. Prince Sultan rejected bin Laden's plan out of hand, as did Prince Turki, with whom bin Laden also met. Instead, the House of Saud invited the United States army to Saudi

Arabia to protect the Kingdom.

111. The presence of an infidel crusader army on Saudi soil reinforced and energized the Western Cultural Attack narrative, and prompted outrage among many prominent Ulama

(and bin Laden), who again questioned the legitimacy of the House of Saud's rule given its inability to protect Islam without foreign assistance.

112. Recognizing the gravity of the threat to its rule, the Saudi regime prevailed upon the Senior Ulema to issue a fatwa authorizing the presence of U.S. troops on Saudi soil.

113. The issuance of that fatwa did not, however, appease the younger Ulema or their followers, but rather merely convinced them that many members of the senior religious establishment had been co-opted by the regime, and that decisive action was needed to restore

the primacy of Islam within the Kingdom and counter the Western Cultural Attack.

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114. A vibrant movement rapidly spread at mosques and universities within the Kingdom, demanding the removal of the "crusader" U.S. forces from Muslim soil and advocating for extensive reforms in accordance with Shariah.

115. The leaders of this emerging reformist movement were known as the Awakening Sheiks and included Salman al Awda, a professor of Islamic law at Imam Muhammad bin Saud

University in Riyadh, and Safar al-Hawali, the head of the Department of Theology at Umm al-

Quarra University in Mecca. Al Awda and al Hawali were, not coincidentally, spiritual mentors

to bin Laden, and many of bin Laden's ideas about jihad were derived directly from the teachings of these Saudi government paid scholars.

116. In the view of these members of the Ulema, the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was itself organized by the United States as a predicate for its occupation of the Muslim world.

Hawali in particular theorized that Washington engineered the rift between Iraq and Kuwait, and

then encouraged Sadaam Hussein to invade. At that point, Hawali argued that Washington used

the pretext of defending Arab states from Iraqi aggression as a predicate for occupying sacred

Muslim soil. According to Hawali, the United States was motivated to this course of action by

its recognition that Islam was the only threat to America's world domination, and that the United

States consequently determined that it must subordinate Muslims to its rule.

117. When the war ended with the defeat of Hussein's armies, many of the Ulema demanded a complete U.S. withdraw from Saudi soil, but the House of Saud declined to accede

to that demand, effectively acknowledging that the regime was incapable of defending Saudi

Arabia on its own.

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118. The decision to allow American forces to remain on Saudi soil, and the implications that followed from that decision, prompted an even more acute crisis of legitimacy for the Saudi Royal Family. To many prominent and influential members of the Ulema, the House of Saud's self-evident inability to protect Saudi Arabia was a product of its own corruption under Western influences, and its failure to govern and rule in strict accordance with Shariah. To the extent the regime would not embrace and fulfill its duty to rule in accordance with the requirements of Islam, these Ulema concluded that they should exercise greater authority relative to the governance of the Kingdom.

119. In March of 1991, a group of prominent Ulema drafted a "Letter of Demands" detailing their principal criticisms with the House of Saud's rule, and reforms they deemed imperative to restoring Saudi Arabia's Islamic character, and by extension, the regime's legitimacy. Broadly speaking, the document demanded a greater role for the Ulema in the conduct of Saudi domestic and foreign affairs; the abolition of any laws and regulations that did not adhere with Shariah; a ban against the collection of interest by financial institutions; the establishment of a strong and sophisticated military; the repudiation of any alliances which in their view contradicted Shariah, to include Riyadh's alliance with Washington; and a drastic increase in the funding of Saudi Arabia's da'awa institutions, in order to spread Islam and foster the establishment of Shariah based states outside of the Kingdom. In particular, the Letter of Demands insisted on the following reforms:

The formation of a consultative council to decide internal and external issues on the basis of the Shari'a. Its members must be honest, straightforward and representing all fields of expertise. They must be totally independent and not be subject to any pressure that may affect the authority of the council.

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All laws and regulations of political, economic, administrative or other nature must be reconciled with the principles of the Shari'a. Trusted committed with expertise in Shari'a should be authorized to repeal legislation not conforming to Shari'a principles. In addition to possessing specialized expertise, dedication and honesty, government official and their overseas representatives must be unswervingly moral. Failing any one the requirements for any reasons is an abuse of public trust and a fundamental cause of injury to the national interest and reputation.

Justice must be applied, rights granted and duties assigned in full equality among all citizens, not favoring the nobles or begrudging the weak. Abuse of authority by anyone whether by shirking obligations or denying people what is their right is a cause for breakup and annihilation of society.

All government officials, especially those occupying the highest positions, must be diligently scrutinized and must all be made accountable with no exceptions. Government agencies must be cleansed of anyone whose corruption or dereliction is proven, regardless of any other consideration.

Public wealth must be distributed fairly among all classes and groups. Taxes must be eliminated and fees that have overburdened citizens must be reduced. Government revenues must be protected from exploitation and abuse; priority in expenditure must be given to the most urgent necessities. All forms of monopoly or illegitimate ownership must be eliminated. Restrictions imposed on Islamic banks must be lifted. Public and private banking institutions must be cleansed of usury, which is an affront to God and His Prophet, and a cause for stunting the growth of wealth.

A strong and fully-integrated army must be built and fully equipped with weapons of all kinds, from any source. Attention must be given to manufacturing and developing arms. The goal of the army must be to protect the country and the Holy Sites.

Information media must be remodeled according to the adopted media policy of the Kingdom. The goals must be to educate, serve Islam and express the morals of society. The media must be purged of anything conflicting with these objectives. Its freedom to spread awareness through truthful reporting and constructive criticism must be safeguarded within the confines of Islam.

Foreign policy must be based on national interest without relying on alliances not sanctioned by the Shari'a. It must also embrace

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Muslim causes. The Kingdom's embassies must be reformed to enable them to reflect the Islamic nature of the country.

Religious and proselytizing institutions must be developed and strengthened with financial and human resources. All obstacles preventing them from fully carrying out their objectives must be removed.

Judicial institutions must be unified and granted full and effective independence. Juridical authority must apply to all. It is necessary to establish an independent body whose function is to ensure carrying out judicial orders.

The rights of individuals and society must be guaranteed. Every restriction on people's rights and their will must be removed, to ensure the enjoyment of human dignity, within the acceptable

religious safeguards.

120. The Letter of Demands was broadly supported among the Ulema, and was in fact signed by approximately 400 clerics, judges and scholars, and endorsed by Sheik bin Baz.

In

addition, thousands of copies of the Letter of Demands were distributed throughout the country,

in a rare public denunciation of the practices and policies of the Saudi regime. The rebuke was

especially problematic in that the criticisms and demands set forth therein were grounded in well

established beliefs and principles of Wahabbi Islam, the ultimate source of all law in the Kingdom and of the authority of the Saudi regime.

121. Approximately one year later, in March 1992, a smaller group of Ulema submitted a second petition to the regime, entitled the Memorandum of Advice, which expanded

upon and refined the arguments presented in the Letter of Demands. In the Memorandum of

Advice, the Ulema offered particularly harsh criticisms of the Saudi government's conduct of

foreign affairs, its perceived failure to provide adequate funding to Saudi *dawa* institutions and

support Islamic resistance and separatists movements outside of the Kingdom, and the

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government's failure to maintain an adequate and competent army "motivated by the spirit of

jihād and sacrifice."

122. Together, the Letter of Demands and Memorandum of Advice presented a withering criticism of the Saudi regime, and a direct challenge to its legitimacy of a far more

serious nature than any the House of Saud had previously faced.

123. In response to the renewed crisis of legitimacy, the regime sought to diminish the Ulema's challenge by positioning itself as a leading force in combating the Western Cultural

Attack and in advancing the global Islamist movement, much as it had done in response to the

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

124. Rhetorically, the regime enthusiastically embraced the concept of the Western Cultural Attack as its own, promoting through official speeches and the state-run media the idea

of a clash of civilizations between the infidel west and a spiritual Muslim civilization led by

Saudi Arabia. The regime fully endorsed the view, advocating by the Ulema, that Saudi Arabia

must launch a counter attack against Western civilization, in defense of the Ummah.

125. To demonstrate its commitment to these ideas, and simultaneously appease its

critics within the Saudi religious establishment, the House of Saud used the Letter of Demands and Memorandum of Advice as a roadmap for its course of action, subject to limitations necessary to protect the regime's own power and self interest. Generally speaking, the regime rejected, or adopted in a neutered way, those demands that implicated the House of Saud's core authority to manage the political affairs of the Kingdom. However, the regime enthusiastically embraced the external religious priorities of the Ulema concerning the propagation of Wahhabi Islam and support for Islamist movements abroad. In addition to appeasing the Ulema, the

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regime calculated that this approach would serve to focus the energy of the most radical elements of the Saudi religious establishment and society on activities carried out abroad, a strategy that had served the regime effectively in the context of the Afghan jihad. In adopting and implementing this plan, the regime was of course fully aware that many of the Ulema charged with directing the activities of the *dawa* institutions (as employees of the Saudi government) firmly believed that the conduct of jihad against the United States was a religious duty in response to the Western Cultural Attack.

126. Pursuant to this strategy, the regime dramatically increased the budget and resources of the State controlled *dawa* institutions, dedicating incomprehensible sums to support the priorities and objectives of the Ulema and propagation of Wahabbi Islam outside of the Kingdom. Indeed, according to recent estimates, the Kingdom has expended between \$2-3

billion dollars annually to further the religious priorities of the Ulema outside of Saudi Arabia.

127. To support this global initiative, the regime established offices of the Saudi *dawa* organizations throughout the world, and directed the Saudi embassies to support their work. As part of this effort, Saudi Arabia embedded religious scholars from the Ministry of Islamic Affairs within the embassies, to supervise, assist and support the *dawa* organizations in the propagation of Wahabbi Islam. The Kingdom deployed thousands of Saudi trained clerics to teach at Saudi government funded mosques and Islamic centers throughout the globe, many of which were

themselves established under the auspices of the Saudi government controlled *dawa* organizations. In addition, consistent with the Ulema's demand that the regime support Islamic movements seeking to establish Sharia based states outside of the Kingdom, the regime embraced the role of primary benefactor of Islamic extremist movements throughout the world.

The movements and organizations that benefited from the regime's Islamist largesse included

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(among others) Abu Sayyef Group, Moro Islamic Liberation Front, Hamas, Palestine Islamic

Jihad, Jemaah Islamiyya, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Asbat al-Ansar, Salafist group for Call and

Combat, Al Gama'a al Islamiyya, Lashkar-Tayyiba, Lashkar I Janghvi, and Algerian Islamic

Group. That many of these organizations used terrorism as a tool to achieve their religious and

political goals was not an impediment to the Kingdom's support of their causes.

128. As the regime's campaign to restore its legitimacy by supporting the Islamic agenda of the Ulema outside of Saudi Arabia was unfolding, a war broke out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, primarily between Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Serbs.

129. For the Saudi regime, the outbreak of the Bosnian war presented a timely opportunity for the House of Saud to demonstrate its dedication to the defense of the Ummah,

one of the duties the Ulema had called on the Kingdom to fulfill in the Letter of Demands and

Memorandum of Advice.

130. The Bosnian war presented a timely opportunity for al Qaeda as well. As discussed above, al Qaeda was formed to carry out jihad throughout the globe, and participation

in military conflicts involving Muslim communities (as the mujahideen had done in Afghanistan)

was a central pillar of its strategy to establish Islamic regimes throughout the World.

Waging

jihad in Bosnia also offered al Qaeda an opportunity to establish a base of operations in Europe,

from which it could launch future terrorist attacks against the West. At the same time, the Arab

veterans of the Afghan jihad were being expelled from Pakistan. For many of these jihadists,

return to their home countries was impossible, as they were viewed as extremists and faced

potential imprisonment. Finding a new jihad front for these fighters was therefore essential to

maintaining the nascent al Qaeda army. Beyond these strategic considerations, as an Islamist

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organization deriving its ideological foundation from the teachings of Wahhabi Islam and the

Western Cultural Attack theory, al Qaeda believed Muslims owed a personal obligation to carry

out jihad in defense of the Bosnian Muslims, a view that was shared by the Saudi Ulema.

131. In 1992, bin Laden, who was by then residing in Sudan under the protection of the National Islamic Front, sent a delegation of senior al Qaeda members to Bosnia to assess the

situation and evaluate the logistical needs for waging jihad in the region. The delegation was led

by Abu Abdel Aziz, a Saudi veteran of the Afghan jihad and senior al Qaeda member.

Abu

Adbel Aziz, also known by the aliases Barabarossa (Red Beard), Abdelrahman al-Dosari, and

Hown (for his proficiency during the Afghan jihad with Russian made "Hound" artillery), succinctly explained in an interview the circumstances under which al Qaeda sent him to Bosnia

following the conclusion of the Afghan jihad, as part of al Qaeda's broader efforts to find new

regions for waging jihad:

Then the conquest of Kabul came, and we thanked Allah, praised be He. The joy of Jihad overwhelmed our hearts. The Prophet, peace be upon him, said, "The highest peak of Islam is Jihad." We were looking for Jihad (after Afghanistan). We found it in the Philippines, and in Kashmir. Only fifteen days lapsed (after the conquest of Kabul) and the crisis of Bosnia begun. This confirmed the saying of the Prophet (of Islam), peace and blessings be upon him, who said, "Indeed Jihad will continue till the day of Judgment." A new Jihad started in Bosnia, (we moved there), and we are with it, if Allah wills.

[W]hen Jihad in Afghanistan was over, with the conquest of Kabul, I went with four of those who participated in Afghanistan to Bosnia to check out the landscape.

132. In that same interview Abu Abdel Aziz confirmed the convergence of interests between al Qaeda and the Saudi Ulema in relation to the Bosnian War, and the importance as a

religious matter of the latter's specific authorization for al Qaeda's proposed jihad in Bosnia:

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Interviewer: We heard, and many brothers heard, that you met with prominent Ulema and scholars in the Muslim World and

discussed with them the question of Jihad in Bosnia. Can you tell us some of their views and the issues you discussed?

Abu Abdel Aziz: First, we consider our scholars the light and guidance of Islam. They are the heirs of prophets (as the Hadith says, "warathat al-Anbiya"). Our duty is to seek knowledge from them and guidance from their scholarly light (sic). I - alhamdulillah - met several prominent Ulema. Among them Sheikh Nasir ad-Din al-Albani, Sheikh Abdel Aziz Bin Baz and Sheikh Muhammad Bin Otheimin and others in the Gulf area.

Alhamdulillah, all grace be to Allah, they all support the religious dictum that "the fighting in Bosnia is a fight to make the word of Allah supreme and protect the chastity of Muslims." It is because Allah said (in his holy book), "Yet, if they ask you for succor against religious persecution, it is your duty to give [them] this succor." (Lit. "to succor them in religion", Qur'an, al-Anfal, 8:72). It is then our (religious) duty to defend our Muslim brethren wherever they are, as long as they are persecuted because they are Muslims and not for any other reason.

133. At the time he endorsed al Qaeda's jihad in Bosnia, Sheikh bin Baz was Saudi Arabia's Grand Mufti, a governmental position to which he was appointed by King Fahd. Thus,

Abu Abdel Aziz's statements confirm that al Qaeda's jihad in Bosnia was formally sanctioned by the Saudi government.

134. Bin baz used his governmental post as the Kingdom's highest religious authority to encourage public support for al Qaeda's Bosnian jihad as well, issuing a fatwa calling on Muslims to support that jihad by any means available to them, including by way of "money, arms and prayers."

135. In accordance with the fatwas issued by its senior religious leaders, the Kingdom aggressively deployed its da'awa infrastructure to support the Bosnian jihad. Existing Saudi

da'awa organizations such as the IIRO, WAMY, al Haramain Islamic Foundation, and al Haramain al Masjil al Aqsa Foundation promptly established physical operations in Bosnia and

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the surrounding region to support the jihad. In addition, the Kingdom established a new da'awa

organization under the leadership of Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud, called the Saudi

High Commission for Relief to Bosnia and Herzegovina (SHC), to steward and centralize the

Kingdom's Bosnian efforts.

136. From the inception of the conflict, these organizations sponsored the entry into

the region of hundreds of jihadists eager to join the fighting. Many of these jihadists were Saudi veterans of the Afghan jihad, known to the Kingdom by virtue of its intimate participation in that earlier conflict and subsequent monitoring of their activities to be associates of bin Laden, and members of his nascent jihad organization.

137. Throughout the course of the Bosnian war, the Saudi government controlled da'awa organizations, including the SHC, al Haramain, IIRO and WAMY, provided money, food, shelter and supplies to al Qaeda fighters. In many cases, this support was coordinated by senior al Qaeda members who were embedded in the da'awa organizations themselves as directors, managers and officials. These organizations also transported al Qaeda members throughout the region in their vehicles bearing UNHCR plates, thereby allowing al Qaeda to circumvent UN checkpoints. After the conclusion of the war, the Saudi da'awa organizations provided ostensible employment to many al Qaeda members, so that they could remain in Bosnia in furtherance of al Qaeda's operational goals. Several of those al Qaeda members planned and carried out terrorist attacks from offices of the SHC, while ostensibly employed by that organization.

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138. The methodology employed by the Kingdom to support the Bosnian jihad was implemented in regions throughout the world to advance al Qaeda's global agenda, but ably adapted to suit the particular objectives and conditions presented by the local context.

139. For example, at the time of its founding, al Qaeda identified the Philippines as a potential fertile ground for jihad. Muslims in the southern Philippines had been engaged in a long-running but unsuccessful campaign to establish an independent Muslim state, which had taken on an increasingly militant and Islamist character under the banner of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, following a failed peace agreement in 1976. Al Qaeda had strong relationships with members of MILF and Philippine jihadists, as a result of Mohammed Jamal Khalifa's successful campaign to recruit Philippine Muslims to join the Afghan jihad. The opportunity presented by these circumstances fit perfectly into al Qaeda's global strategy, and in particular its

plans to exploit regional conflicts to expand its global reach and promote the establishment of Shariah based states.

140. The Saudi Ulema had likewise long identified with the Philippine Islamic movement, and advocated that the Saudi state support the effort of Philippine Islamists to establish an independent Shariah state. From at least the 1980's, the Muslim World League was actively engaged in da'awa and political activities aimed at supporting the Philippine Islamist independence movement.

141. To both al Qaeda and the Saudi Ulema, the inability of Muslims in the Philippines to achieve their goal of establishing an independent state was largely attributable to a lack of understanding and application of the true (Wahhabi) Islam. In addition, based on their joint activities in Afghanistan, the al Qaeda leadership and Saudi da'awa organizations believed that

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the goals of the Philippine Islamist movement could be achieved only through jihad by trained, indoctrinated, dedicated, highly ideologized, and organized mujahid.

142. Based on this understanding of the circumstances and challenges facing the Philippine Islamist movement, al Qaeda implemented a comprehensive strategic plan for promoting the jihadist movement in the Philippines, to be carried out under the cover of humanitarian activities of the MWL, IIRO and AHIF.

143. In furtherance of that plan, the MWL and IIRO established offices in the Philippines and Indonesia in approximately 1989. The Kingdom appointed Mohammed Jamal Khalifa to serve as Director of those offices. At the time of his appointment, the Kingdom was aware that Khalifa was a prominent veteran of the Afghan jihad and close associate of bin Laden.

Khalifa has affirmed that all of his activities as Director of the IIRO in the Philippines and Indonesia were carried out under the supervision and direction of the Saudi Embassy in the Philippines.

144. Using IIRO funds and resources, Khalifa established an Islamic "school" called Dar al Imam al Sahfi'e, and personally selected and invited the most promising young Philippine jihadists to become students. The curriculum of Dar al Imaam al Shafi'e was designed to indoctrinate the students in the most intolerant conceptualization of Wahhabi Islam, and prepare them to carry out jihad and terrorist activities as members of a covert organization.

145. Simultaneously, Khalifa entered into negotiations with Abdulrack Janjalani, a

local Islamist leader whom Khalifa had recruited to the Afghan jihad, regarding the establishment of an al Qaeda proxy in the Far East. In basic terms, Khalifa offered to provide

funding through the IIRO for a jihad organization to be headed by Janjalani, subject to

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Janjalani's agreement that the organization would take direction from al Qaeda. The negotiations ultimately led to the establishment of Abu Sayyaf Group. Khalifa filled the ranks of

Abu Sayyaf with graduates of Dar ul Imaam al Sahfi'e, and using IIRO funds arranged for them

to be trained in terrorist techniques at camps operated by MILF. Khalifa gave certain Abu Sayyaf members ghost positions with the IIRO, typically as "da'awa instructors," to provide an

income to support them while they carried out jihad.

146. Since its formation through the patronage of the MWL/IIRO, the Abu Sayyaf Group has systematically targeted U.S. citizens in a series of kidnappings, bombings and brutal

killings. These include the beheading of an American citizen in 2001, the 2002 bombing of a bar

across the street from a United States military camp, and a 2009 bombing which killed two U.S.

soldiers on a humanitarian mission.

147. Beyond its role in establishing and supporting Abu Sayyaf, the IIRO used its Philippine and Indonesian offices to support the terrorist activities of 1993 World Trade Center

Bomber Ramzi Youssef and 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. The plots developed

by Youssef and Mohammed in conjunction with Khalifa and the IIRO included a plan to assassinate Pope John Paul II during a January 1995 trip to the Philippines and a plot to

simultaneously bomb multiple U.S. airliners as they flew from Asia to the United States, dubbed

Operation Bojinka. The Operation Bojinka plot served as inspiration for the September 11th

Attacks.

148. In Kosovo and Albania, the partnership between al Qaeda and the Saudi da'awa organizations more closely tracked the program implemented in Bosnia, owing to the similarity

of the of the conflicts that drew al Qaeda to those regions.

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149. The conflict in Kosovo erupted in 1998, when ethnic Albanians in Kosovo demanded their independence from Serbia and the Kosovo Liberation Army came out in open

rebellion against Serbian rule.

150. As was the case in Bosnia, al Qaeda saw in the Kosovo conflict an opportunity to extend the global jihad and advance its strategic interests.

151. Consistent with the model which had been applied in Afghanistan and Bosnia, the Saudi da'awa institutions quickly established physical operations in the region to support al

al Qaeda's intervention in the Kosovo conflict. The Kingdom again established an umbrella organization, called the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Albania, to coordinate

Saudi Arabia's activities in the region. In a move that plainly demonstrated the SJRC's true

mission in the region, the Kingdom appointed Wa'el Jelaidan to serve as Director of the Pristina

offices of the SJRC, thereby embedding a founding al Qaeda member in a powerful and pivotal

role in the organization. Contemporaneous to Jelaidan's appointment to his position in the SJRC

by the government of the Kingdom, bin Laden described Jelaidan as a close associate in a widely

disseminated interview with al Jazeera. Not surprisingly, Jelaidan promptly began using the

SJRC as a front for planning terrorist attacks against Western interests and moving men and

weapons into the region for bin Laden, according to the U.S. government.

152. Within Africa, al Qaeda's charity partners worked closely with bin Laden to build al Qaeda's infrastructure, and directly supported al Qaeda's military and terrorist operations

throughout the continent. In this context, the SHC facilitated arms shipments to General Mohammad Farah Hassan Aideed, the al Qaeda affiliated Somali warlord responsible for the

massacre of American troops during the Battle of Mogadishu, according to a Defense Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 43 of 154

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Intelligence Agency Report. The IIRO and al Haramain were, in turn, directly implicated in the

1998 African embassy bombings.

153. In Europe and the United States, the Saudi da'awa organizations have focused primarily on spreading al Qaeda's jihadist ideology, encouraging Muslim communities to reject

Western culture and values, recruiting Western Muslims to al Qaeda's cause, raising funds to

support al Qaeda's global jihad, and providing cover for the planning and execution of terrorist

attacks. In explaining the role of the da'awa organizations in promoting the jihadist agenda in

Europe, the Dutch Intelligence Service explained as follows:

The groups focusing on Dawa follow a long-term strategy of

continuous influencing based on extreme puritanical, intolerant and anti-Western ideas. They want Muslims in the West to reject Western values and standards, propagating extreme isolation from western society and often intolerance towards other groups in society. They also encourage these Muslims to (covertly) develop parallel structures in society and to take the law into their own hands.

154. As a complement to their financial, ideological and operational support for these regional objectives and activities, the Saudi da'awa organizations provided a robust, secure and

consistent source of funding for al Qaeda's global infrastructure. For example, a 1996 CIA

Report concerning the involvement of purported charities in the sponsorship of terrorism indicates that the IIRO provided the funding for six al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. Al

Haramain has separately been described by the U.S. government as a "principal" source of

funding for al Qaeda.

155. The pervasive involvement of the government of Saudi Arabia in sponsoring al Qaeda's global jihad through its state controlled da'awa organizations is further demonstrated by

the facts and evidence set forth below as to each of those organizations. By virtue of their status

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as agents and alter-egos of the Saudi government, the terror sponsorship activities of these

organizations, as described herein, are properly viewed as activities of the Saudi government

itself.

#### **THE MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE**

156. Founded in 1962 by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Muslim World League ("MWL") is among the world's largest Islamic charitable organizations, with offices in more

than thirty (30) countries. The MWL serves as an umbrella organization for a number of other

Islamic charities, commonly referred to as bodies or members of the League, including the

International Islamic Relief Organization ("IIRO"), World Assembly of Muslim Youth ("WAMY"), al Haramain & al Aqsa Mosque Foundation, and Rabita Trust, among others.

157. The MWL is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs MWL operations, appoints and terminates MWL personnel,

provides the MWL with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be distributed

throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls the MWL's operations. In many countries, MWL conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy, under the supervision of the embassy's Islamic Affairs Division.

158. Senior officials of the MWL have expressly acknowledged that the MWL and its subsidiary bodies are agents and alter-egos of the Saudi government.

159. According to the affidavit testimony of Ali Mohammed al Kamal, Manager for Financial Affairs of the MWL, "the MWL's policies are established by its Constitutive Council,

which is chaired by the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia. The MWL's daily operations are conducted and supervised by its General Secretariat, which is headed by a Secretary General

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appointed by the Constitutive Council based on a nomination by the Saudi Government. The

MWL's annual budget is \$80 million Saudi Riyals, which is funded by an annual grant from the

Saudi Government."

160. Abdulaziz H. al Fahd, a member of the Saudi Council of Ministers, confirmed in a separate affidavit that organizations such as the MWL and World Assembly of Muslim Youth

are headed by Saudi officials, and that the Saudi government uses its da'awa organizations as

tools to spread Wahabbi Islam outside of Saudi Arabia.

161. Abdullah bin Saleh al Obaid, Secretary-General of the Muslim World League from 1995 through 2000, has similarly affirmed the intimate relationship between the government of Saudi Arabia and MWL, explaining in an affidavit that the MWL is "sponsored

and financially supported by the Saudi Government," and that he was appointed to his position as

the Secretary General of the MWL by Royal Decree.

162. In a 1984 edition of the *Muslim World League Journal*, then MWL Secretary General, Dr. Abdullah Omar Nasseef, briefly discussed the relationship between the MWL and

Government of Saudi Arabia, noting that the Kingdom founded the League "in order to serve"

the Ummah throughout the World and that the MWL receives an annual budget from the Kingdom.

163. Arafat El Asahi, the Director of IIRO in Canada and a full-time employee of the Muslim World League, was even more explicit concerning the Kingdom's absolute domination

of the MWL and IIRO during testimony in a Canadian immigration proceeding captioned *Minister of Citizenship and Immigration v. Mahmoud Jaballah*, Federal Court of Canada, Docket

DES-6-99, stating under oath as follows:

Q: During those eight years that you have been with the IIRO here in Canada, have you ever heard anything to the effect that the Canadian government has any concern whatsoever with respect to your office?

A: Let me tell you one thing, the Muslim World League, which is the mother of IIRO, is a fully government funded organization. In other words, I work for the government of Saudi Arabia. I am an employee of that government. Second, the IIRO is the relief branch of that organization which means that we are controlled in all of our activities and plans by the government of Saudi Arabia. Keep that in mind, please. . . I am paid by my organization which is funded by the [Saudi] government . . . The [IIRO] office, like any other office in the world, here or in the Muslim World League, has to abide by the policy of the Government of Saudi Arabia. If anybody deviates from that, he would be fired; he would not work at all with IIRO or with the Muslim World League.

164. Consistent with the statements of its senior officials, the MWL has asserted in pleadings filed in American court proceedings that it is an “instrumentality” of the government of Saudi Arabia.

165. The MWL’s close affiliation with Osama bin Laden and other high ranking al Qaeda officials dates to the 1980’s. During the war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Abdullah Azzam, bin Laden’s spiritual mentor and partner in Makhtab al Kidhmat, headed the office of the MWL in Peshawar, Pakistan, which served as the rear base for mujihadeen operations. That office was thereafter led by Wa’el Julaidan, who also served as Director General and a member of the Board of Trustees of Rabita Trust, a financial arm of the MWL. Wa’el Julaidan is a founding member of al Qaeda. On September 6, 2002, the United States Department of Treasury designated Julaidan as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to Executive Order 13224. The Treasury Department statement regarding the designation provided as follows:

Wa’el Hamza Julaidan, a Saudi citizen, is an associate of Osama bin Laden. Julaidan fought with bin Laden in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Julaidan is also associated with several individuals and entities linked to al Qaida, including bin Laden’s lieutenants, Ayman al Zawahri, Abu Zubaida, and Mohammed Atef; and the organizations: Maktab al Khidmat, the Rabita Trust, and al-

Gamma al Islamiya. These individuals and entities have been previously designated under President Bush's Executive Order and by the United Nations.

Bin Laden himself acknowledged close ties to Julaidan during a 1999 interview with al-Jazeera TV. When referring to the assassination of al Qaeda co-founder Abdullah Azzam, bin Laden stated that "we were all in one boat, as is known to you, including our brother, Wa'el Julaidan." Julaidan has established contacts with several known Islamic extremists, including bin Laden's principal lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahri. Another bin Laden lieutenant, Abu Zubaida, claimed that he had accompanied Julaidan from Pakistan to Kandahar, Afghanistan during the summer of 2000. Zubaida said that Julaidan met with bin Laden and senior bin Laden lieutenant Mohammed Atef soon after arriving in Kandahar.

In February 2000, Julaidan was appointed to the Board of Trustees of the Rabita Trust and served as its director general. The Rabita Trust is an NGO designated under President Bush's Executive Order as an organization that provided logistical and financial support to al-Qa'ida.

#### **BASIS FOR DESIGNATION**

The United States has credible information that Wa'el Hamza Julaidan is an associate of Osama bin Laden and several of bin Laden's top lieutenants. Julaidan has directed organizations that have provided financial and logistical support to al-Qa'ida. Accordingly, the United States is designating Julaidan under Executive Order 13224 as a person who supports terror.

166. Consistent with bin Laden's plan to adapt the network established for the Afghan resistance to support al Qaeda's global jihad, al Qaeda has from its establishment used the MWL

as a front to conceal the terrorist organization's existence and true purpose, as confirmed by documents seized throughout the world in conjunction with investigations into al Qaeda's global support infrastructure.

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167. Internal al Qaeda documents chronicling the formation of the organization, seized during a 2002 raid of the Sarajevo office of an al Qaeda front, the Benevolence International

Foundation ("BIF"), confirm that al Qaeda planned from its inception to use the MWL and its subsidiary bodies, to include the IIRO, to provide support and cover for al Qaeda's operations.

A BIF computer file named "Tareekh Osama" (or "Osama's History") contained numerous

documents regarding al Qaeda's formation and the participation of purported Islamic charities in

al Qaeda's support infrastructure, including the MWL and IIRO. For instance, the files include a

document on MWL/IIRO letterhead stating that attacks would be launched from MWL offices:

"And if he is being subjected to any pressures, let it be a secret (*agreement*), in a way that [Muslim World] League offices will be opened as (*illegible*) for the Pakistanis, and the attacks

will be launched from the (*these offices*) ...".

168. During the 2002 searches, investigators also recovered a list of orders from Osama bin Laden regarding the management of Islamic charities. On point 10 of his list, bin

Laden urges the creation of a committee to receive and distribute donations to al Qaeda, and

suggests the participation of the MWL, SRC and IIRO.

169. Another al Qaeda document seized during the March 2002 raids, written on the joint letterhead of the MWL and IIRO, suggests using the name of the "League" as "an umbrella

which you can stay under."

170. Consistent with this plan, al Qaeda founding member Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, opened a joint MWL/IIRO branch office in the Philippines contemporaneous with the formation

of al Qaeda. The office was used to support al Qaeda's efforts to export the jihad to the Far East.

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171. Khalifa was tried in absentia by a Jordanian court for his involvement in a 1994 attack on a movie theater in Amman, Jordan by a local terrorist cell. One of Khalifa's codefendants

in that case, Abdul al Hasheikeh, testified at length concerning the impressive terrorist platform Khalifa established in the Far East through the MWL and IIRO. Al Hasheikh

explained that he traveled from Jordan to the Philippines in July 1993 to meet with Khalifa and

request his support for the Jordanian terrorist cell. According to al Hasheikeh: "The principal of

the League's office in the Philippines is the named Mohammed Gamal Khalifa, a Saudi citizen,

who is the in-law of Osama Ben Laden, a wealthy Saudi, who supports extremist Islamic organizations around the world and has training camps in Yemen."

172. Al Hasheikeh testified that Khalifa established a terrorist training academy in the Philippines under the auspices of the IIRO called Dar ul Imam al Shafi'e, and that Khalifa

recruited al Hasheikh to work as a teacher at the school.

173. Khalifa was detained by U.S. law enforcement officials on December 16, 1994 by

U.S. law enforcement officials as he was returning to the Philippines from San Francisco, California. Documents found in Khalifa's possession at the time of his arrest confirm al Hasheikheh's testimony, detailing that students at the Dar al Imam al Shafi'e received training in

assassination, kidnapping, bombing churches, martyrdom operations, methods of torture, explosives and weapons.

174. As al Qaeda developed and expanded its operations into new geographical regions over the years, the MWL extended its infrastructural support accordingly. In Bosnia, for instance, the MWL was instrumental in transferring hundreds of millions of dollars to al Qaeda

and the Arab mujihadeen in that region, including military equipment and weapons.

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175. As a "beacon" of Wahhabi ideology and propagation, the MWL took a leading role in rallying Muslims throughout the World to support al Qaeda's Bosnian jihad as well. In

the April 20, 1992 edition of the *Al Alam Al Islami*, the Arabic edition of the MWL Journal, the

MWL published an article by Isma'il Fath Alh Salamah calling for the Islamic world to prepare

an army for jihad for Allah. In the article, Salamah incites readers to fight all infidels, calls on

them to gather weapons, and quotes militant verses praising jihad and terrorizing the enemies of

Islam. In the August 10, 1992 edition of the *Al Alam Al Islami*, the MWL published a fatwa

issued by Sheikh Muhammad al Ghazali in reference to Bosnia. Al Ghazali's fatwa warns that

any Muslim ignoring the plight of the Muslims in Bosnia is an infidel, and further asserts that the

duty to help Muslims in Bosnia is a religious one akin to jihad. An article in the April 19, 1993

edition of *Al Alam Al Islami* similarly advocates that the first step to saving Bosnia is to equip the

jihad fighters in Bosnia with everything necessary for jihad for Allah.

176. MWL officials, including then Secretary General of the MWL, Dr. Abdullah Omar Naseef, have similarly issued statements calling for Muslims to support jihad in Bosnia

and other regions of strategic importance to al Qaeda. For instance, in the April 17, 1992 edition

of *Al Alam Al Islami*, Secretary General Naseef issued an announcement relating to the state of

Muslim affairs in countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Philippines, Kashmir, Somalia, and

Burma, stating that Muslims can have a role in caring for their Muslim brothers in these

countries by carrying out jihad with their money and lives. At the time of that statement, al

Qaeda was engaged in ongoing efforts to promote jihad in each of those countries.

177. Intent on spreading the message that Muslims have a duty to carry out jihad in support of their Muslim brothers, Dr. Naseef sent a letter to the Saudi Arabian Minister of Religious Affairs in October 1992 advising of the recent recommendation from the “Conference

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of the Mosque’s Message” that Friday sermons in the mosques should be used to spread belief in

Allah and the study of the Islamic religion. Dr. Naseef recommended in his letters that Friday

sermons should be used to revive the spirit of jihad.

178. At an April 1993 press conference in Cairo, Dr. Naseef again stressed the importance of providing money and weapons to Muslims in Bosnia. According to Naseef: “We

cannot solve the problem of Bosnia with talks and not with action. We must act in all manners

possible to equip the Muslims in Bosnia with financial support and military equipment.”

179. In May 1993, Dr. Naseef released a statement thanking Saudi Arabia’s King Fahd for his contribution of \$20 million which would be used for immediate relief of Muslims in

Bosnia so that they may continue their jihad against the Serbs.

180. Dr. Naseef similarly called on Muslims to support the Palestinian Intifada against Israel. In the March 23, 1992 edition of the *Al Alam Al Islami*, the MWL published a manifesto

issued by Dr. Naseef urging Muslims to support jihad and the Palestinian Intifada, and further

directing donations be deposited into a MWL bank account to support the Intifada. The bank

account was identified as being at the National Commercial Bank, Account No. 01/14807000107.

181. Ahmad Muhammad Ali, the MWL’s Secretary General following Dr. Naseef, also called on Muslims to help the Bosnian people with funds and weapons.

182. The MWL also played a role in supporting the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. While working for the MWL in Kenya, Ihab Ali relayed messages between Osama bin Laden and Wadi El Hage in connection with the coordination of the

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bombings of the U.S. embassies. El Hage, who was convicted for his role in the embassy bombings, was himself at one time an employee of the MWL.

183. The MWL also provided direct financial assistance to al Qaeda members involved in the attempted assassination of Egyptian President Hasni Mubarak in 1995.

184. The MWL further sponsored al Qaeda through its participation in the Saudi Joint

Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya (“SJRC”), a body established by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to coordinate ostensible relief efforts among several charitable organizations under its control and direction in Kosovo and Chechnya. The other purported charities compromising the SJRC include the International Islamic Relief Organization, Saudi Red Crescent Society, World Assembly of Muslim Youth, al Haramain Foundation, Islamic Endowments and Makk Establishment, among others.

185. The United Nations’ mission in Kosovo declared that the SJRC in Pristina, Kosovo served as a cover for several al Qaeda operatives, including Adel Muhammad Sadi bin

Kazam and Wa’el Hamza Julaidan, both of whom served as directors of the SJRC.

186. Between 1998 and 2000, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through the SJRC, diverted more than \$74 million to al Qaeda members and loyalists affiliated with SJRC bureaus.

Throughout this time, the Committee was under the supervision and control of Saudi Interior

Minister Prince Naif bin Abdul Aziz.

187. MWL officials have publicly acknowledged the organization’s funds were being funneled to terrorist organizations. In an interview with Dr. Abdullah bin Saleh al Obaid, Secretary General of the MWL, published in *The Muslim World* magazine on July 21-27, 1997,

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al Obaid was asked about reports that the MWL’s funds were being funneled to extremist groups.

Al Obaid responded: “This is a closed chapter .... It has already been proven that there were

people who exploited the situation and misused some funds ....”

188. As further detailed herein, the MWL has also provided substantial material support and resources to al Qaeda through its subsidiary bodies, including the IIRO, WAMY, and Rabita Trust.

#### **INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC RELIEF ORGANIZATION**

189. The International Islamic Relief Organization (“IIRO”) is a subsidiary body of the Muslim World League (“MWL”), with offices throughout the globe.

190. Like the MWL, the IIRO is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs IIRO operations, appoints and terminates IIRO

personnel, provides the IIRO with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be

distributed throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls the IIRO’s operations. In

many countries, IIRO conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy, under the supervision of the embassy's Islamic Affairs Division.

191. Senior officials of the IIRO have expressly acknowledged that the IIRO and the other subsidiary bodies of the MWL are agencies, instrumentalities and organs of the Kingdom

of Saudi Arabia. According to the affidavit testimony of the Manager of Financial Administration of the IIRO, Saleh Abdullah al Saykan, himself a Saudi government official, the

IIRO was "established by the Muslim World League in 1978," and "is governed by a 15-member

Board of Directors chaired by the Secretary General of the Muslim World League, who is nominated by the Saudi Arabia Government."

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192. The IIRO's Annual Reports further document the direct involvement of senior Saudi Government officials in the "supervision," and "direction" of the IIRO offices within

Saudi Arabia, which in turn supervise and direct the activities of the IIRO branch offices abroad.

193. As referenced above, IIRO's relationship with al Qaeda also grew out of IIRO's participation in the Afghan jihad in the 1980s, during which the IIRO worked within the network

of ostensible charities to support the mujihadeen. During the conflict Wa'el Hamza Jelaidan ran

the IIRO offices in Peshawar, Pakistan, and was a leading supporter of jihad through the relief

organization network. As a member of al Qaeda, Jelaidan remained in the Saudi da'awa infrastructure, serving as the director of the IIRO's Peshawar, Pakistan offices, an officer of the

MWL, and later as a director of the SJRC.

194. With the formation of al Qaeda, Jelaidan and the al Qaeda leadership continued to draw on the IIRO to support al Qaeda's global jihad, as documented by the previously discussed

documents chronicling al Qaeda's formation.

195. According to Jamal al Fadl, a former al Qaeda official who became a cooperating witness for the United States and testified at length in the African Embassy bombing trials, the

IIRO provided false identification cards to al Qaeda members to enable them to cross the Pakistan-Afghanistan border for training at al Qaeda camps. Additionally, a June 2, 2004 FBI

report summarizing an interview with al Fadl states that the IIRO office in Peshawar, under

Jelaidan's leadership, facilitated the purchase of weapons for al Qaeda. According to the FBI

report, "Julidan was one of Bin Laden's closest friends at the time."

196. Other representatives of the IIRO in Pakistan provided funds for salary, travel and health benefits for al Qaeda members. For instance, the IIRO's branch office in Pakistan was

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managed by Abu Hamam al Saudi, who was also Osama bin Laden's cousin. Al Saudi would

transfer IIRO funds to Madani al Tayyib, who would then distribute the amounts to individuals

who were in charge of salary, travel, and health benefits for al Qaeda.

197. The IIRO also played a critical role in supporting al Qaeda's expansion into the Far East, as discussed previously.

198. Using IIRO funds and resources, Mohammed Jamal Khalifa established a network of charities, businesses, and Islamic institutions in the Philippines to support international terrorism. To assist Khalifa, Ramzi Yousef, a bomber of the World Trade Center in

1993, and Wali Khan Amin Shaw, also an IIRO employee in Pakistan, came to the Philippines.

Yousef began training Philippine terrorist groups in bomb-making, while also conducting further

research and refining his bomb-making technique. While working as the Director of the IIRO's

Philippines branch, Khalifa maintained close connections with al Qaeda and employed members

of the Abu Sayyaf Group, the al Qaeda proxy organization established by Khalifa using IIRO

funds.

199. According to the U.S. government, one of the plots devised by Ramzi Yousef in conjunction with Khalifa and the IIRO office was to assassinate Pope John Paul II during a

planned January 1995 visit to the Philippines and to simultaneously attack multiple U.S. airliners

as they flew over the Pacific Ocean from Asia to the United States (the "Operation Bojinka"

plot). According to a 1996 Central Intelligence Agency report regarding the involvement of

Islamic charities in the sponsorship of terrorism, the "former head of the IIRO office in the

Philippines, Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, has been linked to Manila-based plots to target the Pope

and U.S. airlines; his brother-in-law is Usama Bin Ladin." The CIA report further states that

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another high-ranking IIRO official in the Philippines leads Hamas meetings and that the majority

of Hamas members in the Philippines are employed by the IIRO. Moreover, the “IIRO helps fund six militant training camps in Afghanistan,” including camps from which al Qaeda planned, approved and coordinated the September 11th Attack, and at which some or all of the September 11 hijackers received indoctrination and training.

200. As mentioned above, American law enforcement officials detained Khalifa on December 16, 1994, as he was returning to the Philippines from San Francisco, California. FBI documentation relating to his arrest identifies Khalifa as a “Known Terrorist.” Traveling with Khalifa at the time of his detention was Mohamed Loay Bayazid, an al Qaeda founding member and top official who had tried to purchase uranium on behalf of al Qaeda.

201. At the time of his arrest, the FBI discovered a trove of information in Khalifa’s possession including documents referring to the plot to kill Pope John Paul II, as well as documentation identifying the curriculum for the Dar al Imam al Shafi’e in the Philippines.

These documents confirmed that students at the school received training in assassination, kidnapping, bombing churches, martyrdom operations, methods of torture, explosives and weapons.

202. Jamal al Fadl identified Khalifa as a close associate to Osama bin Laden. During testimony as a cooperating witness for the United States, al Fadl stated that he knew Khalifa by his alias (“Abu Bara”), “who was close to bin Laden.” According to al Fadl: “Hammam [IIRO’s branch manager in Pakistan], Bara, and bin Laden are part of the group that has been around a long time.”

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203. In connection with immigration proceedings following Khalifa’s arrest, Philip C. Wilcox, Jr., the Department of State’s Coordinator for Counterterrorism, submitted several letters to the immigration judge urging for Khalifa’s continued detention. In a December 16, 1994 letter, Wilcox advised the Court that Khalifa financed a 1994 attack on a Jordanian movie theater, and that “the United States Government has evidence that Muhammad Jamal Khalifa, who has lived in the Philippines for a number of years, has provided financial support to the Philippine terrorist group Abu Sayyaf. We also have information that while in the Philippines he

has been involved in organizations closely linked to Hamas....”

204. In a December 23, 1994 letter the Court, Wilcox asserted that (i) Khalifa has provided support to terrorist groups in the Philippines; (ii) Khalifa has helped organize efforts by

former fighters in Afghanistan to provide training and assistance to terrorists in the Philippines;

(iii) Khalifa has extensive ties to Hamas; and (iv) Khalifa has ties to the terrorist organization

Gama't Islamiya.

205. Department of State cables following Khalifa's detention in the United States further detail Khalifa's and the IIRO's support for terrorist organizations and their activities in

the Philippines and Afghanistan. For instance, a July 1994 cable from the American Embassy in

Amman, Jordan concerning the Jordanian cinema bombing trial states that one of the defendants

in the case worked “in the Imam al-Shafi center led by Muhammad Jamal Khalifa, another

defendant who is an in-law of Saudi financier Usama Bin-Ladin.”

206. A December 1994 cable from the Secretary of State Warren Christopher's office states: “Khalifa is an officer of an Islamic NGO in the Philippines that is a known Hamas front

and has financed terrorist operations. Khalifa is reported to be the brother in law of Usama Bin

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Laden, the Sudan-based financier of Islamic extremists. Khalifa is believed to have provided

support to the Philippine terrorist group Abu Sayyaf.” An additional December 1994 cable from

the Secretary of State's office states that Khalifa is a “known financier of terrorist operations and

an officer of an Islamic NGO in the Philippines that is a known Hamas front.”

207. An April 1995 cable from the American Embassy in Amman, Jordan to Secretary of State Warren Christopher discusses an attack by Abu Sayyaf Group, with possible assistance

from Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Moro National Liberation Front, which left 53 people

dead. According to the cable: “President Ramos said that Prime Minister Bhutto had disclosed

to him the existence of training camps in Afghanistan where international terrorists, including

ASG, are being trained .... Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, the former head of the International

Islamic Relief Organization in Manila, [i]s a principal financier of Abu Sayyaf.”

208. In an August 1993 interview concerning the Moro Islamic Liberation Front's call

for jihad against the Philippine government, Sheikh Savila Salih, who was in charge of MILF's religious rulings, confirmed that MILF also received support from the IIRO: "The IIRO and other Islamic bodies who deal with the da'awa and aid, are the leaders of those who give the Front considerable support and are deserving of their gratitude."

209. An October 2001 cable from the Secretary of State Colin Powell's office states that "Philippine authorities reported that Saudi national Muhammad Jamal Khalifa who ran two Islamic nongovernmental organizations in Manila was the major financier of the terrorists arrested there. Khalifa who has also been implicated in terrorist activities in Jordan is Bin Laden's brother-in-law."

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210. An April 2004 cable from Secretary of State Colin Powell states that the IIRO is "tied to al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations. For example, IIRO has been cited as the principal sponsor of terrorist training camps in Afghanistan during the Taliban regime. IIRO has also been cited as the conduit for funds from Usama Bin Laden to terrorist organizations, specifically that the Abu Sayyaf cell in Manila was founded with money sent by Bin Laden to Mohamed Jamal Khalifa through IIRO."

211. A June 2004 cable from the Secretary of State's office similarly details the IIRO's support for al Qaeda and the Abu Sayyaf terrorist group. According to the cable: "The USG believes that some elements of the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) have been exploited by terrorists and their financiers as a means of transferring assets, providing organizational cover, or otherwise supporting extremist, violent operations." The cable further states the "IIRO has been cited as the principal sponsor of terrorist training camps in Afghanistan during the Taliban regime. IIRO has also been cited as the conduit for funds from Usama Bin Laden to terrorist organizations, specifically that the Abu Sayyaf cell in Manila was founded with money sent by Bin Laden to Mohamed Jamal Khalifa through IIRO."

212. Prior to his death in January 2007, Khalifa confirmed in writing that all of his activities as Director of the IIRO in the Philippines were conducted under the direct supervision of the Saudi embassy.

213. On August 3, 2006, the U.S. Department of the Treasury designated the IIRO's Philippine and Indonesian branch offices and a senior IIRO official in Saudi Arabia, Abd al

Hamid Sulaiman al Mujil, “for facilitating fundraising for al Qaida and affiliated terrorist groups.” According to U.S. Treasury officials, “Abd Al Hamid Sulaiman Al-Mujil, a high-

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ranking IIRO official in Saudi Arabia, has used his position to bankroll the al Qaida network in Southeast Asia. Al Mujil has a long record of supporting Islamic militant groups, and he has maintained a cell of regular financial donors in the Middle East who support extremist causes.”

Often referred to as the “Million Dollar Man” for supporting Islamic militant groups, al Mujil

provided donor funds directly to al Qaeda and is identified as a major fundraiser for the Abu

Sayyaf Group and Jemaah Islamiyah.

214. The August 3rd designation details al Mujil’s long record of supporting terrorist organizations such as al Qaeda, Abu Sayyaf and Jemaah Islamiyah through the IIRO:

Abd Al Hamid Sulaiman Al-Mujil (Al-Mujil) is the Executive Director of the IIRO Eastern Province (IIRO-EP) branch office in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Al-Mujil has been called the “million dollar man” for supporting Islamic militant groups.

Al-Mujil provided donor funds directly to al Qaida and is identified as a major fundraiser for the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). Both ASG and JI are al Qaida-associated terrorist groups in Southeast Asia designated pursuant to the authorities of E.O. 13224. These terrorist groups are also on the United Nations 1267 Committee’s consolidated list of individuals and entities associated with the Taliban, al Qaida and/or Usama Bin Ladin.

In 2004, Al-Mujil invited a Philippines-based JI supporter to Saudi Arabia under the cover of traveling for the hajj (the Muslim pilgrimage), and planned to provide him with cash to carry back to the Philippines to support organizations including JI.

Al-Mujil was also present in Afghanistan in the late 1990s and personally knew Usama Bin Ladin and deceased al Qaida cofounder Abdallah Azzam. Al-Mujil traveled continuously to meet with members of Bin Ladin’s organization in Arab countries. In the 1990s, Al-Mujil established a relationship with senior al Qaida operational planner Khalid Shaykh Muhammad.

Al-Mujil has a long history of providing support to terrorist organizations. He has contributed direct financial assistance to ASG leaders, including Abdurajak Janjalani (deceased).

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The Indonesian and Philippines branches of IIRO have received

support from IIRO-EP, which in turn is controlled by Al-Mujil. Indeed, he is often responsible for authorizing payment transfers for IIRO Philippines (IIRO-PHL) and IIRO Indonesia (IIRO-IDN).

The Treasury Department's findings regarding the IIRO's branch offices in the Philippines and Indonesia are just as damaging. According to the August 3rd designation: The IIRO-PHL is a source of funding for the al Qaida-affiliated ASG. IIRO-PHL has served as a liaison for the ASG with other Islamic extremist groups. A former ASG member in the Philippines familiar with IIRO operations in the country reported that a limited amount of foreign IIRO funding goes to legitimate projects and the rest is directed to terrorist operations.

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The IIRO Indonesia director has channeled money to two Indonesia-based, JI-affiliated foundations. Information from 2006 shows that IIRO-IDN supports JI by providing assistance with recruitment, transportation, logistics, and safe-havens. As of late 2002, IIRO-IDN allegedly financed the establishment of training facilities for use by al Qaida associates.

215. The IIRO was also instrumental in supporting al Qaeda's operations in Bosnia, as one of the first da'awa organizations to enter the Balkans following the outbreak of the war.

According to Dr. Farid Qurashi, former Secretary General of the IIRO: "From the very beginning of the Bosnia war, we were there to help."

216. Former American mujahideen recruit Randall Todd Royer (a/k/a Ismail Royer), who participated in the Bosnian jihad, acknowledged that the IIRO's reputation as a front for jihad was well known in the Balkans: "It was well known that they helped get 'people' into

Bosnia." Royer explained that another mujahideen fighter in Zenica had openly discussed his

efforts to use the IIRO in order to obtain identity cards for fellow jihadists.

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217. In September 1992, Balkan press agencies published photos depicting the severed heads of Serb soldiers killed by foreign mujahideen collected in boxes. The photos were seized

from the belongings of fallen Saudi Arabian jihadists, which also included an IIRO humanitarian

worker identification card. The recovered card was labeled with the name and photo of "Khalil

Abdel Aziz," a teacher from Saudi Arabia, and indicated that it had been printed by the Peshawar, Pakistan office of the IIRO.

218. By mid-1993, the operations of the IIRO in Bosnia-Herzegovina were under the primary oversight of a Palestinian national known as Abdelaziz Zaher (a/k/a Abu Anas; Abu

Enes) and his deputy, an Algerian national, Djamel Lamrani (a/k/a Abu Musab al Djazairi).

Zaher was expelled from his former residence in Belgrade in early 1993 after Serbian officials

tied him to various organizations suspected of aiding armed fundamentalist militant groups,

including the IIRO. .

219. Zaher's top lieutenant at the IIRO, Jamal Al-Jibouri, was personally responsible for oversight of a massive logistical operation to provide al Qaeda and al Qaeda affiliated Islamic

militants in the Balkans with weapons and ammunition.

220. While working for the IIRO, Zaher participated in the 1994 murder of British aid worker Paul Goodall near Zenica. Two days following the murder, Bosnian police arrested

Saudi national Abdul Hadi al Qahtani, Abdu Khulud al Yemeni and Abu Enes (a/k/a IIRO chief

Abdelaziz Zaher). At the time of his arrest, al Qahtani was carrying an identification card issued

by the Zenica office of the Saudi High Commission.

221. Following the arrest of the three men, Dr. Abdul Harith al Liby, deputy commander of the mujahideen, sent a letter to "authorized individuals" in the Bosnia-  
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Herzegovina Military Police and security services requesting the release of the two "mujahideen"

arrested alongside al Qahtani. Al Liby's letter identified both "Abu Enes" (Zaher) and al Qahtani interchangeably as "mujahideen" and as "employees" of "IGASE" (IIRO), who were

detained by authorities while traveling in an IIRO employee-owned vehicle.

222. Following the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in late 1995, Zaher and the IIRO continued their operations in the Balkans. The same year, "with the financial help of Selim

Ben Mafuz, the executive director of 'Igasas' in Vienna," Zaher and other local IIRO organizers

founded two commercial enterprises, "Sahara" and "Isra-Trade" which allegedly were the recipient of suspicious financial transfers from "residential accounts of the H.O. 'Igasas'."

223. International law enforcement and intelligence investigations targeted the IIRO's mission in the Balkans as well. According to a guidebook on Islamic charitable organizations

printed by NATO in April 1995, "the regional financial accountant for the IIRO, an Egyptian

named Hossam Meawad Mohammad Ali, was detained by Croatian authorities in a raid in

Zagreb" for his involvement in alleged criminal activity.

224. In 1993, officials linked members of the Zagreb office of the IIRO to an Islamic

extremist group headed by Muhammad Sa'd Darwish al Shazy, which was planning to conduct anti-Jewish bombings in Croatia. In addition to representatives of IIRO, al Shazy's organization included the heads of the Zagreb offices of the Saudi High Commission and the Kuwaiti Joint Relief Committee, representatives of the Human Relief International, and members of the Qatar Charitable Society.

225. Through its offices in Kenya, the IIRO provided direct financial and logistical support to al Qaeda terrorists involved in the 1998 bombings of the United States Embassies in

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Dar Es Salam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya. As a result of an investigation into the involvement of the IIRO in the bombings, Kenyan officials deregistered the IIRO's Nairobi office.

226. In October 2001, Pakistani officials identified and expelled some two dozen al Qaeda members who had been working for the IIRO in Pakistan.

227. According to the Indian government, IIRO officials were behind the 1999 al Qaeda plot to attack the U.S. consulates in Madras and Calcutta, in response to the American

military retaliation for the 1998 bombings of the United States Embassies in Dar Es Salaam,

Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya. The operational cell designated to carry out the planned attacks

on the U.S. consulates was led by Sayed Abu Nesir, a Bangladeshi national who was directed to

launch the attacks by Shaykh Ahmed al-Gamdin, Director of IIRO operations in Asia.

228. During his subsequent interrogation, Abu Nesir declared that 40 to 50% of IIRO's charitable funds were being diverted to finance terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and

Kashmir. Among other duties, Abu Nesir visited the training camps on behalf of IIRO to assess

their funding needs. At the direction of al-Gamdin, Nesir himself attended one of the al Qaeda

camps to receive training, where he met Osama bin Laden.

229. Mahmoud Jaballah, head of IIRO's Canadian office, was arrested and jailed by Canadian officials based on his links to al Qaeda and Egyptian al Jihad. Jaballah was accused of

having contact with al Qaeda operatives and had spent three years working for the IIRO in

Pakistan.

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230. In 1991, the IIRO established a U.S. branch in Virginia, under the name International Relief Organization, Inc. (“IRO”). The IRO operated from offices at 360 South Washington Street, Washington, D.C., where it shared office space with the MWL. The Washington, D.C. offices of the IIRO and MWL were part of a complicated web of for-profit and ostensible charitable organizations within the United States, referred to by the U.S. government as the Safa Group or SAAR Network, the majority of which maintained offices at 555 Gross Street, Herndon, VA. The SAAR Network of businesses and charities was created to provide funding, money laundering and other material support to terrorist organizations, including al Qaeda. In March of 2003, federal authorities executed search warrants at the offices of IIRO in Washington, DC, in connection with an ongoing federal investigation of the illegal activities of the Northern Virginia and Washington based charities and for-profit enterprises within the SAAR Network. Through that investigation, federal authorities determined that the IIRO and MWL offices in Washington, DC provided funding and material support to al Qaeda and Hamas.

231. The IIRO further sponsored al Qaeda through its participation in the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya (“SJRC”). As set forth herein, the SJRC offices in Pristine, Kosovo served as a cover for al Qaeda operatives. Furthermore, between 1998 and 2000, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through SJRC, diverted more than \$74 million to al Qaeda members and loyalists affiliated with SJRC bureaus.

232. Not surprisingly, given the breadth of the IIRO’s ties to al Qaeda, the United States has detained several IIRO officials and employees as “enemy combatants.” In support of the continued detention of those individuals, the U.S. Government has cited their affiliations with

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IIRO as a “primary factor” favoring detention, and expressly labeled the IIRO as an al Qaeda front.

233. Detainee Samir N. Al Hasan (ISN No. 043) traveled to Afghanistan from Yemen in 1999 or 2000, attended the training camp at al Farouq, and became a bodyguard in August

2001. Al Hasan told U.S. authorities that he was in Afghanistan as a relief worker for the IIRO

and that he received the position from the head of the IIRO. The United States government's unclassified evidentiary summaries relating to al Hasan assert: "The International Islamic Relief Organization was identified as an Islamic humanitarian organization with headquarters in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, and is financed by Usama bin Laden."

234. Detainee Rashed Awad Khalaf Balkhair (ISN No. 186) traveled from Saudi Arabia to Pakistan and Afghanistan in early 2001 and worked for "Al-Ighatha Al-Islamiya, International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO)." Balkhair was associated with the Taliban and al Qaeda, and stayed approximately 3 months in a Taliban guesthouse in Jalalabad, Afghanistan.

Moreover, Balkhair's name was listed on a computer hard drive associated with a known terrorist and was further discovered on a list of al Qaeda mujahedin who were in Afghanistan.

The unclassified evidentiary summaries filed in support of Balkhair's continued detention at

Guantanamo Bay state that "the International Islamic Relief Organization is a non-governmental organization, which has ties to Usama Bin Laden and the Abu Sayyaf Group."

235. Detainee Said Muhammad Husayn Qahtani (Detainee No. 200) traveled multiple times from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan between 2000 and 2001. In May 2000, Qahtani met and

stayed with Abu Zubaydah in a safehouse while waiting to travel to Afghanistan.

Moreover,

during a trip in June 2000, Qahtani joined the Taliban against the Northern Alliance and spent a

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considerable amount of time on the front lines. Qahtani joined al Qaeda after giving an oath of

allegiance ("al bay'ah") to Osama bin Laden, and further met 2 of the 9-11 hijackers – Saeed al

Ghamdi and Ahmed Alnami. According to Department of Defense documentation, Qahtani

contacted relief organizations such as the IIRO and al Haramain with the intention "to join a

relief organization because those entities would offer him a way to get into Chechnya, whose

borders were closed at that time. Once there, the detainee would be free to leave the relief organization and join the fighting."

236. Detainee Abdallah Ibrahim al Rushaydan (ISN No. 343) was captured on December 10, 2001 on the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan. According to the U.S.

government: “The International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) is also known as Al Hayat

Al Ighatha Al Islamiya Al Aalamiya. According to the media in Asia, the Islamic Nongovernment

Organization known as the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), which is managed by Osama Bin Laden’s brother-in-law, has maintained links with the Abu Sayyaf

group (ASG) in the Philippines. Executive Order 13224, which blocks property and prohibits

transactions with persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism, designates the

Abu Sayyaf Group as a global terrorist entity.”

237. Significantly, in response to the U.S. government’s assertion that the IIRO is a front for terrorism, al Rushaydan testified that the IIRO “is a government organization managed

by Dr. Adnan Basha who holds the rank of Minister. [IIRO] is a government organization under

the Islamic World League and all charity organizations are under the Senior Director for charity

organizations, Ameer Nayef (King Nayef), who is the Saudi Minister of Interior.”

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238. Detainee Rashid Abd al Muslih Qaid al Qaid (ISN No. 344) traveled from his home in Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan in October 2001 with an individual who was identified as a

member of the al Qaeda mujahideen. Al Qaid himself was also designated by the Saudi government as a high priority target. The United States government’s unclassified evidentiary

summaries relating to al Qaid state: “The detainee and both of his traveling companions, Al Nur

and Wasim, traveled to carry out charity work in conjunction with a Saudi charity, al-ighatha alkhairia.”

“Al Ighatha is a large Saudi NGO with field offices worldwide, many of which are staffed by or support terrorists or mujahidin. The NGO is linked to al Qaida and other extremist NGOs.”

239. Detainee Ghanim Abd al Rahman Ghanim al Huwaymadi al Harbi (ISN No. 516) was working in the IIRO finance department in Jeddah during the summer of 2000. Al Harbi

responded to a fatwa that requires all Muslims to train and be prepared to defend Islam at any

time. Although he was prohibited from traveling outside of Saudi Arabia, al Harbi traveled to

Afghanistan during the summer of 2001 via Bahrain and Pakistan. Al Harbi testified that he was

a “governmental employee of a charitable organization” known as the International Islamic Relief Organization. In addition, al Harbi acknowledged during his testimony that he received training at the al Farouq camp in Afghanistan, a known al Qaeda facility, which he understood to be a “charity funded camp.”

240. Detainee Tariq Mahmoud Ahmed al Sawah (ISN No. 535) is a former relief worker for the IIRO in Bosnia and Croatia. Al Sawah testified that he chose to go to the Balkans region after watching videos depicting the atrocities committed by Serbs against Bosnians, and eventually joined the Bosnian Third Army, whose members were predominantly Arab Mujahideen fighters. Al Sawah admitted to being a member of the mujihadeen since 1992.

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According to the U.S. government: “The International Islamic Relief Organization, also known as the World Islamic Relief Organization, is the largest Islamic charity organization in Saudi Arabia. International investigations have disclosed the organization has connections to terrorist financing activities and its field offices throughout the world have supported terrorist activity.”

241. Al Sawah was expelled from Bosnia in 2000 and traveled to Afghanistan where he attended the al Farouq training camp and further served as an advanced explosives trainer at the Tarnak Farm training camp. In 2002, he met Ayman al Zawahiri and also attended a banquet dinner with Osama bin Laden and a senior al Qaeda lieutenant. Moreover, al Sawah authored a 400 page manuscript containing bomb-making techniques and provided it to al Qaeda members. His design for a shoe bomb technically matched the design of the failed explosive device used by shoe bomber Richard Reid.

242. Detainee Ahmed Hassan Jamil Suleyman (ISN No. 662), who performed volunteer work for the IIRO, was identified as a senior al Qaeda commander and trainer with contacts to Osama bin Laden, Sheikh al Liby and Abu Zubayda. Suleyman was also a member of Makthab al Khidmat and associated with Makhtab al Khidmat (the “Office of Services”).

According to Department of Defense documentation: “The detainee occasionally would perform

volunteer work with the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO). The IIRO has connections to terrorist organizations and has channeled funds to Islamic extremists from Afghanistan.”

243. Detainee Abdul Latif Elbanna (ISN No. 905) worked for the IIRO. The unclassified evidentiary summaries filed in support of Elbanna’s continued detention at Guantanamo Bay state: “In 1990 the detainee worked at an Islamic Relief organization (IRO)

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called Haiat Ali Ghatha Al Islami Al Alamia. He lived for free at a guesthouse owned by the

charity in the Hayat Abad district of Peshawar. Fighters from Afghanistan stayed at the guesthouse. The International Islamic Relief Organization/Hay-at al-Igathat al-Islamiyya al-

Alamiyah of Saudi Arabia is designated a Tier 1 Non-Governmental Organization having demonstrated sustained and active support for terrorist organizations willing to attack U.S.

persons or interests.”

#### **WORLD ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH**

244. The World Assembly of Muslim Youth (“WAMY”) is also a subsidiary of the MWL. Founded in 1972 and headquartered in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, WAMY has a physical and

operational presence in at least 56 countries worldwide. In addition, WAMY conducts activities

in many countries in which it does not maintain a formal physical presence, through its association and membership in other Islamic organizations and committees, including its membership in the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya (“SJRC”).

245. Like the MWL and IIRO, WAMY is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. WAMY was established by MWL, itself an alter-ego of the Kingdom, with the formal approval of high ranking officials of the Kingdom. The vast majority

of WAMY’s funding is provided by the Kingdom. In addition, WAMY’s leadership is dominated by high ranking officials of the Kingdom. For example, Dr. Maneh el Johani simultaneously served as both the Secretary General of WAMY and a member of the Kingdom’s

Shura Council. While head of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Saleh bin Abdul Aziz al Sheikh

also served as a chairman of WAMY and al Haramain Islamic Foundation.

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246. Mutaz Saleh Abu Unuq, Financial Director of WAMY, has confirmed in affidavit testimony that WAMY was established by Royal Decree in 1972, and that “WAMY is governed

principally by its General Assembly and President who was appointed by the Saudi Government.

The current President of WAMY is the Minister of Islamic Affairs in Saudi Arabia. The daily operations of WAMY are supervised by its Secretary General. The Government of Saudi Arabia funds a large portion of WAMY's budget."

247. Outside of Saudi Arabia, the operations of WAMY's branch offices are directed and closely supervised by local Saudi embassies. According to Dr. Abdullah Wahab Noorwali, Assistant Secretary General of WAMY, the Kingdom "provides us with protection abroad through Saudi embassies and consulates, in addition to financial support." As Arafat el Asahi's previously cited Canadian court testimony confirms, the Saudi embassies do not tolerate any deviation by the Saudi da'awa organizations under their supervision from Saudi government policy.

248. The operations of WAMY's branch offices are closely supervised and directed by WAMY's central leadership in Saudi Arabia as well, and functionally operate as agents of the central organization. WAMY's central authority in Saudi Arabia uses a variety of mechanisms to rigidly control the branch offices. WAMY's General Assembly and Board of Trustees in Saudi Arabia set policies and procedures for all WAMY branch offices, and hand-pick the officials who run those branch offices. WAMY headquarters also selects the projects and causes for which funds are to be raised by the WAMY offices throughout the world. Funds raised by the branch offices are transferred back to the organization's headquarters, which then redistributes those funds to the regional offices, to be applied to projects and causes selected by WAMY's central leadership. WAMY's branch offices are required to submit detailed reports of

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their activities and finances to the central leadership in Saudi Arabia, for review and approval. High ranking WAMY officials from Saudi Arabia also conduct periodic inspections of the branch offices. In addition, by virtue of its close relationship with the Kingdom's government, WAMY is able to use the Kingdom's governmental apparatus throughout the world, including the embassies, to monitor the day to day activities of the branches.

249. For more than a decade, WAMY has knowingly and intentionally used its international infrastructure as a tool for supporting the al Qaeda movement, on both the ideological and military fronts. As a result of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's extensive patronage, WAMY possesses a multi-million dollar annual budget. WAMY dedicates a significant portion of that budget to the publication and worldwide dissemination of literature calculated to promote the global jihadist agenda, convince young Muslims to reject the United States and democratic ideas as evil and non-Muslim, demonize Christians, Jews and non-Wahhabi Muslims, and convince young Muslims to engage in violent jihad against the West and Israel.

250. Virulently anti-American, anti-Semitic and pro-jihadist propaganda pervade WAMY's "educational" publications. For example, under the heading "The Prophet asks for Jihad," the WAMY book *Islamic Views* says, "The Prophet Mohammad fought against the infidels and the Jews till he triumphed over them and conducted himself about twenty invasions and he sent tens of regiments led by his companions for Jihad... Damn from Allah to the Jews who made graves of their prophets as Masjid." Later, *Islamic Views* says Islam "is a religion of Jihad" and that jihad "was an answer for the Jews, the liars." "[T]each our children to love taking revenge on the Jews and the oppressors, and teach them that our youngsters will liberate Palestine and al-Quds when they go back to Islam and make Jihad for the sake of Allah."

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*Islamic Views* further exhorts Muslims to wage "Jihad against the Satan," and that "You should not back the Jews and the Christians and the Communists against the Muslims; the Communists, the Infidels, the Jews, and the Christians, those who do not believe in Mohammed. You should say they are infidels."

251. The jihad WAMY advocates in its publications is intensely violent. According to a WAMY policy statement, "[a] Christian should be asked to repent. If he does not he must be killed." See *Written Statement of James B. Jacobsen, President of Christian Solidarity International*, submitted to the Sub-Committee of International Relations and Human Rights, Hearing on Persecution of Christians Worldwide, February 15, 1996. The book *Islamic Camps: Objectives, Program Outlines and Preparatory Steps*, prepared by WAMY's Camps and

Conferences Unit and intended to serve as a manual for Islamic youth camps, suggests that

youths attending WAMY camps be led in the following refrain:

Hail! Hail! O Sacrificing Soldiers! To Us! To Us!

So we may defend the flag on this Day of Jihad, are you miserly with your blood?!

And has life become dearer to you? And staying behind sweeter?

Is staying in this world of torment more pleasing to us?

You are amongst those called upon by Destiny.

Come! So we may revive the times the times of our predecessors!

252. Through these and other WAMY publications, as well as the madrassas, camps, Islamic Centers, mosques, conferences and other events it sponsors, WAMY has provided the

ideological foundation for the al Qaeda movement, and actively advocated young Muslims to

take up arms and engage in violent jihad against the United States. In this regard, WAMY has

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played a critical role in al Qaeda's cultural assault on the United States and democratic institutions throughout the world.

253. Consistent with the extremist agenda it advocates, WAMY has immersed itself deeply in the militant endeavors of the global jihadist movement as well, actively supporting the

militant and terrorist activities of al Qaeda and associated organizations in Bosnia, Chechnya,

Kosovo, Kashmir, Pakistan, South East Asia, the United States and elsewhere.

254. WAMY's pervasive involvement in supporting al Qaeda fighters and associated local jihadist groups in regional conflicts was well documented prior to September 11, 2001. On

December 5, 1992, the *New York Times* identified WAMY as a front for armed Islamic jihad in

Bosnia. According to the article, *Muslims From Afar Joining "Holy War" in Bosnia:*

The conflict between Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia and

Herzegovina... has been adopted by Islamic fundamentalists as the newest holy war against Christian infidels bent on the destruction of Islam.

In the last few weeks, the conflict has lured several hundred militants, many of them veterans of the war in Afghanistan, to volunteer for the Bosnian forces....

The volunteers are sponsored by a variety of militant religious organizations and often have their expenses and plane fare covered.... Despite formal denials from the relief organizations, Saudi officials say an increasing amount of the charity on behalf of the Bosnians is now used to provide arms and logistical support for Arab volunteers.

“Since August, most of the money raised for relief has been turned over to the Bosnians for weapons,” a Saudi official.... The World Assembly of Muslim Youth, which organized relief operations in Afghanistan and is now deeply involved in the conflict in the Balkans, flies back wounded Saudi fighters and provides free medical care in the Saudi German hospital.

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255. Within the same article, Adel Batterjee, the then chairman of WAMY, acknowledged the organization’s role in supporting armed Islamic jihad in Bosnia: “if a relief

worker decides that he wants to join the fighting forces, we would not stop him....”

Following

the September 11, 2001 attack, Adel Batterjee was formally designated as a terrorist sponsor and

supporter pursuant to Executive Order 13224.

256. In May of 2000, Russian officials similarly accused the SJRC, the committee through which WAMY conducted activities in Chechnya, of financing and otherwise supporting

Islamic terrorists and separatists in that region. According to a May 19, 2000 article in the Russian newspaper *ITAR-TASS*, *Chechen Separatists Said Funded by Several Foreign Sources*:

The aid to Chechens fighting against Russia, is delivered from the organization of humanitarian assistance to Muslims of Kosovo and Chechnya (the SJRC)....

Officially, the money is sent to Chechnya to be used for religious events and Islamic feasts, but is actually used to finance rebel troops [a representative of the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB)].

According to available information, part of the money is transferred to banking accounts of some warlords, including Shamil Basayev and Khattab...

Russia’s security services are aware that these people are financing rebel forces, overseeing arms, food and medicine deliveries, as well as arranging treatment for the wounded and paying allowances to guerillas.

257. Significantly, Amir Khattab, one of the individuals who received financing directly from WAMY and the SJRC, is a senior al Qaeda member who was deployed to Chechnya by Osama bin Laden to organize al Qaeda’s operations in that area. According to the

1998 Department of Defense Intelligence Report:

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In 1995, Khattab appeared in Chechnya to carry out a special mission assigned to him by Usama ben Laden to organize training camps for international terrorists.... He was a colonel, fought as a

field commander, and was wounded in the hand. Khattab organized three training camps in the Vedeno and Nojai-Urt areas of the forested mountain zone. Graduation is held at the three camps every two months. They are very equipped, with firing range facilities and capabilities to create models of “sites of diversion,” as well as classes for sappers and snipers.

258. By no later than 1999, the details of bin Laden’s direct links to Khattab and the Chechen mujihadeen were the subject of widespread reporting in the mainstream media.

For

instance, in August of 1999, NBC News published a report, *U.S. Links bin Laden to Chechnya*,

stating that “Osama bin Laden is financing the Chechen operation in Dagestan...” The article,

which was based on information provided by senior U.S. intelligence officials, explained that the

“key bin Laden connection” to the Chechen jihadists was Amir Khattab, and that their relationship was so close that bin Laden was considering relocating from Afghanistan to areas of

Chechnya under Khattab’s control.

259. Prior to the September 11th Attack, WAMY officials made little effort to conceal their involvement in sponsoring armed jihad in Chechnya. To the contrary, at least within the

Arabic press, WAMY officials openly acknowledged that the organization was deeply involved

in sponsoring militant activities in Chechnya. For example, in a January 15, 2000 article published in *Al Jazeera* newspaper, *The Chechen Tragedy – The Reality and the Required Role*,

Dr. Maneh al Johani, the Secretary General of WAMY, wrote as follows:

[I] want to stress that these heroic Moslems, the Mujihadeen who are standing strong, deserve to receive our support and we must invest all of our energy in aiding them when they are being fed the taste of defeat once again. ... It should be pointed out that WAMY has doubled its efforts and has placed all of its branches inside and outside of the Kingdom on alert to serve the Chechen issue and to implement the aid program for the Chechen refugees.

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1. The question that must be asked is: What do the Chechen Muslims need from us today?

2. ***They need money to buy arms and ammunition.***  
***(emphasis supplied)***

The Islamic awakening, which is growing, praise be to Allah, is that which worries the Communist East and Heretic West, and they are afraid they will awaken one day and the Muslims will demand payment of a poll tax.

Triumph is coming and Islam will remain and Allah will rise and

be victorious. I request Allah for our brothers Mujihadeen in Chechnya and Dagestan, stability, reinforcements and victory.

260. Significantly, al Jahari published his call for Muslims to donate funds to WAMY to buy “arms and ammunition” for the “mujihadeen” in Chechnya and Dagestan well after the

direct and close relationship between those militants and al Qaeda had been widely detailed in

the media and elsewhere.

261. Philippine officials also publicly implicated WAMY in the financing of terrorist activities in Southeast Asia in the years prior to the September 11th Attacks. According to a

January 15, 1999 article in the *Australian General News, Phillipines Suspect Australian Group*

*of Helping Rebels*, the government of the Philippines accused WAMY’s Australian branch of

financing the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (“MILF”). MILF was responsible for several bombings and attacks on remote villages in the Philippines that forced 400 civilians to flee in

January of 1999. In February of 1999, MILF Chief Hashim Salamat publicly confirmed that

MILF had received funds from Osama bin Laden.

262. Statements by government officials and press reports in the years preceding the September 11th attack also reveal WAMY’s extensive role in supporting al Qaeda activities in

Kashmir. According to a December 8, 1995 article in the periodical *Money Clips, Kashmiri*

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*Leader Thanks WAMY for Help*, a Kashmiri leader publicly thanked WAMY during a press

conference for “helping the Mujihadeen in their struggle for independence from India.”

Separate

articles published prior to September 11, 2001 reveal that WAMY funneled support to the Students’ Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), Lashkar-e-Taibah and Hizb ul Mujahideen, three

violent jihadist groups operating under the broader al Qaeda umbrella. *See SIMI: Nursery of*

*Hate, India Today*, April 2, 2001; *ISI Twin Plan – Attack Christians, Defame Hindu Outfits, The*

*Economic Times of India*, July 15, 2000; *Kashmir: Hizb-Ul-Mojahedin Chief Explains Reasons*

*Behind Cease Fire, BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, August 23, 2000; *Pakistani Behind Chruch*

*Blast Say Police, The Statesmen (India)*, July 14, 2000. In an interview contained in one of the

articles, SIMI head Safdar Nagori publicly confirmed his organization's allegiance to al Qaeda:

Q: In your conferences, you have openly eulogized Osama bin Laden.

A: Not once, but dozens of times. We believe he has shown great character in standing up the Americans, the biggest terrorists in the World.

263. In March of 2003, al Qaeda military chief Abu Zubaydah was arrested at a Lahkar-e-Taibah safehouse in Islamabad, confirming the depth of collaboration and reciprocal support between those two terrorist organizations.

264. WAMY Secretary General, Dr. Maneh al Johani, said that Muslims should come forward to wage jihad to liberate Kashmir. Speaking at a Muslim World League auditorium in

1991, al Johani stated that jihad could be performed in many forms, asserting that Muslims can

go to the battlefield to wage a war against the enemies of Islam or they can give their moral,

physical and financial support to the cause of jihad.

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265. WAMY's sponsorship of jihadist activity in Kashmir was channeled through its offices in Pakistan, which sponsored al Qaeda activity in that country as well. In connection

with a crackdown on terrorist activity prompted by the September 11th Attack, Pakistani authorities deported 89 employees of ostensible NGOs in October of 2001, based on their suspected ties to terrorism. WAMY was among the organizations whose "employees" were

specifically targeted by the measure. Pakistani intelligence officials, operating in conjunction

with agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigations of the United States, raided WAMY's Pakistani offices approximately one year later, as part of ongoing counter-terrorism efforts.

WAMY's close ties to senior al Qaeda cells in Afghanistan and Pakistan were revealed just one

week after the raid, when an employee of WAMY hand delivered a recorded message from

Osama bin Laden to an Arab television network in Islamabad.

266. That incident did not represent the first occasion on which WAMY was involved in transferring information on behalf of al Qaeda. During the investigation into the 1993 World

Trade Center bombing, U.S. officials discovered an al Qaeda training manual in the possession

of Ahmed Ajaj, who was later convicted for his role in that attack. The manual, entitled "*Military Lessons In The Jihad Against The Tyrants*," was distributed to Ajaj by WAMY and

detailed how to establish and maintain clandestine operational sales. The same manual was subsequently recovered from the London apartment of African embassy bomber Khalid al-Fawwaz in 1998.

267. Until shortly after the September 11th Attack, WAMY also maintained a physical presence in the United States, from which the organization channeled material support and resources to al Qaeda. WAMY's U.S. offices were established in Falls Church, VA in 1992 by Abdullah bin Laden and Omar bin Laden, blood nephews of al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden.

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Under Abdullah bin Laden's leadership, WAMY's U.S. branch was deeply involved in the terrorist activities of the SAAR Network of businesses and charities. Federal authorities raided WAMY's U.S. offices in 2002, in connection with an ongoing investigation of the SAAR Network's role in sponsoring al Qaeda.

268. Despite the increased scrutiny of WAMY's operations following the September 11th Attack, the organization continues to sponsor al Qaeda and associated terrorist organizations and separatist movements to this day, demonstrating the organization's deep and longstanding commitment to al Qaeda's global jihad.

269. In June of 2002, Indian authorities arrested two men under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, after determining that they had transferred funds to Sayed Ali Shah Geelani, the leader of the Fundamentalist Jamaat-e-Islami party. According to sources within India's government, the two men, Farooq Ahmed and Mohammed Maqbool, were given funds by Nazir Qureshi, a senior WAMY official, to be covertly delivered to Geelani. Geelani previously had been arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act based on his involvement in transferring money to militant organizations in Kashmir.

270. In September of 2003, Romanian intelligence officials implicated WAMY in an al Qaeda plot to hijack a plane departing from Romania and crash it into Heathrow Airport in London. According to an article published by the *Global New Wire* on September 5, 2003, *Intelligence Service "Alert" Watches Egypt's "Muslim Brothers" in Romania*, the plot was being coordinated by al Qaeda affiliated members of the Muslim Brotherhood in Romania.

Quoting information obtained from Romanian intelligence officials, the article asserts that the

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Romanian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood acts under the cover of various humanitarian organizations, and receives most of its funds from WAMY.

271. Statements by Treasury Department officials, testifying before Congress, further confirm that WAMY continues to serve as a front for al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.

During a July 13, 2005 Hearing on Money Laundering and Terror Financing Issues in the Middle

East before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, Treasury Under

Secretary Stuart Levey asserted that “wealthy Saudi financiers and charities have funded terrorist

organizations and causes that support terrorism and the ideology that fuels the terrorists’ agenda... Even today, we believe that Saudi donors may still be a significant source of terrorist

financing, including for the insurgency in Iraq.” Levey expressed particular concern about the

continued involvement of WAMY, the IIRO and MWL in the financing of terrorist activities

throughout the globe

272. As is the case with the MWL and IIRO, the United States has detained a number of WAMY employees as enemy combatants, and the unclassified evidentiary summaries prepared by the Department of Defense for those detainees specifically detail WAMY’s support

for al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.

273. For instance, the United States government’s unclassified evidentiary summaries relating to detainee Mammur Ameer (ISN No. 939) state the following regarding WAMY: “In

1996, the detainee resigned from the EHRO [Egyptian Human Relief Organization] and remained unemployed afterward. The detainee was arrested with an individual, who worked for

several years for a Saudi organization called WAMY. The World Assembly of Muslim Youth

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(WAMY) is an NGO operating in Afghanistan and may be associated with Usama Bin Laden

and/or al Qaeda.”

274. Detainee Adel Hassan Hamed (ISN No. 940) was employed by Lajnat al Daawa al Islamiya (“LDI”) in Afghanistan and Pakistan from 1986-1999. LDI is a non-governmental

organization that operates in Afghanistan and is affiliated with Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda

operations. When Hamed was laid off from the LDI in 1999, he was hired as the Director of the WAMY hospital in Afghanistan. “WAMY is a non-government organization operating in Afghanistan that may be affiliated with Usama Bin Ladin and al Qaeda operations. According to top WAMY officials, both the United States and Israel must be destroyed. WAMY provides financial support to the Palestinians fighting against Israel. In addition, WAMY has put forward a proposal that the Palestinians should declare open war on Israel.”

**AL HARAMAIN ISLAMIC FOUNDATION**

275. Defendant al Haramain Islamic Foundation (“al Haramain”) is a Saudi Arabiabased ostensible charity, with branch offices in approximately 50 countries.

276. Al Haramain is an agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs al Haramain operations, appoints and terminates al Haramain personnel, provides al Haramain with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be distributed throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls al Haramain’s operations. In many countries, al Haramain conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy, under the supervision of the embassy’s Islamic Affairs Division.

277. Al Haramain officials have acknowledged that their operations are under the control and direction of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. According to the affidavit testimony of

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the Financial and Administrative Manager of al Haramain, Khalid bin Obaid Azzahri, “al Haramain operates under the supervision of the Saudi Minister of Islamic Affairs, who appoints its Board of Directors and senior management personnel.” Moreover, al Haramain’s general director, Sheik Aqeel Abdulaziz al Aqil, stated that “we work under the supervision of Saudi government.” Al Aqil has also acknowledged that more than 95% of al Haramain’s funding comes directly from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In an August 25, 2002 report posted on al Haramain’s website, the Chairman of the Africa Committee of al Haramain, al Sheikh Muhmad al Tujri, declared that al Haramain’s activities in Kenya were under the “direct supervision” of the Saudi embassy in that country. A separate report on al Haramain’s website that month indicated that the Saudi Interior Minister had directed the organization to provide assistance to

Afghani refugees.

278. The 9-11 Commission Staff Monograph on terrorism financing further indicates that at least two government ministers held supervisory roles over al Haramain.

279. International investigations have confirmed al Haramain's direct and pervasive complicity in al Qaeda's operations and attacks throughout the world.

280. In 2002, an intelligence report from the Bosnian Intelligence Services (Agency for Investigation and Documentation or "AID") revealed the active role of Vakufska Banka D.D. in

terrorism funding. Indeed, AID described Vakufska Banka D.D. and the merged Depozitna

Banka D.D., as a financial platform assisting al Haramain Islamic Foundation and al Qaeda

activities:

The HO (al Haramain) spent around 13 KM (\$7,647,000) between its foundation in 1997 and the end of last year 2000. Financial transactions were through accounts at the Depozit[na] Bank, now

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the Vakufska Bank, whose major shareholders have been linked with PIS operating illegal money laundering.

The Bosnian Intelligence memo regarding the activities of al Haramain states the following:

Given all the above security factors, we believe that the clear lack of any concrete humanitarian projects indicates that the existence of this HO [Humanitarian Organization] was a fictitious cover (...)

The report establishes al Haramain's role in financing and assisting Osama bin Laden operations:

Saudi HO [Humanitarian Organization] Al Haramain, (...) has acted as a channel for financing the activities of terrorist organizations. (...) According to available intelligence, the Sarajevo office assisted the terrorist organization Gama Al Islamija, while members of Bin Laden's El Itihad al Islamija (AIAI) terrorist groups were employed at the Somalia offices, which also financed their operations.

281. The charity allegedly wired \$1 million to Chechen rebels in 1999 and arranged to buy 500 heavy weapons for them from Taliban units. The Russian security service, FSB, has

publicly alleged that Al Baraka Bank was used by al Haramain to funnel money to Islamic

resistance fighters in Chechnya.

282. On March 11, 2002, the United States designated the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia branches of al Haramain, based on their extensive and pervasive involvement in the

funding of al Qaeda's activities in those two countries. According to the designation:

The Bosnia office of Al Haramain is linked to Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya, an Egyptian terrorist group (designated under Executive

Order 13224 on October 31, 2001) that was a signatory to UBL's February 23, 1998 fatwa against the United States.

U.S. Treasury Department officials further noted the Somalia branch's support for the al Qaeda network and a Somali terrorist organization:

The Somalia office ... is linked to Usama bin Laden's al Qaida network and Al-Itihaad al-Islamiyya (AIAI), a Somali terrorist group (designated under Executive Order 13224 on September 23, Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 85 of 154 86

2001). Al Haramain Somalia employed AIAI members and provided them with salaries through al Barakaat Bank (designated under Executive Order 13224 on November 7, 2001), which was a primary source of terrorist funding. Al Haramain Somalia continued to provide material and financial support for AIAI even after the group's designation under E.O. 13224 and UNSCR 1333. Money was funneled to AIAI by disguising funds as if they were intended for orphanage projects or Islamic schools.

283. On January 22, 2004, the United States designated the al Haramain branches in Indonesia, Kenya, Tanzania and Pakistan for providing "financial, material and logistical support

to Usama bin Laen's (UBL's) al-Qaida network and other terrorist organizations."

284. The Indonesian Office of al Haramain had diverted funds to al Qaeda affiliated terrorists for weapons procurement, and directly funded the deadly October 12, 2002 Bali nightclub bombing. In addition to providing financial support to al Qaeda operatives in the

country and to the Jemmah Islamiyah terrorist group, a senior al Qaeda official apprehended in

Southeast Asia, Omar al Faruq, told authorities that al Haramain served as a primary source of al Qaeda funding throughout Southeast Asia.

285. In the press release issued in conjunction with the designation of the Kenyan and Tanzanian offices of al Haramain, the U.S. Treasury Department described al Haramain's extensive involvement in terrorist activity within Africa as follows:

As early as 1997, U.S. and other friendly authorities were informed that the Kenyan branch of AHF was involved in plotting terrorist attacks against Americans. As a result, a number of individuals connected to AHF in Kenya were arrested and later deported by Kenyan authorities.

In August 1997, an AHF employee indicated that the planned attack against the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi would be a suicide bombing carried out by crashing a vehicle into the gate of the Embassy. A wealthy AHF official outside East Africa agreed to provide the necessary funds. Information available to the U.S.

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shows that AHF was used as a cover for another organization

whose priorities include dislike for the U.S. government's alleged anti-Muslim stance and purposed [sic] U.S. support for Christian movements fighting Islamic countries.

Also in 1997, AHF senior activities in Nairobi decided to alter their (then) previous plans to bomb the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi and instead sought to attempt the assassination of U.S. citizens. During this time period, an AHF official indicated he had obtained five hand grenades and seven "bazookas" from a source in Somalia. According to the information available to the U.S., these weapons were to be used in a possible assassination attempt against a U.S. official.

Information available to the U.S. shows that a former Tanzania AHF director was believed to be associated with UBL [Usama Bin Laden] and was responsible for making preparations for the advance party that planned the August 7, 1998 bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya. As a result of these attacks, 224 people were killed.

Shortly before the dual-Embassy bombing attacks in Kenya and Tanzania, a former AHF official in Tanzania met with another conspirator to the attacks and cautioned the individual against disclosing knowledge of preparations for the attacks. Around the same time, four individuals led by an AHF official were arrested in Europe. At that time, they admitted maintaining close ties with EIJ and Gamma Islamiyah.

Wadih-El-Hage, a leader of the East African al Qaida cell and personal secretary to UBL [Osama Bin Laden], visited the Kenya offices of AHF before the 1998 dual Embassy attacks. Searches conducted by authorities revealed that El-Hage possessed contact information for a senior AHF official who was head of AHF's Africa Committee, then overseeing authority for AHF's offices in Kenya and Tanzania.

In early 2003, individuals affiliated with AHF in Tanzania discussed the status of plans for an attack against several hotels in Zanzibar. The scheduled attacks did not take place due to increased security by local authorities, but planning for the attacks remained active.

Information made available to the U.S. shows that AHF offices in Kenya and Tanzania provided support, or act for or on behalf of al Qaida and AIM.

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286. The Pakistan office of al Haramain provided funding and logistical support for the acquisition and delivery of Zenit missiles, Sting anti-aircraft missiles, and hand-held anti-tank

weapons to al Qaeda and al Qaeda affiliated militants. In addition: Before the removal of the Taliban from power in Afghanistan, the

AHF in Pakistan supported the Taliban and other groups. It was linked to the UBL-financed and designated terrorist organization, Makhtab al-Khidemat (MK). In one instance, some time in 2000, the MK director instructed funds to be deposited in AHF accounts in Pakistan and from there transferred to other accounts.

At least two former AHF employees who worked in Pakistan are suspected of having al-Qaida ties. One AHF employee in Pakistan is detained at Guantanamo Bay on suspicion of financing al-Qaida operations. Another former AHF employee in Islamabad was identified as an alleged al-Qaida member who reportedly planned to carry out several devastating terrorist operations in the United States. In January 2001, extremists with ties to individuals associated with a fugitive UBL lieutenant were indirectly involved with a Pakistani branch of the AHF.

As of late 2002, a senior member of AHF in Pakistan, who has also been identified as a "bin Laden facilitator," reportedly operated a human smuggling ring to facilitate travel of al-Qaida members and their families out of Afghanistan to various other countries.

AHF in Pakistan also supports the designated terrorist organization, Lashkar E-Taibah (LET).

287. On June 22, 2004, the United States designated the al Haramain branches in Afghanistan, Albania, Bangladesh, Ethiopia and the Netherlands "for the financial, material and

logistical support they provided to the al-Qaida network and other terrorist organizations." The

designation stated the following regarding the al Haramain branch in Afghanistan:

In Afghanistan, prior to the removal of the Taliban from power, AHF supported the cause of Jihad and was linked to the UBL financed Makhtab al-Khidemat (MK), a pre-cursor organization of al Qaida and a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to the authorities of E.O. 13224.

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Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, activities supporting terrorism in Afghanistan continued. In 2002, activities included involvement with a group of persons trained to attack foreigners in Afghanistan. A journalist suspected of meeting with al Qaida and Taliban members in Afghanistan was reportedly transferring funds on behalf of the al Qaida-affiliated AHF and forwarding videotapes from al Qaida leaders to an Arabic language TV network for broadcast.

The Albanian branch of al Haramain was closely linked to Osama bin Laden according to U.S. Treasury officials:

The U.S. has information that indicates UBL may have financed the establishment of AHF in Albania, which has been used as cover for terrorist activity in Albania and in Europe. In late 2000,

a close associate of a UBL operative moved to Albania and was running an unnamed AHF subsidiary. In 1998, the head of Egyptian Islamic Jihad in Albania was reportedly also a financial official for AHF in Albania. This individual, Ahmed Ibrahim al-Nagar, was reportedly extradited from Albania to Egypt in 1998. At his trial in Egypt, al-Nager reportedly voiced his support for UBL and al Qaida's August 1998 terrorist attacks against the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

The al Haramain office in Bangladesh conducted surveillance for potential al Qaida attacks on U.S. targets in India:

Information available to the U.S. shows that a senior AHF official deployed a Bangladeshi national to conduct surveillance on U.S. consulates in India for potential terrorist attacks. The Bangladeshi national was arrested in early 1999 in India, reportedly carrying four pounds of explosives and five detonators. The terrorist suspect told police that he intended to attack U.S. diplomatic missions in India. The suspect reportedly confessed to training in al Qaida terrorist camps in Afghanistan, where he met personally with Usama bin Laden in 1994. The suspect first heard of plans for these attacks at the AHF office in Bangladesh.

288. In Ethiopia, the al Haramain branch provided support to Al Itihaad al Islamiyya ("AIAI"). AIAI has engaged in attacks against Ethiopian defense forces and has been designated

both by the United States and the U.N. 1267 Sanctions Committee. Dutch officials confirmed

that the al Haramain Humanitarian Aid Foundation located in Amsterdam is part of the larger al

Haramain network which has supported terrorism.

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289. Additionally, on June 22, 2004, the United States designated, "the founder and long-time leader of AHF [al Haramain Islamic Foundation] and a suspected al Qaida supporter,"

Aqeel Abdulaziz al Aqil. Al Aqil has been identified as al Haramain's Chairman, Director

General and President. As al Haramain's founder and leader, al Aqil controlled the organization

and was responsible for all of its activities, including its support for al Qaeda and other terrorist

organizations. According to U.S. Treasury officials:

When viewed as a single entity, AHF is one of the principal Islamic NGOs providing support for the al Qaida network and promoting militant Islamic doctrine worldwide. Under Al Aqil's leadership of AHF, numerous AHF field offices and representatives operating throughout Africa, Asia, Europe and North America appeared to be providing financial and material

support to the al Qaida network. Terrorist organizations designated by the U.S. including Jemmah Islammiya, Al-Ittihad Al-Islamiya, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, HAMAS and Lashkar E-Taiba received funding from AHF and used AHF as a front for fundraising and operational activities.

Under Al-Aqil's leadership, AHF implemented its tasks through its offices and representatives, which span more than 50 countries around the world. AHF maintained nine general committees and several other "active committees" that included the "Continuous Charity Committee, African Committee, Asian Committee, Da'wah and Sponsorship Committee, Masjid Committee, Seasonal Projects Committee, Doctor's Committee, European Committee, Internet and the American Committee, the Domestic Committee, Zakaat Committee and the Worldwide Revenue Promotion Committee."

290. According to the U.S. Treasury Department evidentiary memorandum detailing al Aqil's designation pursuant to Executive Order 13224, Mansour Al-Kadi, a Saudi and deputy

director general of the al Haramain headquartered in Saudi Arabia, issued an Internet posting

which identified al Aqil as the "only individual with final decision making on spending ... and

the one with authority to hire employees, even if it is just a janitor ...." Al Kadi is also "head" of

al Haramain's Africa Committee, and vice president of the United States al Haramain branch.

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291. On September 9, 2004, the United States designated the United States branch of al Haramain, along with one of its directors, Suliman al Buthe. In support of the designation, Stuart

Levey, U.S. Treasury's Under-Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, said this: "We

continue to use all relevant powers of the U.S. government to pursue and identify the channels of

terrorist financing, such as corrupted charities, at home and abroad. Al Haramain has been used

around the world to underwrite terror, therefore we have taken this action to excommunicate

these two branches and Suliman Al-Buthe from the worldwide financial community."

292. The United States branch of al Haramain was formally established in 1997. On the United States branch's tax Form 990 for 2001 filed with the Internal Revenue Service ("IRS"), al Aqil is identified as the President, al Kadi as the Vice-President, al Buthe as the

Treasurer, and Perouz Sedaghaty as the Secretary. The U.S. branch's Article of Incorporation

and application to the IRS for tax-exempt status also list al Aqil and al Kadi as members of the board of directors. Additional documents naming al Buthe as the organization's attorney and providing him with broad legal authority were signed by al Aqil.

293. The assets of the al Haramain branch, which is headquartered in Ashland, Oregon, were blocked as a result of an investigation involving agents from the Internal Revenue Service –

Criminal Investigations (“IRS-CI”), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (“FBI”), and the Department of Homeland Security’s Immigration and Customs Enforcement (“ICE”).

294. In February 2004, the United States Attorney’s Office for the District of Oregon announced the execution of a federal search warrant against the Ashland, Oregon property which

has been purchased on behalf of the Al Haramain Islamic Foundation, Inc. The search was conducted pursuant to a criminal investigation into violations of the Internal Revenue Code,

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Money Laundering Control Act and Bank Secrecy Act. The accompanying affidavit by IRS

Special Agent Colleen Anderson alleges al Haramain and its officers attempted to conceal the

transfer of \$130,000 in American Express traveler’s checks and a \$21,000 cashier’s check

intended for aid to Muslims in Chechnya in mid-March of 2000. The affidavit also states that on

several occasions from 1997 to 2001, Soliman H. al Buthe, co-founder of the U.S. branch of Al

Haramain, brought significant sums of traveler’s checks into the United States, according to

declarations he made when entering the country. In 13 trips, he reported bringing in \$777,845,

of which \$206,000 was used to buy the Ashland headquarters in 1997. But there is no explanation for the balance, Anderson wrote.

295. In early 2000, an Egyptian doctor wired a \$150,000 donation from his London bank account to al Haramain’s Ashland bank, according to the affidavit. An e-mail from the

doctor said the money was meant “to participate in your noble support to our Muslim brothers in

Chechnya.” At the time, Russian forces were battling Chechen rebels for control of the region.

The fight was considered a jihad, or holy war, by some Muslim factions.

296. The affidavit said that eleven (11) days after the doctor’s donation showed up in Oregon, al Buthe traveled to Ashland from Saudi Arabia. He joined Perouz Sedaghaty (a/k/a

“Pete Seda”), co-founder of the U.S. branch of al Haramain, at an Ashland bank and the two took out \$130,000 – buying 130 traveler’s checks in \$1,000 denominations, the affidavit said. A bank

clerk suggested it would be easier to issue a cashier’s check, the affidavit said.

297. “Seda said he could not take a cashier’s check because the money was to help people and a lot of times these people may not be able to negotiate a cashier’s check,” the affidavit said. Seda took an additional \$21,000 in a cashier’s check, giving that to al Buthe, the

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affidavit said. The check had the notation: “Donations for Chichania [sic] Refugees,” the affidavit said. The affidavit said Seda – using the name Abu Yunus – signed an agreement with

al Buthe saying he was relinquishing the money for “brothers and sisters in Chechnya.”

298. Within days, al Buthe returned to Saudi Arabia, failing to declare to Customs, as required, that he was taking the traveler’s checks out of the United States, the affidavit said.

Once back in Saudi Arabia, al Buthe cashed the traveler’s checks in for Saudi riyals at the Al

Rajhi Bank. The money then disappeared, presumably to be smuggled into Chechnya. Al Buthe

deposited the remainder into his bank account.

299. Al Haramain’s 2000 tax return underreported income by \$21,000, underreported grants by \$150,000, and overstated the price of a second prayer house that al Haramain bought in

Missouri. The tax return shows that Sedaghaty, or one of his associates, improperly listed the

\$131,300 disbursement to al Buthe as funds used to purchase the Springfield prayer house.

300. On September 9, 2010, a grand jury in Eugene, Oregon convicted Sedaghaty of two felonies related to the organization’s efforts to send nearly \$150,000 to support religious

extremist militants in Chechnya. He was convicted of all charges, which included a charge that

he filed a false tax return and conspired to file a false tax return as part of al Haramain’s efforts

to hide the trail of money. [Sentencing is scheduled for Nov. 23, 2010 – may want to add in here

when sentenced]

301. The United States also further designated the al Haramain branch located in the Union of the Comoros on September 9, 2004 based on information that two associates of that

branch were linked to al Qaeda. According to the transcript from *U.S. v. Osama Bin Laden*, the

Union of the Comoros was used as a staging area and exfiltration route for the perpetrators of the

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1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The al Haramain branches in

Kenya and Tanzania were previously designated for providing financial and other operational support to these terrorist attacks.

302. Finally, on June 19, 2008, the U.S. Treasury Department designated the Saudi-based headquarters of the al Haramain Islamic Foundation “for having provided financial and material support to al Qaeda, as well as a wide range of designated terrorists and terrorist organizations.” According to the designation:

Today’s action targets the entirety of the AHF organization, including its headquarters in Saudi Arabia. Evidence demonstrates that the AHF organization was involved in providing financial and logistical support to the al Qaeda network and other terrorist organizations designated by the United States and the United Nations.

303. Al Haramain has also sponsored al Qaeda activity within Europe, through the al Nur Mosque. According to German officials, the al Nur Mosque served as a meeting place, recruitment center and base of operations for al Qaeda within Germany. At the direction of the

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, al Haramain contributed in excess of \$1 million dollars to the Mosque, funding the purchase of the land for the Mosque as well as its construction.

304. Al Haramain also sponsored al Qaeda operations in Chechnya and Kosovo through its participation in the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya (“SJRC”). As set forth previously, the SJRC offices in Pristine, Kosovo served as a cover for al

Qaeda operatives. Furthermore, between 1998 and 2000, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through

the SJRC, diverted more than \$74 million to al Qaeda members and loyalists affiliated with

SJRC bureaus.

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305. Al Haramain has advertised its connection to al Qaeda. Al Haramain’s website used to have a direct link to the al Qaeda site about the Chechnyan operations (qoqaz.com). The

website is part of the al Qaeda propaganda organization, Azzam Publications group of websites,

including qoqaz.com, qoqaz.net, and azzam.com (among others).

306. According to the 1996 Central Intelligence Agency Report, al Haramain directly funded and supported a mujahideen battalion in Zenica, was involved in illegal smuggling

activities, and has further been linked to illegal funding through drugs and prostitution. 307. Predictably, al Haramain employees and associates feature prominently among the persons detained as enemy combatants at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba following the September 11, 2001 attacks.

308. Detainee Zaid Muhamamd Sa'ad al Husayn (ISN No. 050) left Saudi Arabia for Afghanistan in July 2001 after being inspired by flyers posted by al Haramain. According to the U.S. government: "The al Haramayn Foundation (aka Al Haramayn Islamic Foundation (HIF)) is designated as a Tier 1 Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). Tier 1 targets are defined as terrorist groups, especially those with state support, that have demonstrated the intention and the capability to attack United States Persons or interests."

309. Detainee Abdel Hadi Mohammed Badan al Sebair Sebair (ISN No. 064) worked as a volunteer for al Haramain. Department of Defense documentation states that al Haramain "is an NGO with known ties to al Qaida and Usama Bin Laden" and further asserts: "Al Haramain has been connected with violent Islamic groups and possible financial support of militant groups. They're known to support Islamic extremist elements in 17 countries or regions."

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310. Detainee Abdul Rahman Owaid Mohammad al Juaid (Detainee No. 179) provided monetary support to al Haramain, traveled from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan in 2001, and was identified on a jihadist website on a list of mujahideen captured by the U.S. military in Afghanistan. According to the unclassified evidentiary summaries submitted in support of his continued detention: "The Al Haramain Islamic Foundation is on a terrorism blacklist because of 'financial, material and logistical support' they provided to the al Qaida network and other terrorist organization." "Foreign Government Services officials believe that Al Haramain might be a cover organization for Osama Bin Laden's al Qaida network. Saudi mujahedin are known to work in Al Haramain regional offices around the world."

311. Detainee Said Muhammad Husayn Qahtani (Detainee No. 200) traveled multiple times from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan between 2000 and 2001. In May 2000, Qahtani met and stayed with Abu Zubaydah in a safehouse while waiting to travel to Afghanistan. Moreover,

during a trip in June 2000, Qahtani joined the Taliban against the Northern Alliance and spent a considerable amount of time on the front lines. Qahtani joined al Qaeda after giving an oath of allegiance (“al bay’ah”) to Osama bin Laden, and further met 2 of the 9-11 hijackers – Saeed al Ghamdi and Ahmed Alnami. According to Department of Defense documentation, Qahtani contacted relief organizations such as the IIRO and al Haramain with the intention “to join a relief organization because those entities would offer him a way to get into Chechnya, whose borders were closed at that time. Once there, the detainee would be free to leave the relief organization and join the fighting.”

312. Detainee Fahd Muhammed Abdullah al Fouzan (Detainee No. 218), an al Haramain employee, traveled to Afghanistan after September 11, 2001 and was identified as having attended the Abu Nasir military camp in Afghanistan. Al Fouzan fought in Tora Bora

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and was a fundraiser and recruiter for both al Qaeda and the Taliban in Saudi Arabia.

According

to the U.S. government: “The detainee was identified as an employee of the al Haramayn Charitable Institute. Al Haramayn was added on 11 March 2002 to the list of organizations

identified under Executive Order 13224 blocking property and prohibiting transactions with

persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism.”

313. Detainee Wasm Awwad Umar Wasim (Detainee No. 338), traveled from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan in late 2001 with another member of al Qaeda. According to the unclassified evidentiary summaries submitted in support of his continued detention: “The detainee volunteered to work with the Al Haramain charity/non-governmental organization

(NGO) from time to time. Executive Order 13224, which blocks property and prohibits transactions with persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism, designated Al-

Haramain as a global terrorist entity. The detainee stated he was a colleague of the Al-Haramain

Director.” In response to allegations concerning his association with al Haramain, Wasim testified that “al Haramain is an official governmental organization, registered under the administration of the government and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is officially registered

and included in the Humanitarian Aid Association, and under the administration of Internal

Affairs, led by the Minister of Internal Affairs.” Wasim further stated that al Haramain is “not a secret organization; it’s a governmental organization.”

314. Detainee Sami al Haj (Detainee No. 345), a senior al Qaeda operative and logistics expert, traveled to Azerbaijan at least 8 times to courier money to al Haramain, particularly between 1997-1999. The United States government’s unclassified evidentiary summaries relating to al Haj assert: “A source stated the al Haramain Saudi Arabian Foundation’s main mission is to implement and teach true Wahhabism religious doctrine

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98 worldwide. Al Haramain has connections with al Qaida. A former head of the al Haramain has been accused of controlling the financial, material and logistical support to al Qaida and other terrorist organizations. Al Haramain is suspected of involvement in weapons smuggling to Algeria and the transfer of radical fundamentalists to Bosnia during the war in the former Yugoslavia.”

315. Detainee Jamal Muhammad Alawi Mari (Detainee No. 577), began working with al Haramain as a student in 1995 and was later hired in 1997 to work at the al Haramain office in

Baku, Azerbaijan. In August 1998, Mari was appointed as director of the al Haramain office in

Baku. A foreign government agency has stated that Mari took part in high-level illegal activity,

and further reported that the al Haramain office disseminated propaganda of an extremist and

separatist nature in the guise of providing humanitarian assistance.

316. The unclassified evidentiary summaries filed in support of Mari’s continued detention at Guantanamo Bay detail al Haramain’s long-standing support for Islamic extremist

groups, families of Islamic suicide attackers, the al Qaeda network, and mujahideen fighters in

Chechnya:

Al Haramayn was founded in 1992 to disseminate the Saudi Arabian version of the Sunni Islamic religion with Wahabistic influences/teachings. In addition to providing legitimate humanitarian aid to promote Islamic teachings, this organization has provided support to families of Islamic suicide attackers, freed activists from prisons, procured fraudulent travel documents, provided medical care for wounded Mujahedin, smuggled weapons into Algeria and transferred radical fundamentalists into Bosnia.

Al Haramayn has provided logistical support to the Mujahedin fighting in Afghanistan since the 1980’s. Their annual budget was between 50 to 60 million United States Dollars. Al Haramayn provides support to Islamic extremist elements in seventeen

procurement of fraudulent travel documents and weapons smuggling to Algeria. Forty bank accounts connect to terrorist activities have been linked to offices and sub-departments of al Haramayn.

A source stated al Haramayn worked closely with members of al Wafa. A former al Qaida member stated organizations such as al Haramayn and al Wafa allowed easier access to funds which financed al Qaida. These organizations provided a legitimate cover for al Qaida members to travel world-wide under the guise of humanitarian operations. These groups would build mosques for the purpose of recruiting future al Qaida members.

Al Haramayn established an office in Azerbaijan to provide a legitimate organization, which was also providing money and materials to Mujahedin, military leaders throughout Chechnya. Authorities accused Al Haramayn of supporting activities not in alignment with the humanitarian aims of the organization in January 2000 and the office was subsequently closed.

317. Detainee Khalid Mahomoud Abdul Wahab al Asmr (Detainee No. 589), identified as an Afghan jihad veteran who had connections with Islamic extremists worldwide, told U.S.

military investigators that he had been providing aid to al Qaeda and other extremists since 1996.

According to the U.S. government, Al Asmr met with Muhamed Krimi, the director of the al

Haramain office in Zenica, Bosnia in July 1999 to discuss a plan to attack the British and American embassies: "HIF [al Haramain] has been sanctioned under Executive Order 13224 for

supporting terrorism. HIF has been linked to the Mujahedin Brigade in Bosnia and the Islamic

Cultural Institute (ICI) in Milan. HIF uses links to the ICI to remain active in support of the

former mujahiden in Bosnia." In response to the Tribunal's contention that al Haramain is associated with al Qaeda, Al Asmr stated: "If you consider al Haramayn as a terrorist organization, you should [be] talking to Saudi Arabia, because Saudi Arabia was the country that

established al-Haramayn. Its president is the Royal Prince there. Why don't you go over there

and ask him."

#### **SAUDI HIGH COMMISSION**

318. The Saudi High Commission for Relief of Bosnia and Herzegovian ("SHC") is a

Saudi Arabia-based da'awa organization, established by the government of Saudi Arabia and

headed by Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud, who actively directed the SHC's operations.

319. The SHC is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs SHC operations, appoints and terminates SHC personnel, provides

the SHC with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be distributed throughout the

world, and otherwise stringently controls the SHC's operations.

320. According to the affidavit testimony of the Minister of State of the Council of Ministers of Saudi Arabia, Dr. Mutlib bin Abdullah al Nafissa, the SHC "is an arm of the Saudi

Arabian government. Actions taken by the SHC properly are viewed as actions of the Government of Saudi Arabia."

321. Saud bin Mohammad al Roshood, Director of the Executive Office of the SHC, has likewise affirmed in affidavit testimony that the SHC was created by decision of the President of the Council of Ministers of Saudi Arabia, has been continuously headed by Prince

Salman bin Abdulaziz al Saud, and that the Executive Committee and Supreme Commission of

the SHC include a number of other Saudi Government officials.

322. As detailed previously, the SHC was established to coordinate the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's response to the Bosnian War, and served as a primary conduit for the Kingdom's

massive sponsorship of al Qaeda's jihad in the Balkans.

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323. According to Bosnian officials, al Qaeda mujahideen fighters began entering Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, frequently disguised as relief workers for the SHC.

324. Throughout the course of the war, the SHC served as a primary front for channeling financial and logistical support for al Qaeda's jihad in Bosnia, as confirmed by the

testimony of former al Qaeda member Ali Ahmed Ali Hamad.

325. Ali Hamad was sent to Bosnia in 1992 to help coordinate al Qaeda's military operations. Following the war, Ali Hamad was employed by the SHC's Mostar office as the

Department Chief for "dawa." In 1997, Ali Hamad was arrested and convicted for participation

in a car bombing in the city of Mostar. At the time, Ali Hamad was ostensibly employed by the

SHC.

326. Among other things, Ali Hamad has affirmed in sworn testimony that:

The SHC provided Ali Hamad and other al Qaeda members with false employment papers to allow them to move freely throughout the Balkans in furtherance of al Qaeda's objectives.

Representatives of the SHC provided extensive financial support and food to the mujahideen forces, and also permitted the mujahideen and al Qaeda members in Bosnia to use the SHC's offices and rented houses. Al Qaeda members planned terrorist plots and attacks from SHC facilities.

The SHC frequently transported mujahideen and al Qaeda members throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina in SHC vehicles bearing the mark of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees ("UNHCR"), thereby allowing those mujahideen and al Qaeda members to pass military and police checkpoints. The SHC also provided the mujahideen with money for other travel expenses. The SHC appointed a number of former mujahideen fighters to serve as officers or directors of its branch offices in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1993 the director of the Sarajevo office of the SHC was a Saudi named Abu al-Miqdad al Dusari. Al Dusari was

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among the first mujahideen to arrive in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the beginning of the Bosnian War.

At the request of the mujahideen in 1994, the Chief Director of the SHC in Zagreb appointed a man named Hasam al Din to serve as the director of the Zenica office. Al Din was also one of the first mujahideen to arrive in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the beginning of the Bosnian War, and he engaged in significant military activities as a member of the mujahideen forces placed in Tesanj, in the middle of Bosnia. Al Din was wounded during the course of the war, and after recovering from his wounds, returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina as a representative of the Zenica office of the SHC. SHC directors routinely delivered truckloads of supplies to al Qaeda members.

After the conclusion of the Bosnian War, the SHC provided ostensible employment to a number of foreign fighters and al Qaeda members who had fought in the War, knowing full well that they were members of al Qaeda. Moreover, the SHC continued to provide foreign fighters and al Qaeda members with access to vehicles with diplomatic car registrations, and vehicles registered to the UNHCR, which enabled them to move freely throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina.

327. Ali Hamad's sworn testimony is independently corroborated by numerous U.S., U.N. and NATO investigations.

328. For instance, wire tap summaries obtained from the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia reveal that members of the al Qaeda mujahideen in Bosnia were directed to pick up funds for the purchase of weapons from the SHC. In this regard, a May

25, 1994 entry in from a report of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Ministry of the Interior, detailing intercepted telephone conversations between mujahideen fighters during 1994, identifies the SHC as having provided money to mujahideen fighters to purchase weapons ("In the talk between Abu Talib and Abu Meali, Talib asked for money to purchase weapons and said that he bought an American rifle, three Kalashnikovs and three sniper rifles, and asked Meali for

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permission for DEM. He picked up the money for the purchase of the weapons at the Saudi

High Committee in Visoko.").

329. A U.N. sponsored investigation further determined that Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud, the head of the SHC, transferred in excess of \$120 million from his personal

accounts and SHC accounts under his control to the Third World Relief Agency ("TWRA"),

between July of 1992 and July of 1995. According to the 9/11 Commission, the TWRA was an

al Qaeda front and the primary pipeline for illegal arms shipments to al Qaeda fighters in the

Balkans. The U.N. sponsored audit of the TWRA's records suggested that the SHC's lavish

funding of TWRA commenced shortly after a personal meeting between Prince Salman and the

head of the TWRA. As the SHC had a robust operational presence of its own in Bosnia, there

was no legitimate "humanitarian" reason for it to send any funds to the TWRA.

330. In 1994, Abdul Hadi al Gahtani, a Saudi who was the Director of the SHC's office in Zenica, was arrested for the murder of the British aid worker, Paul Goodall. Al Gahtani

admitted the gun used in the murder belonged to him, but escaped police custody under mysterious circumstances and a Bosnian court later convicted him in absentia of Goodall's

murder. Al Gahtani was reportedly "martyred" on November 19, 2001, when a U.S. rocket hit a

building where he was staying.

331. The U.S. government has also concluded that an al Qaeda member associated with the SHC murdered U.S. citizen William Jefferson in Bosnia on November 18, 1995.

In a

Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI") memorandum summarizing an interview of Ali Ahmed

Ali Hamad on June 16, 2003 regarding the murder Mr. Jefferson, Ali Hamad discusses his relationship with fellow mujahideen and al Qaeda member, Ahmed Zuhair Handala (who “had a

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good relationship with Usama Bin Laden”). The FBI memo states that Handala attempted to

recruit Ali Hamad to join his unit to kill American and British citizens, but he refused.

The

memo further states that Handala had been arrested in Mostar but had been later released from

prison because of a payoff by the SHC (“The Saudi Arabia High Commission gave the Croatians

\$70,000 or more for his release.”).

332. In October 2001, officials of the U.S. government and NATO raided the Sarajevo offices of the SHC. During the raid, investigators found computer hard drives with photographs

of the World Trade Center before and after its collapse, as well as photographs of the United

States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and the U.S.S. Cole. Investigators also discovered files

on deploying chemical agents with crop dusters, information about how to make fake State

Department badges, and photographs and maps of Washington, marking prominent government

buildings.

333. Following the raid, the Financial Police of the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina Ministry of Finance described the SHC as a front for radical and terrorism-related activities,

stating:

Members of the SFOR (stabilization forces) have on premises on the Saudi high commission relief for Bosnia and Herzegovina confiscated some documentation for which it can be claimed with certainty that it does not belong in the scope of work of a humanitarian organization ...

334. During that same month, officials in Bosnia also arrested six members of the al Qaeda network (known as the “Algerian Six” or “Bosnian Six”) who were plotting to conduct

terrorist strikes on U.S. targets in Bosnia, including an attack on the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo:

Bensayah Belkacem, Saber Lahmar, Mustafa Ait Idir, Hadj Boudella, Lakhdar Boumediene, and

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Mohamed Nechle. All members of the group were on the SHC's payroll. According to media reporting on their arrest, intercepted phone conversations between the men spoke of the need to retaliate for U.S. attacks in Afghanistan. It was reported that one of them said, "Tomorrow, we will start."

335. The six men were turned over to the U.S. in January 2002 and were incarcerated at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Unclassified evidentiary summaries prepared by the Department of Defense for the Combatant Status Review Tribunal ("CSRT") confirm that the men were closely connected to Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda, were on the SHC's payroll, and that the SHC was providing financial support to mujahideen fighters in Bosnia.

336. Department of Defense documentation identifies Bensayah Belkacem as a primary al Qaeda facilitator in Bosnia. According to the unclassified evidentiary summaries: Belkacem possessed numerous phone numbers that linked him to bin Laden's operational network in Afghanistan and the global Sunni extremist group; Belkacem was known for his ties to the Chechen movement during 1999 and reportedly had a connection to a bin Laden operative; and Belkacem planned to join jihadist elements in Afghanistan in September 2001 in anticipation of the U.S. invasion.

337. The DOD materials relating to Belkacem specifically link the SHC to the members of the Algerian Six:

An open source reported that the detainee, also known to be the leader of a group in Algeria, had 3.5 million Marks of Bosnian currency deposited in a bank in Sarajevo, Bosnia, and several other members of the group had millions also deposited in banks. The open source reported that an investigation revealed the High Saudi  
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Committee had on its payroll almost all of the members of the group from Algeria, which had links to international terrorism.

338. Bosnian investigators determined that Belkacem was in charge of screening recruits for al Qaeda training camps in Bosnia and that his cell phone contained the telephone number for senior al Qaeda official Abu Zubaydah. Belkacem worked closely with Zubaydah regarding the procurement of passports.

339. Saber Lahmar, a member of the al Qaeda network, was also an employee of the

SHC for several years. According to DOD documentation presented in support of Lahmar's continued detention at Guantanamo Bay: Lahmar is a former Bosnian/Afghan Mujahedin; Lahmar supported the fatwa issued by bin Laden against the U.S.; Lahmar expressed a desire to blow up U.S. soldiers, proposed attacking U.S. troops in Bosnia, and made threats against the international community in Bosnia; Lahmar attempted to assume leadership of the Armed Islamic Group in Bosnia; and finally was known to be a close associate of an al Qaeda member in Bosnia. DOD unclassified evidentiary summaries further stated:

- The detainee worked for the Saudi High Commission for Relief from 1993 to 1994 and again from 1996 until 2002.
- The Saudi High Commission for Relief and al Haramayn has provided financial support to former Arab Mujahedin in Bosnia. The types of financial support included family stipends or travel to Chechnya and Afghanistan.
- The detainee worked for El Haramain in Zenica and Sarejevo, Bosnia. He had close leadership ties to the leadership of El Haramain in Zenica.
- The head organizer for placing a car bomb in Mostar in 1997, who was also close to the Saudi High Commission and El Haramein, frequently visited the detainee.
- Al Haramayn is directly tied to terrorist activities in the Bosnia-Herzegovina area. They provide shelter and support to persons known to have committed terrorist activities.

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340. DOD materials presented to the CSRT in support of the remaining Algerian Six members' further detention at Guantanamo Bay detail their ties to al Qaeda and the Bosnian mujahideen. Mustafa Ait Idir is identified as a member of the Armed Islamic Group and a former Bosnian Mujahideen and chief martial arts instructor for the Bosnian Muj Brigade who made threats against Stabilization Forces in Bosnia and reportedly exhorted Bosnian mujahideen to kill Stabilization Forces. Hadj Boudella is a suspected member of the Bosnian Mujahideen and was associated with known al Qaeda elements in the Balkans. Boudella was in the Tora Bora region with several al Qaeda fighters and operatives, and received training on the Kalashnikov rifle and grenades from an al Qaeda member. Lakhdar Boumediene was also a former member of the Bosnian Mujahideen, a member of the Algerian Armed Islamic Group, and was one of the closest associates of an al Qaeda member in Bosnia. Finally, Mohamed Nechle is a member of the Armed Islamic Group with links to bin Laden's al Qaeda terrorist

network. Nechla is further identified as a supporter of terrorist groups in Africa.  
341. Governmental investigations also indicate that the SHC has played a direct role in arms trafficking for al Qaeda. Of particular note, a Defense Intelligence Agency report indicates that General Mohammad Farah Hassan Aideed, the al Qaeda affiliated Somali warlord responsible for the Black Hawk down massacre, received “weapons’ shipment from the Saudi Arabian High Commission for Relief.” The weapons were “usually hidden in false bottom containers.”

**SAUDI RED CRESCENT SOCIETY**

342. The Saudi Red Crescent Society (“SRC”) is a Saudi Arabia-based da’awa organization, which conducts operations throughout the world.

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343. The SRC is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs SRC operations, appoints and terminates SRC personnel, provides

the SRC with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be distributed throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls the SRC's operation. In many countries, the SRC

conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy, under the supervision of the embassy’s

Islamic Affairs Division.

344. Senior officials of the SRC have expressly acknowledged that the SRC is an alterego of the Saudi Arabia government. According to the affidavit testimony of Abdulrahman al Swailem, President of the Saudi Arabian Red Crescent Society, al Swailem was appointed by

“royal order issued by King Fahd bin Abdulaziz, to serve as president of the Saudi Arabian Red

Crescent Society,” a position that holds Excellency level status within the Saudi Arabian Government. The affidavit further asserts that the Government of the Kingdom “sponsors and

supervises the Saudi Arabian Red Crescent Society, and the Saudi Government appoints all of its directors.”

345. The SRC’s ties to al Qaeda’s leadership also date to the 1980s, when it operated within the network established to support the Afghan jihad.

346. By all accounts, the SRC played a prominent role within that network, providing extensive financial and logistical support to the mujihadeen in Afghanistan. Indeed, in 1986, Dr.

Abu Hazifa, a Director of the SRC, openly acknowledged the organization’s direct ties to the

*mujihadeen*, and that many of those fighters in fact worked for the Saudi Red Crescent.

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347. The SRC's support for bin Laden's terrorist organization was orchestrated largely by Wa'el Hamza Jelaidan, who in addition to his positions within the MWL, IIRO and SJRC

headed the SRC's office in Peshawar, Pakistan during the 1980s.

348. As discussed previously, documents recovered from the Tareekh Osama file document al Qaeda's intent to rely on the SRC to support its global jihad. A later internal al

al Qaeda document cautioned that the SRC may no longer represent a safe "umbrella" for al Qaeda

members, because Jelaidan was being recalled to Saudi Arabia. The import of this statement is

clear – under Jelaidan's direction the SRC was serving as a front for al Qaeda.

349. During that same search, investigators found a letter on SRC stationery to Abu Rida, another founding member of al Qaeda, requesting that "weapons be inventoried."

At the

bottom of the letter is a note from bin Laden to Jelaidan, then the SRC's director, stating "we

have an extreme need for weapons."

350. Years later, Jelaidan facilitated the SRC's sponsorship of al Qaeda activities in Kosovo and Chechnya. In 1999, Saudi Arabia formed the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for

Kosovo and Chechnya to coordinate the relief efforts of the SRC and other Saudi charities in

Kosovo and Chechnya. The Kingdom designated the SRC to serve as the operational arm for

SJRC-coordinated relief efforts. Although bin Laden had publicly confirmed that Jelaidan was

one of al Qaeda's founding members in a 1999 interview, the Kingdom appointed Jelaidan

Director of SJRC and SRC operations in Pristina. In 2000, U.S. officials sent a written alert to

the U.N. Peace Keeping Force in Pristina, asserting that SJRC officials Adel Kazam and Jelaidan

were "associates of Osama bin Laden" and that Jelaidan was actively involved in helping bin

Laden "move money and men" to and from the Balkans.

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351. Separate incidents revealed that members of the SRC staff working under the supervision of the SJRC actively participated in the development and planning of terrorist attacks

against American interests.

352. Employees of the SRC were also implicated in the 1996 al Qaeda bombing attack on the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad. Following that attack, investigators arrested Muhammed

Ali Sayed and Bashir Barbar Qadim, two Sudanese employees of the SRC. The investigation which led to the arrests revealed evidence that Sayed had indirectly funded the attack by channeling SRC funds to Egyptian al Jihad, the terrorist organization run by Ayman al Zawahiri which formally merged with al Qaeda several years before the September 11th Attack. Egyptian authorities alleged that Zawahiri personally masterminded the Embassy attack.

353. The SRC continued to serve as a front for al Qaeda through the date of the September 11th Attack. In fact, just weeks after the September 11th Attack, the Pakistani government deported employees of the SRC, based on evidence that they were involved in al Qaeda related terrorist activities. In 2002, NATO and Bosnian authorities arrested six Algerian al Qaeda members who were plotting attacks on the U.S. and British embassies in Sarajevo. Two of those men, Boumediene Lakhdar and Nechle Mohammed, were employees of the SRC.

354. Based in part of the U.S. government's assertion that the SRC is a front for al Qaeda, several persons associated with the SRC were incarcerated at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba as enemy combatants

355. Detainee Mohamed Atiq Awayd al Harbi (ISN No. 333) was a member of the mujahideen in Kandahar, Afghanistan and was further identified as being a fighter in the Tora Bora Mountains. When al Harbi was arrested by Pakistani police, he was in possession of Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 110 of 154

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\$8,000 U.S. dollars and 12,000 Saudi Riyals which he was planning to deliver to the SRC. Representatives from the Saudi Embassy and from the SRC visited him and provided him with lawyers. Al Harbi was eventually handed over to the United States and transported to Guantanamo Bay, but was subsequently transferred to Saudi Arabia on November 9, 2007 to participate in the Kingdom's terrorist rehabilitation program. Less than 6 months after returning to Saudi Arabia, al Harbi fled to Yemen with other Saudi al Qaeda members. On January 23, 2009, the al Fajr Media Center – the official online logistical network responsible for disseminating messages from various al Qaeda military factions – released new video footage of joint sermons delivered by a group of Saudi and Yemeni al Qaeda leaders. Al Harbi appeared in the video with the official title of “Field Commander of the al Qaeda Organization in the Arabian

Peninsula.”

356. Detainee Said Ali al Shihri (ISN No. 372) traveled from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan following the September 11th attacks with \$1,900 U.S. dollars to distribute to the

SRC. Al Shihri trained in urban warfare at the Libyan Camp north of Kabul, and one of his

aliases was among 100 names taken from Afghanistan-based military training camp applications.

Following his capture, al Shihri was handed over to the United States and transported to Guantanamo Bay, but was subsequently transferred to Saudi Arabia on November 9, 2007 to

participate in the Kingdom’s terrorist rehabilitation program. Al Shihri eventually escaped from

Saudi security forces and fled with other high profile al Qaeda operatives to Yemen. On January

23, 2009, the al Fajr Media Center released new video footage of joint sermons delivered by a

group of Saudi and Yemeni al Qaeda leaders. Al Shihri was featured in the video with the official title of “Secretary General of the al Qaeda Organization in Saudi Arabia.”

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357. Detainee Muhamed Hussein Abdallah (ISN No. 704) was employed as an Arabic language instructor by the SRC. According to the unclassified evidentiary summaries submitted

in support of Abdallah’s continued detention: “Senior officials of the SRCS [Saudi Red Crescent

Society] were involved in money laundering operations aimed at assisting Pakistani-based

extremist organizations.” Concerning the allegations lodged by the United States regarding his

association with various “humanitarian organizations,” Abdallah stated “the only one I was

working for the last two years was the Saudi Red Crescent. If these organizations were terrorist

organizations, its contrary to what I knew about them. They were official government organizations, recognized as I said, by official governments. So why don’t you bring the officials, the Saudi government...?”

#### **SAUDI JOINT RELIEF COMMITTEE FOR KOSOVO AND CHECHNYA**

358. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia established the Saudi Joint Relief Committee (“SJRC”) on May 19, 1999 pursuant to High Order 7/B/1863 (the “Albanian High Order”). In

accordance with the Albanian High Order, the SJRC was endowed with responsibility for coordinating and carrying out the operations of five constituent charities in Kosovo and Chechnya: al Haramain al Masjid al Aqsa; IIRO, WAMY, MWL and SRC. Subsequent to the

establishment of the SJRC, those constituent charities continued to solicit funds to support activities in Kosovo and Chechnya throughout the World, including from the United States.

359. Senior officials of the SJRC have expressly acknowledged that the SJRC is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. According to the affidavit

testimony of Dr. Abdulrahmann al Swailem, President of the SJRC, the SJRC has “always

functioned as a political subdivision, agency, or instrumentality of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The SJRC was established on May 19, 1999 pursuant to High Order... issued by King Fahd upon

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the recommendation of the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.” The affidavit

further reflects that the governing Albanian High Order specified that the SJRC would be supervised by the Minister of Interior of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and that the SJRC would

include a number of other high-ranking representatives from agencies of the Kingdom and other

“charity” organizations. Of particular interest, the Order establishing the SJRC required that its

leadership include “the Presidency of General Intelligence.”

360. Between 1998 and 2000, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through SJRC, diverted more than \$74 million dollars to al Qaeda members and loyalists affiliated with SJRC bureaus.

Throughout this time, the committee was under the supervision and control of Saudi Interior

Minister Prince Naif Bin Abdul Aziz.

361. Each of the constituent charities operating under the SJRC has longstanding ties to al Qaeda. For instance, al Haramain al Masjid al Aqsa was designated by the Treasury Department on May 6, 2004 pursuant to Executive Order 13224. According to U.S. officials:

The Al-Haramain & Al Masjed Al-Aqsa Charity Foundation (AHAMAA) has significant financial ties to the Bosnia-based NGO Al Furqan, and al Qaida financier Wa’el Hamza Julaidan, who was designated by the Treasury Department on September 6, 2002. Wa’el Hamza Julaidan, a Saudi citizen, is a close associate of Usama bin Laden. Julaidan fought with bin Laden in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Bin Laden himself acknowledged his close ties to Julaidan during a 1999 interview with al-Jazeera TV. As a member of the Board of Directors for AHAMAA, Julaidan opened three bank accounts on behalf of the NGO between 1997 and 2001 and continued to have authorization to handle two of

their accounts as a signatory on two the NGO's Bosnian accounts.

362. As described above, the MWL, IIRO, WAMY and SRC have similar pervasive ties to al Qaeda, and like its constituent entities, the SJRC provided critical resources to support

al Qaeda's jihad against the United States.

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363. As al Qaeda was establishing its operations in Kosovo and Chechnya, Wa'el Jelaidan assumed a position as Director of the SJRC's office in Pristina. As referenced above,

Jelaidan is a founding member of al Qaeda and was designated by the United States government

on September 6, 2002 pursuant to Executive Order 13224. The Treasury Department press

release issued in conjunction with the designation set forth the following basis for the action:

The United States' has credible information that Wa'el Julaidan is an associate of Osama bin Laden and several of bin Laden's top lieutenants. Julaidan has directed organizations that have provided financial and logistical support to al Qaida. Accordingly, the United States is designating Julaidan under Executive Order 13224 as a person who supports terror.

364. The United Nation's mission in Kosovo has declared that the SJRC office in Pristina, Kosovo, served as a cover for several al Qaeda operatives, including Adel Muhammad

Sadi Bin Kazarn and Wa'el Hamza Julaidan, both of whom served as Directors of SJRC.

365. More than a year before the September 11th Attacks, U.S. officials sent a written request to the U.N. Peace Keeping Force in Pristina, requesting that U.N. police undertake

surveillance of the SJRC. In that document, Marked "Secret: U.S. Office Only – Release to

UNMIK," the U.S. government asserted that SJRC officials Adel Muhammad Sadi Bin Kazam

and Julaidan were "associates of Osama bin Laden" and that Julaidan was actively involved in

helping bin Laden "move money and men to and from the Balkans."

366. Acting on that information, the United Nations Mission in Kosovo ("UNMIK") raided a house rented by the SJRC in Pristina, and declared that the organization served as a

cover for several Usama bin Laden operatives, including Kazem and Jelaidan.

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367. A year earlier, in June 1998, the CIA and Albanian authorities raided several houses and offices of members of an associate of the SJRC in Tirana. In July 1998, its Director

Muhamed Hasan Mahmud, an Egyptian national, was arrested on charges of making false

documents and arms possession. He was connected to a 1992 terrorist attack against the Egyptian Parliament. Several of its members and directors were later arrested in connection with

the U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania of August 1998.

368. Prominent media outlets have also documented the SJRC's role in facilitating the movement of "money and men to and from the Balkans" for Osama bin Laden.

369. Despite his joint designation by the United States and Saudi Arabia on September 6, 2002 for being "an associate of Usama bin Laden and a supporter of al-Qa'ida terror," Julaidan

continued to work on behalf of the SJRC as late as December 2003. According to the United

Nations Security Council Committee's December 2, 2003 *Second Report of the Monitoring*

*Group on Al-Qaida:*

The Rabita Trust was added to the list in October 2001. Its Saudi Chairman, Wa'el Hamza Julaidan (also spelled Jalaidan) was designated at the request of the United States and Saudi Arabia on 6 September 2002. There are nevertheless reports that Julaidan remains actively engaged in "charitable activities" and financial transactions. Julaidan currently lives in Saudi Arabia and is reportedly still working with the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya, and serves as one of the directors of the Al-Haramain al-Masjid al-Aqsa Foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

370. SJRC's Saudi bank accounts at National Commercial Bank ("NCB") were managed by Suleiman Abdel Aziz al Rajhi, Chairman, Managing Director and the largest shareholder of Al Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation. Historically, Suleiman al Rajhi

himself has been an active sponsor of al Qaeda frequently through his own banks. Al Rajhi Bank

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has been used by the MWL, IIRO and al Haramain to funnel funds to support terrorism.

According to a 2003 CIA report:

Al-Rajhi Bank: Conduit for Extremist Finance (S//NF)

Islamic extremists have used Al-Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation (ARABIC) since at least the mid-1990s as a conduit for terrorist transactions, probably because they find the bank's vast network and adherence to Islamic principles both convenient and ideologically sound. Senior al-Rajhi family members have long supported Islamic extremists and probably know that terrorists use their bank. Reporting indicates that senior al-Rajhi family members control the bank's most important decisions and that ARABIC's principle [sic] managers answer directly to Suleiman. The al-Rajhis know they are under scrutiny and have moved to conceal their activities from financial regulatory

authorities.

371. NCB actively sponsored al Qaeda through Muwafaq, IIRO and SJRC. SJRC also received valuable financial services from NCB which allowed the organization to provide direct

financial and logistical support to al Qaeda for several years leading up to the 9/11 attack.

372. In addition to maintaining the SJRC's bank accounts, NCB actively promoted those accounts on behalf of the organization. Advertisements running in multiple issues of the

MWL Journal in 2000 and 2001 openly solicited funds and directed donors to SJRC accounts

managed by the National Commercial Bank and Al Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation.

373. NCB opened two "shared accounts" with Al Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation (Special Joint account #22 and #33) for the IIRO as a member of the SJRC, thereby

allowing the SJRC to serve as a conduit for funneling donations to al Qaeda fighters in Kosovo

and Chechnya.

#### **RABITA TRUST**

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374. Defendant Rabita Trust is a subsidiary body of the Muslim World League ("MWL"), with headquarters in Lahore, Pakistan and offices throughout the world.

375. Rabita Trust is an agency, instrumentality and organ of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs Rabita Trust operations, appoints and terminates

Rabita Trust personnel, provides Rabita Trust with virtual all of its funding, determines how

funds will be distributed throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls Rabita Trust

operations. In many countries, Rabita Trust conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy,

under the supervision of the embassy's Islamic Affairs Division.

376. As set forth previously, senior officials of the MWL have expressly acknowledged that the MWL and its subsidiary bodies are agencies, instrumentalities and organs

of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

377. Rabita Trust's material sponsorship of al Qaeda has been facilitated by the direct participation of senior al Qaeda officials in the management and operation of Rabita Trust. In

fact, Rabita Trust was, for several years prior to September 11, 2001, headed by al Qaeda founding member Wa'el Hamza Jelaidan.

378. In addition, Rabita Trust has shared common officers and directors with several other charities operating within al Qaeda's infrastructure, including the MWL and the SAAR

Network of charities and businesses. Abdullah Omar Naseef served as a Chairman of Rabita Trust and as Secretary General of the MWL. Naseef is also an officer of Makkahl-Mukarramah, Inc., a Virginia based charity operating within the SAAR network. The Co-Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Rabita Trust, Abdullah al Obaid, also served as an officer of the MWL and Sanabel al Kheer organizations within the SAAR network. Al Obaid also serves as a senior

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executive of al Watania Poultry in Saudi Arabia, one of the many businesses owned by Suleiman

Abdel Aziz al Rajhi, the founder of the SAAR Network, member of the Board of Directors of the

IIRO, and CEO of al Rajhi Banking and Investment. Adnan Basha, a member of the Rabita

Trust Board of Directors, is also the Secretary General of the International Islamic Relief Organization (“IIRO”).

379. Given its pervasive and ongoing involvement in al Qaeda’s operations, and the direct participation of senior al Qaeda officials in its management, the United States government

designated Rabita Trust as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on October 12, 2001 pursuant

to Executive Order 13224. According to the U.S. Treasury Department:

Rabita Trust is a Pakistani non-governmental organization (NGO)

designated for its close ties to senior al Qaida leadership and for providing logistical and financial support to al Qaida. In February

2000, Wa’el Hamza Julaidan was appointed to the Board of

Trustees of the Rabita Trust and served as its Director General.

Julaidan was jointly designated on September 6th, 2002 by Saudi

Arabia and by the United States under Executive Order 13224.

#### **G. THE HOUSE OF SAUD’S KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING ITS CHARITIES’ TERRORIST ACTIVITIES PRIOR TO 9/11**

380. The pervasive sponsorship of al Qaeda’s global jihad by the Saudi government controlled da’awa organizations, as reflected by the facts and evidenced set forth above, was

carried out with the full knowledge of the Saudi regime.

381. As discussed previously, the House of Saud made a conscious decision to deploy the Saudi da’awa infrastructure to support Islamist movements throughout the World in response

to the demands of the Saudi Ulema, and was expressly aware when it did so of the longstanding

ties between those organizations and the al Qaeda leadership. The Kingdom also knew, from the

earliest date, of bin Laden's organizational activities as the head of a global jihad organization,

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and the continuing involvement of bin Laden associates as officials of Saudi da'awa organizations. Moreover, by virtue of its own promotion of the Western Cultural Attack paradigm, the regime also understood that members of the Ulema appointed to direct the activities of the Saudi da'awa organizations shared al Qaeda's belief that conducting jihad

against the United States was a religious obligation.

382. Although these facts render any claim that the Saudi government was unaware of the terrorist activities of its da'awa organizations implausible, it is worth noting that the Kingdom

received continuous warnings concerning their pervasive ties to al Qaeda, through media reports

and engagements with other governments, as well as its own monitoring of those organizations.

383. Indeed, from the early 1990's through September 11, 2001, the involvement of the Saudi da'awa organizations in terrorist plots and operations was the subject of intense media

scrutiny and reporting. As the regime closely monitors all media reporting referencing its state

controlled da'awa organizations, both through its embassies and via a media surveying program

carried out by the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this reporting was well known to the House

of Saud.

384. Furthermore, the international community repeatedly cautioned Saudi Arabia about the imminent threat posed by the activities of its da'awa organizations during the years

preceding the September 11th Attacks. For instance, during a 1994 meeting with senior officials

of the Kingdom, French Interior Minister Charles Pasqua expressed the French government's

deep concerns regarding the pervasive involvement of the Saudi charities in the sponsorship and

funding of terrorist organizations. Pasqua specifically mentioned the MWL during that meeting.

At a conference of Arab interior ministers in 1998, the Egyptian Minister of Interior similarly

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expressed specific concerns about the involvement of Saudi charities in the sponsorship of

terrorist activities to Saudi Prince Naif. In 1999 and 2000, senior delegations from the U.S.

government met with senior officials of the Kingdom, to address the U.S. government's concerns regarding the extensive involvement of Saudi charities in the sponsorship of terrorism. As the U.S. and Saudi governments had an intelligence sharing program concerning terrorism in place beginning in 1997, these concerns had no doubt been conveyed to the Saudis earlier. 385. Despite these repeated warnings about the terrorist agenda being pursued by its da'awa organizations in partnership with al Qaeda, the Kingdom continued to channel massive support to those organizations, in the hopes of directing the jihadist fervor of Saudi Arabia's most radical elements at targets other than the House of Saud. This calculated decision by the Saudi regime fueled al Qaeda's growth and development, culminating in the September 11th Attacks.

386. Nearly a decade since those Attacks, the Saudi da'awa apparatus continues to channel material support to al Qaeda and affiliated terrorists, and State Department officials have recently lamented that the United States has had little success in convincing the Saudi regime to treat the matter as a priority.

#### **THE SPONSORSHIP OF AL QAEDA BY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS**

387. Although al Qaeda's charity partners served as the primary mechanism for raising and moving funds on behalf the organization, the scope of its global operations and the extent of its funding required that al Qaeda also obtain access to the international banking system to facilitate the distribution and laundering of its funds. At the same time, al Qaeda needed to avoid

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triggering any of the regulatory devices developed by the international banking system to identify money laundering and illicit financial transactions.

388. Al Qaeda gained access to the international financial system, and concealed the illicit nature of the transactions it conducted through that system, in limited instances by establishing its own financial institutions, and more commonly by establishing cooperative relationships with financial institutions which shared and supported al Qaeda's worldview, and were knowing and willing collaborators in its global jihad. As the Council on Foreign Relations explained, because of its "Islamic" agenda, al Qaeda found "willing collaborators within the Islamic banking system."

389. As is the case with al Qaeda's charity sponsors, the material support provided to al Qaeda by its financial institution collaborators took many forms. In certain cases, al Qaeda openly maintained its own accounts with the knowledge of the financial institution, particularly during the period when al Qaeda resided in Sudan with the approval and support of the ruling National Islamic Front Regime. More typically, financial institutions maintained accounts for al Qaeda's ostensible charity fronts, with full knowledge that those accounts were being used to support al Qaeda's global infrastructure. In cooperation with those ostensible charities, these financial institutions advertised the existence and numerical designations for "jihad" accounts, and provided mechanisms for al Qaeda's supporters to deposit funds directly into those accounts.

In addition, several financial institutions channeled their own *zakat* funds to al Qaeda.

390. The support provided to al Qaeda by these financial institutions was in many cases orchestrated by the founders and most senior officials of the financial institutions, and the members of the Shariah Committees of the Islamic banking divisions of such institutions. Senior

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officials of these financial institutions often served as officials of al Qaeda affiliated charities, and used their positions in those organizations to facilitate their collaborative fund-raising and money laundering efforts on behalf of al Qaeda.

391. As documented below, al Qaeda's supporters in the financial industry included National Commercial Bank and al Rajhi Bank.

#### **NATIONAL COMMERCIAL BANK**

392. The National Commercial Bank ("NCB") was established in 1950 by Salim bin Mahfouz, father of Khalid bin Mahfouz.

393. With his father's death in 1996, Khalid bin Mahfouz became President and CEO of NCB, and its principal shareholder with control over more than 50% of the bank's capital.

Khalid bin Mahfouz served as President and CEO of NCB until 1999.

394. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, NCB was closely related to, and often worked in collaboration with, the Bank of Credit and Commerce International ("BCCI"), a banking institution in which Khalid bin Mahfouz held a substantial equitable interest and served as the CEO. After several fraudulent practices were discovered, Khalid bin Mahfouz was

indicted on July 1, 1992 on charges of participation in a Scheme to Defraud in the First Degree in violation of New York Penal Law § 190.65, in connection with certain of defendant's acts and omissions relative to BCCI Holdings and certain related entities. The indictment alleges a series of misrepresentations, sham loans, and fraudulent conduct in failing to disclose the status of defendant's interest in BCCI.

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395. Under Khalid bin Mahfouz, BCCI was also implicated in supporting terrorism, as reported by the United States Senate. In the course of targeting BCCI for laundering drug money, the CIA learned of BCCI's extensive involvement in manipulating certain financial markets, in arms trafficking, and in supporting international terrorism. A federal investigation into BCCI's operations further revealed extensive involvement in corrupt practices, including money laundering, hiding assets, the obstruction of a Senate investigation.

396. The 1992 U.S. Senate Investigative Report on the BCCI affair linked the bank to financial funding of the Afghan war. According to the Report: BCCI may have been moving money through the National Bank of Oman to fund the war in Afghanistan. The bank's role began to surface in the mid-1980's (...). This was confirmed in the Wall Street Journal of 23 October 1991 which quotes a member of the late General Zia's cabinet as saying 'It was Arab money that was pouring through BCCI.' The Bank which carried the money on from Oman to Pakistan and into Afghanistan was National Bank of Oman, where BCCI owned 29%.

Under Khalid bin Mahfouz, BCCI was also implicated in supporting terrorism, as reported by the U.S. Senate:

In the course of targeting BCCI for laundering drug money, the CIA learned of BCCI's involvement in manipulating certain financial markets, in arms trafficking, and in supporting international terrorism, including handling the finances of Sabri Al-Bannah or Abu Nidal, and his terrorist organization.

Moreover, the U.S. Senate Investigative Report detailed the initial involvement of the BCCI in terrorism financial support.

BCCI's support of terrorism and arms trafficking developed out of several factors. First, as a principal financial institution for a number of Gulf sheikhdoms, with branches all over the world, it was a logical choice for terrorist organizations, who received payment at BCCI-London and other branches directly from Gulf-state patrons, and then transferred those funds wherever they wished without apparent scrutiny. Secondly, BCCI's flexibility regarding

the falsification of documentation was helpful for such activities.

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Finally, to the extent that pragmatic considerations were not sufficient of themselves to recommend BCCI, the bank's pan-third world and pro-Islam ideology would have recommended it to Arab terrorist groups.

397. The U.S. Senate Report regarding BCCI's fraudulent activities directly implicated NCB in BCCI's corrupt practices, including the manipulation of financial markets, arms trafficking and sponsorship of international terrorism, including handling the finances of Abu

Nidal and his terrorist organization. Bin Mahfouz paid over \$200 million in fines in 1991 for

misdeeds when he was COO of BCCI.

398. Consistent with the findings of the 1992 U.S. Senate Investigative Report, NCB has served as one of al Qaeda's preferred banks for many years, providing financial services for

for many of al Qaeda's "charity" patrons, including the MWL, IIRO, WAMY, Muwafaq Foundation, and al Haramain Islamic Foundation, among others.

399. NCB actively provided material support and resources to al Qaeda via the charity defendants, particularly through the Muwafaq Foundation, IIRO and SJRC.

400. From the date of Muwafaq's creation, NCB provided financial services and other support to facilitate Muwafaq's direct participation in al Qaeda's jihad against the United States,

serving as an efficient conduit for wealthy Saudi businessmen to transfer funds to al Qaeda, via

Muwafaq.

401. NCB's role in this process was confirmed by a German Internal Intelligence Service investigation of Muwafaq, which found that "one route [for the sponsorship of al Qaeda]

was the transfer of large sums from the National Commercial Bank to Islamic (charities). These

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included Muwafaq el Kheiriya and Islamic Relief [IIRO]. There are institutional links between

Muwafaq and Usama bin Laden's network."

402. Vincent Cannistraro, the former Central Intelligence Agency Chief of Counterterrorism Operations, echoed the findings of the German Intelligence investigations in

testimony before Congress in the wake of the September 11th Attacks, testifying as follows:

How does the al-Qaeda organization fund its worldwide network of cells and affiliated groups? Several businessmen in Saudi Arabia and in the Gulf contribute monies. Many of these contributions are given out of a sense of Islamic solidarity. But

much of the money is paid as “protection” to avoid having the enterprises run by these men attacked. There is little doubt that a financial conduit to bin Laden was handled through the National Commercial Bank, until the Saudi government finally arrested a number of persons and closed down the channel. It was evident that several wealthy Saudis were funneling contributions to bin Laden through this mechanism.

403. The “wealthy Saudi businessmen” who transferred “large sums” of money to al Qaeda via Muwafaq included NCB senior executives and agents Khalid bin Mahfouz and Yassin

al Kadi. Abdulrahmann Khalid bin Mahfouz, Khalid bin Mahfouz’s son, has publicly stated that

Khalid bin Mahfouz provided up to \$30 million for Muwafaq’s operations. Al Kadi also made

significant contributions to Muwafaq, from his personal fortune.

404. INTERPOL intelligence reports filed of record by the U.S. government in legal proceedings pending in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, in support

of al Kadi’s continued designation, include details of a single transaction in which NCB transferred \$2 million to Dr. Salim Bin Mahfouz, an official of Muwafaq in Europe. Dr. bin

Mahfouz then transferred \$500,000 to Chafiq Ayadi, the Specially Designated Global Terrorist al

Kadi appointed to head Muwafaq’s European Operations at the suggestion of Wa’el

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Jelaidan. Dr. bin Mahfouz transferred an additional \$1.4 million to an apparent shell company in

Florida, which he had formed with a senior official of Taibah International, another designated al

Qaeda front.

405. NCB similarly provided funds and financial support to IIRO over a period of many years. NCB maintained numerous accounts for IIRO, and also donated its own funds to

the organization.

406. A bank audit conducted in 1998 revealed that over a 10 year period \$74 million was funneled by NCB’s Zakat Committee to the IIRO. According to the audit:

Bin Laden used his personal fortune and continuing contributions

from wealthy Islamic businessmen in Saudi and the Gulf to

organize training camps in the Sudan for Islamic activists from

every major Islamic country. These contributions, plus revenues

from Islamic Charity fronts, such as the International Islamic

Relief Organization, headed by Bin Laden’s brother-in-law, as well

as numerous other charitable fronts, continue to fuel his group

today.

407. The NCB audit report also stated that direct donations were “received through

those [NCB] facilities to the Red Crescent Saudi Committee, International Islamic Relief Organization and Muwafaq Foundation.”

408. SJRC also received valuable financial services from NCB which allowed the organization to provide direct financial and logistical support to al Qaeda for several years

leading up to the 9/11 attack. Under the supervision of Suleiman Abdul Aziz al Rajhi, NCB also

managed the budget of the SJRC.

409. In addition to maintaining the SJRC’s bank accounts, NCB actively promoted those accounts on behalf of the organization. Advertisements running in multiple issues of the

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Muslim World League Journal in 2000 and 2001 openly solicited funds and directed donors to

SJRC accounts managed by the National Commercial Bank and Al Rajhi Banking & Investment

Corporation.

410. NCB opened two “shared accounts” with Al Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation (Special Joint account #22 and #33) for the IIRO as a member of the SJRC, thereby

allowing the SJRC to serve as a conduit for funneling donations to al Qaeda fighters in Kosovo

and Chechnya. The bank’s audit report shows that:

411. NCB established special relations with the SJRC and maintained two shared accounts with Al-Rajhi Banking & Investment Corp for IIRO and SJRC donations in Kosovo

and Chechnya. These special accounts were not reviewed by the Audit Division nor by the

Zakat Committee in 1998.

412. According to a November 22, 1999 British intelligence report, the Saudi Arabian Royal family used NCB to channel funds to Osama Bin Laden. Similar reports surfaced in the

fall of 1999 in Reuters and USA Today, quoting U.S. intelligence sources stating an NCB audit

conducted by Saudi government officials uncovered that \$3 million of protection money from

five of Saudi Arabia’s prominent business leaders’ accounts was transferred to Blessed Relief

(a/k/a Muwafaq Foundation), an al Qaeda charity front.

413. NCB was specifically aware of the terrorist activities of Muwafaq, IIRO and SJRC at all relevant times. This knowledge derives from the direct involvement of senior NCB

officials in the sponsorship of al Qaeda, their longstanding personal ties to senior al Qaeda

leadership, as well as information publicly available to NCB.

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414. From the date of Muwafaq's establishment until its merger into al Qaeda, NCB maintained close and intimate organizational connections with Muwafaq.

415. Muwafaq was established by NCB's then chairman, Khalid bin Mahfouz, and the architect of NCB's Islamic banking division, Yassin al Kadi.

416. In his Statement to the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control, al Kadi himself confirmed that he and bin Mahfouz jointly conceived Muwafaq when al

Kadi was working "with KBM for NCB." Further explaining his role in NCB, al Kadi has stated

that "KBM [bin Mahfouz] turned to me to help in realizing this ambition [to convert NCB from

a bank which offered purely conventional banking services to one that could also offer Islamic

banking products']. To do this, we established a new department within NCB called the "Islamic

Banking Department." Kadi has further explained that he was "a member of the Islamic Banking

Services Committee, which was formed by the National Commercial Bank in July 1997 and on

which I served until December 8, 2009. This is a committee responsible for the strategic development of Islamic banking services which was chaired by the CEO of the NCB. I served

on this committee with other senior bank officials."

417. By his own design, Khalid bin Mahfouz hand-picked designated terrorist sponsor Yassin al Kadi, with whom he maintained a "close personal relationship," to oversee the establishment and operation the Muwafaq Foundation and NCB's Islamic Banking division. Al

Kadi acknowledges meeting with Osama Bin Laden around the time the Muwafaq Foundation

was being funded and established.

418. Khalid bin Mahfouz similarly appointed several other senior NCB personnel to positions in the management structure of Muwafaq Foundation. Abdulrahman bin Mahfouz

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served as a Board member and Trustee of Muwafaq, and simultaneously held numerous senior

positions in NCB, including: Vice President; Deputy General Manager; Member of the Board of

Directors; and Chairman of the Management Committee of NCB.

419. Mohamed al Ali al Qari bin Eid ("al Gari") was a founding Board member of Muwafaq in the United States, and in collaboration with Yassin al Kadi, developed Islamic

Finance at NCB. Al Gari was also appointed as NCB's Sharia Board Advisor, giving him

authority over the use and attribution of NCB's zakat funds.

420. Throughout the time he was working for "NCB," al Kadi was also responsible for the management and operations of Muwafaq, along with Khalid bin Mahfouz, who also played

an active role in directing Muwafaq's operations.

421. Throughout the time he and bin Mahfouz were directing Muwafaq's operations, al Kadi admits having close relationships with senior al Qaeda officials, including Wa'el Jelaidan,

who as noted above held senior positions in the IIRO and SJRC and played a central role in the

terrorist activities of those organizations.

422. During the period that Jelaidan served as Director of the SJRC, al Kadi acknowledges providing support to the SJRC through an Albanian company al Kadi owned. Al

Kadi has stated that he has known Jelaidan as a family friend since the 1980's.

423. In relation to the management and operation of Muwafaq, al Kadi acknowledges having consulted with Jelaidan, and appointed terrorist operatives to run Muwafaq offices on the

basis of Jelaidan's recommendation. In fact, al Kadi has stated that he "was first introduced to

[Specially Designated Global Terrorist] Chafiq Ayadi in Zagreb, Croatia, by Waa'el Juladain in

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or around 1992" and further "recommended Chafiq Ayadi for the management" of the Muwafaq

Foundation. Al Kadi would hire Ayadi to head Muwafaq's European operations upon the recommendation of Jelaidan in 1992.

424. Al Kadi has longstanding ties to many other senior terrorist operatives including Muhammad Salah, a high-level HAMAS operative and Specially Designated Terrorist under

Executive Order 12947, and Dr. Abdul Latif Saleh, founder of the Albanian Islamic Jihad.

425. As a result of its intensive investigation of al Kadi, the United States concluded that his ties to senior members of al Qaeda and several affiliated terrorist organizations could not

be viewed as a coincidence, but rather reflected al Kadi's own central role in al Qaeda's financial

network. According to the U.S. Treasury Department's Evidentiary Memorandum in Support of

the Continued Designation of Yassin al Kadi Pursuant to Executive Order 13224:

Yassin Al Qadi is an experienced and sophisticated businessman and financier. He has operated companies, including investment vehicles and banks, in many corners of the world. He is presumed to be capable of understanding his investments, his companies, and his charities, and of being responsible for the actions of those

entities which he founds, funds and/or controls.

Al Qadi's defense, however, to all the charges that he has supported terrorist through his provision of funds to Muwafaq and other entities he controls and the persons with ties to terrorists is that either there is no evidence that these entities and individuals have been involved in terrorism, or that to the extent that they were, this involvement was beyond his knowledge.

There is, however, substantial and credible evidence that both Muwafaq as an entity, and many of the individuals charged with operating it and distributing its funds, were engaged in a longstanding pattern of supporting terrorist and extremist causes.

This evidence comes from both classified and unclassified sources.

Al Qadi admits his longstanding and intimate association with SDGT Julaidan, SDGT Chafiq Ayadi, Dr. Abdul Latif Saleh, and Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 130 of 154  
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Amir Mehdi. The latter three individuals have been, according to the information available to OFAC arrested and/or deported from their countries of operation because of associations with terrorists, and Julaidan is a known close associate of Usama Bin Ladin. Each one of these individuals handled significant sums of money provided to him by Al Qadi.

It strains credulity that Al Qadi could have unintentionally found himself in a repeating cycle of hiring individuals based on his assessment of their character and that these individuals kept deceiving him about their intents on providing his funds to terrorists and extremists. These are individuals who Al Qadi had opportunity to personally observe over a period of years, and he gave them significant sums of money to handle on his behalf. Indeed, Al Qadi continues to refer to Julaidan and others as trustworthy and does not question their motives.

In making this determination no one element, no one contact, no one accusation of funding is taken as being determinative of the assessment that Al Qadi has been providing support to terrorists through his actions. [Redacted text] associated with Al Qadi that have connections with terrorism and dating over too long a time period, to give credence to a defense that all of the reports are in error. OFAC concludes that when considering the number of sources, the number of activities and length of time, the totality of the evidence, both classified and unclassified provides a reason to believe Yaseen Al Qadi has funded terrorist and extremist individuals and operations.

426. Consistent with the foregoing findings, the United States listed al Kadi as a "Specially Designated Global Terrorist" on October 12, 2001, describing him as "a Saudi businessman whose companies span the Middle East, Europe, North America and South Asia,

[who] has been consistently identified as a financial supporter of Usama bin Laden and other known extremists for more than a decade.”

427. Khalid bin Mahfouz is also a primary financier of al Qaeda and has acknowledged making a \$270,000 contribution to Osama bin Laden in 1988, contemporaneous with the establishment of al Qaeda.

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428. An internal al Qaeda document dating from this period, referred to within al Qaeda as the “Golden Chain,” includes the name bin Mahfouz, a reference to Khalid bin Mahfouz.

429. The Golden Chain document was discovered during a raid of the Bosnian offices of the Benevolence International Foundation (“BIF”), conducted jointly by the Federal Bureau of

Investigation and Bosnian Police. During the course of that raid, the authorities seized several

computer hard drives, one of which included a file named “Tareekh Osama” (“Osama’s History”), containing scanned images of documents chronicling the formation of al Qaeda. The

“Golden Chain” document was among several hundred documents contained in this computer

file. Based on their analysis of all the documents within that file, and intelligence gathered from

other sources during the war on terror, officials of the US government concluded that the document is “a list of people referred to within al Qaeda” as wealthy donors to the movement.

*See* Government’s Evidentiary Proffer supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements, *United States of America v. Enaam Arnaout*, No. 02-CR-892 (N.D. Ill. filed Jan.6, 2003).

430. U.S. intelligence and enforcement agencies have concluded that the Golden Chain is an authentic al Qaeda document, identifying al Qaeda’s most important financial benefactors,

and the individuals responsible for coordinating their contributions to al Qaeda. Indeed, the 9-11

Commission’s Final Report refers to the Golden chain as the al Qaeda organization’s “financial

supply network ... put together mainly by financiers in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states.”

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431. Jamal al Fadl, the senior al Qaeda official who defected and became a cooperating witness for the United States, has authenticated the Golden Chain.

432. On the basis of the United States’ finding that the Golden Chain is an authentic list of al Qaeda’s principal individual financiers, the Treasury Department has used inclusion on

that list as a basis for designating individuals as terrorist sponsors and freezing their assets under Executive Order 13224. For instance, on December 21, 2004 the U.S. Treasury Department issued a press release announcing the designation of Adel Abdul Jalil Batterjee for providing financial and material support to al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. The identification of Batterjee's name on the Golden Chain served as a factor for his designation.

433. Following his \$270,000 contribution to Osama bin Laden, Khalid bin Mahfouz founded Muwafaq Foundation, personally choosing Specially Designated Global Terrorist al Kadi to manage its operations.

434. Given their prominent roles within al Qaeda's financial infrastructure and active participation in facilitating the sponsorship of al Qaeda, NCB officials Yassin al Kadi and Khalid necessarily were aware through a variety of channels of the terrorist activities of Muwafaq Foundation, IIRO, and SJRC.

435. NCB was also placed on notice of the terrorist activities of Muwafaq Foundation, IIRO and SJRC through media reports and widely publicized governmental investigations.

436. As the Treasury Department's Evidentiary Memorandum in Support of the Continued Designation of Yassin al Kadi Pursuant to Executive Order 13224 makes clear, the terrorist activities of Muwafaq Foundation were the subject of numerous public reports prior to

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September 11, 2001, and several of Muwafaq's offices were closed by foreign governments between 1995 and 1999.

437. Forced closures of the IIRO and al Haramain offices in Kenya in 1998 were similarly reported by a number of media outlets when Kenyan officials banned those organizations for supporting terrorism.

438. The IIRO's support for Abu Sayyaf Group, al Qaeda's affiliate in the Philippines, was widely reported upon by the press during this same time frame.

439. Prominent media reports also documented the SJRC's role in facilitating the movement of "money and men to and from the Balkans" for Osama bin Laden.

440. Given the public nature of the charity office closings during the mid-1990's, the public reporting concerning the charities' role in supporting al Qaeda, NCB was necessarily aware of the terrorist activities of Muwafaq Foundation, IIRO, and SJRC.

441. As the forgoing demonstrates, NCB has, for a period of many years, provided critical financial and logistical support to al Qaeda in relation to that terrorist organization's global jihad.

## **AL RAJHI BANKING AND INVESTMENT GROUP**

442. Al Rajhi Banking and Investment Corporation (“Al Rajhi Bank”) is a Saudi Arabia based bank with four hundred (400) branch offices within the Kingdom, and seventeen

(17) subsidiaries across the world.

443. Al Rajhi Bank is a family owned enterprise, in which Suleiman Abdel Aziz Al Rajhi is Chairman, Managing Director, and the largest shareholder. Abdullah Suleiman al Rajhi

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is General Manager of Al Rajhi Bank and is a member of its Executive Committee. Saleh Abdulaziz al Rajhi is the eldest brother of Suleiman and has been Chairman of Al Rajhi Bank.

Through their control of Al Rajhi Bank, the al Rajhis actively participated in that financial

institution’s support and sponsorship of al Qaeda. For example, with Suleiman’s support and

authorization, Al Rajhi Bank maintained accounts for many of al Qaeda’s charity fronts, including the IIRO, MWL, WAMY, BIF and Al Haramain, among others.

444. In cooperation with these charitable organizations, Al Rajhi Bank advertised the existence and numerical designation of the accounts it maintained for those charities throughout

the Muslim world, thereby providing a mechanism to allow al Qaeda’s supporters to deposit

funds directly into those accounts. At all times relevant, Al Rajhi Bank and the al Rajhi family

members, including Suleiman, were expressly aware that many of the charities for which Al

Rajhi Bank provided financial services were conduits for financing al Qaeda, and that the Bank

was being used as a vehicle for laundering funds on behalf of, and transferring funds to, that

terrorist organization. Nevertheless, Al Rajhi Bank has continued to maintain those accounts and

to directly fund the charities.

445. As an example, the IIRO is one of the chief Saudi charities definitively linked to financing a variety of international terrorist groups and has accounts in Al Rajhi Bank, where

donors deposit their donations. The IIRO places advertisements for donations in their own

publications, specifically identifying the IIRO bank account number at the bank (i.e., IIRO

account no. 77700), and Al Rajhi Bank collects and deposits these so-called “charitable” donations into joint accounts according to the account numbers.

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446. In addition, Al Rajhi Bank collected charitable donations on behalf of Sanabel al Kheer (“Seeds of Charity”), the financial/investment arm of the IIRO, depositing the donations into Sanabel’s Al Rajhi Bank account no. 77707. Sanabel al Kheer, which the IIRO “owns or controls,” was established as a separate branch of the IIRO in 1987 to make investments designed to support the IIRO’s charitable operations. Al Rajhi Bank collects Sanabel’s donations, while organizations like Sanabel, the IIRO, and the Jeddah al Birr Society ensure their donors a reward of religious fulfillment. Under the guise of IIRO funds labeled and designated for purposes such as “war and disaster” (Account number for Immigrants, Refugees, and Victims of Disasters: 77702) or “sponsor a child” (IIRO Account Number of Deprived Children: 77704), charitable organizations such as the IIRO use banks like Al Rajhi Bank to gather donations that fund terrorism and terrorist activities.

447. Al Rajhi Bank also handled IIRO “charitable” contributions intended to benefit suicide bombers by directing Al Igatha Journal advertisements toward humanitarian needs in Somalia, Sri Lanka, India, and the Philippines under IIRO Account number 77709 for “the action most loved by Allah.”

448. On February 17, 1994, Al Rajhi Bank made a \$533,333 donation to the Saudi High Commission (“SHC”) in response to a call for donations for Bosnia and Somalia. In August 1995, Al Rajhi Bank contributed \$400,000 to the SHC which was collecting donations for Bosnia during a 12-hour telethon. The donation was identified by the Arabic newspaper Asharq al Awsat. In January 1996, al Rajhi personally donated \$80,000 to the SHC while collecting donations for Bosnia.

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449. Moreover, Al Rajhi Bank knowingly and intentionally supplied funds to persons who committed violent terrorist acts. For example, money was funneled to the Hamburg, Germany al Qaeda cell through the Al Rajhi Bank to businessmen Mahmoud Darkazanli and Abdul Fattah Zammar, who in turn provided the al Qaeda cell of September 11th hijackers with financial and logistical support. Through Al Rajhi Bank, September 11th hijacker Abdulaziz al Omari received funds into his Al Rajhi Bank Account Number: 162608010366080, 39800061, and Visa Debit Card No. 4909-8016-2002-5747. Al Omari frequently utilized a credit card

drawn on Al Rajhi Bank in the planning of the attacks. On September 7, 2001, four days before

the 9/11 attacks, al Omari received a wire transfer from Al Rajhi Bank, Buraidah Branch, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia on SunTrust bank account 265D-NY-280350.

450. Suleiman al Rajhi's active sponsorship of al Qaeda through his family owned bank was specifically detailed in a 2003 Central Intelligence Agency Report. According to an

excerpt from the 2003 Report regarding Al Rajhi Bank:

Al-Rajhi Bank: Conduit for Extremist Finance (S/NF)

Islamic extremists have used Al-Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation (ARABIC) since at least the mid-1990s as a conduit for terrorist transactions, probably because they find the bank's vast network and adherence to Islamic principles both convenient and ideologically sound. Senior al-Rajhi family members have long supported Islamic extremists and probably know that terrorists use their bank. Reporting indicates that senior al-Rajhi family members control the bank's most important decisions and that ARABIC's principle managers answer directly to Sulayman.

The al-Rajhis know they are under scrutiny and have moved to conceal their activities from financial regulatory authorities.

451. The Wall Street Journal was permitted to review the confidential reports authored by the CIA and other U.S. agencies which detailed the use of Al Rajhi Bank by alleged

extremists. See July 26, 2007 Report by Glenn Simpson of the Wall Street Journal, titled *U.S.*

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*Tracks Saudi Bank Favored By Extremists*. According to the WSJ, the U.S. intelligence reports

"describe how Al Rajhi Bank has maintained accounts and accepted donations for Saudi charities

and the U.S. and other nations have formally designated as fronts for al Qaeda or other terrorist

groups." The article further states that "Mr. Al Rajhi and family members have been major

donors to Islamic charities that are suspected by Western intelligence agencies of funding terrorism, according to CIA reports and federal-court filings by the Justice Department."

452. The WSJ reported on the following additional findings relative to its review of the CIA Report. According to the WSJ, the 2003 CIA Report claims that a year after September

11th, with a spotlight on Islamic charities, Mr. Al Rajhi ordered Al Rajhi Bank's board "to

explore financial instruments that would allow the bank's charitable contributions to avoid

official Saudi scrutiny." A few weeks earlier, Mr. Al Rajhi reportedly "transferred \$1.1 billion

to offshore accounts – using commodity swaps and two Lebanese banks – citing a concern that

U.S. and Saudi authorities might freeze his assets.”

453. The 2003 CIA Report further discusses efforts by two al Rajhi brothers to keep some charitable contributions secret. The report says that Sulaiman and Saleh transferred \$4

million to parties in Germany and Pakistan in December 1998 using “a unique computer to

decode to send funds at regular intervals to unspecified recipients, suggesting that they were

trying to conceal the transactions and that the money may have been intended for

illegitimate

ends.”

454. The 2003 CIA Report states that extremists “ordered operatives in Afghanistan, Indonesia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Yemen” to use Al Rajhi Bank. Mamduh Mahmud Salim, convicted mastermind of the 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania,

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was carrying records of an Al Rajhi account (number 001424/4) when arrested in Germany in

1998.

455. The 2003 CIA Report further says that al Rajhi Bank couriers “delivered money to the Indonesian insurgent group Kompak to fund weapons purchases and bomb-making activities.

456. A 2003 German police report states that Sulaiman al Rajhi and other family members had contributed more than \$200,000 in 1993 to a charity that finances weapons for

Islamic militants in Bosnia, in addition to providing humanitarian aid.

457. A November 16, 2001 U.S. intelligence memo says that a money courier for Osama bin Laden’s second-in-command, Ayman al Zawahiri, traveled on a visa that al Rajhi

Bank had obtained for him.

458. Finally, the WSJ reported that Al Rajhi Bank maintained at least twenty-four (24) accounts and handled unusual transactions for the Al Haramain Islamic Foundation, “a charity

that Treasury officials say has acted as a front for al Qaeda in 13 countries.” The U.S.

Treasury

Department has designated Al Haramain headquarters in Saudi Arabia, including thirteen (13) of

branch offices between 2002-2004: Afghanistan, Albania, Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina,

Comoros Islands, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Netherlands, Pakistan, Somalia, Tanzania, and the

United States.

459. Suleiman Abdel Aziz Al Rajhi’s financial and material support for al Qaeda is not

limited to his control and chairmanship of the Al Rajhi Bank. Suleiman was also on the board of directors of Akida Bank in the Bahamas, a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (“SDGT”)

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entity pursuant to E.O. 13224. Akida Bank was run by Youssef Nada, a noted terrorist financier.

Suleiman also funneled money through Bank al Taqwa, another SDGT entity operating in the Bahamas.

460. Sulaiman similarly enjoyed a long and ongoing relationship with SDGT Ahmed Idris Nasreddin. Nasreddin and Nada are both founders and directors of Bank Al Taqwa. According to the U.S. Treasury Department, “Usama bin Laden and his al-Qaida organization

received financial assistance from Youssef Nada. Al Taqwa provides investment advice and

cash transfer mechanisms for al Qaida and other radical Islamic groups.”

461. Suleiman has served on the board of directors of the IIRO as well. Significantly, numerous branches of the IIRO were publicly implicated in al Qaeda plots throughout the 1990’s, during the time that Suleiman was serving as an officer of the IIRO, and at which time

Al Rajhi Bank maintained accounts for that ostensible charity. Suleiman served on the executive

council of IIRO with Ibrahim Afandi. Ibrahim Afandi is listed on the “Golden Chain.”

462. Suleiman also managed the National Commercial Bank budget of defendant SJRC. In addition, Suleiman has long been involved with the Muslim Brotherhood, a 74-yearold

group which is under investigation by European and Middle Eastern governments for its alleged support of radical Islamic and terrorist groups. For decades the Brotherhood has been a

wellspring of radical Islamic activity. Hamas, the militant Palestinian group, is itself an offshoot

of the Muslim Brotherhood.

463. Suleiman also materially supported SDGTs and al Qaeda fronts al Haramain Islamic Foundation and Benevolence International Foundation. Branch offices of al Haramain

were implicated in al Qaeda plots throughout the 1990’s.

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464. Suleiman is also identified on the Golden Chain as one of al Qaida’s principal financiers. The “Golden Chain” document was discovered during a raid of the Bosnian offices

of the Benevolence International Foundation, conducted jointly by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Bosnian Police. During the course of that raid, the authorities seized several

computer hard drives, one of which included a file named “Tareekh Osama” (“Osama’s History”), containing scanned images of documents chronicling the formation of al Qaida. The “Golden Chain” document was among several hundred documents contained in this computer file. Based on their analysis of all the documents within that file, and intelligence gathered from other sources during the war on terror, officials of the U.S. government concluded that the Golden Chain is an authentic al Qaeda document, identifying al Qaeda’s most important financial benefactors, and the individuals responsible for coordinating their contributions to al Qaeda. Indeed, the 9-11 Commission’s Final Report refers to the Golden chain as the al Qaeda organization’s “financial supply network ... put together mainly by financiers in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states.

465. Among the individuals identified in the Golden Chain as al Qaida’s principal sponsors are Suleiman al-Rashid, Abdulkader al Bakri a/k/a Abdel Qader Bakri, Bakr Bin Laden, Youseff Jameel, Ibrahim Muhammad Afandi, Saleh Abdullah Kamel, Suleiman Abdulaziz al Rajhi, Mohammad bin Abdullah al-Jomaih, Abulrahman Hassan Sharbalty, Ahmed Mohamed Naghi, Khalid Bin Mahfouz Adel Faqih a.k.a Abdel Qader Faqeeh, Salahuddin Abduljawad a/k/a Salah al-Din Abdel Jawad, Ahmad Turki Yamani a/k/a Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Abdul Hadi Taher, Ahmad al Harbi Mohammed al-Issai, Hamad al Hussaini, Mohamed Omar and al Kuwait.

466. Suleiman al Rajhi also established, founded, financed, and is the namesake of the SAAR Network of “charities” and front groups organized at 555 Grove Street in Herndon,

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Virginia. The SAAR Network is comprised of over 100 entities at this single address, with overlapping officers and directors set up to launder money to al Qaeda and international terrorism.

467. The organizations which operated within the SAAR Network of charities and businesses include but are not limited to defendants African Muslim Agency, Grove Corporate, Inc., Heritage Education Trust, International Institute of Islamic Thought, Mar-Jac Investments, Inc., Mena Corporation, Reston Investments, Safa Trust, Sana-Bell, Inc., Sterling Charitable Gift

Fund, Sterling Management Group, Inc., and York Foundation. These entities funneled millions of dollars of financial sponsorship as well as logistical assistance to al Qaeda through a web of interrelated entities, activities and transactions of deliberate complexity, overseen by the leaders of the SAAR Network.

468. In March 2002, the entities located at the 555 Grove Street address in Herndon, Virginia were raided under a federal search warrant by the U.S. Treasury Department.

Known as Operation Green Quest, federal authorities were looking for “potential money laundering and tax

evasion activities and their ties to terrorist groups such as . . . al Qaeda as well as individual

terrorists . . . (including Osama bin Laden).” It was said by authorities that the probe of the

Herndon groups is the largest federal investigation of terrorism financing in the world.

An

affidavit from Homeland Security agent David Kane said that the SAAR Network in Herndon

has sent more than \$26 million in untraceable money overseas and that the leaders of the organization “have committed and conspired to . . . provide material support to foreign terrorist

organizations.”

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469. Beginning in 1989, Suleiman al Rajhi served as an original member of the Board of Directors for Sana-Bell, Inc. with Ibrahim Afandi and Saleh Kamel, both of whom are identified on the Golden Chain.

470. Suleiman has close ties to the Saudi Royal family. Indeed, several members of the Saudi Royal Family are employed by or serve as officers of businesses owned or controlled

by al Rajhi. For example, Prince Mohammad bin Nayef bin Abdel Aziz al Saud, the Assistant

Deputy Minister of the Interior of Saudi Arabia, serves as the Chairman of Al Rajhi Commercial

Foreign Exchange. Abdallah bin Yahya al Muallimi, the Secretary General of the Jeddah Province, serves as board member in the same company. Prince Faisal Ibn Muhamad Ibn Saud is

the Chairman of al Rajhi Yamama Cement Company. Prince Turki Ibn Muhamad Ibn Abdul

Aziz Ibn Turki is a board member of al Rajhi Yamama Cement Company. Suleiman Abdel Aziz

Al Rajhi also serves on the Board of Directors of the IIRO, and as a member of the Ibn Baz

Foundation, which is chaired by Prince Salman.

471. Members of the al Rajhi family also used the bank to transfer large sums to the TWRA. In particular, the U.N. sponsored audit of the TWRA's records two (2) transfers of money totaling \$53,287.70 sent by "Sulaiman Al Rajhi" to the TWRA account in June and July of 1993, and three (3) transfers totaling \$155,894.28 to the TWRA by "Saleh Alabdulaziz Alrajhi and Brothers" in 1993 and 1994.

472. As the forgoing demonstrates, Al Rajhi Bank has, for a period of many years, provided critical financial and logistical support to al Qaeda in relation to that terrorist organization's global jihad.

#### **AL QAEDA'S INDIVIDUAL FINANCIERS AND SUPPORTERS**

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473. Wealthy and powerful individuals sympathetic to al Qaeda's cause also provided essential support for al Qaeda's growth and development, both by financing al Qaeda and assisting the organization in developing efficient channels to covertly move resources throughout

the World in support of al Qaeda's mission. Al Qaeda's ties to many of these wealthy individual

sponsors dates to the period of the Afghan jihad, when a group of financiers from Saudi Arabia

and the Persian Gulf States formed a financial support network for the mujahideen.

474. When Osama bin Laden formed al Qaeda at the conclusion of the Afghan jihad, many of these financiers became champions of bin Laden's new mission to wage jihad globally.

As discussed above, these wealthy financiers became known as the "Golden Chain."

475. As further detailed above, al Qaeda's individual patrons include Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud, Yassin al Qadi, and Suleiman al Rajhi.

476. In 1980, Prince Salman was named Chairman of the General Donation Committee for Afghanistan (a/k/a "Afghan Jihad Support Committee") which has a history of funding

Islamic extremism. In 1981, the General Donation Committee for Afghanistan gave \$39 million

to aid the Afghan Mujahideen. Prince Salman stated the donation was made to "our Afghan

brothers." In a 1989 interview, Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, co-founder of al Qaeda, was asked,

"Who donated to the Mujahedeen?" Azzam replied: "The Saudi Red Crescent and the Saudi

Relief Agency headed by Salman Abdel Aziz..."

477. In 1992, Prince Salman was appointed to head the newly established SHC by the President of the Council of Ministers. As President of the SHC, Prince Salman is the head of the

Executive Committee and Supreme Commission of the SHC. The Executive Committee and the

Supreme Commission include several other Saudi government officials, each of whom Prince

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Salman has selected. Decisions regarding which causes to support and recipients for SHC funds

are left to the discretion of the Executive Committee, Supreme Commission, and Prince Salman.

478. Under Prince Salman's leadership, the SHC served as a primary front for supporting al Qaeda's operations in the Balkans, as detailed above. Prince Salman was instrumental in facilitating this support, as reflected by his role in transferring more than \$120

million from his personal accounts and SHC accounts under his control to the TWRA.

479. In addition, when he founded the SHC, Prince Salman fully intended that the organization would serve as a vehicle for funding and supporting Islamic militants in Bosnia,

including elements of the al Qaeda movement. Indeed, Prince Salman knew that the SHC was,

in fact, supporting al Qaeda's efforts in Bosnia.

480. Prince Salman has been instrumental in raising funds for several other charities that operate within al Qaeda's infrastructure, including the IIRO, WAMY, and al Haramain, and

has made significant personal donations to those organizations as well.

481. In February 1994, Prince Salman provided the traditional opening speech for a Sanabel al Kheer fundraising convention in Riyadh organized by the IIRO. Prince Salman told

the convention members how he had personally solicited "donations from a number of benevolent Saudi people" for Sanabel and IIRO totaling SR 6,979,462.

482. On February 23, 1995, the IIRO held its 8th annual charity festival in Riyadh in conjunction with Sanabel al Kheer. Donations totaling SR 8 million included a SR 1 million

personal donation from Prince Salman.

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483. On February 5, 1996, the IIRO and Sanabel al Kheer annual fundraising drive raised more than SR 6 million at the Cultural Palace in Riyadh. Significant donations included a

SR 1 million contribution from Prince Salman.

484. In December 1998, at the 11th annual IIRO and Sanabel al Kheer fundraising drive, IIRO netted over SR 6 million, including a SR 1 million donation from Prince Salman.

485. In 1999, Prince Salman donated approximately \$400,000 during a joint fundraising event of the IIRO, WAMY, and al Haramain.

486. During a 1999 televised fundraising event organized by the SJRC, Dr. Abd al Rahman al Swailem, head of the Saudi Red Crescent, announced that Prince Salman personally

donated SR 1 million. In the same event, the total amount of donations by senior Saudi officials totaled SR 47 million. Dr. al Swailem thanked the members of the Saudi Royal family and the citizens who donated, as well as, the Minister of Communication who helped organize the event.

487. During a donation campaign in December 2000, Prince Salman donated SR 1.5 million to the IIRO, WAMY, and al Haramain.

488. At a November 2001 joint fundraiser for the IIRO, WAMY, and al Haramain, Prince Salman contributed SR 1.5 million, while his deputy Prince Sattam donated SR1 million.

489. As a senior member of the Saudi regime, Prince Salman was expressly aware, at the time of the contributions identified above, that the IIRO, WAMY, SJRC and al Haramain were material sponsors of al Qaeda's global jihad, and that contributions to those organizations would benefit al Qaeda.

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490. Prince Salman also serves as the chairman of the Popular Committees for Support of the Palestinian Jihadis, a Saudi government entity that supports terrorism by donating money to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers. A letter seized by the Israeli Defense Forces during Operation Defensive Shield, evidences the involvement of Prince Salman in financing

Palestinian terrorist organizations. The letter dated December 30, 2000, was issued by the Embassy of the State of Palestine in Riyadh to Prince Salman. The Palestinian ambassador, Abu

Mazen, expresses the concern of Yasser Arafat regarding funding of radical organizations. The

letter, translated into English, reads in part as follows:

*I wish to inform you that [Yasser Arafat] called me and asked to convey his request to mediate and intervene and express his opinion about what is happening in our homeland. The Saudi committee responsible for transferring contributions to beneficiaries is sending large sums to radical committees and associations, including the Islamic Association which belongs to Hamas, the Al-Salah Association, and brothers belonging to the Jihad in all areas. This has a bad affect on the domestic situation and also strengthens these brothers and thus has a bad impact on everybody.*

491. The excerpted section of the letter to Prince Salman confirms the reality of Saudi support for Palestinian terror organizations, and in particular, Prince Salman's direct role in the funding.

492. Through his official and personal acts, as described herein, Prince Salman has provided critical financial and logistical support to al Qaeda for a period of many years.

**COUNT I**

**PLAINTIFF V. ALL DEFENDANTS**

**COMMON LAW INDEMNITY**

493. Plaintiff incorporates all pervious allegations by reference.

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494. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were a direct, intended, and foreseeable product of al Qaeda's global jihad.

495. Through the conduct described in detail above, each of the defendants knowingly conspired with, adied and abetted, and provided material support and resources to al Qaeda, in

furtherance of al Qaeda's global jihadist campaign.

496. By knowingly conspiring with, aiding and abetting, and providing material support and resources to al Qaeda, the defendants engaged in intentional tortious acts under

applicable state law, federal common law, and the statutory standards of the Anti-terrorism Act.

497. Given the intentional character of their tortious conduct, the defendants bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the September 11th Attacks, and are obligated under principles of common law indemnity, arising under both state law and federal

law, to reimburse plaintiff for all losses incurred in defending and settling the unintentional tort

claims advanced against their insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with punitive damages, pre and post-judgment

interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may

deem appropriate under the circumstances.

**COUNT II**

**PLAINTIFF V. ALL DEFENDANTS**

**COMMON LAW CONTRIBUTION**

498. Plaintiff incorporates all pervious allegations by reference.

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499. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were a direct, intended, and foreseeable product of al Qaeda's global jihad.

500. Through the conduct described in detail above, each of the defendants knowingly conspired with, adied and abetted, and provided material support and resources to al Qaeda, in

furtherance of al Qaeda's global jihadist campaign.

501. Through their conduct in knowingly conspiring with, aiding and abetting, and

providing material support and resources to al Qaeda, the defendants engaged in tortious acts

under relevant principles of applicable state law, federal common law, and the statutory standards of the Anti-terrorism Act.

502. By virtue of their knowing and intentional sponsorship of al Qaeda's global jihad, as described above, the defendants bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the

September 11th Attacks.

503. In settling the claims brought against their insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation, plaintiff was compelled to pay greater than its insureds' equitable share of the liability

for the 9/11 Aviation Litigation plaintiffs' injuries.

504. Plaintiff is accordingly entitled to recover from the defendants all amounts expended in relation to the defense of its insureds from the claims asserted in the 9/11 Aviation

Litigation, as well as all amounts paid in settlement of those claims, under principles of common

law contribution arising under both state law and federal law.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with punitive damages, pre and post-judgment

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interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may

deem appropriate under the circumstances.

### **COUNT III**

#### **PLAINTIFF V. ALL DEFENDANTS**

#### **INDEMNITY UNDER THE AIR TRANSPORTATION SAFETY AND SYSTEM STABILIZATION ACT OF 2001**

505. Plaintiff incorporates all previous allegations by reference.

506. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were a direct, intended, and foreseeable product of al Qaeda's global jihad.

507. By virtue of their knowing and intentional sponsorship of al Qaeda's global jihad, as described above, the defendants bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the

September 11th Attacks.

508. Pursuant to the Air Transportation Safety and System Stabilization Act of 2001 (ATSSSA), 49 U.S.C. § 40101 *et seq.*, Congress established a federal cause of action "for damages arising out of the hijacking and subsequent crashes of American Airlines flights 11 and

77, and United Airlines flights 93 and 175, on September 11, 2001."

509. ATSSSA was passed in order to preserve the air transportation system, and in furtherance of that objective provided various protections to airlines, security companies, airplane manufacturers and other parties likely to be targeted through civil claims for alleged

negligence in relation to the September 11th Attacks.

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510. Consistent with these goals, Congress through ATSSSA created an implied right of indemnity for the benefit of aviation industry members sued for negligence in relation to the

September 11th Attacks against responsible terrorists and their supporters.

511. Plaintiff is accordingly entitled to recover from the defendants all amounts expended in relation to the defense of its insureds from the claims asserted in the 9/11 Aviation

Litigation, as well as all amounts paid in settlement of those claims, pursuant to ATSSSA.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with punitive damages, pre and post-judgment

interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may

deem appropriate under the circumstances.

#### **COUNT IV**

#### **PLAINTIFF V. ALL DEFENDANTS**

#### **CONTRIBUTION UNDER THE AIR TRANSPORTATION SAFETY AND SYSTEM**

#### **STABILIZATION ACT OF 2001**

512. Plaintiff incorporates all pervious allegations by reference.

513. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were a direct, intended, and foreseeable product of al Qaeda's global jihad.

514. By virtue of their knowing and intentional sponsorship of al Qaeda's global jihad, as described above, the defendants bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the

September 11th Attacks.

515. Pursuant to the Air Transportation Safety and System Stabilization Act of 2001 (ATSSSA), 49 U.S.C. § 40101 *et seq.*, Congress established a federal cause of action "for Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 151 of 154

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damages arising out of the hijacking and subsequent crashes of American Airlines flights 11 and

77, and United Airlines flights 93 and 175, on September 11, 2001."

516. ATSSSA was passed in order to preserve the air transportation system, and in furtherance of that objective provided various protections to airlines, security companies, airplane manufacturers and other parties likely to be targeted through civil claims for alleged

negligence in relation to the September 11th Attacks.

517. Consistent with these goals, Congress through ATSSSA created an implied right of contribution for the benefit of aviation industry members sued for negligence in relation to the

September 11th Attacks against responsible terrorists and their supporters.

518. In settling the claims brought against its insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation, plaintiff was compelled to pay greater than its insureds' equitable share of the liability for the

9/11 Aviation Litigation plaintiffs' injuries.

519. Plaintiff is accordingly entitled to recover from the defendants all amounts expended in relation to the defense of its insureds from the claims asserted in the 9/11 Aviation

Litigation, as well as all amounts paid in settlement of those claims, pursuant to ATSSSA.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with punitive damages, pre and post-judgment

interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may

deem appropriate under the circumstances.

#### **COUNT V**

#### **PLAINTIFF V. ALL NON-FOREIGN STATE DEFENDANTS**

#### **ANTI-TERRORISM ACT, 18 U.S.C. § 2333**

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520. Plaintiff incorporates all previous allegations by reference.

521. Through their conduct in knowingly and intentionally conspiring with, aiding and abetting, and providing material support and resources to al Qaeda, as described in detail above,

each of the defendants committed multiple violations of the criminal provisions of the Antiterrorism

Act, including the provisions set forth at 18 U.S.C. §§ 2332a, 2332b, 2332f, 2339, 2339A, and 2339B.

522. The actions of the defendants in knowingly and intentionally conspiring with, aiding and abetting, and providing material support and resources to al Qaeda, as described in

detail above, constitute acts of international terrorism within the meaning of 18 U.S.C. § 2331.

523. As described in detail above, the defendants' acts of international terrorism, to include their knowing and intentional provision of material support and resources to al Qaeda,

were carried out with express awareness that al Qaeda engaged in acts of international terrorism,

and that their contributions of support would advance al Qaeda's jihadist campaign and goal of

carrying out terrorist attacks against the United States and its citizens.

524. Plaintiff suffered an injury to its property, to include monetary losses incurred in the defense and settlement of the claims advanced against its insureds in the 9/11 Aviation

Litigation, as a result of the defendants' acts of international terrorism, and the defendants are

therefore liable to plaintiff pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 2333 for those financial losses, together with treble damages, attorney's fees and costs of this action. WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with treble damages, punitive damages, pre Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 153 of 154 154 and post-judgment interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may deem appropriate under the circumstances.

**JURY DEMAND**

Plaintiff demands a trial by jury as to all claims so triable.

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**STATES DISTRICT COURT**

**FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

THE UNDERWRITING MEMBERS OF

LLOYD'S SYNDICATE 3500

Plaintiff,

v.

THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA, THE

SAUDI HIGH COMMISSION FOR RELIEF  
OF BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA, SAUDI  
JOINT RELIEF COMMITTEE FOR  
KOSOVO AND CHECHNYA, SAUDI RED  
CRESCENT SOCIETY, NATIONAL  
COMMERCIAL BANK, AL RAJHI  
BANKING AND INVESTMENT  
COMPANY, PRINCE SALMAN BIN  
ABDUL AZIZ AL SAUD, SULEIMAN  
ABDEL AZIZ AL RAJHI, YASSIN AL QADI  
Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION NO.:

**COMPLAINT**

**JURY TRIAL DEMANDED**

**THE PARTIES**

1. Plaintiff Underwriting Members of Lloyd's Syndicate 3500, in its own right and as successor in interest to Lloyd's Syndicate 271, is a United Kingdom based insurance syndicate

with a principal place of business located at 161-163 Preston Road, Brighton, England.

2. Defendant Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a foreign state within the meaning of 28 U.S.C. §1603(a). Saudi Arabia maintains an Embassy within the United States at 601 New

Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

3. Defendant Saudi High Commission for Relief of Bosnia & Herzegovina ("Saudi High Commission" or "SHC") is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the government of Saudi

Arabia. Although the Saudi High Commission has its headquarters in the Kingdom, its operations are conducted primarily outside of Saudi Arabia.

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4. Defendant Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya ("SJRC") is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the government of Saudi Arabia. Although the SJRC has its

headquarters in the Kingdom, its operations are conducted primarily outside of Saudi Arabia.

5. Defendant Saudi Red Crescent Society ("SRC") is a controlled agent and alterego of the government of Saudi Arabia. Although the SRC has its headquarters in the Kingdom,

its operations are conducted primarily outside of Saudi Arabia.

6. Defendant National Commercial Bank ("NCB") is a Saudi-based international financial institution, with a principal place of business located at King Abdul Aziz Street, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. NCB maintains operations throughout the World, providing a broad range

of financial services, including Shariah compliant finance products and services, to individual

and institutional clients.

7. Defendant al Rajhi Bank (“al Rajhi Bank”), formerly known as al Rajhi Banking and Investment Company, (“al Rajhi Bank”) is a Saudi-based international financial institution, with a principal place of business located at Olaya Street, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Al Rajhi Bank maintains operations throughout the World, providing a broad range of financial services, including Shariah compliant finance products and services, to individual and institutional clients.

8. Defendant Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud (“Prince Salman”) is a resident of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and at times material hereto headed the SHC.

9. Defendant Suleiman Abdel Aziz al Rajhi is a citizen and resident of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and at times material hereto was the CEO of al Rajhi Bank, founder of the Saar

Foundation, and an officer of the International Islamic Relief Organization.

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10. Defendant Yassin al Qadi is a citizen and resident of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and at times material hereto was an agent of National Commercial Bank, employee of al

Rajhi Bank, and the founder of the Muwaffaq Foundation.

#### **A. JURISDICTION**

11. The jurisdiction of this Court is invoked pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1331 (federal question), 28 U.S.C. § 1332(a)(2) (diversity), and 28 U.S.C. § 1350 (Alien Tort Claims Act).

12. The jurisdiction of this Court over defendants Saudi Arabia, Saudi High Commission, Saudi Joint Relief Committee, Saudi Red Crescent, and National Commercial Bank

is invoked pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1330, as the claims against those defendants fall within the

exception to immunity set forth at 28 U.S.C. §1605(a)(5) (Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act).

13. Venue in this district is proper pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§ 1391(b)(2) and 1391(f)(1), as a substantial part of the events giving rise to the claims asserted herein occurred in this district.

#### **B. FACTUAL BACKGROUND**

14. On September 11, 2001, nineteen members of the al Qaeda terrorist network, fifteen of whom were citizens of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, hijacked four commercial airliners, and used those planes as weapons in a coordinated terrorist attack upon the United

States and its citizens (the “September 11th Attacks”).

15. The September 11th Attacks resulted in the tragic loss of several thousand lives, personal injuries to countless other persons, and property damage on a catastrophic scale, including the complete destruction of the World Trade Center Complex.

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16. Following the September 11th Attacks, various persons injured as a result of the Attacks, including families of individuals killed in the Attacks and parties who suffered economic losses as a result of the Attacks, brought civil claims against certain airlines, airport authorities, security companies, airplane manufacturers and other parties, generally alleging that those defendants were in some way responsible for their September 11 injuries under unintentional tort theories (the 9/11 Aviation cases).

17. By Order dated July 24, 2002, as amended by an Order issued on November 1, 2002, all of the 9/11 Aviation cases were consolidated before the Honorable Alvin K. Hellerstein, under the consolidated caption *In Re September 11 Litigation, 21 MC 101* (the 9/11 Aviation Litigation).

18. By Order dated November 1, 2002, Judge Hellerstein prohibited the defendants in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation from joining as additional defendants any alleged terrorist or terrorist supporter, thereby precluding the defendants from asserting third-party claims in that litigation against those intentional tortfeasors.

19. After several years of pre-trial proceedings, the vast majority of the claims advanced in the 9/11 Litigation were resolved through a series of individual settlements.

20. At all times material hereto, plaintiff herein provided liability insurance coverage to one or more of the parties named as defendants in the 9/11 Aviation cases.

21. Pursuant to the terms of the applicable policies of insurance, plaintiff herein made payments on behalf of its liability insureds towards the settlements referenced above, in an amount in excess of \$215,000,000.00.

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22. Through the instant action, plaintiff seeks recovery of amounts paid on behalf of its insureds in settlement of the 9/11 Aviation cases, and amounts expended in relation to the defense of its insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation, from parties who knowingly provided material support and resources to al Qaeda in the years leading up to the September 11th Attacks, and who by virtue of their intentional conduct bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the September 11th Attacks.

23. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were carried out by the al Qaeda terrorist organization. Although the Attacks represented a tragedy of historic proportions to America and its allies, the Attacks were, to al Qaeda and its adherents, simply a targeted operational strike carried out as part of a broader mission to wage jihad against the United States.

24. The success of al Qaeda's agenda, including the September 11th Attacks themselves, has been made possible by the lavish sponsorship al Qaeda has received from its

material sponsors and supporters over more than a decade leading up to September 11, 2001.

25. Each of the defendants named herein was a knowing and material participant in al Qaeda's conspiracy to wage jihad against the United States, its nationals and allies.

26. The conspiracy among the defendants to wage jihad against the United States, its nationals and allies, included the provision of material support and resources to defendant al

Qaeda and affiliated terrorist organizations, persons, and entities, as discussed herein.

27. Absent the sponsorship of al Qaeda's material sponsors and supporters, including the defendants named herein, al Qaeda would not have possessed the capacity to conceive, plan

and execute the September 11th Attacks.

### **C. THE ORIGINS OF AL QAEDA**

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28. Al Qaeda has its origins in the jihad against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, although the ideological foundation for the al Qaeda movement long pre-dates that conflict.

29. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan served as a rallying point for Islamic extremists in the Middle East, who flocked to Afghanistan to wage jihad against the Soviet Union.

30. Osama bin Laden travelled to Afghanistan in 1980 to participate in the jihad, and gained prominence during this period for his role in establishing the financial and logistical infrastructure that sustained the Arab-Afghan fighters, commonly referred to as the mujahideen.

According to the Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (the 9/11 Commission):

Bin Ladin understood better than most of the volunteers the extent to which the continuation and eventual success of the jihad in Afghanistan depended on an increasingly complex, almost worldwide organization. This organization included a financial support network that came to be known as the "the Golden Chain," put together mainly by financiers in Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf states. Donations flowed through charities and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Bin Ladin and the "Afghan Arabs" drew largely on funds raised by this network, whose agents roamed world markets to buy arms and supplies for the mujahideen or "holy warriors."

31. Together with Abdullah Azaam, bin Laden founded the Maktab al Khidmat ("the Office of Services") to facilitate the provision of financial and logistical support to the mujahideen.

32. Throughout the Afghan jihad, Maktab al Khidmat worked in concert with a

network of purported charities and relief organizations (including among others the Muslim

World League (MWL), International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), World Assembly of

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Muslim Youth (WAMY), Rabita Trust, and Saudi Red Crescent Society) to provide travel

documents, funds, transportation, training, facilities, arms, physical assets, and other support to the mujahideen.

33. This network of ostensible charities and relief organizations established a vast financial and logistical infrastructure to support the mujahideen opposition to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

34. At the conclusion of the Afghan jihad, bin Laden determined that the network that supported the mujahideen in Afghanistan should not be abandoned, but rather adapted to

serve as a foundation for waging a global jihad against all of the perceived enemies of Islam, and

in particular, the United States.

April 19, 1988 brought victory for the Afghan jihad. Moscow declared it would pull its military forces out of Afghanistan within the next nine months. As the Soviets began its withdraw, the jihad's leaders debated what to do next.

Bin Ladin (and Abdullah Azzam) agreed that the organization successfully created for Afghanistan should not be allowed to dissolve. They established what they called a base or foundation (al Qaeda) as a potential general headquarters for future jihad.

9/11 Report at p. 56

#### **D. AL QAEDA'S OBJECTIVES AND TACTICS**

35. In establishing al Qaeda in 1988, bin Laden sought to create a multi-national Islamic army to challenge the perceived domination of the democratic West, and to engage in

armed combat wherever Muslim communities were perceived to be under duress, in furtherance

of the ultimate objective of establishing a Pan-Islamic Caliphate.

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36. Al Qaeda employs a range of operational tactics and initiatives in the pursuit of its goals, which complement one another as part of a carefully conceived and coordinated global strategy.

37. Although high profile terrorist attacks are an important aspect of that campaign, al Qaeda has historically devoted far greater resources to military campaigns in conflict regions,

and to supporting and fostering regional jihadist organizations and Islamic separatist movements throughout the World.

38. In this context, al Qaeda has been deeply involved in regional jihad campaigns, involving both traditional forms of combat and terrorist activities, in Bosnia, Chechnya, Kosovo,

Sudan, Kashmir, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, Algeria, the Philippines, Somalia, Palestine, Yemen, Kenya, Tanzania and Egypt.

39. Al Qaeda's participation in these regional conflicts has taken many forms. Al Qaeda provides funding and logistical assistance to local extremist and terrorist organizations, in

support of their military and terrorist activities. In addition, al Qaeda deploys its own members

to fight in these conflicts, train new volunteers, and assist in the planning and execution of terrorist attacks.

40. Through its engagement in these regional jihad campaigns, al Qaeda aims to establish and support radical Islamic regimes and extend its sphere of influence, as critical

components of its long-term objective to eradicate democratic societies and establish a pan-Islamic Caliphate.

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41. In describing the importance of these regional military campaigns within the overall context of al Qaeda's jihad against the West, a 1998 Department of Defense Intelligence

Report states as follows:

[al Qaeda] seeks to establish a worldwide Islamic state capable of directly challenging the US, China, Russia, and what it views as judeo-Christian and Confucian domination.

The means by which the above goals are to be met are via terror, ethnic cleansing, "latent penetration" (NEI), and control over nuclear and biological weapons (Jikhad). Further, radical Islamic (predominantly Sunni) regimes are to be established and supported everywhere possible, including Bosnia, Albania, Chechnya, Dagestan, the entire northern Caucasus "from Sea to Sea," central Asian Republics, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, all of Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, Sudan, and the states of the Persian Gulf.

42. In addition to the value its participation in regional military conflicts yields in relation to its long-term strategic objectives, al Qaeda has derived significant immediate benefits

from its participation in these regional jihad campaigns.

43. Al Qaeda's military operations bolster the organization's image among local Muslims, thereby facilitating al Qaeda's ongoing recruiting and fundraising efforts. These

campaigns also afford the organization an efficient vehicle to provide new members with battle experience, in preparation for terrorist operations and the ongoing military conflict with the United States. In addition, al Qaeda's financial and operational support for local Islamist and separatist movements has allowed al Qaeda to co-opt local conflicts and organizations to its own ends. As a result, many pre-existing terror and extremist organizations evolved into al Qaeda proxies, thereby extending al Qaeda's operational capabilities, resources, and sphere of influence.

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44. Al Qaeda's participation in such regional conflicts and jihad campaigns fueled al Qaeda's growth and development in the years leading up to the September 11th Attacks. Indeed, according to the 9/11 Commission, al Qaeda's operational involvement in regional conflicts between 1988 and 1998 served to establish the organization as the vanguard of the global jihadist movement, and directly enhanced al Qaeda's operational capacity to carry out large scale terrorist attacks:

By the time he issued his February 19, 1998 declaration of war, bin Ladin had nurtured (the al Qaeda) organization for nearly ten (10) years. He could attract, train, and use recruits for ever more ambitious attacks, rallying new adherents with each demonstration that his was the movement of the future.

9/11 Report at p. 55.

45. The findings of the 9/11 Commission further confirm that al Qaeda relied heavily on its global infrastructure in planning, coordinating and staging the September 11th Attacks, and that al Qaeda could not have successfully mounted those Attacks absent the impressive resources

and assets amassed by the organization over the thirteen years preceeding the Attacks.

46. In this regard, the 9/11 Commission found that the "9/11 attack was a complex international operation, the product of years of planning." The 9/11 Report confirms that plans

for the Attacks were carefully vetted through al Qaeda's most senior leadership over a period of

nearly six years, while those leaders were safely ensconced in training camps and safe houses

funded by al Qaeda's financial supporters; that the individuals selected to participate in the

Attacks were chosen from an enormous pool of potential candidates, all of whom were recruited,

trained, and indoctrinated with funds provided by the organization's supporters; and that details of the plans were revised up until the last minute, through a global communication network, the existence of which was also dependent on the financial sponsorship of al Qaeda's supporters.

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47. Based on the findings of its investigation concerning the relationship between al Qaeda's global infrastructure and the organization's operational capability to plan, coordinate

and mount those Attacks, the 9/11 Commission reached the following conclusion regarding the

basic organizational requirements for staging a sophisticated terrorist attack:

A complex international terrorist operation aimed at launching a catastrophic attack cannot be mounted by just anyone in any place.

Such operations appear to require

Time, space, and ability to perform competent planning and staff work;

A command structure able to make necessary decisions and possessing the authority and contacts to assemble needed people, money, and materials;

Opportunity and space to recruit, train, and select operatives with the needed skills and dedication, providing the time and structure required to socialize them into the terrorist cause, judge their trustworthiness, and hone their skills;

A logistics network able to securely manage the travel of operatives, move money, and transport resources (like explosives) where they need to go;

Access, in the case of certain weapons, to the special materials needed for a nuclear, chemical, radiological, or biological attack;

Reliable communications between coordinators and operatives; and

Opportunity to test the workability of the plan.

48. Consistent with the findings of the 9/11 Commission, U.S. counter-terrorism officials have repeatedly affirmed the critical importance of al Qaeda's broader infrastructure and

resources to its capacity to conceive, plan, coordinate, and successfully conduct sophisticated

terrorist attacks, including the September 11th Attacks, as reflected by the following statements:

There are some who question the effectiveness of our strategy to prevent terrorism by attacking the financing that supports it. They

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note that terrorist attacks themselves cost very little money to carry

out – the trivial cost of a suicide belt or similar device – and then leap to the conclusion that our efforts to combat terrorism by attacking terrorist resources are wasted or futile.

The 9/11 Commission wisely rejected this point of view. In the first place, the cost of financing terrorist activity cannot be measured by the cost of a primitive destructive act. The maintenance of those terrorist networks, like al Qaeda, which threaten our national security, is expensive – even if a particular attack does not cost much to carry out. As the 9/11 Commission explained, groups like al Qaeda must spend money for many purposes – to recruit, train, plan operations, and bribe corrupt officials for example. If we can eliminate or even reduce their sources and conduits of money, we can degrade their ability to do all of these things, and thus can make them less dangerous.

Testimony of Stuart A. Leavey, Undersecretary of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, August 23, 2004.

As this Committee knows well, tracking and combating terrorist financing are critical facets of our overall efforts to protect our citizens and other innocents around the World from terrorist attacks.... While any single terrorist attack may be relatively inexpensive to carry out, terrorist groups continue to need real money. They depend on a regular cash flow to pay operatives and their families, arrange for travel, train new members, forge documents, pay bribes, acquire weapons and stage attacks. Disrupting money flows stresses terrorist networks and undermines their operations. In recent months, we have seen at least one instance of what we look for most – a terrorist organization indicating that it could not pursue sophisticated attacks because it lacks adequate funding.

Testimony of Stuart Levey, Undersecretary of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence before the

House Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, July 11, 2006.

(T)errorist organizations require significant funding. Although individual terrorist attack may be inexpensive, terrorist organizations require far more than explosives to sustain themselves. They need money to train, recruit, pay operatives and their families, travel, bribe officials, procure cover and false documents, as well as purchase arms. If implemented effectively, targeted financial sanctions can put terrorist organizations in a financial box, effectively depriving them of the resources they need to conduct this range of activity.

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Prepared remarks of Daniel L. Glaser, Acting Assistant Secretary for Terrorist Financing and

Financial Crimes before the Annual Meetings Program of Seminars: The Importance of

Expanding Targeted Financial Transactions Programs Around the Globe: Challenges and Opportunities, September 23, 2005.

The primary reason why combating the financing of terrorism efforts are both necessary and important is that terrorist groups need money. Although mounting an individual terrorist attack is relatively inexpensive, the cost to maintain the infrastructure to support terrorist activities is high. Terrorist networks need cash to train, equip and pay operatives, to secure materials and to promote their cause. To eliminate or reduce the cell's means of raising and transferring funds is to significantly degrade that cell's capabilities.

*(The Money Trail: Finding, Following and Freezing Terrorist Finances)*, Michael Jacobsen and

Matthew Levitt (Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis of the Treasury Department from 2005 – 2007), November 2008, at p. 3.

Although mounting a terrorist attack is relatively inexpensive, the cost to maintain a terrorist infrastructure is high. Terrorist networks need cash to train, equip and pay operatives and their families and to promote their causes. Recruiting, training, traveling, bribing corrupt officials and other such activities also cost money. Limiting their ability to raise funds therefore limits their ability to function.

*Follow the Money – The Obama Administration Should Continue to Track How Terrorists get*

*Their Money*, Michael J. Jacobsen and Matthew Levitt, December 23, 2008

49. Given the financial needs of terrorist organizations, as documented above, Congress has concluded that money is the lifeblood of terrorism, and that any contribution to a

terrorist organization furthers acts of terrorism. The State Department has affirmed in proceedings before the United States Supreme Court that “[t]he experience and analysis of the

U.S. government agencies charged with combating terrorism strongly support[t]” Congress’s

findings on those points.

#### **E. THE MEANS THROUGH WHICH AL QAEDA BUILT AND SUSTAINS ITS GLOBAL INFRASTRUCTURE**

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50. Given the infrastructural requirements inherent in al Qaeda’s mission to wage jihad globally, and its ambitious goal to stage spectacular international terrorist attacks against

the United States as a component of that mission, the development and sustainment of the al

Qaeda organization required massive funding on an ongoing basis over a period of many years,

through secure and reliable channels.

51. Indeed, in the wake of the September 11th Attacks, U.S. counter-terrorism

officials estimated that al Qaeda required \$35 million annually to sustain the infrastructure that supported the September 11th Attacks, a view that was endorsed by the 9/11 Commission as well.

52. To realize these immense fundraising needs, al Qaeda simply and ingeniously adapted the network developed during the Afghan jihad, relying from its inception on Islamic da'awa organizations (frequently described inaccurately as "charities") to fuel its growth and development.

53. As the United Nations Security Council Committee concerning al Qaeda and the Taliban succinctly explained:

From its inception, al-Qaida has relied heavily on charities and donations from its sympathizers to finance its activities. Charities provide al-Qaida with a very useful international channel for soliciting, collecting, transferring and distributing the funds it needs for indoctrination, recruitment, training, and logistical and operational support. These funds are often merged with and hidden among funds used for other legitimate humanitarian or social programs. Al-Qaida supporters and financiers have also established front charity networks whose main purpose is to raise and deliver funds to al-Qaida. The roots of these charity networks stem from the anti-Soviet Jihad in Afghanistan during the last 1980s. During that time, al-Qaida could draw on a number of state-assisted charities and other deep pocket donors that supported the anti-Soviet cause.

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Today, al-Qaida continues to rely heavily on those charities to facilitate and mask the collection and movement of its funds.

54. The 9/11 Commission's Staff Monograph on terrorist financing similarly concluded that "al Qaeda was funded, to the tune of approximately \$30 million per year, by diversions of money from Islamic charities."

55. Purported charities provide an attractive mechanism for al Qaeda to raise and launder funds for a variety of reasons. Unlike for-profit organizations, charitable funds are meant to move in one direction only, meaning that large purported charitable transfers can move without any corresponding return of value. In addition, charities are often cash intensive, and frequently have considerable access to funds. Charities with global operations offer an infrastructure for international transactions, often within or near areas that present strategic opportunities for terrorist activity and recruitment. Further, the legitimate relief work carried out

by charities related to terrorist organizations allows terrorists to generate support for their causes

and assists terrorists in propagating violent and extremist ideologies.

56. Although al Qaeda has in limited instances established its own charities to serve as channels of support for particular initiatives, al Qaeda's development into a sophisticated

global terrorist network was fueled primarily by the massive support it received from purported

charities acting as agents and alter-egos of the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,

many of which worked with the al Qaeda leadership during the Afghan jihad. These governmental agents have served as the primary conduits for channeling financial, logistical,

operational, and ideological support for al Qaeda's global jihad for more than twenty years. To

this day, many of these arms of the Saudi government remain dedicated to promoting al Qaeda's

goals and operational objectives, and continue to play a singular role in propagating the violent

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and virulently anti-Western ideology that provides religious legitimacy for al Qaeda's terrorist

activities and draws new adherents to al Qaeda's cause.

57. Although representing themselves to the West as traditional "charities" or "humanitarian organizations," these organizations are more accurately described as Islamic

da'awa organizations, created by the government of the Kingdom to propagate a radical strain of

Islam throughout the World, commonly referred to as Wahhabism.

58. Under the direction of the Saudi government, these organizations have aggressively pressed the view that Western society, under the leadership of the United States, is

conducting a coordinated "Western Cultural Attack" (Ghazu Fikari in Arabic) on Islam, designed

to destroy the fabric of Muslim society as a predicate for Western conquest of Muslim territories.

59. These organizations fervently believe that this so-called "Western Cultural Attack" (and other perceived or imagined threats to Islam) must be aggressively countered

through jihad and the indoctrination of Muslims throughout World into Wahhabi Islam, a strategy the Kingdom has promoted and implemented through government agencies, state controlled media, government sponsored publications, and a variety of other channels.

60. Consistent with this view, the Saudi government controlled charities have embraced al Qaeda and its affiliates as partners, and actively supported al Qaeda's global jihad at

every level, from the organization's inception.

61. These so-called charities, including among others the IIRO, MWL, SHC, SJRC, SRC, WAMY and al Haramain Islamic Foundation (al Haramain), have provided the vast majority of the funding that allowed al Qaeda to build and sustain its massive global

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infrastructure over the thirteen years leading up to the September 11th Attacks. Beyond their

massive financial sponsorship of al Qaeda's global jihad, the Saudi charities have been intimately involved in all aspects of al Qaeda's operations, and allowed al Qaeda to use their

infrastructures and resources as a platform for carrying out jihad. As further detailed herein, the

Saudi government controlled charities have: (1) raised and laundered funds on behalf of Islamic

terrorist organizations and associated separatist movements, including al Qaeda; (2) channeled

donated funds to Islamic terrorist organizations, fighters and associated separatist movements,

including al Qaeda; (3) provided financial and logistical support and physical assets to Islamic

fighters and terrorists, including al Qaeda; (4) permitted Islamic fighters and terrorists to use

ostensible employment with their organizations as a vehicle for gaining access to conflict regions, thereby allowing those individuals to carry out militant and terrorist activities in those

areas; (5) performed reconnaissance within conflict regions on behalf of Islamic terrorist organizations and separatist movements, including al Qaeda; (6) served as liaisons to localized

terrorist organizations on behalf of al Qaeda, thereby assisting al Qaeda in expanding its operational base and sphere of influence; (7) funded and facilitated shipments of arms and

supplies to Islamic terrorist organizations and associated separatist movements, including al

Qaeda; (8) funded camps used by al Qaeda and associated jihadist organizations to train soldiers

and terrorists; (9) actively recruited new members for Islamic terrorist organizations and associated separatist movements, including al Qaeda; (10) worked throughout the World to

spread al Qaeda's jihadist ideology and draw new adherents to its cause; (11) served as channels

for distributing information and documentation within Islamic terrorist organizations and associated separatist movements, including al Qaeda, and from Islamic terrorist organizations

and separatist movements to the media; (12) disseminated publications designed to advance al

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Qaeda's radical Islamist ideology throughout the Muslim world and legitimize violent jihad

against Christians and Jews on the grounds that they are "infidels" who do not deserve to live;

and (13) openly advocated for young Muslims to take up arms against Western and democratic societies.

#### **F. THE SAUDI ORIGINS OF THE GLOBAL JIHADIST MOVEMENT**

62. The emergence of al Qaeda and the global jihadist movement under the patronage and stewardship of these Saudi government charities is rooted in the origins of the Saudi state

itself, and the unique relationship between the House of Saud and Wahhabi Islam.

63. The modern Saudi state is a product of a pact forged in the 18th century between Muhammad Ibn al Saud, the head of the al Saud tribe in Arabia, and Muhammad Ibn Abd al

Wahhab, a Muslim scholar from the Najd region of Arabia.

64. Ibn Abd al Wahhab's ideas and teachings form the basis of the Islamic school of thought commonly known as Wahhabism, which forms the ideological foundation for the al

Qaeda movement. According to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United

States, al Qaeda finds inspiration and religious justification for its actions "in a long tradition of

intolerance" that flows "through the founders of Wahhabism."

65. In the late 1730's, Ibn Abd al Wahhab began a campaign to impose a puritanical Islamic rule in the Najd region, zealously preaching and writing against Shia Islam as well as the

"popular" practices of many Sunni Muslims.

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66. In furtherance of his goal to establish broad rule pursuant to Wahhabi doctrine, and to eradicate Islamic practices he deemed deviant or improper, Ibn Abd al Wahhab sought out

an alliance with a political and military leader.

67. In 1744 Ibn Abd al Wahhab achieved that goal, when he swore a traditional Muslim oath with Ibn al Saud, pursuant to which they promised to work together to establish a

state run according to Islamic law (Shariah).

68. The pact with Ibn Abd al Wahhab provided religious legitimacy and justification for Ibn al Saud's political authority, and offered Ibn Abd al Wahhab political and military resources to compel adherence to Wahhabi religious doctrine by force.

69. In keeping with the pact forged with Ibn Abd al Wahhab, Ibn al Saud began leading his armies in a campaign to eradicate Islamic practices deemed deviant by Ibn Ab Wahhab, and to establish Wahhabi Islamic rule throughout the Najd region of Arabia.

70. Over the ensuing century, the decedents of Ibn al Saud and Ibn Abd al Wahhab sustained and reinforced their politico-religious alliance, even as the political fortunes of the Saud clan waned.

71. With the aid of a movement of fervent Wahhabi fundamentalists known as the Ikhwan, the House of Saud mounted a military offensive in the early 20th Century under the leadership of Abd al Aziz, which succeeded in uniting much of the Arabian Peninsula under Saudi rule, culminating in the establishment of the modern Saudi state.

72. Upon taking control of Mecca and Medina, Abd al Aziz assumed the title Khadim al Haramain (servant of the Two Shrines), thus reaffirming the religious precondition and justification for the House of Saud's political authority.

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73. During the early years of the Saudi state, the Kingdom's affairs were governed pursuant to a generalized power-sharing agreement between the House of Saud and the Wahhabi

Ulema (Islamic Religious Leaders), under which the Saudi kings and princes controlled political

and financial decisions, while the Ulema governed religious and judicial affairs, including the

issuance of fatwas (religious edicts that judged the compatibility of temporal decisions with

Islamic law).

74. In the early period of the Saudi state, the balance of power tipped heavily in favor of the House of Saud, largely because the King appointed the Ulema to their positions, and

retained largely unchecked authority to dismiss them from their posts.

75. However, in the last three decades of the 20th Century, several developments occurred that fundamentally transformed Saudi society, and ultimately led to a massive investment by the Kingdom in the promotion of Islamic extremism as an accommodation to the

Ulema.

76. First, the oil boom of the 1970s thrust the Kingdom into the modern era, a development that created tension between the regime and Senior Ulema, given the latter's deep

animosity and resistance to modernization and technological advancements.

77. In order to gain the approval of the Ulema for modernization essential to the exploration and development of Saudi Arabia's oil reserves, and thereby maintain the Ulema's

endorsement of the legitimacy of the regime's rule, the regime embedded the Ulema in the

Kingdom's developing administrative and bureaucratic systems, thereby further integrating the

Ulema into the power structure of the Saudi state.

78. In addition, the regime channeled resources from its new-found oil wealth to support the religious goals and priorities of the Wahhabi Ulema. In this setting, the Kingdom

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increased the funding of existing organizations like the Muslim World League, and created a host of new da'awa organizations, to promote the propagation of Wahhabi Islam and the establishment of states governed pursuant to Shariah outside of Saudi Arabia.

79. Although these accommodations succeeded in appeasing certain segments of the Ulema, an emerging group of scholars, largely influenced by prominent members of the Muslim

Brotherhood who fled Egypt and were welcomed by Saudi Arabia and given prominent positions

in the Kingdom's state controlled Islamic universities and mosques, became increasingly wary of

the modernization of Saudi society. These religious scholars were especially discontented by the

perceived failure of the Saudi state to adequately apply its new-found wealth to the service of

Wahhabi Islam, the failure of the Saudi government to support Islamist movements throughout

the world, the absence of a banking system adhering to principles of Shariah, and the un-Islamic

excesses of the Saudi royals themselves.

80. In the face of modernization, these Sheikhs increasingly advocated that the Ummah (the Muslim community throughout the globe) were under a sophisticated cultural and

intellectual attack organized by the West, the objective of which was to destroy the fabric of

Muslim society as a precursor to a Western re-conquest of the Middle East, and the subordination of Muslims to western faiths and values. In this context, the Saudi Ulema did not

differentiate between the United States and Communist Russia, advocating that the two "superpowers"

were but opposite sides of the same coin, and that both were enemies of Islam.

81. In 1979, three events occurred that empowered these members of Ulema, and served to endorse their worldview, both within Saudi society and the broader Muslim world.

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82. In January of 1979, the Shah of Iran fled his country in response to popular protests, leading to the establishment shortly thereafter of a Shia'h Islamic regime in Iran, a direct

threat to the Saudi state's then perceived hegemony as the preeminent "Islamic" nation in the

world. To the Saudi Ulema, who viewed as heretical the version of Islam espoused by the Iranian clergy, the Iranian Revolution presented a threat to Islam itself, to be countered at all

costs.

83. Shortly thereafter, on November 20, 1979, a group of armed insurgents stormed and took control of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, the holiest site of Islam. The insurgents were led

by Juhaiman ibn Muhhamed ibn Saif al Utaibi, a member of a powerful Saudi family and student

of Sheikh Abdel Aziz bin Baz, a revered member of the Ulema who would later become the

Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, the Kingdom's supreme religious leader.

84. Broadcasting throughout Mecca over the Grand Mosque's speakers during a siege that lasted for several weeks, the jihadists asserted that the House of Saud had lost its legitimacy

through corruption and imitation of the West, and called for a purification of Islam and the

absolute repudiation of modernizing influences.

85. Because any violence within the Grand Mosque is strictly forbidden by Islamic law, the Saudi regime was paralyzed from taking action to oust the jihadists from the Grand

Mosque without a formal fatwa from the senior Ulema authorizing force, a reality that underscored the increasing influence of the Ulema within the modernizing Kingdom.

86. After the senior Ulema issued a fatwa authorizing the use of deadly force to retake the Grand Mosque, Saudi forces under the command of senior members of the Royal family

mounted several offensives to oust the jihadists, but were repelled and suffered massive  
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casualties in a series of embarrassing clashes. In the end, the regime had to turn the entire mission over to the Pakistani military, which then carried out a successful operation to reclaim

the Grand Mosque.

87. The regime's inability to protect and recapture the Grand Mosque on its own further undermined the legitimacy of its rule, requiring greater reliance by the House of Saud on

the continuing support of the Ulema, and compelling the regime to find new ways to bolster its

Islamic credentials within the Muslim world.

88. On the heels of the Grand Mosque siege, the Soviet army invaded Afghanistan on December 27, 1979. For the Ulema who had been cautioning against the Western Cultural

Attack, the invasion validated their thesis, and offered a compelling platform for promoting their

Islamic agenda.

89. In response to the invasion, Abdullah Azzam, an Egyptian member of the Muslim

Brotherhood who fled to Saudi Arabia and was appointed by the government of the Kingdom to a prominent lecturing position at the King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah, issued a fatwa entitled *Defense of the Muslim Land*, in which he declared it the personal obligation of all Muslims to wage jihad against the Russians in Afghanistan and the the Israelis in Palestine.

90. Azzam's fatwa was endorsed by Sheikh bin Baz and the senior Saudi Ulema, which endorsement necessarily required the approval of the Saudi regime.

91. In response to the Ulema's call for jihad, the most radical young Saudis – many of whom were graduates of the Kingdom's new religious universities – flocked to Afghanistan to join the mujahideen.

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92. As discussed above, Osama bin Laden was among the Saudis who went to Afghanistan to wage jihad during this time period, and worked closely with Abdullah Azzam in organizing the infrastructure to support the mujahideen fighters.

93. For the Saudi government, the Afghan jihad presented an opportunity to restore the Kingdom's Islamic credentials. By supporting the jihad, the regime could portray itself to the Muslim world as a leading force in the defense of the Ummah against the Western Attack, without requiring that the Kingdom directly intervene in the conflict. At the same time, the jihad drew the most radicalized young Saudis away from the Kingdom, thus limiting the ideological and security threat they posed to the regime.

94. The Kingdom seized on the opportunity, mobilizing and deploying its vast da'awa infrastructure to support the jihad. Under the guise of performing humanitarian work, Saudi government controlled organizations, including the Muslim World League, International Islamic Relief Organization, World Assembly of Muslim Youth, Saudi Red Crescent Society and Rabita Trust, established an efficient network to channel support to the mujahideen fighters. Among other activities, these organizations recruited new volunteers for the conflict, established safe houses for new recruits arriving in the region, provided false documentation to the fighters and otherwise assisted them in gaining entry to the conflict zone, supported training camps for the fighters, purchased and delivered weapons and equipment to the mujahideen, raised funds to

support the jihad, performed reconnaissance for military initiatives, and evacuated wounded jihadists.

95. In connection with its support of the Afghan jihad, the government of the Kingdom appointed a young Saudi jihadist named Wa'el Jelaidan to serve as the Director of the

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Muslim World League/International Islamic Relief Organization offices in Peshawar, Pakistan in

1985. Prior to that appointment, Jelaidan had served for several years as the Director of the

Islamic Center of Tucson, the de facto office of Makhtab al Khidmat in the United States. Jelaidan developed close ties to bin Laden during the Afghan jihad, and as detailed below would

go on to become a founding member of al Qaeda.

96. Bin Laden and Jelaidan were joined in their organizing efforts by another young Saudi named Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, who would later become bin Laden's brother-in-law.

Khalifa and bin Laden had become close friends while studying together at King Abdulaziz

University, where they became further radicalized by government paid religious scholars. The

two joined the Afghan jihad together, and Khalifa excelled at recruiting volunteers from throughout the world to the cause, including over 100 Philippino Muslims, among them Abdulrak Janjalani. Following the Afghan jihad, Janjalani was selected by Khalifa and al Qaeda

to head abu Sayyaf Group, a Philippine proxy for al Qaeda established by Khalifa using funds

and resources of the International Islamic Relief Organization.

97. After nine years of combat, the Soviet army began withdrawing from Afghanistan in 1988, delivering the young jihadists a stunning victory.

98. To the leaders of the Afghan jihad, the defeat of the Soviets demonstrated the divine supremacy of their Islamist movement, and reinforced their belief that the United States

could be defeated by guerilla warfare and terrorism. By virtue of their unwavering belief in the

Western Cultural Attack narrative, this group viewed waging jihad against the United States as

an absolute religious duty and imperative, and established al Qaeda in 1988 for that purpose.

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99. Around this same time, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia, where he went back to work for the bin Laden family construction empire, the Saudi Bin Laden Group, and began

organizing al Qaeda and planning for the next phase of the global jihad.

100. From the outset, the Saudi regime was aware of bin Laden's ongoing efforts to organize a mujahideen army to conduct jihad throughout the world, and in particular bin Laden's

desire to wage jihad against the United States.

101. Indeed, during a February 13, 2006 speech at the Council on Foreign Relations, Prince Turki al Faisal al Saud, the Saudi Intelligence Chief from 1977 through September 1,

2001, stated that "we [the Saudi regime] were pretty much aware of bin Laden from the very

beginning, if you like." Turki confirmed that he personally met with bin Laden after the conclusion of the Afghan jihad, and that bin Laden presented himself at that time as the leader of

a jihad army, recounting as follows:

I met Osama bin Laden five times in my life as intelligence director. Mid-'80s to end of 1989 or beginning of 1990 was the last time I saw him. And when the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan occurred, bin Laden and his supporters within Afghanistan—and by the way, that's where al Qaeda was born. As I like to—prefer to say, the al Qaeda was born in the hills of Afghanistan rather than in the deserts of Saudi Arabia. And they decided that they were going to form a group that will, in their view, protect Muslim interests throughout the world as they identified themselves as being the primary claimants to the credit of driving the Soviets out of Afghanistan.

And so, by 1990 when I last saw him at the beginning of that year, he had come to me with a proposition that he wants to bring his Mujaheddin as he called them, to liberate the then-Marxist regime in south Yemen.

102. Moreover, bin Laden made no effort to conceal his jihadist ambitions in public speeches within the Kingdom during this period. Upon returning from Afghanistan, bin Laden

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was greeted as a hero by the Saudi populace, who were astonished that a wealthy member of the

Saudi elite had risked his life to carry out jihad. Bin Laden was in great demand to give speeches

and interviews, and made clear in his statements his continuing dedication to jihad against the

perceived enemies of Islam.

103. Speaking in 1988, bin Laden expressly affirmed what he believed to be the personal obligation of all Muslims to wage jihad against the enemies of Islam, stating as follows:

the blessing of jihad in the cause of God – the peak of true Islam, which people in this age have forgotten is a religious duty....Priase

be to God for allowing us to perform jihad in Afghanistan as he did for the best of men, our Prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him...I would like to advise my brother Muslims in all parts of the East and West to take the initiative and leave what they are doing to assist in raising the banner of jihad for the cause of God. This banner is the best banner and the mujahidin are the best people...May God accept our and your prayers and our urging of believers to perform jihad in order to deter the infidel forces and be truthful.

104. Speaking in 1990 to an audience of hundreds in the Bin Laden family mosque in Jeddah, bin Laden singled out the United States as the primary target of this global jihad, asserting that "[t]he Americans won't stop their support of Jews in Palestine until we give them a

lot of blows. They won't stop until we do jihad against them."

105. In that same year, bin Laden organized and funded the travel of an estimated 4,000 mujahideen fighters to Afghanistan for training, as part of his ongoing efforts to build his jihadist army.

106. To the regime, neither bin Laden's status as an organizational leader of a jihad movement nor his ambition to target America were at all surprising. The Saudi government was intimately familiar with bin Laden's role as a logistical, financial and operational organizer of the

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Afghan jihad, and the Saudi regime knew well that the young radicals who had travelled to

Afghanistan to wage jihad had no intention of abandoning the cause. Through its security apparatus, the government of the Kingdom closely monitored the activities of the returning

mujahideen, chief among them bin Laden, to ensure that their jihadist fervor remained focused

on targets outside of the Kingdom. The Kingdom also knew that several of the chief organizers

of the Afghan jihad network (including Jelaidan and Khalifa) remained embedded in senior

positions within the Saudi government da'awa infrastructure, and therefore had access to that

infrastructure in relation to their ongoing jihadist efforts. More fundamentally, the jihadist

worldview bin Laden was promoting was firmly grounded in Wahhabi ideology and the Western

Cultural Attack narrative, as promoted by the Saudi regime itself over a period of many years. In

simple terms, the Saudi regime had unique access to information concerning bin Laden's jihadist

agenda and organizational efforts from the earliest date. Moreover, the House of Saud understood implicitly the ideological foundation for bin Laden's global jihadist movement, and was well aware that members of that movement firmly believed that they owed a religious duty to wage jihad against the United States.

107. On August 2, 1990, bin Laden's ongoing efforts to build support for the global jihad received a transformative boost, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. The invasion by the region's most sophisticated army of Kuwait posed an imminent threat to the security of the Kingdom.

108. At the height of the security crisis, bin Laden again used his prominence and family's close ties to the House of Saud to secure a meeting with a senior member of the Saudi royal family, in this case Prince Sultan, the Saudi Minister of Defense.

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109. Accompanied by several mujahideen commanders and veterans of the Afghan jihad, bin Laden laid out a detailed plan of attack, indicating where trenches and protective measures would be constructed along the border using the Saudi bin Laden Group's earthmoving equipment. Again making clear his continuing role as an organizer of a jihadist army, bin Laden assured Sultan that he could amass 100,000 mujahideen quickly to defend the Kingdom, drawing primarily on the Arab veterans of the Afghan jihad.

110. Prince Sultan rejected bin Laden's plan out of hand, as did Prince Turki, with whom bin Laden also met. Instead, the House of Saud invited the United States army to Saudi Arabia to protect the Kingdom.

111. The presence of an infidel crusader army on Saudi soil reinforced and energized the Western Cultural Attack narrative, and prompted outrage among many prominent Ulema (and bin Laden), who again questioned the legitimacy of the House of Saud's rule given its inability to protect Islam without foreign assistance.

112. Recognizing the gravity of the threat to its rule, the Saudi regime prevailed upon the Senior Ulema to issue a fatwa authorizing the presence of U.S. troops on Saudi soil.

113. The issuance of that fatwa did not, however, appease the younger Ulema or their followers, but rather merely convinced them that many members of the senior religious establishment had been co-opted by the regime, and that decisive action was needed to restore the primacy of Islam within the Kingdom and counter the Western Cultural Attack.

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114. A vibrant movement rapidly spread at mosques and universities within the Kingdom, demanding the removal of the “crusader” U.S. forces from Muslim soil and advocating for extensive reforms in accordance with Shariah.

115. The leaders of this emerging reformist movement were known as the Awakening Sheiks and included Salman al Awda, a professor of Islamic law at Imam Muhammad bin Saud

University in Riyadh, and Safar al-Hawali, the head of the Department of Theology at Umm al-

Quarra University in Mecca. Al Awda and al Hawali were, not coincidentally, spiritual mentors

to bin Laden, and many of bin Laden’s ideas about jihad were derived directly from the teachings of these Saudi government paid scholars.

116. In the view of these members of the Ulema, the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was itself organized by the United States as a predicate for its occupation of the Muslim world.

Hawali in particular theorized that Washington engineered the rift between Iraq and Kuwait, and

then encouraged Sadaam Hussein to invade. At that point, Hawali argued that Washington used

the pretext of defending Arab states from Iraqi aggression as a predicate for occupying sacred

Muslim soil. According to Hawali, the United States was motivated to this course of action by

its recognition that Islam was the only threat to America’s world domination, and that the United

States consequently determined that it must subordinate Muslims to its rule.

117. When the war ended with the defeat of Hussein’s armies, many of the Ulema demanded a complete U.S. withdraw from Saudi soil, but the House of Saud declined to accede

to that demand, effectively acknowledging that the regime was incapable of defending Saudi

Arabia on its own.

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118. The decision to allow American forces to remain on Saudi soil, and the implications that followed from that decision, prompted an even more acute crisis of legitimacy

for the Saudi Royal Family. To many prominent and influential members of the Ulema, the

House of Saud’s self-evident inability to protect Saudi Arabia was a product of its own corruption under Western influences, and its failure to govern and rule in strict accordance with

Shariah. To the extent the regime would not embrace and fulfill its duty to rule in accordance

with the requirements of Islam, these Ulema concluded that they should exercise greater authority relative to the governance of the Kingdom.

119. In March of 1991, a group of prominent Ulema drafted a "Letter of Demands" detailing their principal criticisms with the House of Saud's rule, and reforms they deemed imperative to restoring Saudi Arabia's Islamic character, and by extension, the regime's legitimacy. Broadly speaking, the document demanded a greater role for the Ulema in the conduct of Saudi domestic and foreign affairs; the abolition of any laws and regulations that did not adhere with Shariah; a ban against the collection of interest by financial institutions; the establishment of a strong and sophisticated military; the repudiation of any alliances which in their view contradicted Shariah, to include Riyadh's alliance with Washington; and a drastic increase in the funding of Saudi Arabia's da'awa institutions, in order to spread Islam and foster the establishment of Shariah based states outside of the Kingdom. In particular, the Letter of

Demands insisted on the following reforms:

The formation of a consultative council to decide internal and external issues on the basis of the Shari'a. Its members must be honest, straightforward and representing all fields of expertise.

They must be totally independent and not be subject to any pressure that may affect the authority of the council.

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All laws and regulations of political, economic, administrative or other nature must be reconciled with the principles of the Shari'a. Trusted committed with expertise in Shari'a should be authorized to repeal legislation not conforming to Shari'a principles.

In addition to possessing specialized expertise, dedication and honesty, government official and their overseas representatives must be unswervingly moral. Failing any one the requirements for any reasons is an abuse of public trust and a fundamental cause of injury to the national interest and reputation.

Justice must be applied, rights granted and duties assigned in full equality among all citizens, not favoring the nobles or begrudging the weak. Abuse of authority by anyone whether by shirking obligations or denying people what is their right is a cause for breakup and annihilation of society.

All government officials, especially those occupying the highest positions, must be diligently scrutinized and must all be made accountable with no exceptions. Government agencies must be cleansed of anyone whose corruption or dereliction is proven, regardless of any other consideration.

Public wealth must be distributed fairly among all classes and groups. Taxes must be eliminated and fees that have overburdened

citizens must be reduced. Government revenues must be protected from exploitation and abuse; priority in expenditure must be given to the most urgent necessities. All forms of monopoly or illegitimate ownership must be eliminated. Restrictions imposed on Islamic banks must be lifted. Public and private banking institutions must be cleansed of usury, which is an affront to God and His Prophet, and a cause for stunting the growth of wealth. A strong and fully-integrated army must be built and fully equipped with weapons of all kinds, from any source. Attention must be given to manufacturing and developing arms. The goal of the army must be to protect the country and the Holy Sites. Information media must be remodeled according to the adopted media policy of the Kingdom. The goals must be to educate, serve Islam and express the morals of society. The media must be purged of anything conflicting with these objectives. Its freedom to spread awareness through truthful reporting and constructive criticism must be safeguarded within the confines of Islam. Foreign policy must be based on national interest without relying on alliances not sanctioned by the Shari'a. It must also embrace

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Muslim causes. The Kingdom's embassies must be reformed to enable them to reflect the Islamic nature of the country.

Religious and proselytizing institutions must be developed and strengthened with financial and human resources. All obstacles preventing them from fully carrying out their objectives must be removed.

Judicial institutions must be unified and granted full and effective independence. Juridical authority must apply to all. It is necessary to establish an independent body whose function is to ensure carrying out judicial orders.

The rights of individuals and society must be guaranteed. Every restriction on people's rights and their will must be removed, to ensure the enjoyment of human dignity, within the acceptable religious safeguards.

120. The Letter of Demands was broadly supported among the Ulema, and was in fact signed by approximately 400 clerics, judges and scholars, and endorsed by Sheik bin Baz.

In

addition, thousands of copies of the Letter of Demands were distributed throughout the country,

in a rare public denunciation of the practices and policies of the Saudi regime. The rebuke was

especially problematic in that the criticisms and demands set forth therein were grounded in well

established beliefs and principles of Wahabbi Islam, the ultimate source of all law in the Kingdom and of the authority of the Saudi regime.

121. Approximately one year later, in March 1992, a smaller group of Ulema submitted a second petition to the regime, entitled the Memorandum of Advice, which expanded upon and refined the arguments presented in the Letter of Demands. In the Memorandum of Advice, the Ulema offered particularly harsh criticisms of the Saudi government's conduct of foreign affairs, its perceived failure to provide adequate funding to Saudi *dawa* institutions and support Islamic resistance and separatists movements outside of the Kingdom, and the

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government's failure to maintain an adequate and competent army "motivated by the spirit of jihad and sacrifice."

122. Together, the Letter of Demands and Memorandum of Advice presented a withering criticism of the Saudi regime, and a direct challenge to its legitimacy of a far more serious nature than any the House of Saud had previously faced.

123. In response to the renewed crisis of legitimacy, the regime sought to diminish the Ulema's challenge by positioning itself as a leading force in combating the Western Cultural

Attack and in advancing the global Islamist movement, much as it had done in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

124. Rhetorically, the regime enthusiastically embraced the concept of the Western Cultural Attack as its own, promoting through official speeches and the state-run media the idea of a clash of civilizations between the infidel west and a spiritual Muslim civilization led by Saudi Arabia. The regime fully endorsed the view, advocating by the Ulema, that Saudi Arabia

must launch a counter attack against Western civilization, in defense of the Ummah.

125. To demonstrate its commitment to these ideas, and simultaneously appease its critics within the Saudi religious establishment, the House of Saud used the Letter of Demands

and Memorandum of Advice as a roadmap for its course of action, subject to limitations necessary to protect the regime's own power and self interest. Generally speaking, the regime

rejected, or adopted in a neutered way, those demands that implicated the House of Saud's core

authority to manage the political affairs of the Kingdom. However, the regime enthusiastically

embraced the external religious priorities of the Ulema concerning the propagation of Wahhabi

Islam and support for Islamist movements abroad. In addition to appeasing the Ulema, the

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regime calculated that this approach would serve to focus the energy of the most radical elements

of the Saudi religious establishment and society on activities carried out abroad, a strategy that

had served the regime effectively in the context of the Afghan jihad. In adopting and implementing this plan, the regime was of course fully aware that many of the Ulema charged

with directing the activities of the *dawa* institutions (as employees of the Saudi government)

firmly believed that the conduct of jihad against the United States was a religious duty in response to the Western Cultural Attack.

126. Pursuant to this strategy, the regime dramatically increased the budget and resources of the State controlled *dawa* institutions, dedicating incomprehensible sums to support

the priorities and objectives of the Ulema and propagation of Wahabbi Islam outside of the

Kingdom. Indeed, according to recent estimates, the Kingdom has expended between \$2-3

billion dollars annually to further the religious priorities of the Ulema outside of Saudi Arabia.

127. To support this global initiative, the regime established offices of the Saudi *dawa* organizations throughout the world, and directed the Saudi embassies to support their work. As

part of this effort, Saudi Arabia embedded religious scholars from the Ministry of Islamic Affairs

within the embassies, to supervise, assist and support the *dawa* organizations in the propagation

of Wahabbi Islam. The Kingdom deployed thousands of Saudi trained clerics to teach at Saudi

government funded mosques and Islamic centers throughout the globe, many of which were

themselves established under the auspices of the Saudi government controlled *dawa* organizations. In addition, consistent with the Ulema's demand that the regime support Islamic

movements seeking to establish Sharia based states outside of the Kingdom, the regime embraced the role of primary benefactor of Islamic extremist movements throughout the world.

The movements and organizations that benefited from the regime's Islamist largesse included

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(among others) Abu Sayyef Group, Moro Islamic Liberation Front, Hamas, Palestine Islamic Jihad, Jemaah Islamiyya, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Asbat al-Ansar, Salafist group for Call and Combat, Al Gama'a al Islamiyya, Lashkar-Tayyiba, Lashkar I Janghvi, and Algerian Islamic Group. That many of these organizations used terrorism as a tool to achieve their religious and political goals was not an impediment to the Kingdom's support of their causes.

128. As the regime's campaign to restore its legitimacy by supporting the Islamic agenda of the Ulema outside of Saudi Arabia was unfolding, a war broke out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, primarily between Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Serbs.

129. For the Saudi regime, the outbreak of the Bosnian war presented a timely opportunity for the House of Saud to demonstrate its dedication to the defense of the Ummah, one of the duties the Ulema had called on the Kingdom to fulfill in the Letter of Demands and Memorandum of Advice.

130. The Bosnian war presented a timely opportunity for al Qaeda as well. As discussed above, al Qaeda was formed to carry out jihad throughout the globe, and participation in military conflicts involving Muslim communities (as the mujahideen had done in Afghanistan) was a central pillar of its strategy to establish Islamic regimes throughout the World. Waging jihad in Bosnia also offered al Qaeda an opportunity to establish a base of operations in Europe, from which it could launch future terrorist attacks against the West. At the same time, the Arab veterans of the Afghan jihad were being expelled from Pakistan. For many of these jihadists, return to their home countries was impossible, as they were viewed as extremists and faced potential imprisonment. Finding a new jihad front for these fighters was therefore essential to maintaining the nascent al Qaeda army. Beyond these strategic considerations, as an Islamist

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organization deriving its ideological foundation from the teachings of Wahhabi Islam and the

Western Cultural Attack theory, al Qaeda believed Muslims owed a personal obligation to carry

out jihad in defense of the Bosnian Muslims, a view that was shared by the Saudi Ulema.

131. In 1992, bin Laden, who was by then residing in Sudan under the protection of the

National Islamic Front, sent a delegation of senior al Qaeda members to Bosnia to assess the situation and evaluate the logistical needs for waging jihad in the region. The delegation was led by Abu Abdel Aziz, a Saudi veteran of the Afghan jihad and senior al Qaeda member. Abu Adbel Aziz, also known by the aliases Barabarossa (Red Beard), Abdelrahman al-Dosari, and Hown (for his proficiency during the Afghan jihad with Russian made "Hound" artillery), succinctly explained in an interview the circumstances under which al Qaeda sent him to Bosnia following the conclusion of the Afghan jihad, as part of al Qaeda's broader efforts to find new regions for waging jihad:

Then the conquest of Kabul came, and we thanked Allah, praised be He. The joy of Jihad overwhelmed our hearts. The Prophet, peace be upon him, said, "The highest peak of Islam is Jihad." We were looking for Jihad (after Afghanistan). We found it in the Philippines, and in Kashmir. Only fifteen days lapsed (after the conquest of Kabul) and the crisis of Bosnia begun. This confirmed the saying of the Prophet (of Islam), peace and blessings be upon him, who said, "Indeed Jihad will continue till the day of Judgment." A new Jihad started in Bosnia, (we moved there), and we are with it, if Allah wills.

[W]hen Jihad in Afghanistan was over, with the conquest of Kabul, I went with four of those who participated in Afghanistan to Bosnia to check out the landscape.

132. In that same interview Abu Abdel Aziz confirmed the convergence of interests between al Qaeda and the Saudi Ulema in relation to the Bosnian War, and the importance as a religious matter of the latter's specific authorization for al Qaeda's proposed jihad in Bosnia:

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Interviewer: We heard, and many brothers heard, that you met with prominent Ulema and scholars in the Muslim World and discussed with them the question of Jihad in Bosnia. Can you tell us some of their views and the issues you discussed?

Abu Abdel Aziz: First, we consider our scholars the light and guidance of Islam. They are the heirs of prophets (as the Hadith says, "warathat al-Anbiya"). Our duty is to seek knowledge from them and guidance from their scholarly light (sic). I - alhamdulillah - met several prominent Ulema. Among them Sheikh Nasir ad-Din al-Albani, Sheikh Abdel Aziz Bin Baz and Sheikh Muhammad Bin Otheimin and others in the Gulf area. Alhamdulillah, all grace be to Allah, they all support the religious

dictum that “the fighting in Bosnia is a fight to make the word of Allah supreme and protect the chastity of Muslims.” It is because Allah said (in his holy book), “Yet, if they ask you for succor against religious persecution, it is your duty to give [them] this succor.” (Lit. “to succor them in religion”, Qur'an, al-Anfal, 8:72). It is then our (religious) duty to defend our Muslim brethren wherever they are, as long as they are persecuted because they are Muslims and not for any other reason.

133. At the time he endorsed al Qaeda’s jihad in Bosnia, Sheikh bin Baz was Saudi Arabia’s Grand Mufti, a governmental position to which he was appointed by King Fahd. Thus,

Abu Abdel Aziz’s statements confirm that al Qaeda’s jihad in Bosnia was formally sanctioned by the Saudi government.

134. Bin baz used his governmental post as the Kingdom’s highest religious authority to encourage public support for al Qaeda’s Bosnian jihad as well, issuing a fatwa calling on Muslims to support that jihad by any means available to them, including by way of “money, arms and prayers.”

135. In accordance with the fatwas issued by its senior religious leaders, the Kingdom aggressively deployed its da’awa infrastructure to support the Bosnian jihad. Existing Saudi

da’awa organizations such as the IIRO, WAMY, al Haramain Islamic Foundation, and al Haramain al Masjil al Aqsa Foundation promptly established physical operations in Bosnia and

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the surrounding region to support the jihad. In addition, the Kingdom established a new da’awa

organization under the leadership of Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud, called the Saudi

High Commission for Relief to Bosnia and Herzegovina (SHC), to steward and centralize the

Kingdom’s Bosnian efforts.

136. From the inception of the conflict, these organizations sponsored the entry into the region of hundreds of jihadists eager to join the fighting. Many of these jihadists were Saudi

veterans of the Afghan jihad, known to the Kingdom by virtue of its intimate participation in that

earlier conflict and subsequent monitoring of their activities to be associates of bin Laden, and

members of his nascent jihad organization.

137. Throughout the course of the Bosnian war, the Saudi government controlled da’awa organizations, including the SHC, al Haramain, IIRO and WAMY, provided money,

food, shelter and supplies to al Qaeda fighters. In many cases, this support was coordinated by senior al Qaeda members who were embedded in the da'awa organizations themselves as directors, managers and officials. These organizations also transported al Qaeda members throughout the region in their vehicles bearing UNHCR plates, thereby allowing al Qaeda to circumvent UN checkpoints. After the conclusion of the war, the Saudi da'awa organizations provided ostensible employment to many al Qaeda members, so that they could remain in Bosnia in furtherance of al Qaeda's operational goals. Several of those al Qaeda members planned and carried out terrorist attacks from offices of the SHC, while ostensibly employed by that organization.

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138. The methodology employed by the Kingdom to support the Bosnian jihad was implemented in regions throughout the world to advance al Qaeda's global agenda, but ably

adapted to suit the particular objectives and conditions presented by the local context.

139. For example, at the time of its founding, al Qaeda identified the Philippines as a potential fertile ground for jihad. Muslims in the southern Philippines had been engaged in a

long-running but unsuccessful campaign to establish an independent Muslim state, which had

taken on an increasingly militant and Islamist character under the banner of the Moro Islamic

Liberation Front, following a failed peace agreement in 1976. Al Qaeda had strong relationships

with members of MILF and Philippine jihadists, as a result of Mohammed Jamal Khalifa's

successful campaign to recruit Philippine Muslims to join the Afghan jihad. The opportunity

presented by these circumstances fit perfectly into al Qaeda's global strategy, and in particular its

plans to exploit regional conflicts to expand its global reach and promote the establishment of

Shariah based states.

140. The Saudi Ulema had likewise long identified with the Philippine Islamic movement, and advocated that the Saudi state support the effort of Philippine Islamists to establish an independent Shariah state. From at least the 1980's, the Muslim World League was

actively engaged in da'awa and political activities aimed at supporting the Philippine Islamist

independence movement.

141. To both al Qaeda and the Saudi Ulema, the inability of Muslims in the Philippines

to achieve their goal of establishing an independent state was largely attributable to a lack of understanding and application of the true (Wahhabi) Islam. In addition, based on their joint activities in Afghanistan, the al Qaeda leadership and Saudi da'awa organizations believed that

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the goals of the Philippine Islamist movement could be achieved only through jihad by trained, indoctrinated, dedicated, highly ideologized, and organized mujahid.

142. Based on this understanding of the circumstances and challenges facing the Philippine Islamist movement, al Qaeda implemented a comprehensive strategic plan for promoting the jihadist movement in the Philippines, to be carried out under the cover of humanitarian activities of the MWL, IIRO and AHIF.

143. In furtherance of that plan, the MWL and IIRO established offices in the Philippines and Indonesia in approximately 1989. The Kingdom appointed Mohammed Jamal

Khalifa to serve as Director of those offices. At the time of his appointment, the Kingdom was

aware that Khalifa was a prominent veteran of the Afghan jihad and close associate of bin Laden.

Khalifa has affirmed that all of his activities as Director of the IIRO in the Philippines and

Indonesia were carried out under the supervision and direction of the Saudi Embassy in the

Philippines.

144. Using IIRO funds and resources, Khalifa established an Islamic "school" called Dar al Imam al Sahfi'e, and personally selected and invited the most promising young Philippine

jihadists to become students. The curriculum of Dar al Imaam al Shafi'e was designed to indoctrinate the students in the most intolerant conceptualization of Wahhabi Islam, and prepare

them to carry out jihad and terrorist activities as members of a covert organization.

145. Simultaneously, Khalifa entered into negotiations with Abdulrack Janjalani, a local Islamist leader whom Khalifa had recruited to the Afghan jihad, regarding the establishment of an al Qaeda proxy in the Far East. In basic terms, Khalifa offered to provide

funding through the IIRO for a jihad organization to be headed by Janjalani, subject to

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Janjalani's agreement that the organization would take direction from al Qaeda. The negotiations ultimately led to the establishment of Abu Sayyaf Group. Khalifa filled the ranks of

Abu Sayyaf with graduates of Dar ul Imaam al Sahfi'e, and using IIRO funds arranged for them

to be trained in terrorist techniques at camps operated by MILF. Khalifa gave certain Abu Sayyaf members ghost positions with the IIRO, typically as “da’awa instructors,” to provide an income to support them while they carried out jihad.

146. Since its formation through the patronage of the MWL/IIRO, the Abu Sayyaf Group has systematically targeted U.S. citizens in a series of kidnappings, bombings and brutal killings. These include the beheading of an American citizen in 2001, the 2002 bombing of a bar across the street from a United States military camp, and a 2009 bombing which killed two U.S. soldiers on a humanitarian mission.

147. Beyond its role in establishing and supporting Abu Sayyaf, the IIRO used its Philippine and Indonesian offices to support the terrorist activities of 1993 World Trade Center Bomber Ramzi Youssef and 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. The plots developed by Youssef and Mohammed in conjunction with Khalifa and the IIRO included a plan to assassinate Pope John Paul II during a January 1995 trip to the Philippines and a plot to simultaneously bomb multiple U.S. airliners as they flew from Asia to the United States, dubbed Operation Bojinka. The Operation Bojinka plot served as inspiration for the September 11th Attacks.

148. In Kosovo and Albania, the partnership between al Qaeda and the Saudi da’awa organizations more closely tracked the program implemented in Bosnia, owing to the similarity of the of the conflicts that drew al Qaeda to those regions.

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149. The conflict in Kosovo erupted in 1998, when ethnic Albanians in Kosovo demanded their independence from Serbia and the Kosovo Liberation Army came out in open rebellion against Serbian rule.

150. As was the case in Bosnia, al Qaeda saw in the Kosovo conflict an opportunity to extend the global jihad and advance its strategic interests.

151. Consistent with the model which had been applied in Afghanistan and Bosnia, the Saudi da’awa institutions quickly established physical operations in the region to support al Qaeda’s intervention in the Kosovo conflict. The Kingdom again established an umbrella organization, called the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Albania, to coordinate Saudi Arabia’s activities in the region. In a move that plainly demonstrated the SJRC’s true

mission in the region, the Kingdom appointed Wa'el Jelaidan to serve as Director of the Pristina offices of the SJRC, thereby embedding a founding al Qaeda member in a powerful and pivotal role in the organization. Contemporaneous to Jelaidan's appointment to his position in the SJRC by the government of the Kingdom, bin Laden described Jelaidan as a close associate in a widely disseminated interview with al Jazeera. Not surprisingly, Jelaidan promptly began using the SJRC as a front for planning terrorist attacks against Western interests and moving men and weapons into the region for bin Laden, according to the U.S. government.

152. Within Africa, al Qaeda's charity partners worked closely with bin Laden to build al Qaeda's infrastructure, and directly supported al Qaeda's military and terrorist operations throughout the continent. In this context, the SHC facilitated arms shipments to General Mohammad Farah Hassan Aideed, the al Qaeda affiliated Somali warlord responsible for the massacre of American troops during the Battle of Mogadishu, according to a Defense Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 43 of 154

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Intelligence Agency Report. The IIRO and al Haramain were, in turn, directly implicated in the 1998 African embassy bombings.

153. In Europe and the United States, the Saudi da'awa organizations have focused primarily on spreading al Qaeda's jihadist ideology, encouraging Muslim communities to reject Western culture and values, recruiting Western Muslims to al Qaeda's cause, raising funds to support al Qaeda's global jihad, and providing cover for the planning and execution of terrorist attacks. In explaining the role of the da'awa organizations in promoting the jihadist agenda in

Europe, the Dutch Intelligence Service explained as follows:  
The groups focusing on Dawa follow a long-term strategy of continuous influencing based on extreme puritanical, intolerant and anti-Western ideas. They want Muslims in the West to reject Western values and standards, propagating extreme isolation from western society and often intolerance towards other groups in society. They also encourage these Muslims to (covertly) develop parallel structures in society and to take the law into their own hands.

154. As a complement to their financial, ideological and operational support for these regional objectives and activities, the Saudi da'awa organizations provided a robust, secure and

consistent source of funding for al Qaeda's global infrastructure. For example, a 1996 CIA

Report concerning the involvement of purported charities in the sponsorship of terrorism indicates that the IIRO provided the funding for six al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. Al

Haramain has separately been described by the U.S. government as a "principal" source of

funding for al Qaeda.

155. The pervasive involvement of the government of Saudi Arabia in sponsoring al Qaeda's global jihad through its state controlled da'awa organizations is further demonstrated by

the facts and evidence set forth below as to each of those organizations. By virtue of their status

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as agents and alter-egos of the Saudi government, the terror sponsorship activities of these

organizations, as described herein, are properly viewed as activities of the Saudi government

itself.

#### **THE MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE**

156. Founded in 1962 by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Muslim World League ("MWL") is among the world's largest Islamic charitable organizations, with offices in more

than thirty (30) countries. The MWL serves as an umbrella organization for a number of other

Islamic charities, commonly referred to as bodies or members of the League, including the

International Islamic Relief Organization ("IIRO"), World Assembly of Muslim Youth ("WAMY"), al Haramain & al Aqsa Mosque Foundation, and Rabita Trust, among others.

157. The MWL is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs MWL operations, appoints and terminates MWL personnel,

provides the MWL with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be distributed

throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls the MWL's operations. In many countries, MWL conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy, under the supervision of the

embassy's Islamic Affairs Division.

158. Senior officials of the MWL have expressly acknowledged that the MWL and its subsidiary bodies are agents and alter-egos of the Saudi government.

159. According to the affidavit testimony of Ali Mohammed al Kamal, Manager for Financial Affairs of the MWL, "the MWL's policies are established by its Constitutive Council,

which is chaired by the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia. The MWL's daily operations are

conducted and supervised by its General Secretariat, which is headed by a Secretary General

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appointed by the Constitutive Council based on a nomination by the Saudi Government. The

MWL's annual budget is \$80 million Saudi Riyals, which is funded by an annual grant from the Saudi Government."

160. Abdulaziz H. al Fahd, a member of the Saudi Council of Ministers, confirmed in a separate affidavit that organizations such as the MWL and World Assembly of Muslim Youth

are headed by Saudi officials, and that the Saudi government uses its da'awa organizations as

tools to spread Wahabbi Islam outside of Saudi Arabia.

161. Abdullah bin Saleh al Obaid, Secretary-General of the Muslim World League from 1995 through 2000, has similarly affirmed the intimate relationship between the government of Saudi Arabia and MWL, explaining in an affidavit that the MWL is "sponsored

and financially supported by the Saudi Government," and that he was appointed to his position as

the Secretary General of the MWL by Royal Decree.

162. In a 1984 edition of the *Muslim World League Journal*, then MWL Secretary General, Dr. Abdullah Omar Nasseef, briefly discussed the relationship between the MWL and

Government of Saudi Arabia, noting that the Kingdom founded the League "in order to serve"

the Ummah throughout the World and that the MWL receives an annual budget from the Kingdom.

163. Arafat El Asahi, the Director of IIRO in Canada and a full-time employee of the Muslim World League, was even more explicit concerning the Kingdom's absolute domination

of the MWL and IIRO during testimony in a Canadian immigration proceeding captioned *Minister of Citizenship and Immigration v. Mahmoud Jaballah*, Federal Court of Canada, Docket

DES-6-99, stating under oath as follows:

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Q: During those eight years that you have been with the IIRO here in Canada, have you ever heard anything to the effect that the Canadian government has any concern whatsoever with respect to your office?

A: Let me tell you one thing, the Muslim World League, which is the mother of IIRO, is a fully government funded organization. In other words, I work for the government of Saudi Arabia. I am an employee of that government. Second, the IIRO is the relief

branch of that organization which means that we are controlled in all of our activities and plans by the government of Saudi Arabia. Keep that in mind, please. . . I am paid by my organization which is funded by the [Saudi] government . . . The [IIRO] office, like any other office in the world, here or in the Muslim World League, has to abide by the policy of the Government of Saudi Arabia. If anybody deviates from that, he would be fired; he would not work at all with IIRO or with the Muslim World League.

164. Consistent with the statements of its senior officials, the MWL has asserted in pleadings filed in American court proceedings that it is an “instrumentality” of the government of Saudi Arabia.

165. The MWL’s close affiliation with Osama bin Laden and other high ranking al Qaeda officials dates to the 1980’s. During the war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Abdullah Azzam, bin Laden’s spiritual mentor and partner in Makhtab al Kidhmat, headed the office of the MWL in Peshawar, Pakistan, which served as the rear base for mujihadeen operations. That office was thereafter led by Wa’el Julaidan, who also served as Director General and a member of the Board of Trustees of Rabita Trust, a financial arm of the MWL. Wa’el Julaidan is a founding member of al Qaeda. On September 6, 2002, the United States Department of Treasury designated Julaidan as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to Executive Order 13224. The Treasury Department statement regarding the designation provided as follows:

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Wa’el Hamza Julaidan, a Saudi citizen, is an associate of Osama bin Laden. Julaidan fought with bin Laden in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Julaidan is also associated with several individuals and entities linked to al Qaida, including bin Laden’s lieutenants, Ayman al Zawahri, Abu Zubaida, and Mohammed Atef; and the organizations: Maktab al Khidmat, the Rabita Trust, and al-Gamma al Islamiya. These individuals and entities have been previously designated under President Bush’s Executive Order and by the United Nations.

Bin Laden himself acknowledged close ties to Julaidan during a 1999 interview with al-Jazeera TV. When referring to the assassination of al Qaida co-founder Abdullah Azzam, bin Laden stated that “we were all in one boat, as is known to you, including our brother, Wa’el Julaidan.” Julaidan has established contacts with several known Islamic extremists, including bin Laden’s principal lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahri. Another bin Laden

lieutenant, Abu Zubaida, claimed that he had accompanied Julaidan from Pakistan to Kandahar, Afghanistan during the summer of 2000. Zubaida said that Julaidan met with bin Laden and senior bin Laden lieutenant Mohammed Atef soon after arriving in Kandahar.

In February 2000, Julaidan was appointed to the Board of Trustees of the Rabita Trust and served as its director general. The Rabita Trust is an NGO designated under President Bush's Executive Order as an organization that provided logistical and financial support to al-Qa'ida.

#### **BASIS FOR DESIGNATION**

The United States has credible information that Wa'el Hamza Julaidan is an associate of Osama bin Laden and several of bin Laden's top lieutenants. Julaidan has directed organizations that have provided financial and logistical support to al-Qa'ida. Accordingly, the United States is designating Julaidan under Executive Order 13224 as a person who supports terror.

166. Consistent with bin Laden's plan to adapt the network established for the Afghan resistance to support al Qaeda's global jihad, al Qaeda has from its establishment used the MWL as a front to conceal the terrorist organization's existence and true purpose, as confirmed by documents seized throughout the world in conjunction with investigations into al Qaeda's global support infrastructure.

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167. Internal al Qaeda documents chronicling the formation of the organization, seized during a 2002 raid of the Sarajevo office of an al Qaeda front, the Benevolence International Foundation ("BIF"), confirm that al Qaeda planned from its inception to use the MWL and its subsidiary bodies, to include the IIRO, to provide support and cover for al Qaeda's operations.

A BIF computer file named "Tareekh Osama" (or "Osama's History") contained numerous documents regarding al Qaeda's formation and the participation of purported Islamic charities in al Qaeda's support infrastructure, including the MWL and IIRO. For instance, the files include a document on MWL/IIRO letterhead stating that attacks would be launched from MWL offices:

"And if he is being subjected to any pressures, let it be a secret (*agreement*), in a way that [Muslim World] League offices will be opened as (*illegible*) for the Pakistanis, and the attacks will be launched from the (*these offices*) ...".

168. During the 2002 searches, investigators also recovered a list of orders from Osama bin Laden regarding the management of Islamic charities. On point 10 of his list, bin

Laden urges the creation of a committee to receive and distribute donations to al Qaeda, and

suggests the participation of the MWL, SRC and IIRO.

169. Another al Qaeda document seized during the March 2002 raids, written on the joint letterhead of the MWL and IIRO, suggests using the name of the "League" as "an umbrella

which you can stay under."

170. Consistent with this plan, al Qaeda founding member Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, opened a joint MWL/IIRO branch office in the Philippines contemporaneous with the formation

of al Qaeda. The office was used to support al Qaeda's efforts to export the jihad to the Far East.

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171. Khalifa was tried in absentia by a Jordanian court for his involvement in a 1994 attack on a movie theater in Amman, Jordan by a local terrorist cell. One of Khalifa's codefendants

in that case, Abdul al Hasheikeh, testified at length concerning the impressive terrorist platform Khalifa established in the Far East through the MWL and IIRO. Al Hasheikh

explained that he traveled from Jordan to the Philippines in July 1993 to meet with Khalifa and

request his support for the Jordanian terrorist cell. According to al Hasheikeh: "The principal of

the League's office in the Philippines is the named Mohammed Gamal Khalifa, a Saudi citizen,

who is the in-law of Osama Ben Laden, a wealthy Saudi, who supports extremist Islamic organizations around the world and has training camps in Yemen."

172. Al Hasheikeh testified that Khalifa established a terrorist training academy in the Philippines under the auspices of the IIRO called Dar ul Imam al Shafi'e, and that Khalifa

recruited al Hasheikh to work as a teacher at the school.

173. Khalifa was detained by U.S. law enforcement officials on December 16, 1994 by U.S. law enforcement officials as he was returning to the Philippines from San Francisco, California. Documents found in Khalifa's possession at the time of his arrest confirm al Hasheikeh's testimony, detailing that students at the Dar al Imam al Shafi'e received training in

assassination, kidnapping, bombing churches, martyrdom operations, methods of torture, explosives and weapons.

174. As al Qaeda developed and expanded its operations into new geographical regions over the years, the MWL extended its infrastructural support accordingly. In Bosnia, for instance, the MWL was instrumental in transferring hundreds of millions of dollars to al Qaeda

and the Arab mujihadeen in that region, including military equipment and weapons.  
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175. As a “beacon” of Wahhabi ideology and propagation, the MWL took a leading role in rallying Muslims throughout the World to support al Qaeda’s Bosnian jihad as well. In

the April 20, 1992 edition of the *Al Alam Al Islami*, the Arabic edition of the MWL Journal, the

MWL published an article by Isma’il Fath Alh Salamah calling for the Islamic world to prepare

an army for jihad for Allah. In the article, Salamah incites readers to fight all infidels, calls on

them to gather weapons, and quotes militant verses praising jihad and terrorizing the enemies of

Islam. In the August 10, 1992 edition of the *Al Alam Al Islami*, the MWL published a fatwa

issued by Sheikh Muhammad al Ghazali in reference to Bosnia. Al Ghazali’s fatwa warns that

any Muslim ignoring the plight of the Muslims in Bosnia is an infidel, and further asserts that the

duty to help Muslims in Bosnia is a religious one akin to jihad. An article in the April 19, 1993

edition of *Al Alam Al Islami* similarly advocates that the first step to saving Bosnia is to equip the

jihad fighters in Bosnia with everything necessary for jihad for Allah.

176. MWL officials, including then Secretary General of the MWL, Dr. Abdullah Omar Naseef, have similarly issued statements calling for Muslims to support jihad in Bosnia

and other regions of strategic importance to al Qaeda. For instance, in the April 17, 1992 edition

of *Al Alam Al Islami*, Secretary General Naseef issued an announcement relating to the state of

Muslim affairs in countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Philippines, Kashmir, Somalia, and

Burma, stating that Muslims can have a role in caring for their Muslim brothers in these countries by carrying out jihad with their money and lives. At the time of that statement, al

Qaeda was engaged in ongoing efforts to promote jihad in each of those countries.

177. Intent on spreading the message that Muslims have a duty to carry out jihad in support of their Muslim brothers, Dr. Naseef sent a letter to the Saudi Arabian Minister of Religious Affairs in October 1992 advising of the recent recommendation from the “Conference

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of the Mosque’s Message” that Friday sermons in the mosques should be used to spread belief in

Allah and the study of the Islamic religion. Dr. Naseef recommended in his letters that Friday

sermons should be used to revive the spirit of jihad.

178. At an April 1993 press conference in Cairo, Dr. Naseef again stressed the importance of providing money and weapons to Muslims in Bosnia. According to Naseef: "We

cannot solve the problem of Bosnia with talks and not with action. We must act in all manners

possible to equip the Muslims in Bosnia with financial support and military equipment."

179. In May 1993, Dr. Naseef released a statement thanking Saudi Arabia's King Fahd for his contribution of \$20 million which would be used for immediate relief of Muslims in

Bosnia so that they may continue their jihad against the Serbs.

180. Dr. Naseef similarly called on Muslims to support the Palestinian Intifada against Israel. In the March 23, 1992 edition of the *Al Alam Al Islami*, the MWL published a manifesto

issued by Dr. Naseef urging Muslims to support jihad and the Palestinian Intifada, and further

directing donations be deposited into a MWL bank account to support the Intifada. The bank

account was identified as being at the National Commercial Bank, Account No. 01/14807000107.

181. Ahmad Muhammad Ali, the MWL's Secretary General following Dr. Naseef, also called on Muslims to help the Bosnian people with funds and weapons.

182. The MWL also played a role in supporting the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. While working for the MWL in Kenya, Ihab Ali relayed messages between Osama bin Laden and Wadi El Hage in connection with the coordination of the Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 52 of 154

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bombings of the U.S. embassies. El Hage, who was convicted for his role in the embassy bombings, was himself at one time an employee of the MWL.

183. The MWL also provided direct financial assistance to al Qaeda members involved in the attempted assassination of Egyptian President Hasni Mubarak in 1995.

184. The MWL further sponsored al Qaeda through its participation in the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya ("SJRC"), a body established by the Kingdom of

Saudi Arabia to coordinate ostensible relief efforts among several charitable organizations under

its control and direction in Kosovo and Chechnya. The other purported charities compromising

the SJRC include the International Islamic Relief Organization, Saudi Red Crescent Society,

World Assembly of Muslim Youth, al Haramain Foundation, Islamic Endowments and Makk

Establishment, among others.

185. The United Nations' mission in Kosovo declared that the SJRC in Pristina,

Kosovo served as a cover for several al Qaeda operatives, including Adel Muhammad Sadi bin

Kazam and Wa'el Hamza Julaidan, both of whom served as directors of the SJRC.

186. Between 1998 and 2000, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through the SJRC, diverted more than \$74 million to al Qaeda members and loyalists affiliated with SJRC bureaus.

Throughout this time, the Committee was under the supervision and control of Saudi Interior

Minister Prince Naif bin Abdul Aziz.

187. MWL officials have publicly acknowledged the organization's funds were being funneled to terrorist organizations. In an interview with Dr. Abdullah bin Saleh al Obaid, Secretary General of the MWL, published in *The Muslim World* magazine on July 21-27, 1997,

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al Obaid was asked about reports that the MWL's funds were being funneled to extremist groups.

Al Obaid responded: "This is a closed chapter .... It has already been proven that there were

people who exploited the situation and misused some funds ...."

188. As further detailed herein, the MWL has also provided substantial material support and resources to al Qaeda through its subsidiary bodies, including the IIRO, WAMY, and Rabita Trust.

#### **INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC RELIEF ORGANIZATION**

189. The International Islamic Relief Organization ("IIRO") is a subsidiary body of the Muslim World League ("MWL"), with offices throughout the globe.

190. Like the MWL, the IIRO is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs IIRO operations, appoints and terminates IIRO

personnel, provides the IIRO with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be

distributed throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls the IIRO's operations. In

many countries, IIRO conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy, under the supervision

of the embassy's Islamic Affairs Division.

191. Senior officials of the IIRO have expressly acknowledged that the IIRO and the other subsidiary bodies of the MWL are agencies, instrumentalities and organs of the Kingdom

of Saudi Arabia. According to the affidavit testimony of the Manager of Financial Administration of the IIRO, Saleh Abdullah al Saykan, himself a Saudi government official, the

IIRO was "established by the Muslim World League in 1978," and "is governed by a 15-member

Board of Directors chaired by the Secretary General of the Muslim World League, who is

nominated by the Saudi Arabia Government.”

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192. The IIRO’s Annual Reports further document the direct involvement of senior Saudi Government officials in the “supervision,” and “direction” of the IIRO offices within

Saudi Arabia, which in turn supervise and direct the activities of the IIRO branch offices abroad.

193. As referenced above, IIRO’s relationship with al Qaeda also grew out of IIRO’s participation in the Afghan jihad in the 1980s, during which the IIRO worked within the network

of ostensible charities to support the mujihadeen. During the conflict Wa’el Hamza Jelaidan ran

the IIRO offices in Peshawar, Pakistan, and was a leading supporter of jihad through the relief

organization network. As a member of al Qaeda, Jelaidan remained in the Saudi da’awa infrastructure, serving as the director of the IIRO’s Peshawar, Pakistan offices, an officer of the

MWL, and later as a director of the SJRC.

194. With the formation of al Qaeda, Jelaidan and the al Qaeda leadership continued to draw on the IIRO to support al Qaeda’s global jihad, as documented by the previously discussed

documents chronicling al Qaeda’s formation.

195. According to Jamal al Fadl, a former al Qaeda official who became a cooperating witness for the United States and testified at length in the African Embassy bombing trials, the

IIRO provided false identification cards to al Qaeda members to enable them to cross the Pakistan-Afghanistan border for training at al Qaeda camps. Additionally, a June 2, 2004 FBI

report summarizing an interview with al Fadl states that the IIRO office in Peshawar, under

Jelaidan’s leadership, facilitated the purchase of weapons for al Qaeda. According to the FBI

report, “Julidan was one of Bin Laden’s closest friends at the time.”

196. Other representatives of the IIRO in Pakistan provided funds for salary, travel and health benefits for al Qaeda members. For instance, the IIRO’s branch office in Pakistan was

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managed by Abu Hamam al Saudi, who was also Osama bin Laden’s cousin. Al Saudi would

transfer IIRO funds to Madani al Tayyib, who would then distribute the amounts to individuals

who were in charge of salary, travel, and health benefits for al Qaeda.

197. The IIRO also played a critical role in supporting al Qaeda’s expansion into the Far East, as discussed previously.

198. Using IIRO funds and resources, Mohammed Jamal Khalifa established a network of charities, businesses, and Islamic institutions in the Philippines to support international terrorism. To assist Khalifa, Ramzi Yousef, a bomber of the World Trade Center in

1993, and Wali Khan Amin Shaw, also an IIRO employee in Pakistan, came to the Philippines.

Yousef began training Philippine terrorist groups in bomb-making, while also conducting further

research and refining his bomb-making technique. While working as the Director of the IIRO's

Philippines branch, Khalifa maintained close connections with al Qaeda and employed members

of the Abu Sayyaf Group, the al Qaeda proxy organization established by Khalifa using IIRO

funds.

199. According to the U.S. government, one of the plots devised by Ramzi Yousef in conjunction with Khalifa and the IIRO office was to assassinate Pope John Paul II during a

planned January 1995 visit to the Philippines and to simultaneously attack multiple U.S. airliners

as they flew over the Pacific Ocean from Asia to the United States (the "Operation Bojinka"

plot). According to a 1996 Central Intelligence Agency report regarding the involvement of

Islamic charities in the sponsorship of terrorism, the "former head of the IIRO office in the

Philippines, Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, has been linked to Manila-based plots to target the Pope

and U.S. airlines; his brother-in-law is Usama Bin Ladin." The CIA report further states that

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another high-ranking IIRO official in the Philippines leads Hamas meetings and that the majority

of Hamas members in the Philippines are employed by the IIRO. Moreover, the "IIRO helps

fund six militant training camps in Afghanistan," including camps from which al Qaeda planned,

approved and coordinated the September 11th Attack, and at which some or all of the September

11 hijackers received indoctrination and training.

200. As mentioned above, American law enforcement officials detained Khalifa on December 16, 1994, as he was returning to the Philippines from San Francisco, California. FBI

documentation relating to his arrest identifies Khalifa as a "Known Terrorist." Traveling with

Khalifa at the time of his detention was Mohamed Loay Bayazid, an al Qaeda founding member and top official who had tried to purchase uranium on behalf of al Qaeda.

201. At the time of his arrest, the FBI discovered a trove of information in Khalifa's possession including documents referring to the plot to kill Pope John Paul II, as well as documentation identifying the curriculum for the Dar al Imam al Shafi'e in the Philippines.

These documents confirmed that students at the school received training in assassination, kidnapping, bombing churches, martyrdom operations, methods of torture, explosives and weapons.

202. Jamal al Fadl identified Khalifa as a close associate to Osama bin Laden. During testimony as a cooperating witness for the United States, al Fadl stated that he knew Khalifa by his alias ("Abu Bara"), "who was close to bin Laden." According to al Fadl: "Hammam [IIRO's branch manager in Pakistan], Bara, and bin Laden are part of the group that has been around a long time."

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203. In connection with immigration proceedings following Khalifa's arrest, Philip C. Wilcox, Jr., the Department of State's Coordinator for Counterterrorism, submitted several letters to the immigration judge urging for Khalifa's continued detention. In a December 16, 1994 letter, Wilcox advised the Court that Khalifa financed a 1994 attack on a Jordanian movie theater, and that "the United States Government has evidence that Muhammad Jamal Khalifa, who has lived in the Philippines for a number of years, has provided financial support to the Philippine terrorist group Abu Sayyaf. We also have information that while in the Philippines he has been involved in organizations closely linked to Hamas...."

204. In a December 23, 1994 letter to the Court, Wilcox asserted that (i) Khalifa has provided support to terrorist groups in the Philippines; (ii) Khalifa has helped organize efforts by former fighters in Afghanistan to provide training and assistance to terrorists in the Philippines; (iii) Khalifa has extensive ties to Hamas; and (iv) Khalifa has ties to the terrorist organization Gama't Islamiya.

205. Department of State cables following Khalifa's detention in the United States further detail Khalifa's and the IIRO's support for terrorist organizations and their activities in

the Philippines and Afghanistan. For instance, a July 1994 cable from the American Embassy in

Amman, Jordan concerning the Jordanian cinema bombing trial states that one of the defendants

in the case worked “in the Imam al-Shafi center led by Muhammad Jamal Khalifa, another

defendant who is an in-law of Saudi financier Usama Bin-Ladin.”

206. A December 1994 cable from the Secretary of State Warren Christopher’s office states: “Khalifa is an officer of an Islamic NGO in the Philippines that is a known Hamas front

and has financed terrorist operations. Khalifa is reported to be the brother in law of Usama Bin

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Laden, the Sudan-based financier of Islamic extremists. Khalifa is believed to have provided

support to the Philippine terrorist group Abu Sayyaf.” An additional December 1994 cable from

the Secretary of State’s office states that Khalifa is a “known financier of terrorist operations and

an officer of an Islamic NGO in the Philippines that is a known Hamas front.”

207. An April 1995 cable from the American Embassy in Amman, Jordan to Secretary of State Warren Christopher discusses an attack by Abu Sayyaf Group, with possible assistance

from Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Moro National Liberation Front, which left 53 people

dead. According to the cable: “President Ramos said that Prime Minister Bhutto had disclosed

to him the existence of training camps in Afghanistan where international terrorists, including

ASG, are being trained .... Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, the former head of the International

Islamic Relief Organization in Manila, [i]s a principal financier of Abu Sayyaf.”

208. In an August 1993 interview concerning the Moro Islamic Liberation Front’s call for jihad against the Philippine government, Sheikh Savila Salih, who was in charge of MILF’s

religious rulings, confirmed that MILF also received support from the IIRO: “The IIRO and

other Islamic bodies who deal with the da’awa and aid, are the leaders of those who give the

Front considerable support and are deserving of their gratitude.”

209. An October 2001 cable from the Secretary of State Colin Powell’s office states that “Philippine authorities reported that Saudi national Muhammad Jamal Khalifa who ran two

Islamic nongovernmental organizations in Manila was the major financier of the terrorists arrested there. Khalifa who has also been implicated in terrorist activities in Jordan is Bin

Ladin's brother-in-law.”

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210. An April 2004 cable from Secretary of State Colin Powell states that the IIRO is “tied to al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations. For example, IIRO has been cited as the

principal sponsor of terrorist training camps in Afghanistan during the Taliban regime.

IIRO has

also been cited as the conduit for funds from Usama Bin Laden to terrorist organizations, specifically that the Abu Sayyaf cell in Manila was founded with money sent by Bin Laden to

Mohamed Jamal Khalifa through IIRO.”

211. A June 2004 cable from the Secretary of State's office similarly details the IIRO's support for al Qaeda and the Abu Sayyaf terrorist group. According to the cable: “The USG

believes that some elements of the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) have been

exploited by terrorists and their financiers as a means of transferring assets, providing organizational cover, or otherwise supporting extremist, violent operations.” The cable further

states the “IIRO has been cited as the principal sponsor of terrorist training camps in Afghanistan

during the Taliban regime. IIRO has also been cited as the conduit for funds from Usama Bin

Laden to terrorist organizations, specifically that the Abu Sayyaf cell in Manila was founded

with money sent by Bin Laden to Mohamed Jamal Khalifa through IIRO.”

212. Prior to his death in January 2007, Khalifa confirmed in writing that all of his activities as Director of the IIRO in the Philippines were conducted under the direct supervision

of the Saudi embassy.

213. On August 3, 2006, the U.S. Department of the Treasury designated the IIRO's Philippine and Indonesian branch offices and a senior IIRO official in Saudi Arabia, Abd al

Hamid Sulaiman al Mujil, “for facilitating fundraising for al Qaida and affiliated terrorist groups.” According to U.S. Treasury officials, “Abd Al Hamid Sulaiman Al-Mujil, a high-

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ranking IIRO official in Saudi Arabia, has used his position to bankroll the al Qaida network in

Southeast Asia. Al Mujil has a long record of supporting Islamic militant groups, and he has

maintained a cell of regular financial donors in the Middle East who support extremist causes.”

Often referred to as the “Million Dollar Man” for supporting Islamic militant groups, al Mujil provided donor funds directly to al Qaeda and is identified as a major fundraiser for the Abu Sayyaf Group and Jemaah Islamiyah.

214. The August 3rd designation details al Mujil’s long record of supporting terrorist organizations such as al Qaeda, Abu Sayyaf and Jemaah Islamiyah through the IIRO: Abd Al Hamid Sulaiman Al-Mujil (Al-Mujil) is the Executive Director of the IIRO Eastern Province (IIRO-EP) branch office in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Al-Mujil has been called the “million dollar man” for supporting Islamic militant groups. Al-Mujil provided donor funds directly to al Qaida and is identified as a major fundraiser for the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). Both ASG and JI are al Qaida-associated terrorist groups in Southeast Asia designated pursuant to the authorities of E.O. 13224. These terrorist groups are also on the United Nations 1267 Committee’s consolidated list of individuals and entities associated with the Taliban, al Qaida and/or Usama Bin Ladin.

In 2004, Al-Mujil invited a Philippines-based JI supporter to Saudi Arabia under the cover of traveling for the hajj (the Muslim pilgrimage), and planned to provide him with cash to carry back to the Philippines to support organizations including JI.

Al-Mujil was also present in Afghanistan in the late 1990s and personally knew Usama Bin Ladin and deceased al Qaida cofounder Abdallah Azzam. Al-Mujil traveled continuously to meet with members of Bin Ladin’s organization in Arab countries. In the 1990s, Al-Mujil established a relationship with senior al Qaida operational planner Khalid Shaykh Muhammad.

Al-Mujil has a long history of providing support to terrorist organizations. He has contributed direct financial assistance to ASG leaders, including Abdurajak Janjalani (deceased).

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The Indonesian and Philippines branches of IIRO have received support from IIRO-EP, which in turn is controlled by Al-Mujil. Indeed, he is often responsible for authorizing payment transfers for IIRO Philippines (IIRO-PHL) and IIRO Indonesia (IIRO-IDN).

The Treasury Department’s findings regarding the IIRO’s branch offices in the Philippines and Indonesia are just as damaging. According to the August 3rd designation: The IIRO-PHL is a source of funding for the al Qaida-affiliated ASG. IIRO-PHL has served as a liaison for the ASG with other Islamic extremist groups. A former ASG member in the Philippines familiar with IIRO operations in the country reported that a limited amount of foreign IIRO funding goes to legitimate projects and the rest is directed to terrorist operations.

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The IIRO Indonesia director has channeled money to two Indonesia-based, JI-affiliated foundations. Information from 2006 shows that IIRO-IDN supports JI by providing assistance with recruitment, transportation, logistics, and safe-havens. As of late 2002, IIRO-IDN allegedly financed the establishment of training facilities for use by al Qaida associates.

215. The IIRO was also instrumental in supporting al Qaeda's operations in Bosnia, as one of the first da'awa organizations to enter the Balkans following the outbreak of the war.

According to Dr. Farid Qurashi, former Secretary General of the IIRO: "From the very beginning of the Bosnia war, we were there to help."

216. Former American mujahideen recruit Randall Todd Royer (a/k/a Ismail Royer), who participated in the Bosnian jihad, acknowledged that the IIRO's reputation as a front for jihad was well known in the Balkans: "It was well known that they helped get 'people' into

Bosnia." Royer explained that another mujahideen fighter in Zenica had openly discussed his

efforts to use the IIRO in order to obtain identity cards for fellow jihadists.

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217. In September 1992, Balkan press agencies published photos depicting the severed heads of Serb soldiers killed by foreign mujahideen collected in boxes. The photos were seized

from the belongings of fallen Saudi Arabian jihadists, which also included an IIRO humanitarian

worker identification card. The recovered card was labeled with the name and photo of "Khalil

Abdel Aziz," a teacher from Saudi Arabia, and indicated that it had been printed by the Peshawar, Pakistan office of the IIRO.

218. By mid-1993, the operations of the IIRO in Bosnia-Herzegovina were under the primary oversight of a Palestinian national known as Abdelaziz Zaher (a/k/a Abu Anas; Abu

Enes) and his deputy, an Algerian national, Djamel Lamrani (a/k/a Abu Musab al Djazairi).

Zaher was expelled from his former residence in Belgrade in early 1993 after Serbian officials

tied him to various organizations suspected of aiding armed fundamentalist militant groups,

including the IIRO. .

219. Zaher's top lieutenant at the IIRO, Jamal Al-Jibouri, was personally responsible for oversight of a massive logistical operation to provide al Qaeda and al Qaeda affiliated Islamic

militants in the Balkans with weapons and ammunition.

220. While working for the IIRO, Zaher participated in the 1994 murder of British aid

worker Paul Goodall near Zenica. Two days following the murder, Bosnian police arrested Saudi national Abdul Hadi al Qahtani, Abdu Khulud al Yemeni and Abu Enes (a/k/a IIRO chief Abdelaziz Zaher). At the time of his arrest, al Qahtani was carrying an identification card issued by the Zenica office of the Saudi High Commission.

221. Following the arrest of the three men, Dr. Abdul Harith al Liby, deputy commander of the mujahideen, sent a letter to “authorized individuals” in the Bosnia- Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 63 of 154

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Herzegovina Military Police and security services requesting the release of the two “mujahideen” arrested alongside al Qahtani. Al Liby’s letter identified both “Abu Enes” (Zaher) and al Qahtani interchangeably as “mujahideen” and as “employees” of “IGASE” (IIRO), who were detained by authorities while traveling in an IIRO employee-owned vehicle.

222. Following the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in late 1995, Zaher and the IIRO continued their operations in the Balkans. The same year, “with the financial help of Selim

Ben Mafuz, the executive director of ‘Igasas’ in Vienna,” Zaher and other local IIRO organizers

founded two commercial enterprises, “Sahara” and “Isra-Trade” which allegedly were the recipient of suspicious financial transfers from “residential accounts of the H.O. ‘Igasas.’”

223. International law enforcement and intelligence investigations targeted the IIRO’s mission in the Balkans as well. According to a guidebook on Islamic charitable organizations

printed by NATO in April 1995, “the regional financial accountant for the IIRO, an Egyptian

named Hossam Meawad Mohammad Ali, was detained by Croatian authorities in a raid in Zagreb” for his involvement in alleged criminal activity.

224. In 1993, officials linked members of the Zagreb office of the IIRO to an Islamic extremist group headed by Muhammad Sa’d Darwish al Shazy, which was planning to conduct

anti-Jewish bombings in Croatia. In addition to representatives of IIRO, al Shazy’s organization

included the heads of the Zagreb offices of the Saudi High Commission and the Kuwaiti Joint

Relief Committee, representatives of the Human Relief International, and members of the Qatar

Charitable Society.

225. Through its offices in Kenya, the IIRO provided direct financial and logistical support to al Qaeda terrorists involved in the 1998 bombings of the United States Embassies in

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Dar Es Salam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya. As a result of an investigation into the involvement of the IIRO in the bombings, Kenyan officials deregistered the IIRO's Nairobi office.

226. In October 2001, Pakistani officials identified and expelled some two dozen al Qaeda members who had been working for the IIRO in Pakistan.

227. According to the Indian government, IIRO officials were behind the 1999 al Qaeda plot to attack the U.S. consulates in Madras and Calcutta, in response to the American

military retaliation for the 1998 bombings of the United States Embassies in Dar Es Salaam,

Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya. The operational cell designated to carry out the planned attacks

on the U.S. consulates was led by Sayed Abu Nesir, a Bangladeshi national who was directed to

launch the attacks by Shaykh Ahmed al-Gamdin, Director of IIRO operations in Asia.

228. During his subsequent interrogation, Abu Nesir declared that 40 to 50% of IIRO's charitable funds were being diverted to finance terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and

Kashmir. Among other duties, Abu Nesir visited the training camps on behalf of IIRO to assess

their funding needs. At the direction of al-Gamdin, Nesir himself attended one of the al Qaeda

camps to receive training, where he met Osama bin Laden.

229. Mahmoud Jaballah, head of IIRO's Canadian office, was arrested and jailed by Canadian officials based on his links to al Qaeda and Egyptian al Jihad. Jaballah was accused of

having contact with al Qaeda operatives and had spent three years working for the IIRO in

Pakistan.

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230. In 1991, the IIRO established a U.S. branch in Virginia, under the name International Relief Organization, Inc. ("IRO"). The IRO operated from offices at 360 South

Washington Street, Washington, D.C., where it shared office space with the MWL. The Washington, D.C. offices of the IIRO and MWL were part of a complicated web of for-profit

and ostensible charitable organizations within the United States, referred to by the U.S. government as the Safa Group or SAAR Network, the majority of which maintained offices at

555 Gross Street, Herndon, VA. The SAAR Network of businesses and charities was created to

provide funding, money laundering and other material support to terrorist organizations,

including al Qaeda. In March of 2003, federal authorities executed search warrants at the offices of IIRO in Washington, DC, in connection with an ongoing federal investigation of the illegal activities of the Northern Virginia and Washington based charities and for-profit enterprises within the SAAR Network. Through that investigation, federal authorities determined that the IIRO and MWL offices in Washington, DC provided funding and material support to al Qaeda and Hamas.

231. The IIRO further sponsored al Qaeda through its participation in the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya ("SJRC"). As set forth herein, the SJRC offices in Pristine, Kosovo served as a cover for al Qaeda operatives. Furthermore, between 1998 and 2000, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through SJRC, diverted more than \$74 million to al Qaeda members and loyalists affiliated with SJRC bureaus.

232. Not surprisingly, given the breadth of the IIRO's ties to al Qaeda, the United States has detained several IIRO officials and employees as "enemy combatants." In support of the continued detention of those individuals, the U.S. Government has cited their affiliations with

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IIRO as a "primary factor" favoring detention, and expressly labeled the IIRO as an al Qaeda front.

233. Detainee Samir N. Al Hasan (ISN No. 043) traveled to Afghanistan from Yemen in 1999 or 2000, attended the training camp at al Farouq, and became a bodyguard in August

2001. Al Hasan told U.S. authorities that he was in Afghanistan as a relief worker for the IIRO

and that he received the position from the head of the IIRO. The United States government's

unclassified evidentiary summaries relating to al Hasan assert: "The International Islamic Relief

Organization was identified as an Islamic humanitarian organization with headquarters in Mecca,

Saudi Arabia, and is financed by Usama bin Laden."

234. Detainee Rashed Awad Khalaf Balkhair (ISN No. 186) traveled from Saudi Arabia to Pakistan and Afghanistan in early 2001 and worked for "Al-Ighatha Al-Islamiya,

International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO)." Balkhair was associated with the Taliban and

al Qaeda, and stayed approximately 3 months in a Taliban guesthouse in Jalalabad, Afghanistan.

Moreover, Balkhair's name was listed on a computer hard drive associated with a known terrorist and was further discovered on a list of al Qaeda mujahedin who were in Afghanistan.

The unclassified evidentiary summaries filed in support of Balkhair's continued detention at

Guantanamo Bay state that "the International Islamic Relief Organization is a non-governmental

organization, which has ties to Usama Bin Laden and the Abu Sayyaf Group."

235. Detainee Said Muhammad Husayn Qahtani (Detainee No. 200) traveled multiple times from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan between 2000 and 2001. In May 2000, Qahtani met and

stayed with Abu Zubaydah in a safehouse while waiting to travel to Afghanistan.

Moreover,

during a trip in June 2000, Qahtani joined the Taliban against the Northern Alliance and spent a

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considerable amount of time on the front lines. Qahtani joined al Qaeda after giving an oath of

allegiance ("al bay'ah") to Osama bin Laden, and further met 2 of the 9-11 hijackers – Saeed al

Ghamdi and Ahmed Alnami. According to Department of Defense documentation, Qahtani

contacted relief organizations such as the IIRO and al Haramain with the intention "to join a

relief organization because those entities would offer him a way to get into Chechnya, whose

borders were closed at that time. Once there, the detainee would be free to leave the relief organization and join the fighting."

236. Detainee Abdallah Ibrahim al Rushaydan (ISN No. 343) was captured on December 10, 2001 on the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan. According to the U.S. government: "The International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) is also known as Al Hayat

Al Igatha Al Islamiya Al Aalamiya. According to the media in Asia, the Islamic Nongovernment

Organization known as the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), which is managed by Osama Bin Laden's brother-in-law, has maintained links with the Abu Sayyaf

group (ASG) in the Philippines. Executive Order 13224, which blocks property and prohibits

transactions with persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism, designates the

Abu Sayyaf Group as a global terrorist entity."

237. Significantly, in response to the U.S. government's assertion that the IIRO is a

front for terrorism, al Rushaydan testified that the IIRO “is a government organization managed by Dr. Adnan Basha who holds the rank of Minister. [IIRO] is a government organization under the Islamic World League and all charity organizations are under the Senior Director for charity organizations, Ameer Nayef (King Nayef), who is the Saudi Minister of Interior.”

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238. Detainee Rashid Abd al Muslih Qaid al Qaid (ISN No. 344) traveled from his home in Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan in October 2001 with an individual who was identified as a member of the al Qaeda mujahideen. Al Qaid himself was also designated by the Saudi government as a high priority target. The United States government’s unclassified evidentiary summaries relating to al Qaid state: “The detainee and both of his traveling companions, Al Nur and Wasim, traveled to carry out charity work in conjunction with a Saudi charity, al-ighatha alkhairia.” “Al Ighatha is a large Saudi NGO with field offices worldwide, many of which are staffed by or support terrorists or mujahidin. The NGO is linked to al Qaida and other extremist NGOs.”

239. Detainee Ghanim Abd al Rahman Ghanim al Huwaymadi al Harbi (ISN No. 516) was working in the IIRO finance department in Jeddah during the summer of 2000. Al Harbi responded to a fatwa that requires all Muslims to train and be prepared to defend Islam at any time. Although he was prohibited from traveling outside of Saudi Arabia, al Harbi traveled to Afghanistan during the summer of 2001 via Bahrain and Pakistan. Al Harbi testified that he was a “governmental employee of a charitable organization” known as the International Islamic Relief Organization. In addition, al Harbi acknowledged during his testimony that he received training at the al Farouq camp in Afghanistan, a known al Qaeda facility, which he understood to be a “charity funded camp.”

240. Detainee Tariq Mahmoud Ahmed al Sawah (ISN No. 535) is a former relief worker for the IIRO in Bosnia and Croatia. Al Sawah testified that he chose to go to the Balkans region after watching videos depicting the atrocities committed by Serbs against Bosnians, and eventually joined the Bosnian Third Army, whose members were predominantly Arab

Mujahideen fighters. Al Sawah admitted to being a member of the mujihadeen since 1992.

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According to the U.S. government: “The International Islamic Relief Organization, also known

as the World Islamic Relief Organization, is the largest Islamic charity organization in Saudi

Arabia. International investigations have disclosed the organization has connections to terrorist

financing activities and its field offices throughout the world have supported terrorist activity.”

241. Al Sawah was expelled from Bosnia in 2000 and traveled to Afghanistan where he attended the al Farouq training camp and further served as an advanced explosives trainer at

the Tarnak Farm training camp. In 2002, he met Ayman al Zawahiri and also attended a banquet

dinner with Osama bin Laden and a senior al Qaeda lieutenant. Moreover, al Sawah authored a

400 page manuscript containing bomb-making techniques and provided it to al Qaeda members.

His design for a shoe bomb technically matched the design of the failed explosive device used by

shoe bomber Richard Reid.

242. Detainee Ahmed Hassan Jamil Suleyman (ISN No. 662), who performed volunteer work for the IIRO, was identified as a senior al Qaeda commander and trainer with

contacts to Osama bin Laden, Sheikh al Liby and Abu Zubayda. Suleyman was also a member

of Makthab al Khidmat and associated with Makhtab al Khidmat (the “Office of Services”).

According to Department of Defense documentation: “The detainee occasionally would perform

volunteer work with the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO). The IIRO has connections to terrorist organizations and has channeled funds to Islamic extremists from Afghanistan.”

243. Detainee Abdul Latif Elbanna (ISN No. 905) worked for the IIRO. The unclassified evidentiary summaries filed in support of Elbanna’s continued detention at Guantanamo Bay state: “In 1990 the detainee worked at an Islamic Relief organization (IRO)

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called Haiat Ali Ghatha Al Islami Al Alamia. He lived for free at a guesthouse owned by the

charity in the Hayat Abad district of Peshawar. Fighters from Afghanistan stayed at the

guesthouse. The International Islamic Relief Organization/Hay-at al-Igathat al-Islamiyya al-Alamiyah of Saudi Arabia is designated a Tier 1 Non-Governmental Organization having demonstrated sustained and active support for terrorist organizations willing to attack U.S. persons or interests.”

#### **WORLD ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH**

244. The World Assembly of Muslim Youth (“WAMY”) is also a subsidiary of the MWL. Founded in 1972 and headquartered in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, WAMY has a physical and

operational presence in at least 56 countries worldwide. In addition, WAMY conducts activities

in many countries in which it does not maintain a formal physical presence, through its association and membership in other Islamic organizations and committees, including its membership in the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya (“SJRC”).

245. Like the MWL and IIRO, WAMY is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. WAMY was established by MWL, itself an alter-ego of the Kingdom, with the formal approval of high ranking officials of the Kingdom. The vast majority

of WAMY’s funding is provided by the Kingdom. In addition, WAMY’s leadership is dominated by high ranking officials of the Kingdom. For example, Dr. Maneh el Johani simultaneously served as both the Secretary General of WAMY and a member of the Kingdom’s

Shura Council. While head of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Saleh bin Abdul Aziz al Sheikh

also served as a chairman of WAMY and al Haramain Islamic Foundation.

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246. Mutaz Saleh Abu Unuq, Financial Director of WAMY, has confirmed in affidavit testimony that WAMY was established by Royal Decree in 1972, and that “WAMY is governed

principally by its General Assembly and President who was appointed by the Saudi Government.

The current President of WAMY is the Minister of Islamic Affairs in Saudi Arabia. The daily

operations of WAMY are supervised by its Secretary General. The Government of Saudi Arabia

funds a large portion of WAMY’s budget.”

247. Outside of Saudi Arabia, the operations of WAMY’s branch offices are directed and closely supervised by local Saudi embassies. According to Dr. Abdullah Wahab Noorwali,

Assistant Secretary General of WAMY, the Kingdom “provides us with protection abroad

through Saudi embassies and consulates, in addition to financial support.” As Arafat el Asahi’s

previously cited Canadian court testimony confirms, the Saudi embassies do not tolerate any deviation by the Saudi da'awa organizations under their supervision from Saudi government policy.

248. The operations of WAMY's branch offices are closely supervised and directed by WAMY's central leadership in Saudi Arabia as well, and functionally operate as agents of the central organization. WAMY's central authority in Saudi Arabia uses a variety of mechanisms to rigidly control the branch offices. WAMY's General Assembly and Board of Trustees in Saudi Arabia set policies and procedures for all WAMY branch offices, and hand-pick the officials who run those branch offices. WAMY headquarters also selects the projects and causes for which funds are to be raised by the WAMY offices throughout the world. Funds raised by the branch offices are transferred back to the organization's headquarters, which then redistributes those funds to the regional offices, to be applied to projects and causes selected by WAMY's central leadership. WAMY's branch offices are required to submit detailed reports of

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their activities and finances to the central leadership in Saudi Arabia, for review and approval.

High ranking WAMY officials from Saudi Arabia also conduct periodic inspections of the branch offices. In addition, by virtue of its close relationship with the Kingdom's government,

WAMY is able to use the Kingdom's governmental apparatus throughout the world, including the embassies, to monitor the day to day activities of the branches.

249. For more than a decade, WAMY has knowingly and intentionally used its international infrastructure as a tool for supporting the al Qaeda movement, on both the ideological and military fronts. As a result of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's extensive patronage, WAMY possesses a multi-million dollar annual budget. WAMY dedicates a significant portion of that budget to the publication and worldwide dissemination of literature

calculated to promote the global jihadist agenda, convince young Muslims to reject the United

States and democratic ideas as evil and non-Muslim, demonize Christians, Jews and non-Wahhabi Muslims, and convince young Muslims to engage in violent jihad against the West and

Israel.

250. Virulently anti-American, anti-Semitic and pro-jihadist propaganda pervade WAMY's "educational" publications. For example, under the heading "The Prophet asks for Jihad," the WAMY book *Islamic Views* says, "The Prophet Mohammad fought against the infidels and the Jews till he triumphed over them and conducted himself about twenty invasions and he sent tens of regiments led by his companions for Jihad...Damn from Allah to the Jews who made graves of their prophets as Masjid." Later, *Islamic Views* says Islam "is a religion of Jihad" and that jihad "was an answer for the Jews, the liars." "[T]each our children to love taking revenge on the Jews and the oppressors, and teach them that our youngsters will liberate Palestine and al-Quds when they go back to Islam and make Jihad for the sake of Allah."

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*Islamic Views* further exhorts Muslims to wage "Jihad against the Satan," and that "You should not back the Jews and the Christians and the Communists against the Muslims; the Communists, the Infidels, the Jews, and the Christians, those who do not believe in Mohammed. You should say they are infidels."

251. The jihad WAMY advocates in its publications is intensely violent. According to a WAMY policy statement, "[a] Christian should be asked to repent. If he does not he must be

killed." See *Written Statement of James B. Jacobsen, President of Christian Solidarity International*, submitted to the Sub-Committee of International Relations and Human Rights,

Hearing on Persecution of Christians Worldwide, February 15, 1996. The book *Islamic Camps:*

*Objectives, Program Outlines and Preparatory Steps*, prepared by WAMY's Camps and Conferences Unit and intended to serve as a manual for Islamic youth camps, suggests that

youths attending WAMY camps be led in the following refrain:

Hail! Hail! O Sacrificing Soldiers! To Us! To Us!

So we may defend the flag on this Day of Jihad, are you miserly with your blood?!

And has life become dearer to you? And staying behind sweeter?

Is staying in this world of torment more pleasing to us?

You are amongst those called upon by Destiny.

Come! So we may revive the times the times of our predecessors!

252. Through these and other WAMY publications, as well as the madrassas, camps,

Islamic Centers, mosques, conferences and other events it sponsors, WAMY has provided the ideological foundation for the al Qaeda movement, and actively advocated young Muslims to take up arms and engage in violent jihad against the United States. In this regard, WAMY has

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played a critical role in al Qaeda's cultural assault on the United States and democratic institutions throughout the world.

253. Consistent with the extremist agenda it advocates, WAMY has immersed itself deeply in the militant endeavors of the global jihadist movement as well, actively supporting the

militant and terrorist activities of al Qaeda and associated organizations in Bosnia, Chechnya,

Kosovo, Kashmir, Pakistan, South East Asia, the United States and elsewhere.

254. WAMY's pervasive involvement in supporting al Qaeda fighters and associated local jihadist groups in regional conflicts was well documented prior to September 11, 2001. On

December 5, 1992, the *New York Times* identified WAMY as a front for armed Islamic jihad in

Bosnia. According to the article, *Muslims From Afar Joining "Holy War" in Bosnia:*

The conflict between Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia and

Herzegovina... has been adopted by Islamic fundamentalists as the newest holy war against Christian infidels bent on the destruction of Islam.

In the last few weeks, the conflict has lured several hundred militants, many of them veterans of the war in Afghanistan, to volunteer for the Bosnian forces....

The volunteers are sponsored by a variety of militant religious organizations and often have their expenses and plane fare covered.... Despite formal denials from the relief organizations, Saudi officials say an increasing amount of the charity on behalf of the Bosnians is now used to provide arms and logistical support for Arab volunteers.

"Since August, most of the money raised for relief has been turned over to the Bosnians for weapons," a Saudi official.... The World Assembly of Muslim Youth, which organized relief operations in Afghanistan and is now deeply involved in the conflict in the Balkans, flies back wounded Saudi fighters and provides free medical care in the Saudi German hospital.

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255. Within the same article, Adel Batterjee, the then chairman of WAMY, acknowledged the organization's role in supporting armed Islamic jihad in Bosnia: "if a relief

worker decides that he wants to join the fighting forces, we would not stop him....”

Following

the September 11, 2001 attack, Adel Batterjee was formally designated as a terrorist sponsor and

supporter pursuant to Executive Order 13224.

256. In May of 2000, Russian officials similarly accused the SJRC, the committee through which WAMY conducted activities in Chechnya, of financing and otherwise supporting

Islamic terrorists and separatists in that region. According to a May 19, 2000 article in the Russian newspaper *ITAR-TASS*, *Chechen Separatists Said Funded by Several Foreign Sources*:

The aid to Chechens fighting against Russia, is delivered from the organization of humanitarian assistance to Muslims of Kosovo and Chechnya (the SJRC)....

Officially, the money is sent to Chechnya to be used for religious events and Islamic feasts, but is actually used to finance rebel troops [a representative of the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB)].

According to available information, part of the money is transferred to banking accounts of some warlords, including Shamil Basayev and Khattab...

Russia's security services are aware that these people are financing rebel forces, overseeing arms, food and medicine deliveries, as well as arranging treatment for the wounded and paying allowances to guerillas.

257. Significantly, Amir Khattab, one of the individuals who received financing directly from WAMY and the SJRC, is a senior al Qaeda member who was deployed to Chechnya by Osama bin Laden to organize al Qaeda's operations in that area. According to the

1998 Department of Defense Intelligence Report:

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In 1995, Khattab appeared in Chechnya to carry out a special mission assigned to him by Usama ben Laden to organize training camps for international terrorists.... He was a colonel, fought as a field commander, and was wounded in the hand. Khattab organized three training camps in the Vedeno and Nojai-Urt areas of the forested mountain zone. Graduation is held at the three camps every two months. They are very equipped, with firing range facilities and capabilities to create models of "sites of diversion," as well as classes for sappers and snipers.

258. By no later than 1999, the details of bin Laden's direct links to Khattab and the Chechen mujihadeen were the subject of widespread reporting in the mainstream media.

For

instance, in August of 1999, NBC News published a report, *U.S. Links bin Laden to Chechnya*,

stating that “Osama bin Laden is financing the Chechen operation in Dagestan...” The article, which was based on information provided by senior U.S. intelligence officials, explained that the “key bin Laden connection” to the Chechen jihadists was Amir Khattab, and that their relationship was so close that bin Laden was considering relocating from Afghanistan to areas of Chechnya under Khattab’s control.

259. Prior to the September 11th Attack, WAMY officials made little effort to conceal their involvement in sponsoring armed jihad in Chechnya. To the contrary, at least within the Arabic press, WAMY officials openly acknowledged that the organization was deeply involved in sponsoring militant activities in Chechnya. For example, in a January 15, 2000 article published in *Al Jazeera* newspaper, *The Chechen Tragedy – The Reality and the Required Role*,

Dr. Maneh al Johani, the Secretary General of WAMY, wrote as follows:

[I] want to stress that these heroic Moslems, the Mujihadeen who are standing strong, deserve to receive our support and we must invest all of our energy in aiding them when they are being fed the taste of defeat once again. ... It should be pointed out that WAMY has doubled its efforts and has placed all of its branches inside and outside of the Kingdom on alert to serve the Chechen issue and to implement the aid program for the Chechen refugees.

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1. The question that must be asked is: What do the Chechen Muslims need from us today?

**2. *They need money to buy arms and ammunition. (emphasis supplied)***

The Islamic awakening, which is growing, praise be to Allah, is that which worries the Communist East and Heretic West, and they are afraid they will awaken one day and the Muslims will demand payment of a poll tax.

Triumph is coming and Islam will remain and Allah will rise and be victorious. I request Allah for our brothers Mujihadeen in Chechnya and Dagestan, stability, reinforcements and victory.

260. Significantly, al Jahari published his call for Muslims to donate funds to WAMY to buy “arms and ammunition” for the “mujihadeen” in Chechnya and Dagestan well after the direct and close relationship between those militants and al Qaeda had been widely detailed in the media and elsewhere.

261. Philippine officials also publicly implicated WAMY in the financing of terrorist activities in Southeast Asia in the years prior to the September 11th Attacks. According to a

January 15, 1999 article in the *Australian General News, Phillipines Suspect Australian Group of Helping Rebels*, the government of the Phillipines accused WAMY's Australian branch of financing the Moro Islamic Liberation Front ("MILF"). MILF was responsible for several bombings and attacks on remote villages in the Phillipines that forced 400 civilians to flee in

January of 1999. In February of 1999, MILF Chief Hashim Salamat publicly confirmed that

MILF had received funds from Osama bin Laden.

262. Statements by government officials and press reports in the years preceding the September 11th attack also reveal WAMY's extensive role in supporting al Qaeda activities in

Kashmir. According to a December 8, 1995 article in the periodical *Money Clips, Kashmiri*

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*Leader Thanks WAMY for Help*, a Kashmiri leader publicly thanked WAMY during a press

conference for "helping the Mujihadeen in their struggle for independence from India."

Separate

articles published prior to September 11, 2001 reveal that WAMY funneled support to the Students' Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), Lashkar-e-Taibah and Hizb ul Mujahideen, three

violent jihadist groups operating under the broader al Qaeda umbrella. *See SIMI: Nursery of*

*Hate, India Today*, April 2, 2001; *ISI Twin Plan – Attack Christians, Defame Hindu Outfits, The*

*Economic Times of India*, July 15, 2000; *Kashmir: Hizb-Ul-Mojahedin Chief Explains Reasons*

*Behind Cease Fire, BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, August 23, 2000; *Pakistani Behind Chruch*

*Blast Say Police, The Statesmen (India)*, July 14, 2000. In an interview contained in one of the

articles, SIMI head Safdar Nagori publicly confirmed his organization's allegiance to al Qaeda:

Q: In your conferences, you have openly eulogized Osama bin Laden.

A: Not once, but dozens of times. We believe he has shown great character in standing up the Americans, the biggest terrorists in the World.

263. In March of 2003, al Qaeda military chief Abu Zubaydah was arrested at a Lahkar-e-Taibah safehouse in Islamabad, confirming the depth of collaboration and reciprocal

support between those two terrorist organizations.

264. WAMY Secretary General, Dr. Maneh al Johani, said that Muslims should come

forward to wage jihad to liberate Kashmir. Speaking at a Muslim World League auditorium in 1991, al Johani stated that jihad could be performed in many forms, asserting that Muslims can go to the battlefield to wage a war against the enemies of Islam or they can give their moral, physical and financial support to the cause of jihad.

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265. WAMY's sponsorship of jihadist activity in Kashmir was channeled through its offices in Pakistan, which sponsored al Qaeda activity in that country as well. In connection with a crackdown on terrorist activity prompted by the September 11th Attack, Pakistani authorities deported 89 employees of ostensible NGOs in October of 2001, based on their suspected ties to terrorism. WAMY was among the organizations whose "employees" were specifically targeted by the measure. Pakistani intelligence officials, operating in conjunction with agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigations of the United States, raided WAMY's Pakistani offices approximately one year later, as part of ongoing counter-terrorism efforts.

WAMY's close ties to senior al Qaeda cells in Afghanistan and Pakistan were revealed just one week after the raid, when an employee of WAMY hand delivered a recorded message from Osama bin Laden to an Arab television network in Islamabad.

266. That incident did not represent the first occasion on which WAMY was involved in transferring information on behalf of al Qaeda. During the investigation into the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, U.S. officials discovered an al Qaeda training manual in the possession of Ahmed Ajaj, who was later convicted for his role in that attack. The manual, entitled "*Military Lessons In The Jihad Against The Tyrants*," was distributed to Ajaj by WAMY and detailed how to establish and maintain clandestine operational sales. The same manual was subsequently recovered from the London apartment of African embassy bomber Khalid al-Fawwaz in 1998.

267. Until shortly after the September 11th Attack, WAMY also maintained a physical presence in the United States, from which the organization channeled material support and resources to al Qaeda. WAMY's U.S. offices were established in Falls Church, VA in 1992 by Abdullah bin Laden and Omar bin Laden, blood nephews of al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden.

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Under Abdullah bin Laden's leadership, WAMY's U.S. branch was deeply involved in the

terrorist activities of the SAAR Network of businesses and charities. Federal authorities raided

WAMY's U.S. offices in 2002, in connection with an ongoing investigation of the SAAR Network's role in sponsoring al Qaeda.

268. Despite the increased scrutiny of WAMY's operations following the September 11th Attack, the organization continues to sponsor al Qaeda and associated terrorist organizations and separatist movements to this day, demonstrating the organization's deep and

longstanding commitment to al Qaeda's global jihad.

269. In June of 2002, Indian authorities arrested two men under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, after determining that they had transferred funds to Sayed Ali Shah Geelani, the

leader of the Fundamentalist Jamaat-e-Islami party. According to sources within India's government, the two men, Farooq Ahmed and Mohammed Maqbool, were given funds by Nazir

Qureshi, a senior WAMY official, to be covertly delivered to Geelani. Geelani previously had

been arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act based on his involvement in transferring

money to militant organizations in Kashmir.

270. In September of 2003, Romanian intelligence officials implicated WAMY in an al Qaeda plot to hijack a plane departing from Romania and crash it into Heathrow Airport in

London. According to an article published by the *Global New Wire* on September 5, 2003,

*Intelligence Service "Alert" Watches Egypt's "Muslim Brothers" in Romania*, the plot was

being coordinated by al Qaeda affiliated members of the Muslim Brotherhood in Romania.

Quoting information obtained from Romanian intelligence officials, the article asserts that the

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Romanian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood acts under the cover of various humanitarian organizations, and receives most of its funds from WAMY.

271. Statements by Treasury Department officials, testifying before Congress, further confirm that WAMY continues to serve as a front for al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.

During a July 13, 2005 Hearing on Money Laundering and Terror Financing Issues in the Middle

East before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, Treasury Under

Secretary Stuart Levey asserted that “wealthy Saudi financiers and charities have funded terrorist organizations and causes that support terrorism and the ideology that fuels the terrorists’ agenda... Even today, we believe that Saudi donors may still be a significant source of terrorist financing, including for the insurgency in Iraq.” Levey expressed particular concern about the continued involvement of WAMY, the IIRO and MWL in the financing of terrorist activities throughout the globe

272. As is the case with the MWL and IIRO, the United States has detained a number of WAMY employees as enemy combatants, and the unclassified evidentiary summaries prepared by the Department of Defense for those detainees specifically detail WAMY’s support for al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.

273. For instance, the United States government’s unclassified evidentiary summaries relating to detainee Mammur Ameer (ISN No. 939) state the following regarding WAMY: “In 1996, the detainee resigned from the EHRO [Egyptian Human Relief Organization] and remained unemployed afterward. The detainee was arrested with an individual, who worked for several years for a Saudi organization called WAMY. The World Assembly of Muslim Youth

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(WAMY) is an NGO operating in Afghanistan and may be associated with Usama Bin Laden and/or al Qaeda.”

274. Detainee Adel Hassan Hamed (ISN No. 940) was employed by Lajnat al Daawa al Islamiya (“LDI”) in Afghanistan and Pakistan from 1986-1999. LDI is a non-governmental organization that operates in Afghanistan and is affiliated with Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda operations. When Hamed was laid off from the LDI in 1999, he was hired as the Director of the WAMY hospital in Afghanistan. “WAMY is a non-government organization operating in Afghanistan that may be affiliated with Usama Bin Ladin and al Qaeda operations. According to top WAMY officials, both the United States and Israel must be destroyed. WAMY provides financial support to the Palestinians fighting against Israel. In addition, WAMY has put forward a proposal that the Palestinians should declare open war on Israel.”

#### **AL HARAMAIN ISLAMIC FOUNDATION**

275. Defendant al Haramain Islamic Foundation (“al Haramain”) is a Saudi Arabiabased ostensible charity, with branch offices in approximately 50 countries.

276. Al Haramain is an agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs al Haramain operations, appoints and terminates al Haramain personnel, provides al Haramain with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be distributed throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls al Haramain's operations. In many countries, al Haramain conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy, under the supervision of the embassy's Islamic Affairs Division.

277. Al Haramain officials have acknowledged that their operations are under the control and direction of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. According to the affidavit testimony of

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the Financial and Administrative Manager of al Haramain, Khalid bin Obaid Azzahri, "al Haramain operates under the supervision of the Saudi Minister of Islamic Affairs, who appoints

its Board of Directors and senior management personnel." Moreover, al Haramain's general

director, Sheik Aqeel Abdulaziz al Aqil, stated that "we work under the supervision of Saudi

government." Al Aqil has also acknowledged that more than 95% of al Haramain's funding

comes directly from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In an August 25, 2002 report posted on al

Haramain's website, the Chairman of the Africa Committee of al Haramain, al Sheikh Muhmad

al Tujri, declared that al Haramain's activities in Kenya were under the "direct supervision" of

the Saudi embassy in that country. A separate report on al Haramain's website that month indicated that the Saudi Interior Minister had directed the organization to provide assistance to

Afghani refugees.

278. The 9-11 Commission Staff Monograph on terrorism financing further indicates that at least two government ministers held supervisory roles over al Haramain.

279. International investigations have confirmed al Haramain's direct and pervasive complicity in al Qaeda's operations and attacks throughout the world.

280. In 2002, an intelligence report from the Bosnian Intelligence Services (Agency for Investigation and Documentation or "AID") revealed the active role of Vakufska Banka D.D. in

terrorism funding. Indeed, AID described Vakufska Banka D.D. and the merged Depozitna

Banka D.D., as a financial platform assisting al Haramain Islamic Foundation and al Qaeda

activities:

The HO (al Haramain) spent around 13 KM (\$7,647,000) between its foundation in 1997 and the end of last year 2000. Financial transactions were through accounts at the Depozit[na] Bank, now Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 84 of 154

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the Vakufska Bank, whose major shareholders have been linked with PIS operating illegal money laundering.

The Bosnian Intelligence memo regarding the activities of al Haramain states the following:

Given all the above security factors, we believe that the clear lack of any concrete humanitarian projects indicates that the existence of this HO [Humanitarian Organization] was a fictitious cover (...)

The report establishes al Haramain's role in financing and assisting Osama bin Laden operations:

Saudi HO [Humanitarian Organization] Al Haramain, (...) has acted as a channel for financing the activities of terrorist organizations. (...) According to available intelligence, the Sarajevo office assisted the terrorist organization Gama Al Islamija, while members of Bin Laden's El Itihad al Islamija (AIAI) terrorist groups were employed at the Somalia offices, which also financed their operations.

281. The charity allegedly wired \$1 million to Chechen rebels in 1999 and arranged to buy 500 heavy weapons for them from Taliban units. The Russian security service, FSB, has

publicly alleged that Al Baraka Bank was used by al Haramain to funnel money to Islamic

resistance fighters in Chechnya.

282. On March 11, 2002, the United States designated the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia branches of al Haramain, based on their extensive and pervasive involvement in the

funding of al Qaeda's activities in those two countries. According to the designation:

The Bosnia office of Al Haramain is linked to Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya, an Egyptian terrorist group (designated under Executive Order 13224 on October 31, 2001) that was a signatory to UBL's February 23, 1998 fatwa against the United States.

U.S. Treasury Department officials further noted the Somalia branch's support for the al Qaeda network and a Somali terrorist organization:

The Somalia office ... is linked to Usama bin Laden's al Qaida network and Al-Itihaad al-Islamiyya (AIAI), a Somali terrorist group (designated under Executive Order 13224 on September 23, Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 85 of 154

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2001). Al Haramain Somalia employed AIAI members and provided them with salaries through al Barakaat Bank (designated under Executive Order 13224 on November 7, 2001), which was a primary source of terrorist funding. Al Haramain Somalia

continued to provide material and financial support for AIAI even after the group's designation under E.O. 13224 and UNSCR 1333. Money was funneled to AIAI by disguising funds as if they were intended for orphanage projects or Islamic schools.

283. On January 22, 2004, the United States designated the al Haramain branches in Indonesia, Kenya, Tanzania and Pakistan for providing "financial, material and logistical support

to Usama bin Laen's (UBL's) al-Qaida network and other terrorist organizations."

284. The Indonesian Office of al Haramain had diverted funds to al Qaeda affiliated terrorists for weapons procurement, and directly funded the deadly October 12, 2002 Bali nightclub bombing. In addition to providing financial support to al Qaeda operatives in the

country and to the Jemmah Islamiyah terrorist group, a senior al Qaeda official apprehended in

Southeast Asia, Omar al Faruq, told authorities that al Haramain served as a primary source of

al Qaeda funding throughout Southeast Asia.

285. In the press release issued in conjunction with the designation of the Kenyan and Tanzanian offices of al Haramain, the U.S. Treasury Department described al Haramain's extensive involvement in terrorist activity within Africa as follows:

As early as 1997, U.S. and other friendly authorities were informed that the Kenyan branch of AHF was involved in plotting terrorist attacks against Americans. As a result, a number of individuals connected to AHF in Kenya were arrested and later deported by Kenyan authorities.

In August 1997, an AHF employee indicated that the planned attack against the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi would be a suicide bombing carried out by crashing a vehicle into the gate of the Embassy. A wealthy AHF official outside East Africa agreed to provide the necessary funds. Information available to the U.S.

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shows that AHF was used as a cover for another organization whose priorities include dislike for the U.S. government's alleged anti-Muslim stance and purposed [sic] U.S. support for Christian movements fighting Islamic countries.

Also in 1997, AHF senior activities in Nairobi decided to alter their (then) previous plans to bomb the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi and instead sought to attempt the assassination of U.S. citizens.

During this time period, an AHF official indicated he had obtained five hand grenades and seven "bazookas" from a source in Somalia. According to the information available to the U.S., these weapons were to be used in a possible assassination attempt against a U.S. official.

Information available to the U.S. shows that a former Tanzania AHF director was believed to be associated with UBL [Usama Bin

Laden] and was responsible for making preparations for the advance party that planned the August 7, 1998 bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya. As a result of these attacks, 224 people were killed.

Shortly before the dual-Embassy bombing attacks in Kenya and Tanzania, a former AHF official in Tanzania met with another conspirator to the attacks and cautioned the individual against disclosing knowledge of preparations for the attacks. Around the same time, four individuals led by an AHF official were arrested in Europe. At that time, they admitted maintaining close ties with EIJ and Gamma Islamiyah.

Wadih-El-Hage, a leader of the East African al Qaida cell and personal secretary to UBL [Osama Bin Laden], visited the Kenya offices of AHF before the 1998 dual Embassy attacks. Searches conducted by authorities revealed that El-Hage possessed contact information for a senior AHF official who was head of AHF's Africa Committee, then overseeing authority for AHF's offices in Kenya and Tanzania.

In early 2003, individuals affiliated with AHF in Tanzania discussed the status of plans for an attack against several hotels in Zanzibar. The scheduled attacks did not take place due to increased security by local authorities, but planning for the attacks remained active.

Information made available to the U.S. shows that AHF offices in Kenya and Tanzania provided support, or act for or on behalf of al Qaida and AIM.

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286. The Pakistan office of al Haramain provided funding and logistical support for the acquisition and delivery of Zenit missiles, Sting anti-aircraft missiles, and hand-held anti-tank

weapons to al Qaeda and al Qaeda affiliated militants. In addition: Before the removal of the Taliban from power in Afghanistan, the AHF in Pakistan supported the Taliban and other groups. It was linked to the UBL-financed and designated terrorist organization, Makhtab al-Khidemat (MK). In one instance, some time in 2000, the MK director instructed funds to be deposited in AHF accounts in Pakistan and from there transferred to other accounts.

At least two former AHF employees who worked in Pakistan are suspected of having al-Qaida ties. One AHF employee in Pakistan is detained at Guantanamo Bay on suspicion of financing al-Qaida operations. Another former AHF employee in Islamabad was identified as an alleged al-Qaida member who reportedly planned to carry out several devastating terrorist operations in the United States. In January 2001, extremists with ties to individuals associated with a fugitive UBL lieutenant were indirectly involved

with a Pakistani branch of the AHF.

As of late 2002, a senior member of AHF in Pakistan, who has also been identified as a "bin Laden facilitator," reportedly operated a human smuggling ring to facilitate travel of al-Qaida members and their families out of Afghanistan to various other countries.

AHF in Pakistan also supports the designated terrorist organization, Lashkar E-Taibah (LET).

287. On June 22, 2004, the United States designated the al Haramain branches in Afghanistan, Albania, Bangladesh, Ethiopia and the Netherlands "for the financial, material and

logistical support they provided to the al-Qaida network and other terrorist organizations." The

designation stated the following regarding the al Haramain branch in Afghanistan:

In Afghanistan, prior to the removal of the Taliban from power, AHF supported the cause of Jihad and was linked to the UBL financed Makhtab al-Khidemat (MK), a pre-cursor organization of al Qaida and a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to the authorities of E.O. 13224.

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Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, activities supporting terrorism in Afghanistan continued. In 2002, activities included involvement with a group of persons trained to attack foreigners in Afghanistan. A journalist suspected of meeting with al Qaida and Taliban members in Afghanistan was reportedly transferring funds on behalf of the al Qaida-affiliated AHF and forwarding videotapes from al Qaida leaders to an Arabic language TV network for broadcast.

The Albanian branch of al Haramain was closely linked to Osama bin Laden according to U.S. Treasury officials:

The U.S. has information that indicates UBL may have financed the establishment of AHF in Albania, which has been used as cover for terrorist activity in Albania and in Europe. In late 2000, a close associate of a UBL operative moved to Albania and was running an unnamed AHF subsidiary. In 1998, the head of Egyptian Islamic Jihad in Albania was reportedly also a financial official for AHF in Albania. This individual, Ahmed Ibrahim al-Nagar, was reportedly extradited from Albania to Egypt in 1998. At his trial in Egypt, al-Nager reportedly voiced his support for UBL and al Qaida's August 1998 terrorist attacks against the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

The al Haramain office in Bangladesh conducted surveillance for potential al Qaida attacks on U.S. targets in India:

Information available to the U.S. shows that a senior AHF official deployed a Bangladeshi national to conduct surveillance on U.S. consulates in India for potential terrorist attacks. The Bangladeshi

national was arrested in early 1999 in India, reportedly carrying four pounds of explosives and five detonators. The terrorist suspect told police that he intended to attack U.S. diplomatic missions in India. The suspect reportedly confessed to training in al Qaida terrorist camps in Afghanistan, where he met personally with Usama bin Laden in 1994. The suspect first heard of plans for these attacks at the AHF office in Bangladesh.

288. In Ethiopia, the al Haramain branch provided support to Al Itihaad al Islamiyya (“AIAI”). AIAI has engaged in attacks against Ethiopian defense forces and has been designated

both by the United States and the U.N. 1267 Sanctions Committee. Dutch officials confirmed

that the al Haramain Humanitarian Aid Foundation located in Amsterdam is part of the larger al

Haramain network which has supported terrorism.

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289. Additionally, on June 22, 2004, the United States designated, “the founder and long-time leader of AHF [al Haramain Islamic Foundation] and a suspected al Qaida supporter,”

Aqeel Abdulaziz al Aqil. Al Aqil has been identified as al Haramain’s Chairman, Director

General and President. As al Haramain’s founder and leader, al Aqil controlled the organization

and was responsible for all of its activities, including its support for al Qaeda and other terrorist

organizations. According to U.S. Treasury officials:

When viewed as a single entity, AHF is one of the principal Islamic NGOs providing support for the al Qaida network and promoting militant Islamic doctrine worldwide. Under Al Aqil’s leadership of AHF, numerous AHF field offices and representatives operating throughout Africa, Asia, Europe and North America appeared to be providing financial and material support to the al Qaida network. Terrorist organizations designated by the U.S. including Jemmah Islammiya, Al-Ittihad Al-Islamiya, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, HAMAS and Lashkar ETaibah received funding from AHF and used AHF as a front for fundraising and operational activities.

Under Al-Aqil’s leadership, AHF implemented its tasks through its offices and representatives, which span more than 50 countries around the world. AHF maintained nine general committees and several other “active committees” that included the “Continuous Charity Committee, African Committee, Asian Committee, Da’wah and Sponsorship Committee, Masjid Committee, Seasonal Projects Committee, Doctor’s Committee, European Committee, Internet and the American Committee, the Domestic Committee,

Zakaat Committee and the Worldwide Revenue Promotion Committee.”

290. According to the U.S. Treasury Department evidentiary memorandum detailing al Aqil’s designation pursuant to Executive Order 13224, Mansour Al-Kadi, a Saudi and deputy director general of the al Haramain headquartered in Saudi Arabia, issued an Internet posting which identified al Aqil as the “only individual with final decision making on spending ... and the one with authority to hire employees, even if it is just a janitor ....” Al Kadi is also “head” of al Haramain’s Africa Committee, and vice president of the United States al Haramain branch.

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291. On September 9, 2004, the United States designated the United States branch of al Haramain, along with one of its directors, Soliman al Buthe. In support of the designation, Stuart Levey, U.S. Treasury’s Under-Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, said this: “We continue to use all relevant powers of the U.S. government to pursue and identify the channels of terrorist financing, such as corrupted charities, at home and abroad. Al Haramain has been used around the world to underwrite terror, therefore we have taken this action to excommunicate these two branches and Suliman Al-Buthe from the worldwide financial community.”

292. The United States branch of al Haramain was formally established in 1997. On the United States branch’s tax Form 990 for 2001 filed with the Internal Revenue Service (“IRS”), al Aqil is identified as the President, al Kadi as the Vice-President, al Buthe as the Treasurer, and Perouz Sedaghaty as the Secretary. The U.S. branch’s Article of Incorporation and application to the IRS for tax-exempt status also list al Aqil and al Kadi as members of the board of directors. Additional documents naming al Buthe as the organization’s attorney and providing him with broad legal authority were signed by al Aqil.

293. The assets of the al Haramain branch, which is headquartered in Ashland, Oregon, were blocked as a result of an investigation involving agents from the Internal Revenue Service –

Criminal Investigations (“IRS-CI”), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (“FBI”), and the Department of Homeland Security’s Immigration and Customs Enforcement (“ICE”).

294. In February 2004, the United States Attorney’s Office for the District of Oregon announced the execution of a federal search warrant against the Ashland, Oregon property which

has been purchased on behalf of the Al Haramain Islamic Foundation, Inc. The search was conducted pursuant to a criminal investigation into violations of the Internal Revenue Code,

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Money Laundering Control Act and Bank Secrecy Act. The accompanying affidavit by IRS

Special Agent Colleen Anderson alleges al Haramain and its officers attempted to conceal the

transfer of \$130,000 in American Express traveler's checks and a \$21,000 cashier's check

intended for aid to Muslims in Chechnya in mid-March of 2000. The affidavit also states that on

several occasions from 1997 to 2001, Soliman H. al Buthe, co-founder of the U.S. branch of Al

Haramain, brought significant sums of traveler's checks into the United States, according to

declarations he made when entering the country. In 13 trips, he reported bringing in \$777,845,

of which \$206,000 was used to buy the Ashland headquarters in 1997. But there is no explanation for the balance, Anderson wrote.

295. In early 2000, an Egyptian doctor wired a \$150,000 donation from his London bank account to al Haramain's Ashland bank, according to the affidavit. An e-mail from the

doctor said the money was meant "to participate in your noble support to our Muslim brothers in

Chechnya." At the time, Russian forces were battling Chechen rebels for control of the region.

The fight was considered a jihad, or holy war, by some Muslim factions.

296. The affidavit said that eleven (11) days after the doctor's donation showed up in Oregon, al Buthe traveled to Ashland from Saudi Arabia. He joined Perouz Sedaghaty (a/k/a

"Pete Seda"), co-founder of the U.S. branch of al Haramain, at an Ashland bank and the two took

out \$130,000 – buying 130 traveler's checks in \$1,000 denominations, the affidavit said. A bank

clerk suggested it would be easier to issue a cashier's check, the affidavit said.

297. "Seda said he could not take a cashier's check because the money was to help people and a lot of times these people may not be able to negotiate a cashier's check," the affidavit said. Seda took an additional \$21,000 in a cashier's check, giving that to al Buthe, the

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affidavit said. The check had the notation: "Donations for Chichania [sic] Refugees," the

affidavit said. The affidavit said Seda – using the name Abu Yunus – signed an agreement with al Buthe saying he was relinquishing the money for “brothers and sisters in Chechnya.” 298. Within days, al Buthe returned to Saudi Arabia, failing to declare to Customs, as required, that he was taking the traveler’s checks out of the United States, the affidavit said.

Once back in Saudi Arabia, al Buthe cashed the traveler’s checks in for Saudi riyals at the Al Rajhi Bank. The money then disappeared, presumably to be smuggled into Chechnya. Al Buthe deposited the remainder into his bank account.

299. Al Haramain’s 2000 tax return underreported income by \$21,000, underreported grants by \$150,000, and overstated the price of a second prayer house that al Haramain bought in Missouri. The tax return shows that Sedaghaty, or one of his associates, improperly listed the \$131,300 disbursement to al Buthe as funds used to purchase the Springfield prayer house.

300. On September 9, 2010, a grand jury in Eugene, Oregon convicted Sedaghaty of two felonies related to the organization’s efforts to send nearly \$150,000 to support extremist militants in Chechnya. He was convicted of all charges, which included a charge that he filed a false tax return and conspired to file a false tax return as part of al Haramain’s efforts to hide the trail of money. [Sentencing is scheduled for Nov. 23, 2010 – may want to add in here when sentenced]

301. The United States also further designated the al Haramain branch located in the Union of the Comoros on September 9, 2004 based on information that two associates of that branch were linked to al Qaeda. According to the transcript from *U.S. v. Osama Bin Laden*, the

Union of the Comoros was used as a staging area and exfiltration route for the perpetrators of the

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1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The al Haramain branches in

Kenya and Tanzania were previously designated for providing financial and other operational support to these terrorist attacks.

302. Finally, on June 19, 2008, the U.S. Treasury Department designated the Saudibased headquarters of the al Haramain Islamic Foundation “for having provided financial and material support to al Qaida, as well as a wide range of designated terrorists and terrorist organizations.” According to the designation:

Today's action targets the entirety of the AHF organization, including its headquarters in Saudi Arabia. Evidence demonstrates that the AHF organization was involved in providing financial and logistical support to the al Qaeda network and other terrorist organizations designated by the United States and the United Nations.

303. Al Haramain has also sponsored al Qaeda activity within Europe, through the al Nur Mosque. According to German officials, the al Nur Mosque served as a meeting place, recruitment center and base of operations for al Qaeda within Germany. At the direction of the

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, al Haramain contributed in excess of \$1 million dollars to the Mosque, funding the purchase of the land for the Mosque as well as its construction.

304. Al Haramain also sponsored al Qaeda operations in Chechnya and Kosovo through its participation in the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya ("SJRC"). As set forth previously, the SJRC offices in Pristine, Kosovo served as a cover for al

Qaeda operatives. Furthermore, between 1998 and 2000, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through

the SJRC, diverted more than \$74 million to al Qaeda members and loyalists affiliated with

SJRC bureaus.

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305. Al Haramain has advertised its connection to al Qaeda. Al Haramain's website used to have a direct link to the al Qaeda site about the Chechnyan operations (qoqaz.com). The

website is part of the al Qaeda propaganda organization, Azzam Publications group of websites,

including qoqaz.com, qoqaz.net, and azzam.com (among others).

306. According to the 1996 Central Intelligence Agency Report, al Haramain directly funded and supported a mujahideen battalion in Zenica, was involved in illegal smuggling

activities, and has further been linked to illegal funding through drugs and prostitution.

307. Predictably, al Haramain employees and associates feature prominently among the persons detained as enemy combatants at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba following the September

11, 2001 attacks.

308. Detainee Zaid Muhamamd Sa'ad al Husayn (ISN No. 050) left Saudi Arabia for Afghanistan in July 2001 after being inspired by flyers posted by al Haramain. According to the

U.S. government: "The al Haramayn Foundation (aka Al Haramayn Islamic Foundation (HIF))

is designated as a Tier 1 Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). Tier 1 targets are defined as

terrorist groups, especially those with state support, that have demonstrated the intention and the capability to attack United States Persons or interests.”

309. Detainee Abdel Hadi Mohammed Badan al Sebairi (ISN No. 064) worked as a volunteer for al Haramain. Department of Defense documentation states that al Haramain “is an NGO with known ties to al Qaida and Usama Bin Laden” and further asserts: “Al Haramain has been connected with violent Islamic groups and possible financial support of militant groups. They’re known to support Islamic extremist elements in 17 countries or regions.”

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310. Detainee Abdul Rahman Owaid Mohammad al Juaid (Detainee No. 179) provided monetary support to al Haramain, traveled from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan in 2001, and was identified on a jihadist website on a list of mujahideen captured by the U.S. military in Afghanistan. According to the unclassified evidentiary summaries submitted in support of his continued detention: “The Al Haramain Islamic Foundation is on a terrorism blacklist because of ‘financial, material and logistical support’ they provided to the al Qaida network and other terrorist organization.” “Foreign Government Services officials believe that Al Haramain might be a cover organization for Osama Bin Laden’s al Qaida network. Saudi mujahedin are known to work in Al Haramain regional offices around the world.”

311. Detainee Said Muhammad Husayn Qahtani (Detainee No. 200) traveled multiple times from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan between 2000 and 2001. In May 2000, Qahtani met and stayed with Abu Zubaydah in a safehouse while waiting to travel to Afghanistan. Moreover, during a trip in June 2000, Qahtani joined the Taliban against the Northern Alliance and spent a considerable amount of time on the front lines. Qahtani joined al Qaeda after giving an oath of allegiance (“al bay’ah”) to Osama bin Laden, and further met 2 of the 9-11 hijackers – Saeed al Ghamdi and Ahmed Alnami. According to Department of Defense documentation, Qahtani contacted relief organizations such as the IIRO and al Haramain with the intention “to join a relief organization because those entities would offer him a way to get into Chechnya, whose borders were closed at that time. Once there, the detainee would be free to leave the relief

organization and join the fighting.”

312. Detainee Fahd Muhammed Abdullah al Fouzan (Detainee No. 218), an al Haramain employee, traveled to Afghanistan after September 11, 2001 and was identified as having attended the Abu Nasir military camp in Afghanistan. Al Fouzan fought in Tora Bora

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and was a fundraiser and recruiter for both al Qaeda and the Taliban in Saudi Arabia.

According

to the U.S. government: “The detainee was identified as an employee of the al Haramayn Charitable Institute. Al Haramayn was added on 11 March 2002 to the list of organizations

identified under Executive Order 13224 blocking property and prohibiting transactions with

persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism.”

313. Detainee Wasm Awwad Umar Wasim (Detainee No. 338), traveled from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan in late 2001 with another member of al Qaeda. According to the unclassified evidentiary summaries submitted in support of his continued detention: “The detainee volunteered to work with the Al Haramain charity/non-governmental organization

(NGO) from time to time. Executive Order 13224, which blocks property and prohibits transactions with persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism, designated Al-

Haramain as a global terrorist entity. The detainee stated he was a colleague of the Al-Haramain

Director.” In response to allegations concerning his association with al Haramain, Wasim testified that “al Haramain is an official governmental organization, registered under the administration of the government and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is officially registered

and included in the Humanitarian Aid Association, and under the administration of Internal

Affairs, led by the Minister of Internal Affairs.” Wasim further stated that al Haramain is “not a

secret organization; it’s a governmental organization.”

314. Detainee Sami al Haj (Detainee No. 345), a senior al Qaeda operative and logistics expert, traveled to Azerbaijan at least 8 times to courier money to al Haramain, particularly between 1997-1999. The United States government’s unclassified evidentiary summaries relating to al Haj assert: “A source stated the al Haramain Saudi Arabian Foundation’s main mission is to implement and teach true Wahhabism religious doctrine

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worldwide. Al Haramain has connections with al Qaida. A former head of the al Haramain has

been accused of controlling the financial, material and logistical support to al Qaida and other

terrorist organizations. Al Haramain is suspected of involvement in weapons smuggling to Algeria and the transfer of radical fundamentalists to Bosnia during the war in the former Yugoslavia.”

315. Detainee Jamal Muhammad Alawi Mari (Detainee No. 577), began working with al Haramain as a student in 1995 and was later hired in 1997 to work at the al Haramain office in

Baku, Azerbaijan. In August 1998, Mari was appointed as director of the al Haramain office in

Baku. A foreign government agency has stated that Mari took part in high-level illegal activity,

and further reported that the al Haramain office disseminated propaganda of an extremist and

separatist nature in the guise of providing humanitarian assistance.

316. The unclassified evidentiary summaries filed in support of Mari’s continued detention at Guantanamo Bay detail al Haramain’s long-standing support for Islamic extremist

groups, families of Islamic suicide attackers, the al Qaeda network, and mujahideen fighters in

Chechnya:

Al Haramayn was founded in 1992 to disseminate the Saudi Arabian version of the Sunni Islamic religion with Wahabistic influences/teachings. In addition to providing legitimate humanitarian aid to promote Islamic teachings, this organization has provided support to families of Islamic suicide attackers, freed activists from prisons, procured fraudulent travel documents, provided medical care for wounded Mujahedin, smuggled weapons into Algeria and transferred radical fundamentalists into Bosnia.

Al Haramayn has provided logistical support to the Mujahedin fighting in Afghanistan since the 1980’s. Their annual budget was between 50 to 60 million United States Dollars. Al Haramayn provides support to Islamic extremist elements in seventeen countries or regions that includes freeing of activists from prisons,

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procurement of fraudulent travel documents and weapons smuggling to Algeria. Forty bank accounts connect to terrorist activities have been linked to offices and sub-departments of al Haramayn.

A source stated al Haramayn worked closely with members of al Wafa. A former al Qaida member stated organizations such as al Haramayn and al Wafa allowed easier access to funds which financed al Qaida. These organizations provided a legitimate cover for al Qaida members to travel world-wide under the guise of humanitarian operations. These groups would build mosques for the purpose of recruiting future al Qaida members.

Al Haramayn established an office in Azerbaijan to provide a legitimate organization, which was also providing money and materials to Mujahedin, military leaders throughout Chechnya. Authorities accused Al Haramayn of supporting activities not in alignment with the humanitarian aims of the organization in January 2000 and the office was subsequently closed.

317. Detainee Khalid Mahomoud Abdul Wahab al Asmr (Detainee No. 589), identified as an Afghan jihad veteran who had connections with Islamic extremists worldwide, told U.S.

military investigators that he had been providing aid to al Qaeda and other extremists since 1996.

According to the U.S. government, Al Asmr met with Muhamed Krimi, the director of the al

Haramain office in Zenica, Bosnia in July 1999 to discuss a plan to attack the British and American embassies: "HIF [al Haramain] has been sanctioned under Executive Order 13224 for

supporting terrorism. HIF has been linked to the Mujahedin Brigade in Bosnia and the Islamic

Cultural Institute (ICI) in Milan. HIF uses links to the ICI to remain active in support of the

former mujahiden in Bosnia." In response to the Tribunal's contention that al Haramain is associated with al Qaeda, Al Asmr stated: "If you consider al Haramayn as a terrorist organization, you should [be] talking to Saudi Arabia, because Saudi Arabia was the country that

established al-Haramayn. Its president is the Royal Prince there. Why don't you go over there

and ask him."

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#### **SAUDI HIGH COMMISSION**

318. The Saudi High Commission for Relief of Bosnia and Herzegovian ("SHC") is a Saudi Arabia-based da'awa organization, established by the government of Saudi Arabia and

headed by Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud, who actively directed the SHC's operations.

319. The SHC is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs SHC operations, appoints and terminates SHC personnel, provides

the SHC with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be distributed throughout the

world, and otherwise stringently controls the SHC's operations.

320. According to the affidavit testimony of the Minister of State of the Council of Ministers of Saudi Arabia, Dr. Mutlib bin Abdullah al Nafissa, the SHC "is an arm of the Saudi

Arabian government. Actions taken by the SHC properly are viewed as actions of the

Government of Saudi Arabia.”

321. Saud bin Mohammad al Roshood, Director of the Executive Office of the SHC, has likewise affirmed in affidavit testimony that the SHC was created by decision of the President of the Council of Ministers of Saudi Arabia, has been continuously headed by Prince

Salman bin Abdulaziz al Saud, and that the Executive Committee and Supreme Commission of

the SHC include a number of other Saudi Government officials.

322. As detailed previously, the SHC was established to coordinate the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia’s response to the Bosnian War, and served as a primary conduit for the Kingdom’s

massive sponsorship of al Qaeda’s jihad in the Balkans.

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323. According to Bosnian officials, al Qaeda mujahideen fighters began entering Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, frequently disguised as relief workers for the SHC.

324. Throughout the course of the war, the SHC served as a primary front for channeling financial and logistical support for al Qaeda’s jihad in Bosnia, as confirmed by the

testimony of former al Qaeda member Ali Ahmed Ali Hamad.

325. Ali Hamad was sent to Bosnia in 1992 to help coordinate al Qaeda’s military operations. Following the war, Ali Hamad was employed by the SHC’s Mostar office as the

Department Chief for “dawa.” In 1997, Ali Hamad was arrested and convicted for participation

in a car bombing in the city of Mostar. At the time, Ali Hamad was ostensibly employed by the SHC.

326. Among other things, Ali Hamad has affirmed in sworn testimony that:

The SHC provided Ali Hamad and other al Qaeda members with false employment papers to allow them to move freely throughout the Balkans in furtherance of al Qaeda’s objectives.

Representatives of the SHC provided extensive financial support and food to the mujahideen forces, and also permitted the mujahideen and al Qaeda members in Bosnia to use the SHC’s offices and rented houses. Al Qaeda members planned terrorist plots and attacks from SHC facilities.

The SHC frequently transported mujahideen and al Qaeda members throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina in SHC vehicles bearing the mark of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (“UNHCR”), thereby allowing those mujahideen and al Qaeda members to pass military and police checkpoints. The SHC also provided the mujahideen with money for other travel expenses. The SHC appointed a number of former mujahideen fighters to serve as officers or directors of its branch offices in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1993 the director of the Sarajevo office of the

among the first mujahideen to arrive in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the beginning of the Bosnian War.

At the request of the mujahideen in 1994, the Chief Director of the SHC in Zagreb appointed a man named Hasam al Din to serve as the director of the Zenica office. Al Din was also one of the first mujahideen to arrive in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the beginning of the Bosnian War, and he engaged in significant military activities as a member of the mujahideen forces placed in Tesanj, in the middle of Bosnia. Al Din was wounded during the course of the war, and after recovering from his wounds, returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina as a representative of the Zenica office of the SHC. SHC directors routinely delivered truckloads of supplies to al Qaeda members.

After the conclusion of the Bosnian War, the SHC provided ostensible employment to a number of foreign fighters and al Qaeda members who had fought in the War, knowing full well that they were members of al Qaeda. Moreover, the SHC continued to provide foreign fighters and al Qaeda members with access to vehicles with diplomatic car registrations, and vehicles registered to the UNHCR, which enabled them to move freely throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina.

327. Ali Hamad's sworn testimony is independently corroborated by numerous U.S., U.N. and NATO investigations.

328. For instance, wire tap summaries obtained from the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia reveal that members of the al Qaeda mujahideen in Bosnia

were directed to pick up funds for the purchase of weapons from the SHC. In this regard, a May

25, 1994 entry in from a report of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Ministry of the

Interior, detailing intercepted telephone conversations between mujahideen fighters during 1994,

identifies the SHC as having provided money to mujahideen fighters to purchase weapons ("In

the talk between Abu Talib and Abu Meali, Talib asked for money to purchase weapons and said

that he bought an American rifle, three Kalashnikovs and three sniper rifles, and asked Meali for

permission for DEM. He picked up the money for the purchase of the weapons at the Saudi

High Committee in Visoko.").

329. A U.N. sponsored investigation further determined that Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud, the head of the SHC, transferred in excess of \$120 million from his personal accounts and SHC accounts under his control to the Third World Relief Agency (“TWRA”), between July of 1992 and July of 1995. According to the 9/11 Commission, the TWRA was an al Qaeda front and the primary pipeline for illegal arms shipments to al Qaeda fighters in the Balkans. The U.N. sponsored audit of the TWRA’s records suggested that the SHC’s lavish funding of TWRA commenced shortly after a personal meeting between Prince Salman and the head of the TWRA. As the SHC had a robust operational presence of its own in Bosnia, there was no legitimate “humanitarian” reason for it to send any funds to the TWRA.

330. In 1994, Abdul Hadi al Gahtani, a Saudi who was the Director of the SHC’s office in Zenica, was arrested for the murder of the British aid worker, Paul Goodall. Al Gahtani admitted the gun used in the murder belonged to him, but escaped police custody under mysterious circumstances and a Bosnian court later convicted him in absentia of Goodall’s murder. Al Gahtani was reportedly “martyred” on November 19, 2001, when a U.S. rocket hit a building where he was staying.

331. The U.S. government has also concluded that an al Qaeda member associated with the SHC murdered U.S. citizen William Jefferson in Bosnia on November 18, 1995. In a Federal Bureau of Investigation (“FBI”) memorandum summarizing an interview of Ali Ahmed Ali Hamad on June 16, 2003 regarding the murder Mr. Jefferson, Ali Hamad discusses his relationship with fellow mujahideen and al Qaeda member, Ahmed Zuhair Handala (who “had a

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good relationship with Usama Bin Laden”). The FBI memo states that Handala attempted to recruit Ali Hamad to join his unit to kill American and British citizens, but he refused. The memo further states that Handala had been arrested in Mostar but had been later released from prison because of a payoff by the SHC (“The Saudi Arabia High Commission gave the Croatians \$70,000 or more for his release.”).

332. In October 2001, officials of the U.S. government and NATO raided the Sarajevo

offices of the SHC. During the raid, investigators found computer hard drives with photographs of the World Trade Center before and after its collapse, as well as photographs of the United States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and the U.S.S. Cole. Investigators also discovered files on deploying chemical agents with crop dusters, information about how to make fake State Department badges, and photographs and maps of Washington, marking prominent government buildings.

333. Following the raid, the Financial Police of the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina Ministry of Finance described the SHC as a front for radical and terrorism-related activities, stating:

Members of the SFOR (stabilization forces) have on premises on the Saudi high commission relief for Bosnia and Herzegovina confiscated some documentation for which it can be claimed with certainty that it does not belong in the scope of work of a humanitarian organization ...

334. During that same month, officials in Bosnia also arrested six members of the al Qaeda network (known as the "Algerian Six" or "Bosnian Six") who were plotting to conduct terrorist strikes on U.S. targets in Bosnia, including an attack on the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo:

Bensayah Belkacem, Saber Lahmar, Mustafa Ait Idir, Hadj Boudella, Lakhdar Boumediene, and

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Mohamed Nechle. All members of the group were on the SHC's payroll. According to media reporting on their arrest, intercepted phone conversations between the men spoke of the need to retaliate for U.S. attacks in Afghanistan. It was reported that one of them said, "Tomorrow, we will start."

335. The six men were turned over to the U.S. in January 2002 and were incarcerated at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Unclassified evidentiary summaries prepared by the Department of Defense for the Combatant Status Review Tribunal ("CSRT") confirm that the men were closely connected to Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda, were on the SHC's payroll, and that the SHC was providing financial support to mujahideen fighters in Bosnia.

336. Department of Defense documentation identifies Bensayah Belkacem as a primary al Qaeda facilitator in Bosnia. According to the unclassified evidentiary summaries:

Belkacem possessed numerous phone numbers that linked him to bin Laden's operational network in Afghanistan and the global Sunni extremist group; Belkacem was known for his ties

to the Chechen movement during 1999 and reportedly had a connection to a bin Laden operative;

and Belkacem planned to join jihadist elements in Afghanistan in September 2001 in anticipation

of the U.S. invasion.

337. The DOD materials relating to Belkacem specifically link the SHC to the members of the Algerian Six:

An open source reported that the detainee, also known to be the leader of a group in Algeria, had 3.5 million Marks of Bosnian currency deposited in a bank in Sarajevo, Bosnia, and several other members of the group had millions also deposited in banks. The

open source reported that an investigation revealed the High Saudi

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Committee had on its payroll almost all of the members of the group from Algeria, which had links to international terrorism.

338. Bosnian investigators determined that Belkacem was in charge of screening recruits for al Qaeda training camps in Bosnia and that his cell phone contained the telephone

number for senior al Qaeda official Abu Zubaydah. Belkacem worked closely with Zubaydah

regarding the procurement of passports.

339. Saber Lahmar, a member of the al Qaeda network, was also an employee of the SHC for several years. According to DOD documentation presented in support of Lahmar's

continued detention at Guantanamo Bay: Lahmar is a former Bosnian/Afghan Mujahedin; Lahmar supported the fatwa issued by bin Laden against the U.S.; Lahmar expressed a desire to

blow up U.S. soldiers, proposed attacking U.S. troops in Bosnia, and made threats against the

international community in Bosnia; Lahmar attempted to assume leadership of the Armed Islamic Group in Bosnia; and finally was known to be a close associate of an al Qaeda member

in Bosnia. DOD unclassified evidentiary summaries further stated:

- The detainee worked for the Saudi High Commission for Relief from 1993 to 1994 and again from 1996 until 2002.
- The Saudi High Commission for Relief and al Haramayn has provided financial support to former Arab Mujahedin in Bosnia. The types of financial support included family stipends or travel to Chechnya and Afghanistan.
- The detainee worked for El Haramain in Zenica and Sarejevo, Bosnia. He had

close leadership ties to the leadership of El Haramain in Zenica.

- The head organizer for placing a car bomb in Mostar in 1997, who was also close to the Saudi High Commission and El Haremein, frequently visited the detainee.
- Al Haramayn is directly tied to terrorist activities in the Bosnia-Herzegovina area. They provide shelter and support to persons known to have committed terrorist activities.

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340. DOD materials presented to the CSRT in support of the remaining Algerian Six members' further detention at Guantanamo Bay detail their ties to al Qaeda and the Bosnian

mujahideen. Mustafa Ait Idir is identified as a member of the Armed Islamic Group and a former Bosnian Mujahideen and chief martial arts instructor for the Bosnian Muj Brigade who

made threats against Stabilization Forces in Bosnia and reportedly exhorted Bosnian mujahideen

to kill Stabilization Forces. Hadj Boudella is a suspected member of the Bosnian Mujahideen

and was associated with known al Qaeda elements in the Balkans. Boudella was in the Tora

Bora region with several al Qaeda fighters and operatives, and received training on the Kalashnikov rifle and grenades from an al Qaeda member. Lakhdar Boumediene was also a

former member of the Bosnian Mujahideen, a member of the Algerian Armed Islamic Group,

and was one of the closest associates of an al Qaeda member in Bosnia. Finally,

Mohamed

Nechle is a member of the Armed Islamic Group with links to bin Laden's al Qaeda terrorist

network. Nechla is further identified as a supporter of terrorist groups in Africa.

341. Governmental investigations also indicate that the SHC has played a direct role in arms trafficking for al Qaeda. Of particular note, a Defense Intelligence Agency report indicates

that General Mohammad Farah Hassan Aideed, the al Qaeda affiliated Somali warlord responsible for the Black Hawk down massacre, received "weapons' shipment from the Saudi

Arabian High Commission for Relief." The weapons were "usually hidden in false bottom

containers."

#### **SAUDI RED CRESCENT SOCIETY**

342. The Saudi Red Crescent Society ("SRC") is a Saudi Arabia-based da'awa organization, which conducts operations throughout the world.

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343. The SRC is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The

Kingdom controls and directs SRC operations, appoints and terminates SRC personnel, provides the SRC with virtually all of its funding, determines how funds will be distributed throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls the SRC's operation. In many countries, the SRC conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy, under the supervision of the embassy's Islamic Affairs Division.

344. Senior officials of the SRC have expressly acknowledged that the SRC is an alterego of the Saudi Arabia government. According to the affidavit testimony of Abdulrahman al Swailem, President of the Saudi Arabian Red Crescent Society, al Swailem was appointed by "royal order issued by King Fahd bin Abdulaziz, to serve as president of the Saudi Arabian Red Crescent Society," a position that holds Excellency level status within the Saudi Arabian Government. The affidavit further asserts that the Government of the Kingdom "sponsors and supervises the Saudi Arabian Red Crescent Society, and the Saudi Government appoints all of its directors."

345. The SRC's ties to al Qaeda's leadership also date to the 1980s, when it operated within the network established to support the Afghan jihad.

346. By all accounts, the SRC played a prominent role within that network, providing extensive financial and logistical support to the mujihadeen in Afghanistan. Indeed, in 1986, Dr.

Abu Hazifa, a Director of the SRC, openly acknowledged the organization's direct ties to the *mujihadeen*, and that many of those fighters in fact worked for the Saudi Red Crescent.

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347. The SRC's support for bin Laden's terrorist organization was orchestrated largely by Wa'el Hamza Jelaidan, who in addition to his positions within the MWL, IIRO and SJRC

headed the SRC's office in Peshawar, Pakistan during the 1980s.

348. As discussed previously, documents recovered from the Tareekh Osama file document al Qaeda's intent to rely on the SRC to support its global jihad. A later internal al

Qaeda document cautioned that the SRC may no longer represent a safe "umbrella" for al Qaeda

members, because Jelaidan was being recalled to Saudi Arabia. The import of this statement is

clear – under Jelaidan's direction the SRC was serving as a front for al Qaeda.

349. During that same search, investigators found a letter on SRC stationery to Abu Rida, another founding member of al Qaeda, requesting that "weapons be inventoried."

At the

bottom of the letter is a note from bin Laden to Jelaidan, then the SRC's director, stating "we have an extreme need for weapons."

350. Years later, Jelaidan facilitated the SRC's sponsorship of al Qaeda activities in Kosovo and Chechnya. In 1999, Saudi Arabia formed the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya to coordinate the relief efforts of the SRC and other Saudi charities in Kosovo and Chechnya. The Kingdom designated the SRC to serve as the operational arm for SJRC-coordinated relief efforts. Although bin Laden had publicly confirmed that Jelaidan was one of al Qaeda's founding members in a 1999 interview, the Kingdom appointed Jelaidan Director of SJRC and SRC operations in Pristina. In 2000, U.S. officials sent a written alert to the U.N. Peace Keeping Force in Pristina, asserting that SJRC officials Adel Kazam and Jelaidan were "associates of Osama bin Laden" and that Jelaidan was actively involved in helping bin Laden "move money and men" to and from the Balkans.

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351. Separate incidents revealed that members of the SRC staff working under the supervision of the SJRC actively participated in the development and planning of terrorist attacks against American interests.

352. Employees of the SRC were also implicated in the 1996 al Qaeda bombing attack on the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad. Following that attack, investigators arrested Muhammed

Ali Sayed and Bashir Barbar Qadim, two Sudanese employees of the SRCt. The investigation

which led to the arrests revealed evidence that Sayed had indirectly funded the attack by channeling SRC funds to Egyptian al Jihad, the terrorist organization run by Ayman al Zawahiri

which formally merged with al Qaeda several years before the September 11th Attack. Egyptian

authorities alleged that Zawahiri personally masterminded the Embassy attack.

353. The SRC continued to serve as a front for al Qaeda through the date of the September 11th Attack. In fact, just weeks after the September 11th Attack, the Pakistani government deported employees of the SRC, based on evidence that they were involved in al

Qaeda related terrorist activities. In 2002, NATO and Bosnian authorities arrested six Algerian

al Qaeda members who were plotting attacks on the U.S. and British embassies in Sarajevo. Two

of those men, Boumediene Lakhdar and Nechle Mohammed, were employees of the SRC.

354. Based in part of the U.S. government's assertion that the SRC is a front for al Qaeda, several persons associated with the SRC were incarcerated at the Guantanamo Bay Naval

Base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba as enemy combatants

355. Detainee Mohamed Atiq Awayd al Harbi (ISN No. 333) was a member of the mujahideen in Kandahar, Afghanistan and was further identified as being a fighter in the Tora

Bora Mountains. When al Harbi was arrested by Pakistani police, he was in possession of Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 110 of 154

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\$8,000 U.S. dollars and 12,000 Saudi Riyals which he was planning to deliver to the SRC.

Representatives from the Saudi Embassy and from the SRC visited him and provided him with

lawyers. Al Harbi was eventually handed over to the United States and transported to Guantanamo Bay, but was subsequently transferred to Saudi Arabia on November 9, 2007 to

participate in the Kingdom's terrorist rehabilitation program. Less than 6 months after returning

to Saudi Arabia, al Harbi fled to Yemen with other Saudi al Qaeda members. On January 23,

2009, the al Fajr Media Center – the official online logistical network responsible for disseminating messages from various al Qaeda military factions – released new video footage of

joint sermons delivered by a group of Saudi and Yemeni al Qaeda leaders. Al Harbi appeared in

the video with the official title of "Field Commander of the al Qaeda Organization in the Arabian Peninsula."

356. Detainee Said Ali al Shihri (ISN No. 372) traveled from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan following the September 11th attacks with \$1,900 U.S. dollars to distribute to the

SRC. Al Shihri trained in urban warfare at the Libyan Camp north of Kabul, and one of his

aliases was among 100 names taken from Afghanistan-based military training camp applications.

Following his capture, al Shihri was handed over to the United States and transported to Guantanamo Bay, but was subsequently transferred to Saudi Arabia on November 9, 2007 to

participate in the Kingdom's terrorist rehabilitation program. Al Shihri eventually escaped from

Saudi security forces and fled with other high profile al Qaeda operatives to Yemen. On January

23, 2009, the al Fajr Media Center released new video footage of joint sermons delivered by a group of Saudi and Yemeni al Qaeda leaders. Al Shihri was featured in the video with the official title of “Secretary General of the al Qaeda Organization in Saudi Arabia.”

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357. Detainee Muhamed Hussein Abdallah (ISN No. 704) was employed as an Arabic language instructor by the SRC. According to the unclassified evidentiary summaries submitted

in support of Abdallah’s continued detention: “Senior officials of the SRCS [Saudi Red Crescent

Society] were involved in money laundering operations aimed at assisting Pakistani-based

extremist organizations.” Concerning the allegations lodged by the United States regarding his

association with various “humanitarian organizations,” Abdallah stated “the only one I was

working for the last two years was the Saudi Red Crescent. If these organizations were terrorist

organizations, its contrary to what I knew about them. They were official government organizations, recognized as I said, by official governments. So why don’t you bring the officials, the Saudi government...?”

**SAUDI JOINT RELIEF COMMITTEE FOR KOSOVO AND CHECHNYA**

358. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia established the Saudi Joint Relief Committee (“SJRC”) on May 19, 1999 pursuant to High Order 7/B/1863 (the “Albanian High Order”). In

accordance with the Albanian High Order, the SJRC was endowed with responsibility for coordinating and carrying out the operations of five constituent charities in Kosovo and Chechnya: al Haramain al Masjid al Aqsa; IIRO, WAMY, MWL and SRC. Subsequent to the

establishment of the SJRC, those constituent charities continued to solicit funds to support

activities in Kosovo and Chechnya throughout the World, including from the United States.

359. Senior officials of the SJRC have expressly acknowledged that the SJRC is a controlled agent and alter-ego of the the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. According to the affidavit

testimony of Dr. Abdulrahmann al Swailem, President of the SJRC, the SJRC has “always

functioned as a political subdivision, agency, or instrumentality of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The SJRC was established on May 19, 1999 pursuant to High Order... issued by King Fahd upon

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the recommendation of the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.” The affidavit further reflects that the governing Albanian High Order specified that the SJRC would be supervised by the Minister of Interior of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and that the SJRC would include a number of other high-ranking representatives from agencies of the Kingdom and other “charity” organizations. Of particular interest, the Order establishing the SJRC required that its leadership include “the Presidency of General Intelligence.”

360. Between 1998 and 2000, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through SJRC, diverted more than \$74 million dollars to al Qaeda members and loyalists affiliated with SJRC bureaus.

Throughout this time, the committee was under the supervision and control of Saudi Interior

Minister Prince Naif Bin Abdul Aziz.

361. Each of the constituent charities operating under the SJRC has longstanding ties to al Qaeda. For instance, al Haramain al Masjid al Aqsa was designated by the Treasury Department on May 6, 2004 pursuant to Executive Order 13224. According to U.S. officials:

The Al-Haramain & Al Masjed Al-Aqsa Charity Foundation (AHAMAA) has significant financial ties to the Bosnia-based NGO Al Furqan, and al Qaida financier Wa’el Hamza Julaidan, who was designated by the Treasury Department on September 6, 2002. Wa’el Hamza Julaidan, a Saudi citizen, is a close associate of Usama bin Laden. Julaidan fought with bin Laden in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Bin Laden himself acknowledged his close ties to Julaidan during a 1999 interview with al-Jazeera TV. As a member of the Board of Directors for AHAMAA, Julaidan opened three bank accounts on behalf of the NGO between 1997 and 2001 and continued to have authorization to handle two of their accounts as a signatory on two the NGO’s Bosnian accounts.

362. As described above, the MWL, IIRO, WAMY and SRC have similar pervasive ties to al Qaeda, and like its constituent entities, the SJRC provided critical resources to support al Qaeda’s jihad against the United States.

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363. As al Qaeda was establishing its operations in Kosovo and Chechnya, Wa’el Jelaidan assumed a position as Director of the SJRC’s office in Pristina. As referenced above,

Jelaidan is a founding member of al Qaeda and was designated by the United States government on September 6, 2002 pursuant to Executive Order 13224. The Treasury Department press

release issued in conjunction with the designation set forth the following basis for the action:

The United States' has credible information that Wa'el Julaidan is an associate of Osama bin Laden and several of bin Laden's top lieutenants. Julaidan has directed organizations that have provided financial and logistical support to al Qaida. Accordingly, the United States is designating Julaidan under Executive Order 13224 as a person who supports terror.

364. The United Nation's mission in Kosovo has declared that the SJRC office in Pristina, Kosovo, served as a cover for several al Qaeda operatives, including Adel Muhammad

Sadi Bin Kazarn and Wa'el Hamza Julaidan, both of whom served as Directors of SJRC.

365. More than a year before the September 11th Attacks, U.S. officials sent a written request to the U.N. Peace Keeping Force in Pristina, requesting that U.N. police undertake surveillance of the SJRC. In that document, Marked "Secret: U.S. Office Only – Release to

UNMIK," the U.S. government asserted that SJRC officials Adel Muhammad Sadi Bin Kazam

and Julaidan were "associates of Osama bin Laden" and that Julaidan was actively involved in

helping bin Laden "move money and men to and from the Balkans."

366. Acting on that information, the United Nations Mission in Kosovo ("UNMIK") raided a house rented by the SJRC in Pristina, and declared that the organization served as a

cover for several Usama bin Laden operatives, including Kazem and Jelaidan.

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367. A year earlier, in June 1998, the CIA and Albanian authorities raided several houses and offices of members of an associate of the SJRC in Tirana. In July 1998, its Director

Muhamed Hasan Mahmud, an Egyptian national, was arrested on charges of making false documents and arms possession. He was connected to a 1992 terrorist attack against the Egyptian Parliament. Several of its members and directors were later arrested in connection with

the U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania of August 1998.

368. Prominent media outlets have also documented the SJRC's role in facilitating the movement of "money and men to and from the Balkans" for Osama bin Laden.

369. Despite his joint designation by the United States and Saudi Arabia on September 6, 2002 for being "an associate of Usama bin Laden and a supporter of al-Qa'ida terror," Jelaidan

continued to work on behalf of the SJRC as late as December 2003. According to the United

Nations Security Council Committee's December 2, 2003 *Second Report of the Monitoring*

*Group on Al-Qaida:*

The Rabita Trust was added to the list in October 2001. Its Saudi Chairman, Wa'el Hamza Julaidan (also spelled Jalaidan) was designated at the request of the United States and Saudi Arabia on 6 September 2002. There are nevertheless reports that Julaidan remains actively engaged in "charitable activities" and financial transactions. Julaidan currently lives in Saudi Arabia and is reportedly still working with the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo and Chechnya, and serves as one of the directors of the Al-Haramain al-Masjid al-Aqsa Foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

370. SJRC's Saudi bank accounts at National Commercial Bank ("NCB") were managed by Suleiman Abdel Aziz al Rajhi, Chairman, Managing Director and the largest shareholder of Al Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation. Historically, Suleiman al Rajhi

himself has been an active sponsor of al Qaeda frequently through his own banks. Al Rajhi Bank

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has been used by the MWL, IIRO and al Haramain to funnel funds to support terrorism.

According to a 2003 CIA report:

Al-Rajhi Bank: Conduit for Extremist Finance (S//NF)

Islamic extremists have used Al-Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation (ARABIC) since at least the mid-1990s as a conduit for terrorist transactions, probably because they find the bank's vast network and adherence to Islamic principles both convenient and ideologically sound. Senior al-Rajhi family members have long supported Islamic extremists and probably know that terrorists use their bank. Reporting indicates that senior al-Rajhi family members control the bank's most important decisions and that ARABIC's principle [sic] managers answer directly to Suleiman. The al-Rajhis know they are under scrutiny and have moved to conceal their activities from financial regulatory authorities.

371. NCB actively sponsored al Qaeda through Muwafaq, IIRO and SJRC. SJRC also received valuable financial services from NCB which allowed the organization to provide direct

financial and logistical support to al Qaeda for several years leading up to the 9/11 attack.

372. In addition to maintaining the SJRC's bank accounts, NCB actively promoted those accounts on behalf of the organization. Advertisements running in multiple issues of the

MWL Journal in 2000 and 2001 openly solicited funds and directed donors to SJRC accounts

managed by the National Commercial Bank and Al Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation.

373. NCB opened two "shared accounts" with Al Rajhi Banking & Investment

Corporation (Special Joint account #22 and #33) for the IIRO as a member of the SJRC, thereby allowing the SJRC to serve as a conduit for funneling donations to al Qaeda fighters in Kosovo and Chechnya.

**RABITA TRUST**

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374. Defendant Rabita Trust is a subsidiary body of the Muslim World League (“MWL”), with headquarters in Lahore, Pakistan and offices throughout the world.

375. Rabita Trust is an agency, instrumentality and organ of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom controls and directs Rabita Trust operations, appoints and terminates

Rabita Trust personnel, provides Rabita Trust with virtual all of its funding, determines how

funds will be distributed throughout the world, and otherwise stringently controls Rabita Trust

operations. In many countries, Rabita Trust conducts operations from the local Saudi embassy,

under the supervision of the embassy's Islamic Affairs Division.

376. As set forth previously, senior officials of the MWL have expressly acknowledged that the MWL and its subsidiary bodies are agencies, instrumentalities and organs

of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

377. Rabita Trust’s material sponsorship of al Qaeda has been facilitated by the direct participation of senior al Qaeda officials in the management and operation of Rabita Trust. In

fact, Rabita Trust was, for several years prior to September 11, 2001, headed by al Qaeda founding member Wa’el Hamza Jelaidan.

378. In addition, Rabita Trust has shared common officers and directors with several other charities operating within al Qaeda’s infrastructure, including the MWL and the SAAR

Network of charities and businesses. Abdullah Omar Naseef served as a Chairman of Rabita

Trust and as Secretary General of the MWL. Naseef is also an officer of Makkahl-Mukarramah,

Inc., a Virginia based charity operating within the SAAR network. The Co-Chairman of the

Board of Trustees of Rabita Trust, Abdullah al Obaid, also served as an officer of the MWL and

Sanabel al Kheer organizations within the SAAR network. Al Obaid also serves as a senior

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executive of al Watania Poultry in Saudi Arabia, one of the many businesses owned by Suleiman

Abdel Aziz al Rajhi, the founder of the SAAR Network, member of the Board of Directors of the IIRO, and CEO of al Rajhi Banking and Investment. Adnan Basha, a member of the Rabita Trust Board of Directors, is also the Secretary General of the International Islamic Relief Organization (“IIRO”).

379. Given its pervasive and ongoing involvement in al Qaeda’s operations, and the direct participation of senior al Qaeda officials in its management, the United States government designated Rabita Trust as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on October 12, 2001 pursuant

to Executive Order 13224. According to the U.S. Treasury Department: Rabita Trust is a Pakistani non-governmental organization (NGO) designated for its close ties to senior al Qaeda leadership and for providing logistical and financial support to al Qaeda. In February 2000, Wa’el Hamza Julaidan was appointed to the Board of Trustees of the Rabita Trust and served as its Director General. Julaidan was jointly designated on September 6th, 2002 by Saudi Arabia and by the United States under Executive Order 13224.

#### **G. THE HOUSE OF SAUD’S KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING ITS CHARITIES’ TERRORIST ACTIVITIES PRIOR TO 9/11**

380. The pervasive sponsorship of al Qaeda’s global jihad by the Saudi government controlled da’awa organizations, as reflected by the facts and evidenced set forth above, was

carried out with the full knowledge of the Saudi regime.

381. As discussed previously, the House of Saud made a conscious decision to deploy the Saudi da’awa infrastructure to support Islamist movements throughout the World in response

to the demands of the Saudi Ulema, and was expressly aware when it did so of the longstanding ties between those organizations and the al Qaeda leadership. The Kingdom also knew, from the earliest date, of bin Laden’s organizational activities as the head of a global jihad organization,

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and the continuing involvement of bin Laden associates as officials of Saudi da’awa organizations. Moreover, by virtue of its own promotion of the Western Cultural Attack paradigm, the regime also understood that members of the Ulema appointed to direct the activities of the Saudi da’awa organizations shared al Qaeda’s belief that conducting jihad against the United States was a religious obligation.

382. Although these facts render any claim that the Saudi government was unaware of the terrorist activities of its da’awa organizations implausible, it is worth noting that the Kingdom

received continuous warnings concerning their pervasive ties to al Qaeda, through media reports and engagements with other governments, as well as its own monitoring of those organizations.

383. Indeed, from the early 1990's through September 11, 2001, the involvement of the Saudi da'awa organizations in terrorist plots and operations was the subject of intense media scrutiny and reporting. As the regime closely monitors all media reporting referencing its state controlled da'awa organizations, both through its embassies and via a media surveying program carried out by the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this reporting was well known to the House of Saud.

384. Furthermore, the international community repeatedly cautioned Saudi Arabia about the imminent threat posed by the activities of its da'awa organizations during the years preceding the September 11th Attacks. For instance, during a 1994 meeting with senior officials of the Kingdom, French Interior Minister Charles Pasqua expressed the French government's deep concerns regarding the pervasive involvement of the Saudi charities in the sponsorship and funding of terrorist organizations. Pasqua specifically mentioned the MWL during that meeting.

At a conference of Arab interior ministers in 1998, the Egyptian Minister of Interior similarly

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expressed specific concerns about the involvement of Saudi charities in the sponsorship of terrorist activities to Saudi Prince Naif. In 1999 and 2000, senior delegations from the U.S. government met with senior officials of the Kingdom, to address the U.S. government's concerns regarding the extensive involvement of Saudi charities in the sponsorship of terrorism. As the U.S. and Saudi governments had an intelligence sharing program concerning terrorism in place

beginning in 1997, these concerns had no doubt been conveyed to the Saudis earlier.

385. Despite these repeated warnings about the terrorist agenda being pursued by its da'awa organizations in partnership with al Qaeda, the Kingdom continued to channel massive support to those organizations, in the hopes of directing the jihadist fervor of Saudi Arabia's

most radical elements at targets other than the House of Saud. This calculated decision by the Saudi regime fueled al Qaeda's growth and development, culminating in the September 11th Attacks.

386. Nearly a decade since those Attacks, the Saudi da'awa apparatus continues to channel material support to al Qaeda and affiliated terrorists, and State Department officials have recently lamented that the United States has had little success in convincing the Saudi regime to treat the matter as a priority.

#### **THE SPONSORSHIP OF AL QAEDA BY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS**

387. Although al Qaeda's charity partners served as the primary mechanism for raising and moving funds on behalf the organization, the scope of its global operations and the extent of its funding required that al Qaeda also obtain access to the international banking system to facilitate the distribution and laundering of its funds. At the same time, al Qaeda needed to avoid

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triggering any of the regulatory devices developed by the international banking system to identify money laundering and illicit financial transactions.

388. Al Qaeda gained access to the international financial system, and concealed the illicit nature of the transactions it conducted through that system, in limited instances by establishing its own financial institutions, and more commonly by establishing cooperative relationships with financial institutions which shared and supported al Qaeda's worldview, and were knowing and willing collaborators in its global jihad. As the Council on Foreign Relations explained, because of its "Islamic" agenda, al Qaeda found "willing collaborators within the Islamic banking system."

389. As is the case with al Qaeda's charity sponsors, the material support provided to al Qaeda by its financial institution collaborators took many forms. In certain cases, al Qaeda openly maintained its own accounts with the knowledge of the financial institution, particularly during the period when al Qaeda resided in Sudan with the approval and support of the ruling National Islamic Front Regime. More typically, financial institutions maintained accounts for al Qaeda's ostensible charity fronts, with full knowledge that those accounts were being used to

support al Qaeda's global infrastructure. In cooperation with those ostensible charities, these financial institutions advertised the existence and numerical designations for "jihad" accounts, and provided mechanisms for al Qaeda's supporters to deposit funds directly into those accounts.

In addition, several financial institutions channeled their own *zakat* funds to al Qaeda. 390. The support provided to al Qaeda by these financial institutions was in many cases orchestrated by the founders and most senior officials of the financial institutions, and the members of the Shariah Committees of the Islamic banking divisions of such institutions.

Senior

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officials of these financial institutions often served as officials of al Qaeda affiliated charities, and used their positions in those organizations to facilitate their collaborative fund-raising and money laundering efforts on behalf of al Qaeda.

391. As documented below, al Qaeda's supporters in the financial industry included National Commercial Bank and al Rajhi Bank.

#### **NATIONAL COMMERCIAL BANK**

392. The National Commercial Bank ("NCB") was established in 1950 by Salim bin Mahfouz, father of Khalid bin Mahfouz.

393. With his father's death in 1996, Khalid bin Mahfouz became President and CEO of NCB, and its principal shareholder with control over more than 50% of the bank's capital.

Khalid bin Mahfouz served as President and CEO of NCB until 1999.

394. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, NCB was closely related to, and often worked in collaboration with, the Bank of Credit and Commerce International ("BCCI"), a banking institution in which Khalid bin Mahfouz held a substantial equitable interest and served as the CEO. After several fraudulent practices were discovered, Khalid bin Mahfouz was indicted on July 1, 1992 on charges of participation in a Scheme to Defraud in the First Degree in violation of New York Penal Law § 190.65, in connection with certain of defendant's acts and omissions relative to BCCI Holdings and certain related entities. The indictment alleges a series of misrepresentations, sham loans, and fraudulent conduct in failing to disclose the status of defendant's interest in BCCI.

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395. Under Khalid bin Mahfouz, BCCI was also implicated in supporting terrorism, as

reported by the United States Senate. In the course of targeting BCCI for laundering drug money, the CIA learned of BCCI's extensive involvement in manipulating certain financial markets, in arms trafficking, and in supporting international terrorism. A federal investigation into BCCI's operations further revealed extensive involvement in corrupt practices, including money laundering, hiding assets, the obstruction of a Senate investigation.

396. The 1992 U.S. Senate Investigative Report on the BCCI affair linked the bank to financial funding of the Afghan war. According to the Report: BCCI may have been moving money through the National Bank of Oman to fund the war in Afghanistan. The bank's role began to surface in the mid-1980's (...). This was confirmed in the Wall Street Journal of 23 October 1991 which quotes a member of the late General Zia's cabinet as saying 'It was Arab money that was pouring through BCCI.' The Bank which carried the money on from Oman to Pakistan and into Afghanistan was National Bank of Oman, where BCCI owned 29%.

Under Khalid bin Mahfouz, BCCI was also implicated in supporting terrorism, as reported by the U.S. Senate:

In the course of targeting BCCI for laundering drug money, the CIA learned of BCCI's involvement in manipulating certain financial markets, in arms trafficking, and in supporting international terrorism, including handling the finances of Sabri Al-Bannah or Abu Nidal, and his terrorist organization.

Moreover, the U.S. Senate Investigative Report detailed the initial involvement of the BCCI in terrorism financial support.

BCCI's support of terrorism and arms trafficking developed out of several factors. First, as a principal financial institution for a number of Gulf sheikhdoms, with branches all over the world, it was a logical choice for terrorist organizations, who received payment at BCCI-London and other branches directly from Gulf-state patrons, and then transferred those funds wherever they wished without apparent scrutiny. Secondly, BCCI's flexibility regarding the falsification of documentation was helpful for such activities.

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Finally, to the extent that pragmatic considerations were not sufficient of themselves to recommend BCCI, the bank's pan-third world and pro-Islam ideology would have recommended it to Arab terrorist groups.

397. The U.S. Senate Report regarding BCCI's fraudulent activities directly implicated NCB in BCCI's corrupt practices, including the manipulation of financial markets, arms trafficking and sponsorship of international terrorism, including handling the finances of Abu

Nidal and his terrorist organization. Bin Mahfouz paid over \$200 million in fines in 1991 for misdeeds when he was COO of BCCI.

398. Consistent with the findings of the 1992 U.S. Senate Investigative Report, NCB has served as one of al Qaeda's preferred banks for many years, providing financial services for

for many of al Qaeda's "charity" patrons, including the MWL, IIRO, WAMY, Muwafaq Foundation, and al Haramain Islamic Foundation, among others.

399. NCB actively provided material support and resources to al Qaeda via the charity defendants, particularly through the Muwafaq Foundation, IIRO and SJRC.

400. From the date of Muwafaq's creation, NCB provided financial services and other support to facilitate Muwafaq's direct participation in al Qaeda's jihad against the United States,

serving as an efficient conduit for wealthy Saudi businessmen to transfer funds to al Qaeda, via Muwafaq.

401. NCB's role in this process was confirmed by a German Internal Intelligence Service investigation of Muwafaq, which found that "one route [for the sponsorship of al Qaeda]

was the transfer of large sums from the National Commercial Bank to Islamic (charities). These

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included Muwafaq el Kheiriya and Islamic Relief [IIRO]. There are institutional links between

Muwafaq and Usama bin Laden's network."

402. Vincent Cannistraro, the former Central Intelligence Agency Chief of Counterterrorism Operations, echoed the findings of the German Intelligence investigations in

testimony before Congress in the wake of the September 11th Attacks, testifying as follows:

How does the al-Qaeda organization fund its worldwide network of cells and affiliated groups? Several businessmen in Saudi Arabia and in the Gulf contribute monies. Many of these contributions are given out of a sense of Islamic solidarity. But much of the money is paid as "protection" to avoid having the enterprises run by these men attacked. There is little doubt that a financial conduit to bin Laden was handled through the National Commercial Bank, until the Saudi government finally arrested a number of persons and closed down the channel. It was evident that several wealthy Saudis were funneling contributions to bin Laden through this mechanism.

403. The "wealthy Saudi businessmen" who transferred "large sums" of money to al Qaeda via Muwafaq included NCB senior executives and agents Khalid bin Mahfouz and Yassin

al Kadi. Abdulrahmann Khalid bin Mahfouz, Khalid bin Mahfouz's son, has publicly stated that Khalid bin Mahfouz provided up to \$30 million for Muwafaq's operations. Al Kadi also made significant contributions to Muwafaq, from his personal fortune.

404. INTERPOL intelligence reports filed of record by the U.S. government in legal proceedings pending in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, in support

of al Kadi's continued designation, include details of a single transaction in which NCB transferred \$2 million to Dr. Salim Bin Mahfouz, an official of Muwafaq in Europe. Dr. bin

Mahfouz then transferred \$500,000 to Chafiq Ayadi, the Specially Designated Global Terrorist al

Kadi appointed to head Muwafaq's European Operations at the suggestion of Wa'el  
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Jelaidan. Dr. bin Mahfouz transferred an additional \$1.4 million to an apparent shell company in

Florida, which he had formed with a senior official of Taibah International, another designated al

Qaeda front.

405. NCB similarly provided funds and financial support to IIRO over a period of many years. NCB maintained numerous accounts for IIRO, and also donated its own funds to

the organization.

406. A bank audit conducted in 1998 revealed that over a 10 year period \$74 million was funneled by NCB's Zakat Committee to the IIRO. According to the audit:

Bin Laden used his personal fortune and continuing contributions

from wealthy Islamic businessmen in Saudi and the Gulf to organize training camps in the Sudan for Islamic activists from every major Islamic country. These contributions, plus revenues

from Islamic Charity fronts, such as the International Islamic Relief Organization, headed by Bin Laden's brother-in-law, as well

as numerous other charitable fronts, continue to fuel his group today.

407. The NCB audit report also stated that direct donations were "received through those [NCB] facilities to the Red Crescent Saudi Committee, International Islamic Relief Organization and Muwafaq Foundation."

408. SJRC also received valuable financial services from NCB which allowed the organization to provide direct financial and logistical support to al Qaeda for several years

leading up to the 9/11 attack. Under the supervision of Suleiman Abdul Aziz al Rajhi, NCB also

managed the budget of the SJRC.

409. In addition to maintaining the SJRC's bank accounts, NCB actively promoted

those accounts on behalf of the organization. Advertisements running in multiple issues of the

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Muslim World League Journal in 2000 and 2001 openly solicited funds and directed donors to

SJRC accounts managed by the National Commercial Bank and Al Rajhi Banking & Investment

Corporation.

410. NCB opened two “shared accounts” with Al Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation (Special Joint account #22 and #33) for the IIRO as a member of the SJRC, thereby

allowing the SJRC to serve as a conduit for funneling donations to al Qaeda fighters in Kosovo

and Chechnya. The bank’s audit report shows that:

411. NCB established special relations with the SJRC and maintained two shared accounts with Al-Rajhi Banking & Investment Corp for IIRO and SJRC donations in Kosovo

and Chechnya. These special accounts were not reviewed by the Audit Division nor by the

Zakat Committee in 1998.

412. According to a November 22, 1999 British intelligence report, the Saudi Arabian Royal family used NCB to channel funds to Osama Bin Laden. Similar reports surfaced in the

fall of 1999 in Reuters and USA Today, quoting U.S. intelligence sources stating an NCB audit

conducted by Saudi government officials uncovered that \$3 million of protection money from

five of Saudi Arabia’s prominent business leaders’ accounts was transferred to Blessed Relief

(a/k/a Muwafaq Foundation), an al Qaeda charity front.

413. NCB was specifically aware of the terrorist activities of Muwafaq, IIRO and SJRC at all relevant times. This knowledge derives from the direct involvement of senior NCB

officials in the sponsorship of al Qaeda, their longstanding personal ties to senior al Qaeda

leadership, as well as information publicly available to NCB.

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414. From the date of Muwafaq’s establishment until its merger into al Qaeda, NCB maintained close and intimate organizational connections with Muwafaq.

415. Muwafaq was established by NCB’s then chairman, Khalid bin Mahfouz, and the architect of NCB’s Islamic banking division, Yassin al Kadi.

416. In his Statement to the U.S. Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Assets Control, al Kadi himself confirmed that he and bin Mahfouz jointly conceived Muwafaq when al

Kadi was working “with KBM for NCB.” Further explaining his role in NCB, al Kadi has stated that “KBM [bin Mahfouz] turned to me to help in realizing this ambition [‘to convert NCB from a bank which offered purely conventional banking services to one that could also offer Islamic banking products’]. To do this, we established a new department within NCB called the “Islamic Banking Department.” Kadi has further explained that he was “a member of the Islamic Banking Services Committee, which was formed by the National Commercial Bank in July 1997 and on which I served until December 8, 2009. This is a committee responsible for the strategic development of Islamic banking services which was chaired by the CEO of the NCB. I served on this committee with other senior bank officials.”

417. By his own design, Khalid bin Mahfouz hand-picked designated terrorist sponsor Yassin al Kadi, with whom he maintained a “close personal relationship,” to oversee the establishment and operation the Muwafaq Foundation and NCB’s Islamic Banking division. Al Kadi acknowledges meeting with Osama Bin Laden around the time the Muwafaq Foundation was being funded and established.

418. Khalid bin Mahfouz similarly appointed several other senior NCB personnel to positions in the management structure of Muwafaq Foundation. Abdulrahman bin Mahfouz

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served as a Board member and Trustee of Muwafaq, and simultaneously held numerous senior positions in NCB, including: Vice President; Deputy General Manager; Member of the Board of Directors; and Chairman of the Management Committee of NCB.

419. Mohamed al Ali al Qari bin Eid (“al Gari”) was a founding Board member of Muwafaq in the United States, and in collaboration with Yassin al Kadi, developed Islamic

Finance at NCB. Al Gari was also appointed as NCB’s Sharia Board Advisor, giving him authority over the use and attribution of NCB’s zakat funds.

420. Throughout the time he was working for “NCB,” al Kadi was also responsible for the management and operations of Muwafaq, along with Khalid bin Mahfouz, who also played an active role in directing Muwafaq’s operations.

421. Throughout the time he and bin Mahfouz were directing Muwafaq’s operations, al Kadi admits having close relationships with senior al Qaeda officials, including Wa’el Jelaidan,

who as noted above held senior positions in the IIRO and SJRC and played a central role in the terrorist activities of those organizations.

422. During the period that Jelaidan served as Director of the SJRC, al Kadi acknowledges providing support to the SJRC through an Albanian company al Kadi owned. Al

Kadi has stated that he has known Jelaidan as a family friend since the 1980's.

423. In relation to the management and operation of Muwafaq, al Kadi acknowledges having consulted with Jelaidan, and appointed terrorist operatives to run Muwafaq offices on the

basis of Jelaidan's recommendation. In fact, al Kadi has stated that he "was first introduced to

[Specially Designated Global Terrorist] Chafiq Ayadi in Zagreb, Croatia, by Waa'el Juladain in

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or around 1992" and further "recommended Chafiq Ayadi for the management" of the Muwafaq

Foundation. Al Kadi would hire Ayadi to head Muwafaq's European operations upon the recommendation of Jelaidan in 1992.

424. Al Kadi has longstanding ties to many other senior terrorist operatives including Muhammad Salah, a high-level HAMAS operative and Specially Designated Terrorist under

Executive Order 12947, and Dr. Abdul Latif Saleh, founder of the Albanian Islamic Jihad.

425. As a result of its intensive investigation of al Kadi, the United States concluded that his ties to senior members of al Qaeda and several affiliated terrorist organizations could not

be viewed as a coincidence, but rather reflected al Kadi's own central role in al Qaeda's financial

network. According to the U.S. Treasury Department's Evidentiary Memorandum in Support of

the Continued Designation of Yassin al Kadi Pursuant to Executive Order 13224:

Yassin Al Qadi is an experienced and sophisticated businessman and financier. He has operated companies, including investment vehicles and banks, in many corners of the world. He is presumed to be capable of understanding his investments, his companies, and his charities, and of being responsible for the actions of those entities which he founds, funds and/or controls.

Al Qadi's defense, however, to all the charges that he has supported terrorist through his provision of funds to Muwafaq and other entities he controls and the persons with ties to terrorists is that either there is no evidence that these entities and individuals have been involved in terrorism, or that to the extent that they were, this involvement was beyond his knowledge.

There is, however, substantial and credible evidence that both

Muwafaq as an entity, and many of the individuals charged with operating it and distributing its funds, were engaged in a longstanding pattern of supporting terrorist and extremist causes. This evidence comes from both classified and unclassified sources. Al Qadi admits his longstanding and intimate association with SDGT Julaidan, SDGT Chafiq Ayadi, Dr. Abdul Latif Saleh, and Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 130 of 154  
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Amir Mehdi. The latter three individuals have been, according to the information available to OFAC arrested and/or deported from their countries of operation because of associations with terrorists, and Julaidan is a known close associate of Usama Bin Ladin. Each one of these individuals handled significant sums of money provided to him by Al Qadi.

It strains credulity that Al Qadi could have unintentionally found himself in a repeating cycle of hiring individuals based on his assessment of their character and that these individuals kept deceiving him about their intents on providing his funds to terrorists and extremists. These are individuals who Al Qadi had opportunity to personally observe over a period of years, and he gave them significant sums of money to handle on his behalf. Indeed, Al Qadi continues to refer to Julaidan and others as trustworthy and does not question their motives.

In making this determination no one element, no one contact, no one accusation of funding is taken as being determinative of the assessment that Al Qadi has been providing support to terrorists through his actions. [Redacted text] associated with Al Qadi that have connections with terrorism and dating over too long a time period, to give credence to a defense that all of the reports are in error. OFAC concludes that when considering the number of sources, the number of activities and length of time, the totality of the evidence, both classified and unclassified provides a reason to believe Yaseen Al Qadi has funded terrorist and extremist individuals and operations.

426. Consistent with the foregoing findings, the United States listed al Kadi as a “Specially Designated Global Terrorist” on October 12, 2001, describing him as “a Saudi businessman whose companies span the Middle East, Europe, North America and South Asia,

[who] has been consistently identified as a financial supporter of Usama bin Laden and other known extremists for more than a decade.”

427. Khalid bin Mahfouz is also a primary financier of al Qaeda and has acknowledged making a \$270,000 contribution to Osama bin Laden in 1988, contemporaneous with the establishment of al Qaeda.

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428. An internal al Qaeda document dating from this period, referred to within al Qaeda as the “Golden Chain,” includes the name bin Mahfouz, a reference to Khalid bin Mahfouz.

429. The Golden Chain document was discovered during a raid of the Bosnian offices of the Benevolence International Foundation (“BIF”), conducted jointly by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Bosnian Police. During the course of that raid, the authorities seized several computer hard drives, one of which included a file named “Tareekh Osama” (“Osama’s History”), containing scanned images of documents chronicling the formation of al Qaeda. The “Golden Chain” document was among several hundred documents contained in this computer file. Based on their analysis of all the documents within that file, and intelligence gathered from other sources during the war on terror, officials of the US government concluded that the document is “a list of people referred to within al Qaeda” as wealthy donors to the movement.

*See Government’s Evidentiary Proffer supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements, United States of America v. Enaam Arnaout, No. 02-CR-892 (N.D. Ill. filed Jan. 6, 2003).*

430. U.S. intelligence and enforcement agencies have concluded that the Golden Chain is an authentic al Qaeda document, identifying al Qaeda’s most important financial benefactors, and the individuals responsible for coordinating their contributions to al Qaeda. Indeed, the 9-11 Commission’s Final Report refers to the Golden chain as the al Qaeda organization’s “financial supply network ... put together mainly by financiers in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states.”

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431. Jamal al Fadl, the senior al Qaeda official who defected and became a cooperating witness for the United States, has authenticated the Golden Chain.

432. On the basis of the United States’ finding that the Golden Chain is an authentic list of al Qaeda’s principal individual financiers, the Treasury Department has used inclusion on that list as a basis for designating individuals as terrorist sponsors and freezing their assets under Executive Order 13224. For instance, on December 21, 2004 the U.S. Treasury Department issued a press release announcing the designation of Adel Abdul Jalil Batterjee for providing financial and material support to al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. The identification of Batterjee’s name on the Golden Chain served as a factor for his designation.

433. Following his \$270,000 contribution to Osama bin Laden, Khalid bin Mahfouz founded Muwafaq Foundation, personally choosing Specially Designated Global Terrorist al

Kadi to manage its operations.

434. Given their prominent roles within al Qaeda's financial infrastructure and active participation in facilitating the sponsorship of al Qaeda, NCB officials Yassin al Kadi and Khalid

necessarily were aware through a variety of channels of the terrorist activities of Muwafaq

Foundation, IIRO, and SJRC.

435. NCB was also placed on notice of the terrorist activities of Muwafaq Foundation, IIRO and SJRC through media reports and widely publicized governmental investigations.

436. As the Treasury Department's Evidentiary Memorandum in Support of the Continued Designation of Yassin al Kadi Pursuant to Executive Order 13224 makes clear, the terrorist activities of Muwafaq Foundation were the subject of numerous public reports prior to

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September 11, 2001, and several of Muwafaq's offices were closed by foreign governments

between 1995 and 1999.

437. Forced closures of the IIRO and al Haramain offices in Kenya in 1998 were similarly reported by a number of media outlets when Kenyan officials banned those organizations for supporting terrorism.

438. The IIRO's support for Abu Sayyaf Group, al Qaeda's affiliate in the Philippines, was widely reported upon by the press during this same time frame.

439. Prominent media reports also documented the SJRC's role in facilitating the movement of "money and men to and from the Balkans" for Osama bin Laden.

440. Given the public nature of the charity office closings during the mid-1990's, the public reporting concerning the charities' role in supporting al Qaeda, NCB was necessarily

aware of the terrorist activities of Muwafaq Foundation, IIRO, and SJRC.

441. As the forgoing demonstrates, NCB has, for a period of many years, provided critical financial and logistical support to al Qaeda in relation to that terrorist organization's global jihad.

#### **AL RAJHI BANKING AND INVESTMENT GROUP**

442. Al Rajhi Banking and Investment Corporation ("Al Rajhi Bank") is a Saudi Arabia based bank with four hundred (400) branch offices within the Kingdom, and seventeen

(17) subsidiaries across the world.

443. Al Rajhi Bank is a family owned enterprise, in which Suleiman Abdel Aziz Al Rajhi is Chairman, Managing Director, and the largest shareholder. Abdullah Suleiman al Rajhi

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is General Manager of Al Rajhi Bank and is a member of its Executive Committee. Saleh Abdulaziz al Rajhi is the eldest brother of Suleiman and has been Chairman of Al Rajhi Bank.

Through their control of Al Rajhi Bank, the al Rajhis actively participated in that financial institution's support and sponsorship of al Qaeda. For example, with Suleiman's support and

authorization, Al Rajhi Bank maintained accounts for many of al Qaeda's charity fronts, including the IIRO, MWL, WAMY, BIF and Al Haramain, among others.

444. In cooperation with these charitable organizations, Al Rajhi Bank advertised the existence and numerical designation of the accounts it maintained for those charities throughout

the Muslim world, thereby providing a mechanism to allow al Qaeda's supporters to deposit

funds directly into those accounts. At all times relevant, Al Rajhi Bank and the al Rajhi family

members, including Suleiman, were expressly aware that many of the charities for which Al

Rajhi Bank provided financial services were conduits for financing al Qaeda, and that the Bank

was being used as a vehicle for laundering funds on behalf of, and transferring funds to, that

terrorist organization. Nevertheless, Al Rajhi Bank has continued to maintain those accounts and

to directly fund the charities.

445. As an example, the IIRO is one of the chief Saudi charities definitively linked to financing a variety of international terrorist groups and has accounts in Al Rajhi Bank, where

donors deposit their donations. The IIRO places advertisements for donations in their own

publications, specifically identifying the IIRO bank account number at the bank (i.e., IIRO

account no. 77700), and Al Rajhi Bank collects and deposits these so-called "charitable" donations into joint accounts according to the account numbers.

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446. In addition, Al Rajhi Bank collected charitable donations on behalf of Sanabel al Kheer ("Seeds of Charity"), the financial/investment arm of the IIRO, depositing the donations

into Sanabel's Al Rajhi Bank account no. 77707. Sanabel al Kheer, which the IIRO "owns or

controls," was established as a separate branch of the IIRO in 1987 to make investments designed to support the IIRO's charitable operations. Al Rajhi Bank collects Sanabel's

donations, while organizations like Sanabel, the IIRO, and the Jeddah al Birr Society ensure their donors a reward of religious fulfillment. Under the guise of IIRO funds labeled and designated for purposes such as “war and disaster” (Account number for Immigrants, Refugees, and Victims of Disasters: 77702) or “sponsor a child” (IIRO Account Number of Deprived Children: 77704), charitable organizations such as the IIRO use banks like Al Rajhi Bank to gather donations that fund terrorism and terrorist activities.

447. Al Rajhi Bank also handled IIRO “charitable” contributions intended to benefit suicide bombers by directing Al Igatha Journal advertisements toward humanitarian needs in Somalia, Sri Lanka, India, and the Philippines under IIRO Account number 77709 for “the action most loved by Allah.”

448. On February 17, 1994, Al Rajhi Bank made a \$533,333 donation to the Saudi High Commission (“SHC”) in response to a call for donations for Bosnia and Somalia. In August 1995, Al Rajhi Bank contributed \$400,000 to the SHC which was collecting donations

for Bosnia during a 12-hour telethon. The donation was identified by the Arabic newspaper

Asharq al Awsat. In January 1996, al Rajhi personally donated \$80,000 to the SHC while collecting donations for Bosnia.

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449. Moreover, Al Rajhi Bank knowingly and intentionally supplied funds to persons who committed violent terrorist acts. For example, money was funneled to the Hamburg, Germany al Qaeda cell through the Al Rajhi Bank to businessmen Mahmoud Darkazanli and

Abdul Fattah Zammar, who in turn provided the al Qaeda cell of September 11th hijackers with

financial and logistical support. Through Al Rajhi Bank, September 11th hijacker Abdulaziz al

Omari received funds into his Al Rajhi Bank Account Number: 162608010366080, 39800061,

and Visa Debit Card No. 4909-8016-2002-5747. Al Omari frequently utilized a credit card

drawn on Al Rajhi Bank in the planning of the attacks. On September 7, 2001, four days before

the 9/11 attacks, al Omari received a wire transfer from Al Rajhi Bank, Buraidah Branch, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia on SunTrust bank account 265D-NY-280350.

450. Suleiman al Rajhi’s active sponsorship of al Qaeda through his family owned bank was specifically detailed in a 2003 Central Intelligence Agency Report. According to an

excerpt from the 2003 Report regarding Al Rajhi Bank:  
Al-Rajhi Bank: Conduit for Extremist Finance (S/NF)  
Islamic extremists have used Al-Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation (ARABIC) since at least the mid-1990s as a conduit for terrorist transactions, probably because they find the bank's vast network and adherence to Islamic principles both convenient and ideologically sound. Senior al-Rajhi family members have long supported Islamic extremists and probably know that terrorists use their bank. Reporting indicates that senior al-Rajhi family members control the bank's most important decisions and that ARABIC's principle managers answer directly to Sulayman. The al-Rajhis know they are under scrutiny and have moved to conceal their activities from financial regulatory authorities.

451. The Wall Street Journal was permitted to review the confidential reports authored by the CIA and other U.S. agencies which detailed the use of Al Rajhi Bank by alleged extremists. *See* July 26, 2007 Report by Glenn Simpson of the Wall Street Journal, titled *U.S.*

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*Tracks Saudi Bank Favored By Extremists.* According to the WSJ, the U.S. intelligence reports

“describe how Al Rajhi Bank has maintained accounts and accepted donations for Saudi charities

and the U.S. and other nations have formally designated as fronts for al Qaeda or other terrorist

groups.” The article further states that “Mr. Al Rajhi and family members have been major

donors to Islamic charities that are suspected by Western intelligence agencies of funding terrorism, according to CIA reports and federal-court filings by the Justice Department.”

452. The WSJ reported on the following additional findings relative to its review of the CIA Report. According to the WSJ, the 2003 CIA Report claims that a year after September

11th, with a spotlight on Islamic charities, Mr. Al Rajhi ordered Al Rajhi Bank's board “to

explore financial instruments that would allow the bank's charitable contributions to avoid

official Saudi scrutiny.” A few weeks earlier, Mr. Al Rajhi reportedly “transferred \$1.1 billion

to offshore accounts – using commodity swaps and two Lebanese banks – citing a concern that

U.S. and Saudi authorities might freeze his assets.”

453. The 2003 CIA Report further discusses efforts by two al Rajhi brothers to keep some charitable contributions secret. The report says that Sulaiman and Saleh transferred \$4

million to parties in Germany and Pakistan in December 1998 using “a unique computer to decode to send funds at regular intervals to unspecified recipients, suggesting that they were trying to conceal the transactions and that the money may have been intended for illegitimate ends.”

454. The 2003 CIA Report states that extremists “ordered operatives in Afghanistan, Indonesia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Yemen” to use Al Rajhi Bank. Mamduh Mahmud Salim, convicted mastermind of the 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania,

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was carrying records of an Al Rajhi account (number 001424/4) when arrested in Germany in 1998.

455. The 2003 CIA Report further says that al Rajhi Bank couriers “delivered money to the Indonesian insurgent group Kompak to fund weapons purchases and bomb-making activities.

456. A 2003 German police report states that Sulaiman al Rajhi and other family members had contributed more than \$200,000 in 1993 to a charity that finances weapons for Islamic militants in Bosnia, in addition to providing humanitarian aid.

457. A November 16, 2001 U.S. intelligence memo says that a money courier for Osama bin Laden’s second-in-command, Ayman al Zawahiri, traveled on a visa that al Rajhi Bank had obtained for him.

458. Finally, the WSJ reported that Al Rajhi Bank maintained at least twenty-four (24) accounts and handled unusual transactions for the Al Haramain Islamic Foundation, “a charity that Treasury officials say has acted as a front for al Qaeda in 13 countries.” The U.S. Treasury Department has designated Al Haramain headquarters in Saudi Arabia, including thirteen (13) of branch offices between 2002-2004: Afghanistan, Albania, Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Comoros Islands, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Netherlands, Pakistan, Somalia, Tanzania, and the United States.

459. Suleiman Abdel Aziz Al Rajhi’s financial and material support for al Qaeda is not limited to his control and chairmanship of the Al Rajhi Bank. Suleiman was also on the board of directors of Akida Bank in the Bahamas, a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (“SDGT”)

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entity pursuant to E.O. 13224. Akida Bank was run by Youssef Nada, a noted terrorist financier.

Suleiman also funneled money through Bank al Taqwa, another SDGT entity operating in the Bahamas.

460. Sulaiman similarly enjoyed a long and ongoing relationship with SDGT Ahmed Idris Nasreddin. Nasreddin and Nada are both founders and directors of Bank Al Taqwa. According to the U.S. Treasury Department, "Usama bin Laden and his al-Qaida organization

received financial assistance from Youssef Nada. Al Taqwa provides investment advice and

cash transfer mechanisms for al Qaida and other radical Islamic groups."

461. Suleiman has served on the board of directors of the IIRO as well. Significantly, numerous branches of the IIRO were publicly implicated in al Qaeda plots throughout the 1990's, during the time that Suleiman was serving as an officer of the IIRO, and at which time

Al Rajhi Bank maintained accounts for that ostensible charity. Suleiman served on the executive

council of IIRO with Ibrahim Afandi. Ibrahim Afandi is listed on the "Golden Chain."

462. Suleiman also managed the National Commercial Bank budget of defendant SJRC. In addition, Suleiman has long been involved with the Muslim Brotherhood, a 74-yearold

group which is under investigation by European and Middle Eastern governments for its alleged support of radical Islamic and terrorist groups. For decades the Brotherhood has been a

wellspring of radical Islamic activity. Hamas, the militant Palestinian group, is itself an offshoot

of the Muslim Brotherhood.

463. Suleiman also materially supported SDGTs and al Qaeda fronts al Haramain Islamic Foundation and Benevolence International Foundation. Branch offices of al Haramain

were implicated in al Qaeda plots throughout the 1990's.

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464. Suleiman is also identified on the Golden Chain as one of al Qaida's principal financiers. The "Golden Chain" document was discovered during a raid of the Bosnian offices

of the Benevolence International Foundation, conducted jointly by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Bosnian Police. During the course of that raid, the authorities seized several

computer hard drives, one of which included a file named "Tareekh Osama" ("Osama's History"), containing scanned images of documents chronicling the formation of al Qaida. The

"Golden Chain" document was among several hundred documents contained in this computer

file. Based on their analysis of all the documents within that file, and intelligence gathered from other sources during the war on terror, officials of the U.S. government concluded that the Golden Chain is an authentic al Qaeda document, identifying al Qaeda's most important financial benefactors, and the individuals responsible for coordinating their contributions to al Qaeda. Indeed, the 9-11 Commission's Final Report refers to the Golden chain as the al Qaeda organization's "financial supply network ... put together mainly by financiers in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states.

465. Among the individuals identified in the Golden Chain as al Qaeda's principal sponsors are Suleiman al-Rashid, Abdulkader al Bakri a/k/a Abdel Qader Bakri, Bakr Bin Laden, Youseff Jameel, Ibrahim Muhammad Afandi, Saleh Abdullah Kamel, Suleiman Abdulaziz al Rajhi, Mohammad bin Abdullah al-Jomaih, Abulrahman Hassan Sharbalty, Ahmed Mohamed Naghi, Khalid Bin Mahfouz Adel Faqih a.k.a Abdel Qader Faqeeh, Salahuddin Abduljawad a/k/a Salah al-Din Abdel Jawad, Ahmad Turki Yamani a/k/a Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Abdul Hadi Taher, Ahmad al Harbi Mohammed al-Issai, Hamad al Hussaini, Mohamed Omar and al Kuwait.

466. Suleiman al Rajhi also established, founded, financed, and is the namesake of the SAAR Network of "charities" and front groups organized at 555 Grove Street in Herndon,

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Virginia. The SAAR Network is comprised of over 100 entities at this single address, with overlapping officers and directors set up to launder money to al Qaeda and international terrorism.

467. The organizations which operated within the SAAR Network of charities and businesses include but are not limited to defendants African Muslim Agency, Grove Corporate, Inc., Heritage Education Trust, International Institute of Islamic Thought, Mar-Jac Investments, Inc., Mena Corporation, Reston Investments, Safa Trust, Sana-Bell, Inc., Sterling Charitable Gift Fund, Sterling Management Group, Inc., and York Foundation. These entities funneled millions of dollars of financial sponsorship as well as logistical assistance to al Qaeda through a web of interrelated entities, activities and transactions of deliberate complexity, overseen by the leaders

of the SAAR Network.

468. In March 2002, the entities located at the 555 Grove Street address in Herndon, Virginia were raided under a federal search warrant by the U.S. Treasury Department.

Known as

Operation Green Quest, federal authorities were looking for “potential money laundering and tax

evasion activities and their ties to terrorist groups such as . . . al Qaeda as well as

individual

terrorists . . . (including Osama bin Laden).” It was said by authorities that the probe of the

Herndon groups is the largest federal investigation of terrorism financing in the world.

An

affidavit from Homeland Security agent David Kane said that the SAAR Network in Herndon

has sent more than \$26 million in untraceable money overseas and that the leaders of the organization “have committed and conspired to . . . provide material support to foreign terrorist

organizations.”

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469. Beginning in 1989, Suleiman al Rajhi served as an original member of the Board of Directors for Sana-Bell, Inc. with Ibrahim Afandi and Saleh Kamel, both of whom are identified on the Golden Chain.

470. Suleiman has close ties to the Saudi Royal family. Indeed, several members of the Saudi Royal Family are employed by or serve as officers of businesses owned or controlled

by al Rajhi. For example, Prince Mohammad bin Nayef bin Abdel Aziz al Saud, the Assistant

Deputy Minister of the Interior of Saudi Arabia, serves as the Chairman of Al Rajhi Commercial

Foreign Exchange. Abdallah bin Yahya al Muallimi, the Secretary General of the Jeddah Province, serves as board member in the same company. Prince Faisal Ibn Muhamad Ibn Saud is

the Chairman of al Rajhi Yamama Cement Company. Prince Turki Ibn Muhamad Ibn Abdul

Aziz Ibn Turki is a board member of al Rajhi Yamama Cement Company. Suleiman Abdel Aziz

Al Rajhi also serves on the Board of Directors of the IIRO, and as a member of the Ibn Baz

Foundation, which is chaired by Prince Salman.

471. Members of the al Rajhi family also used the bank to transfer large sums to the TWRA. In particular, the U.N. sponsored audit of the TWRA’s records two (2) transfers of

money totaling \$53,287.70 sent by “Sulaiman Al Rajhi” to the TWRA account in June and July

of 1993, and three (3) transfers totaling \$155,894.28 to the TWRA by “Saleh Alabdulaziz Alrajhi and Brothers” in 1993 and 1994.

472. As the forgoing demonstrates, Al Rajhi Bank has, for a period of many years, provided critical financial and logistical support to al Qaeda in relation to that terrorist organization’s global jihad.

#### **AL QAEDA’S INDIVIDUAL FINANCIERS AND SUPPORTERS**

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473. Wealthy and powerful individuals sympathetic to al Qaeda’s cause also provided essential support for al Qaeda’s growth and development, both by financing al Qaeda and assisting the organization in developing efficient channels to covertly move resources throughout

the World in support of al Qaeda’s mission. Al Qaeda’s ties to many of these wealthy individual

sponsors dates to the period of the Afghan jihad, when a group of financiers from Saudi Arabia

and the Persian Gulf States formed a financial support network for the mujahideen.

474. When Osama bin Laden formed al Qaeda at the conclusion of the Afghan jihad, many of these financiers became champions of bin Laden’s new mission to wage jihad globally.

As discussed above, these wealthy financiers became known as the “Golden Chain.”

475. As further detailed above, al Qaeda’s individual patrons include Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud, Yassin al Qadi, and Suleiman al Rajhi.

476. In 1980, Prince Salman was named Chairman of the General Donation Committee for Afghanistan (a/k/a “Afghan Jihad Support Committee”) which has a history of funding

Islamic extremism. In 1981, the General Donation Committee for Afghanistan gave \$39 million

to aid the Afghan Mujahideen. Prince Salman stated the donation was made to “our Afghan

brothers.” In a 1989 interview, Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, co-founder of al Qaeda, was asked,

“Who donated to the Mujahedeen?” Azzam replied: “The Saudi Red Crescent and the Saudi

Relief Agency headed by Salman Abdel Aziz...”

477. In 1992, Prince Salman was appointed to head the newly established SHC by the President of the Council of Ministers. As President of the SHC, Prince Salman is the head of the

Executive Committee and Supreme Commission of the SHC. The Executive Committee and the

Supreme Commission include several other Saudi government officials, each of whom Prince

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Salman has selected. Decisions regarding which causes to support and recipients for SHC funds

are left to the discretion of the Executive Committee, Supreme Commission, and Prince Salman.

478. Under Prince Salman's leadership, the SHC served as a primary front for supporting al Qaeda's operations in the Balkans, as detailed above. Prince Salman was instrumental in facilitating this support, as reflected by his role in transferring more than \$120

million from his personal accounts and SHC accounts under his control to the TWRA.

479. In addition, when he founded the SHC, Prince Salman fully intended that the organization would serve as a vehicle for funding and supporting Islamic militants in Bosnia,

including elements of the al Qaeda movement. Indeed, Prince Salman knew that the SHC was,

in fact, supporting al Qaeda's efforts in Bosnia.

480. Prince Salman has been instrumental in raising funds for several other charities that operate within al Qaeda's infrastructure, including the IIRO, WAMY, and al Haramain, and

has made significant personal donations to those organizations as well.

481. In February 1994, Prince Salman provided the traditional opening speech for a Sanabel al Kheer fundraising convention in Riyadh organized by the IIRO. Prince Salman told

the convention members how he had personally solicited "donations from a number of benevolent Saudi people" for Sanabel and IIRO totaling SR 6,979,462.

482. On February 23, 1995, the IIRO held its 8th annual charity festival in Riyadh in conjunction with Sanabel al Kheer. Donations totaling SR 8 million included a SR 1 million

personal donation from Prince Salman.

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483. On February 5, 1996, the IIRO and Sanabel al Kheer annual fundraising drive raised more than SR 6 million at the Cultural Palace in Riyadh. Significant donations included a

SR 1 million contribution from Prince Salman.

484. In December 1998, at the 11th annual IIRO and Sanabel al Kheer fundraising drive, IIRO netted over SR 6 million, including a SR 1 million donation from Prince Salman.

485. In 1999, Prince Salman donated approximately \$400,000 during a joint fundraising event of the IIRO, WAMY, and al Haramain.

486. During a 1999 televised fundraising event organized by the SJRC, Dr. Abd al Rahman al Swailem, head of the Saudi Red Crescent, announced that Prince Salman personally donated SR 1 million. In the same event, the total amount of donations by senior Saudi officials

totaled SR 47 million. Dr. al Swailem thanked the members of the Saudi Royal family and the

citizens who donated, as well as, the Minister of Communication who helped organize the event.

487. During a donation campaign in December 2000, Prince Salman donated SR 1.5 million to the IIRO, WAMY, and al Haramain.

488. At a November 2001 joint fundraiser for the IIRO, WAMY, and al Haramain, Prince Salman contributed SR 1.5 million, while his deputy Prince Sattam donated SR1 million.

489. As a senior member of the Saudi regime, Prince Salman was expressly aware, at the time of the contributions identified above, that the IIRO, WAMY, SJRC and al Haramain

were material sponsors of al Qaeda's global jihad, and that contributions to those organizations would benefit al Qaeda.

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490. Prince Salman also serves as the chairman of the Popular Committees for Support of the Palestinian Jihadis, a Saudi government entity that supports terrorism by donating money

to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers. A letter seized by the Israeli Defense Forces

during Operation Defensive Shield, evidences the involvement of Prince Salman in financing

Palestinian terrorist organizations. The letter dated December 30, 2000, was issued by the Embassy of the State of Palestine in Riyadh to Prince Salman. The Palestinian ambassador, Abu

Mazen, expresses the concern of Yasser Arafat regarding funding of radical organizations. The

letter, translated into English, reads in part as follows:

*I wish to inform you that [Yasser Arafat] called me and asked to convey his request to mediate and intervene and express his opinion about what is happening in our homeland. The Saudi committee responsible for transferring contributions to beneficiaries is sending large sums to radical committees and associations, including the Islamic Association which belongs to Hamas, the Al-Salah Association, and brothers belonging to the Jihad in all areas. This has a bad affect on the domestic situation and also strengthens these brothers and thus has a bad impact on everybody.*

491. The excerpted section of the letter to Prince Salman confirms the reality of Saudi support for Palestinian terror organizations, and in particular, Prince Salman's direct role in the funding.

492. Through his official and personal acts, as described herein, Prince Salman has provided critical financial and logistical support to al Qaeda for a period of many years.

**COUNT I**

**PLAINTIFF V. ALL DEFENDANTS**

## **COMMON LAW INDEMNITY**

493. Plaintiff incorporates all pervious allegations by reference.

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494. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were a direct, intended, and foreseeable product of al Qaeda's global jihad.

495. Through the conduct described in detail above, each of the defendants knowingly conspired with, aided and abetted, and provided material support and resources to al Qaeda, in

furtherance of al Qaeda's global jihadist campaign.

496. By knowingly conspiring with, aiding and abetting, and providing material support and resources to al Qaeda, the defendants engaged in intentional tortious acts under

applicable state law, federal common law, and the statutory standards of the Anti-terrorism Act.

497. Given the intentional character of their tortious conduct, the defendants bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the September 11th Attacks, and are obligated under principles of common law indemnity, arising under both state law and federal

law, to reimburse plaintiff for all losses incurred in defending and settling the unintentional tort

claims advanced against their insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with punitive damages, pre and post-judgment

interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may

deem appropriate under the circumstances.

## **COUNT II**

### **PLAINTIFF V. ALL DEFENDANTS**

#### **COMMON LAW CONTRIBUTION**

498. Plaintiff incorporates all pervious allegations by reference.

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499. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were a direct, intended, and foreseeable product of al Qaeda's global jihad.

500. Through the conduct described in detail above, each of the defendants knowingly conspired with, aided and abetted, and provided material support and resources to al Qaeda, in

furtherance of al Qaeda's global jihadist campaign.

501. Through their conduct in knowingly conspiring with, aiding and abetting, and providing material support and resources to al Qaeda, the defendants engaged in tortious acts

under relevant principles of applicable state law, federal common law, and the statutory standards of the Anti-terrorism Act.

502. By virtue of their knowing and intentional sponsorship of al Qaeda's global jihad,

as described above, the defendants bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the September 11th Attacks.

503. In settling the claims brought against their insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation, plaintiff was compelled to pay greater than its insureds' equitable share of the liability for the 9/11 Aviation Litigation plaintiffs' injuries.

504. Plaintiff is accordingly entitled to recover from the defendants all amounts expended in relation to the defense of its insureds from the claims asserted in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation, as well as all amounts paid in settlement of those claims, under principles of common law contribution arising under both state law and federal law.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with punitive damages, pre and post-judgment

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interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may deem appropriate under the circumstances.

### **COUNT III**

#### **PLAINTIFF V. ALL DEFENDANTS**

#### **INDEMNITY UNDER THE AIR TRANSPORTATION SAFETY AND SYSTEM STABILIZATION ACT OF 2001**

505. Plaintiff incorporates all previous allegations by reference.

506. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were a direct, intended, and foreseeable product of al Qaeda's global jihad.

507. By virtue of their knowing and intentional sponsorship of al Qaeda's global jihad, as described above, the defendants bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the September 11th Attacks.

508. Pursuant to the Air Transportation Safety and System Stabilization Act of 2001 (ATSSSA), 49 U.S.C. § 40101 *et seq.*, Congress established a federal cause of action "for damages arising out of the hijacking and subsequent crashes of American Airlines flights 11 and 77, and United Airlines flights 93 and 175, on September 11, 2001."

509. ATSSSA was passed in order to preserve the air transportation system, and in furtherance of that objective provided various protections to airlines, security companies, airplane manufacturers and other parties likely to be targeted through civil claims for alleged negligence in relation to the September 11th Attacks.

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510. Consistent with these goals, Congress through ATSSSA created an implied right

of indemnity for the benefit of aviation industry members sued for negligence in relation to the

September 11th Attacks against responsible terrorists and their supporters.

511. Plaintiff is accordingly entitled to recover from the defendants all amounts expended in relation to the defense of its insureds from the claims asserted in the 9/11 Aviation

Litigation, as well as all amounts paid in settlement of those claims, pursuant to ATSSSA.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with punitive damages, pre and post-judgment

interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may

deem appropriate under the circumstances.

#### **COUNT IV**

#### **PLAINTIFF V. ALL DEFENDANTS**

#### **CONTRIBUTION UNDER THE AIR TRANSPORTATION SAFETY AND SYSTEM**

#### **STABILIZATION ACT OF 2001**

512. Plaintiff incorporates all pervious allegations by reference.

513. As set forth above, the September 11th Attacks were a direct, intended, and foreseeable product of al Qaeda's global jihad.

514. By virtue of their knowing and intentional sponsorship of al Qaeda's global jihad, as described above, the defendants bear primary responsibility for the injuries resulting from the

September 11th Attacks.

515. Pursuant to the Air Transportation Safety and System Stabilization Act of 2001 (ATSSSA), 49 U.S.C. § 40101 *et seq.*, Congress established a federal cause of action "for Case 3:11-cv-00202-KRG Document 1 Filed 09/08/11 Page 151 of 154

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damages arising out of the hijacking and subsequent crashes of American Airlines flights 11 and

77, and United Airlines flights 93 and 175, on September 11, 2001."

516. ATSSSA was passed in order to preserve the air transportation system, and in furtherance of that objective provided various protections to airlines, security companies, airplane manufacturers and other parties likely to be targeted through civil claims for alleged

negligence in relation to the September 11th Attacks.

517. Consistent with these goals, Congress through ATSSSA created an implied right of contribution for the benefit of aviation industry members sued for negligence in relation to the

September 11th Attacks against responsible terrorists and their supporters.

518. In settling the claims brought against its insureds in the 9/11 Aviation Litigation, plaintiff was compelled to pay greater than its insureds' equitable share of the liability for the

9/11 Aviation Litigation plaintiffs' injuries.

519. Plaintiff is accordingly entitled to recover from the defendants all amounts expended in relation to the defense of its insureds from the claims asserted in the 9/11 Aviation

Litigation, as well as all amounts paid in settlement of those claims, pursuant to ATSSSA.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally, for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with punitive damages, pre and post-judgment

interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief as the Court may

deem appropriate under the circumstances.

#### **COUNT V**

#### **PLAINTIFF V. ALL NON-FOREIGN STATE DEFENDANTS**

#### **ANTI-TERRORISM ACT, 18 U.S.C. § 2333**

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520. Plaintiff incorporates all previous allegations by reference.

521. Through their conduct in knowingly and intentionally conspiring with, aiding and abetting, and providing material support and resources to al Qaeda, as described in detail above,

each of the defendants committed multiple violations of the criminal provisions of the Antiterrorism

Act, including the provisions set forth at 18 U.S.C. §§ 2332a, 2332b, 2332f, 2339, 2339A, and 2339B.

522. The actions of the defendants in knowingly and intentionally conspiring with, aiding and abetting, and providing material support and resources to al Qaeda, as described in

detail above, constitute acts of international terrorism within the meaning of 18 U.S.C. § 2331.

523. As described in detail above, the defendants' acts of international terrorism, to include their knowing and intentional provision of material support and resources to al Qaeda,

were carried out with express awareness that al Qaeda engaged in acts of international terrorism,

and that their contributions of support would advance al Qaeda's jihadist campaign and goal of

carrying out terrorist attacks against the United States and its citizens.

524. Plaintiff suffered an injury to its property, to include monetary losses incurred in the defense and settlement of the claims advanced against its insureds in the 9/11 Aviation

Litigation, as a result of the defendants' acts of international terrorism, and the defendants are

therefore liable to plaintiff pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 2333 for those financial losses, together with

treble damages, attorney's fees and costs of this action.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against the defendants, jointly and severally,

for an amount in excess of \$215,000,000, together with treble damages, punitive damages, pre

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and post-judgment interest, attorney's fees, costs of this action and such other and further relief

as the Court may deem appropriate under the circumstances.

**JURY DEMAND**

Plaintiff demands a trial by jury as to all claims so triable.

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## Combating Terrorism Center at West Point

### Authors' Note

*Al-Qaeda's Foreign Fighters in Iraq: A First Look at the Sinjar Records* is the latest in a series of reports from the Combating Terrorism Center drawing on newly released information from captured al-Qaeda documents maintained in the Defense Department's Harmony Data Base. The report is a preliminary analysis of records containing background information on foreign fighters entering Iraq via Syria over the last year. The data used in this report was coded from English translations of these records and undoubtedly contains some inaccuracies due to imprecise translation as well as through errors in the transcription process. The CTC plans further studies based on the Sinjar Records and expects to hone and improve the accuracy of our database as we do so.

The authors thank James Phillips, CTC Harmony Project Manager, for significant assistance coordinating and compiling the information and documents as well as CTC Staff members Sherwet Witherington, Vahid Brown, and Warren Polensky for their research and editorial support. We also thank Colonel Mike Meese and Colonel Cindy Jebb—Head and Deputy Head of the US Military Academy Department of Social Sciences—for their continued support of the CTC's Harmony Project.

The views expressed in this report are the authors' and do not reflect the U.S. Military Academy, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

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## Introduction

On December 4, 2007 Abu Umar al-Baghdadi, the reputed Emir of al-Qa'ida's Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), claimed that his organization was almost purely Iraqi, containing only 200 foreign fighters.<sup>1</sup> Twelve days later, on December 16, 2007, Ayman al-Zawahiri urged Sunnis in Iraq to unite behind the ISI. Both statements are part of al-Qa'ida's ongoing struggle to appeal to Iraqis, many of whom resent the ISI's foreign leadership and its desire to impose strict Islamic law.

In November 2007, the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point received nearly 700 records of foreign nationals that entered Iraq between August 2006 and August 2007. The data compiled and analyzed in this report is drawn from these personnel records, which was collected by al-Qa'ida's Iraqi affiliates, first the Mujahidin Shura Council (MSC) and then the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). The records contain varying levels of information on each fighter, but often include the fighter's country of origin, hometown, age, occupation, the name of the fighter's recruiter, and even the route the fighter took to Iraq. The records were captured by coalition forces in October 2007 in a raid near Sinjar, along Iraq's Syrian border. Although there is some ambiguity in the data, it is likely that all of the fighters listed in the Sinjar Records crossed into Iraq from Syria. The Sinjar Records' existence was first reported by The New York Times' Richard Opiel, who was provided a partial summary of the data.<sup>2</sup>

The Combating Terrorism Center is pleased to make the Sinjar Records publicly available for the first time. English translations of the Records can be accessed at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/harmony/FF□Bios□Trans.pdf> and the records in their original Arabic text at [http://www.ctc.usma.edu/harmony/Foreign\\_Fighter\\_Bios□Orig.pdf](http://www.ctc.usma.edu/harmony/Foreign_Fighter_Bios□Orig.pdf).<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this initial assessment of the Sinjar Records is to provide scholars access to this unique data, in the hope that their scholarship will complement—and compete—with our own. The CTC plans a more comprehensive study on Iraq's foreign fighters for release in early 2008.<sup>4</sup>

1 Abu Umar al-Baghdadi, *For the Scum Disappears Like Froth Cast Out*, posted to [www.muslim.net](http://www.muslim.net) on December 4, 2007.

2 Richard Opiel, "Foreign Fighters in Iraq Are Tied to Allies of the U.S.," *The New York Times*, November 22, 2007, online at <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/22/world/middleeast/22fighters.html>

3 Information recorded from these documents and used to generate the summary statistics is available in spread sheet form on request. Please send request for this data to [ctcharmony@usma.edu](mailto:ctcharmony@usma.edu)

4 For access to all captured documents released to the CTC and the CTC's previous reports incorporating this information see: <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/harmony>

5 For more on these and other disagreements within al-Qa'ida's leadership see the CTC's recent Harmony report, *Cracks in the Foundation: Leadership Schisms Within al-Qa'ida 1989-2006* at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq/aq3.asp>

The CTC has not altered the Sinjar Records except to format them in a more user-friendly manner for distribution. The CTC cannot vouch for the authenticity or accuracy of these records, except to confirm they were authorized for release by the U.S. government, which is why these records are presented in their entirety. The CTC does not redact or classify information.

Readers should be aware that analyzing data captured on a battlefield is fraught with risk. Some of the personnel records were filled out incompletely or improperly, some may have been lost by al-Qaeda's personnel in Iraq, and some may have been accidentally lost or destroyed by U.S. forces. The Sinjar Records are an astounding testimony to al-Qaeda's importation of fighters to Iraq, but they are an inherently imperfect record. Readers and researchers should be wary of conclusions drawn solely on the basis of these records.

#### Background

Al-Qaeda's allies began moving into Iraq even before U.S. forces entered the country in early 2003. After fleeing Afghanistan and traversing Iran, Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi slipped into Northern Iraq some time in 2002. At that time, Zarqawi's organization was called *Tawhid wa'l Jihad* (Monotheism and Struggle) and was built around a backbone of Jordanians, Syrians, and Kurds that either rushed to join him in Iraq or had been working with the Kurdistan-based jihadi group, Ansar al-Islam.

Zarqawi did not join al-Qaeda until October 2004, when he swore allegiance to Usama bin Ladin. The new organization was called *Tanzim Qa'idat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn* which was commonly known in the West as al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). The agreement between Zarqawi and his new masters belied important disagreements that remained even after Zarqawi formally joined al-Qaeda. Zarqawi was sometimes critical of al-Qaeda's willingness to cooperate with "apostates" against other enemies and, unlike Bin Ladin, fervently argued that al-Qaeda's "Near Enemy"—apostates and the Shi'a—were more dangerous than its "Far Enemy"—the United States and the West.<sup>5</sup> Al-Qaeda in Iraq worked hard to recruit Iraqis and build cordial relationships with nationalist and Ba'athist insurgents in Iraq, but its brutal tactics and

6 Dean Yates, "Senior Qaeda Figure in Iraq a Myth: U.S. Military," *Reuters*, July 18, 2007, online at <http://www.reuters.com/article/topNews/idUSL1820065720070718?sp=true>

religious conservatism alienated more Iraqis than it attracted. In January 2006, after bloody battles with nationalist insurgent groups and Zarqawi's ill-fated attack on three hotels in Amman, Jordan, AQI subsumed itself within an umbrella group called *Majlis Shura al-Mujahidin* (Mujahidin Shura Council—MSC). Al-Qaeda in Iraq still existed, but the MSC was a useful way to give AQI a conciliatory—and Iraqi—face. Zarqawi was a tremendously successful propagandist, but his wanton violence was increasingly controversial among Iraqis suffering the ravages of civil war. Meanwhile, the MSC was ostensibly led by Abdullah Rashid al-Baghdadi, a name that implies the man was Iraqi. After Zarqawi's death in June 2006, AQI quickly replaced him with Abu Hamzah al-Muhajir, a man the United States identified as an Egyptian named Abu Ayyub al-Masri. The Sinjar Records begin shortly thereafter, and many are documented on MSC letterhead.

In October 2006, al-Muhajir announced the formation of the *Dawlat al-'Iraq al-Islamiyya* (Islamic State of Iraq—ISI), and named Abu Umar al-Baghdadi, another purported Iraqi, its Emir. Like the MSC, the ISI was designed to put an Iraqi face on al-Qaeda's efforts in the insurgency, but the new organization was intended to be much more substantive than its predecessor. Unlike the MSC, the ISI totally supplanted its

constituent organizations. For its followers, al-Qaeda no longer exists in Iraq, only the ISI.

The ISI was meant to unify resistance to U.S. occupation, inspire support from al-Qaeda's global supporters by imposing Islamic law, and ensure that al-Qaeda was prepared in case of a precipitous U.S. withdrawal from Iraq. Today, the ISI bolsters its religious authority by releasing religious instructions to followers and has created a facade of governance by establishing a cabinet that even includes a Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

Despite these efforts, the ISI was poorly conceived and is largely failing. As the ISI tried to impose order, it alienated the Iraqi population and other Sunni insurgents; meanwhile its weakness has left it unable to credibly provide security for Iraqis or impose the religious strictures expected by al-Qaeda's global supporters. The U.S. spokesman in Baghdad, General Kevin Bergner, even claimed to have intelligence that Abu Umar al-Baghdadi is a fictitious character created to front the ISI while non-Iraqis pulled the strings.<sup>6</sup>

The sheer magnitude of fighters listed in the Sinjar Records challenges Abu Umar al-Baghdadi's reassurances that his organization is built on a local foundation. Although the records are not necessarily inconsistent with his claim that there are only 200 foreign fighters left in Iraq, the scope of al-Qaeda's program to import fighters to Iraq belies his effort to convince Iraqis that the ISI is an inherently Iraqi organization. There is no doubt that al-Qaeda's Iraqi affiliates successfully recruited many Iraqis, but the leadership of both the MSC and the ISI remain largely foreign. Thus, the Sinjar Records exemplify al-Qaeda's fundamental strategic challenge in Iraq: melding the ideological demands of its global constituency with the practical concerns of relatively secular Iraqis.

Most of Iraq's militants do not suffer that strategic problem. The vast majority of militants in Iraq have nothing to do with al-Qaeda, and they are focused on Iraqi problems: security, distribution of power and money, and sectarianism. Those insurgents are a mix of Sunni nationalists, Ba'athists, Shi'a militias, and Islamist organizations.

Mistaking any of these groups for al-Qaeda is not simply wrong, it is dangerous.

The ISI's political failure should not obscure the fact that Iraq has inspired thousands of young men from around the world to join al-Qaeda's cause. The Sinjar Records are important not just for what they tell us about al-Qaeda's affiliates inside of Iraq, but also for what they reveal about its logistical and recruiting capabilities outside. This analysis will explore some of those dynamics. As stated above, the CTC will return to the subject in early 2008. We offer this data and preliminary analysis now in the hope that other researchers will offer their own insights into the strengths and weaknesses of al-Qaeda.

### **Description of the Data**

The CTC received a cache of more than 700 records from USSOCOM. After eliminating blanks and duplicates, the CTC examined 606 translated records of fighters that, we believe, entered Iraq via the Syrian border. These records contained varying amounts of detail on the fighters' personal background, group affiliation, travel to Syria, and intended role in Iraq. Some records had considerably more detail than others.

7 After recording and comparing the information contained in the translated records, the CTC determined that 34 records were likely duplicates of the same individual. These records were deleted from the sample studied.

Figure 1 and Figure 2 below are examples of a typical record in this sample in both original Arabic and in English translation. Readers may note spelling mistakes in the original and translated versions, and varying transliterations.

Figure 1: Sample Record in Original





شبهة الجهادية

استمارة

شخصية

تركي بن عبدالعزيز بن إبراهيم		الاسم
أبو الوليد		الكنية
الجزيرة - حي السويدي		العنوان
4256145 المنزل	أخوه 0502029449	الهواتف
4-10 - 1406 هـ		المواليد
يعرقب		المنسق
		المهنة في بلده
مقاتل		العمل
جواز - 500 ريال - ساعة		الأمانات
3- شوال - 1427 هـ		تاريخ الدخول
أبو حمد		طريق الدخول
أبو خالد		التوزيع
-1		وصايا الأخ
-2		
-3		
-4		
-5		

*Arabic Figure 2: Translated Sample Record*

Document Number: NMEC-2007-657689  
Type of Translation: Full  
Date Completed: 15 September 2007

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[The Mujahidin Shura Council]

Personal Information Form

Name:	Turky Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz Bin-Ibrahim
Alias:	Abu-al-Walid
Address:	Saudi Arabia, al-Suwaydi neighborhood
Phone Numbers:	home 4256145 His brother: 0502029449
Date of Birth:	22 DEC 1985
Coordinator:	Ya'uqib
Occupation in Homeland:	
Duty:	fighter
Items Entrusted:	Passport – 500 Riyal and a watch
Date of Entry :	25 OCT 2006
Route of Entry:	Abu-Hamad
Assigned to:	Abu-Hamad
Last Will and Testament:	
1-	
2-	
3-	
4-	
5-	

Border Administrative Official  
Shahin

## Initial Findings

### Country of Origin

Saudi Arabia was by far the most common nationality of the fighters' in this sample; 41% (244) of the 595 records that included the fighter's nationality indicated they were of Saudi Arabian origin.<sup>7</sup>

Libya was the next most common country of origin, with 18.8% (112) of the fighters listing their nationality stating they hailed from Libya. Syria, Yemen,

8 The "Other" category included two fighters from France and one fighter each from Bosnia, Belgium, England, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Oman, Sudan and Sweden.

9 Lisa Meyers, "Who are the Foreign Fighters?" *MSNBC*, June 20, 2005, online at <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/8293410/>

10 Ned Parker, "Saudis Role in Iraq Insurgency Outlined," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 15, 2007, online at <http://fairuse.100webcustomers.com/fairenough/latimesA98.html> and Algeria were the next most common origin countries with 8.2% (49), 8.1% (48), and 7.2% (43), respectively. Moroccans accounted for 6.1% (36) of the records and Jordanians 1.9% (11).<sup>8</sup>

#### *Figure 3: Foreign Fighters by Country of Origin*

The obvious discrepancy between previous studies of Iraqi foreign fighters and the Sinjar Records is the percentage of Libyan fighters. (See Appendix 1 for a brief summary of previous foreign fighter studies.) No previous study has indicated that more than 4 percent of fighters were Libyan. Indeed, a June 2005 report by NBC quoted a U.S. government source indicating that Libya did not make a top ten list of origin nationalities for foreign fighters in Iraq.<sup>9</sup> As late as July 15, 2007, the Los Angeles Times cited a U.S. Army source reporting that only 10 percent of all foreign fighters in Iraq hailed from North Africa.<sup>10</sup> The Sinjar Records suggest that number is much higher. Almost 19 percent of the fighters in the Sinjar Records came from Libya alone. Furthermore, Libya contributed far

0

50

100

150

200

250

Number of Records

Yemen

Tunisia

Syria

Saudi Arabia

Other

Morocco

Libya

Jordan

Egypt

Algeria

Based on 595 records stating country of origin

#### Foreign Fighters Country of Origin

11 *As-Sahab* video released November 3, 2007, on the Al-Boraq Islamic Network; see OSC FEA20071104393586

more fighters per capita than any other nationality in the Sinjar Records, including Saudi Arabia.

#### *Figure 4: Foreign Fighters Per Capita*

The previous reports may have collectively understated the Libyan contribution to the fight in Iraq, but the relative synchronization of earlier analyses suggests that the pattern of immigration to Iraq has simply shifted over time. In an admittedly small sample, 76.9% (30) of the 39 Libyans that listed their arrival date in Iraq entered the country between May and July 2007, which may indicate a spring “surge” of Libyan recruits to Iraq. If the numbers cited by the Los Angeles Times in July 2007 are any indication, even the U.S. Army may have underestimated the Libyan contingent in Iraq.

The apparent surge in Libyan recruits traveling to Iraq may be linked the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group’s (LIFG) increasingly cooperative relationship with al-Qaeda, which culminated in the LIFG officially joining al-Qaeda on November 3, 2007. 11

12 Abu Yahya al-Libi, *Iraq Between Stages, Conspiratorial Intrigue*, Al Firdaws Jihadist Forums on March 22, 2007

13 Al-Qaeda Messaging Statistics, *IntelCenter*, September 9, 2007, online at <http://www.intelcenter.com/QMS-PUB-v3-3.pdf>

In March 2007, the LIFG's senior ideologue, Abu Yahya al-Libi, weighed in on al-Qa'ida's controversial declaration of an Islamic State of Iraq. Although jihadis globally were divided over the strategic wisdom and religious acceptability of declaring the state, Abu Yahya called for unity in Iraq, and encouraged "mujahidin" everywhere to support the ISI:

...our brothers are in need of the backing and aid of the Muslim peoples, with their bodies and wealth, with shelter and prayer, and with incitement.... There is no way to establish and preserve states other than Jihad in the Path of Allah and Jihad alone.... This is the path, and anything else is from the whispers of Satan.<sup>12</sup>

Whether there was a spring 2007 Libyan surge or not, the Libyan pipeline to Iraq seems firmly established. The vast majority (84.2%) of Libyans that recorded their route to Iraq arrived via the same pathway running through Egypt and then by air to Syria. This recruiting and logistics network is likely tied to LIFG, which has long ties (not all positive) with Egyptian and Algerian Islamist groups.

The announcement that LIFG had officially sworn allegiance to al-Qa'ida was long expected by observers of the group. Both the ideologue Abu Yahya al-Libi and the military leader Abu Layth al-Libi have long histories with the LIFG, and are increasingly prominent figures along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border and in al-Qa'ida's propaganda. Abu Layth is now an operational commander in Afghanistan; and in 2007, Abu Yahya is second only to Ayman al-Zawahiri as the most visible figure in al-Qa'ida's propaganda.<sup>13</sup> The increasing prominence of LIFG figures in al-Qa'ida's high command may be a function of the group's logistics capacity, including its now demonstrated ability to move people effectively around the Middle East, including to Iraq.

#### **City/Town of Origin**

Of 591 records that included the country of origin of the fighters, 440 also contained information on the home city/town the fighters hailed from. The most common cities that the fighters called home were Darnah, Libya and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, with 52 and 51 fighters respectively. Darnah, with a population just over 80,000 compared to Riyadh's 4.3 million, has far and away the largest per capita number of fighters in the Sinjar records. The next most common hometowns in real terms listed in the Sinjar records were Mecca (43), Beghazi

(21), and Casablanca (17). City/town of origin for Saudi Arabia, Libya, Morocco, Algeria, and Syria are broken out in greater detail below.

### **Saudi Hometowns**

Two hundred and five of Saudi Arabians listed in the Sinjar Records noted their hometown. Riyadh was the most common city of origin with 25.6% (51). Mecca contributed 22.1% (44), Jeddah 7.5% (15), Al-Jawf 9.0% (18), Medina 6.5% (13), Al-Ta'if 5.5% (11), and Buraydah 4.5% (9). The remaining 72 fighters hailed from towns scattered across Saudi Arabia.

*Figure 5: Most Common Saudi Hometowns*

### **Libyan Hometowns**

The vast majority of Libyan fighters that included their hometown in the Sinjar Records resided in the country's Northeast, particularly the coastal cities of Darnah 60.2% (53) and Benghazi 23.9% (21).

14 Elie Austa, “Fundamentalist Unrest,” *Agence France Presse*, March 26, 1996.

15 “Libya Said to Seal Off Area Following Unrest,” *Agence France Presse*, March 25, 1996.

16 *As-Sahab* video released November 3, 2007, on the Al-Boraq Islamic Network; see OSC FEA20071104393586

*Figure 6: Most Common Libyan Hometowns*

Both Darnah and Benghazi have long been associated with Islamic militancy in Libya, in particular for an uprising by Islamist organizations in the mid-1990s. The Libyan government blamed the uprising on “infiltrators from the Sudan and Egypt” and one group—the Libyan Fighting Group (*jama’ah al-libiyah al-muqatilah*)—claimed to have Afghan veterans in its ranks.<sup>14</sup> The Libyan uprisings became extraordinarily violent. Qadhafi used helicopter gunships in Benghazi, cut telephone, electricity, and water supplies to Darnah and famously claimed that the militants “deserve to die without trial, like dogs.”<sup>15</sup>

Abu Layth al-Libi, LIFG’s Emir, reinforced Benghazi and Darnah’s importance to Libyan jihadis in his announcement that LIFG had joined al-Qa’ida, saying:

It is with the grace of God that we were hoisting the banner of jihad against this apostate regime under the leadership of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, which sacrificed the elite of its sons and commanders in combating this regime whose blood was spilled on the mountains of Darnah, the streets of Benghazi, the outskirts of Tripoli, the desert of Sabha, and the sands of the beach.<sup>16</sup>

Based on 88/112 Libyan fighters’ records with hometown information

Libyan Fighters Home Town

17 Kamil al-Tawil, "The Americans Launch Rocket Attack Against Abu al-Layth al-Libi in Afghanistan; Libya: Arrest of Jihadists Amid Fears of Al-Qa'ida Attacks," *Al-Hayah*, June 22, 2007.

18 Statement on the *Free Libya* website posted July 11, 2007, online at [www.libya-alhora.com](http://www.libya-alhora.com)

19 Gianandrea Gaiani, "The Leader in Tripoli's Method's to Isolate the Islamists," *Sole-24 Ore*, March 4, 2006.

20 Husayn al-Harbi, "Bin Laden and Zawahiri Separated," *Al Ra'y al-Amm*, September 6, 2007.

21 For more on the debate within LIFG, see Mahan Abedin's interview with Noman Benotman, available at: [http://www.jamestown.org/news\\_details.php?news\\_id=101](http://www.jamestown.org/news_details.php?news_id=101)

22 Ibid.; see also Sami Yousafzi and Ron Moreau, "Al-Qa'ida's Family Feud," *Newsweek*, July 30, 2007, online at

<http://www.mywire.com/pubs/Newsweek/2007/07/30/4074018>

Like other governments in the region, Libya appears concerned about the possibility of jihadi violence within its borders. In May 2007, the Libyan government arrested several Libyans on the grounds that they were planning a car bomb attack similar to an April attack in Algeria.<sup>17</sup> And in July 2007, a group calling itself al-Qa'ida in Eastern Libya announced a suicide attack in Darnah.<sup>18</sup> Libya's leader Muammar Qadhafi has taken measures to mitigate the threat from such groups, and has reportedly released over 80 Muslim Brotherhood activists in the hope that they will moderate the views of more violent Islamist activists.<sup>19</sup>

If LIFG is funneling Libyans into Iraq, it may exacerbate rumored tensions between LIFG elements over whether or not to concentrate on militant activity within Libya's borders.<sup>20</sup> Such debates are common among national jihadi movements shifting focus to global issues. This sort of debate disrupted both Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Egyptian Islamic Group in the 1990s.<sup>21</sup> Reports suggesting that LIFG's decision to join al-Qa'ida was controversial may be exaggerated, but they probably reflect a contentious debate over LIFG's future.<sup>22</sup> LIFG's support for al-Qa'ida's Iraqi affiliate has probably increased its stature in al-Qa'ida's leadership, but complicated its internal dynamics.

### **Moroccan Hometowns**

Twenty-six of the 36 Moroccan fighters (72.2%) in the Sinjar Records listed their hometown. Of those, 65.4% (17) hailed from Casablanca while another 19.2% (5) were from Tetouan. The findings are somewhat surprising because terrorism researchers have focused on Tetouan as a hotbed of recruitment for travel to Iraq. Anecdotal reports suggest this focus is appropriate, but the Sinjar Records are a reminder of the larger picture of radicalization and mobilization in Morocco.

*Figure 7: Most Common Moroccan Hometowns*

**Algerian Hometowns**

Twenty-two of 43 Algerians listed in the Sinjar Records noted their hometown. Of those, 36.4% (8) were from al-Wad and 22.7% (5) were from Algiers.

*Figure 8: Most Common Algerian*

Based on 22 Algerian records that included hometown information

Algerian Fighters Home Town

### **Syrian Hometowns**

Thirty-five of the 49 Syrians in the Sinjar Records listed their hometown. Syrian recruitment was widely dispersed except for Dayr al-Zawr, which accounted for 34.3% (12) of the Syrians listed. Dayr al-Zawr is the capital city of a Syrian regional state by the same name. The state borders Iraq.

*Figure 9: Most Common Syrian Hometowns*

Based on 49/595 fighters from Syria in the Sinjar sample

Syrian Fighters Home Town

23 Many records included birth year but not date of birth.

24 Some records included actual date of birth, others year born, and others no data on age of the fighter. These figures are computed based on the estimated age in 2006. If fighters listed their year of birth in the Gregorian system, we counted it as January 1 of the record year. Similarly, when fighters listed their birth year as a Hijri year, we considered it the first day of the year for conversion purposes.

### **Age**

The mean reported birth year of fighters listed in the Sinjar Records was 1982; the median was 1984. The date these fighters arrived in Syria on their way to Iraq ranged from August 18, 2006 to August 22, 2007 which indicates that the average age was 24□25 years old and the median 22□23 years old.

#### *Figure 10: Birth Year of Foreign Fighters*

The oldest fighter in the Sinjar Records was 54 when he crossed into Iraq. Five fighters were born in 1990 – at least one of which was still 16 when he entered Iraq.<sup>23</sup> Seven fighters were born in 1989 (16□17 years old) and fifteen in 1990 – many of whom had not yet turned 18 by the time they came to Syria. The youngest fighter in this group was Abdallah Abid Al Sulaymani from Al Ta'if, Saudi Arabia, who was born June 14, 1991 and arrived in Syria on September 23, 2006 – just three months after turning 15 years old.<sup>24</sup>

The fighters' overall youth suggests that most of these individuals are first□time volunteers rather than veterans of previous jihadi struggles. If there was a major

25 “Student” includes high school and university, secondary school, and includes religious schools. “Teacher” includes high school, university, and religious schools. “Military” includes veterans. “Professional” includes businessman, NGO, lawyers, and engineers. “Administrative” includes clerks, judges assistants, and doctor’s assistant. “Business” includes business merchant and weapons merchant. “Other” includes free jobs, employee, artist, painter, fitness trainer, massage therapist, bombmaker, and farmer. “Skilled worker” includes carpenter, electrician, furniture maker, and welder. “Unskilled worker” includes guard and driver. “Laborer” includes work, work in a factory.

influx of veteran jihadis into Iraq, it may have come earlier in the war. The incitement of a new generation of jihadis to join the fight in Iraq, or plan operations elsewhere, is one of the most worrisome aspects of the ongoing fight in Iraq. The United States should not confuse gains against al□Qa’ida’s Iraqi franchises as fundamental blows against the organization outside of Iraq. So long as al□Qa’ida is able to attract hundreds of young men to join its ranks, it will remain a serious threat to global security.

### **Occupation**

Most fighters in the Sinjar Records did not indicate their profession, but 157 of the 606 did. Of those that did, 42.6% (67) were students. The remainder varied widely. Five teachers were recorded, as well as three doctors, and four engineers. The remaining responses varied widely, from the useful (military: 5) to the bizarre (massage therapist: 1).

Figure 11: Occupation of Fighters<sup>25</sup>

26 Types of work are listed in various ways in the original Arabic and in translation. Listings such as “combatant,” and “fighters,” were counted as “fighter.” Listings such as “martyr,” “martyrdom,” “suicide,” and “suicide mission” are counted as “suicide bomber.”

**Work**

Most of the fighters entering Iraq listed their “work” upon arrival, a category that primarily distinguishes between fighters and suicide bombers.<sup>26</sup> The category seems to reflect the role fighters hoped to have upon their arrival in Iraq, but it might indicate an assignment determined by local administrators. The translated versions of the Sinjar records convert the Arabic word *istishhadi* in a variety of ways: as “martyr,” “martyrdom,” and “suicide bomber.” The word itself means “martyrdom seeker.” We have coded all such individuals “suicide bombers” in an effort to avoid confusion. Although al-Qa’ida’s ideology embraces the concept of becoming a martyr during the course of traditional military operations, the purpose of these personnel records was to enable commanders to efficiently allocate individuals for specific tasks. In such circumstances, *istishhadi* likely refers to individuals intended for suicide attacks. Of the 389 fighters that designated their “work” in Iraq, 56.3% (217) were to be suicide bombers. Another 41.9% (166) were designated more traditional fighters. Several respondents listed more specialized tasks, including media operations (2), doctor (3), and legal skills (1). We have chosen to combine the suicide bomber and martyr data categories.

Figure 12: Work of All Fighters

Foreign Fighter Recruited Roles

27 Mohammed M. Hafez, “Suicide Terrorism in Iraq: A Preliminary Assessment of the Quantitative Data and Documentary Evidence,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29:6 (2006) 616-19

Numerous observers have concluded that Saudi Arabians are over-represented in the ranks of Iraqi suicide bombers. One recent study analyzed 94 suicide bombers in Iraq and determined that 44 were Saudi, 7 Kuwaiti, 7 European, six Syrian and the remainder scattered across the Mideast and North Africa.<sup>27</sup>

The Sinjar Records support the conclusion that the *plurality* of suicide bombers entering Iraq between August 2006 and August 2007 were Saudi. However, they challenge the notion that, once in Iraq, Saudi foreign fighters are more likely than their comrades from other locations to become suicide bombers. Libyan and Moroccan fighters that listed their “work” in the Sinjar Records were much more likely to register “suicide bomber” than fighters from other nations.

Figure 13: Intended Work of Fighters by Nationality

Country	Suicide Bombers	Fighters	Other	Total
Saudi Arabia	50.3% (76)	48.3% (73)	1.3% (2)	151
Libya	85.2% (52)	13.1% (8)	1.6% (1)	61
Morocco	91.7% (22)	8.3% (2)	0	24
Syria	65.6% (21)	31.2% (10)	3.1% (1)	32

Algeria	13.9%(5)	83.3%(30)	2.8% (1)	36
Yemen	46.1% (18)	53.9% (21)	0	39
Tunisia	41.7% (10)	58.3% (14)	0	24

27 Mohammed M. Hafez, “Suicide Terrorism in Iraq: A Preliminary Assessment of the Quantitative Data and Documentary Evidence,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29:6 (2006) 616-19

Of the 244 Saudi fighters in the Sinjar Records, 61.8% (151) listed their “work.” Of that 151, 50.3% (76) planned to become suicide bombers. Among the 238 non-Saudis who listed their “work” in the Sinjar Records, 59.2% (141) were denoted as future suicide bombers. Libyan and Moroccan jihadists were far more likely, as a percentage of fighters who arrived in Iraq, to be listed as suicide bombers. Of the 112 Libyans in the Records, 54.4% (61) listed their “work.” Fully 85.2% (51) of these Libyan fighters listed “suicide bomber” as their work in Iraq.

### **Route to Iraq**

Most of the fighters in the Sinjar Records do not explain the route they took to Iraq. Furthermore, the fighters that did enter information about their route were very inconsistent in their methodology. Some fighters included their home country as a stop, others did not. Some included “Iraq” as a stop on their way to

28 An example of this is Bader Shourie, record number 90. NMEC 2007 657770.

29 Figure 14, noting the routes fighters took to Iraq lists the country of origin, stopover nations, and Syria. The “Syria” category includes mostly Syrian fighters, but includes several others that only listed Syria

Iraq. Some fighters listed Syria as a stop on their route to Iraq, while others seemed to think it was assumed and did not mention Syria despite providing the name of their coordinator in Syria.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, it is not clear what fighters considered a “stop.” For some, that may have simply been a country transited on the way to Iraq; for others, it may have required a more extensive layover.

Despite the data problem in assessing the route fighters took to Iraq, it is clear that routes differed dramatically from country to country. Of the 63 records of Saudis that described their route to Iraq, 47.6% listed a direct route from Saudi into Syria, while another 36.5% (23) noted that they traveled first to Jordan, then to Syria. Libyan fighters seemed to follow an established path to Syria. Of the 52 Libyan fighters that listed their route to Iraq, 50 traveled first to Egypt, while 2 flew directly to Syria. From Egypt, 84.2% (43) flew directly to Syria while 13.4% (7) went to Jordan and then entered Syria. The Sinjar Records also hint at an established pathway from Morocco through Turkey into Syria. Of the 12 Moroccan fighters that described their route to Syria, ten flew directly to Turkey while the other two crossed first into Spain before traveling to Turkey.

*Figure 14: Route to Iraq<sup>29</sup>*

30 Muhammad Muqaddam, "Facts Disclosed by Fundamentalists," *Al-Hayah*, December 8, 2005.

31 Malfi al-Harbi, "Al-Shayi, a Victim that was Lured to Iraq," *Al-Riyad*, November 21, 2007.

32 Interview with Abu Umar, *Al Arabiyah* 1905, December 7, 2007

33 <http://www.globalterroralert.com/pdf/0805/roadtoiraq0805.pdf> Global Terror Alert does not list the original website, but it was likely the Syrian Islamic Forum that was hosted at [www.nnuu.org](http://www.nnuu.org) during 2005.

The Sinjar Records do not offer much information about the fighters' travel once in Syria. One clue may be the disproportionate number of Syrian fighters that listed Dayr al-Qawr (34.3%) as their hometown. There is anecdotal evidence that Dayr al-Qawr was an important transit point for jihadis hoping to infiltrate Iraq, at least until 2006. A December 2005 report in *Al-Hayah* tracked a group of Algerian and Saudi fighters trying to cross from Dayr al-Qawr, through the border town of Albu Kamal, and then into Iraq.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, a young Saudi that was captured in Iraq recounted how he arrived there after using the same pathway from Dayr al-Qawr, via minibus to Albu Kamal and by foot across the border to al-Qa'im.<sup>31</sup> Abu Umar, a Palestinian fighter who crossed into Iraq to train al-Qa'ida troops also has described transiting Dayr al-Qawr on his way to al-Qa'im in Iraq.<sup>32</sup> Al-Muhajir al-Islami, a frequent poster on Syrian dissident web forums explained that the Dayr al-Qawr section of the border was particularly easy to cross because of the links between tribes on either side of the border.<sup>33</sup>

The Sinjar Records were captured far north of Albu Kamal in Syria and al-Qa'im in Iraq, which suggests that the smuggling route for fighters into Iraq has shifted north. Nonetheless, the city of Dayr al-Qawr may still be an important logistics hub for fighters hoping to enter Iraq. Dayr al-Qawr sits on the road north from Damascus and East from Aleppo, which makes it a logical location for a logistics base, whether heading further east to the Iraqi city of al-Qa'im or north to Sinjar.

## **Entry Date**

Two hundred and three of the 606 Sinjar Records provide the date the fighter entered Iraq. The most common month to arrive was November 2006, when 38 fighters were recorded. The second busiest month was July 2007, with 32 recorded arrivals.

Interestingly, in December 2006 only one fighter was recorded and it was someone named Hafid, who started his journey in Belgium.

### *Figure 15: Date Entered Iraq by Month*

The Sinjar Records do not list any fighters entering Iraq in March or April 2007. This is a fascinating, but suspicious, statistic. Only 3 fighters are recorded entering in February 2007, which bolsters the notion that the ISI's logistic network was disrupted for some reason in early 2007, but it is also possible that the records for that time period were lost. It is possible to estimate the entry date for fighters in the Sinjar Records by tracking the watermarks and letterhead on the documents themselves. The Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) was established in October 2006, which indicates that fighters recorded on ISI stationary entered Iraq after that date. Apparently, the al-Qa'ida's affiliates did not exchange their stationary immediately after the ISI was established. Some of the fighters recorded on Mujahidin Shura Council

(MSC) stationary list fighters that arrived in November 2006—after the ISI had replaced the MSC. The first fighter listed on ISI stationary is Hafid, the Belgian who arrived in December 2006. Of the 606 total records, 56.1% (340) are clearly listed as ISI recruits, while 16.8% (102) are listed on MSC stationary.

### **Traveling Partners**

The Sinjar Records do not provide much information about how individual fighters were recruited (or self-selected) for the fight in Iraq. There is interesting evidence, however, that many of the fighters signed up in groups to travel to Iraq, rather than on their own. Of the 202 fighters that recorded their date of arrival in Iraq, 46.5% (94) of them arrived on the same day as another individual from their hometown. Such evidence strongly suggests that the individuals traveled together as a group and, in some cases, may have been recruited simultaneously.

One of the larger groups began their journey in Darnah, Libya and arrived in Iraq on May 9, 2007. Abu ‘Abbas, Abu al-Walid, Abu Bakar, Asad Allah, and Abu ‘Abd al-Kabir all were *istishhadi*—martyrdom seekers. The five men did not sign up through the same local coordinator in Darnah. Abu ‘Abbas, who listed his occupation as “Employee” signed up through a coordinator named Qamar, Abu al-Walid and Abu Bakar—a student and a traffic cop—received support from someone named Saraj. Asad Allah and Abu ‘Abd al-Kabir received help from a coordinator named Bashar. Asad Allah was a teacher. None of the men knew their coordinator before they decided to go to Iraq. It is not clear if the five men traveled together from Darnah or in separate groups, but all five went to Egypt and then to Syria. Once in Syria, the five probably were together as a group. All five listed a man named Abu ‘Abbas (who they unanimously liked) as their Syrian coordinator. When the five men crossed into Iraq they each contributed several thousand Syrian Lira to the ISI, but did not report any form of ID.

### **Al-Qa’ida’s Syria Problem**

The authors of this report believe that all of the fighters in the Sinjar Records entered Iraq from Syria. Most of the Sinjar Records offer evidence of transit through Syria, either because the country is listed as the final stop on the way to Iraq or because the fighter named their “Syrian Coordinator.” Furthermore, Sinjar sits in Northwest Iraq approximately 10 miles from the Syrian border. In a location so close to Syria and so far from other borders, it would be surprising to find records of individuals that did not cross into Iraq from Syria.

34 For an insider's account of the Muslim Brotherhood insurgency against the Syrian government from the Harmony Database, see Abu Mus'ab al-Suri, AFGP-2002-600080 and a case study developed using this and other Harmony documents at Chapter 3 of "Harmony and Disharmony: Exploiting Al-Qa'ida's Organizational Vulnerabilities" available at [http://ctc.usma.edu/aq/aq\\_syria.asp](http://ctc.usma.edu/aq/aq_syria.asp)

35 Fu'ad Husayn, "Al-Zarqawi: The Second Generation of Al-Qa'ida," serialized in *Al Quds al-Arabi*, May 14, 2005, p. 17.

36 AFGP-2002-600087, p. 17; excerpts of this source were also published by Muhammad al-Shafi'i in *al-Sharq al-Awsat* on October 26, 2006, and subsequently translated by FBIS, GMP20061026866001.

It is not clear, however, how complicit Syria's government is in the movement of personnel through its territory. The Syrian government is led by a Ba'athist regime dominated by members of the Alawite sect, which is a form of Shi'a Islam that embraces elements similar to Christian theology.

The history of the Syrian government's relationship with alien Islamist militants is long and complicated, ranging from open support to brutal suppression of jihadi activists operating within its borders. Syrian policy toward such fighters is likely driven by its perception of national interest, rather than ideological kinship. In the late 1970s, for instance, Syria sent thousands of troops into south Lebanon in support of the PLO's guerrilla efforts there and provided logistical support to foreign volunteers who wanted to join the "jihad" on that front, yet at the same time it carried out an extremely violent campaign against the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood's uprising inside Syria, an insurgency that also included significant numbers of foreign fighters.<sup>34</sup>

Syria has an interest in keeping the U.S.-backed regime in Iraq off balance, but it must also fear a backlash from jihadi groups, many of which despise Alawite "apostasy" as much or more than the United States. Indeed, some of Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi's most important early recruits were veterans of the Muslim Brotherhood's uprising against the Syrian government in the 1980s.<sup>35</sup> For Syria, supporting jihadi groups is at best a double-edged sword.

Anecdotal data from Syrian history hints at Syria's strategy today. Former jihadi militant Abu'l-Walid Mustafa Hamid has described how he and a group of jihadi volunteers traveled from Abu Dhabi to south Lebanon via Syria in the early 1980s; at the Lebanese-Syrian border he and his entire group were photographed and had their passports taken to be copied by the Syrian intelligence service.<sup>36</sup> Though this action was ostensibly part of the support that the Syrians were providing to these volunteers as they made their way to Lebanon, Abu'l-Walid learned a number of years later that he and several other of the men processed by

37 AFGP-2002-600087, p. 17.

38 The tradeoff's Al-Qa'ida must make when balancing security and financial efficiency are described by CTC Research Fellow Jacob Shapiro in Section I of "Harmony and Disharmony: Exploiting Al-Qa'ida's Organizational Vulnerabilities. See [http://ctc.usma.edu/harmony/harmony\\_menu.asp](http://ctc.usma.edu/harmony/harmony_menu.asp) for the CTC's previous analyses of Harmony documents and a compilation of all documents released to the CTC by USSOCOM thus far.

39 Hala Jaber and Ali Rafat "Suicide Bombers Head to Iraq from Damascus" *The Sunday Times* October 7, 2007

Syrian intelligence at that time were subsequently placed on Syria's terrorist watch list.<sup>37</sup>

Syria would much rather be a transit point for jihadis than their final destination. Syria's leaders may determine that an influx of fighters into Iraq supports its national interests, but Syria is certainly tracking such fighters and likely hopes that they do not survive to leave Iraq.

The Sinjar Records do offer clues about how al-Qa'ida smuggles its volunteers through Syria. Many of the fighters in the Sinjar Records listed a Syrian coordinator or coordinators that presumably directed their travel upon arrival in Syria. Of the 606 total records, 41.9% (254) listed at least one contact in Syria. Many listed multiple contacts. Given the multiple different translations and transliterations of the Syrian coordinators as well as common names likely held by more than one coordinator, it is difficult to accurately map the network of Syrian coordinators and who they helped transit into Iraq after arrival in Syria. Based on this initial assessment of the data, several named individuals are listed more frequently as the fighters' coordinator in Syria.

The fighters listed in the Sinjar Records were asked to physically describe their Syrian coordinator, divulge how much money the Syrian coordinator demanded, and rate the fighter's overall experience with the coordinator. These questions may indicate that al-Qa'ida's administrators in Iraq mistrust their Syrian coordinators. Such suspicion is common in al-Qa'ida. Numerous Harmony documents reveal al-Qa'ida's rigorous efforts to ensure its agents are using funds efficiently<sup>38</sup>.

Al-Qa'ida's challenge in coordinating transportation in Syria likely runs much deeper than minor graft. Media reports suggests that many of the human smugglers al-Qa'ida uses in Syria are freelancers working for money rather than al-Qa'ida's ideological allies, which would explain why the traveling fighters' handlers in Iraq are so concerned about their fees.<sup>39</sup> Some of these networks are



but it may be possible to bribe or otherwise coerce such coordinators to disrupt their operations or reveal information about al-Qa'ida's organization in Iraq. One of the persistent mysteries of the Iraq war is exactly how Islamist groups like al-Qa'ida were able to cooperate with Iraq's secular Sunni insurgents early in the insurgency period. Since early 2007, relations between al-Qa'ida's ISI and its secular counterparts have deteriorated dramatically, to the point where shootouts and assassinations between groups are now commonplace. It is conceivable that deteriorating relations between the ISI and secular insurgents have weakened the ISI's logistical chain, particularly in Syria, where Iraqi Ba'athists have strong ties.

## **Conclusions**

The Sinjar Records offer unrivaled insight into foreign fighters entering Iraq between August 2006 and August 2007. The data reveals several critical findings:

Saudis made up the largest contingent of foreign fighters entering Iraq. Libyans were second (first if measured in percapita terms) and Syrians a distant third. In terms of sheer numbers, Saudis constituted the largest group of foreign fighters and contributed the most overall suicide bombers, but the percentage of Saudi fighters listed as suicide bombers was actually lower than non-Saudis.

Recent political developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the prevalence of Libyan fighters in Iraq, and evidence of a well-established smuggling route for Libyans through Egypt, suggests that Libyan factions (primarily the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group) are increasingly important in al-Qa'ida. The Sinjar Records offer some evidence that Libyans began surging into Iraq in larger numbers beginning in May 2007. Most of the Libyan recruits came from cities in North-East Libya, an area long known for jihadi-linked militancy. Libyan fighters were much more likely than other nationalities to be listed as suicide bombers (85% for Libyans, 56% for all others).

The Sinjar Records reinforce anecdotal accounts suggesting that al-Qa'ida's Iraqi affiliates rely on smugglers and criminals—rather than their own personnel—to funnel recruits into Iraq.

42 See “Harmony and Disharmony: Exploiting Al-Qa'ida's Organizational Vulnerabilities” available at [http://etc.usma.edu/harmony/harmony\\_menu.asp](http://etc.usma.edu/harmony/harmony_menu.asp)

Many of the foreign fighters entering Iraq arrived with a group from their hometown, suggesting that al-Qa'ida's recruiters try to attract groups of friends simultaneously.

The majority of fighters that listed their occupation before traveling to Iraq were students. Universities have become a critical recruiting field for al-Qa'ida.

The Sinjar Records reveal several weaknesses that the United States and other governments can exploit:

Al-Qa'ida's reliance on criminal and smuggling networks exposes it to the greed of mercenaries. In many cases, the United States should target work to destroy these networks, but the U.S. must remain flexible enough to recognize opportunities to co-opt,

rather than simply annihilate, such systems. The U.S. may be able to use financial incentives and creative security guarantees to secure cooperation from some smugglers.<sup>42</sup>

The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group's unification with al-Qaeda and its apparent decision to prioritize providing logistical support to the Islamic State of Iraq is likely controversial within the organization. It is likely that some LIFG factions still want to prioritize the fight against the Libyan regime, rather than the fight in Iraq. It may be possible to exacerbate schisms within LIFG, and between LIFG's leaders and al-Qaeda's traditional Egyptian and Saudi power base.

The Islamic State of Iraq has failed politically because it has been unable to balance the practical demands of its local Iraqi constituency and the religious demands of its foreign supporters. The ISI's clumsy effort to balance these demands has alienated it from other Sunni insurgents. The U.S. should not be content to exploit this failure only in Iraq. The ISI's political failure exemplifies the fundamental bankruptcy of al-Qaeda's ideology. The U.S., its allies, and moderates of all kinds, can discretely use the ISI's political failure to illustrate that larger ideological point.

The Syrian and Libyan governments share the United States' concerns about violent salafi-jihadi ideology and the violence perpetrated by its adherents. These governments, like others in the Middle East, fear violence inside their borders and would much rather radical elements go to Iraq rather than cause unrest at home. U.S. and Coalition efforts to stem the flow of fighters into Iraq will be enhanced if they address the entire logistical chain that supports the movement of these individuals—beginning in their home countries – rather than just their Syrian entry points.

The U.S. may be able to increase cooperation from governments to stem the flow of fighters into Iraq by addressing their concerns about domestic jihadi violence.

43 Reuven Paz, *Arab Volunteers Killed in Iraq: an Analysis*, PRISM Series on Global Jihad, No. 1/3, March 2005, online at [http://www.e-prism.org/images/PRISM\\_no\\_1\\_vol\\_3\\_-\\_Arabs\\_killed\\_in\\_Iraq.pdf](http://www.e-prism.org/images/PRISM_no_1_vol_3_-_Arabs_killed_in_Iraq.pdf)

44 Lisa Meyers, "Who are the Foreign Fighters?" *MSNBC* June 20, 2005, online at <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/8293410/>

45 Anthony Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid, "Saudi Militants in Iraq: Assessment and Kingdom's Response," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, September 19, 2005. [http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/050919\\_saudimiltantsiraq.pdf](http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/050919_saudimiltantsiraq.pdf)

### Appendix 1

The first study of foreign fighters in Iraq was authored in March 2005 by Israeli researcher Reuven Paz. Paz studied 154 fighters identified on jihadi web forums as having been "martyred" in Iraq and used their memorial biographies to identify their nationality.<sup>43</sup> Paz's data break down like this:

Saudi Arabia: 94 (61%)	Algeria: 2
Syria: 16 (10.4%)	Morocco: 2 (one was living in Spain)
Iraq: 13 (8.4%)	Yemen: 2
Kuwait: 11 (7.1%)	Tunisia: 2
Jordan: 4	Palestine: 1
Lebanon: 3 (one was living in Denmark)	Dubai: 1
Libya: 2	Sudan: 1 (living in Saudi Arabia)

43 Reuven Paz, *Arab Volunteers Killed in Iraq: an Analysis*, PRISM Series on Global Jihad, No. 1/3, March 2005, online at [http://www.e-prism.org/images/PRISM\\_no\\_1\\_vol\\_3\\_-\\_Arabs\\_killed\\_in\\_Iraq.pdf](http://www.e-prism.org/images/PRISM_no_1_vol_3_-_Arabs_killed_in_Iraq.pdf)

44 Lisa Meyers, "Who are the Foreign Fighters?" *MSNBC* June 20, 2005, online at <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/8293410/>

45 Anthony Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid, "Saudi Militants in Iraq: Assessment and Kingdom's Response," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, September 19, 2005. [http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/050919\\_saudimiltantsiraq.pdf](http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/050919_saudimiltantsiraq.pdf)

In June 2005, an NBC News report cited a U.S. Army official who listed the top ten countries of origin for foreign fighters in Iraq: Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, the Palestinian territories, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, and Yemen.<sup>44</sup> The official would not provide the number of fighters from each country.

Several months after the Paz report was released, it was criticized by Anthony Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) who argued that Paz overstated the Saudi presence in Iraq.<sup>45</sup> Cordesman and Obaid, whose data were provided by Saudi intelligence, claimed that there were some 3000 foreign fighters operating in Iraq, but that only 12 percent were Saudi. The Cordesman/Obaid estimates look like this:

Algeria: 600 (20%) Syria: 550 (18%)

Yemen: 500 (17%)

Sudan: 450 (15%)

Egypt: 400 (13%)

Saudi Arabia: 350 (12%)

Other Countries: 150 (5%)

46 Murad al-Shishani, "The Salafi-Jihadist Movement in Iraq: Recruitment Methods and Arab Volunteers," *Jamestown Terrorism Monitor*, 3:23, December 2, 2005.

<http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369842>

47 Krueger, Alan *What Makes a Terrorist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006) pp. 83

48 Ned Parker, "Saudis Role in Iraq Insurgency Outlined," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 15, 2007, online at <http://fairuse.100webcustomers.com/fairenough/latimesA98.html>

In December 2005, another researcher used information gleaned from online sources to assess the nationality of al-Qa'ida-linked fighters in Iraq. Citing a list of 429 slain Salafi-jihadis posted on a jihadi-linked web forum, Murad al-Shishani concluded that 53 percent were Saudi, 13 percent Syrian, 8 percent Iraqi, 5.8 percent Jordanian, 4 percent Kuwaiti and 3.8 percent Libyan.<sup>46</sup>

Citing statistics released by Multi-National Forces—Iraq in late 2005, Alan Krueger concluded that most fighters were Syrian, with Sudanese, Saudis, and Egyptians also contributing a large number of fighters. Of the 311 fighters whose nationalities were released, only seven were Libyan.<sup>47</sup>

Two years later, the *Los Angeles Times* cited "official U.S. military figures" stating that 45 percent of all foreign fighters in Iraq come from Saudi Arabia.<sup>48</sup> According to the article, 15 percent arrived from Lebanon and Syria and another 10 percent were from North Africa. The *Los Angeles Times* article also cited statistics indicating that 50 percent of all Saudis arrived in Iraq to become suicide bombers.

46 Murad al-Shishani, "The Salafi-Jihadist Movement in Iraq: Recruitment Methods and Arab Volunteers," *Jamestown Terrorism Monitor*, 3:23, December 2, 2005.

<http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369842>

47 Krueger, Alan *What Makes a Terrorist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006) pp. 83

48 Ned Parker, "Saudis Role in Iraq Insurgency Outlined," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 15, 2007, online at <http://fairuse.100webcustomers.com/fairenough/latimesA98.html>

See also the introduction to the Italian produced video on 9/11:

<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=2296490368603788739&hl=en>

<http://zero911movie.com/site/>

## **Is the Saudi Royal Family Connected to 9/11 Hijackers?**

New evidence links the Saudi royal family to Saudis in South Florida, who reportedly had contact with the 9/11 hijackers before fleeing the US prior to the attacks.

*September 22, 2011*

Evidence linking the Saudi royal family to Saudis in South Florida who reportedly had direct contact with the 9/11 hijackers before fleeing the United States just prior to the attacks. Our report connects some of the dots first laid out by investigative author Anthony Summers and Florida-based journalist Dan Christensen in articles jointly published in the *Miami Herald* and on the nonprofit news site [BrowardBulldog.org](http://BrowardBulldog.org). In early September of this year, Summers and Christensen reported that a secret FBI probe, never shared with Congressional investigators or the presidential 9/11 commission, had uncovered information indicating the possibility of support for the hijackers from previously unknown confederates in the United States during 2001. Now *WhoWhatWhy* reveals that those alleged confederates were closely tied to influential members of the Saudi ruling elite.

As reported in the *Herald*, phone records documented communication, dating back more than a year, that connected a Saudi family then living in a house near Sarasota, Florida, with the alleged plot leader, Mohammed Atta, and his hijack pilots—as well as to eleven of the other hijackers. In addition, records from the guard house at the gated community tied Atta's vehicle and his accomplice Ziad Jarrah to actual visits to the house. Although requiring further investigation, this information suggests that the house may have functioned as an operational base for the hijackers.

According to interviews and records examined by *The Herald*, Anoud and Abdulazzi al-Hijji and their young twins abruptly departed their home in Sarasota only days before September 11, 2001 and traveled to Arlington, Virginia, where they stayed briefly at another house owned by Anoud's father, Esam Ghazzawi.

Then, still well before 9/11, the entire group, now including the father, flew to London and on to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The Sarasota house was sold in 2003, as was [apenthouse apartment](#) in another DC, suburb, Rosslyn, Virginia. The Ghazzawis do not seem to have set foot again in the United States.

### **New Revelations**

Building on these revelations, WhoWhatWhy has found documents laying out the Ghazzawis' royal connections through a nest of Saudi corporations that share the name EIRAD. Esam Ghazzawi is director of EIRAD Management Company, the UK division of EIRAD Trading and Contracting Co. Ltd., which among other things holds the Saudi franchise for many multinational brands, including UPS. Esam's brother Mamdouh, whose name shows up on public records associated with family properties in the U.S., is the Executive Managing Director of the parent firm, EIRAD Holding Co. Ltd. EIRAD has connections to the US government via contracts. In 2008, records show, the State Department [paid EIRAD \\$11,733](#) for rental of facilities, presumably in Saudi Arabia. There is no indication that the company itself, or any of its officers or employees, have any connection to the 9/11 incident, or knowledge of anything regarding Mr. Ghazzawi's activities in the United States. Calls for comment to the company's main switchboard went unanswered during normal business hours; its website was not functioning properly

and Saudi trade officials in the United States had not furnished alternative contact information at publication time.

But the now-revealed link between the Ghazzawis and the highest ranks of the Saudi establishment reopens questions about the White House's controversial approval for multiple charter flights allowing Saudi nationals to depart the U.S., beginning about 48 hours after the attacks, without the passengers being interviewed by law enforcement—despite the identification of the majority of the hijackers as Saudis.

In addition, the new revelations draw further attention to a web of relationships that include the long and close business, personal and political ties between the Bush family and the Saudi royal family.

Saudi money is woven throughout business ventures connected to the Bushes. Saudi funds even helped bail out George W. Bush's failing oil company early in his life. Jim Bath, a close friend of Bush in the Texas Air National Guard, went on to start a business in conjunction with two sons of powerful Saudi families—Khalid bin Mahfouz, whose the family provides banking services to the Saudi royals, and Salem bin Laden, heir to the bin Laden family's global construction empire and a half brother to Osama bin Laden. (For a detailed probe of the Bush family's dealings with the Saudis, including substantial previously unreported material, see my book, *Family of Secrets: The Bush Dynasty, America's Invisible Government and the Hidden History of the Last Fifty Years.*)

#### **Details of The Herald's Revelations**

The Ghazzawi presence in the Sunshine State predated 9/11 by at least six years. In 1995 a young Saudi woman named Anoud Ghazzawi living in South Florida married a fellow Saudi native, Abdulazzi al-Hijjii (English spellings of his first name and surname vary, as is typical of Arabic names.) Anoud's father, Esam, and his American-born wife Deborah bought the couple a stylish, three-bedroom house in a gated community in Sarasota. The house remained in the elder Ghazzawis' names while the young couple lived there and began a family.

Six years later, less than two weeks before the 9/11 attacks, Anoud, Abdulazzi and their children left their home on or about August 30, 2001 in great haste, taking off in a white van. This was about the same time that the hijackers were purchasing their tickets for the targeted flights.

The family apparently left with no advance planning, leaving behind almost all their possessions, abandoning three recently registered vehicles, including a brand-new Chrysler PT Cruiser, in the garage and driveway. As the *Herald* [article](#) explained:

“there was mail on the table, dirty diapers in one of the bathrooms ... all the toiletries still in place ... all their clothes hanging in the closet ... opulent furniture, equal or greater in value than the house ... the pool running, with toys in it...The beds were made ... fruit on the counter ... the refrigerator full of food. ... It was like they went grocery shopping. Like they went out to a movie ... [But] the safe was open in the master bedroom, with nothing in it, not a paper clip. ... A computer was still there. A computer plug in another room, and the line still there. Looked like they'd taken [another] computer and left the cord.”

After public disclosure of Saudi involvement in the 9/11 attacks, people in the gated community took note of the rushed departure and disappearance of the Ghazzawi-al-Hijjiis. After all, the attackers were not just overwhelmingly of Saudi nationality, but

three out of four of the future hijackers had lived and trained to fly in Venice, Florida, just 10 miles away from the house.

The complex's security officer alerted the FBI, which began an investigation into the house at 4224 Escondito Circle. (In addition, a suspicious neighbor alerted the FBI by email on the day of the attacks.)

The Justice Department declined to give the *Herald* a statement, but, according to an unnamed senior counterterrorism officer who was one of two people who got into the house first and served as a key source for the paper, the investigation bore stunning fruit. Phone records showed communication, dating back more than a year, that connected those in the house with the alleged plot leader, Mohammed Atta and his accomplices, including eleven of the other hijackers. Other records, kept by guards at the gated community, documented numerous visits to the house by a vehicle known to have been used by Atta, and indicated the physical presence in the car of Atta's purported accomplice Ziad Jarrah. It appeared as if the Ghazzawi house was some kind of nerve center for the entire operation.

According to the senior counterterrorism officer, both Esam Ghazzawi and his son-in-law al-Hijjii had been on a watch list at the FBI predating 9/11. An unnamed U.S. agency tracking terror funds had also taken an interest in them. "464 was Ghazzawi's number," the officer said. "I don't remember the other man's number."

### **Secrecy Reveals Little Official Curiosity—or Coverup?**

These stunning revelations—said to be based on the work of the swarm of FBI agents who descended on the gated community in the fall of 2001—would surely have generated headlines worldwide if they had become known after 9/11. But the FBI, for reasons unknown, failed to provide the information to Congressional 9/11 investigators or to the presidential 9/11 commission, and thus it has remained a secret for the past decade. In response to the *Herald* article, the FBI has issued a [statement](#) saying that the occupants of the house had been tracked down and interrogated, and were found to have no connections to the hijackers. It is not clear when these interrogations are supposed to have taken place, or whether they were conducted by the FBI or by Saudi intelligence. But given the FBI's poor track record for candor in the matter, the statement is being viewed with some skepticism.

Adding to these doubts is an ineffective effort by the Bureau to woo the house owners back to Florida. According to Scott McKay, a lawyer for homeowners' association of the gated community, known as Prestancia, the FBI attempted to convince the Ghazzawis they needed to come back in person to sign documents related to unpaid back dues to the association. This attempt proved unsuccessful when the Ghazzawis simply arranged to sign the documents elsewhere. These facts, reported by *The Herald*, raise questions about the U.S. government's determination to interview the couple: Esam Ghazzawi's signature was notarized in Lebanon—by a U.S. official no less—the vice consul at the US embassy in Beirut. His wife's signature was also notarized—*elsewhere in the United States*, in Riverside County, California.

The emergence of this information chagrined Bob Graham, the former Florida U.S. Senator. Graham was Senate Intelligence Committee chair (and a 2004 candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination) and served as co-chair of the congressional joint inquiry into 9/11. "At the beginning of the investigation," he told *The Herald*, "each of the intelligence agencies, including the FBI, was asked to provide all information that

agency possessed in relation to 9/11.” Graham noted that the Bureau also failed to turn over information connecting the hijackers to other Saudis living in California, which his own investigators later discovered on their own.

Just as strange, when Graham’s congressional investigators turned over a large body of information on the hijackers they had assembled to the presidential 9/11 Commission, it seemed uninterested. “They did very little with it,” Graham said, “and their reference to Saudi Arabia is almost cryptic sometimes. ... I never got a good answer as to why they did not pursue that.”

About the new discovery in Sarasota, Graham said it “opens the door to a new chapter of investigation as to the depth of the Saudi role in 9/11.”

### **All Eyes on Prince Sultan**

Of special interest is the Ghazzawis’ boss, the chairman of EIRAD Holding Co.

Ltd., [Prince Sultan bin Salman bin Abdul Aziz Al-Saud](#). He is a prominent and powerful member of the ruling Saudi royal family who is expected to become crown prince, and thereby in line to become king. Born in 1956, which makes him approximately the same age as the Ghazzawi brothers, Prince Sultan bin Salman is a grandson of King Abdul Aziz (commonly referred to as Ibn Saud), founder of modern Saudi Arabia.<sup>[1]</sup>

Prince Sultan’s family is of enormous importance in today’s Saudi Arabia. His father, Prince Salman, has been the governor of the province of Riyadh (the city of Riyadh is the Saudi capital) since 1962, and is considered an arbitrator among the frequently warring members of the Saudi royal family, with its 4000 princes. Salman is the second youngest of the so-called Sudairi Seven, an extremely powerful alliance of full brothers jockeying for power in the country.

A leading advocate of teaching Saudis to fly, Prince Sultan is the founder and Chairman of the Board of the Saudi Aviation Club, and Chairman of the [King Khaled International Airport](#) (KKIA) Supervisory Committee. Since 2000, he has also headed [Saudi Arabia’s tourism commission](#), placing him among a handful of the King’s grandsons to hold ministerial rank. One of his missions as head of the tourism commission is to repair the damage to Saudi Arabia’s image caused by the 9/11 attacks.

In a [document](#) released by Wikileaks, the U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, James B. Smith, characterizes Prince Sultan this way: “With a powerful father who is the Governor of Riyadh and a strong candidate to be the next crown-prince, Sultan is well positioned to move up the Saudi government ranks... Sultan has visited almost every state [in the U.S.]. He joked with the Ambassador that ‘perhaps the only states he has not yet visited are the Dakotas.’ ” (He is extra well connected, with one brother serving as the deputy oil minister)

Prince Sultan is closely allied with Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud, the former longtime ambassador to the United States, who is often called “Bandar Bush” for his friendly relationship with the Bush family. Sultan and Bandar have worked together for years to promote Saudi interest in aviation.

### **The Bushes and the Royals**

The Bush family have long been regarded as friendly with the prince’s family and their associates. Prince Sultan’s NASA mission is perceived as having been [orchestrated](#) by George HW Bush as a favor to the Saudis. Associates of the Bush family have many connections with the Prince’s family. Prince Sultan’s father’s legal counsel is William Jeffress Jr, of Houston-based [Baker Botts LLP](#), where James A. Baker III, longstanding

advisor to the Bush family, including both Presidents Bush, is a senior partner. At the time of the 9/11 attacks, Baker held the post of Senior Counselor for the [Carlyle Group](#), a global asset management firm which is heavily invested in [military contracting stocks](#); among Carlyle's large investors were the bin Ladens. (In a curious coincidence, Baker watched the live television coverage of the attacks from the [Ritz-Carlton Hotel](#) in Washington, where he and representatives of [Osama bin Laden](#)'s extended [family](#) were attending the Carlyle Group's annual conference. In another odd coincidence, President George W. Bush himself was in Sarasota, reading to schoolchildren, at the very time the Sarasota-area-based terrorists were hijacking the planes. Indeed, he was a short distance from the home the Ghazzawis had recently abandoned.)

President Bush's actions in the aftermath of the World Trade Center and Pentagon assaults with regard to the Saudi royal family have long been known but have yet to be fully explored. Shortly after the attacks, President Bush permitted an exception to the ban on air traffic so that planes could take prominent Saudis out of the country. One of those leaving on the flights was the late Prince Ahmed bin Salman, brother of Prince Sultan. In a 2004 [letter](#) to the *New York Times*, Prince Sultan responded to allegations surrounding those flights, and pointed to a conclusion in the 9/11 commission report: "Our own independent review of the Saudi nationals involved confirms that no one with known links to terrorism departed on these flights." (Another Saudi who left the US after 9/11 was the architect Abdel [Wahed El-Wakil](#), who had a base in Miami and serves as an advisor to Prince Sultan.)

#### **Allegations of Saudi Royal Complicity**

Sultan's brother Prince Ahmed was the most westernized of the Saudi set. He raised racehorses in Kentucky and was the owner of the 2001 Kentucky Derby winner, with the perhaps unfortunate name "War Emblem." Allegations concerning Prince Ahmed emerged in the 2003 book, *Why America Slept*, by the bestselling author Gerald Posner. Posner says that intelligence sources told him how in March, 2002, under interrogation (but before he was [waterboarded 83 times in August](#)), Al Qaeda's purported chief of operations, Abu Zubaydah, relaxed and began cooperating. Tricked into thinking he was in Saudi custody, Zubaydah asked his interrogators to call a senior member of the Saudi Royal family, who he said was his contact. He provided, from memory, the man's private home and cell phones. This contact, according to Posner, was Prince Ahmed. Zubaydah is alleged to have said that Osama bin Laden had cut a deal with a top Pakistani military official, Air Marshal Mushaf Ali Mir, who was close to Islamist elements in Pakistani intelligence. According to this account, the Saudi intelligence chief, Prince Turki, signed off on this, and agreed to provide aid to the Taliban in Afghanistan and not to go after Al Qaeda so long as the terrorist group kept its gun sights trained away from the Saudi royals.

In this version of events, Zubaydah is said to have also implicated Prince Sultan, along with another cousin, Prince Fahd bin Turki bin Saud al-Kabir, as Al Qaeda backers, and to have claimed that the Pakistani Air Marshal Mushaf Ali Mir and Saudi Prince Ahmed knew in advance about the 9/11 attacks.

Though the interrogators were skeptical of these claims, Zubaydah often proved credible. Information he provided led to the capture of a senior al-Qaeda operative in Southeast Asia. Zubaydah would only talk when he thought he was in Saudi hands. When U.S. personnel, no longer posing as Saudis, confronted him, Zubaydah said he had made up

his earlier statements. But investigators found no basis for believing the information to be false—and even found material that corroborated his claimed ties to high level Saudis. Not surprisingly, the Saudi and Pakistani governments insisted his claims were false in all respects.

One of the key figures named by Zubaydah, Prince Turki, had been removed from his position as Saudi intelligence chief on September 1, 2001, ten days before the attacks. Thus, he was apparently not in that post on the critical day. Yet, his removal was a temporary absence from the highest levels of Saudi leadership, and not necessarily an indication that he had fallen into serious disfavor. The next year, he was named Saudi ambassador to Great Britain, just as a shift in focus from Al Qaeda to Iraq was being pitched to the British. If Zubaydah's claims are at all credible, the removal of Turki from an official position shortly before the attacks surely warrants additional analysis— as does the Ghazzawis' hasty flight from the U.S. right in the same time frame.

[According to the book \*The Eleventh Day\*](#), by Summers and his co-author Robbyn Swan, Zubaydah is not alone in asserting a Saudi-Al Qaeda deal:

In sworn statements after 9/11, former Taliban intelligence chief Mohammed Khaksar said that in 1998 Prince Turki, chief of Saudi Arabia's General Intelligence Department (G.I.D.), sealed a deal under which bin Laden agreed not to attack Saudi targets. In return, Saudi Arabia would provide funds and material assistance to the Taliban, not demand bin Laden's extradition, and not bring pressure to close down al-Qaeda training camps. Saudi businesses, meanwhile, would ensure that money also flowed directly to bin Laden.

Prince Ahmed and another royal, Prince Sultan bin Fahd bin Salman bin Abdulaziz, were among the fifteen Saudis spirited out of the US, with President Bush's approval, on September 16, 2001, via Lexington, Kentucky—i.e., out of Prince Ahmed's U.S. backyard. Prince Sultan bin Fahd is the nephew of Prince Ahmed and Prince Sultan, and the son of Prince Fahd bin Salman (see below) who died unexpectedly shortly before the 9/11 attacks.

“It appears as if they didn't want to be around to be questioned as to what role they had played and the best way to avoid that was to get out of the country,” former Senator Bob Graham [told](#) the Sarasota *Herald-Tribune*.

As author Craig Unger notes in his book, *House of Bush, House of Saud*, FBI agents were stationed at all points of departure for the group of Saudis who massed in Lexington before departing the country, yet there's no evidence they were asked any questions at all. Ironically, Posner, who is regularly cited by the corporate media for his views on the JFK assassination (he is a leading defender of the conclusion that Oswald was the lone gunman), is largely ignored for his work on the Saudi-9/11 connection, where he *does* posit high-level involvement. Posner is a [highly controversial](#) and at times perplexing figure, but he insists he has solid intelligence sources, and the thrust of his claims have meshed with those of *The New York Times* intelligence reporter and best-selling author James Risen. As Risen wrote in his book *State of War*,

Ever since the September 11 attacks, the trail back from al Qaeda to Saudi Arabia has been an intriguing path, but one that very few American investigators have been willing to follow. . . . [B]oth before and after 9/11, President Bush and his administration have displayed a remarkable lack of interest in aggressively

examining the connections between Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, and the Saudi power elite. Even as the Bush administration spent enormous time and energy trying in vain to prove connections between Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden in order to help justify the war in Iraq, the administration was ignoring far more conclusive ties with Saudi Arabia. Those links are much stronger and far more troubling than has ever been previously disclosed, and until they are thoroughly investigated, the roots of Al Qaeda's power, and the full story of 9/11, will never be known."

Several of those alleged to have had knowledge of this putative scheme and its enormous implications met with untimely ends shortly after Zubaydah's interrogation. In June, 2002, three months after Zubaydah's capture, the man he identified as his controller, Prince Ahmed, died of what officials said was a heart attack while asleep. Another brother of Ahmed's and Sultan's, Prince Fahd bin Salman bin Abdulazziz, died of a heart attack on July 25, 2001, about six weeks before the 9/11 attacks. The death of Fahd, who preceded his brother as head of EIRAD, is described in a Riyadh-dated article by Middle East Newsfile, as follows:

Prince Fahd died suddenly. Prince Fahd did not show any symptoms of any ailment. He had, however, made an appointment with a dentist at King Faisal Specialist Hospital in Riyadh to check a toothache.

A cousin, Prince Sultan bin Faisal bin Turki al-Saud, died when his car crashed en route to Salman's funeral. Zubaydah had supposedly implicated Prince Sultan bin Faisal, and another royal, Prince Fahd bin Turki bin Saud al-Kabir, as Al-Qaeda supporters. All these men were in their forties. Still another key figure in Zubaydah's monstrous scenario met an untimely death. On February 20, 2003, Mushaf Ali Mir, the Pakistani air force chief, his wife and fifteen others, were killed in a plane crash.

Not a hint of the above information appeared in the released portion of the presidential 9/11 commission report. It is not known whether any of it was in the 28 pages of material about Saudi connections that the Bush Administration censored on national security grounds.

### **A Long-Standing Relationship**

The Ghazzawis' relationship with the United States seems to date back to the 1950's, when U.S. immigration records show that Abbas Ghazzawi visited New York. Abbas Ghazzawi was a prominent Saudi attorney. Esam, whose full name is Esam Abbas Ghazzawi, appears to be his son. (*WhoWhatWhy* was unable to reach Ghazzawi for comment on any of the matters in this article.)

Abbas Ghazzawi, arriving on a first class ticket on a connecting flight that originated in Saudi Arabia, was traveling in an elite entourage. One companion, Rasem al-Khalidi, was a [high-ranking Saudi monetary official](#). Another, Faisal al-Hegelan, would years later serve in the all-important position of Saudi ambassador to Washington. He held that post during 1979-1983, a period that partly coincided with the Reagan-Bush Administration. His replacement was Prince Bandar, the Bush family friend jokingly called "Bandar Bush."

The focus of Saudi royals in their dealings with the United States can be seen in the conduct of al-Hegelan. As ambassador, al-Hegelan was principally concerned with propping up the Saudi regime. He had seventeen military attachés assigned fulltime to

lobby for the sale of the advanced command-and-control aircraft known as AWACS to the Saudi air force. (see P. 17 of the book *Arab Reach*, by Hoag Levins.) Overcoming heavy pressure on Washington from the Israelis, the Saudis succeeded in getting Congress to approve the AWACS sale. Al-Hegelan also led a lobbying campaign against Secretary of State Alexander Haig's public support of Israel's invasion of Lebanon. President Reagan, with strong input from his vice president, George H.W. Bush, removed Haig and replaced him with George Schultz, who sided with the Saudis; Schultz had been president of Bechtel, one of the largest construction contractors in Saudi Arabia, whose projects included the original Trans-Arabian Pipeline.

We find the Ghazzawi clan again in the United States in 1970, when the young Esam married the American Deborah G. Browning. The marriage didn't last long—in July, 1971 they obtained a divorce in Orange County, California.

The first sign of the Ghazzawi clan on the east coast of the United States was in 1992, when Esam bought a penthouse apartment in the D.C. suburb of Rosslyn, Virginia. In various accounts, Esam is described as a banker or financier, who also works as an interior designer. He accrued additional property in Arlington, Virginia and Longboat Key, Florida, and his name turns up in connection with a fancy office building in the K Street lobbying corridor.

In this period, Esam's name surfaced when investigators probing the monumentally corrupt [Bank of Credit and Commerce International \(BCCI\)](#) sought to recover assets from Saudi Prince Fahd bin Salman—brother of Prince Sultan bin Salman. The prince argued that his assets were being held in another account under Esam Ghazzawi's name. Only low-level BCCI officials went to jail in the sprawling scandal, which involved banks and governments all over the world. Prince Fahd bin Salman is one of the relatives who died unexpectedly in the year of the 9/11 attacks. (The Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations were repeatedly accused by investigators into the BCCI mess of obstructing their inquiries; it is worth noting that the Treasury Department official responsible for scrutinizing BCCI's affairs in the Reagan-Bush administration was assistant secretary for enforcement John M. Walker Jr.—who happened to be George H.W. Bush's cousin.)

In 1995, Ghazzawi's daughter Anoud, living in South Florida, married Abdulazzi al-Hijji, who was a university student in the area. Esam and Deborah Ghazzawi, apparently reunited sometime after their 1971 divorce, purchased the Sarasota home into which the couple moved. Abdulazzi appears to have received a B.S. and Masters of Information Systems from the University of South Florida. His Master's should be noted in the context of only one of two items removed from the Sarasota house before the couple fled—a computer.

Today, the family seems comfortably ensconced back in Saudi Arabia. In August, 2003, Abdulazzi al-Hijji became a career counselor at the [government oil company](#)—Saudi Aramco—a position he retains to this day. He served on the committee holding a [symposium](#) about electronic services in the eastern (oil-producing) province of Saudi Arabia, held in Khobar in 2008.

We found the American-born Deborah Ghazzawi, posting [online](#) just three years ago for help on finding her username/password for a Saudi Blackberry sim card.

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The seeming reluctance of the US government to pursue hints of possible Saudi complicity in the 9/11 attacks, wherever they might lead, is hardly an isolated failure. Richard Clarke, the chief counterterrorism official in both the Clinton and Bush administrations, has recently [stated his view](#) that the CIA made an unsuccessful attempt to recruit two of the hijackers as double agents before the 9/11 attacks, then scurried to cover up this bungled effort. Clarke thinks evidence points to the spy agency itself allowing the hijackers into the U.S. as part of this scheme. If Clarke is correct, this would be another case of interested parties in the government keeping the truth bottled up for their own purposes.

Even more disturbing, the final section of the Congressional inquiry's report, on "sources of foreign support for some of the Sept. 11 hijackers," was totally redacted. It is still unavailable to the public on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the attacks. Both Graham and his GOP counterpart, Sen. Richard Shelby of Alabama, determined that national security would not be harmed by releasing those pages. Yet they were withheld—on the orders of George W. Bush.

Graham told the reporters he thinks suppression of the material provided "protection of the Saudis from embarrassment, protection of the administration from political embarrassment ... some of the unknowns, some of the secrets of 9/11."

Tellingly, the venerable British insurance company Lloyd's of London actively investigated Saudi complicity in 9/11. As [reported](#) by the U.K. paper *The Independent*, a Lloyd's unit has launched what is described as "a landmark legal case" against Saudi Arabia, claiming that the kingdom is indirectly responsible for the 9/11 attacks. Lloyd's asserts that Saudi banks and charities acting as surrogates for the royal family gave the terrorist group the sustenance it needed to carry out the 2001 assault. (Lloyd's is seeking to recover sums it paid to firms and individuals affected by the event.) Reports *The Independent*:

The legal claim states: "Absent the sponsorship of al-Qa'ida's material sponsors and supporters, including the defendants named therein, al-Qa'ida would not have possessed the capacity to conceive, plan and execute the 11 September attacks. The success of al-Qa'ida's agenda, including the 11 September attacks themselves, has been made possible by the lavish sponsorship al-Qa'ida has received from its material sponsors and supporters over more than a decade leading up to 11 September 2001."

Bizarrely, several days ago, Lloyd's quietly withdrew its suit, declining to explain why. But the move was conducted in such a way to suggest a possible settlement, thereby raising still more questions for investigation.

Meanwhile, in the United States, a growing chorus of voices—some very establishment voices—are demanding accountability and candor. Graham and Clarke have now been joined by retired CIA officer Bob Baer, by several former FBI agents and by Tom Kean, chairman of presidential 9/11 commission, all of whom express concern that the full story has not been permitted to emerge.

#### **"No evidence," But None Sought**

The 9/11 Commission report "found no evidence that the Saudi government as an institution or senior Saudi officials" financed Al Qaeda. But this carefully worded statement does not foreclose the possibility that members of the Saudi royal family

personally provided financing, or that senior officials funded companies or outsiders that in turn provided financing.

Many questions remain to be answered. For example, why did the Ghazzawi clan flee in such a hasty manner, pausing only to empty their safe but leaving food on the kitchen counter and their pool pump running? Was it because they had received some unexpected news, news so urgent and alarming that normal preparations for an orderly departure gave way to what appears to be a panicky exit?

If this question seems inconsequential, think about what kind of news, in the days just before 9/11, could have prompted such intemperate flight from the United States by a well-connected clan of Saudis? The possible answers to this question could prove world-changing. The most important Mideast nation so far untouched by the dislocations of the Arab Spring is Saudi Arabia, the [single largest supplier of petroleum](#) to the western world. If major players in that country's ruling family are shown to have had a hand in the 9/11 attacks, it would be the equivalent of a geopolitical tsunami—upsetting powerful elites around the world. Is it any wonder that efforts have been made to prevent a no-holds-barred investigation of this connection? And isn't it time, ten years later, to end this coverup — in the name of the common good?

Former Senator Graham, for one, is increasingly adamant. As he told the *St. Petersburg Times*: “These 19 people did not play out this plot as lone wolves. The chances that 19 people, most of whom had never been in the U.S., who did not speak English, and most of whom did not know each other, could have completed training, practiced and executed such a complicated plot defies common sense.”

*1. Saudi lineages are complicated due to men being named for their ancestors. For example, Prince Sultan (Prince Sultan bin Salman) should not be confused with his uncle, also known as Prince Sultan (Prince Sultan bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud), who is Defense Minister and Crown Prince, or his late cousin Prince Sultan bin Faisal.*

## **Saudi Arabia's Fall on Our Radar?**

by **Robert Maginnis**

02/28/2011

Saudi Arabia controls the world's largest oil reserves, and if that spigot is shut off by Mideast chaos, the global economy could be devastated. That is why the West must encourage the Saudis to mitigate their vulnerabilities, but be prepared to respond if the kingdom falls.

The Saudi monarchy is preparing for the worst case. For the first time last week, a Saudi youth group connected with others by social media to plan a peaceful demonstration in Jeddah expressing solidarity with anti-government protesters in Libya. Fortunately for Riyadh, that demonstration and another among Shiite citizens in the Eastern province weren't violent like the protests in Egypt, Bahrain, and Yemen.

But Saudi King Abdullah bin Abdul-Aziz's perception of the growing threat of social unrest prompted him to throw money at the problem. Last week he announced a \$37 billion benefits package to create 1,200 new jobs, raise cost-of-living allowances, grant interest-free home loans, and more.

The king should be concerned about the spreading unrest because Saudi Arabia has striking similarities with countries already racked by chaos. For example, the king runs Saudi Arabia with the same autocratic style that former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak used, and the Saudi monarchy bases its political system on family and tribal links, as in Yemen.

But these similarities are somewhat mitigated by Saudi differences. Much of the discontent expressed in neighboring countries is attributed to high unemployment and living costs, which the Saudis address by shoveling money at their difficulties.

Saudi Arabia is also different because it is a country of tribes connected by marriage, creating a land unified by family ties. Also, the House of Saud, the ruling family, is not the typical isolated monarchy. Rather, it has 30,000 members, including thousands of princes who are integrated throughout society.

The House of Saud also has a very unique relationship with the country's religious leaders. The 18th century Saudi ruler Abdallah bin Muhammad bin Saud married his son Abdul Aziz to the daughter of Shaikh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, the founder of the puritanical Wahhabi movement. That union created the First Saudi State and explains the royal family's advocacy for both Salafi Islam and unification of Saudi Arabia.

But these distinctives may not vaccinate the monarchy from four vulnerabilities.

First, the House of Saud is vulnerable because it hoards wealth and governing power. Saudi citizens are growing angry with their government as the population expands, per capita income drops, and young people lust for more liberty. That discontent is feeding a groundswell of calls for jihad against the royal family.

The rage and regional chaos may collide to form a tipping point for the kingdom. The monarch and his top princes are very old, and new blood must be installed. That reshuffling will remind anxious Saudis of Mubarak, who tried but failed to install his son as president. Saudis will ask themselves, too, why they must tolerate dictators.

Saudi citizens are also understandably impatient after having submitted petitions calling for a constitutional monarchy—a form of government in which the monarch acts as head of state within the parameters of a constitution. Calls for a constitutional monarchy and the kingdom's pending leadership shuffle could become the tipping point that ends the House of Saud's dynasty.

Second, the regime is vulnerable because it fails to treat political reform seriously. Last week Prince Alwaleed bin Talal bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, a grandson of the founding king of Saudi Arabia, wrote in the New York Times, "Unless many Arab governments adopt radically different policies, their countries will very likely experience more political and civil unrest."

He labeled Arab political systems "outmoded and brittle" and said, "Arab governments can no longer afford to take their populations for granted, or to assume that they will remain static and subdued." But Saudi Arabia's monarch is only half listening to reformers.

Saudi King Abdullah responded to calls for reform by instituting a "National Dialogue" process, which allegedly provides Saudi citizens the means to criticize their government. But some citizens who used the process to identify grievances were arrested and detained, creating doubt about the royal family's reform commitment.

Similarly, in 2005 the Saudi monarchy hosted elections for municipal councils, which were granted nominal powers to oversee local governments and make recommendations to national leaders. But as with the National Dialogue process, the municipal councils were ignored or not sufficiently empowered to do their jobs.

Third, the regime is vulnerable because social reform could fracture the stabilizing monarchy-Wahhabi relationship. The Saudi monarchy maintains its legitimacy among conservative constituent groups by carefully managing changes that could affect established religious practices, even though the lack of change stifles democratic reform.

The Congressional Research Service's 2010 report on Saudi Arabia states, "Since 2006, significant public debates have occurred on social issues such as the powers of religious police, education reform proposals, and the roles and rights of women and the integration of Shiites into Saudi Arabia's predominantly Sunni society." Wahhabi clerics oversee these issues, and any challenge to that authority could split the unique state-religion relationship, which might radicalize the Saudi clerics who allegedly support terror groups such as al-Qaeda

Finally, the rise of Iran and its Arab Shiite allies is a Saudi vulnerability. King Abdullah believes Iran stirs up Saudi's Shia minority—15% of the population—much as it is said to be doing in next-door Bahrain.

Last week King Abdullah met with the king of Bahrain, Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa, to discuss the Shia political uprising there. These Sunni leaders accuse their Shiite populations of loyalty to Iran, a charge Shiites say is used to stoke sectarian tensions and justify opposition to democracy.

But Saudis feel threatened because they are encircled by Shia-leaning governments—Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and possibly soon Bahrain. Alireza Nader, an expert in international affairs, told the New York Times, "They worry that the region is ripe for Iranian exploitation. Iran has shown that it is very capable of taking advantage of regional instability."

There is a history of tensions among Saudi Shiites. Two years ago, Saudi police launched a search for Shiite preacher Nimr al-Nimr, who suggested in a sermon that Shiites could one day form their own separate state. That secessionist threat followed clashes between the Sunni religious police and Shiite pilgrims near the tomb of Prophet Muhammad in Medina.

The Saudi Shia last rose up in mass civil disobedience in the intifada of 1979, inspired by Iran's Islamic revolution. Recently, Tehran openly endorsed the "rightful demands" of the Arab protest movement, which supports the Saudi view that Iran is attempting to create a Mideast "Shia Crescent" to become the hegemonic force in global oil.

The Saudi royals can avoid collapse by mitigating vulnerabilities. But if the monarchy

falls, the West must be prepared to step in, militarily and otherwise, to stabilize the country, keep Iran at bay, and sustain the oil flowing.

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### **Saudi Arabia: Trouble in the making?**

07/18/2010

Two recent articles discuss the situation in the Saudi monarchy. One says the situation is bad, the other says the situation is much worse than that. A [Forbes magazine commentary](#) recently painted the following bleak picture of Saudi Arabia:

*Turki bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, a prominent dissident now in exile in Cairo, issued an open letter to his fellow royals, urging them to abandon their desert fiefdom for greener pastures. According to the prince, the current social compact between the House of Saud and its subjects had become untenable, with the government no longer able to "impose" its writ on the people and growing grassroots discontent at the royals "interfering in people's private life and restricting their liberties." His advice? That King Abdullah and his coterie flee the Kingdom before they are overthrown--and before their opponents "cut off our heads in streets."*

...

*Grassroots prosperity, meanwhile, has headed in the other direction. Since the oil boom of the 1970s, per capita income in Saudi Arabia has constricted precipitously, falling from \$28,000 in the early 1980s to below \$7,000 in 2001. In other words, average Saudis have experienced a devastating reversal of economic fortune, even as the royal cohort that rules over them has become more numerous, indulgent and bloated.*

In contrast, a recent Economist article, [When kings and princes grow old](#), about the Saudi succession, studiously and apparently deliberately ignores Turki Bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud's warning entirely and paints the following fairly rosy picture:

*... Its \$420 billion economy faces little risk of losing its place as the biggest in the Middle East, given steady oil reserves and production, around \$150 billion in annual energy exports and a strengthening world oil market. The country's net foreign reserves still nearly equal its GDP. Economists expect growth to accelerate slowly from around 4% this year, ensuring steadily rising living standards.*

These are seemingly impressive figures. Indeed, the Saudi economy is [expected to grow 3.8%](#) in 2010, but that is evidently in nominal terms. Since there is inflation of 5%, the economy is actually shrinking as the population grows.

Contrary to the assertion of the Economist, the Saudi GDP is not the largest in the Middle East. The following are some CIA estimates for 2009:

Country	Real GDP*	Nominal GDP*	Real Growth
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[Iran](#)

[Turkey](#)

[Saudi Arabia](#)

[Israel](#)

[Qatar](#)

\* In billions. "Real GDP" is adjusted for purchasing power parity. "Nominal GDP" is GDP at the current official exchange rate.

Turkey has a larger economy than Saudi Arabia any way it is measured. Iran has a larger economy in terms of purchasing power. In terms of real per capita GDP, Qatar, with \$121,700, is second in the world. Saudi Arabia with a GDP of about \$20,000 is ranked 60, but Israel, with only 7.5 million people, and (until 2010) no developed energy resources, has a GDP of over \$200 billion and a per capita real GDP of about \$28,400 and is ranked 48 in the world. There are no data on the distribution of wealth in Saudi Arabia. That is probably the most problematic and threatening aspect of Saudi economics. There is [evidently a very large income differential](#) between the royal family and the poorest classes (see also this [NYT article from 2008](#)).

It may be true, as the Economist notes, that Saudi Arabia sent 200,000 students to study abroad. But that is perhaps because of the highly unsatisfactory state of Saudi universities. Only 85% of males and 70% of females over the age of 15 are literate according to the [CIA estimate](#).

The Economist article does caution that the succession is uncertain, but it claims:

*Most Saudis expect that their ruling family will, as it usually has, reach quiet consensus on whom to crown, assuming that King Abdullah and Prince Sultan depart in reasonably short order. Aside from the 1992 royal decree tipping the "best qualified" prince to rule (a term that in Arabic can mean either the most virtuous or the most capable), there are some established guidelines. Traditions of Muslim kingship suggest that the line should pass through brothers of one generation in order of age, before descending to the next...*

*Yet with their unique political system looking increasingly anomalous in the modern world, Saudis are beginning to worry about what might follow if the al-Sauds fail to agree...*

Neither analysis mentions some other ominous factors. The specter of Shi'ite Iran has frightened the Saudis, not least because of a restive Shi'ite minority in south-east Saudi Arabia, where its oil reserves are concentrated. Not only Shi'ites threaten Saudi stability. From the first, it seems that the main goal of [Al-Qaeda](#) and Osama bin Laden may have

been to overthrow and supplant the Saudi monarchy. Bin Laden's 1996 Fatwa was significantly entitled "[Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places](#)". In it he writes, among other things,

*They stood up tall to defend the religion; at the time when the government misled the prominent scholars and tricked them into issuing Fatwas (that have no basis neither in the book of Allah, nor in the Sunnah of His prophet (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him)) of opening the land of the two Holy Places for the Christian armies...*

Both analyses agree that there are problems and signs of increasing instability in Saudi Arabia,. This cannot be good news for the United States, because Saudi Arabia is its prime ally in the Gulf region, and the Americans count on Saudi backing in the war in Afghanistan and in Iraq, though they don't always get such backing.

The U.S. government should be devoting much more attention to the problem of Saudi Arabia. After there is an Iranian-style revolution there, and U.S. administration officials will again be "surprised" as they were by the Iranian revolution, it will be much too late.

It is easier to say that something must be done, however, than to decide what ought to be done. Sad experience shows that any well-meaning reforms can result in a counter-coup by conservative religious forces. That counter-reaction was disastrous to 19th century Ottoman Turkish attempts at reform, and it was the undoing of the Pahlevi regime in Iran. As [Azar Nafisi](#) recounts in her books, "Reading Lolita in Tehran" and "Things I have been silent about," the liberated, secularized and Westernized students of Iran wrought their own destruction by working tirelessly in support of [Ayatolla Ruholla Khomeini](#). It was enough for them that he hated the United States and the wicked Zionists. They knew about his sermons and his book about the Islamic State, but they were willing to believe his unabashed lies claiming he would not seek political office, because that is what they wanted to believe.

What reform may not excite the conservatives to violent reaction? What reform may not release the pent up fury of a partially liberated group? Allowing women to vote or drive an automobile? Abolishing the virtue police? Ensuring literacy for females as well as males? Improving the lot of the Shi'a minority?

There is one reform, perhaps that is essential, and that is allowing for a more equitable distribution of wealth, and reinvesting the oil revenues in industry, infrastructure and education. But even that may be dangerous. Some religious conservatives look upon any progress as dangerous. For with industrialization will come a larger middle class and more demands for equality of the sexes. In his book, "[In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth](#)," Elie Kedourie described one source of Arab unrest and resentment of the [Ottoman Turks](#). The Arabs were stirred up by the nefarious Turkish plan to build a railroad to Hejaz. The railroad would of course increase Turkish control in Saudi Arabia, but it would also bring with it dangerous progress. A similar reaction had greeted the introduction of the printing press in Ottoman Turkey itself. That devilish novelty was allowed for Jews and Greeks. When it was introduced for Turks belatedly in 1729, it was quickly suppressed in 1742

and was not allowed again until 1784. In more recent times, the Saudi monarchy was seriously [challenged](#) over the dangerous introduction of television:

*Former King Faisal was assassinated in 1975 by his nephew, whose brother had died during protests against the introduction of television.*

*Conservatives have also condemned satellites and camera phones.*

That quote from a Saudi government press briefing should give us a measure of the problems faced by reform initiatives in Saudi Arabia.

*Ami Isseroff*

From the desk of Craig B Hulet: If you go back to the Saudi involvement briefing paper and at the back is the *Sinjar* documents which outline the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG); and how many of its members transited into Iraq and Afghanistan to kill Americans. Now our CIA and State Department and the Pentagon are instructed to work with these dirt-bags with their leader now in charge of the new Libyan defense force to overthrow the Gadhafi regime in order to control the vast port structure on the Mediterranean Sea. We have seen how the CIA works in direct opposition often with the interests of the DEA and other law enforcement agencies. Now we may witness its betrayal of America itself and their troops in theater. But then Obama has approved all of this so I need to what? Be quiet?

### **Failure in Libya**

The War Party strikes out

by Justin Raimondo, September 28, 2011

Libya represents the failure of the interventionist project envisioned by the Obama administration: as rebel gangs run wild, attacking rival tribesmen – and “traitors,” like their former commander-in-chief – the country threatens to become what the more ambitious interventionists love best: a Failed State, that is, a state that fails to maintain its monopoly on the use of force in a given geographical area. For the War Party, every such failure is an opportunity to fill the power vacuum.

Faster than you can say “I told you so,” we’ll have boots on the ground. No other course is possible, given what is unfolding in Libya at the moment. The country has no real government – a condition the Powers That Be cannot allow any longer than a few weeks. It could be that the National Transitional Council (NTC) will proclaim itself the “official” government, having already achieved this recognition from the NATO powers and the UN. Yet the reality on the ground is and will continue to be quite different. As the smoke begins to clear, one thing is becoming apparent: foreign troops will be patrolling the streets of Tripoli quite soon – and indeed they are already there, albeit out of uniform.

As Libya comes more and more to resemble Somalia writ large, the blowback coming our way from the “responsibility to protect” doctrine will continue to waft over Washington, and the capitals of Europe. The West cannot and will not allow such disorder to exist in such close proximity to Europe: Somalia borders the Indian Ocean, but Libya’s famous beaches line the Mediterranean. Without a real government to deal with, the West will be forced to negotiate with the many tribal entities and independent actors who are splintering the former Libyan state into ever-smaller pieces. With the Western region demanding more representation in the NTC, the Gadhafi loyalists still on the loose, and thousands of weapons – some of them quite sophisticated – disappearing into the Libyan night, it’s quite a muddle – which just about describes the state of our Middle East policy at this juncture.

Look at what this administration has “accomplished” on the Libyan front: a three-way civil war, at the very least, between various rebel factions and Gadhafi loyalists – and the prospect that heavy weapons, including from Gadhafi’s arsenals, have fallen into the hands of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG). The “former” leader of this terrorist outfit is the new commander of the rebels’ armed forces. Once tagged as the Libyan franchise of al-Qaeda, LIFG is supposed to have been disbanded, but it has merely taken on a new name: the Libyan Army.

How did this happen?

Under the “liberal” Obama, the US has launched a major effort to consolidate and extend its Middle Eastern colonization program into fresh territory, pushing forward the frontiers of empire both physically and ideologically – and this latter aspect of the new aggressiveness is what I find interesting.

The “responsibility to protect” doctrine, the banner unfolded as we went into the Libyan battle, represents the complete descent of the ruling elites of the West into madness. If insanity requires a certain unselfconsciousness, an inability as well as an unwillingness to see one’s actions objectively, then surely this describes the Western mindset as we hail Libya’s chaotic “liberation.” To look at what is happening in that country and declare it a “success” – or, indeed, anything other than a catastrophe – is clear evidence of mental disability. The blinding madness of our ruling elites has them lurching from one disaster to the next, and proclaiming it a great success – without any awareness of how close the whole imperialist project is to collapse.

As Afghan insurgents strike at the very heart of the American occupation, Kabul, and Iraq comes apart at the seams, ever-cheerful US officials tweet their imaginary “victories.” The Taliban is in retreat, the Afghans are “stepping up,” and the Iraqis, too – we’ve been subjected to this torrent of lies for years, now, and I doubt anyone even listens anymore. It is like that voice coming out of the ever-present telescreens in George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, hailing “our glorious victory on the Malabar Front!”

This administration speaks in a different voice than its predecessor, but it’s a change in tone rather than content: the point is still to get us to sign on to the combined world-saving project and war of revenge that commenced the day after 9/11/01. But the tone has significantly altered: this is imperialism of the “smart” variety,” one that seeks to sell the old imperialism as a form of militarized social work – a particularly useful fiction as we begin to intervene more aggressively in Africa.

This talking point, mainly aimed at an American audience, is complemented by our new counterinsurgency doctrine, known as “COIN”[.pdf] : championed by CIA director and former Middle East top commander Gen. David Petraeus, this doctrine is an Americanized version of the old Maoist-Guevarist strategy which likened revolutionaries to fish who must “swim among the people.” By living with “the people,” and sharing their lot, the theory is that US troops could themselves deploy the tactics of a classical insurgency, in effect mimicking the enemy. Just as the Viet-Cong, or, say Hezbollah,

created a parallel government in the shadow of occupation, so Afghan villagers would gratefully accept the “government in a box” US strategists had designed for them. The Petraeus Doctrine, in short, amounts to a policy of nation-building from the bottom up: “clear, hold, and build,” as the COIN-dinista slogan puts it.

So much of this New Think consists of slogans, instead of real arguments: a collection of talking points, however, is not a real military strategy.

It all sounds hunky-dory: gain the people’s confidence by successfully protecting them against the Bad Guys, giving them “infrastructure,” and building institutions that inspire confidence in the American presence. There’s just one problem, however: the Afghans’ conception of just exactly who are the Bad Guys is quite different from our own. The COIN-dinistas evade the central problem of counterinsurgency theory: how to reverse the natural hostility of a population to an army of occupation. This “live with the people” strategy was tried by the British before and during the American Revolution, in the course of which British soldiers, including Hessians, were boarded in the homes of the rebels – and we all know how that turned out.

There’s no escaping it: no matter how you dress it up, whether in the clean white robes of “humanitarianism” and the “responsibility to protect,” or the purple robes of “benevolent global hegemony”: today *we* are King George III. Our far-flung legions are fighting insurgencies throughout Central Asia and the Middle East, from Afghanistan to Somalia and several points in between. Our President is a veritable Emperor, in the foreign policy realm, with the military at his beck and call. We maintain a commanding global presence in the form of bases and military assets on and around every continent. America is a world empire, one that has lost its republican veneer almost entirely, and no counterinsurgency theory can change the context within which US troops abroad operate.

The geniuses over at the State Department elevated the demonstrably unsuccessful Petraeus Doctrine to the level of policy, and applied it to Libya – with entirely predictable results. But that’s the essence of madness, isn’t it: repeating the same nonsensical behavior while expecting different results each time.

### **The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group – from al-Qaida to the Arab spring**

The Libyan anti-Gaddafi group with past links to al-Qaida

Ian Black, Middle East editor

guardian.co.uk, Monday 5 September 2011 12.29 EDT



The Libyan rebel commander Abdel-Hakim Belhaj, who said MI6 provided intelligence on him to the Gaddafi regime. Photograph: Daniel Berehulak/Getty Images

British intelligence and security service interest in Libya has focused for 20 years on the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), whether it was opposing Muammar Gaddafi and working with al-Qaida, later renouncing its old jihadi worldview – or taking part in the armed uprising that has now overthrown the regime.

Founded in 1990 in eastern Libya and accused of attempting to kill Gaddafi three times – according to unconfirmed claims with help from MI6 – the LIFG was effectively defeated on its home turf by 1998. Its cadres fled first to Sudan and Afghanistan and Iraq where hundreds joined al-Qaida. It was officially disbanded in 2010.

According to Noman Benotman, a former LIFG commander who fought with Osama bin Laden, at its peak the group had 1,000 active members, training camps in Afghanistan and a network of supporters and fundraisers in Libya, the Middle East and Europe. Benotman now works as an analyst for the Quilliam Foundation, a UK government-funded counter-radicalisation thinktank in London.

Other top ex-LIFG figures remain in al-Qaida. Its chief of operations, Atiyah Abd al-Rahman, a Libyan, was killed two weeks ago in a CIA drone strike. His likely successor, Abu Yahya al-Libi, is also Libyan.

But others are in the Benghazi-based Libyan rebel movement, the most prominent being Abdel-Hakim Belhaj, the commander of Tripoli's military council who spearheaded the attack on Gaddafi's compound at Bab al-Aziziya last month – and has made waves by complaining that MI6 provided intelligence on him to the regime that imprisoned and tortured him.

Belhaj, better known in the jihadi world as Abu Abdullah al-Sadiq, was released with 200 other LIFG leaders or suspected members from Tripoli's notorious Abu Salim prison after

the group collectively recanted and severed its ties with al-Qaida, saying that "indiscriminate bombings" and the "targeting of civilians" were not in accordance with its objectives.

The British and US governments were certainly well aware of extreme Islamist currents in eastern Libya, with a WikiLeaks cable from February 2008 describing calls to jihad in mosques in Benghazi and especially nearby Derna, a stronghold for former LIFG fighters and conservative imams who had shut down "un-Islamic" social and cultural organisations such as sports leagues, theatres and youth clubs.

The British government encouraged and helped publicise the Libyan "deradicalisation" effort, modelled on what was being done with former jihadis in Egypt. In a programme overseen by Gaddafi's son Saif al-Islam, the LIFG produced a 400-page theological document entitled Corrective Studies explaining its renunciation of violence. Ironically, in an al-Jazeera film in March, Belhaj praised the mediation of Saif al-Islam for his release. Gaddafi's son said that the men who had been freed "were no longer a danger to society".

In February, after the Benghazi uprising, former LIFG members created a new Islamic Movement for Change which expressed support for international intervention to remove Gaddafi. "The experiences of the LIFG leaders in armed conflicts in Afghanistan, Libya and Algeria have forced them to mature politically, recalculate strategically, moderate behaviourally, modify their ideological beliefs," [said Omar Ashour](#), an expert on jihadi groups at Exeter University. The latest revelations about secret British and US intelligence co-operation with the Gaddafi regime are an embarrassing reminder of a very different period.

### **How al-Qaeda got to rule in Tripoli**

By Pepe Escobar

His name is Abdelhakim Belhaj. Some in the Middle East might have, but few in the West and across the world would have heard of him.

Time to catch up. Because the story of how an al-Qaeda asset turned out to be the top Libyan military commander in still war-torn Tripoli is bound to shatter - once again - that wilderness of mirrors that is the "war on terror", as well as deeply compromising the carefully constructed propaganda of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) "humanitarian" intervention in Libya.

Muammar Gaddafi's fortress of Bab-al-Aziziyah was essentially invaded and conquered last week by Belhaj's men - who were at the forefront of a militia of Berbers from the mountains southwest of Tripoli. The militia is the so-called Tripoli Brigade, trained in secret for two months by US Special Forces. This turned out to be the rebels' most effective militia in six months of tribal/civil war.

Already last Tuesday, Belhaj was gloating on how the battle was won, with Gaddafi

forces escaping "like rats" (note that's the same metaphor used by Gaddafi himself to designate the rebels).

Abdelhakim Belhaj, aka Abu Abdallah al-Sadek, is a Libyan jihadi. Born in May 1966, he honed his skills with the mujahideen in the 1980s anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan.

He's the founder of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) and its de facto *emir* - with Khaled Chrif and Sami Saadi as his deputies. After the Taliban took power in Kabul in 1996, the LIFG kept two training camps in Afghanistan; one of them, 30 kilometers north of Kabul - run by Abu Yahya - was strictly for al-Qaeda-linked jihadis.

After 9/11, Belhaj moved to Pakistan and also to Iraq, where he befriended none other than ultra-nasty Abu Musab al-Zarqawi - all this before al-Qaeda in Iraq pledged its allegiance to Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri and turbo-charged its gruesome practices.

In Iraq, Libyans happened to be the largest foreign Sunni jihadi contingent, only losing to the Saudis. Moreover, Libyan jihadis have always been superstars in the top echelons of "historic" al-Qaeda - from Abu Faraj al-Libi (military commander until his arrest in 2005, now lingering as one of 16 high-value detainees in the US detention center at Guantanamo) to Abu al-Laith al-Libi (another military commander, killed in Pakistan in early 2008).

### **Time for an extraordinary rendition**

The LIFG had been on the US Central Intelligence Agency's radars since 9/11. In 2003, Belhaj was finally arrested in Malaysia - and then transferred, extraordinary rendition-style, to a secret Bangkok prison, and duly tortured.

In 2004, the Americans decided to send him as a gift to Libyan intelligence - until he was freed by the Gaddafi regime in March 2010, along with other 211 "terrorists", in a public relations coup advertised with great fanfare.

The orchestrator was no less than Saif Islam al-Gaddafi - the modernizing/London School of Economics face of the regime. LIFG's leaders - Belhaj and his deputies Chrif and Saadi - issued a 417-page confession dubbed "corrective studies" in which they declared the jihad against Gaddafi over (and illegal), before they were finally set free.

A fascinating account of the whole process can be seen in a report called "Combating Terrorism in Libya through Dialogue and Reintegration". [1] Note that the authors, Singapore-based terrorism "experts" who were wined and dined by the regime, express the "deepest appreciation to Saif al-Islam Gaddafi and the Gaddafi International Charity and Development Foundation for making this visit possible".

Crucially, still in 2007, then al-Qaeda's number two, Zawahiri, officially announced the merger between the LIFG and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Mahgreb (AQIM). So, for all practical purposes, since then, LIFG/AQIM have been one and the same - and Belhaj

was/is its *emir*.

In 2007, LIFG was calling for a jihad against Gaddafi but also against the US and assorted Western "infidels".

Fast forward to last February when, a free man, Belhaj decided to go back into jihad mode and align his forces with the engineered uprising in Cyrenaica.

Every intelligence agency in the US, Europe and the Arab world knows where he's coming from. He's already made sure in Libya that himself and his militia will only settle for *sharia* law.

There's nothing "pro-democracy" about it - by any stretch of the imagination. And yet such an asset could not be dropped from NATO's war just because he was not very fond of "infidels".

The late July killing of rebel military commander General Abdel Fattah Younis - by the rebels themselves - seems to point to Belhaj or at least people very close to him.

It's essential to know that Younis - before he defected from the regime - had been in charge of Libya's special forces fiercely fighting the LIFG in Cyrenaica from 1990 to 1995.

The Transitional National Council (TNC), according to one of its members, Ali Tarhouni, has been spinning Younis was killed by a shady brigade known as Obaida ibn Jarrah (one of the Prophet Mohammed's companions). Yet the brigade now seems to have dissolved into thin air.

### **Shut up or I'll cut your head off**

Hardly by accident, all the top military rebel commanders are LIFG, from Belhaj in Tripoli to one Ismael as-Salabi in Benghazi and one Abdelhakim al-Assadi in Derna, not to mention a key asset, Ali Salabi, sitting at the core of the TNC. It was Salabi who negotiated with Saif al-Islam Gaddafi the "end" of LIFG's jihad, thus assuring the bright future of these born-again "freedom fighters".

It doesn't require a crystal ball to picture the consequences of LIFG/AQIM - having conquered military power and being among the war "winners" - not remotely interested in relinquishing control just to please NATO's whims.

Meanwhile, amid the fog of war, it's unclear whether Gaddafi is planning to trap the Tripoli brigade in urban warfare; or to force the bulk of rebel militias to enter the huge Warfallah tribal areas.

Gaddafi's wife belongs to the Warfallah, Libya's largest tribe, with up to 1 million people and 54 sub-tribes. The inside word in Brussels is that NATO expects Gaddafi to fight for months if not years; thus the Texas George W Bush-style bounty on his head and the

desperate return to NATO's plan A, which was always to take him out.

Libya may now be facing the specter of a twin-headed guerrilla Hydra; Gaddafi forces against a weak TNC central government and NATO boots on the ground; and the LIFG/AQIM nebula in a jihad against NATO (if they are sidelined from power).

Gaddafi may be a dictatorial relic of the past, but you don't monopolize power for four decades for nothing, and without your intelligence services learning a thing or two.

From the beginning, Gaddafi said this was a foreign-backed/al-Qaeda operation; he was right (although he forgot to say this was above all neo-Napoleonic French President Nicolas Sarkozy's war, but that's another story).

He also said this was a prelude for a foreign occupation whose target was to privatize and take over Libya's natural resources. He may - again – turn out to be right.

The Singapore "experts" who praised the Gaddafi regime's decision to free the LIFG's jihadis qualified it as "a necessary strategy to mitigate the threat posed to Libya".

Now, LIFG/AQIM is finally poised to exercise its options as an "indigenous political force".

Ten years after 9/11, it's hard not to imagine a certain decomposed skull in the bottom of the Arabian Sea boldly grinning to kingdom come.

### How the Haqqani Network is Expanding From Waziristan

The Pakistani-Based Militant Group Needs a War In Afghanistan to Survive

Michael Semple

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The recent spate of spectacular attacks in Kabul reveals as much about the struggle for supremacy within the Af-Pak insurgency [1] itself as it does about the war between the insurgents and NATO. In the span of a single week, Afghans witnessed, first, the closing down of the center of the capital during a 20-hour siege on the U.S. Embassy, and then, exactly a week later, this past Tuesday, a political assassination: a suicide bomber packed his turban full of explosives and killed the chief of the High Peace Council, Burhanuddin Rabbani, a former president of Afghanistan.

Taliban spokesmen claimed responsibility for the Rabbani killing on Tuesday, but the group firmly denied any involvement on Wednesday. Investigations into Rabbani's death now need to establish exactly who tasked the suicide bomber; if the Quetta-based Afghan Taliban in fact assassinated one of the group's main interlocutors [2], the movement cannot seriously expect to move forward as a key player in a political process. Another

possible scenario exists: one in which regional spoilers who want to sustain the armed struggle are acting on their own. If the operation was run from the Pakistani tribal area of Waziristan, as some [3] are now suggesting [4], the Rabbani assassination may be an operation on which the Quetta-based Taliban leadership simply was not briefed.

Think back to the attack on the embassy in Kabul. Immediately following the siege, nearly everyone pointed at the so-called Haqqani network [5], since the tactics used mirrored those of their previous exploits, such as the June attack on the Hotel Intercontinental and the August assault on the British Council. Yesterday, even the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen said that the Pakistani intelligence services, or the ISI, were involved [6]. But blaming the Haqqani network is like using a kind of militancy shorthand, as the much-used moniker fails to capture the complex nature of the politico-military organization that is expanding its scope, network, and political aspirations from a base in North Waziristan.

In fact, understanding militancy in Waziristan, especially if it served as the origin of the Rabbani assassination, is vital to charting a course for NATO's possible negotiations with the Taliban, and is unavoidable in any discussion of extricating NATO from South Asia.

Here are the basics. Jalaluddin Haqqani was one of the leading Pashtun commanders of the jihad in Afghanistan in the 1980s. From the Zadran tribe, he is one of the few major commanders who made his peace with the Taliban, serving its government in the 1990s as a border affairs minister. The sons of the now aging Jalaluddin front the organization. Although the eldest son, Khalifa Seraj, is meant to be the senior decision-maker, his younger brother, Badruddin, is probably the family member most closely involved in the embassy siege and seems to be more active and accessible. In part, the brothers draw upon fighters from the Zadran tribe in the border provinces who were loyal to Jalaluddin during the 1980s. But the Haqqanis' lethal effectiveness derives from the wide range of Pakistani tribal fighters at their disposal. In effect, they have an unlimited supply of men for small-arms ambushes and attacks on NATO posts and administrative centers.

What is new here, and key to understanding the attack on the embassy (and perhaps even the Rabbani assassination), is that over the last two years the Haqqanis have developed what amounts to a special forces capability. They have built up intelligence-gathering networks and infiltrated government institutions in Kabul and the surrounding provinces. With the help of al Qaeda and Central Asian fighters, foreign militants in Waziristan have developed advanced combat training and technology for roadside bombs. The Haqqanis draw on this expertise without actually controlling the groups who deliver it. Rather than the Haqqani Network, it would be more appropriate to call this the Waziristan Militant Complex.

Even if they outsource some of their special operations, the Haqqanis feverishly guard the one part of their operation they consider far too valuable to let out of their control: propaganda. Young fighters take combat video courses in the North Waziristan capital of Miran Shah and then accompany their comrades on attacks to collect footage. The Haqqani video editors then splice the bloody footage with B-roll snatched from satellite

channels and YouTube. The result is a library of slick jihadi videos, glorifying the fighters and martyrs, stressing the precise and devastating nature of their attacks, and lampooning the Afghan government. Some even include credits claiming to be made by the "Cultural Committee of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan." The Waziristan militants are projecting themselves as chiefs of the Islamic Emirate brand, which is important because they are trying to sideline, at least in the eyes of those watching, their Afghan jihadist counterparts.

Attacks such as the embassy siege speak volumes about the nature of the broader Af-Pak insurgency. The Haqqanis are boosting their political influence by taking center stage in the war. Granted, the Kandaharis in southern Afghanistan have launched their share of spectacular attacks -- such as the Sarposa prison break and the coordinated Fedayeen attacks in Kandahar City -- but in terms of impact on the public consciousness, the Haqqanis simply overshadow anything their counterparts in Kandahar have been able to pull off. Most significantly, there is no evidence that the Taliban's chief military commander, Qayyum Zakir, has anything to do with the planning and execution of this ongoing string of Waziristan-Kabul attacks. Traditionally, the Haqqani brothers have always been careful to stress that they are under the authority of Mullah Omar and the Taliban Movement. But the embassy assault suggests that that is changing.

For the moment, the war goes on, and, despite U.S. Ambassador Ryan Crocker's assertion that the embassy siege was "not a big deal," the fact is undeniable that Kabul remains as vulnerable as ever, as shown by the Rabbani assassination. Meanwhile, a more serious complication is coming into clear view. The Rabbani assassination notwithstanding, there is still a chance that the Taliban's Kandahari leadership in the south will, in the coming months, opt for a political process and negotiations. And despite their claims of allegiance, the Waziristan militants are positioning themselves as separate players in NATO's Afghanistan endgame.

If the Waziristan Militant Complex was, in fact, responsible for the Rabbani assassination, in an effort to spoil a possible political process, it is a starting pushback against the Kandahari Taliban leadership. Even within Waziristan there is a question of who runs each of the operations. Despite their origins as a marginalized border tribe, the Haqqani brothers may now be eyeing a future role on the Afghan national stage. The Haqqanis' backers in Pakistan will have to make their own decision about whether they are going to take part in a negotiated reconciliation, or if, as Washington has suggested, they will ramp up their proxy war inside Afghanistan.

The bottom line is that the militants in Waziristan depend on the jihad for their survival and thus have to oppose any settlement. After all, if there's no war in Afghanistan, they have no reason for being. But what does that mean for the future? At a minimum, NATO will have to deal with Waziristan separately from any deal made with the official Taliban leadership. As a corollary, in trying to make sense of Taliban intentions -- which is a difficult enough task in its own right -- it would be wise to regard the attacks coming out of Waziristan as a separate and distinct matter. Because as a negotiated settlement

unfolds, the Waziristan Militant Complex will almost certainly be back again to sabotage it, with more spectacular attacks and the videos that always follow.

**CIA created Haqqani network: Rehman Malik**  
APP

September 25, 2011

ISLAMABAD: Interior Minister Rehman Malik on Sunday said that Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States not Pakistan created the Haqqani network and trained its members.

Talking to media representatives at a ceremony here, Malik said that the Haqqani network was present in Afghanistan and those claiming otherwise should provide evidence of its presence in Pakistan.

"We will fight the terrorists as our forces are capable of handling them and countering any challenge," the minister said.

He said Pakistan never blamed the CIA or Afghanistan directly over various attacks in Mohmand Agency or other areas.

Malik stressed for a strong immigration system at the Pak-Afghan border and urged the international community not to forget the sacrifices of Pakistan in the fight against terrorism.

"Pakistan has so far suffered a loss of \$ 68 billion in fighting terrorism," he added.

He said that the on-going operation in Karachi was successful because of coordination among Rangers, Police and Frontier Constabulary.

He told the media that Islamabad Police had foiled a bid to smuggle a huge cache of heavy arms including six mini machine guns, 14 Kalashnikovs from a vehicle near Motorway Interchange.

Earlier, the IGP Islamabad briefed the minister about the performance of Islamabad Police and efforts in curbing criminal activities.

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## **Mullen Takes on the ISI**

Will Sharp Words Be Backed by Deeds?

Aqil Shah

*AQIL SHAH is an expert on Pakistan's civil-military relations and regional security dynamics in South Asia based at the Harvard Society of Fellows*

The killing of Burhanuddin Rabbani, the former Afghan president who led the High Peace Council, **illustrates** [1] all too well the tremendous obstacles to a meaningful reconciliation among Afghanistan's various factions. Before his death on September 20 at the hands of a man who claimed to be an emissary of the Quetta Shura, Rabbani, an ethnic Tajik, had been in charge of reconciliation efforts with Taliban insurgents. His appointment had apparently been meant as a way to pull the Tajik-dominated Northern Alliance into the peace process. The jury is still out on exactly who ordered the killing -- the Taliban first claimed and then denied involvement -- but its implications are clear. Rabbani's assassination, the latest in a systematic campaign of targeted killings of high-profile anti-Taliban Afghan leaders, has increased the chance that tensions among the Northern Alliance, the Taliban, and other Islamist Pashtun groups could devolve into all-out war.

The beneficiary of this uncertainty is the region's primary spoiler: the Pakistani military. Although its generals have received billions of dollars in U.S. aid since 9/11 to combat terrorism, they have consistently done everything in their power to bolster it. They selectively cooperate with the United States, apprehending al Qaeda militants and fighting the Pakistani Taliban insurgents -- which also threaten the Pakistani military -- while sheltering and supporting other radical extremists, such as the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani network, which spearhead the deadly cross-border insurgency in Afghanistan.

The United States has had hard evidence of the Inter-Service Intelligence's double game for some time. For example, the George W. Bush administration reportedly intercepted communications between the ISI and Haqqani operatives who perpetrated the 2006 bombing of the Indian embassy in Kabul. But in this and several other cases, the United States chose to look the other way, because it needed ISI cooperation in the fight against al Qaeda. In addition, the United States continues to rely on Pakistan's land routes to supply its troops in Afghanistan.

It took a direct terrorist hit on the U.S. mission in Kabul for Washington to read the riot act to Pakistan's generals. In the most direct and daring official U.S. indictment of the Pakistani military to date, Admiral Michael Mullen, the outgoing chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recently told the Senate Armed Services Committee that the United States had "credible evidence" that the September 10 truck bombing of a U.S. military base in Wardak province and the September 13 terrorist attack on the U.S. embassy and NATO headquarters in Kabul were carried out by the Haqqani network with the ISI's active collusion.

If Mullen is right, the ISI is extending its Afghan proxy war against India to target the United States. The reckless escalation is likely intended to demonstrate to Washington that nothing is off-limits to Pakistan's Afghan surrogates, and it may even be designed to push Washington to rethink its involvement in helping India expand its presence in Kabul. Pakistan's military believes, somewhat plausibly, that India has used U.S. military cover to increase its intelligence assets on Pakistan's western border, which would allow New Delhi to foment insurgency in Pakistan's resource-rich province of Baluchistan. The

generals are also alarmed by New Delhi's deployment into Afghanistan of its mountain-trained Indo-Tibetan police force, mainly to protect the personnel of the semi-military Border Roads Organization (BRO), which has a role in developing Afghanistan's infrastructure. One project is a strategic highway linking Afghanistan to the Iranian port of Chabahar, which will reduce the landlocked country's dependence on Pakistani land routes.

The ISI-led attack also conveys the agency's intent and capacity to use insurgents to spoil any peace process that excludes Pakistan. The country no doubt has a legitimate stake in a peaceful and stable Afghanistan to its west, and it, along with other regional states, should be part of any reconciliation process. But its military covets a seat at the head table in any peace negotiation so that it can veto any outcome that threatens its expansive national security interests in the region. Ideally, the military would like Afghanistan to become a relatively stable satellite dominated by Islamist Pashtuns, which are much less likely than more secular Pashtuns to make irredentist claims on Pakistan's own Pashtun regions, or bow to Indian influence. The military's worst-case scenario would be an Afghanistan controlled or dominated by groups with ties to India, such as the Northern Alliance, which it fears would permit New Delhi to continue activities that are hostile to Pakistan even after the United States leaves the region.

But in the process of pursuing strategic depth, the military has run Pakistan into the ground. As Mullen rightly noted, exporting violent extremism has eroded the country's external credibility, undermined its internal coherence, and threatened its economic future. But for Pakistan's overfed, unrestrained, and irresponsible generals, it seems that the perceived benefits of nurturing violent extremist groups are still much higher than the costs. And indeed, in real terms, those costs have been much lower than they might have been. The United States has typically appeased the Pakistani military when it should have held it accountable. Despite clear evidence to the contrary, for example, the Obama administration certified to Congress in March that Pakistan's security and intelligence agencies were earnestly combating terrorism and refraining from political meddling -- two key conditions attached to U.S. security aid to Pakistan under the 2009 Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act. The administration rewarded bad behavior and got more of the same.

As Obama mulls over future policy options in Pakistan, he will find no easy answers. Still, neither the White House nor Congress should abandon Pakistani and Afghan civilians by letting the Pakistani military (literally) get away with murder. As I argued in "**Time to Get Serious with Pakistan** [2]," as difficult as it might be to conceive of a long-term U.S. engagement with Pakistan right now, extremists are less likely to find easy refuge in a globally integrated, democratic, and prosperous Pakistan. Moreover, the stronger Pakistan's democratic institutions become, the less room the Pakistani military and the ISI will have to maneuver -- even if that change is slow and incremental. Hence, the United States should provide Pakistanis with more economic and trade-related opportunities and help strengthen Pakistan's civilian political institutions by meaningfully engaging them.

Unfortunately, the U.S. Senate recently decided to link all aid to Pakistan -- including civilian economic assistance -- to the Pakistani military's cooperation against militant groups. Rather than imposing blanket aid cutoffs, the United States should consistently identify and publicly chastise the Pakistani military for its support of terrorists, routinely enforce security aid conditionality, and credibly threaten the military's high command with targeted sanctions if it continues to pursue reckless policies that undermine U.S. counterterrorism efforts and imperil nuclear-armed Pakistan's own stability. Otherwise, Mullen's recent tough talk is sound and fury, signifying nothing.

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January 2004



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***FBIS***

**Compilation of Usama Bin  
1994 - January**



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This compilation includes interviews with and statements, messages, and writings by Al-Qa'ida leader Usama Bin Ladin monitored by FBIS from March 1994 to 9 January 2004. Statements attributed to Al-Qa'ida and by other Al-Qa'ida leaders and spokesmen will be the subject of a separate compilation.

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**Compilation of Usama Bin Ladin Statements**

**1994 - January 2004**

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**1994**

**Usama Bin Ladin Denies 'Terrorism' Link**

**London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic 9 Mar 94 p 4**

[Interview with Saudi Businessman Usama Bin Ladin by 'Ali 'Abd-al-Karim and al-Nur Ahmad al-Nur in Khartoum; date not given]

[Excerpts] [AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI] The attempted attack on you took place after the horrific incident in the Ansar al-Sunnah Mosque. What is your relationship with the Ansar al-Sunnah group?

**Bin Ladin:** Our relationship with the Ansar al-Sunnah group is like our relationship with the other Islamic groups-a loose, cordial, and good relationship based on brotherhood in God. It is Muslims' duty toward their Muslim brothers.

**AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI:** Did you have any dealings with the Afghan groups?

**Bin Ladin:** We harbor no hostility toward anyone or any Afghan groups. Our relationship with the Afghan mujahedin began in 1399 Hijra (1979), namely when we went to Lahore, Pakistan, and worked with the Islamic group in Pakistan to support the mujahedin against the communist invasion.

We have focused on helping the brothers in Afghanistan since 1985. We opened camps to train young men to fight the Soviet invasion. We cooperated with everyone to help Muslims to defend themselves and their religion, especially as the enemies of Islam want Muslims to remain weak and subservient.

Our work in Afghanistan, which caused some people to insult us, was devoted to fighting the communist invasion and raising the banner that reads ``There is no other god but God."

**AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI:** In your view, who is responsible for that attack?

*Report*

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**Bin Ladin:** There are external quarters at which a finger of accusation could be pointed. They are the quarters spitefully hostile to Islam. They do not accept the natural right of Muslims to defend themselves.

Our position in Afghanistan caused some of Islam's enemies to try to obstruct our cooperation with Muslims. The world tends to prefer to overlook the oppression and persecution in Bosnia and occupied Palestine and then hasten to accuse Muslims of terrorism if they defend themselves. It wants to keep Muslims weak and incapable of defending themselves.

We also know that there are contacts among diplomats, all resigned to curb our movement and stop our contacts with our brothers. But we say that cooperation in piety is continuing among Muslims.

**AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI:** What is the nature of your relationship with Saudi Arabia?

**Bin Ladin:** There is a disagreement because of their rejection of our cooperation with the Islamic awakening, support of Muslim issues, and opposition to their restrictions on the all [al-da'wah] and the preachers.

I am accused of supporting fundamentalism, even though everyone knows that this stems from our eagerness to raise the banner that reads "There is no other god but God" and support the Afghan mujahedin camps to fight oppression and communist aggression. I believe that all Muslims adopted this position; or that is what we believe was the case.

**AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI:** And with Egypt?

**Bin Ladin:** The Egyptian press says that Usama Bin Ladin supports fundamentalism. We know that there are domestic problems in Egypt because of the state's violence against Islamists. Obviously there are bound to be reactions to this government policy.

Like many other Muslim young men, some Islamists in Egypt gained military experience in the Afghan mujahedin camps. These conditions forced some to take such positions in their countries to defend their religion and themselves.

The Egyptians are trying to indicate that I have something to do with the reactions taking place in their country. And they accuse me of posing a threat to them.

**AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI:** And with Yemen?

**Bin Ladin:** What I said about Egypt I say about Yemen, which I believe is one of the best Arab and Muslim countries in terms of adherence to traditions and the faith.

Nevertheless, its citizens have been subjected to murder and religious persecution. So it is natural for reactions to take place, even if some of Yemen's sons do train in Afghan camps.

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The accusation that we support terrorism is a hostile, imperialist method designed to suppress Muslims' determination and paralyze their movement toward one another and toward their religion and faith. [passage omitted]

**AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI:** What is the nature of your presence in Sudan?

**Bin Ladin:** I visited Sudan for the first time in 1983, where acquainted myself with its agricultural capabilities and investment opportunities. Four years ago we came here to cooperate and work in the areas of road construction and agriculture. I inherited this type of work from my father, may God have mercy on him. [passage omitted]

### **Saudi Islamic Opposition Opens London Office**

#### **London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic 8 Aug 94 p 1**

London, AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI-The Saudi Islamic opposition "Advice and Reform Commission" headed by Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin has announced the opening of an office in London.

The commission said in a statement signed by Shaykh Bin Ladin that the commission's shura council held a meeting last Monday [1 August] and decided to open the office in question and to appoint Khalid Bin-'Abd-al-Rahman al-Fawwaz as its director.

It added that the opening of the office in London came in response to "the desire to expand the commission's activities and to facilitate contacts with it in order to receive correspondence and complaints." The statement, a copy of which AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI

has received, did not say where the commission's shura council met. It bore an address for the London office and two numbers: a telephone number and a fax number.

**1995**

**FBIS had no reporting on statements or interviews from Usama Bin Ladin during 1995**

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**1996**

**Usama Bin Ladin Reportedly Interviewed in London**

**Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic on 17 June 1996 on pp 25-27**

[FBIS Report] Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic on 17 June 1996 on pages 25-27 carries a 2,300-word report on an interview with Usama Bin Ladin, who was recently expelled from Sudan. The interview, which was conducted by Fayizah Sa'd, allegedly took place in London. The date is not specified.

Introducing the interview, Sa'd describes Bin Ladin as "the main financier of the fundamentalist terrorist operations" in the Arab world and the world at large. She says she met Bin Ladin at a luxury villa in Wembley in north London. The villa is guarded by a large number of guards, most of them "Afghan Arabs" and foreigners. She says "reaching him required passing through several secretaries before reaching the last barrier, his private secretary Khalid."

According to Sa'd, Bin Ladin took the initiative and started talking about himself. He said, "I carry a Sudanese diplomatic passport, using a pseudonym." "My name is Usama Bin Ladin. I am 44 years old and I was born in Mecca in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. When the Soviet Union invaded Kabul, I was residing in Turkey, having left the kingdom because of some differences, which I don't like to mention now. I was working in trade. During my stay in Istanbul, I got acquainted with many Iranian merchants who had escaped from Iran at the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war. During that time, Arab mujahidin started going to Afghanistan with the help of the US CIA, which set up a transit camp in Istanbul. Volunteers stayed in the camp and were then dispatched to Afghanistan."

Bin Ladin continues that "at that time Afghanistan lacked everything. So I and other merchants agreed to help Afghanistan. We sent everything the state needed. Due to the nature of our work, I and my Iranian friends decided to travel to and stay in Afghanistan. In the beginning, we supplied the mujahidin camps with medicine, food, and weapons. In Pakistan, I got acquainted with three Sudanese, who were members of the National Islamic Front [NIF] led by Hasan al-Turabi.

NIF was not in power in Sudan yet. One of the three Sudanese was a young man named al-Tahir, a graduate of the engineering college of Khartoum University. Because he remained jobless for several years, he decided to volunteer for the mujahidin ranks in Afghanistan. Al-Tahir was very bright and polite. He convinced me to invest my funds in Sudanese projects. The al-Bashir-al-Turabi coup then took place in 1989."

**Bin Ladin continues:** "At that time, I became well-known among the mujahidin, especially the Arab and Muslim ones. 'Abdallah 'Azzam and two of his sons were killed

in a car bomb explosion in Peshawar in October 1989. I felt my life was in danger. With THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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the beginning of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, we mujahidin felt there were attempts to liquidate the symbols of 'Islamic jihad,' especially as the information available to us indicated the Mosad was behind the assassination of Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Azzam, who was a Palestinian."

At this point, the interviewer picks up the story as follows: "Before Kabul fell to the Afghan mujahidin, Usama Bin Ladin visited Sudan in April 1992. This was not his first trip to Sudan. He also visited it in October 1990. He went to Sudan with his three Sudanese friends.

From Khartoum airport they took a taxi to the Green Village Hotel. One week later, Usama Bin Ladin rented a furnished apartment at 15 Hayy al-'Amarat Street. He and his Sudanese friends began to study projects in which he could invest his money. He visited the ministries of industries, agriculture, and trade. The General Investment Organization was not established yet."

The interviewer adds: "Usama Bin Ladin says he possesses bachelor's degree in engineering. He and his Sudanese friend al-Tahir established a construction company that engaged in building roads, bridges, and houses. A meeting was arranged between him and Hasan al-Turabi, who invited him for lunch at his house. After lunch, al-Turabi told him: We have agreed to give you all the help you need. Accordingly, we have accepted your membership in the NIF. Bin Ladin paid al-Turabi \$5,000 as a membership fees.

"Afterward, Bin Ladin moved from his apartment in Hayy al-'Amarat to a rented private villa in Hayy al-Riyad, an upscale quarter in the Sudanese capital behind Khartoum airport. The villa consisted of two floors. He used one floor as a private office and the other floor as his living quarters. He imported trucks and tractors from Germany in a deal worth \$15 million. On the recommendation of Hasan al-Turabi, the Sudanese Government exempted Bin Ladin from customs duty on these trucks and tractors."

The interviewer continues: "Relations between Bin Ladin and Hasan al-Turabi became strong. Many Afghan Arabs started arriving in Sudan from Peshawar. Al-Turabi told him that the Iranian government had entangled the Sudanese regime with these Afghans. After promising financial aid to the Sudanese Government to spend on these Afghans, the Iranian Government reneged on its promise. The Sudanese Government could not foot the bill for these mujahidin, but at the same time it could not expel them. Bin Ladin understood he was required to pay a sum of money. He gave al-Turabi a \$2 million check drawn on the Faysal Islamic Bank."

The interviewer says: "The construction company set up by Bin Ladin in Sudan carried out a number of projects, the most important of which was the al-Rusayris Dam, the largest in Sudan. It also built and equipped 23 mujahidin training camps. Bin Ladin refused to take one cent for building these camps. As a gesture of gratitude, Bin Ladin was awarded without bidding a contract to construct the 500-km al-Tahaddi [defiance] road linking Khartoum with Shandi and 'Atbarah. The cost of the project was estimated at hundreds of millions of dollars. In addition, the Bin Ladin company constructed the alFOR

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Rahad and Kiananah canals. Bin Ladin and the merchants of al-Turabi's front set up the North Bank in Khartoum. He paid up to \$50 million toward the bank's capital. In return he acquired one million feddans of land in Kurdufan and western Sudan which he used for agriculture and to raise cattle."

The interviewer adds: "In 1993, the al-Bashir government requested a loan from Usama Bin Ladin, who gave it an \$8 million soft-term loan to import wheat in an urgent situation after its silos were empty. At the opening of the Port Sudan new airport, Usama Bin Ladin donated \$2.5 million." She continues: "Usama has not attended the Arab-Islamic Popular Conference, which is held annually and attended by all the symbols of the Islamic Resistance, even though he has paid \$1 million in contributions to the conference. Usama Bin Ladin has more than one residence in Sudan. There is a private villa in Hayy al-Riyad and another more luxurious one in Hayy al-Matar [airport quarter]. He owns a private yacht that is usually anchored at Port Sudan." The interviewer says Bin Ladin's private doctor is Ayman al-Zawahiri, who worked with him in mujahidin training camps in Peshawar. She adds that Mustafa Hamzah, who is accused of participating in the assassination attempt against President Mubarak in Addis Ababa, is a "close associate" of Bin Ladin. Hamzah worked in Bin Ladin's office in Cairo before he escaped to Sudan. Muhammad Shawqi al-Islambuli, the brother of Khalid al-Islambuli, the assassin of Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, is also a close associate of Bin Ladin.

Continuing, the interviewer says: "In Yemen, the Yemenis consider Bin Ladin the main financier of Islamist movements. He has built seven private religious institutes in Lahaj, al-Dali', Abyan, and Aden. He has expressed readiness to build with his own funds the Islamic University in Ta'izz in Yemen. Bin Ladin has ties with Tariq al-Fadli, the leader of extremist Islamists in Yemen. He also has strong ties with Shaykh 'Abd-al-Majid al-Zandani. He is accused of opening several Islamist extremist camps in Sa'dah. His relations with the Yemeni Government have been tense since it accused him and other Arab mujahidin of being responsible for blowing up oil installations and attacking a hotel in Aden in 1992. Hence, Bin Ladin has moved the Arab mujahidin from Yemen to Somalia in a move that cost him \$3 million."

The interviewer writes: "Bin Ladin does not hide his relationship with 'Umar Bakri Muhammad, whom he got to know through a person called Nidal Abu-Dijanah, who is also known as Abu-al-Rida'. Muhammad is a Syrian national. He always accompanies Bin Ladin, has lived with him in Sudan, and is one of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria. He escaped from Hamah after the 1982 events. She adds that Bin Ladin laughs as he plays with his black beard and she quotes him as saying that "he who has funds owns the mujahidin!"

The interviewer asks Bin Ladin: "The Philippines Government has accused you of financing the Abu-Siyah organization and of setting up extremist cells that were uncovered last year. This resulted in the arrest of several Arab nationals, including Shafiq Ramzi Yusuf, who is accused of blowing up the World Trade Center in New York in

1993."

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**Bin Ladin answers:** "To put it simply, the Bin Ladin Establishment's aid covers 13 countries, including Albania, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Netherlands, Britain, Romania, Russia, Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, and some Gulf countries which there is no need to mention." "With a vicious smile on his lips," he adds that "this aid comes in particular from the Human Concern International Society, which was founded in Afghanistan in 1982."

**The interviewer then says** Bin Ladin was one of the founders of that society with the help of the Iranian Government and the CIA. But soon afterward other financiers from the Gulf countries joined in. The society's main office is in Stockholm and it has branches around the world, including the al-Musa'adah [Aid] Society in Britain, the al-Najdah [Rescue] Society in Berlin, the Islamic Support Society in Italy, the Muwaffaq Society in Zagreb, and Bayt al-Ansar in Peshawar.

Asked if he owns a big electronic communications network and has access to Internet, **Bin Ladin says**, "yes, in order to run my business." Asked if his presence in London is connected to the current investigations in London and Paris and with his role in financing terrorist operations, he laughs and says, "no, I am on a mission for the US Embassy in London." She asks him, "aren't you afraid al-Turabi will hand you over, as he did to Carlos?" He says: "It is possible, but I do not live in Sudan now. I keep moving and I do not stay permanently in any country." He adds: "In general, Sudan needs me more than I need it. I can assure you that my departure from Sudan will inevitably lead to the collapse of the Sudanese economy." Concluding his interview, he says that what is happening in Sudan is "a mixture of religion and organized crime."

**Islamic Financier Bin Ladin Interviewed on Sudan, Iran Ties**

**Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic on 17 June 1996 pp 25-27**

[FBIS Report] Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic on 17 June 1996 on pages 25-27 carries a 2,300-word report on an interview with Usama Bin Ladin, who was recently expelled from Sudan. The interview, which was conducted by Fayizah Sa'd, allegedly took place in London. The date is not specified.

Introducing the interview, Sa'd describes Bin Ladin as "the main financier of the fundamentalist terrorist operations" in the Arab world and the world at large. She says she met Bin Ladin at a luxury villa in Wembley in north London. The villa is guarded by a large number of guards, most of them "Afghan Arabs" and foreigners. She continues that "reaching him required passing through several secretaries before reaching the last barrier, his private secretary Khalid."

According to Sa'd, Bin Ladin took the initiative and started talking about himself. He said, "I carry a Sudanese diplomatic passport, using a pseudonym." "My name is Usama Bin Ladin. I am 44 years old and I was born in Mecca in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

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When the Soviet Union invaded Kabul, I was residing in Turkey, having left the Kingdom because of some differences, which I don't like to mention now. I was working in trade. During my stay in Istanbul, I got acquainted with many Iranian merchants who had escaped from Iran at the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war. During that time, Arab mujahidin started going to Afghanistan with the help of the US CIA, which set up a transit camp in Istanbul. Volunteers stayed in the camp and were then dispatched to Afghanistan."

**Bin Ladin continues** that "at that time Afghanistan lacked everything. So I and other merchants agreed to help Afghanistan. We sent everything that the state needed. Due to the nature of our work, I and my Iranian friends decided to travel to and to stay in Afghanistan. In the beginning, we supplied the mujahidin camps with all their needs for medicine, food, and weapons. In Pakistan, I got acquainted with three Sudanese, who were members of the National Islamic Front [NIF] led by Hasan al-Turabi. NIF was not in power in Sudan yet. One of the three Sudanese was a young man named al-Tahir, a graduate of the engineering college of Khartoum University. Because he remained jobless for several years, he decided to volunteer for the mujahidin ranks in Afghanistan. Al-Tahir was very bright and polite. He convinced me to invest my funds in Sudanese projects. The al-Bashir-al-Turabi coup then took place in 1989."

**Bin Ladin continues:** "At that time, I became well-known among the mujahidin, especially the Arab and Muslim ones. 'Abdallah 'Azzam and two of his sons were killed in a car bomb explosion in Peshawar in October 1989. I felt my life was in danger. With the beginning of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, we mujahidin felt that there were attempts to liquidate the symbols of 'Islamic Jihad,' especially as the information available to us indicated that the Mosad was behind the assassination of Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Azzam, who was a Palestinian."

At this point, the interviewer picks up the story as follows: "Before Kabul fell to the Afghan mujahidin, Usama Bin Ladin visited Sudan in April 1992. This was not his first trip to Sudan. He also visited it in October 1990. He went to Sudan with his three Sudanese friends. From Khartoum Airport they took a taxi to the Green Village Hotel. One week later, Usama Bin Ladin rented a furnished apartment at 15 Hayy al-'Amarat Street. He and his Sudanese friends began to study projects in which he could invest his money. He visited the ministries of industries, agriculture, and trade. The General Investment Organization was not established yet."

The interviewer adds: "Usama Bin Ladin says he possesses a bachelor's degree in engineering. He and his Sudanese friend al-Tahir established a construction company that engaged in building roads, bridges, and houses. A meeting was arranged between him and Hasan al-Turabi, who invited him for lunch at his house. After lunch, al-Turabi told him: We have agreed to give you all the help you need. Accordingly, we have accepted your membership in the NIF. Bin Ladin paid al-Turabi \$5,000 as a membership fee. "Afterward, Bin Ladin moved from his apartment in Hayy al-'Amarat to a rented private villa in Hayy al-Riyad, an upscale quarter in the Sudanese capital behind Khartoum

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Airport. The villa consisted of two floors. He used one floor as a private office and the other floor as his living quarters. He imported trucks and tractors from Germany in a deal worth \$15 million. On the recommendation of Hasan al-Turabi, the Sudanese Government exempted Bin Ladin from customs duty on these trucks and tractors."

**The interviewer continues:** "Relations between Bin Ladin and Hasan al-Turabi became strong. Many Afghan Arabs started arriving in Sudan from Peshawar. Al-Turabi told him that the Iranian government had entangled the Sudanese regime with these Afghans. After promising financial aid to the Sudanese Government to spend on these Afghans, the Iranian Government reneged on its promise. The Sudanese Government could not foot the bill for these mujahidin, but at the same time it could not expel them. Bin Ladin understood that he was required to pay a sum of money. He gave al-Turabi a \$2 million check drawn on the Faysal Islamic Bank."

**The interviewer says:** "The construction company set up by Bin Ladin in Sudan carried out a number of projects, the most important of which was the al-Rusayris Dam, the largest in Sudan. It also built and equipped 23 mujahidin training camps.

Bin Ladin refused to take one cent for building these camps. As a gesture of gratitude, Bin Ladin was awarded without bidding a contract to construct the 500-km al-Tahaddi [defiance] road linking Khartoum with Shandi and 'Atbarah. The cost of the project was estimated at hundreds of millions of dollars. In addition, the Bin Ladin company constructed the al-Rahad and Kiananah canals. Bin- Ladin and the merchants of al-Turabi's front set up the North Bank in Khartoum. He paid up to \$50 million toward the bank's capital. In return he acquired one million feddans of land in Kurdufan and western Sudan which he used for agriculture and to raise cattle."

**The interviewer adds:** "In 1993, the al-Bashir government requested a loan from Usama Bin Ladin, who gave it an \$8 million soft-term loan to import wheat in an urgent situation after its silos were empty. At the opening of the Port Sudan new airport, Usama Bin Ladin donated \$2.5 million." She goes on to say: "Usama has not attended the Arab-Islamic Popular Conference, which is held annually and attended by all the symbols of the Islamic Resistance, even though he has paid \$1 million in contributions to the conference. Usama Bin Ladin has more than one residence in Sudan. There is a private villa in Hayy al-Riyad and another more luxurious one in Hayy al-Matar [airport quarter]. He owns a private yacht that is usually anchored at Port Sudan." The interviewer says Bin Ladin's private doctor is Ayman al-Zawahiri, who worked with him in mujahidin training camps in Peshawar. She adds that Mustafa Hamzah, who is accused of participating in the assassination attempt against President Mubarak in Addis Ababa, is a "close associate" of Bin Ladin. Hamzah worked in Bin Ladin's office in Cairo before he escaped to Sudan. Muhammad Shawqi al-Islambuli, the brother of Khalid al-Islambuli, the assassin of Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, is also a close associate of Bin Ladin.

**Continuing, the interviewer says:** "In Yemen, the Yemenis consider Bin Ladin the main financier of Islamist movements. He has built seven private religious institutes in Lahaj, al-Dali', Abyan, and Aden. He has expressed readiness to build with his own funds the

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Islamic University in Ta'izz in Yemen. Bin Ladin has ties with Tariq al-Fadli, the leader of extremist Islamists in Yemen. He also has strong ties with Shaykh 'Abd-al-Majid al-Zandani. He is accused of opening several Islamist extremist camps in Sa'dah. His relations with the Yemeni Government have been tense since it accused him and other Arab mujahidin of being responsible for blowing up oil installations and attacking a hotel in Aden in 1992. Hence, Bin Ladin has moved the Arab mujahidin from Yemen to Somalia in a move that cost him \$3 million."

**The interviewer writes:** "Bin Ladin does not hide his relationship with 'Umar Bakri Muhammad, whom he got to know through a person called Nidal Abu-Dijanah, who is also known as Abu-al-Rida'. Muhammad is a Syrian national. He always accompanies Bin Ladin, has lived with him in Sudan, and is one of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria. He escaped from Hamah after the 1982 events. She adds that Bin Ladin laughs as he plays with his black beard and she quotes him as saying that "he who has funds owns the mujahidin!"

The interviewer asks Bin Ladin: "The Philippino Government has accused you of financing the Abu-Siyah organization and of setting up extremist cells that were uncovered last year. This resulted in the arrest of several Arab nationals, including Shafiq Ramzi Yusuf, who is accused of blowing up the World Trade Center in New York in 1993."

**Bin Ladin answers:** "To put it simply, the Bin Ladin Establishment's aid covers 13 countries, including Albania, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Netherlands, Britain, Romania, Russia, Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, and some Gulf countries which there is no need to mention." With a vicious smile on his lips, he adds that "this aid, comes in particular from the Human Concern International Society, which was founded in Afghanistan in 1982."

**The interviewer then says** that Bin Ladin was one of the founders of that society with the help of the Iranian Government and the CIA. But soon afterward other financiers from the Gulf countries joined in. The society's main office is in Stockholm and it has branches around the world, including the al-Musa'adah [Aid] Society in Britain, the al-Najdah [Rescue] Society in Berlin, the Islamic Support Society in Italy, the Muwaffaq Society in Zagreb, and Bayt al-Ansar in Peshawar.

When Asked if he owns a big electronic communications network and has access to Internet, Bin Ladin says, "yes, in order to run my business." Asked if his presence in London is connected with the current investigations in London and Paris and with his role in financing terrorist operations, he laughs and says, "no, I am on a mission for the US Embassy in London."

**She asks him,** "aren't you afraid that al-Turabi will hand you over, as he did to Carlos?"

**He says:** "It is possible, but I do not live in Sudan now. I keep moving and I do not stay permanently in any country." He adds: "In general, Sudan needs me more than I need it. I

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can assure you that my departure from Sudan will inevitably lead to the collapse of the Sudanese economy."

**Concluding his interview**, he says that what is happening in Sudan is "a mixture of religion and organized crime."

**Interview With Saudi Dissident Bin Ladin**

**London INDEPENDENT in English, 10 Jul 96 p 14**

[Report on interview with Saudi Dissident Usama Bin Ladin by Robert Fisk in Afghanistan's Nangarhar Province; date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Usama Bin Ladin is a tall, slim man and when he walks towards me surrounded by his Arab "mujahidin" guerrillas in the mountains of Afghanistan, he towers over his companions. Huge insects fly through the night air, settling like burrs on his Saudi robes and on the clothes of his men. Bin Ladin's narrow eyes and long beard were familiar amid the battlefields of Afghanistan where he and his guerrillas fought the Soviet invasion army of the Eighties. His appearance is little changed, the beard a trifle greyer, perhaps, but the fierceness unquenched. Then he fought the Russians. Now, determined to overthrow the monarchy in Saudi Arabia and oust the Americans from the Kingdom, he is descriBing the bombings that slaughtered 24 Americans in Riyadh and Khobar-Dhahran as a symbol of Saudi anger, the presence of US forces as an "insult" to the Saudi people.

For Bin Ladin, the betrayal of the Saudi people began 24 years before his birth, when Abdul Aziz al-Saud proclaimed his kingdom in 1932.

"The regime started under the flag of applying Islamic law and under this banner all the people of Saudi Arabia came to help the Saudi family take power," he says as the night wind moves through the darkened trees, ruffling the robes of the Arab Afghan fighters around us. "Abdul Aziz did not apply Islamic law; the country was set up for his family. Then after the discovery of petroleum, the Saudi regime found another support -- the money to make people rich and give them the services and life they wanted and to make them satisfied."

Bin Ladin is picking his teeth with a piece of "miswak" wood, a habit that accompanies many of his conversations. History -- or his version of it—is the basis of almost all his remarks. And the pivotal date is 1990, the year Saddam Husayn invaded Kuwait.

"When the American troops entered Saudi Arabia, the land of the two Holy places [Mecca and Medina], there was a strong protest from the ulema [religious authorities] and from students of the Shariah law all over the country against the interference of American troops.

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This big mistake by the Saudi regime of inviting the American troops revealed their deception. They had given their support to nations that were fighting against Muslims. They helped the Yemen Communists against the southern Yemeni Muslims and helped East]. After it insulted and jailed the ulema 18 months ago, the Saudi regime lost its

legitimacy."

Bin Ladin spreads his right hand and uses his fingers to list the "mistakes" of the Saudi monarchy. "At the same time, the financial crisis happened inside the Kingdom, and now all the people there suffer from this. Saudi merchants found that their contracts were broken. The government owes them 340 billion Saudi riyals, which is a very big amount; it represents 90 per cent of the national income inside the Kingdom. Prices are going up and people have to pay more for electricity, water and fuel. Saudi farmers have not received money since 1992, and those who get grants now receive them on government loans from banks. Education is deteriorating and people have to take their children from government schools and put them in private education, which is very expensive."

Bin Ladin pauses to see if I have listened to his careful, if frighteningly exclusive history lesson. "The Saudi people have remembered now what the ulema told them and they realise America is the main reason for their problems.

"The ordinary man knows that his country is the largest oil producer in the world, yet at the same time he is suffering from taxes and bad services. Now the people understand the speeches of the ulemas in the mosques—that our country has become an American colony. They act decisively with every action to kick the Americans out of Saudi Arabia. What happened in Riyadh and Khobar [when 24 Americans were killed in two bombings] is clear evidence of the huge anger of Saudi people against America. The Saudis now know their real enemy is America."

There is a dark quality to Bin Ladin's calculations. "If one kilogram of TNT exploded in a country in which nobody had heard an explosion in a hundred years, surely the exploding of 2,500 kilos of TNT at Khobar is evidence of the people's resistance to American occupation..."

Did not the Europeans resist German occupation in the Second World War, Mr Bin Ladin asks? I tell him no European would accept this argument because the Nazis killed millions of Europeans, yet the Americans have never murdered a single Saudi. Surely, I say, such a parallel is historically and morally wrong.

Bin Ladin does not agree. "We as Muslims have a strong feeling that binds us together... We feel for our brothers in Palestine and Lebanon. The explosion at Khobar did not come as a direct result of American occupation but as a result of American behaviour against Muslims... When 60 Jews are killed inside Palestine [in suicide bombings earlier this year], all the world gathers within seven days to criticise this action, while the deaths of 600,000 Iraqi children [after UN sanctions were placed on Iraq] did not receive the same reaction. Killing those Iraqi children is a crusade against Islam. We, as Muslims, do not  
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like the Iraqi regime but we think that the Iraqi people and their children are our brothers and we care about their future."

Saudi Arabia's angriest dissident reserves some of his fury for the British. "I am astonished at the British government," he says. "They sent a letter to me through their embassy in Khartoum before I left Sudan, saying that I would not be welcome in the UK. But I did not ask to go to Britain. So why did they send me this letter? The letter said, 'If you come to Britain, you will not be admitted.' The letter gave the Saudi press the opportunity of

claiming that I had asked for political asylum in Britain—which is not true."

But it was America that captured Bin Ladin's anger. "I believe that sooner or later the Americans will leave Saudi Arabia and that the war declared by America against the Saudi people means war against all Muslims everywhere. Resistance against America will spread in many, many places in Muslim countries. Our trusted leaders, the ulema, have given us a fatwa that we must drive out the Americans. The solution to this crisis is the withdrawal of American troops...their military presence is an insult for the Saudi people."

Yet did not the Americans support the mujahidin's war against the Soviets? "We were never at any time friends of the Americans," Bin Ladin says. "We knew that the Americans support the Jews in Palestine and that they are our enemies. Most of the weapons that came to Afghanistan were paid for by the Saudis on the orders of the Americans because Turki al-Faysal [the head of Saudi external intelligence] and the CIA were working together."

So what kind of Arabian Islamic state does Mr. Bin Ladin wish to see? Would thieves and murderers still have their heads cut off, for example, in a Shariah-governed state? Mr. Bin Ladin's answer is unsatisfactory. All Muslims would love to live under true Shariah, he says. A guilty man would only be happy if he was justly punished.

Dissident Mr. Bin Ladin may be. But moderate, never.

### **Bin Ladin Declares Jihad on Americans**

#### **London AL-ISLAH in Arabic, 2 Sep 96**

["Message From Usama Bin-Muhammad Bin Ladin to His Muslim Brothers in the Whole World and Especially in the Arabian Peninsula: Declaration of Jihad Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Mosques; Expel the Heretics From the Arabian Peninsula"—received by fax as supplement to AL-ISLAH; pages 1-12]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is God that we thank and it is God whose help and forgiveness we seek and whose name we uphold against our own evil and our wrongdoings. Whoever is guided by God cannot be misled and whoever misleads can find no guidance. I declare

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that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is his subject and messenger. "O ye who believe, fear God as he should be feared and die not except in a state of Islam," "O mankind, reverence your Guardian-Lord who created you from a single person, created, of like nature, his mate and from them twain scattered (like seeds) countless men and women; reverence God, through whom ye demand your mutual (rights) and (reverence) the wombs (that bore you) for God ever watches over you," "O ye who believe, fear God and (always) say a word directed to the right, that he may make your conduct whole and sound and forgive you your sins. He that obeys God and his apostle has already attained the highest achievement." [Koranic verses] Thank God who said: "And reform is my only aim and only God can grant me success. On him I depend and in him I believe." And thank God who said: "Ye are the best of peoples evolved for mankind, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in God." [Koranic verses] Prayers and

peace be upon his Prophet who said: "People who see an unjust person and do nothing are about to be punished by God."

You are not unaware of the injustice, repression, and aggression that have befallen Muslims through the alliance of Jews, Christians, and their agents, so much so that Muslims' blood has become the cheapest blood and their money and wealth are plundered by the enemies. Your blood has been spilled in Palestine and Iraq. The image of that dreadful massacre in Qana, Lebanon, is still vivid in one's mind, and so are the massacres in Tajikistan, Burma, Kashmir, Assam, the Philippines, Fatani [as transliterated], Ogaden, Somalia, Eritrea, Chechnya, and Bosnia-Herzegovina where hair-raising and revolting massacres were committed before the eyes of the entire world clearly in accordance with a conspiracy by the United States and its allies who banned arms for the oppressed there under the cover of the unfair United Nations. That alerted Muslims to the fact that they are the main target of the Jewish-crusade alliance aggression, and all the false claims about human rights fell under the blows and massacres committed against Muslims everywhere.

The latest aggression was one of the worst catastrophes to befall the Muslims since the death of the Prophet, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him. It was the occupation of the land of the two holy mosques [Saudi Arabia], the cradle of Islam, the scene of the revelation, the source of the message, and the site of the holy Ka'bah, the qiblah [to which Muslims turn in prayer] of all Muslims, by Christian armies of the Americans and their allies. God is the source of all power.

In the light of the reality we are going through and the blessed, sweeping awakening in the world at large and in the Islamic world in particular, I meet with you today after a long absence dictated by the unjust crusade campaign led by the United States against the ulema and advocates of Islam to prevent them from instigating the Islamic nation against its enemies, as did their predecessors, may God have mercy on their souls, such as Ibn-Taymiyah and al-'Izz Ibn-'Abd-al-Salam. And so, this Jewish-crusade alliance killed and detained the symbols of the truthful ulema and upholders of the call—and God is above everyone. It killed the mujahid Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Azzam and detained the mujahid Shaykh Ahmad Yasin in the land from which the Prophet, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him, ascended to heaven, and the mujahid Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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Rahman in the United States. And, at the behest of the United States, a very large number of ulema, advocates of the call, and youth were arrested in the land of the two holy mosques. Prominent among them are Shaykh Salman al-'Awdah, Shaykh Safar al-Hawali, and their brother. Help comes from God who is the source of all power. We were affected by that injustice in that we were prevented from addressing Muslims and were pursued in Pakistan, Sudan, and Afghanistan. Hence that long absence, but, thanks be to God, a safe base was found in Khorasan [Afghanistan], on the soil of the Hindu Kush where, thanks be to God, the largest heretic power on earth was destroyed and where the superpower myth vanished in the face of the mujahidin's outcry of Allah Akbar [God is great]. Today, from the same land, from Afghanistan, we seek to end the injustice which has befallen the nation at the hands of the Jewish-crusade alliance, especially after the

occupation of the land of the ascension of the Prophet [now Israel], may God's prayers and blessings be upon him, and the violation of the land of the two holy mosques. We beseech God to give us victory, for that is in his hands and he is capable of granting it. Today we begin to talk, work, and discuss ways of rectifying what has befallen the Islamic world in general and the land of the two holy mosques in particular. We want to study the ways which could be used to rectify matters and restore rights to their owners as people have been subjected to grave danger and harm to their religion and their lives, people of all walks of life, civilians, military, security men, employees, merchants, people big and small, school and university students, and unemployed university graduates, in fact hundreds of thousands who constitute a broad sector of the society.

The same thing has befallen the people in industry and in agriculture, the cities and villages, and the people in the desert and the rural areas. Everyone is complaining about almost everything. The situation in the land of the two holy mosques is like a gigantic volcano about to erupt and destroy heresy and corruption, whatever their source. The explosions of Riyadh and al-Khubar were only a small indication of that torrential flood resulting from the bitter suffering, repression, coercion, great injustice, disgraceful debauchery, and poverty.

People have been greatly preoccupied with matters of their livelihood. Talk of economic decline, high prices, massive debts, and overcrowded prisons is widespread and endless in society. Low-income employees will talk to you about their debts running to tens and hundreds of thousands of riyals. They complain about the massive and continuing drop in the purchasing power of the riyal in comparison with most other major currencies. Major traders and contractors will talk to you about the debts owed to them by the state running to hundreds of millions and even billions of riyals, increasing daily as a result of rates of usury. The state's internal debts to the public have reached more than 340 billion riyals, not to mention the foreign debts. People are wondering: Is ours really the largest oil exporting country?

They feel that God is tormenting them because they kept quiet about the regime's injustice and illegitimate actions, especially its failure to have recourse to the Shari'ah, its confiscation of people's legitimate rights, the opening of the land of the two holy mosques to the American occupiers, and the arbitrary jailing of the true ulema, heirs of

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the Prophets. Good people who specialize in matters of religion, such as propagators of Islam and ulema, as well as experts in earthly matters such as traders, economists, and dignitaries, became alert to that affliction and each group did its best to act quickly to remedy the situation. Everyone agrees that the country is moving towards a deep abyss and a terrible calamity the extent of which only God knows. As one major businessman said, "the king is leading the country to 60 calamities." God is the source of all help and power. Many princes share the public's concern and privately voice opposition to what is going on in the country in terms of terror, repression, and corruption. The rivalry between princes overseeing their own personal interests has ruined the country and the regime has

destroyed its legitimacy with its own hands through many actions, the most important being:

1. Its suspension of the Islamic Shari'ah laws, replacing them with temporal laws, and its bloody confrontation with the truthful ulema and good youth—and God is above everyone.
2. Its failure to protect the country, opening it to the nation's enemies, the American crusader forces who have become the main cause of all aspects of our plight, especially the economic aspect as a result of the unjustified heavy expenditure on them and as a result of the policies they impose on the country, and particularly the oil policy determining the quantities of oil to be produced and setting the prices which suit their own economic interests ignoring the country's economic interests, and also as a result of the exorbitant arms deals imposed on the regime, to the point that people are wondering what good, then, is the regime?

So, each group has made efforts to act quickly and evade the danger. They offered advice secretly and openly, in verse and in prose, singly and in groups, and they sent petition after petition and memorandum after memorandum. They left no stone unturned and there was no influential person they did not include in their reformist moves. In their writings they applied the gentle and lenient method of wisdom and good advice calling for reform and penance for the major wrongdoings and corruption that transgressed the categorical religious limits and the public's legitimate rights.

Most regrettably, however, the only response they got from the regime was rejection, disregard, and ridicule. The matter did not stop at the point of just humiliating them but that was followed by greater and greater misdeeds throughout the land of the two holy mosques.

Therefore, silence was no longer appropriate and overlooking the facts was no longer acceptable.

When the excesses intensified and went beyond the limits of simple wrongdoings and misdeeds to violation of the clear basis of Islam, a group of ulema and religious preachers grew tired of the deafening sound of misguidance and injustice and the suffocating smell of corruption. So signs of rejection appeared and voices were raised calling for reform to remedy the situation and stop the rot. They were joined by hundreds of intellectuals, THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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dignitaries, merchants, and former officials. They submitted petitions and memoranda to the king urging reform. In the Hegira year of 1411 during the Gulf war, a petition signed by about 400 figures was submitted to the king calling for rectification of the situation in the country and for an end to the injustice to the public, but he ignored the advice and ridiculed those who offered it, and the situation got worse.

Those who had offered the advice then sent more memoranda and petitions, the most important being the advice memorandum handed to the king in the month of Muharram 1413 Hegira [roughly 1992] which diagnosed the disease and prescribed the medicine with a sound Shari'ah approach and in a sound scientific way. It dwelt on the major gaps in the regime's philosophy and the main anomalies in the regime's foundations, pointing to the suffering of society's symbols and leaders calling for reform, such as the ulema,

religious protagonists, tribal shaykhs, merchants, dignitaries, and university professors, who were marginalized, neutralized, and even pursued and harassed.

It also dwelt on the country's laws and regulations and what they allowed and disallowed against God's will. It discussed the state of the media in the country which became means for the advancement of individuals and relatives and for obliterating facts, falsifying the truth, defaming righteous people, and shedding crocodile tears for the nation's causes to mislead people without any serious action and to implement the enemies' plans to corrupt people, draw them away from their religion, and spread sin among the believers. "Those who love (to see) scandal published and broadcast among the believers will have a grievous penalty in this life and in the hereafter. God knows and ye know not" [Koranic verse].

It [the advice memorandum] discussed the people's violated legitimate rights and the administrative situation with all its inefficiency and corruption.

It pointed to the state's financial and economic situation and the terrible and frightful fate in store as a result of the debts of usury which have broken the state's back, and to the waste which has squandered the nation's wealth to satisfy personal wealth, resulting in taxes, duties, and excises imposed on the public. The Prophet, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him, said about the woman who sinned, repented, and was dealt with accordingly: "She repented and if one who imposes taxes repented in the same way he would be forgiven." That reflects the magnitude of the sin of the tax man, but some are publicly and over loudspeakers applauding him and his massive and permitted usury, but that is heresy. Reliance is on God who is the source of all power.

It exposed the despicable state of the social utilities in the country, which became even worse after the memorandum, and especially the water services, the most important element of livelihood.

It discussed the state of the Army whose small numbers, poor training, and inefficient command were exposed by the Gulf crisis, despite the astronomical and unreasonable figures which had been mentioned and could not remain a secret.

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On justice and the courts, the memorandum showed that numerous Shari'ah laws had been suspended and replaced with temporal laws.

On the state's foreign policy, the memorandum exposed that policy's failures and disregard for Muslim causes and even support and backing for the enemies. The (Gaza-Jericho) [agreement] and the case of the communists in southern Yemen are not too distant examples, and there are many others.

Upholding temporal laws and supporting heretics against Muslims are prohibited in Islam, as the ulema have ruled. God said "whoever does not rule by God's law is a heretic," and He said: "But no, by the Lord, they can have no (real) faith until they make thee judge in all disputes between them, and find in their souls no resistance against thy decisions, but accept them with the fullest conviction" [Koranic verses].

Although the memorandum submitted all that leniently and gently, as a reminder of God

and as good advice in a gentle, objective, and sincere way, despite the importance and necessity of advice for rulers in Islam, and despite the number and positions of the signatories of the memorandum and their sympathizers, it was of no avail. Its contents were rejected and its signatories and sympathizers were humiliated, punished, and imprisoned.

The preachers' and reformers' eagerness to pursue peaceful reform methods in the interest of the country's unity and to prevent bloodshed was clearly demonstrated. So why should the regime block all means of peaceful reform and drive the people toward armed action? That was the only door left open to the public for ending injustice and upholding right and justice, and in whose interests do Prince Sultan and Prince Nayif plunge the country and the people into an internal war that would destroy everything, enlisting the aid and advice of those who fomented internal sedition in their country and using the people's police force to put down the reform movement there and pit members of the public one against the other—leaving the main enemy in the region, namely the Jewish-American alliance, safe and secure, having found such traitors to implement its policies aimed at exhausting the nation's human and financial resources internally.

The person whom Interior Minister Prince Nayif is consulting [not further identified] was not tolerated in his own country because of his extreme dirt and affront to his people. He was dismissed from his post but came to be received by Prince Nayif with open arms, for cooperation on sin and aggression. He filled the prisons with the nation's best sons, bringing tears to the eyes of the mothers whose sons were jailed unfairly. Does the regime want to pit the public, civilians and military, against one another as was the case in some neighboring countries? I have no doubt that that is the policy of the Israeli-American enemy alliance, the main beneficiary of all that.

But, thank God, the vast majority of the people, civilians and military, are aware of that sinister plan and will not allow themselves to be an instrument for strikes against one another in implementation of the policy of the main enemy, namely the Israeli-American alliance, through the Saudi regime, its agent in the country.

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That is why everyone agrees that "a crooked stick cannot have a straight shadow" and that there must be concentration on hitting the main enemy who has thrust the nation into whirlpools and labyrinths for decades since dividing it into states and statelets. Whenever a reform movement appears in the Islamic states, that Jewish-crusade alliance pushes its agents in the region, the rulers, to exhaust and abort such a reform movement by various suitable means, sometimes aborting it by luring it to armed confrontation, for which it chooses the time and place and through which it would nip it in the bud.

Sometimes he would set loose his men in the Interior Ministry, who had graduated from Shari'ah colleges, to confuse and undermine the reform march and to draw the nation and the people away from that march, sometimes luring some righteous men to enter into a war of words with the ulema and the symbols of the reform movement to exhaust everyone's energy and keep the great heresy in control of the nation, misleading it and continuing the peripheral discussions while the worship of God and adherence to his Shari'ah are absent in reality. In these discussions and responses right and wrong get

mixed up and often lead to personal enmities, with some people taking sides, thereby further dividing and weakening the nation, so that Islamic action priorities disappear. One should beware of these and similar diabolical tricks by the Interior Ministry. The appropriate behavior in such cases is what has been advised by the ulema, such as what the late Shaykh al-Islam Ibn-Taymiyah said, namely that all Muslims should join hands in warding off the great heresy controlling the Islamic world while sustaining minimum damage to prevent the greater damage which is in the fact the great heresy. When duties are numerous the most important takes priority. It is no secret that warding off that American enemy is the top duty after faith, and nothing should take priority over it, as decreed by the ulema. Shaykh al-Islam Ibn-Taymiyah said: "Fighting in self-defense is the strongest way of warding off harm to honor and religion, and it is a collective duty. Warding off an enemy who corrupts religion and the world is a top duty after faith. It is unconditional and is done according to means." If warding off that aggressive enemy becomes impossible without all Muslims of all walks and ranks getting together, then that is their duty and they should in that case overlook some disputed issues. Overlooking such disputes at this stage is less harmful than continuation of the great heresy afflicting the countries of the Muslims. That is why Shaykh al-Islami, explaining that matter, pointed out a main and great principle which should be taken into account, which is that work should concentrate on warding off the greater of the two evils. Referring to the state of the mujahidin and Muslims, he said that if among them there happened to be very sinful soldiers, that would not justify abandoning the jihad against the aggressive enemy. After discussing the case of the Tatars and their change of God's laws, he, may God have mercy on his soul, said that "agreement on fighting them fully would please God, uphold his word, and establish his religion and obedience to his Prophet. If some among them [Muslims] happen to be sinful and ill intentioned, fighting for leadership or offending others on some matters, and if the religious harm of not fighting them is greater than the harm of fighting them, then the duty is to fight them to ward off the greater harm. That is why one of the principles of the Sunnah and the [Prophet's] group is to do conquest using every good as well as sinful person, for God supports this in the interest of the cause of religion because, as the Prophet, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him, said, if

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conquest can only be achieved with the help of sinful princes or very sinful soldiers, then one of two things must be done: Either abandon the conquest with their cooperation, which means the greater harm of others taking over, or proceed with the conquest along with the sinful princes, and that way the greater harm is avoided and most of the rules of Islam are established, if not all. That would be the duty in that case and in all similar cases. In fact many of the conquests which took place after the orthodox caliphs took place in that way."

What is necessary in such a case is that everyone should do his best to incite and mobilize the nation against the aggressive enemy and the great heresy prevailing in the country and corrupting religion and life. There is no greater duty after faith than warding [daf] off

[that enemy], namely the Israeli-American alliance occupying the land of the two holy mosques and the land of the ascension of the Prophet, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him. The Muslims are reminded that they should avoid infighting between sons of the Muslim nation because that will have dire consequences, the most important being:

1. Exhaustion of human resources "as most of the casualties and victims would be from the Muslim people."
2. Exhaustion of financial resources.
3. Destruction of the state's infrastructure.
4. Disintegration of society.
5. Destruction of the oil industries, because the presence of the crusader and American military forces in the Islamic Gulf states, on land, in the air, and at sea, represents the greatest danger and harm and the greatest threat to the largest oil reserves in the world. That presence is a provocation to the people and an affront to their religion, feelings, and dignity, and has driven them toward armed struggle against the occupying invaders. A spread of fighting in these areas would carry the danger of the oil burning which would be detrimental to the economic interests of the Gulf states and the land of the two holy mosques, and in fact to the world economy. Here we pause and urge our brothers the people, the mujahidin, to preserve that wealth and not to involve it in the battle because it is a great Islamic wealth and a great and important economic power for the coming Islamic state, God willing. We also firmly warn the aggressive United States against burning that Islamic wealth at the end of the war for fear of it falling into the hands of its legitimate owners and to harm its economic rivals in Europe and the Far East, especially Japan, which is considered the main consumer of the region's oil.
6. Partition of the country of the two holy mosques with Israel taking the northern part. Partition of the land of the two holy mosques is considered to be an urgent demand of the Jewish-crusade alliance, because the existence of a state of such size and with such resources under sound Islamic rule, which, God willing, is coming, would be a threat to the Jewish entity in Palestine, for the land of the two holy mosques would be a symbol

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for the unity of the Islamic world because of the presence of the holy Ka'bah, the qiblah of all Muslims.

Furthermore, the land of the two holy mosques is an important economic power in the Islamic world because it has the largest oil reserves in the world. Furthermore, the people of the two holy mosques are linked to the history of their predecessors, the Prophet's companions, whom they see as the example to follow and the ideal to uphold in restoring the nation's glory and upholding the will of God. That is in addition to the strategic depth and extended manpower fighting for God in happy Yemen. As the Prophet, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him, said, "and from Aden and Abyan would come 12,000 who would support God and his Prophet, and they are among the best of us." That would constitute a threat to the presence of the Jewish-crusade alliance in the region.

7. Any infighting under whatever pretext while the American occupation forces are still present would be a grave danger because these forces would seek to settle the battle in favor of world heresy.

Our brothers in the Armed Forces, National Security, and security forces, may God preserve you as defenders of Islam and Muslim:

O protectors of monotheism and guardians of the faith; O successors of those who spread the light of guidance in the world; O grandsons of Sa'd Bin-Abi-Waqqas, al-Muthanna Bin-Harithah al-Shibani, al-Qa'qa' Bin-'Amr al-Tamimi, and the companions who fought alongside them: You rushed to join the Army and the Guard merely to join the jihad for the cause of God in order to spread the word of God and to defend Islam and the land of the two holy mosques against invaders and occupiers, which is the highest degree of belief in religion. But the regime disrupted the balances, distorted the concepts, humiliated the nation, and disobeyed the nation. Although the nation still has not recovered its first qiblah and the point of the Prophet's midnight journey to the seven heavens [al-Aqsa Mosque]—despite the promises made by the rulers over half a century to work to recover it, but instead, the al-Aqsa Mosque has been handed to the Jews, and the nation's wounds are still bleeding—despite all this, the Saudi regime shocked the nation by bringing the women of Christian armies to defend it and opening the country of the two holy mosques to the crusaders. There is nothing strange about that, since the [Saudi] king has been decorated by a cross. The regime opened the country which is now full of the armies of the United States and its allies. Because the regime is impotent without their help. You—better than anyone else—are aware of this presence, its scale, aims, and danger. So the regime has betrayed the nation and allied with and supported the infidels against Muslims. As is known, this is one of the contradictions in Islam. By opening the Arabian Peninsula to the crusaders, the regime has violated the Prophet's will to his nation before his death: "Move the atheists out of the Arabian Peninsula." He also said: "If I live, God willing, I will move the Jews and the Christians out of the Arabian Peninsula."

The claim that the crusaders' presence in the land of the two holy mosques is a necessity and a temporary matter aimed at defending this land is an old and obsolete story,

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especially after the brutal destruction of Iraq and its military and civilian infrastructures. This claim reflects the scale of the crusaders' and Jews' spite toward Muslims and their children. And the regime also insisted on not replacing the crusader forces with Islamic forces from among the country's sons and elsewhere. Besides, this claim is no longer valid following the statements made by the leaders of atheism in the United States, the most recent being that of US Defense Secretary William Perry after the al-Khubar blast targeting US troops. He said that their presence in the land of the two holy mosques is aimed at protecting US interests. Shaykh Safar al-Hawali—may God help him—wrote a 70-page book in which he listed evidence and proofs that the US presence in the Arabian Peninsula is a preplanned military occupation. The claim is another trick by the regime, but it will not fool Muslims as its first trick fooled the Palestinian mujahidin. The first trick resulted in the al-Aqsa Mosque being lost. When the Muslim people in Palestine rose up in their great jihad against the British occupation in 1354 H, corresponding to

1936, Britain failed to stop the mujahidin or their jihad. Their devil inspired them that the armed jihad in Palestine can only be stopped through their agent, King 'Abd-al-'Aziz, who they believed was capable of deceiving the mujahidin. And indeed King 'Abd-al-'Aziz carried out his mission by sending his two sons to meet with mujahidin leaders in Palestine and inform him of King 'Abd-al-'Aziz' pledge to guarantee the British Government's promises that it would withdraw and meet their demands if they halted the jihad. So King 'Abd-al-'Aziz was behind the loss of the Muslims' first qiblah. He allied himself with the Christians against Muslims. And he abandoned the mujahidin, instead of espousing the al-Aqsa Mosque issue and supporting those struggling for the sake of God's cause. And here is his son, King Fahd, trying to fool Muslims with the second trick in order to squander our remaining holy sites. He lied to the ulema who sanctioned the Americans' entry and he lied to the Islamic world's ulema and leaders at the [World Muslim] League's conference in holy Mecca in the wake of the Islamic world's condemnation of the crusader forces' entry into the country of the two holy mosques on the pretext of defending it. He told them that the matter was simple and that the US and coalition troops would leave in a few months. And here we are approaching the seventh year since their arrival and the regime is unable to move them out. The regime does not want to admit to its people its inability to do so. It has continued to lie to people and claim that the Americans will depart...which is impossible. Once bitten, twice shy. The happy ones are those who learn from others' experiences.

Instead of pushing the Army, the Guard, and the security men to confront the occupiers, the regime is using them to protect the occupiers, which is the highest degree of humiliation, insult, and treason. May God give us strength. We remind the minority of people in the Army, police, Guard, and security forces, who are being humiliated by the regime to get them to encroach on Muslims' rights and lives, of Almighty God's words in the divine hadith: "I declare war on those who are hostile toward holy men." And also of the Prophet's saying: "A man will come holding the hand of another, saying: O God, this man killed me [talking about the Day of Judgment], so God will say to him: Why did you kill him? He will reply: I killed him so that glory would be yours. God will say: It is mine. Another man will come holding another's hand and saying: O God, this man killed me. God will say to him: Why did you kill him? He will say: To achieve glory for such and such. God will tell him: It [glory] does not belong to such and such; he will be THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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punished for his sins." The Prophet is also reported to have said: "The murdered will come on the Day of Judgment, clinging to his murderer. So God will say: Why did you kill him? He will say: To appease such and such."

Your brothers and sons, the sons of the two holy mosques, have launched the jihad for the sake of God's cause to expel the occupying enemy from the country of the two holy mosques. Without doubt you wish to carry out this mission in order to restore the nation's glory and liberate its occupied holy sites. But you are aware that this stage requires the adoption of suitable combat methods due to the lack of parity between our regular Armed Forces and the enemy's forces. Namely, through light and fast [khafifah wa sari'at alharakah]

forces operating in complete secrecy. In other words, by waging guerrilla warfare in which the people's sons other than the Armed Forces take part. As is known, it is wise at this stage to spare the Armed Forces the task of engaging in traditional fighting with the crusader enemy's forces. This is with the exception of daring and powerful operations carried out separately by individuals from the Armed Forces, that is, without mobilizing regular forces with their traditional formations, and in a manner that would not reflect adversely on the Army, unless there are great interests to be gained and heavy losses to be inflicted on the enemy—losses that destroy its foundations and rock its Pillars—losses that help to expel the enemy, routed—ensuring that no Muslim blood is shed in the process.

What your mujahidin brothers and sons want from you at this stage is to provide every possible support: information and the materials and arms needed for their work. And they want the security men—in particular—to turn a blind eye and deceive the enemy about their whereabouts, spread false rumors among its ranks, and do whatever is viable to help the mujahidin against the occupying enemy.

We alert you to the fact that the regime might carry out operations against members of the Armed Forces, Guard, or security forces and try to attribute them to the mujahidin with a view to driving a wedge between them and you. So the regime should be denied that opportunity.

While we know that the regime is fully responsible for what has afflicted the country and the people, the main disease and the cause of the affliction is the occupying US enemy. So efforts should be pooled to kill him, fight him, destroy him. We should lie in wait for him until he is defeated, God willing. The time will come, God willing, for you to play your role in settling the situation in order to exalt the word of God to the heights, humble the unbelievers' word to the depths, hit the aggressors with an iron fist, put matters right, and perform your true Islamic duty. We will have a separate discussion about these issues, God willing.

Muslim brothers everywhere, the Arabian Peninsula in particular:

The money paid for US goods is turning into bullets [fired at] the chests of our brothers in Palestine, and tomorrow the chests of the sons of the country of the two holy mosques;

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by buying their goods we are strengthening their economy while we continue to become poorer.

Muslim brothers in the country of the two holy mosques:

Is it reasonable for our country to be the biggest importer of US arms in the world, a trade partner of the Americans in the region—the Americans who are occupying the country of the two holy mosques and supporting their Jewish brothers with money, arms, and men to occupy Palestine and kill and displace Muslims there?!!

Denying these aggressors the huge profits they make from their trade with us would be a very important help in the jihad against them. It would be tantamount to moral support to reflect our anger and hatred toward them. By doing that we will have contributed to

ridding our holy sites of the Jews and Christians and forced them to leave our land, defeated, God willing.

We expect women in the country of the two holy mosques and elsewhere to play their role by boycotting US goods.

If the economic boycott is coupled with the mujahidin's military strikes, then the enemy's defeat is imminent, God willing—and vice versa: If the Muslims do not cooperate with and support their mujahidin brothers by severing economic dealings with the US enemy, then they are paying him money, which is the foundation of wars and armies, hence prolonging the war and the Muslims' suffering from it.

Security and intelligence services in the world cannot force a citizen to purchase his enemies' goods.

The economic boycott of the US enemy's goods is an extremely effective weapon, in order to weaken and harm the enemy. Nevertheless, this weapon does fall under the supervision of the repressive organs.

Before concluding, we have an important, very important, discussion with young Muslims, the men of the bright future of Muhammad's nation. Our discussion with the young men is about their duty at this difficult stage in the history of our nation—the stage in which no one except the young men—may God protect them—have performed their duty in all directions. After those who hesitated to perform their duty to defend Islam and rescue themselves and property from the oppression, repression, and terrorism exercised by the state, the young men, may God protect them, moved forward to raise the banner of the jihad against the US-Jewish alliance which occupied Islamic holy sites, while others, as a result of the state's terrorism, moved forward to grant legitimacy to this great treason and big disaster: the occupation of the country of the two holy mosques. May God give us strength. There is nothing strange about this: Muhammad's companions were young men. And the young men of today are the successor of the early ones. It was the young men who killed this nation's tyrant, Abu-Jahl.

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'Abd-al-Rahman Bin-'Awwf, may God be pleased with him, said: A young man told me: I heard that Abu-Jahl insulted the Prophet, peace be upon him. A companion [of Muhammad] said: I swear by God that if I see him I will fight with him until the strongest wins.

God is great. This is how the young companions behaved. Two young men asking one another about the most important target among the enemy's ranks, namely to kill the tyrant of this nation and the leader of the atheists in Badr, namely Abu-Jahl. 'Abd-al-Rahman Bin-'Awwf's role was to tell them about Abu-Jahl's whereabouts. This is the role required from those who have knowledge and experience about the enemy's most vulnerable spots. They are required to guide their sons and brothers to these spots. Then the young men will say what their predecessors said: "By God, if I see him, I will fight with him until the strongest wins."

'Abd-al-Rahman Bin-'Awwf's story about Umayyah Bin-Khalaf reflects the extent of Bilal's insistence on killing the head of atheism. He said "The head of atheism is Umayyah Bin-Khalaf—no life for me if he survives."

A few days ago news agencies carried a statement by the occupier-crusader, the US defense secretary, in which he said that he has learned one lesson from the Riyadh and al-Khubar blasts, namely not to retreat in front of the terrorist cowards.

We tell the defense secretary that this talk makes people laugh and reflects the scale of your fears. Where was that false courage in Beirut after the bombings of 1403H, corresponding to 1983, which dismembered you by killing 241 soldiers, most of them from the Marines? Where was that false courage in Aden following two bombing incidents which caused you to depart in less than 24 hours?

But your great scandal was in Somalia. After several months of media propaganda about the United States' might after the Cold War and its leadership of the new world order, you poured tens of thousands of international troops, including 28,000 Americans, into Somalia.

However, after minor battles in which scores of your troops were killed and a US pilot's body was dragged through the streets of Mogadishu, you left the country, defeated and carrying your dead. Clinton emerged before the world, threatening to take revenge. But the threat was a prelude to the withdrawal process. God shamed you and you had to pull out. Your impotence and weakness were evident. The picture of you being defeated in the three Islamic cities (Beirut, Aden, and Mogadishu) pleased every Muslim and believer.

I say: If the sons of the country of the two holy mosques—who went to fight the Russians in Afghanistan, the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and who are now fighting in Chechnya, and God has granted them victory over the Russians, who are allying with you—and they are also fighting in Tajikistan—believe in the need to fight against atheism everywhere, they have the strength and enthusiasm in the land in which they were born to defend their greatest holy sites, the holy Ka'bah, the qiblah of all Muslims. They also know that Muslims in the world [a portion of the text is missing at this point; if pagination of fax

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copy is correct, this suggests two pages, approximately 1,600 words, are missing. Text resumes by citing parts of a poem] The Jerusalem wound is painful in my body, it is like fire inside me; I have never betrayed God, but states have.

And their grandfather 'Asim Bin-Thabit said when the atheists requested him to negotiate and not to fight: What do I have to lose—I am already too old; death is truth and life is falsehood—if I do not fight you, then I am foolish.

Young men believe you [apparently still addressing the United States] are responsible for what your Jewish brothers are doing in Palestine and Lebanon, namely killing and making Muslims homeless and violating their rights. You are openly supplying them with money and weapons.

And more than 600,000 children have died in Iraq as a result of the shortages of food and medicines caused by your unjust embargo on Iraq, whose children are ours. So you and the Saudi regime are held responsible for the blood of those innocent people. All this causes us to revoke any treaty ['ahd] between us, as the Prophet, peace be upon him, considered the al-Hudaybiyah peace null and void after Quraysh helped Bani Bakr

against the Prophet's allies. So he fought against Quraysh and opened Mecca. And he considered the agreement with Bani Qaynaqa' null and void because a Jew from among them harmed a woman in a marketplace. But you killed hundreds of thousands of Muslims and encroached on their holy sites. It is now clear that those claiming that the blood of the soldiers of the US enemy, who is occupying a Muslim country, is protected, are repeating—under compulsion—what is dictated by the regime, for fear of its oppression and in order to be on the safe side. It is incumbent on every tribe in the Arabian Peninsula to fight for God's cause and purge their territory of these occupiers. God says that it is permissible to shed their blood and seize their property, and anyone who kills a person, the booty is his. Almighty God said: "But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them...." Young men know that the humiliation inflicted on Muslims through the occupation of their holy sites can only be eliminated through the jihad and explosives. They repeat the poet's words: Humiliation can only be eliminated through bullets and the shedding of blood.

I tell the young men of the Islamic world who fought in Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina with their money, lives, tongues, and pens that the battles has not ended yet. I remind them of Gabriel's discussion with the messenger of God after the al-Ahzab battle: When the messenger of God arrived in Medina, he put his weapon aside. Gabriel came up to him and said: Have you laid down your weapon? By God, the angels have not yet laid down their weapons. So move with those who are with you to Bani Qurayzah, as I will be moving in front of you, rocking their fortifications and striking terror in their hearts. So Gabriel joined a procession of angels with the Prophet behind them, joined by emigrants and supporters.

Young men know that those who are not killed are going to die [one day], and that the most honorable way to die is to die for the sake of God's cause. They repeat the saying of THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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their grandfather, the companion 'Abdallah Bin-Rawahah, especially after the murder of the four heroes who blew up the Americans in Riyadh—these young men have restored daring operation: If not killed, one will die one day anyhow—here is the fire of death blazing—if you engage in it, you will be rightly guided.

Ja'far said: Paradise is approaching—beautiful and its drink is cold; the Romans are approaching their own suffering—I promise I will fight them if I come face to face with them.

As regards our mothers, sisters, women, and daughters, they follow the example of the honorable women of the Prophet's companions after the Prophet himself, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him, and they emulate their bravery, courage, and generosity in support of God's religion. They remember the courage and steadfastness of Fatimah Bint-al-Khattab, may God's blessings be upon her, when, in support of what was right, she stood up to her own brother 'Umar Ibn-al-Khattab before he adopted Islam and challenged him after he learned of her becoming a Muslim. She said to him: "Do you not see that right is not in your religion, 'Umar?" And they remember the stand of Asma Bint-Abi-Bakr on the day of the migration [the Prophet's migration to Medina] when she cut

her belt in two and used one to tie the travel bag of the Prophet, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him, and [one to tie the bag of] Abu-Bakr which they took with them on their journey to Medina, for which she was called the lady of the two belts. They also remember the stand taken by Nusaybah Bint-Ka'b in defense of the Prophet, may God's prayers and blessings be upon him, one day, sustaining 12 wounds in the process, one of them a deep wound in her neck. They remember the sacrifices of the women of the [Prophet's] companions who sold their jewelry to arm the Muslim invading forces for God's cause. Our women in this era have set magnificent examples in sacrifice for God and in urging their sons, brothers, and husbands to declare jihad for God, in Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chechnya, and other places. We beseech God to accept their sacrifices and to release their sons, fathers, husbands, and brothers, and to consolidate their faith and strengthen their steps on that road of sacrifice so that God's will may prevail.

Our women only eulogize and sing the praises of the men fighting for God, as the following poem says: Extol only the lions who are brave in raging wars, let me die an honored death in war for glory in death is better than life itself.

They urge their brothers to go to jihad for God, as the following poem says: Be ready for struggle for this is a serious matter. Would you abandon us with all these wolves of heresy biting at our wings, wolves who continue to promote evil everywhere? Who among the freemen of my religion will defend freedom with arms? Death is better than life in humiliation and shame.

Brother Muslims worldwide:

Your brothers in the land of the two holy mosques and Palestine seek your help and ask you to participate with them in their jihad against their enemies and yours, the Israelis

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and the Americans, with everything that would drive them out of the Islamic holy places, defeated, with each of you doing what he can. "And if they seek your support in religion, then you must give it." [Koranic verse] So mount your horse for God's cause. This is the time to be firm, so be firm and know that your unity and cooperation for the liberation of the Islamic holy places is a sound step toward the unification of the nation's ranks under the banner of the one God.

Here in this position we cannot but pray and ask Almighty God to show us the way and grant us success in all that. The genuine ulema of Islam and the nation's good youth are in captivity, so, God, please release them, give them strength, and look after their people.

O God, the people of the cross have come with their horses and men and have violated the land of the two holy mosques, and the Jews are wreaking corruption in the al-Aqsa Mosque, the site of the Prophet's ascension to heaven. O God, divide them and break them apart and give us strength over them, shake the earth under their feet. O God, help us defeat them and protect us from their evil. O God, show us to be lions in their eyes and perform your miracles. O God who revealed the Koran, moved clouds, and defeated factions, O God, defeat them and grant us victory over them. You are our strength and

our support, with you we move and fight, O God you are the best protector. O God, those youth have come together in support of your religion and your banner, so give them your support and bless their hearts. O God, strengthen the youth of Islam, guide their steps, and strike amity into the hearts of Muslims and unite their ranks, and give us patience and steadfastness and grant us victory against the heretics. Do not hold anything against us, as was the case with others in the past, and do not give us a load in excess of what we can bear. Pardon us, forgive us, and have mercy on us, our lord, and give us triumph over the heretics.

O God, give this nation guidance, honoring those who obey you and disgracing those who disobey you, and let good be promoted and evil shunned. O God, bless your subject and messenger Muhammad, his kin, and his companions, and give them great peace.

Finally we thank God, the lord of the universe.

[Signed] Usama Bin-Muhammad Bin Ladin.

Friday 9/4/1417 corresponding to 23 August 1996.

Hindu Kush, Afghanistan, Khorasan.

### **Bin Ladin Interviewed on Jihad Against US**

#### **London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic, 27 Nov 96 p 5**

Interview with Saudi oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin by chief editor 'Abd-al-Bari 'Atwan  
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"in Afghanistan's mountains"; date not given; the front page carries a summary of the interview accompanied by a photograph of Bin Ladin sitting in front of a row of bookshelves with a machine gun visible in the background, captioned "Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin in front of his library in one of the caves; his machine gun, which he said he seized in one of the battles against the Soviets, could be seen hanging in front of a shelf of heritage books"; page 5 carries the text of the interview with a photograph of Bin Ladin and 'Atwan walking among trees among snow, captioned "The most prominent Saudi oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin accompanies colleague 'Abd-al-Bari 'Atwan on a tour in the Khorasan mountains"]

**'Atwan:** Based on sources close to the investigation, some US newspapers reported recently that those who carried out the al-Khubar operation are from the Shiite Hizballah of Saudi Arabia. What is your opinion?

**Bin Ladin:** Regimes throughout the world and in the Arab world tend to lay the blame on other quarters or accuse any opposition of working for foreign quarters. Over the past three decades we have noticed that any reformist endeavor tends to be accused of working for the United States and Israel. But now that it has become clear that the region's states are in one way or another agents for the United States and Israel, these states have invented other means such as accusing other quarters of such actions in a bid to divert attention from the truth about the legitimate opposition and also to prevent people from interacting with those who carried out the operations. There are political objectives behind these rumors, aimed at diverting attention. As for the size of the opposition, it includes all sectors, including the security and the military. A whole people has been humiliated and persecuted. And the group that has been humiliated most is the Army, on which thousands of millions of dollars have been spent only to discover later

that it needs those foreign forces. This is in addition to the economic harm inflicted on the people as a result of the money spent on US forces. Cab drivers now say that their sons are unemployed because the budget is spent on US forces and weapons.

'**Atwan:** Some people consider operations against US forces terrorism and describe you as a leader of Islamic "terrorism."

**Bin Ladin:** Terrorism—if it is against criminals, thieves, and bandits—is a legitimate thing adopted by all states in all ages. The blameworthy terrorism is the kind committed by thieves against nations. What happened in the Riyadh and al-Khubar blasts was praiseworthy terrorism, because it was against thieves, not individuals but major states which went there to plunder the riches of this nation and to encroach on its greatest holy sites. It is a great honor for every Muslim to defend his qiblah [direction to which Muslims turn in praying] and liberate it from these aggressors who are plundering its riches. With regard to their describing the mujahidin as terrorists, the following proverb applies to them: "She found comfort in accusing me of her own illnesses." It is these aggressors who are committing the objectionable terrorism. Suffice it to point to the suffering of the Muslim people in Palestine and the disgraceful US stances and its use of the veto, which in itself is terrorism. This is addition to the Qana massacre and the blockade imposed on Iraq, which has caused the death of over 600,000 innocent children.

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The highest degree of injustice is what happened at the Sharm al-Shaykh meeting. The United States is using the veto against the Muslim people in Palestine, who have been persecuted for over a century. But when [only a few] scores of Jews were killed, world Leaders—some of whose hands are stained with blood, such as Yeltsin, whose hands are stained with the Chechens' blood—got together.

Such propaganda will not dissuade Muslims from defending their religion by themselves.

'**Atwan:** In your recent message you declared jihad against US forces and demanded that Washington goods be boycotted, and many people expected operations along the lines of the al-Khubar operation, but nothing has happened. What is your opinion?

**Bin Ladin:** The military are aware that preparations for major operations require time, in contrast with small operations. It took several months when the United States wanted to hit Iraq in its brutal attack on the nation and [start] the occupation of the [land of the] two holy mosques [Saudi Arabia]. If we wanted to carry out small operations, it would have been easy to do so immediately after the statements. Even the nature of the battle requires qualitative operations that affect the adversary, which obviously requires good preparation. We had thought that the Riyadh and al-Khubar blasts were a sufficient signal to sensible US decisionmakers to avert a real battle between the Islamic nation and US forces, but it seems that they did not understand the signal.

'**Atwan:** What is that signal?

**Bin Ladin:** Understanding the signal means withdrawing all forces from the region, because we believe that the US Government committed the biggest mistake when it entered a peninsula which no non-Muslim nation has ever entered for 14 centuries despite

the presence of imperialist forces in the region. They all feared to enter the two holy mosques area and remained in the fringes, such as Yemen and Oman. The British and others respected the feelings of more than 1 billion Muslims, which is why they did not occupy the land of the two holy mosques. US interests had not been harmed by the US nonentry [into the peninsula], since oil was being sold to the United States—we are not going to drink it. Nevertheless, they managed to impose a policy which reduced prices to an unrealistic level. Their entry was arbitrary and a reckless action. They have entered into a confrontation with a nation whose population is 1 billion Muslims.

They made another mistake when they relied on reports which do not reflect the real anger of the masses in the Islamic world. The coming days [al-ayyam al-qaribah], God willing, will prove that that decision was the biggest strategic mistake the United States has ever committed. It can only be redressed by withdrawing and suspending all material support for the Jews in our first qiblah in Palestine.

**'Atwan:** You are launching these threats from 2,500 meters up in the Afghan mountains, 2,000 miles or more from the Arab region. Do you believe that there is something which is difficult to understand here?

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**Bin Ladin:** That could be correct if I was talking about the country of the two holy mosques, on the grounds that I am one of that country's sons, or dissociating myself from a nation whose territory begins from the east of the earth to the west [min mashriq al-ard ila al-maghrib] and whose lands are linked together. I am talking about their [all Muslims'] qiblah, which I want to liberate from the infidels. This nation is linked together like electricity. I am talking about the nation as a whole. I am not addressing the sons of the peninsula only; US interests exist throughout the Islamic world, the world has become a small village, and with God's help, the contacts exist and the interaction is there. The nation has been prevented from hearing a word of truth from its sons, which is why our elite ulema have been put in the jails of the Islamic world, especially the Kingdom's jails. The influence is there, and we are satisfied that the interaction is continuing. And we hope to reach the ignition point not in a long time.

**'Atwan:** You remained silent for a long time and suddenly decided to surface after a comfortable stay in Sudan. How did you move from Afghanistan to Sudan, and what was the turning point that prompted you to shoulder this big opposition responsibility?

**Bin Ladin:** After the Saudi Government harassed the ulema, dismissed them from their jobs in universities and mosques, and prevented the distribution of their tapes, I decided that, if it was going to prevent them from speaking, I would begin to promote virtue and repudiate vice, something which had been suspended. Then the state prevented the clerics from speaking, so we set up the advice committee and began to reveal the truth and clarify matters, seeking reform and guidance for the nation and reminding people of the long time our ulema had spent working to reform [society] through good preaching. Statements were issued from Sudan, and when the Saudi Government discovered the great impact and effect of these statements, it transcended all its disagreements with the Sudanese regime, which had exerted great efforts to rectify its relations with the Riyadh Government and to end the boycott but encountered a lack of response and arrogance.

After Statement No. 17 was issued—it was an open letter to the king on the occasion of the caBinet reshuffle—the Saudi Government contacted the Sudanese Government at the highest level, requesting reconciliation on the condition that Usama Bin Ladin and the sons of the two holy mosques accompanying him in Sudan were expelled and that they stopped issuing statements.

**'Atwan:** How did you receive the decision, and did you understand their position?

**Bin Ladin:** The Sudanese Government at the highest level informed me of its difficult position and the scale of the Saudi pressure. They asked me to stop issuing statements. On the day I was told to stop issuing statements I sought to find an alternative land capable of bearing the word of truth, so God helped me and we came to the land of Khorasan once again. We are in an invincible [hasinah] land which enjoys security, pride, and immunity against the humiliation and subjugation to which our brothers are subjected in our country.

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**'Atwan:** Did you go to Sudan at an invitation from the government or from another quarter?

**Bin Ladin:** I went to Sudan by myself and without an invitation.

**'Atwan:** Did you expect the Saudi Government to request your departure?

**Bin Ladin:** The possibility existed, and we had arranged some alternatives such as Afghanistan. This is why we had retained our camps there. So we returned to our home. The Islamic world as a whole is a home for [every] Muslim.

**'Atwan:** What did the Sudanese Government gain from the decision to expel you?

**Bin Ladin:** Nothing significant. As you have heard, UN and US pressures on Sudan have continued and increased since I left. A US official said that Bin Ladin's expulsion is a good step, but it [the Sudanese Government] still has to do a great deal to prove its good intentions.

**'Atwan:** In your recent message you referred ambiguously to a lesson you had taught the Americans in Yemen, but you gave no details. Can you clarify that?

**Bin Ladin:** With regard to Yemen, I do not want to add anything significant. However, the press said that the Americans left Yemen in less than 24 hours and that those who hit the airport and tried to blow up a US bus at Aden airport did so because US forces had entered Yemen by force and were heading for Aden. Butrus-Ghali contacted the Yemeni president and told him that there was a US plan to send forces to restore security in Somalia, and we hope that you will give it [the United States] a base, because we want to use Aden airport as a rear base. The Yemeni Government was surprised by the aircraft, and some young men carried out an action against them, so the US forces had to leave in less than 24 hours.

**'Atwan:** Did you fight the Americans in Somalia?

**Bin Ladin:** The only non-Somali group which fought the Americans was the Arab mujahidin brothers who had come from Afghanistan. The US Government knew for certain that we were fighting it. And it had announced that there were extremist non-

Somali forces fighting [against it], and they meant us. These were successful battles in which we inflicted big losses on the Americans. We used to hunt them down in Mogadishu. Aidid denied any responsibility, and he was telling the truth. The war in which we are currently engaged with the United States is not tee first, and we pray to God to grant us victory over them just as He did before.

'**Atwan:** But the US forces in Saudi Arabia are well-fortified compared with those which were in Somalia, and they have recently been moved to the al-Kharj base.

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**Bin Ladin:** Things are possible with God's help. Their fortifications will not impede the faithful mujahidin's resolve, God willing. We were surprised by the US soldier's psychological level in the Somali war. There was nothing for him to fight for. It was just a media show. There is no comparison between him and the Russian fighters, against whom we fought in Afghanistan. The Russian soldier is more courageous and patient than the US soldier. I took up arms against the Soviets in Afghanistan for 10 years, and we believe that our battle with the United States is easy compared with the battles in which we engaged in Afghanistan. And we are now more determined to continue until we meet God [meaning until death].

'**Atwan:** After the Taleban movement seized power in Kabul, it was reported that your presence as Afghan Arabs was no longer considered desirable. Is this true?

**Bin Ladin:** Our relations with the Taleban are good. According to them, they consider us similar to the emigrants [who left Mecca for Medina] who were received in Medina by the al-ansar [followers of the Prophet Mohammad]. It is a relationship based on piety and righteousness. We feel completely comfortable with cooperating with the Taleban. Great achievements have been scored since the Taleban elements came to the areas in which we are based, especially with regard to applying the Shari'ah, spreading security, and eliminating fear in their areas. And the extent of the people's acceptance of the application of Islam and God's law is now clear. It is also clear how the people have welcomed this Shari'ah, and bad aspects such as the actions committed by thieves and others have disappeared.

**Interviewer:** If your relations with Taleban deteriorate for one reason or another, will you return to Sudan?

**Bin Ladin:** I can never return to Sudan. Not because I am not interested in Sudan, but because the mountains are our natural place.

'**Atwan:** What about Iraq?

**Bin Ladin:** Iraq is not on the cards. The choice is between Afghanistan and Yemen. Yemen's topography is mountainous, and its people are tribal, armed, and allow one to breathe clear air unblemished with humiliation.

'**Atwan:** With or without the Yemeni Government's knowledge?

**Bin Ladin:** It is the same.

'**Atwan:** Do you believe that that will happen soon?

**Bin Ladin:** I am not thinking [of doing that] in the foreseeable future.

'**Atwan:** Some people accuse you of financing extremist jihad movements in Libya, Egypt, Algeria, and elsewhere. What truth is there is this?

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**Bin Ladin:** Naming numerous countries of the Islamic world will change nothing in the reality. We deal with the Islamic world as one state. We cooperate with people on the basis of piety and righteousness and according to our capacity and capabilities, because we are one nation with one religion and one qiblah. A lot of what is said by the media contains clear exaggerations.

**'Atwan:** What is the size of your wealth? Is it in billions as the Western media say?

**Bin Ladin:** I praise God for granting us belief, rescuing us from the darkness, and moving us to the light. It is our duty to spread this light in the world through the means sanctioned by Almighty God.

He has granted us health, and we praise Him. He has granted us money sufficient, God willing, to repulse the unjust attacks committed against our nation. It is the duty of the nation as a whole to use its money in the jihad so that God's religion will prevail.

**'Atwan:** Did you think, like others, of turning to a European state? And did you visit London secretly or openly?

**Bin Ladin:** I would rather die than live in any European state. Some Arab governments are circulating such rumors in a bid to distort [my] reputation. Muslims are not supposed to be adjacent to non-Muslim societies. It is not true that I thought about going to London or applying for a visa. Such rumors are designed to defame. They are circulated by hired newspapers which are too lowly to be responded to.

**'Atwan:** How did you feel when US forces began to arrive in the Arabian Peninsula and then launch raids on Iraq?

**Bin Ladin:** It was clear that it was an occupation of the Islamic countries and Muslim holy sites. My people or most of the people's sons were shocked by the fatwas [religious rulings] issued by people in whom they had had full confidence, so we had to wait until this shock disappeared. Right should be followed. Men are judged on the basis of their adherence to right. Praise be to God, we succeeded in revealing the truth to the people, and the nation in the country of two holy places now knows that their holy sites are under dual US-Israeli occupation.

**'Atwan:** It is noted that you are focusing on or giving priority to Islamic issues other than Palestine. Many people criticize you for this. What is your opinion?

**Bin Ladin:** Interest in issues is determined by their closeness to the people's life and their sequence. Without doubt the Afghan issue was the most recent responsibility compared with the al-Aqsa Mosque and then came the country of the two holy mosques. The event was a hot issue and prompted the nation's interest, so God helped us to stage the jihad in Afghanistan. The same applied to the two holy mosques, they were occupied recently compared with the occupation of the al-Aqsa mosque, which made them more important because they are the qiblah of all Muslims.

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'**Atwan:** Did you fight against the secession in Yemen?

**Bin Ladin:** It is documented in South Yemeni security departments that we fought the communist Socialist Party before the union and the union plan, because they are atheist, communist, and oppressive socialists. They oppressed the people, destroyed everything, attacked God's religion, and sanctified their party, saying nothing is louder than the party's voice. I delivered a number of lectures in mosques inciting Muslims to fight them (the Socialists), which prompted the Saudi Government to prevent me from delivering any speeches. But with God's grace, the youths continued the jihad, and we continued to cooperate with them against the heads of atheism in the Socialist Party.

'**Atwan:** We noted that in your recent message you excluded British and French forces from any threat to hit them, focusing, instead, on the US forces in the peninsula only. Can you explain this?

**Bin Ladin:** The message to the Europeans is clear: hasten to leave [the peninsula]. True, the main forces in terms of numbers are the US forces. The logical thing for the wise people in Europe is to withdraw their forces before the battle blazes, especially as they have nothing at all there, now that the United States has seized everything. We hope that they will make that decision and not delay it.

'**Atwan:** But Europe does not intend to withdraw and is forming a rapid deployment force.

**Bin Ladin:** We believe that they will withdraw. The earlier the better for them. Their intervention is arbitrary and unjustifiable. They are mobilizing their energies in the interests of the United States, and it is in control of the oil "tap" or the largest oil complex in the world, an action which will have negative effects on them as well.

'**Atwan:** It is clear that the Islamic moderation tide is expanding while extremism is declining. Are you not thinking of reconsidering your calculations and admitting the failure of extremism in Algeria, Egypt, and elsewhere?

**Bin Ladin:** Islam is a moderate religion. It is the religion of Muhammad (peace be upon him). Everything in it is just and right. Words and explanations are used to clarify the matters which can be explained. And Almighty God has sanctioned al-da'wah [preaching]. This is justice and moderation. With regard to the matters in which spearheads [meaning weapons] need to be used, it is a just right. If some people confuse the two, Islam is not responsible, since the error is in the application. If anyone means by violence and renunciation of violence to prevent us from staging the jihad, he has deviated from the right path. The jihad is part of our Shari'ah and the nation cannot dispense with it [in its fight] against its enemies.

Since it abandoned the jihad the nation has been suffering the calamities of murder, dispossession, and plunder at the hands of the crusaders and their allies, led by the United States and Israel.

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'**Atwan:** Has your family been harmed?

**Bin Ladin:** Obviously the family has been harmed without doubt, but relatively. Great pressures have been exerted on them for the sake of my return.

**'Atwan:** Is there any mediation by the government for the sake of reconciliation, and when was the most recent one?

**Bin Ladin:** The most recent of these mediations was eight months ago. They promised to return my identity card, passport, and money. They said I can return to the Kingdom dignified and respected if I say through the media that the king is Muslim. My reply was that we firmly believe that the regime has passed numerous laws without referring to God and appointed itself as a lawmaker and a co-lawmaker with God. This is unbelief as endorsed by the ulema and the Book of Almighty God. "He does not share His command with anyone." [Koranic verse] I refer anyone who criticizes me for this attack on the regime to the glorious verse: "God loveth not that evil should be noised abroad in public speech, except where injustice hath been done." God verily says the truth.

**'Atwan:** It has been reported that you were exposed to an assassination attempt in Sudan during the attack on a mosque in Omdurman in 1993, and another in your house late in Sha'ban 1993?

**Bin Ladin:** We used to meet with the brother guests at 1700 hours every evening. On that day, and for a reason known to God, I was late, then I heard a barrage of bullets fired on the guest room, which is detached from the house. Some bullets were [fired] at me. So I took my weapon and went to a position overlooking the house to investigate the matter. I gave my eldest son ('Abdallah) a weapon and told him to take a position inside the house. I thought that an armed group had attacked the guards, and we prepared ourselves for a clash. But it was discovered that the attack was aimed directly at the guest room, which was stormed by three young men who opened fire at the guests, three of whom were seriously wounded. They opened fire on the place where I used to sit. One [guest] was hit in the abdomen, another in the thigh, and the third in the leg. The brothers clashed with them. There were Sudanese security forces near the house, so they clashed with them, killing two and wounding the third. Some of the brothers sustained minor injuries.

**'Atwan:** In your opinion, who was behind that attempt?

**Bin Ladin:** We believe that the regimes in our Arab region are now pursuing a bad policy and carrying the arrests to excess, not to extract information through torture, but to create a wing of young men who believe in declaring all society infidel, so as to use this wing indirectly to kill any of society's groups.

**'Atwan:** What about the second attempt?

**Bin Ladin:** The second attempt was in the al-Thawrah Mosque in Omdurman when a group tried to kill me while I was performing my prayers.

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**1997**

**Correspondent Meets With Opposition Leader Bin Ladin**

**London Channel 4 Television Network in English 2100 GMT 20 Feb 97**

[Report by correspondent Gwyn Robert on meeting with Usama Bin Ladin, Saudi opposition leader, near Jalalabad, date not given, including recorded remarks by Bin Ladin; from the "Dispatches" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Roberts] I am asked to go to Jalalabad, close to the frontier with Pakistan. There I must wait for someone who might take me to Bin Ladin. [passage omitted] I have been told not to watch out and tell nobody my plans. I wait for days and begin to think the intermediary will never show up, but, at last, he arrives. He says he has contacted Bin Ladin by radio at a base 5 miles away and is trying to fix a meeting. Bin Ladin is not prepared for me to interview him on film, however, and it is a great disappointment. Instead I prepare questions and show my intermediary how to use my camera. I want him to do the interview. Several nights later he returns, the meeting is arranged and we are to leave immediately. As we walk from my hotel, he tells me that the Americans supplied a small tracking device to Terry Waite before he left for negotiations in Beirut. I ask him what would happen if I had such a device hidden in my clothes. It is made clear—I would not return alive. Nearby, we are picked up by a vehicle with five men inside carrying sub-machine guns.

Two hours drive from Jalalabad I finally meet Bin Ladin. [video shows photograph of Gwyn Roberts sitting with Bin Ladin] This photograph is my record of an extraordinary meeting. He tells me the Saudi Government wants to pretend everything is stable in the kingdom. They can draw attention away from the internal problems by blaming them onto the Shi'ah and linking them to Iran. Days later my video cassettes are returned apparently showing the camp used by Bin Ladin. [video shows Bin Ladin, cutting to show a stone building, protected by look-out posts, cutting to show a tanks on an embankment]

My intermediary has indeed filmed Bin Ladin, but although some of my questions are touched upon, this is not my interview. The cassette is clearly intended for Bin Ladin's own followers in the Middle East. It has frightening implications for Westerners in Saudi. [Bin Ladin identified by screen caption, in Arabic fading into English translation] The prophet has said that the people of the peninsula are duty bound to expel the unbelievers from their country when they come from abroad with their man and weapons in number and power that exceeds that of the people of the area. Now the oppressive occupier, with it's military machine and armed forces are once again threatening our Muslim lands. What is even worse is that the occupier has returned to violate the Muslim's greatest and holiest lands. And the bombing of Riyadh and Al-Khubar were a clear indication for the crusading forces to correct this grave mistake and for them to depart before it is too late,  
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and before the battle begins in earnest. People will treat the Americans as they were treated by them. They will not only hit American military but also demand the expulsion of civilians.

Moreover, I emphasize that this war will not only be between the two people of the sacred mosques and the Americans, but it will be between the Islamic world and the Americans and their allies, because this war is a new crusade led by America against the Islamic nations. [break in recording]

**Roberts:** Bin Ladin claims it was his followers who forced American troops to leave

Somalia in 1993. He saves his most chilling comment for his final address to the camera.

[**Bin Ladin**, in Arabic fading into English translation] I confirm that all the youth and the whole nation should concentrate their efforts on the Americans and the Zionists because they are the head of the spear that has been pointed at the nation and delivered into the nation's heart, and that every effort concentrated on the Americans and the Zionists will bring good, direct, and positive results. Therefore, if someone can kill an American soldier, it is better than wasting his energy on other matters.

#### **Bin Ladin Cited on Prince Sultan's US Visit**

##### **London Al-Islah in Arabic 3 Mar 97 p1**

[Article from bulletin No. 48 issued by the Islamic Reform Movement of Saudi Arabia, IRM; received by fax: "New Offer for Bin- Ladin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Having lost hope of persuading the Taleban movement to hand over [Saudi dissident Usama] Bin Ladin, the Saudi Government and the parties collaborating with it abandoned the request for his extradition and asked, instead, for Bin Ladin to be silenced and his activities frozen. All the parties exerted pressure to have the shaykh silenced. But the movement always refused to do that and ignored the requests, and the reports of delegations coming from and going to the embassy of "the custodian of the Two Holy Mosques" in Pakistan became a joke among Taleban circles, who declared that their commitment to the shaykh is principled and cannot be backtracked on. The Saudi Embassy recently tried to send a direct message to Shaykh Bin Ladin himself to offer not to demand his extradition "in return" for his stopping attacking the United States and Saudi Arabia. The shaykh's advisers say the offer is like trying to exchange something you do not own for something you cannot do.

Meanwhile, the Bureau for the Study of Islamic Conflicts has quoted Shaykh Bin Ladin as saying the following regarding Prince Sultan's visit to the United States:

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"We understand that the visit was an enthronement ceremony by the Americans for Sultan to declare him king of the country of the Two Holy Mosques in place of King Fahd, leapfrogging Crown Prince 'Abdallah. The meaning of this is clear and conspicuous: The United States, which excluded the people of the peninsula from its political calculations, has now excluded the Al Sa'ud from the process of choosing the country's ruler. As a result of this US foolishness, we expect a further widening of the resistance against the US occupation of the country of the Two Holy Mosques and also the Zionist occupation of the Palestinian land. We are not interested much in who is in power in the country as long as he is under the protection of the US crusading occupation. What we are interested in is our people's awareness of the dimensions of the current battle and the need for them to join the mujahidin and get ready for the day of the decisive confrontation, with its heavy costs in terms of money and lives. Everything is of little importance when it comes to defending God's religion, Islamic holy places, and Muslim countries, for the sake of applying God's law."

#### **Bin Ladin Charges US Involvement in China Bombings**

##### **Islamabad The Muslim in English 15 Mar 97 pp 1, 11**

["News Analysis" by "Observer": "Bin Ladin: Dissident Turns Pan- Islamist"]  
[FBIS Transcribed Text] From his base in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, the Saudi Opposition leader, Usama Ben Ladin spoke at last after a long silence. This time, Ben Ladin has spoken less as a Saudi leader more so a pan-Islamic leader. His perceptions are strongly related to Pakistan and South Asia. This is a surprising change and could usher in far reaching repercussions in the entire [sentence as published]. Ben Ladin has accused the United States of trying to sabotage relations between China and the Muslim world through the CIA. He charged the CIA of being the brain behind the latest explosions in China. Categorically denying any US support for Taliban, Ben Ladin even promised action to bring about an understanding between Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and China. According to Ben Ladin's thinking, this new axis would block attempts to forge axis between India, Russia, Central Asian Republics, China and Iran. Speaking on Afghanistan, he reiterated that the Afghan Civil war was over and Taliban are the legitimate rulers and that on both a short, long term, an Islamic government in Afghanistan would re- affirm pan-Islamism by Kabul and total support for all Islamic causes. This would be good news for the suppressed people of Kashmir and Pakistan, since an Islamic Afghanistan would provide strategic depth for Pakistan. The US have been hunting high and dry [as published] for Ben Ladin, since Washington accuses Ben Ladin of being the brain behind financing various anti-American groups which attempt to mobilise Muslims, to wage a jihad against the United States.

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Bin Ladin left Saudi Arabia and sought political asylum in Khartoum, Sudan. He remained in Sudan for quite sometime, and become a motivating spirit for the Islamic government of Gen Omar al- Bashir; working closely with Dr Hassan al-Turabi of the NIF (National Islamic Front). Intense US and European pressure and threats to strangulate Sudan politically, economically and militarily, forced Ben Ladin to leave Khartoum and seek a second exile.

Because of US influence, no country would accept Ben Ladin, not even Iran. Ultimately, he silently slipped in to Afghanistan, Reportedly, Burhanuddin Rabbani welcomed him before the fall of Kabul. Later, he moved to Jalalabad, where he "reportedly" is under the protection of Taliban but his exact where about, still unknown.

Fearing his growing influence and revolutionary posture, the CIA planned physical liquidation, for alleged involvement in aiding extreme Muslim groups to wage Jihad against the United States Unsuccessful attempts on his life turned Ben Ladin into a diehard foe of the US persuading him to cooperate with extreme anti-US groups, including Mohammad al Masari, head of the Saudi Committee of the Defence of Legitimate Rights, Ayman al-Zawahiri of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and Ashra al-Hadi of the Egyptian Islamic Group.

The CIA leaked reports accusing Ben Ladin of involvement in the November and June 1996 bombings of US military bases in Saudi Arabia that killed 26 American soldiers and airmen, wounding others. CIA agents monitored Ben Ladin traveling in mid-January,

1996 to Qatar. There he allegedly discussed plans for attacks on US military bases in Saudi Arabia. Qatar has territorial disputes with Saudi Arabia and more political differences over Riyadh's support to Bahrain, with tacit support from Saudi Arabia, used Bahrain force to occupy the Qatari island of Huwar believed to be rich in oil.

Both Ben Ladin and Qatar strongly denied any involvement in the bombings of the US military bases in Saudi Arabia. However, the CIA is building its case against Ben Ladin, even though evidences against him are only circumstantial. Amongst evidences attributed to Ben Ladin, are his statements and telegrams he received from some anti-US groups following the bombings of the US Military targets in Saudi Arabia.

Moreover, Ben Ladin issued strong political statements, opposing the US military presence in Saudi Arabia, strictly from a religious point of view. To his mind, no foreign forces should be allowed to stay on the sacred soil of Hijaz. Initially, the US held out that its military presence in Saudi Arabia was temporary and that it would withdraw its troops once Kuwait was liberated.

In recent interview, Ben Ladin called for jihad against foreign troops whether US, British or French. This has widened the net of his adversaries and increased British, French intelligence cooperation and their joining hand with the CIA, to counter the activities of Ben Ladin and his followers among the Islamists. Ben Ladin views both Britain and France as anti-Islamic powers which are using NATO to declare war against Islamic movements especially in North Africa. France took the lead in supporting the military  
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junta in Algeria and supported canceling of the multiparty elections when the Islamists of FIS (Islamic Salvation Front ) swept the first phase of elections.

Furthermore, Paris is persecuting and hounding over four million Muslims, mainly of north African origin living in France for generations, simply because they refuse to compromise their Islamic identity. Ben Ladin was extremely annoyed with the arrest of the Muslim activists in France and their handing over to the Algerian military. Almost all those arrested by French authorities and handed over to Algeria were summarily executed on charges of planning to topple the military Junta.

Ben Ladin also accuses the British of supporting authoritarian regimes in the Middle East in their bid to crush the Islamic movements there. He said that the British were in the forefront, some times even ahead of the United States, in advocating continued siege, collective punishment, and sanctions against the Muslim peoples of Sudan, Iran, Libya and Iraq.

The US State Department in a published white paper identifies Ben Ladin as one of the most significant sponsors of Islamic extremist activities in the world. One US report divulged that the FBI was comBing Pakistan and Arab countries including Saudi Arabia to trace Ben Ladin and his allies. Only recently, the FBI also opened offices in Israel, Amman and Cairo, specifically, to trace Islamists and more so Ben Ladin.

Amongst US accusations is that Ben Ladin is financing militants, while Syrian President Hafiz al Assad was training them in the Bekka Valley in southern Lebanon which is under the control of both Syria and Iran. The FBI is also exploring the role of Iran and its possible links with Ben Ladin. Once solid evidence is obtained or fabricated, it would be

used to isolate Iran internationally.

**Pakistan Interviews Usama Bin Ladin  
Islamabad Pakistan in Urdu 18 Mar 97**

[Interview with Usama Bin Ladin by Hamid Mir; in Jalalabad; date not given; first paragraph reporter's introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 25 February 1997, Saudi Defense Minister Sultan Bin Abdul Aziz Saud met President Bill Clinton in Washington. Usama Bin Ladin came under discussion during this meeting. The Saudi defense minister told the US president that Usama Bin Ladin, the alleged terrorist responsible for bomb blasts in Riyadh and Al-Khobar, is staying in Afghanistan and is continuing to threaten more bomb blasts will be conducted if US troops are not removed from Saudi Arabia. The next day, on 26 February, the Saudi defense minister met the US Secretary for Defense, Mr. Cohen and on 27 February he met Secretary of State Albright. In each of these meetings strategies to arrest Usama Bin Ladin were discussed. The Saudi government informed the US

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authorities that appropriate measures must be taken for the security of US troops, diplomats and other US citizens in Saudi Arabia because Usama Bin Ladin is very dangerous.

Consequently the US Embassy in Riyadh and US Consulates in Dhahran and Jeddah advised US military personnel and other US citizens to restrict their movements. Later, the US State Department contacted the Taleban government in Afghanistan requesting that Usama Bin Ladin be handed over to the United States. The Taleban did not deny the presence of Usama Bin Ladin in Afghanistan because the United States already has documents, photographs taken from satellites and other sources which prove that Bin Ladin is in Afghanistan. The Taleban flatly refused to hand Bin Ladin over to the United States. The Taleban's position astonished the whole Western world because it was generally believed that they were being supported by the United States and that the United States is trying to counterbalance Iran's influence in Afghanistan through the Taleban. After this declaration regarding Usama Bin Ladin, we decided to meet the person who is wanted in various cases, not only in the United States and Saudi Arabia, but also in Egypt and Yemen. Usama Bin Ladin is not only accused of being involved in the bomb blasts in Riyadh and Al-Khobar in which several US military personnel were killed but he was also allegedly involved in the killing of more than 125 US troops in Somalia. He is also alleged to have masterminded the assassination attempt on Egyptian President Husni Mubarak. He reportedly established three bases in northern Sudan where Sudanese military commandos provided military training to hundreds of Arab youth. These people were then sent to Egypt, Algeria, Tunis, Yemen and Saudi Arabia while some of them joined Hamas and started fighting against Israel. US authorities say that Ramzi Yusuf, accused in bomb blast at World Trade Center in New York, is also a disciple of Usama Bin Ladin. A few weeks ago, some people affiliated with organizations called "Al-Jihad" and "Jama'at al-Islamia" were arrested in Egypt. During interrogation it

came out that they received military training from Usama Bin Ladin in Afghanistan. Usama Bin Ladin has gained international importance. This interview was conducted in view of his important role. There was no way to contact Usama Bin Ladin in Islamabad or in Peshawar. So I [Hamid Mir] decided to visit Jalalabad along with Pakistan's photographer Mazhar Ali Khan. From there I reached Usama Bin Ladin with the help of a representative of Maulvi Yunus Khalis. In the dark of night we could not tell what route we took to reach Usama Bin Ladin. It was a long distance, quite difficult, and it was dark. We stayed with Usama Bin Ladin for one night. The next day we had a four hour session and then returned in the afternoon. Our return journey was even longer and we could not tell in which direction we were heading. We could only make out that Usama Bin Ladin lives in mountain caves located at a distance of several hours from urban settlements. The interview with Usama Bin Ladin follows. It was conducted with the help of an interpreter as Usama speaks Arabic.

**PAKISTAN:** Mr. Bin Ladin, thank you very much that you granted US an interview. It was quite difficult to get here, but it is a good experience for us. We would like to know about your family background.

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**Ladin:** My father, Mohammad Bin Oud Bin Ladin, was a minister during the reign of King Faisal. He was the owner of a construction company. He undertook the work of extension of Haram Sharif in Mekkah and the Masjid-i-Nabawi. King Faisal was still alive when my father died. King Faisal cried at the death of only two persons, one was Mohammad Bin Ibrahim and the other was my father Mohammad Bin Oud Bin Ladin. King Faisal said upon death of my father that today I have lost my right arm. For 40 years, my father kept on waiting for the appearance of Hazrat Mahdi [It is a belief among the Muslims that a Hazarat Mahdi will appear at some point in history and will revive the glory of Islam. Under his leadership the Muslims will be able to establish Islamic rule all over the world]. He had set apart some 12 million dollars for the Mahdi. I started working for my father at an early age. I was educated in Hijaz. I took my degree in economics. I supervised the work of the extension of the Masjid-i-Nabawi. So at an early age, for construction purposes, I receive training in explosives in blasting mountains.

**PAKISTAN:** Who was involved in King Faisal's assassination?

**Ladin:** Faisal Shaheed's brother Mutallib Bin Abdul Aziz believes that King Fahad knew about the conspiracy. We believe that the United States was behind his killing.

**PAKISTAN:** You are a businessman. How come you took up the Kalashnikov?

**Ladin:** We were 25 brothers. My father used to say that he gave birth to 25 sons for Jihad. The spirit of Jihad was invigorated when the Jews desecrated Baitul Maqdas. In December 1979, we learned that Russian troops entered Afghanistan. At that time I decided to wage jihad against Russia and came to Afghanistan.

**PAKISTAN:** During the war against the Russian forces in Afghanistan, the United States and Saudi Arabia helped the Mujahidin. So why have you turned against United States and Saudi Arabia?

**Ladin:** The United States was not interested in our Jihad. It was only afraid that Russia would gain access to warm waters. The United States helped the Mujahidin in order to

contain Russia. The Mujahidin started their resistance much earlier. The United States and the head of Saudi Intelligence, Turki al-Faisal, used to get money from the government and give it to the CIA. The CIA used to buy ammunition and give it to the Mujahidin. The CIA embezzled quite a bit in the arms purchases. As soon as Gorbachev announced the withdrawal of Russian forces from Afghanistan, the United States and Saudi Arabia stopped their assistance for Mujahidin. The United States does not want an Islamic government in Afghanistan. Therefore an attempt was made to establish a coalition government consisting of Najibullah and Mujahidin groups. In 1992, Butrus-Butrus Ghali came to Islamabad for this purpose. But I made all the Mujahidin groups agree on the point that an alliance with Najibullah is not acceptable. We were fighting against the communists and now the United States was pressuring US to cooperate with those very same communists. The United States has no principles. To achieve its own interests, it forgets about every principle.

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**PAKISTAN:** Najibullah is dead. Why are the Mujahidin still fighting each other?

**Ladin:** In Afghanistan, the Mujahidin are not fighting each other. Borhanoddin Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Masud have gone to Tajikistan and Golbodin Hekmatyar has taken refuge in Iran. Only Dostum is in Afghanistan. But he is not a Mujahid. He was an associate of atheist General Najibullah. Rabbani, Masud and Hekmatyar had made an alliance with him but now he is left alone. The Taleban have to fight against Dostum only. Rabbani, Masud and Hekmatyar participated in Jihad. They played a good role, but it was not good that they started this infighting in Afghanistan. Rabbani and Masud started getting assistance not only from their former enemy, Russia, but also collaborated with India. It is sad that even Hekmatyar joined this anti-Pakistan alliance. But now the government in Afghanistan is not anti-Pakistan

**PAKISTAN:** The US State Department considers you responsible for the bomb blasts in Riyadh and Al-Khobar. What do you say in this regard?

**Ladin:** Only Americans were killed in the explosions in Riyadh and Al-Khoba. No Saudi citizen suffered any injury. When I got the news about these blasts, I was very happy. This was a noble act. This was a great honor but, unfortunately, I did not conduct these explosions personally. But I would like to say to the Saudi people that they should adopt every tactic to throw the Americans out of Saudi territory.

**PAKISTAN:** It is alleged that you were involved in terrorist action against the US troops in Somalia.

**Ladin:** It is true that my companions fought with Farah Adid's forces against the US troops in Somalia. But we were fighting against US terrorism. Under the cover of United Nations, the United States tried to establish its bases in Somalia so that it could get control over Sudan and Yemen. Every Islamic country is our home. The United States had forcefully entered our home. In Palestine and Iraq it had massacred Muslims but in Somalia it claimed that it would provide shelter to the Muslims. The United States is a deceiver. We waged Jihad against it. My associates killed the Americans in collaboration

with Farah Adid. We are not ashamed of our Jihad. You will be astonished that Farah Adid had only 300 soldiers while I had sent 250 Mujahidin. We got moral support from local Muslims. In one explosion one hundred Americans were killed, then 18 more were killed in fighting. One day our men shot down an American helicopter. The pilot got out. We caught him, tied his legs and dragged him through the streets. After that 28,000 US soldiers fled Somalia. The Americans are cowards. We made it clear to the world that we will not let America's new world order work.

**PAKISTAN:** The UN peace-keeping force appointed in Somalia included Pakistani contingents too. Were Pakistani soldier also killed in fighting against your men?

**Ladin:** Not at all. US soldiers used to keep Pakistani troops in front for their own safety. The Pakistani troops were sent to attack a radio station. There were landmines in that area. The Pakistani soldiers were killed by those landmines. The Islamic countries who  
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sent their troops to Somalia, acted as US agents. The present US Government is under the influence of Jews.

The US Secretaries of Defense and State are both Jews. Cooperation with United States is in fact, cooperation with the Jews. I believe that the Government of Pakistan and the United States are responsible for the death of Pakistani soldiers in Somalia.

**PAKISTAN:** How did you go to Sudan from Afghanistan and then come back to Afghanistan?

**Ladin:** After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, I went to Sudan for some construction work. After our Jihad in Somalia, the United States asked Sudan to expel me. Sudan was promised that economic assistance to it will be restored. So I came back to Afghanistan but assistance to Sudan was not restored.

**PAKISTAN:** Western media have been giving an impression that the Taleban were being supported by the United States but the Taleban have refused to hand you over to the United States. What is the reason for that?

**Ladin:** I don't believe that Taleban are being supported by the United States. In fact, the previous government in Pakistan misled the US Government. Benazir Bhutto and Nasirullah Babar gave an impression that they were supporting the Taleban. This gave the Taleban a bad name. The Taleban were definitely fighting against the enemies of Pakistan but they cannot be labeled as agents of Pakistan or United States. The reason Pakistan supports the Taleban is that Pakistan is sure that Taleban will never collaborate with India.

**PAKISTAN:** Iran says that the Taleban are being supported by United States and they are fighting to safeguard US interests?

**Ladin:** The United States considers me the most dangerous threat. If the Taleban do not hand me over to the United States then how can they be US agents? In fact, Iran wanted to establish its influence over Kabul through Abdul Ali Mazari. After Mazari's murder the plan failed and misunderstanding emerged between Iran and Taleban. The United States is the common enemy of both Iran and the Taleban. One day, relations between Iran and Afghanistan will improve. The United States wants to incite conflict between China and the Muslims. The Muslims of Xinjiang are being blamed for the bomb blasts

in Beijing. But I think these explosions were sponsored by the American CIA. If Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and China get united, the United States and India will become ineffective. The Taleban have established the rule of Allah in Afghanistan. The United States is opposed to the rule of Allah. I appeal to the Muslims all over the world to support and assist the Taleban. Differences among the Muslims will be removed through their belief in one God and one Book. The Muslim must think that the Ka'aba facing which they say their prayers is under the siege of Jews and Christians. If your son falls from the roof top and suffers injuries to his head and his foot, you will have to treat the head first. Just like that, the biggest problem of the Muslims should be the top priority.

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We have to drive out the United States from the Arabian peninsula because this is the root of all problems.

**PAKISTAN:** How should we drive the United States out of the Gulf?

**Ladin:** If robbers break into your house, what will you do?

**PAKISTAN:** If I have a gun I will shoot at them.

**Ladin:** Correct! This is the right method to throw America out of the Gulf. The United States is beefing up its forces in the Gulf in a bid to control the oil resources. Since 1973, prices of all other items have increased but oil prices did not rise much. Since 1973, the price of petrol has increased only 8 dollars per barrel while the prices of other items have gone up three times. The oil prices should also have gone up three times but this did not happen. Price of American wheat has increased three-fold but the price of Arab oil has not risen three-fold. The increase was not more than a few dollars over a period of 24 years because the United States is dictating to the Arabs at gunpoint. We are suffering a loss of 115 dollars per barrel every day. Only Saudi Arabia produces 10 million barrels oil per day and thus the loss is one billion dollar per day. Total loss is more than 2 billion dollars. In the past 13 years, the United States has caused US a loss of more 1100 billion dollars. We must get this money back from the United States. The total population of Muslims all over the world is more than 1 billion. If every Muslim family is given 11,000 dollars then the 1100 billion dollars will be repaid. Muslims are starving to death and the United States is stealing their oil. It buys oil from US at a low prices and then makes US buy its tanks and fighter airplanes by projecting Israel as a threat. In this manner the United States takes all its money back.

**PAKISTAN:** But there are pro-US governments in all the Arab countries except Libya, Sudan and Iraq. How then will US influence be removed?

**Ladin:** Russia was the head of the communist bloc. With the disintegration of Russia, communism withered away in the Eastern Europe. Similarly if the United States is beheaded, the Arab kingdoms will wither away. The biggest crime, the United States has committed is that it has infiltrated our Holy Land. Against whom are the 120,000 US soldiers fighting in Saudi Arabia? What has happened to the Muslim self-esteem? Can't they defend their Holy Ka'aba themselves? Before the dawn of Islam, when Abraha had invaded at Ka'aba, God Almighty had sent birds (Ababeels) which dropped pebbles on

them and made them run away. Now there are 1 billion Muslims in the world. God will not send birds, Muslims will have to rise themselves. The Muslims should be worried about Ka'aba rather than the White House.

**PAKISTAN:** Which is your ideal personality in present age?

**Ladin:** Shiekh Salman Oudah. He is imprisoned in Saudi jails because he had demanded expulsion of US troops from Saudi Arabia. I am sure that by the beginning of the next  
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century the United States will no longer be a super power. Next century is the century of the Muslims.

**PAKISTAN:** Rafsanjani, Saddam Husayn, Qadhdhafi and Hafez Al-Asad are also opposed to the United States. What is your opinion of them?

**Ladin:** Muslims need a leader who can unite them and establish the "pious caliphate". The pious caliphate will start from Afghanistan. Interest-free banking will be started here. Allah's rule will be established. We are against communism as well as capitalism. Accumulation of wealth in a few hands is un-Islamic.

**PAKISTAN:** Will women be allowed to get education under the pious caliphate?

**Ladin:** I know you have asked this question under the influence of Western propaganda. The Taleban do not oppose education for women. Hazrat Aisha was a great scholar of Islamic law. She is the narrator of largest number of Hadith. Therefore, we are not against the education of women but we are against creating un-Islamic conditions in the name of education.

**PAKISTAN:** What is the difference between the pious caliphate and the present democratic system?

**Ladin:** They are totally different from each other. Consultation is very important in Islam but the consultation can be held only to appoint a pious and wise person as ruler. Under the present democratic system such people become rulers who are not pious. The parliaments make such laws which are un-Islamic. Getting military training is a duty of every Muslim but democratic governments hand persons like Ramzi Yusuf over to the United States. Four of my sons are imprisoned in Saudi Arabia on the instructions of the United States who claims to be the champion of democracy and human rights. My three years old daughter is not allowed to travel. I am told to stop talking against Fahad and United States the I will be forgiven. I do not beg for mercy from United States. If the United States has courage, it should come here and arrest me. I will die by the will God not by the will of United States. I appeal to the Muslims to boycott US products. They should give up the American democratic system too. This democracy has not given anything to the Muslims.

**PAKISTAN:** Tell US about an unforgettable incident of your life.

**Ladin:** During the Jihad in Afghanistan, Russian made a forceful attack on Jaji area. Tanks attacked from the front and air force also started bombing. I remained confined in an entrenchment for several days. We could hear the enemies' footsteps. Despite the situation, I fell asleep. When I awoke the enemy had disappeared. Perhaps I could not be seen by them. On another occasion a SCUD missile exploded very close to me but I remained safe. Such incidents have removed my fear of death. But the Americans are

afraid of death. They are like little mice. If Russia can be destroyed, the United States can also be beheaded.

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**PAKISTAN:** Thank you very much

On our return from Afghanistan at Torkham border we saw a sign board which read American and Afghan people will reconstruct Afghanistan jointly. Let's see what policy the Taleban do adopt.

**Muslim Leader Warns of a New Assault on US Forces'**

**London The Independent in English 22 Mar 97 p 1**

["Exclusive" report by Robert Fisk, "Muslim Leader Warns of a New Assault on US Forces"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Eastern Afghanistan—From his guerrilla redoubt high in the mountains of eastern Afghanistan, Usama Bin Ladin - regarded by Washington as the West's most dangerous Muslim fundamentalist enemy - has warned Americans of a renewed onslaught against their forces in Saudi Arabia.

In an interview with The Independent, the 44-year old billionaire Saudi dissident who led an army of Arab fighters against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, claimed that he had now secured the support of thousands of Pakistanis for his jihad - holy war - against US troops in the Gulf. He also acknowledged for the first time that his guerrillas had fought street battles against US forces during the ill-fated UN mission to Somalia. He had, he said, sent faxes to King Fahd and all main departments of the Saudi government, informing them of his determination to pursue a jihad against the Americans; he even claimed that some members of the Saudi royal family agreed with his demand to expel the Americans from the Gulf - an allegation that will only heighten US suspicions that some leading figures in the kingdom covertly support the dissident movement.

I spent the night in Bin Ladin's guerrilla camp 8,000 feet up a frozen mountain in southeast

Afghanistan as his Arab mujahedin, wearing camouflage jackets and cowed in kuffiah scarves, patrolled the perimeter ridges armed with rocket-propelled grenades and automatic rifles. The road to the camp had been gouged out of the cliffs and precipices by Mr. Bin Ladin's followers during their earlier jihad against the Soviet army; a few metres from me, a 20 foot high air raid shelter - cut for hundreds of metres through the rock of the mountainside - provided protection against aerial bombing.

Mr. Bin Ladin himself, dressed in a white turban and green robes with a Kalashnikov assault rifle beside him, sat on the floor of a tent lit only by a sputtering gas lamp. He heaped praise upon the bombers who slaughtered 24-Americans in the Saudi bombings at Riyadh and Al-Khobar - "a great act in which I missed the honour of participating" - and spoke in a chilling, almost inaudible monotone of his hatred for the American

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"occupiers" of his country. His claim of Pakistani assistance in his "holy war" will cause deep concern to Americans in Saudi Arabia, where tens of thousands of Pakistanis live as immigrant workers.

Astonishingly - in view of this previous threats against British and French troops in the Gulf - Mr. Bin Ladin claimed that the armies of both countries now provided only a "symbolic presence" in Saudi Arabia, at one point praising Britain for not occupying the Arabian peninsula during the First World War.

He claimed that European nations were now distancing themselves from US policy towards Israel, singling out the European vote against Israel in the UN Security Council debate on the new Jewish settlement on occupied Arab land outside Jerusalem.

But if British and French troops in the Gulf can now sleep a little easier in their beds - in itself a doubtful premise - the Americans appear to face another spate of bombings. "This is the first time in 14 centuries that the land of the two shrines [Mecca and Medina] has been occupied by non-Islamic forces," he said.

In the past the Americas didn't meet with real resistance from Muslims because scholars working for the Saudi government misled the people by saying the Americans were providing them with protection. But now, the Muslim nation understands the truth and Pakistanis have allied themselves with us to expel the Americans; Pakistani religious thinkers are issuing fatwa against them."

If Mr. Bin Ladin's view of America bordered on the eccentric - at one point, he suggested that individual US states might secede from the Union because of Washington's support for Israel - his historical perspective was deeply disturbing. "We believe that God used our holy war in Afghanistan to destroy the Russian army and the Soviet Union - we did this from the top of this very mountain upon which you are sitting - and now we ask God to use us one more time to do the same to America to make it a shadow of itself.

But he was confident. "We also believe that our battle against America is much simpler than the war against the Soviet Union, because some of our mujahedin who fought here in Afghanistan also participated in operations against the Americans in Somalia - and they were surprised at the collapse of American morale. This convinced us that the Americans are a paper tiger."

**Interview With Usama Bin Ladin**

**London The Independent English 22 Mar 97 p 14**

[Report by Robert Fisk: "A pilgrimage through a broken and dangerous land of death"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The journey to meet Usama Bin Ladin began, as it did last year, outside the facade of the run-down Spinghar Hotel in Jalalabad. An Afghan holding

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a Kalashnikov rifle invited me to travel in a car out of town. But this time - instead of a journey across the deserts and Russian-bombed villages of the plains we headed past the

roaring waters of a great river and up into the mountains, overtaking trucks and a string of camels, their heads turning towards our headlights in the gloom. Two hours later we stopped on a stony hillside and, after a few minutes, a pick-up truck came bouncing down the rough shale of the mountainside.

An Arab in Afghan robes came towards the car. I recognised him at once from our last meeting in a ruined village. "I am sorry Mr Robert, but I must give you the first search," he said, prowling through my camera bag and newspapers. And we set off up the track which Usama Bin Ladin built during his jihad against the Russian army the early 1980s, a terrifying, slithering two-hour odyssey along fearful ravines in rain and sleet, the windscreen misting as we climbed the cold mountain.

"When you believe in jihad, it is easy," he said, fighting with the steering wheel as stones scattered from the tyres, bouncing down ravines into the clouds below. From time to time, lights winked at us from far away in the darkness. "Our brothers are letting us know they see us," he said.

After an hour, two armed Arabs - one with his face covered in a scarf, eyes peering at us through spectacles - came screaming from behind two rocks. "Stop! Stop!" As the brakes were jammed on, I almost hit my head on the windscreen. "Sorry, sorry," the bespectacled man said, putting down his anti-tank rocket launcher and pulling from his pocket an electronic metal detector, the red light flicking over my body in another. The road grew worse as we continued, the jeep skidding backwards towards sheer cliffs, the headlights illuminating terrifying gorges on either side. Still clutching the wheel, the Arab fighter turned to me and smiled. "Toyota is good for jihad," he said. I could only agree.

In the moonlight, I could see clouds both below us in the ravines and above us, curling round mountain tops, the headlights now shining on frozen waterfalls and icy pools. Usama Bin Ladin knew how to build his wartime roads - many an ammunition truck and tank had ground up here during the titanic struggle against the Red Army. Now the man who led those guerrillas - the first Arab fighter in the battle against Moscow - was back again in the mountains he knew. There were more Arab checkpoints, more screaming orders to halt. "No one can get to us here," the driver muttered.

Our meeting was almost an anti-climax. Usama Bin Ladin looked fatigued when he entered the tent in which I was waiting cross-legged on a rough blanket, my shoes left at the entrance. At times during our conversation, he paused for at least a minute to choose his words. He was, however, studiously polite, offering the usual Arab courtesy of food to a stranger: a tray of cheese, olives, bread and jam. But his message was unequivocal, even brutal, while couched with the usual conditional clauses. "I am not against the American people - only their government, he said. How many times have I heard that phrase? I told him I thought the American people regarded their government as their

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representatives. He listened to this in silence. "We are still at the beginning of our military action against the American forces," he said.

If the United States regarded him as the foremost "terrorist" in the world - as I suggested to him they did - then "if liberating my land is called terrorism, this is a great honour for

me". And so we embarked on a three-and-a-half hour interview in which the US was damned for supporting Israel, but in which Europe was faintly praised for its slow departure from American policy in the Middle East. For him, there was no difference, he said, between the American and Israeli governments, between the American and Israeli armies. But Europe was beginning to distance itself from the Americans, especially France - although he condemned French policies towards north Africa. He did not mention Algeria but the name hovered over us for several minutes like a ghost. He gave me a Pakistani wall poster in Urdu which proclaimed the support of Pakistani scholars for his holy war against the Americans, even colour photographs of graffiti on the walls of Karachi, demanding the ousting of US troops from "the place of the two Holy Shrines (Mecca and Medina)". He had, he said, received some months ago an emissary from the Saudi royal family who said that Bin Ladin would have his Saudi citizenship and passport returned to him and that his family would receive 2 billion Saudi riyals (339m pounds sterling) if he abandoned his jihad - declared on 23 August - and went back to Saudi Arabia. He had rejected the offer and so had his family, he said. The US was in Saudi Arabia because of its oil but - more importantly - because it feared ("along with the Zionists") that "they and their local agents would drown in the Islamic uprising". Of the strict Islamist Taliban militia, which now controls three-quarters of Afghanistan and in whose region Bin Ladin now lives, he said that he had "struggled alongside them" since 1979. "We believe that Taliban are sincere in their attempts to enforce Islamic religious law. We saw the situation here before (they took over) and after, and have seen an obvious improvement."

Despite these words, Usama Bin Ladin was unwilling to have me taken back to Jalalabad through the Taliban checkpoints at midnight. So I spent the night under the stars at his guerrilla camp, close to the massive rock-hewn air-raid shelter that he built during the Russian war. When the Arabs drove me back before dawn next day, they paused by the roadside to pray, kneeling on rugs with their rifles beside them, crying "Allahu Akbar" over the bleak landscape of rivers and snow-capped mountains. And amid the pageant of stars above us, a great comet trailed down the sky with a fiery tail, unseen since the time of the Pharaohs. It was, I learned later, the Hale-Bopp comet. "They say that after a comet, there will be a great war," one of the Arabs said to me.

We had driven past the police barracks in Jalalabad at first light but, minutes later, a thunderous explosion tore across the road, incinerating every driver within 100 metres, a massive blast at the local munitions store that killed at least 50 men, women and children and left hundreds wounded. The Taliban were on the streets, beating back relatives of the dead with sticks, a mile-high column of brown smoke belching into the sky. It was not difficult to see how this broken, dangerous nation could engender anger and an

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acceptance of death; even a desire to turn the weapons once used against the Soviets upon the world's only surviving superpower.

**Usama Bin Ladin Dares US Commandos To Come to**

## **Afghanistan**

### **Islamabad Pakistan in Urdu 6 Jul 97 pp 1, 7**

[Report by Hamid Mir]

[FBIS Translated Text] Islamabad—Saudi businessman Usama Bin Ladin has said that if US commandos want to come to Afghanistan to arrest me, we will not stop them in any way but we will deal with them according to our own free will. Talking to the daily Pakistan over the telephone from Afghanistan the other day, he said that those who arrested Aimal Kanshi through deception must not harbor any illusions. If the commandos came to Afghanistan, they would be meted out the same treatment as was given to them in Somalia.

Usama Bin Ladin said we have no sympathy for Aimal Kanshi nor do we have anything to do with him. Aimal Kanshi, however, was unarmed and he had no cause to espouse. In contrast, we are neither unarmed nor without any cause or mission. He added: I want the Americans to proceed toward Afghanistan, where all of their misconceptions and illusions will be removed. I am sure, however, that the Americans will not come, because they are cowards. They attack only the unarmed and weaker people. The days are not far off when the holy warriors of the Islamic world will arrest the Americans in the same manner as the Americans have nabbed Ramzi Yusuf and Aimal Kanshi, Osama Bin Ladin asserted.

### **Usama Bin Ladin Urges 'Befitting Reply' to Horan**

#### **Islamabad Pakistan in Urdu 7 Aug 97 pp 1, 7**

[Unattributed report]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kabul -- Usama Bin Ladin, the billionaire Saudi businessman and famous Mujahid leader, has strongly condemned US Attorney Robert Horan's derogatory remarks. He said that Horan had insulted not only Pakistanis but the whole Muslim world; his insult was directed toward Muslims in general and Pakistani Muslims in particular.

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In a statement issued from Kabul, Usama Bin Ladin said that hurting the feelings of the Muslims had become a routine activity of the infidels. Earlier, Salman Rushdie had made a mockery of Islamic injunctions and the West gave him the status of a hero for that. The Western countries, led by the United States, propagated Rushdie's evil thoughts. Aimal Kanshi, who had killed and injured two Americans, was abducted from Pakistan, but Salman Rushdie, who had hurt the feelings of millions of Muslims, was given protection by these governments. This shows the moral degradation of the Western nations. The Muslim Ummah must ponder how it should respond to this US lawyer's abusive remarks. Does the Muslim world not have the courage to chop off the tongue of the person who has attacked their integrity? Although this was just a verbal attack on us, the Americans will go further. The future of the Muslims will be secure only if they now give a befitting reply.

He emphasized that even though Christian commandos entered Pakistani territory and took away one of our brothers and even though during his trial the US lawyer made filthy remarks against Muslims, we still think that the United States is our friend. He said that

earlier we were demanding that the Americans should withdraw from the Holy land of Saudi Arabia, but now we are of the view that the Americans should not stay on even an inch of the Muslim world's territory. They should immediately leave the land against whose people they have made abusive remarks, or they must keep in mind how we will treat the enemies of our religion, our land, and our honor. He said that Afghans would not remain silent over the humiliation of their Pakistani brethren. The Americans would be given exemplary punishment for this crime. Usama Bin Ladin added that if someone keeps silent over these remarks, he should be worried about his faith and self-respect, because using abusive language against a Muslim means using abusive remarks against Islam, which is without doubt a major, punishable crime.

### **Usama Bin Ladin Backs Harkatul Ansar Against US**

#### **Rawalpindi Jang in Urdu 20 Oct 97 pp 7, 8**

[Report by Zafar Mehmood Malik]

[FBIS Translated Text] ISLAMABAD -- World renowned Arab mujahid leader, Usama Bin Ladin has strongly condemned the US decision to declare Harkat-ul-Ansar a terrorist organization. He said that the United States itself is the 'biggest criminal' of the civilized world; destroying international peace, strengthening Israeli control over Bait ul Maqdas, stealing oil wealth from the Gulf and occupying the Harmain are its main targets.

In a statement issued from his center, Usama Bin Ladin said the US action against an organization fighting for truth and justice is no surprise at all. Following the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, the United States considers itself the policeman of the whole world. But the United States is forgetting that the people who inflicted this defeat on the Soviet Union were Muslim mujahedin. Usama Bin Ladin declared his full

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support for Harkat-ul-Ansar and appealed to the Muslim world to provide assistance to the Kashmiri freedom fighters. Usama Bin Ladin said that Harkat-ul-Ansar is a mujahid organization which played commendable role in Afghanistan and in Kashmir also it is playing important role in the Islamic Jihad.

Meanwhile Egypt's Jama'at al Jihad organization has also declared its support for Harkatul-

Ansar. A statement issued in Islamabad by the spokesman of Jama'at al Jihad said that they congratulated Harkatul Ansar for its activities and the mujahid organizations of the Islamic countries would always support it.

### **Daily Reports Usama Bin Ladin's Threat Against Americans**

#### **Rawalpindi Nawa-i-Waqt in Urdu 27 Nov 97 pp 1, 5**

[FBIS Translated Text] Jalalabad. The freedom fighter of the Islamic world, Usama Bin Ladin, has urged the people of the United States to restrain the government of the United States and the CIA from committing acts of international terrorism. Otherwise, there cannot be any guarantee for the safety of American interests and its citizens in any part of the world. In a special interview here on Wednesday [26 November], he said the Islamic

world has now come to its senses. Now they realize that they have become the slaves of the United States and are engaged in a struggle to liberate themselves from its clutches. The people, who are described as terrorists by the United States, are, in fact, taking retaliatory measures to save the Muslim countries from the acts of terrorism committed by the United States. He said the duty of every Muslim is to take action against the United States because, it is the biggest enemy of the Islamic world and is conspiring to eliminate the power of the Muslim countries. He said we have nothing to do with the murders of the Americans in Karachi. However, it is not [as published] Nevertheless, we certainly feel that this action is also the outcome of the deeds of Clinton because, the CIA is playing Holi [a Hindu festival of colors] with human blood and will reap the same in return. He said the United States knows who spilt the blood of the Americans in Karachi. And the United States also knows the reason for the act of retaliation it represented. He said that even now it is not too late. The United States should think about what direction it is marching in. It is the duty of the people of the United States to restrain the notorious CIA and the United States government from committing acts of international terrorism. Otherwise, there cannot be any guarantee in any part of the world that American interests and American nationals will be safe.

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**Bin Ladin Claims Foiling of UN's Afghan 'Conspiracy'**

**Islamabad Pakistan in Urdu 17 Jan 98 pp 8, 6**

[Report by Pakistan correspondent]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tank -- In an interview to a foreign broadcasting organization in Afghanistan, Usama Bin Ladin, the dynamic force behind the worldwide jihad, Saudi billionaire businessman, and crusader has revealed that when the Afghan jihad was at its last stage and Mojahideen were moving close to their objective, the United Nations abruptly proposed a formula for a coalition government for Afghanistan. When we came to know about this we were surprised at the filthy proposal under which 50 percent representation was to be given to the Mojahideen and 50 percent to the communists. The proposal was ratified by all the jihadi organization leaders, including Ahmad Shah Masud, Hekmatyar and Rabbani. It was only to be signed by UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

According to Usama Bin Ladin, he came to know about the conspiracy on Monday and the UN secretary general was supposed to sign it on Friday. Consequently, using his good offices he immediately started making contacts with world's eminent Islamic scholars and asked for their religious ruling and began an urgent campaign against the move, thereby foiling the conspiracy. Usama Bin Ladin said that when he asked the leaders of the jihadi organizations such as Rasul Sayyaf why they signed the proposal, they said that they were under intense pressure from the United Nations and that they were being threatened that if they did not agree then their government would not be recognized.

**Bin Ladin Condoles With Al-Bashir on Salih's Death**

**London Al-Quds al-'Arabi in Arabic 16 Feb 98 p 1**

[Unattributed report: "Rebels Say Attack on Juba Imminent"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Khartoum, Nairobi, Al-Quds al-'Arabi -- Sudanese President 'Umar al-Bashir has received a letter of condolences from Saudi Islamic activist Usama Bin Ladin following Sudanese Vice President al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih's death in a plane crash.

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**Bin Ladin said in the letter:** "This tragedy has come at a time when the international Christian crusade is rushing madly against our country Sudan and against the heart of the Islamic world."

He added that "its (the international Christian crusade's) fleets are plowing the seas of Islam. They are besieging and blockading the peoples of the region as a whole with total disregard for pledges and charters, and are violating the sacred sites and draining all the wealth, while the al-Aqsa Mosque remains the prisoner of this Christian-Jewish alliance." [passage omitted on the plane crash]

Meanwhile, Sudanese and Ugandan officials have been exchanging accusations concerning a probable plan to invade Sudan from the south.

Southern rebels have announced that their attempt last month to seize the city of Wau, the south's second largest city, has left the city's airport and garrison within range of their artillery and that this increases the chances of an overwhelming attack to seize the Sudanese southern capital of Juba. Observers have said that the Sudanese Government has massed 60,000 troops there to repel any attack. Khartoum reacted angrily to reports that Sudanese People's Liberation Army Commander Colonel John Garang, who has been fighting against it for 15 years, has met with a delegation of Western ambassadors in a strategic city situated on the road to Juba. [passage omitted citing Ugandan newspaper reports that attack on Juba is imminent]

**Text of Fatwa Urging Jihad Against Americans**

**London Al-Quds al-'Arabi in Arabic 23 Feb 98 p 3**

["Text of World Islamic Front's Statement Urging Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders" -- Al-Quds al-'Arabi headline; in a front-page report, Al-Quds al-'Arabi says that the statement was "faxed to Al-Quds al-'Arabi and signed by Shaykh Usama Bin-Muhammad Bin Ladin (the prominent Saudi oppositionist); Ayman al-Zawahiri, amir of the Jihad Group in Egypt; Abu-Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, a leader of the [Egyptian] Islamic Group; Shaykh Mir Hamzah, secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan; and Fazlul Rahman, amir of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Praise be to God, who revealed the Book, controls the clouds, defeats factionalism, and says in His Book: "But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)"; and peace be upon our Prophet, Muhammad Bin-'Abdallah, who said: I have been sent with the sword between my the shadow of my spear and who inflicts humiliation and scorn on those who disobey my orders.

The Arabian Peninsula has never -- since God made it flat, created its desert, and

encircled it with seas -- been stormed by any forces like the crusader armies spreading in  
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it like locusts, eating its riches and wiping out its plantations. All this is happening at a time in which nations are attacking Muslims like people fighting over a plate of food. In the light of the grave situation and the lack of support, we and you are obliged to discuss current events, and we should all agree on how to settle the matter.

No one argues today about three facts that are known to everyone; we will list them, in order to remind everyone:

First, for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples.

If some people have in the past argued about the fact of the occupation, all the people of the Peninsula have now acknowledged it.

The best proof of this is the Americans' continuing aggression against the Iraqi people using the Peninsula as a staging post, even though all its rulers are against their territories being used to that end, but they are helpless.

Second, despite the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance, and despite the huge number of those killed, which has exceeded 1 million... despite all this, the Americans are once again trying to repeat the horrific massacres, as though they are not content with the protracted blockade imposed after the ferocious war or the fragmentation and devastation.

So here they come to annihilate what is left of this people and to humiliate their Muslim neighbors.

Third, if the Americans' aims behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there.

The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighboring Arab state, and their endeavor to fragment all the states of the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper statelets and through their disunion and weakness to guarantee Israel's survival and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula.

All these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on God, his messenger, and Muslims. And ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries. This was revealed by Imam Bin-Qadamah in "Al- Mughni," Imam al-Kisa'i in "Al-Bada'i," al-Qurtubi in his interpretation, and the shaykh of al-Islam [not further identified] in his books, where he said: "As for the fighting to repulse [an enemy], it is aimed at defending sanctity and religion, and it is a duty as agreed [by the ulema]."

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Nothing is more sacred than belief except repulsing an enemy who is attacking religion and life."

On that basis, and in compliance with God's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies -- civilians and military -- is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty God, "and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together," and "fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God."

This is in addition to the words of Almighty God: "And why should ye not fight in the cause of God and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)? -- women and children, whose cry is: 'Our Lord, rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from thee one who will help!'"

We -- with God's help -- call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it. We also call on Muslim ulema, leaders, youths, and soldiers to launch the raid on Satan's US troops and the devil's supporters allying with them, and to displace those who are behind them so that they may learn a lesson.

Almighty God said: "O ye who believe, give your response to God and His Apostle, when He calleth you to that which will give you life. And know that God cometh between a man and his heart, and that it is He to whom ye shall all be gathered."

Almighty God also says: "O ye who believe, what is the matter with you, that when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of God, ye cling so heavily to the earth! Do ye prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter. Unless ye go forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and put others in your place; but Him ye would not harm in the least. For God hath power over all things."

Almighty God also says: "So lose no heart, nor fall into despair. For ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith."

### **Bin Ladin Urges Expulsion of 'Invaders'**

**London Al-Quds al-'Arabi in Arabic 23 Mar 98 p 4**

[Unattributed report: "Bin Ladin Urges Jihad and Expulsion of US Forces from Gulf, THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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Praises Prince Talal Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz's Recent Statement" -- quotation marks as published throughout]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Sharq al-Awsat -- The prominent Saudi oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin has called for the expulsion of US forces from the region because they are "occupation forces" and "crusaders."

In a statement sent to Al-Quds al-'Arabi Bin Ladin focused on the necessity for "young men, ulema, notables, traders, and tribal chiefs to move out of Muslim countries to work for God's cause and run the jihad-for-God's-cause battalions in order to expel the occupying invaders."

Bin Ladin emphasized that US soldiers showed their cowardice and feebleness during the Somali experiment, as the Somalis were able to drive them out of their land.

His statement, entitled "One of Them Bears Witness," cited [Saudi] Prince Talal Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz's recent statement to the BBC radio as evidence that the Americans are an occupation force in the Arabian Peninsula, since Prince Talal said that "if the Americans and the British were asked today to leave the Peninsula, they would not leave."

The statement cited the appeal to the Americans by Prince Talal, brother of Saudi King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, to change their view of the region so that their occupation becomes acceptable to its people.

Bin Ladin praised Prince Talal's "courage," saying that this admission of the occupation of the Peninsula is better than the desperate attempts by others to conceal "the shameful aspects of the occupation." He also condemned the actions of some of the [Royal] Court's ulema "who have gained status through the rulers' money, power, and tyranny, selling their [reward in the] hereafter for others' lives."

In his statement Bin Ladin analyzed the reasons for what he terms the US occupation of the Gulf, saying:

We ask once again: Why are US forces still on our territory? We get no answer except some mangled words designed to confuse, and we hear nothing except the Americans' claims concerning the protection of their ambitions in the region. These claims -- despite the defective logic they reflect -- represent a witness from among them [the Americans] to this occupation, exposing the liars' deception and dealing a strong blow to those claiming to be independent. Franklin Roosevelt admitted over 60 years ago the link between the region and US ambitions, especially in the Saudi Kingdom, for three reasons: It sits on two-thirds of the world's oil reserve, it controls the keys to world communication problems, and [there is] its role in Israel's stability and security.

The views of the Americans -- leaders, politicians, experts, and journalists -- sum up all this as follows:

The region is the elixir of the West's industrial life, as it is sitting on 70 percent of the  
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world's oil reserves, with an expected life of more than 100 years based on the production rates of 1410 Hegira [1990], while the seven [G-7] industrial states, including Western Europe, possess no more than 5.5 percent of this reserve, with an expected life of no more than two decades. The Gulf provides the lifeline for the West's industry, since oil is the lifeblood of the industrial states. This region represents a huge consumer market, especially the Gulf states, which import most of their necessities and nearly all their luxuries from the West and its allies. There is also the Zionist entity, which has grown and now controls -- to a large extent -- most of the West's politicians

and leaders, especially in the United States. There is also their new enemy: the Islamic resurrection. It must be besieged, and the battle against it should be conducted on its own territory. The spark that ignited the Americans' spite and inflamed their designs in the region was Ramadan 1393 Hegira [October 1973] and the threat it posed to their ambitions in the region and the security of their allies, the Jews. It was decided then to occupy the Gulf states by seizing them directly. The occupation was speeded up because of their fear that the Islamists might seize power, and that appeared at the time to be imminent throughout the region.

With regard to US defense policy in 1407 Hegira [1987], Reagan recommended the following: "To guarantee the ability to use vital world communication routes by taking control of them -- if necessary, seizing them -- especially with regard to transport and maritime routes.

To guarantee US access to strategic minerals and other vital raw materials, whether with regard to where they are produced or the routes by which they are transported.

Bin Ladin's statement went on to say:

Lest anyone think that these ambitions disappeared years ago, Schwarzkopf, commander of the Crusade coalition forces during the Gulf war, said the same thing during the second Gulf war in 1411 (1991) and repeated it after the al-Khubar incident in 1416 (1996). He said: It is important for US forces to stay in Saudi Arabia because it is a friendly state and the most important state in the region; it has the will, the infrastructure, and the financial resources to support our forces and equipment, which we need to protect our interests.

Concerning his soldiers in the Gulf, he said that these soldiers are defending U.S interests and we have to defend our interests as long as these interests are in existence.

So the region is occupied in the air, at sea, and on land. The question that we put to those who dispute this axiom, which is known to everyone, is: Why did these armies come to our land, seas, and airspace? Is the aim -- as claimed by some naive agents -- to protect the weak regimes in the region from Iraq? This pretext has now collapsed, since the leaders of the region themselves have stated that Iraq no longer poses any threat. And all the Gulf states have worked to eliminate the effects of the war and the causes of the dispute with it [Iraq]. In fact they strongly objected to the recent US threats to wage a war against Iraq, using their territory as a staging post. And they demanded that the starvation and suffocation of the Iraqi people be halted. But the United States treated with contempt the views of all the Gulf leaders and took no notice of the slogans that it had raised earlier, in order to eat up its Gulf prey. And it continued to increase its forces and  
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movements according to its ambitions, without regard for any pledge or respect for any sanctity. So does anyone have any doubt about the occupation of the Peninsula? What kind of occupation is uglier than the governments' inability to extend their sovereignty over their territories? Is there anything uglier than the US occupier's persistence in usurping the blessed land of the Peninsula and plundering its riches despite rejection and denunciation by its rulers -- who helped the occupier at the start but cannot now find a way out of the scandal? The magic of the concealment trick is no longer working, the deception has been exposed, and the countries are now seen by everyone as prisoners in

the Americans' hands. May God give us strength!!

Bin Ladin concluded his statement by saluting some oppositionists who are held there [not further specified]: May God help our ulema and shaykhs who are behind bars: Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, Shaykh Salman Bin-Fahd al-'Awdah, Shaykh Safar Bin-'Abd-al-Rahman al-Hawali, Shaykh Yahya al-Yahya, Shaykh Ibrahim al-Dubyan, Shaykh Sa'id Bin-Zu'ayr, Shaykh Bishr al-Bishr, and their brothers...

**Interview With Usama Bin Ladin Reported  
Islamabad Al-Akhbar in Urdu 31 Mar 98 pp 1, 8**

[Report by Azeem Siddiqui]

[FBIS Translated Text] Khar, Bajaur Agency--Famous Muslim Mujahid Usama Bin Ladin has said that he is neither a terrorist nor a fundamentalist. He said: The Americans are determined to prove that I am the murderer of the 24 Americans who were killed in Saudi Arabia. This allegation is totally false and baseless. The United States itself is the biggest mischief maker, terrorist, and rogue in the world, and challenging its authority will be a good deed in Islam in every respect.

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On Monday [30th March] afternoon, in Khar in the Bajaur agency, a prominent Afghan businessman arranged a brief special radio interview with Usama Bin Ladin through some members of the Taliban. It is being said that after a fatwa by Usama Bin Ladin, special teams of the US CIA have been sent to arrest him. In this connection Usama was asked whether he had issued a fatwa and what he had to say about the US efforts for his arrest. The 41-year old Muslim mujahid laughed and said that he was not afraid of anyone except Allah. He said: The United States is the biggest terrorist and rogue and it is the duty of every Muslim to struggle for its annihilation. He added: It is up to you whether you consider it jihad or terrorism. I am not afraid whether they arrest me or kill me. I am ready to face any situation. Two CIA teams have already failed and, God willing, the same will happen again. In Iran, US planes collided with each other and were destroyed. In the future also the Americans will face destruction from collisions among themselves. Responding to a question about the killing of nearly two dozen Americans in Saudi Arabia, he replied: This was an incident on the basis of which Western propaganda masters are trying to prove me a terrorist. But this is a baseless allegation. I have denied this allegation several times and I still deny it.

[Description of source: Al-Akhbar—daily which generally has an anti-US editorial policy]

**Bin Ladin Warns Against Richardson Mission to Afghanistan  
London Al-Quds al-'Arabi in Arabic 15 Apr 98 p 1**

[Unattributed report: "Bin Ladin Warns Against US Plan To Eliminate Arab Afghans"]  
[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Quds al-'Arabi -- Yesterday, Tuesday, in a step that heralds a disagreement between the Taliban movement and the Arab Afghans, the fundamentalist [Taliban] movement welcomed the visit that US Ambassador to the

United Nations Bill Richardson is to make to Afghanistan, the first such visit by a high-ranking

US official for 20 years. While it is believed that Richardson will try to persuade the parties to the conflict to start peace negotiations, Saudi oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin has announced that the US envoy's agenda includes many items, foremost among them being the fight against Islamic extremism and the elimination of Arab mujahidin in Afghanistan with the Taliban movement's help.

Richardson is expected to arrive in Afghanistan Friday [17 April], bearing in mind that he is currently in India, where he arrived from Bangladesh which he visited on Monday.

Mullah Wakil Ahmad Motawakkil, the Taliban spokesman, said that "this visit is important" and that he hoped that it would "be positive in resolving the Afghan crisis and restoring Kabul's relations with the rest of the world."

On Monday a diplomat representing the Taliban called on the United States to recognize the Islamic militias government during Richardson's visit. The US ambassador will be accompanied by two other high-ranking officials.

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In a statement of which Al-Quds al-'Arabi received a copy, Bin Ladin said that the peace that the US envoy is promising in Afghanistan is "in fact nothing more than a link in the series of US conspiracies against the Islamic nation," pointing out that "the Americans tried to fan the flames of the war in Afghanistan in order to sully the image of jihad and of the mujahidin by showing them to be fighting for power."

Bin Ladin warned against Richardson's mission in Afghanistan and particularly against "attempts to eliminate the Arab mujahidin and to thwart the Islamic state project in Afghanistan."

He said that the Arab Afghans now "spearhead the Islamic rejection of US policy against the Islamic nation," and said that the United States is accusing them of being behind the military operations that forced it to withdraw from Somalia and those that were carried out against it in Yemen and in Saudi Arabia.

He revealed that a US delegation visited Afghanistan last month with the same mission but went home without achieving its objectives.

Bin Ladin stressed that what the United States wants from Afghanistan with regard to combating "Islamic extremism" is to "prevent the Taliban government from implementing the Islamic Shari'ah and to cooperate with it against the threat that the Arab mujahidin pose to the United States."

He added, however, that "the Afghan people who have given millions of martyrs in order to establish their Islamic state will not relinquish this goal and will not sell it at any price" and added that the Afghans "will not stop championing the cause of their mujahidin brothers who stood by them during difficult times, regardless of the US temptations that Bill Richardson brings in his briefcase."

#### **Bin Ladin Backs Afghan Fatwa on US Forces**

#### **London Al-Quds al-'Arabi in Arabic 14 May 98 p 4**

[Unattributed report: "Clerics in Afghanistan Issue Fatwa on Necessity To Move US Forces Out of the Gulf; Saudi Oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin Supports It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Quds al-'Arabi -- Clerics in Afghanistan have issued a fatwa stipulating the necessity to move US forces out of the Gulf region. The fatwa, issued by the "Ulema Union of Afghanistan" following a session held the day before yesterday under the chairmanship of Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Dhakiri [as transliterated], and of which Al-Quds al-'Arabi has received a copy, said that "it is haram [religiously forbidden] for Muslims to seek help from atheists." It pointed out that the Arab Gulf states "violated the Koranic verses, the Prophet's hadith [sayings], and the views of the

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ummah's [Islamic nation] ulema" by seeking help from US military forces, "which are now vigorously entrenched in the holy land of al-Hijaz, spreading apostasy among young people and carrying out malicious and corruptive actions."

They based their fatwa on a number of Koranic verses such as "Let not the believers take for friends or helpers unbelievers rather than believers," "O ye who believe, take not my and your enemies as friends," and "Thou wilt not find any people who believe in God and the Last day, loving those who resist God and His Apostle."

They also made reference to the sayings of the Prophet, peace be upon him, including the hadith: "Ibn-'Abbas, may God be satisfied with him, said: The messenger of God, peace be upon him, said: 'Drive the polytheists out of the Arabian Peninsula.'" This is in addition to the views of the ummah's famous ulema such as al- Shawkani, who said: "With regard to not seeking help from polytheists and unbelievers, a group of ulema -- and this was reported by al-Shafi'i -- prohibited completely the idea of seeking help from polytheists; they included Ahmed [not further identified]. They adhered to the statement made by 'A'ishah [the Prophet's wife], may God be satisfied with her. This is also the doctrine of Malik, Ibn-al-Mundhir, and al-Jawzajani Malik's view is that no help should be sought from atheists during invasion."

The group in question [the Afghan ulema] believes that "leaders of the Arab Islamic states should have sought help from the Islamic states in the world, instead of the enemies of Islam, because believers should help their brother believers." They pointed out that "all Muslims in the world sacrifice their lives to protect and defend the land of al-Hijaz, and if US forces leave the Arabian Peninsula now, Muslims should be brought in to defend it and offer their lives as a sacrifice for the two holy mosques."

Addressing Muslims in the world, they [the Afghan ulema] say: "The enemies of Islam are not limited to a certain group or party; all atheists are enemies of Islam, and they take one another as friends."

Having made reference to a number of historical events, they go on to say: "The governments of the region have forgotten the old enmity of these [atheists], just as they have forgotten God's instructions and the Prophet's signals mentioned in detail earlier, and thus the Arabian Peninsula has become a camp for the soldiers of the enemies of Islam, the US Army, which is equipped with ground and sea weapons."

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They also say that "the Ulema Union of Afghanistan reminds the Islamic nation through the fatwa in question of their responsibility regarding the Arabian Gulf question; it also alerts them that the responsibility for this question concerns not only the Saudis but all Muslims in the world, leaders and citizens, ulema and ordinary people."

The Afghan ulema declare "jihad -- based on the rules of the Shari'ah -- against the United States and its followers." They urge Islamic governments to perform the duty of "armed jihad against the enemies of Islam," pointing out that "if Muslims are lax in their responsibility, the enemies of Islam will occupy the two holy mosques as well, just as they occupied the al- Aqsa Mosque."

They stress, in a statement attached to the fatwa, that: "This fatwa -- with the evidence and the rulings issued by early and current ulema, on which it is based -- is not merely a fatwa issued by the ulema of a Muslim country, but rather a religious fatwa that every Muslim should adopt and work under."

Usama Bin Ladin, the Saudi dissident who is resident in Afghanistan, believes that this fatwa comes "in response to the issue of the US forces of the country of the two holy mosques, which is worsening." [sentence as published] In a statement sent to Al-Quds al-'Arabi he said that "the fatwa proves with irrefutable religious evidence that it is impermissible for these forces to enter these countries, and [proves] the necessity to expel them from there."

He noted that the fatwa issued by the Ulema Union of Afghanistan "is the same fatwa that the ulema and the sincere knowledge seekers from among the sons of the country housing the two holy mosques issued when these forces entered it eight years ago, first and foremost Shaykh Salman al-'Awdah and Shaykh Safar al-Hawali." He pointed out that the recent sermon delivered by the imam of the Prophet's Mosque is nothing but "an example of the scale of the nation's rejection of this presence."

He said that the mosque's imam refuted the allegations that these troops came for security reasons concerning the people of the region when he said: "The region's security is the responsibility of the states of the region; it is their right, and the cause of the problems and instability in the region is the major states, which fabricate incidents and then go there whenever they have fabricated an incident, on the pretext of rectifying the situation or warding off danger, when they are actually the biggest danger How can a wolf be a shepherd?"

Having expressed his support for this fatwa, Bin Ladin called on "everyone to adopt and implement it, because it is issued by ulema; it is the will of the Prophet, peace be upon him, as he said while dying: 'Move the polytheists out of the Arabian Peninsula.'"

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**Bin Ladin Sees US Terrorism Listing as Good for Taliban  
London Al-Quds al-'Arabi in Arabic 18 May 98 p 3**

[Unattributed report: "Bin Ladin : Afghanistan's Inclusion on US 'Terrorism List' Is 'Certificate of Good Conduct' for Taliban"]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Quds al-'Arabi -- The Saudi oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin has deemed the U.S decision to include Afghanistan on the list of states sponsoring terrorism in the world a "certificate of good conduct for the Taliban government and proof that it is not subservient to the United States as it had previously been accused of." He pointed out that the United States has forgotten that "some of these decisions could do more good than harm to those against whom they are issued."

In a statement of which Al-Quds al-'Arabi received a copy the day before yesterday [16 May], Bin Ladin said that "the announcement of the US decision and the background on which the decision is based -- namely the Taliban government's sheltering of Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin -- are all matters capable of refuting all the accusations against the Taliban government of working for the United States."

Bin Ladin, who has for the past two years been resident in the Kandahar heights, one of the Taliban movement's fortified locations, noted that the US decision was taken after numerous visits by US envoys at various levels, the most recent being the visit by [US representative to the United Nations Bill] Richardson to Afghanistan. He pointed out that US efforts failed to persuade the Taliban to abandon its "Islamic orientation" in government, accept the US solution to the Afghan dispute, and refrain from sheltering and protecting Arab mujahidin. He emphasized that the US "motives" [bawa'ith] prove "the extent of the Taliban government's independence, adherence to its principles, and decision not to bargain over these principles."

Bin Ladin, whom the United States accuses of supporting "terrorist" Islamic movements, sees the US decision as "an amusing political contradiction," since it represents "tacit recognition by the United States of the Taliban government, now that the United States has included it on the list of states, not the list of terrorist organizations."

He said that "US accusations of terrorism against states, groups, or individuals are no longer of any value or credibility, since everyone now knows that the United States brands as terrorist anyone -- state, group, or individual -- who is opposed to its imperialist policy and hegemony, while it continues to practice the ugliest forms of world terrorism and support the evil of the forces of terror in the world."

Bin Ladin wondered: "Is there any terrorism uglier or more brutal than the killing by the United States of hundreds of thousands of children, women, and elderly people by sentencing them to death by starvation in Iraq? Is there any clearer sponsorship of Zionist terrorism in Palestine, Lebanon, and elsewhere than the US sponsorship?"

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He pointed out that the US decision to include the Taliban government on the list of states sponsoring terrorism will not harm that government at all, "because it lacks credibility at the world level; it also lacks the foundations for implementation inside the United States." He added that the Taliban government has no diplomats that it [the United States] could expel from Washington or reduce their numbers and limit their activities, nor does it have financial assets that the United States could freeze in its banks."

Concluding, he said: "Actually the Taliban government had for a long time been in

pressing need of such a US decision, which clears it of the accusation that it is working for the United States and proves its adherence to its principles, its own decisionmaking, and its nonsubmission to external pressures, including US pressure."

The Taliban government controls two-thirds of Afghan territory and is engaged in a conflict with the opposition forces in the north. So far, world states -- with the exception of three Islamic states: Saudi Arabia, the [United Arab] Emirates, and Pakista -- have not recognized the Taliban government.

### **'World Islamic Front' Statement Urges Jihad on US, Israel**

**London Al-Hayah in Arabic 19 May 98 p 4**

[Report by Muhammad Salah: "World Islamic Front Backs 'Intifadah of Palestine's Sons'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cairo -- In its second statement since its establishment in February "the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders" has urged Muslims to stage "the jihad against the Americans and the Israelis wherever they are." It also affirmed its support for "the sons of Muslim Palestine and their blessed intifadah, through which they have renewed their rejection of capiulationist solutions."

The statement stressed that the Front "is one of the trenches pooling the nation's energies in order to perform the duty imposed by God, namely the jihad against the atheists among Americans Christians and Israeli Jews."

In February Al-Hayah published a report on the establishment of the Front and also its first statement, which said that it had been established "to fight the Americans and plunder their money everywhere." The statement announcing the Front's establishment was signed by: [Saudi dissident] Usama BinLadin ; Dr. Ayman al- Zawahiri, leader of the Egyptian Jihad Group; Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, chairman of the shura council of the Egyptian Islamic Group; Mir Hamzah, who is in charge of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan; Fazlol Rahman Khalil, amir of the al-Ansar Movement in Pakistan; and Shaykh Abdol Salam Mohammad, amir of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh. They all signed a fatwa to the effect that "killing the Americans and their allies, civilian and military, is an individual

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duty for every Muslim."

The statement, of which Al-Hayah has received a copy, is entitled "Wounds of al-Aqsa Mosque." It stresses that "despite the scale of the catastrophe, the glimmer of hope has become a reality and hopes are kept alive through the martyrs' blood, the pain of the sufferers, and the bullets of those fighting for the sake of God's cause." It also says: "The US Jews and Christians are using Israel to bring Muslims to their knees... the Jewish-Crusader alliance led by the United States and Israel is now operating blatantly... the United States, government and parliament, has always worked to spoil Israel and bolster its economic and military power."

### **Bin Ladin Creates New Front Against US, Israel**

**Islamabad The News in English 28 May 98 p 12**

[Unattributed report]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] PESHAWAR--Usama Bin Ladin, a Saudi rebel leader wanted by certain Western and Arab governments, has announced the formation of an International Islamic Front for Jihad Against America and Israel.

Talking to a group of journalists which had traveled from Pakistan to meet him in his base in Khost in southern Afghanistan, he said leaders of Islamic movements in several countries, including Pakistan had evinced interest in joining the front. He informed that Dr Aiman Al-Zawahiri, leader of the Jamaat-ul-Jihad in Egypt who was present on the occasion, had played a crucial role in launching the front.

The 42-year Bin Ladin, who took refuge in Afghanistan in May 1996 after being forced to leave Sudan due to American and Saudi pressure, had invited the journalists for the meeting. They were made to drive and walk through difficult mountain terrain before reaching his remote abode near the Pakistan border.

Extraordinary security measures were put in place in the area with Bin Ladin's Arab "Mujahidin" guarding routes to his camp, occupying hill tops and roof-tops and searching all vehicles. His men fired in the air with light and heavy weapons to welcome him when he drove into the camp in the company of his right-hand man, Shaikh Taiseer Abdullah, and Dr Al-Zawahiri. About two dozens of his armed and uniformed commandos, with their faces covered, escorted him to the meeting room.

Bin Ladin, who participated in the Afghan "jihad" during the 1980s, justified the formation of the anti-American and anti-Israeli front by arguing that Muslims everywhere in the world were suffering at the hands of the US and Israel. He said the Muslims must wage holy war against their real enemies not only to rid themselves of unpopular regimes backed by the Americans and Israelis but also protect their faith. Disagreeing with a reporter who felt Bin Ladin and his colleagues cannot possibly take on the world's only superpower, he contended that the US was vulnerable and could be defeated in the same  
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war in which the USSR suffered humiliation at the hands of the Afghan and Arab "Mujahidin" in Afghanistan and was eventually dismembered.

He recalled how the US was forced to pullout its troops from Somalia and Aden (Yemen) after suffering casualties at the hands of Muslim fighters, most of whom received military training in Afghanistan. He said the killing of 26 Americans in Saudi Arabia and the growing opposition to US and Western presence in the Gulf had compelled the American government to consider pulling out its troops from the Kingdom. Another American failure, he argued, was its inability to form an unnatural coalition government comprising the "Mujahidin" and their opponents in Afghanistan or to divide the country into five independent countries ruled by Ahmad Shah Masood, Mulla M Omar, Rasheed Dostum, Haji Abdul Qadeer and Ismail Khan. We aren't alone in waging struggle against the Americans and Israelis. The Muslims have awoken and a large number of our Ulema and scholars are now speaking out against those who hate and harm Islam. The Americans, can take away our resources or rule us, by proxy; but they cannot stop Allah's blessings and support for us," he remarked.

In a choked voice, Bin Ladin lamented that holy places like Makkah and Madina were located in a country where "infidel" soldiers had been deployed by the US and its

Western allies. "This is the first time after prophethood was bestowed on our Holy Prophet (PBUH) that infidels are in control of this holy land. The Holy Prophet himself said that all "Mushriqeen" must be removed from our holy places," he argued. He alleged that leading Saudi religious scholars like Imam of Masjid-i-Nabavi, Shaikh Ali Bin Abdur Rahman al-Hudaifi, Dr Safar Al-Hawalay, Shaikh Salman Bin Al-Ouida, Shaikh Yahya-Al-Yahya, Shaikh Dobian-Al-Dobian, and Shaikh Nasir Al-Umar had been arrested for demanding removal of US troops from Saudi Arabia.

[Description of source: Dawn--Internet version of most widely-read English-language daily]

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**Bin Ladin Declares Jihad Against US Troops**

**London Al-Quds al-'Arabi in Arabic 28 May 98 p 1**

[Report by Muhammad Dalbah: "United States Admits that Keeping Its Troops in the Gulf Is Causing Dissatisfaction; Bin Ladin Threatens To Launch Attack Soon"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Washington, Al-Quds al-'Arabi -- [passage omitted on statement by Defense Department spokesman Kenneth Bacon on the Pentagon's decision to reduce troops in the Gulf]

Meanwhile, Saudi oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin, who lives in Afghanistan, has declared a holy war against the US troops in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and said that the outcome will be known within a few weeks.

Speaking at a press conference on Tuesday [26 May] at his base in Khost in eastern Afghanistan, Bin Ladin said: "All Muslims must declare jihad against them (the US troops) and expel them from the holy land."

Reports of the press conference, which was attended by correspondents from nearby Pakistan, were received only yesterday, Wednesday.

Bin Ladin, flanked by several Arab dissidents, said that "the jihad fatwa has indeed been issued."

He added that "the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) ordered that Muslims devote themselves to expelling atheist troops," meaning the US troops stationed in Saudi Arabia since the 1991 Gulf war.

Bin Ladin, wearing white clothes and a white turban and holding a Kalashnikov rifle, was welcomed by Arab fighters with a burst of gunfire and huge explosions, the echoes of which reverberated along the Wadi Khost, which was surrounded by tight security.

Bin Ladin was stripped of his Saudi citizenship for carrying out activities against the [Saudi] ruling family, and the United States sees him as a major suspect in two bombings in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which caused the death of 24 US soldiers in 1995 and 1996. He told newsmen yesterday: "We face a very, very big problem today. A tragic problem.

"Arab land has either been occupied or there is a conspiracy to occupy it. For the first time since the Prophet's death atheists are occupying Mecca, Medina, and al-Aqsa Mosques.

"This is the most important issue at present. The land where the Holy Koran was revealed is now occupied by Jewish and Christian forces." [passage omitted on Radio Free Europe  
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President Dayan's statement that Free Iraq Radio will start broadcasting next October]

**Bin Ladin Congratulates Pakistan on Nuclear Weapons**

**London Al-Quds al-'Arabi in Arabic 1 Jun 98 p 2**

[Unattributed report: "Bin Ladin Congratulates Pakistan on Its Possession of Nuclear Weapons"]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Quds al-'Arabi -- The Saudi oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin has congratulated the "Muslim" state of Pakistan on its possession of nuclear weapons "for the first time in the history of Muslims."

In a statement of which Al-Quds al-'Arabi has received a copy, he said that "the explosions conducted by Pakistan over recent days have caused a disruption in the international balance and a change in the balances of conflict [mawazin al-sira'], which the nations of atheism have been eager to prevent the Islamic nation and all its peoples from influencing."

He said that India "is just the visible and regional enemy of Pakistan," but the United States, "which is occupying the two holy mosques, and Israel, which is usurping the masra [the point of departure for the Prophet's midnight journey to the seven heavens, i.e. Jerusalem] of our Prophet, peace be upon him, are the real enemies of Muslims."

Bin Ladin said that India and Israel "will continue their provocation of Pakistan." He warned India that "it will not face Pakistan alone, since all Muslims will support Pakistan with all their strength."

Bin Ladin urged [Muslims] "to support the jihad of the Pakistani people and the Muslim peoples afflicted by the Indian occupation" and to follow Pakistan's example: "They should not be lax in possessing nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons."

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**Article on Interview With Usama Bin Ladin**

**Islamabad The News (Internet Version) in English 15 Jun 98**

[Article by Rahimullah Yusufzai: "In the Way of Allah"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Until May 1996, the Arabs who had taken refuge in Afghanistan after the end of the Afghan "Jihad" lacked a leader and a well thought-out agenda. The arrival of Usama Bin Ladin, a Saudi dissident accused by certain Arab and Western governments of being a financier of an Islamic international army, in Afghanistan on May 18, 1996 helped solve both their problems. The normally fractious Afghanistanbased

Arabs not only found a resourceful leader and a rallying point but also someone

who is very clear about his objectives. This was very much evident when he recently announced the launching of an International Islamic Front for Jihad Against America and Israel.

There are probably a few hundred Arab volunteers still living in Afghanistan. They are the leftovers of the several thousand Arabs who came to Afghanistan via Pakistan in the 1980s to take part in the "Jihad" against the USSR's Red Army and the Afghan communists. Those left behind have nowhere else to go because they risk being caught in case they venture to return home and no other country would be willing to accept them. In any case, present-day Afghanistan continues to be their safest hideaway. The ones who have returned to their countries have mostly joined the political and military struggle aimed at bringing an Islamic change there. Known as Arab-Afghans, these battlehardened Islamists have come to be known as the most radical and dangerous of the fighters who have taken up arms against the Algerian and Egyptian governments.

It is the leftover Arabs who have now rallied to the Usama Bin Ladin banner. At a camp for Arab fighters near the Pakistan border in Khost in southern Afghanistan, Bin Ladin left no doubt in the minds of a visiting group of journalists as to who was in command. The prolonged gunfire that greeted his arrival and departure at the Al-Badr camp made him look like a hero. He was tall, frail and slim and walked with the help of a stick and yet he commanded respect and obedience. The rigorous life-style and the punishing discipline that the billionaire Saudi has imposed upon himself has already taken its toll on his health but he remains defiant as ever. His circumstances in a remote borderland prompted a colleague to ask him how come he is challenging the world's only superpower and its powerful protege, Israel, with the scant resources at his command. He replied that a true Muslim would never be overawed by worldly power. Moreover, he gave examples to prove that the US has been humbled in the recent and distant past despite its power and resources.

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Bin Ladin appeared keen to sidestep all other issues and concerns in a bid to concentrate on his pet theme of combating America and Israel. Despite repeated efforts by certain Pakistani reporters, he declined to be drawn into polemics concerning Pakistan's disputes with India even though he was categorical in condemning New Delhi for exploding nuclear bombs and threatening Islamabad. He also complained that the Pakistan government had refused to allow him and his Arab "Mujahidin" to fight in Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir. His solution for the Kashmir problem was that Pakistan should allow setting up military training camps for the Kashmir "Jihad" and throw its borders open to enable volunteers to infiltrate the Indian-occupied state and liberate it once and for all. So focused was Bin Ladin on "the real, big enemy," ie America, that he advised China not to be drawn into a conflict with its Muslim minority population and instead concentrate on fending-off the Western designs against Beijing.

The 42-year old Bin Ladin knows the risks to his life and freedom now that he has thrown a challenge to the US and Israel. About two dozen, hooded bodyguards dressed in black cordoned him off as he moved. Most carried Klashnikov rifles with their fingers on the trigger while a few were armed with SAM-7 missiles. He is required to shift his

sanctuaries, keep an eye on his own guards and screen his visitors. His three wives and several children also have to be taken care of while living in an alien land and inhospitable terrain. Women and children who have lived in luxury must be finding the going tough.

Bin Ladin doesn't believe that his wealthy clan that runs construction and transport business in Saudi Arabia and provides services at Islam's holiest site, Masjid Al-Haram, has disowned him under pressure from the kingdom's royal family. "Blood is thicker than water," he remarked when asked whether the Bin Ladin family have declared him an outcast. He gave another witty answer when asked whether he is still a billionaire. "My heart is rich and generous," he remarked. When inquired about the red alert declared at the US embassy and consulates in Pakistan following his call for "Jihad" against America and Israel, Bin Ladin said the mass media must report these facts and educate the people that America is indeed vulnerable. Was he willing to come to Pakistan? "Why not, I have lived there during the Afghan "Jihad" and have many Pakistani friends. But I am not sure whether I can go there in the prevailing situation," he replied.

The Saudi dissident knows he has many supporters and admirers in Pakistan. He named some Ulema and madressas which have endorsed his call for "Jihad" against America and Israel and said he was in touch with them. He probably is also aware that JUI leaders Maulana Fazlur Rahman and Maulana Samiul Haq, Tanzim Nifaz Shariat-i-Mohammadi chief Maulana Sufi Mohammad and many other Pakistani Ulema have warned the Pakistan government not to become a party to American plans to nab or kill Bin Ladin. In fact, most of them have declared Bin Ladin a soldier of Islam who needs to be supported in his "Jihad" against the infidels. That Bin Ladin is winning friends and admirers following his tough stance against the US and Israel became evident when it was reported that some parents, included one in Hangu town in NWFP, named their newborn

sons as Usama after him. This reminds one of the Gulf War when scores of parents named their sons, Saddam Hussain, after the Iraqi president. Some of them, including one

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in Tank in southern NWFP, have now repented their decision and renamed their own Saddam Hussains because they resent the post-Gulf War policies of the Iraqi leader. A pertinent question is how long Bin Ladin would be able to enjoy the hospitality of his Taliban friends. Already, the Americans are complaining that Bin Ladin is violating the code by which a guest must abide owing to his campaign against the West from Afghanistan's soil. The Taliban earlier made it clear that Bin Ladin can stay as a guest in Afghanistan but he cannot indulge in political and military activities. According to Bin Ladin, the Taliban Islamic movement founder, Mulla Mohammad Omar, has only asked him not to indulge in military activities while being based in Afghanistan. He said he was free to pursue political activities.

After his latest outbursts against the US in his encounter with journalists in Khost, a spokesman for the Taliban naively said they were unaware of any new statement and

interview by Bin Ladin. Obviously, the Taliban are in the picture as to what is happening and one could assume that Bin Ladin isn't doing something on his own.

Perhaps the Taliban have realised that they could put pressure on the Americans and Saudis to achieve certain objectives by unleashing Bin Ladin on them. If that is true, it is clever politics of which the Taliban were incapable until now. This arrangement should also keep Bin Ladin happy as he pursues his uphill battle against several enemies -- America, Israel and the conservative, pro-West Arab regimes, foremost being the one in power in his native Saudi Arabia.

[Description of source: The News--independent daily, member of the Jang Publishing Group]

### **Bin Ladin Calls For 'Jihad' Against Jews, Americans**

#### **Hong Kong AFP in English 0313 GMT 21 Aug 98**

[As of filing time, Pakistani sources monitored at Bangkok Bureau have not been observed to report the following]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ISLAMABAD, Aug 21 (AFP) -- Saudi dissident Usama Bin Ladin issued a call for jihad (holy war) against Jews and Americans an hour and a half before the US military strikes on his camps in Afghanistan, reports here said Friday. The THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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call was conveyed to a correspondent of Islamabad daily The News in the northwestern border city of Peshawar by telephone from Afghanistan, the newspaper said.

The text of the message published by the paper said "Bin Ladin calls on Moslem Ummah (nation) to continue Jihad against Jews and Americans to liberate their holy places. In the meanwhile, he denies any involvement in the Nairobi and Dar es Salaam bombings."

According to the paper the message was relayed by Al-Zawahiri, head of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad Organisation, which was held responsible for the murder of Egypt's president Anwar Sadaat.

Al-Zawahiri did not disclose the place from where he was speaking in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan's Taliban Islamic militia denounced the US raids and said Bin Ladin was safe.

[Description of source: Hong Kong AFP -- Hong Kong service of the independent French press agency Agence France-Presse]

### **Bin Ladin Warns Clinton 'Battle Has Not Yet Started'**

#### **London Al-Quds Al-'Arabi (Internet version) in Arabic 22-23 Aug 98 p 1**

[Report by 'Abd-al-Bari 'Atwan: Bin Ladin Tells al-Quds al-'Arabi: "The Battle Has Not Yet Started, We Will Reply to Clinton in Deeds;" all Afghani placenames as published]

[FBIS Translated Text] Saudi oppositionist Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin has threatened US President Bill Clinton that he will launch further attacks on US sites in retaliation against the raids that targeted his headquarters in the Khost region in Afghanistan. In an exclusive statement to al-Quds al-'Arabi, Shaykh Bin Ladin sent a warning message to the US President that "the battle has not yet started and that the answer is what you see, not what you hear".

This is the first telephone contact with Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin from his headquarters in Afghanistan since the US air raids. Shaykh Bin Ladin reassured—through his media

spokesman—all Muslims that he is all right. He asserted that the attack had failed to achieve its objectives. The spokesman disclosed that six Arab Afghans were martyred in the US missile strike: Two from Egypt, three from Yemen, and a Saudi from holy Medina. He added that seven Pakistanis and 15 Afghans were among the victims of the raid. In addition, more than 15 Pakistanis were injured, some seriously. Also, five Arab Afghans were injured.

The spokesman told al-Quds al-'Arabi that 50 Cruise missiles targeted the main headquarters of Shaykh Bin Ladin in the Khost region. Ten other missiles fell on

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different other sites of the Arab Afghans. The spokesman added that Shaykh Bin Ladin and other Afghan leaders had expected a US attack after the US Government started evacuating its citizens from Pakistan; therefore, they took precautionary measures. The spokesman said the human losses within the ranks of the Arab Afghans is a natural thing to which they have grown accustomed. They all seek martyrdom and want to meet God as soon as possible. He praised the position of the Taleban government, which supports the Arab Afghans and refuses to hand over Shaykh Bin Ladin to the United States, in spite of the heavy pressures.

He added that the leader of Taleban, Mulla Muhammad 'Umar, vowed that he will not extradite the Saudi oppositionist, whatever the pressures. The spokesman wished the Islamic nation would follow Taleban's example. He denied that Muhammad Huwaydi, a Palestinian who was handed over to Kenya by the Pakistani authorities, had any link to Shaykh Bin Ladin, although Huwaydi acknowledged that he was with those who waged jihad in Afghanistan against the Soviets 10 years ago.

Al-Quds al-'Arabi learned from informed sources that the US bombing covered five areas in Afghanistan: Qurbuz, which is close to the Pakistani border; the Jawar camp, which is used by the Islamic al-Ansar group; the Salman site, which belongs to Jalal-al-Din Haqqani and which includes deserted camps; the Tura Bura base, west of Jalalabad; and the Khost airport. The sources said that around 75 Cruise missiles were fired at these sites. The sources noted that the United States may have used military facilities in countries that neighbor Sudan and Saudi Arabia in the missile strike.

The sources said Bin Ladin had recently been on the move in Afghanistan and that the US strike did not surprise him. The sources asserted that Bin Ladin has gained popularity and become an "Islamic symbol" in the face of US arrogance in the wake of the latest attack.

**Bin Ladin Praises Pakistanis for Love of Islam**

**Islamabad The Nation in English 2 Sep 98 p 16**

[Report by The Nation correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ISLAMABAD—Usama Bin Ladin has praised people of Pakistan for their love of Islam and has said that it is the nature of Pakistani people that they always show readiness to offer sacrifice in the name of Islam.

Saudi-dissident Usama Bin Ladin made these remarks in his letters written to Pakistani

journalists from his unknown hideout in Afghanistan. "Pakistani people have great love for Islam and they have always offered sacrifices for the cause of religion," reads the letter of Usama Bin Ladin.

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Usama in his letter has praised Pakistani journalists for their endurance in traveling to far flung areas of Afghanistan to meet him and to attend his Press conference. The letter was delivered to Pakistani journalists two days back.

[Description of source: The Nation--independent daily, member of the Nawa-i-Waqt group]

**Usama Bin Ladin Sends Message to Anti-US Conference  
Islamabad Al-Akhbar in Urdu 12 Sep 98 pp 8, 7**

[News Network International report]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kandahar—Usama Bin Ladin, the Saudi billionaire businessman and the great freedom fighter of the Islamic world, has said that by carrying out the recent attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan the United States has explicitly expressed its enmity toward Muslims and the Islamic world. He added that the United States is scared of the implementation of the Islamic system instead of secularism in Islamic countries.

However, the opponents of Islam, God willing, will be defeated and Islam will dominate. He said that hundreds of Pakistani youths have made tremendous sacrifices by taking part in the Islamic jihad in Afghanistan, Kashmir and other places of the world. This is very commendable.

In a message yesterday to the Azm-i-Jihad [determination for jihad] Conference, which was organized by Jamiat-i-Tulaba-i-Arabia [organization of Arabic students] of Sindh, Usama Bin Ladin said that he extended his congratulations to the responsible officials of the Jamiat for holding the conference against the recent US attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan. He asked: After all, why did the United States carried out attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan? This is because the youth of these two countries are determined to implement Islam in their countries and this is why the United States is against them, he said. Usama said the youths of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan have set an example by making sacrifices for the sake of Islam and Muslim brethren. They belong to the same breed of youth who made sacrifices for the establishment of this state by offering the lives of thousands of martyrs and are also in the forefront now in the jihad of Kashmir, Palestine and Afghanistan.

[Description of source: Al-Akhbar—daily which generally has an anti-US editorial policy]

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**Bin Ladin: Expel Jews, Christians From Holy Places  
Rawalpindi Jang in Urdu 18 Nov 98 pp 1, 7**

[Report by Mufti Jamil Khan]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kahdaha—In a letter to a distinguished religious scholar of Karachi and the spiritual leader of Taleban, Usama Bin Ladin has expressed his gratitude to the Pakistani nation for condemning the US attack on Afghanistan. Usama has made an appeal for cooperation with Taleban in their Jihad [holy war] to expel US forces from holy places. Jang is honored to be the first newspaper to publish the report about this contact, the latest picture, a copy of this letter.

Usama said: 'we are thankful to God who blessed us with the wealth of faith and Islam. We are pleased to express our gratitude to you and the Pakistani mujahid nation. We thank you for your efforts to support the Mujahidin's struggle to expel the US forces from the sacred land. I do not need to tell you that this sacred struggle should continue until Bait-ul-Muqaddas and other holy places of Muslims are liberated from the occupation of non-Muslims and the Islamic Shariat [law] is enforced on the land of God. Obviously, for the enforcement of Shariat, it is essential for all Muslims that they should establish an Islamic system on the basis of teachings of the Prophet Mohammed. At this moment, Israel and United States are dominating Palestine and other holy places in such a way that Mujahidin are being killed and besieged and Muslims have been economically ruined. Therefore, it is obligatory for all Muslims to continue Jihad by sacrificing their wealth and life as long as their holy places are not liberated from the subjugation of Jews and Christians. This freedom is not possible until we sacrifice all our wealth and our lives. As it is a religious obligation for every Muslim to support the Mujahidin fighting for freedom of sacred places, similarly they are also obligated by their religion to support the Taleban government in Afghanistan, because by enforcing Shariat in Afghanistan Taleban have established the system of God on God's land. They are busy in Jihad to rid the Muslims of Afghanistan from the tyranny of non-Muslims. In conclusion, I pray that may God enlighten us with the light of faith and forgive our sins and help us all the time.

[Description of source: Jang--largest circulation daily]

### **Bin Ladin Denies Role in Bombings of US Missions**

**Hong Kong AFP in English 1409 GMT 24 Dec 98**

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ISLAMABAD, Dec 24 (AFP) -- Saudi dissident Usama Bin Ladin has denied he was behind the bombings at the US embassies in the east. THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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African cities of Nairobi and Dar es Salam, the private Afghan Islamic Press (AIP) reported Thursday.

"I had no hand at all in the bombings in Kenya and Tanzania" in August, AIP quoted Bin Ladin as telling reporters at an unknown place in southwestern Afghanistan late Wednesday.

The bombings in the east African cities left more than 250 people dead, including 12 US nationals.

Washington accused the Saudi billionaire of masterminding the blasts and demanded his extradition from Afghanistan where the hardline Taliban militia has offered him shelter. Bin Ladin did not rule out the hand of some Moslem militants in the blasts.

It is possible some local Moslems might have targetted the US embassies, the AIP quoted

him as telling reporters including Afghanistan's state-run Bakhtar news agency.

"But I feel no sorrow over the blasts," he added.

Bin Ladin, who survived cruise missile attacks against his camps in Afghanistan by US forces on August 20, also strongly condemned the recent US-led air strikes on Iraq.

He said he was confident his Taliban hosts would not expel him from Afghanistan because he was abiding by the rules promulgated by the Islamic militia's chief Mulla Mohammad Omar, AIP said.

The militia has already absolved him of accusations of terrorism and often emphasized that Bin Ladin has been clearly told not to engage in hostile activity against a third country from his sanctuary while living as a "guest" in Afghanistan.

Bin Ladin extended support to the enforcement of Islamic Shariat laws in Afghanistan and lauded the hardline the Taliban, saying the present administration was more Islamic than the previous mujahedeen government.

[Description of source: Hong Kong AFP in English -- Hong Kong service of the independent French press agency Agence France-Presse]

**1999**

### **Journalist Interviews Usama Bin Ladin**

#### **Islamabad The News (Internet Version) in English 6 Jan 99**

[By Rahimullah Yusufzai: "Taliban let Bin Ladin break his silence"]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Usama Bin Ladin has spoken again and there isn't the slightest change in his views about the United States and Israel. His tone is still bitter and he wants the Muslims all over the world to stand up to the US as it was the biggest enemy of Islam. One couldn't have expected a milder reaction from a man who has been declared public enemy Number One of the US and is being hunted with all the resources at the command of the world's only superpower.

This was the first time he spoke publicly since May 26 when in his camp in Khost he talked to a group of 14 Pakistani journalists, who were taken to Afghanistan by the Pakistan-based Islamic militant group, Harkatul Ansar (renamed Harkatul Mujahidin). It was at this press conference that Bin Ladin, flanked by his right-hand man Sheikh Taseer Abdullah and Dr Ayman Al-Zawahiri, leader of the Islamic Jihad group of Egypt, announced the fatwa (religious decree) formulated by him and several other ulema for Jihad against the United States and Israel.

The press conference and Bin Ladin's threats to the "Crusaders and the Jews", as he likes to refer to America, Israel and the western allies, took the Taliban by surprise. The supreme Taliban leader, Mulla Mohammad Omar, wasn't amused and he took steps to restrain Bin Ladin from issuing statements. It seemed that Bin Ladin accepted the demand of his Afghan hosts and kept quiet for a while. But the US missile attack on his base in Khost on August 20 brought a profound change in the situation and Bin Ladin and his Arab lieutenants felt they must react, if not in kind then verbally at least.

Speaking on his satellite phone through Dr Al-Zawahiri, who speaks fluent English, Bin

Ladin conveyed to this writer on August 21 that he and his close aides had survived the US missiles and that such aggression would not be able to dampen his determination to carry out Jihad against America and Israel.

"Tell them the war has just begun; the Americans should now await the answer," he threatened. A day earlier, when an American attack appeared imminent after the US government decision to pull out its diplomats from Pakistan and all westerners and their NGOs started leaving Afghanistan, Bin Ladin had conveyed another brief message to this scribe. Incidentally, that message came barely half an hour before the US missile attack and in it Bin Ladin denied his involvement in the August 8 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Not given to lose any opportunity to deride his pet  
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foes, he reiterated on that occasion his call for Jihad against all forces opposed to Muslims.

As Bin Ladin's threats grabbed headlines in the world media, the Taliban felt he had broken his promise of not talking to the press or use Afghanistan's soil in pursuit of his political goals. Mulla Omar was so angry that he declared that there cannot exist two authorities, ie the Taliban and Bin Ladin, in Afghanistan. That effectively silenced the Saudi dissident and one didn't hear from him until last week's decision by the Taliban to let him speak again.

Bin Ladin had reluctantly accepted the Taliban order to keep quiet as he had little choice in view of the fact that there is hardly any other place in the world except Afghanistan for him to take refuge. However, he kept arguing with the Taliban that he must be allowed to speak as his silence was working to his disadvantage. In particular, he pleaded with senior Taliban leader and deputy foreign minister, Mulla Abdul Jalil, who has been assigned to deal with Bin Ladin and his men, for permission to talk to the international press.

According to Bin Ladin, the Taliban leadership thrice agreed to let him be interviewed by this scribe after the US missile attack on Afghanistan but on each occasion it backed out as it was worried his utterances would have an adverse effect and would further poison Taliban's uneasy relations with the US, Saudi Arabia and other countries. As an aide to Bin Ladin explained, it was also risky to reach journalists on the satellite phone because it could be tracked down. In fact, the satellite phone seems to have been put off.

It appears that Bin Ladin's persistence paid off. Certain developments contributed to the change of heart by the Taliban to lift the ban on Bin Ladin's interaction with the press. One was the speculation in the press that he was ill, that he had cancer, and was dying. The Taliban were thus convinced that Bin Ladin must be seen in flesh by reporters and shown on television to deny all such speculation. It showed that even the puritan Taliban, who abhor television and picture of living beings, could relax their rules if it suits their purpose.

Bin Ladin made the best of the opportunity and took pains to explain that he wasn't ill and daily did horse-riding in the Afghan desert. Dr Al-Zawahiri explained that the 43-year old Bin Ladin was nursing a sore throat and this is why he drank lots of water during the interview. This was also cited as the reason why the fasting Bin Ladin couldn't be

interviewed in the daylight in Ramazan and would thus be unable to talk much due to his sore throat.

They may be right but one had a feeling that security concerns prompted Bin Ladin's men to arrange the interview at night in a tent pitched in the Afghan wilderness. So alert were Bin Ladin's aides that they erased a video shot of their leader taken by this scribe with a camera as he walked with the help of a cane, along with another shot of the group of armed men sitting in the crowded tent. As they stressed, they couldn't compromise on their security. The use of a cane by Bin Ladin was explained as necessary due to his

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nagging backache. Seven months ago, when he gave his widely-reported press conference in Khost, he suffered from the same ailment.

Bin Ladin's colleagues and Taliban leaders also explained that the decision to let Bin Ladin be interviewed was made to enable him to clarify that he and his organisation, Al Qaeda, weren't involved in the bombings in Kenya and Tanzania or in other acts of terrorism "Anything and everything that happens anywhere in the world is now blamed on Usama. We thought Usama and his men would be deemed guilty if he remains silent in the face of all such accusations," argued Dr Al-Zawahiri.

The Taliban leader, Mulla Jalil, agreed, pointing out how a man who keeps shifting his abode and has to live in mountains and deserts, could pose a threat to the US and sponsor bomb explosions in distant lands.

The recent US-British attack on Iraq also seemed to have influenced the Taliban to let Bin Ladin speak out and reiterate his theory that the American, British and Israelis could never be friends with Muslims. The Taliban, with little hope of improvement in relations with the US and Saudi Arabia and convinced that their government is unlikely to win international recognition, also thought it was time to stop trying to appease their detractors and instead use the Bin Ladin card possibly to their advantage.

After a one and a half hour drive from Kandahar on a non-existent, unpaved road whose sideways were stated to have been mined since the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, one came face to face with the man whose name nowadays causes fear and terror around the world. Shy and unassuming, Bin Ladin doesn't look like someone who would sponsor bomb explosions to kill his targets as well as innocent people.

Courteous and soft-spoken, the tall and lean Saudi billionaire has chosen a life of hardship, having himself taken part in the 1980s in the Afghan Jihad, challenged the might of the US and Saudi Arabia, and now battling it out in an alien country under the watchful eyes of his unpredictable Afghan hosts.

Dressed in shalwar-kameez, wearing a battle-worn jacket and wrapped in a woolen chaddar to fight the extreme desert cold, Bin Ladin's voice rose and his Arabic became more fluent as he turned to his favourite subject: bashing America. His white turban gleaming in the bright light illuminated by the huge generator-run bulbs in the tent, he recited from the Holy Qur'aan like a religious scholar to prove his point and praised God while starting to answer every question. And his voice pierced the quiet of the night in

the desert when he declared: "If instigating Jihad against the Jews and the Americans in order to liberate Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Holy Ka'aba is considered a crime, then let history be a witness that I am a criminal."

[Description of source: The News--independent daily, member of the Jang Publishing Group]

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**Time Magazine Interview With Bin Ladin**

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Time Magazine

**January 11, 1999**

**SECTION:** INTERNATIONAL EDITION; TIME ASIA; ASIA/INTERVIEW; Pg. 16

**LENGTH:** 1634 words

**HEADLINE:** Wrath Of God; Usama Bin Ladin lashes out against the West

**BYLINE:** Rahimullah Yusufzai; Usama Bin Ladin

**BODY:** Tall and lean, he was dressed in a traditional shalwar kameez—baggy trousers and long shirt—under a military fatigue jacket, with a scarf to fight the desert cold. An AK-47 assault rifle stood at his side. He spoke softly, in Arabic, praising God in nearly every sentence, but his voice rose whenever he criticized the United States. That he did often during the four-hour interview, his first since the US tried to kill him.

Usama Bin Ladin, the Saudi financier accused of masterminding the Aug. 7 bombings that took 224 lives at two US embassies in Africa, escaped an American missile attack on his headquarters in southern Afghanistan nearly two weeks after the embassy blasts. In the months that followed, Bin Ladin heeded the orders of his host, the Taliban militia that controls most of Afghanistan, to avoid public statements. The Taliban's leaders evidently didn't want to complicate their budding relations with the outside world. But last month's US bombing of Iraq evidently convinced them they had little to lose from letting Bin Ladin talk. The exile himself wanted to deny involvement in the embassy bombings—and dispel rumors he is dying of cancer.

So late last month, Bin Ladin summoned Rahimullah Yusufzai, a well-connected journalist who reports for Pakistan's The News, as well as TIME and ABC News, to his tented encampment in Afghanistan's Helmand province. Bin Ladin has been on the move since the US attack on his headquarters, and he avoids using a satellite phone for fear it could betray his location. During Yusufzai's late-night conversation with Bin Ladin, the man the US calls Public Enemy Number One appeared to be in good health, though he admitted to a sore throat and a bad back. He continually sipped water from a cup, and Yusufzai caught him on videotape walking with the aid of a stick (bodyguards erased that footage). Excerpts from the interview:

**TIME:** Are you responsible for the bomb attacks on the two US embassies in Africa?

**Usama Bin Ladin:** The International Islamic Front for Jihad against the US and Israel has issued a crystal-clear fatwa calling on the Islamic nation to carry on jihad aimed at liberating holy sites. The nation of Muhammad has responded to this appeal. If the instigation for jihad against the Jews and the Americans in order to liberate Al-Aksa Mosque and the Holy Ka'aba [Islamic shrines in the Middle East] is considered a crime,

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then let history be a witness that I am a criminal. Our job is to instigate and, by the grace of God, we did that--and certain people responded to this instigation.

**TIME:** Do you know the men who have been arrested for these attacks?

**Bin Ladin:** What I know is that those who risked their lives to earn the pleasure of God are real men. They managed to rid the Islamic nation of disgrace. We hold them in the highest esteem.

**TIME:** But all those arrested are said to have been associated with you.

Bin Ladin: Wadih el-Hage was one of our brothers whom God was kind enough to steer to the path of relief work for Afghan refugees. I still remember him, though I have not seen him or heard from him for many years. He has nothing to do with the US allegations. As for Mohamed Rashed al-'Owhali, we were informed that he is a Saudi from the province of Najd. Mamdouh Salim is a righteous man who memorizes the holy Koran. He was never a member of any jihad organization. The fact of the matter is that America, and in particular the CIA, wanted to cover up their failure in the aftermath of the events that took place in Riyadh, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Capetown, Kampala--and other places, God willing, in the future--by arresting any person who had participated in the Islamic jihad in Afghanistan. We pray to God to end the plight [of the arrested men], and we are confident they will be exonerated.

**TIME:** If the targets of jihad are Americans, how can you justify the deaths of Africans?

**Bin Ladin:** This question pre-supposes that it is me who carried out these explosions. My answer is that I understand the motives of the brothers who act against the enemies of the nation. When it becomes apparent that it would be impossible to repel these Americans without assaulting them, even if this involved the killing of Muslims, this is permissible under Islam.

**TIME:** How do you react to the December attack on Iraq by US and British forces?

**Bin Ladin:** There is no doubt that the treacherous attack has confirmed that Britain and America are acting on behalf of Israel and the Jews, paving the way for the Jews to divide the Muslim world once again, enslave it and loot the rest of its wealth. A great part of the force that carried out the attack came from certain Gulf countries that have lost their sovereignty. Now infidels walk everywhere on the land where Muhammad was born and where the Koran was revealed to him. The situation is serious. The rulers have become powerless. Muslims should carry out their obligations, since the rulers of the region have accepted the invasion of their countries. These countries belong to Islam and not to the rulers

**TIME:** What can the US expect from you now?

**Bin Ladin:** Any thief or criminal or robber who enters another country in order to steal should expect to be exposed to murder at any time. For the American forces to expect

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anything from me, personally, reflects a very narrow perception. Muslims are angry. The Americans should expect reactions from the Muslim world that are proportionate to the injustice they inflict.

**TIME:** The US says you are trying to acquire chemical and nuclear weapons. How would you use these?

**Bin Ladin:** Acquiring weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty. If I have indeed acquired these weapons, then I thank God for enabling me to do so. And if I seek to acquire these weapons, I am carrying out a duty. It would be a sin for Muslims not to try to possess the weapons that would prevent the infidels from inflicting harm on Muslims.

**TIME:** Can you describe the US air strikes on your camps?

**Bin Ladin:** The American bombardment had only shown that the world is governed by the law of the jungle. That brutal, treacherous attack killed a number of civilian Muslims. As for material damage, it was minimal. By the grace of God, the missiles were ineffective. The raid proved that the American army is going downhill in its morale. Its members are too cowardly and too fearful to meet the young people of Islam face to face.

**TIME:** The US is trying to stop the flow of funds to your organization. Has it been able to do so?

**Bin Ladin:** The US knows that I have attacked it, by the grace of God, for more than ten years now. The US alleges that I am fully responsible for the killing of its soldiers in Somalia. God knows that we have been pleased at the killing of American soldiers. This was achieved by the grace of God and the efforts of the mujahedin from among the Somali brothers and other Arab mujahedin who had been in Afghanistan before that. America has been trying ever since to tighten its economic blockade against us and to arrest me. It has failed. This blockade does not hurt us much. We expect to be rewarded by God.

**TIME:** What will you do if the Taliban asks you to leave Afghanistan? **Bin Ladin:** That is not something we foresee. We do not expect to be driven out of this land. We pray to God to make our migration a migration in His cause. **TIME:** Do you expect any more attacks if you stay in Afghanistan? **Bin Ladin:** Any foreign attack on Afghanistan would not target an individual. It would not target Usama Bin Ladin personally. The fact is that Afghanistan, having raised the banner of Islam, has become a target for the crusader-Jewish alliance. We expect Afghanistan to be bombarded, even though the non-believers will say that they do so because of the presence of Usama. That is why we, together with our brothers, live on these mountains far away from Muslims in villages and towns, in order to spare them any harm. **TIME:** Is your Islamic message having an impact?

**Bin Ladin:** Winds of change have blown in order to lift the injustice to which the world is subjected by America and its supporters and the Jews who are collaborating with them.

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Look at what is happening these days in Indonesia, where Suharto, a despot who ruled for

30 years, was overthrown. During his reign, the media glorified him, depicting him as the best president. The media in the Arab countries, regrettably, is doing the same these days. But things will change. The time will come, sooner rather than later, when criminal despots who betrayed God and His Prophet, and betrayed their trust and their nation, will face the same fate.

**TIME:** But there are many Muslims who do not agree with your kind of violence.

**Bin Ladin:** We should fully understand our religion. Fighting is a part of our religion and our Shari'a. Those who love God and his Prophet and this religion cannot deny that. Whoever denies even a minor tenet of our religion commits the gravest sin in Islam. Those who sympathize with the infidels--such as the PLO in Palestine, or the so-called Palestinian Authority--have been trying for tens of years to get back some of their rights. They laid down arms and abandoned what is called "violence" and tried peaceful bargaining. What did the Jews give them? They did not give them even 1% of their rights.

**TIME:** America, the world's only superpower, has called you Public Enemy Number One. Are you worried?

**Bin Ladin:** Hostility toward America is a religious duty, and we hope to be rewarded for it by God. To call us Enemy Number One or Two does not hurt us. Usama Bin Ladin is confident that the Islamic nation will carry out its duty. I am confident that Muslims will be able to end the legend of the so-called superpower that is America.

#### **Associate Press Carries Excerpts From bin Ladin Interviews**

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**January 04, 1999; Monday 01:56 Eastern Time**

**SECTION:** International news

**LENGTH:** 560 words

**HEADLINE:** Bin Ladin Interviews Released

**BYLINE:** RICHARD PYLE

**DATELINE:** NEW YORK

**BODY:** Usama Bin Ladin, the exiled Saudi millionaire accused of plotting bombing attacks on two American embassies in Africa, told one US news magazine that he did not order the attacks and another that he "instigated" them.

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The mixed messages come from interviews released over the weekend that are to be published in the Jan. 11 issues of Newsweek and Time.

Bin Ladin previously had denied involvement in the Aug. 7 bombings of the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that killed 224 people, including 12 Americans.

He repeated that denial in the interview with Newsweek, conducted Dec. 22: "I did not order them but was very glad for what happened to the Americans there."

But the next day, Dec. 23, he told Time's reporter that he had "instigated" the attacks the closest he has come to admitting personal involvement.

"If the instigation for jihad (holy war) against the Jews and the Americans ... is considered a crime, then let history be a witness that I am a criminal," Bin Ladin said.

"Our job is to instigate, and by the grace of God, we did that, and certain people responded to this instigation."

Bin Ladin is consistent on two subjects defending the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction and denying that he is ill, as some US reports have suggested "Acquiring weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty... And if I seek to acquire these weapons, I am carrying out a duty," he told Time. "It would be a sin for Muslims not to try to possess the weapons that would prevent the infidels from inflicting harm on Muslims."

In the Newsweek interview, he called it "very strange" that America and Israel could have such weapons, "but if a Muslim state like Pakistan tries to defend itself... everything should be done to prevent it from doing so."

The interviews were conducted by Pakistani reporters who had received clandestine invitations to Bin Ladin's mountain base in Afghanistan.

Responding to reports that he is ill, Bin Ladin told Newsweek, "The Americans are committing another lie. I'm healthier now than at any time before." Time said Bin Ladin seemed "eager to deny reports that he had cancer," but used no direct quotes. It noted that he walked with a stick because of a bad back.

The United States retaliated 13 days after the bombings with cruise missile raids on Bin Ladin's mountain encampment and on a plant in Khartoum, Sudan, that was suspected of making nerve gas components.

The United States has offered \$5 million for Bin Ladin's capture. Time quoted aides as saying Bin Ladin relied solely on radio and newspapers for outside contact, and avoids using a portable satellite phone because the Americans might use the signal to target his location.

Bin Ladin told the magazines that two men arrested in East Africa and now in custody in the United States had nothing to do with the bombings.

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He told Time that he knew one of them, Wadih El-Hage, but had not seen or heard from him in several years. He told Newsweek that the other, Mohamed Rashed Daoud Al-'Owhali, had been tortured into confessing and implicating Bin Ladin.

"What I do know is that those who risked their lives to earn the pleasure of God are real men," Time quoted him as saying. "We pray to God to end the plight (of the arrested men) and we are confident they will be exonerated."

**Esquire Interview With Bin Ladin**

**Esquire, Feb 1999 v131 i2 p96(1)**

Greetings, America. My name Usama Bin Ladin. Now that I have your attention ... (a reporter describes his journey to interview alleged terrorist)(Abstract)(Interview) JOHN MILLER.

Abstract: A reporter travels to Afghanistan to interview the alleged terrorist Usama Bin Ladin. The reporter is not allowed to ask any direct questions, but must submit the questions in writing. The reporter's trip is described, as is the encounter with Bin Ladin.

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### **A CONVERSATION WITH THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IN THE WORLD**

The gunfire started with a few shots, but in seconds it was thundering. On cue, dozens of Arab men began firing their rifles into the air when the headlights of the first four-wheeldrive

vehicle crested the mountaintop. My right ear was pounding. I turned, expecting to see a cannon, but instead it was just a smiling boy--he might have been fifteen—and he was firing his machine gun an inch from my ear. I assumed that this was some kind of test, a rite of passage. He wanted to see fear. I'd been a reporter and a police official in New York. I'd heard my share of shots fired in anger. I just smiled at the kid and gently pushed the gun away. This was my way of saying, Nice try, but you didn't make me jump. No matter, the kid was right back an inch from my ear, firing away. Now it wasn't funny anymore. I glared at him, but let's face it, the little prick had an AK-47 with a thirty-round clip. How far could I get with hard eyes? One thing I learned in New York during the crack wars of the late eighties: Teenagers with machine guns are best not fucked with. So as I watched the man arrive and his loyal soldiers discharged their weapons in ecstasy, this kid was doing his best to make me deaf.

The mountaintop in southern Afghanistan was a long way from home, but in another way it wasn't. I was almost sure that night that the man I had come to meet, the man who was inspiring all this firepower, had pressed the buttons that blew up the World Trade Center in New York. Small world.

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Just minutes before this explosive welcome, I had been told, "Mr. Bin Ladin will be here shortly." The tall bearded man with the elaborate turban had not introduced himself by name, but he seemed to be, for lack of a better title, Usama Bin Ladin's press secretary. "We have prepared a great welcome. Whenever he comes, there is always celebration." Yellow trails from tracer bullets streaked at odd angles, crisscrossing the black, starcrowded

skies. Fireworks shot up, and sparks fell like orange rain, evaporating before they hit the ground. As the gunfire continued, the motorcade of three four-wheel-drives crossed the flat dirt encampment.

Scores of Bin Ladin's most devout followers were here, all carrying Chinese- and Russian-made machine guns. Several were posted strategically with rocket-propelled grenades. For months, I had been trying to arrange an interview with the man. Now, two months before the destruction of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania by Bin Ladin's truck bombs, it was happening. It was after midnight on this mountaintop, and Usama Bin Ladin was not yet a household name in the United States. Still, a grand jury in New York had for a year been hearing evidence about his role as a key organizer and financier of anti-American terrorism. The FBI suspected that Bin Ladin—or at least Bin Ladin's money--had been behind everything from the World Trade Center bombing to the downing of American helicopters in Somalia to bombings that targeted American servicemen in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. And by now, Bin Ladin knew that his targets were beginning to wake up to the threat he posed.

That was the very reason I wanted to interview him, and the reason getting such an interview would not be a simple process. His public-relations apparatus is a sophisticated and complex network of agents and intermediaries. The first discussions took place in the old, ornate Jefferson Hotel in Washington. A couple of ABC News producers, Chris Isham and Len Tepper, brought me to meet with a trusted contact who had good connections among Islamic fundamentalists. Soon he sent word back: We would have to travel to London and meet with some of Bin Ladin's people. Bin Ladin, it seems, has people all over. Two meetings, both in Tudor-style homes a half hour's drive from central London. We removed our shoes, drank cider and water, and made our intentions toward Bin Ladin known. We told his people we would raise the issues that concerned him, and "tell his side" and enough about his background so people would get a broader understanding of him.

"Instead of just pounding on the 'terrorist on the mountain' theme," I told one of Bin Ladin's agents, "we could frame his issues about America in such a way that people might find his arguments reasonable."

The man smiled. "It may be better if he does not appear to be too reasonable," he said. From London, we were to move on to Islamabad and await further instructions at the Marriott. We had made the first cut. After a day in the Pakistani capital, a man arrived and said his name was Akhtar. We would only ever know him as Akhtar. But during the next few weeks, he would become the most important person in our world, our passport,

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our safe passage. He was tall, maybe six two, thin and lanky, and he walked to an inaudible beat, with one hand crooked back, swinging slightly. A rolling strut, the walk of an urban black kid. Where he picked it up I never learned. Akhtar was Afghani and spoke almost no English and only a little Arabic--just enough so that our Iraqi translator, whom I'll call Ali, could understand him. Akhtar told Ali he would have to inspect us, our rooms, our gear. He was such a no-nonsense guy, it sometimes just made me want to laugh. A lesson: Something about being from New York or being American or, hell, being human makes one laugh at inappropriate times. Such as when in the presence of committed warriors whom your government has taken to calling terrorists. Good idea to check that impulse, within reason. Also, resist the urge to crack jokes, especially if your hosts aren't much for jokes.

When the knock came at my door early the next morning, it was a surprise. Akhtar and another man, a heavysset guy, came in. "They just want to see you," Ali explained as the two men carefully looked at me in my boxer shorts. They looked at my open suitcase on the bed stand. Akhtar and the other man looked in the bathroom. I was not sure what they were looking for. I assumed just telltale signs that we were CIA agents or something. The two men left for further negotiations in Ali's room. That night, Akhtar called Ali at the hotel.

"It is happening," Ali told me when he relayed Akhtar's instructions. "Be ready at 7:00 A.M., and be dressed like him."

Ali, cameraman Rick Bennett, and I immediately took a cab from the hotel to a run-down strip of stores and found the "Cash Departmental Store," where we each purchased a suit for about fifteen dollars. Rick went all out and got the vest. A suit was a knee-length shirt, baggy pants, and rope--the white cotton belt with fringe that would hold up the onesize-

fits-all pants if you knew how to tie it. We suspected we were going to Afghanistan, but none of us had the necessary visas to get into Afghanistan or back into Pakistan. Akhtar told us that his "people" would handle everything.

The next morning, curt instructions: Get to the Islamabad airport. Before leaving, I dropped a copy of my police badge and "retired" ID card into a FedEx envelope to Robert Tucker, my lawyer in New York. The last thing I wanted Bin Ladin's people to find was my old badge. I could just hear myself trying to explain the police credentials: I swear, I was just a clerk. Really! In public relations! (Tucker later told me that when he got the badge and ID with no note, he assumed I'd been killed. "Then," he said, "I wondered if I could have your car.")

In time, Akhtar also showed up at the airport. He looked us over. I was wearing the lightbrown

baggy pants and the oversized shirt that I'd bought the day before. It seemed to be the uniform for millions in this region. The outfit, which was meant to make me blend in at the airport and on the road, was offset slightly by the white socks I wore under the sandals, the Armani prescription glasses, and the Cuban cigars I'd picked up in London. I wasn't fitting in. Rick and Ali wore the same outfit in light gray. Akhtar led us to the gate. We were traveling on sealed orders. As we boarded the plane, we were handed tickets.

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We were going to Peshawar, the pearl of Pakistan.

It was hazy when we got off the plane, very hazy. As you drive into Peshawar, smoke fills the air and sticks at the bottom of your throat. Something seemed to be burning almost everywhere—rubbish, wood, tires. We checked into the Hotel Grand, a 1950s Miami Beach art-deco affair located down an alley off the main road. Hotel security was a man in a green uniform who wore a red beret and carried a Chinese-made machine gun. The very friendly clerks who signed us in made note of the odd collection of nationalities—American, Canadian, Iraqi, and Pakistani—and they knew enough not to ask any of us what our business was in Peshawar. After we checked in, Akhtar strutted into the night, carrying the plastic bag that held his things.

I went out on the fifth-floor balcony to light up one of the Romeo y Julieta Churchills. Just what Peshawar needed: more smoke. I imagined what this sad, bustling city was like during the Afghan war, when it had been the staging area for the Mujahidin. This place had been a world-class hotbed of militant organizers and recruiters, CIA operations officers, and KGB spies. Even now, it is the back office of the militant Islamic movement for the region. I looked out at the hovels and junkyards and watched the moon come up through the smoke.

Akhtar called the hotel in the morning and told us once again to get to the airport. And again, we were handed tickets in the waiting area. We walked across the tarmac to a prop

plane headed for Bannu, in northern Pakistan. With each stop, our trip was taking us further back in time, each place getting more primitive in custom and lifestyle. Here, donkeys pulled carts, and men and women carried sacks hanging from sticks across their shoulders or baskets on top of their heads. In Bannu, we waited outside the tiny airport as vans and buses passed by. After an hour, a van packed with locals stopped, and an old man got out and greeted Akhtar. We all crammed into the van, which was already too crowded. We had been told not to speak. The other passengers already knew we were Westerners, but they didn't need to know that some of us were American.

The van drove for two hours. People got off; more people got on. At a village that was nothing more than mud huts and thatched roofs, a loud bang came from the roof of the van. A young man with a cloth bag tied to the end of a branch scampered off the roof and ran toward the huts. The van itself was the only sure reminder that we were not two thousand years in the past.

Minor revelation: For most Americans, me included, experience with the ancients is pretty much confined to the Bible. In the Bible is a world rife with plagues and pestilence, a world where things are worth killing and dying for, a world from a time before kill ratios and collateral damage and unacceptable levels of casualties. A world of huts. A world where there is no such thing as a losing battle. In modern America, we no longer have the stomach for endeavors that don't seem like sure bets, which can make things tricky when you're up against someone who doesn't give a damn, someone who is willing to risk everything, and gladly. At Bannu, it felt as if we were crossing over into

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#### **Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 1805 GMT 20 Sep 01**

[Interview with Usama Bin Ladin by Jamal Isma'il at an unspecified location in Afghanistan in December 1998—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text]

**Bin Ladin:** Usama Bin-Muhammad Bin-Awad Bin Ladin. Almighty God was gracious enough for me to be born to Muslim parents in the Arabian Peninsula, in Al-Malazz neighborhood in Riyadh, in 1377 hegira [1957 or 1958 depending on the month in which he was born]. Then God was gracious to us as we went to Holy Medina six months after I was born. For the rest of my life I stayed in Hejaz moving between Mecca, Jedda, and Medina.

As it is well known, my father, Shaykh Muhammad Bin-Awad Bin Ladin, was born in Hadramaut. He went to work in Hejaz at a very early age, more than 70 years ago. Then God blessed him and bestowed on him an honor that no other contractor has known. He built the holy Mecca Mosque, where the holy Ka'bah is located and at the same time -- because of God's blessings to him -- he built the holy mosque in Medina for our prophet, God's prayers be upon him Then when he found out that the Government of Jordan announced a tender for restoration work on the Dome of the Rock Mosque, he gathered engineers and asked them to estimate the cost price only, without profit. They said to him: With God's help, we will be awarded the project and make some profit as well. He said to them: Calculate only the cost price of the project. When they did, they were surprised that he, may God have mercy on his soul, reduced the cost price in order to guarantee that God's mosques, and this mosque in particular, are well served. He was awarded the project Because of God's graciousness to him, sometimes he prayed in all three mosques in one single day. May God have mercy on his soul. It is not a secret that he was one of the founders of the infrastructure of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Afterward, I studied in Hejaz. I studied economy at Jeddah University, or the so-called King Abd-al-Aziz University. I worked at an early age on roads in my father's company, may God have mercy on his soul. My father died when I was 10 years old. This is something brief about Usama Bin Ladin.

As to what he [Usama Bin Ladin] wants, what we want and demand is the right of any living being. We want our land to be freed of the enemies; we want our land to be freed of the Americans. God equipped these living creatures with an instinctive zeal and they refuse to be intruded upon. For instance, if an armed military man walks into a chicken's home wanting to attack it, the chicken will fight back and it is only a chicken. We are demanding a right given to all living creatures, not to mention the fact that it is a right for all human beings, including the Muslims.

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There was an attack on the countries of Islam, especially on the holy shrines and on Al-Aqsa Mosque, the prophet's first Kiblah [direction to which Muslims turn when praying]. And then the aggression continued with the Crusader-Jewish alliance being led by the United States and Israel. Now they have taken the country of the two holy mosques. The only source of strength is Allah.

We seek to instigate the nation to get up and liberate its land, embark on jihad for the sake of God, and to make the Islamic law the highest law, and the word of God the highest word of all.

**Isma'il:** Recently there was a joint US-British attack on Iraq. First, how do you view this attack? Second, the popular and official Arab and Islamic reactions were reportedly below the required level of resistance, or below the Iraqi people's expectations. What is your position on this?

**Bin Ladin:** The latest attack on Iraq a few days ago was led by the United States and Britain. The attack underscored many important and serious facts. We are not talking about the material or human losses inflicted on our Muslim brothers in Iraq, but about the implications of this attack. The United States accuses Iraq of using toxic gases against the Kurds and against its people. It also accuses it of using lethal weapons against Iran. What draws attention and what people should consider is the fact is that the United States did not talk about Iraq at that time; it supported it through its brokers and agents in the region. When Iraq turned into a power to be reckoned with in the region, and even became the biggest Arab power in the region that threatens Jewish security and the security of the Israeli occupation of the land from which our Prophet, God's peace and blessings be upon him, made his journey to heaven, the United States began to dig up these things and claim it wants to take it to task for them. It admits that Israel possesses lethal and mass destruction weapons, but says it does not use them. Iraq did. This argument is flimsy and rejected. The United States is the one which possesses these weapons and is the one which attacked nations in the farthest east, in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, after Japan had surrendered and the World War was drawing to a conclusion. Nevertheless, it insisted on striking at nations, including children, women, and elderly people. In fact, we must consider Israel the real perpetrator of any attack today on any state in the Islamic world.

However, for fear that people might wake up and huge popular movements would emerge to topple the agent regimes, which failed to support Islam and Muslims or the sake of maintaining their seats -- and the feelings of these nations were somehow anesthetized toward the United States -- the Jews managed to employ the Christians -- the Americans and British -- to carry out the duty of attacking Iraq. The United States claims to be taking Iraq to task. What is true, however, is that the Israeli and Jewish authority is influential within the White House as is clear to people. The defense secretary is a Jew, the secretary of state is a Jew, CIA and National Security officials are Jews, other senior officials are Jews. They led the Christians into breaking the wings of the Islamic world. The target is not really Saddam Husayn, but the emerging power in the Islamic and Arab world. They attacked the Iraqi people and earlier besieged Libya because it had a

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chemical factory. They also attacked the Al-Shifa pharmaceutical factory in Sudan.

One should note these things.

Another implication of these incidents is that they emphasized clearly and explicitly that Muslims and all sensible people should not go to the United Nations. According to Islamic law, Muslims should not appeal to these atheist temporal regimes. But we also urge the non-Muslim wise men not to do so. Take North Korea, for example. Will any wise man, even if he is an infidel, go to a court where the judge ...[sentence incomplete as heard]. If a sentence is issued against us, we will be painfully beaten up under what is falsely called international legitimacy. If we are judged right, the United States will use the veto. Accordingly, no Muslim should go there because this conflicts with faith. Likewise, no wise person, even if he is an infidel, should go there. Those who keep talking about the United Nations and its resolutions are either ones who do not understand their religion or want to anesthetize the nation by pinning hopes on what is **Isma'il**: Do you think the US-UK attack on Iraq will increase the popularity of and support for the anti-US organizations or subjugate and terrorize them against any military or non-military action against the United States and its interests?

**Bin Ladin**: In response to this question and what preceded it, I would like to say it is time for the Islamic nation to realize after these attacks that the states of the region are non-sovereign states.

Our enemies are moving freely in our seas, lands, and space. They strike without seeking anyone's permission. This time the United States and Britain were not able to rally support for this flagrant and exposed conspiracy. The present regimes are no longer capable of doing so. These regimes are either colluding or having lost the ability to do anything against this blatant occupation. The Muslims, particularly those in power and people of good judgment -- true ulema, faithful merchants, and tribal chiefs -- should emigrate for the sake of God and seek a place where they can raise the banner of jihad and mobilize the nation into safeguarding their religion and worldly affairs. Otherwise, they will lose everything. They should learn a lesson from what was inflicted on our brothers in Palestine. The Palestinian people were well known for their activity and

agricultural crops, citrus fruit, textiles, and soap, which they used to export. The Palestinian people, who are our brothers, are now displaced and expelled everywhere. Finally, they became laborers employed by the colonialist Jews, who would allow them in or deny them entry whenever they want and at the cheapest of wages. The situation is serious.

If we do not move now that the old house, the qiblah [direction to which Muslims turn in prayer -- the Ka'bah in Mecca, Saudi Arabia] of 1.2 billion Muslims, was encroached upon, when will people do so? This is a significant matter that needs to be addressed.

Deluded are those who think that the current circumstances frighten the Islamic movements. We the Muslims believe that the instant of death was fixed the moment we came to existence in our mothers' wombs; it moves neither forward nor backward. Our livelihood comes from the Almighty God. It is God who created these souls and gave  
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these funds to people. God has purchased of the believers their persons and their goods. So, why should people fail to support their religion?

**Isma'il:** Following the first US attack on Afghanistan last summer, the news agencies cited you or your representative as saying that you will reply to the attack, but we have not heard of any reply. Will there be a practical reply if there is a new US attack on Afghanistan? How will the reply be?

**Bin Ladin:** Our duty -- and we carried it out -- is to rouse the nation for jihad against the United States, Israel, and their supporters for the sake of God. We continue to move in the direction of instigating people. The popular movement of the past few months gives hope. It is a step in the right direction to force the Americans out of the Islamic countries. Due to the circumstances surrounding us and due to our inability to move outside Afghanistan to closely pursue this, we did only what we could. By the grace of God, we, together with a large number of our brothers, formed the world front for jihad against Jews and crusaders [al-salibiyyin]. We believe matters are proceeding well with many of them [brothers]. They are largely active. We hope God will help them uphold religion and take revenge from the Jews and Americans.

**Isma'il:** This world Islamic front was formed or announced seven or months ago. Thus far, we have not heard anything from it other than the statement to which you referred or the news conference you held in the city of Khost last summer. Do you think the front is now practically frozen?

**Bin Ladin:** It is not frozen. Its members are of diverse nationalities and have a large margin of movement. They should not necessarily announce their actions. These months cannot be considered much in the effort to rouse the nation and resist the biggest enemy in the world.

**Isma'il:** The United States warned its nationals in the Gulf states and the region in current month of Ramadan. How serious are these warnings and do you target the US nationals in general or the US forces in the Gulf and some other Islamic areas?

**Bin Ladin:** I heard this a few days ago on radio stations. It delighted me as it heralded the emergence of the nation, thanks to Almighty God. As for the seriousness of threats, I, regrettably, do not know who undertook this blessed effort. We pray to the Almighty

God to grant them success and bestow on them (?victory over) the infidels -- Americans and others.

The previous fatwa said that in our religion we have categories that are different from what the infidels claim, although they claim something and act differently. We differentiate between man, woman, child, and elderly people. The man is a fighter, whether he carries arms or helps us in our struggle by paying taxes and by gathering information. He is thus a fighter. With regard to reports disseminated among Muslims that Usama is threatening to kill civilians, I ask who are they killing in Palestine? They are killing children, not only civilians, but also children. The United States took exclusive  
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possession of the media and managed to build huge media power. It uses different standards at different times according to its needs. With God's help, the target or enemy of Muslims is every American man who is directly fighting us or paying taxes.

You may have heard these days that almost three quarters of the US people support Clinton's strikes against Iraq. They are people whose president becomes more popular when he kills innocent people. They are people who increase their support for their president when he commits cardinal sins. They are a lowly people who do not at all understand the meaning of values.

**Isma'il:** The US Pentagon published reports on your health. It attributed them to Pakistani intelligence. They said you have developed an incurable disease and may not live long. They said you will live only five or six months at most. First, how true are these reports? Second, what is the purpose of publishing these reports now after issuing warnings to US nationals against possible operations by you and your supporters?

**Bin Ladin:** I enjoy a very good health, praised be God, whom we always thank. As you can see, we are living in the mountains. We endure this bitter cold; we also endure the summer heat. Praised be God, I continue to practice my favorite hobby, which is horseriding.

Thanks to God, I still can ride a horse for 70 km without stopping. These are tendentious rumors, possibly intended to affect the morale of Muslims sympathizing with us. They may also be intended to dispel the Americans' fears that Usama might do something. What is true is that things do not hinge on Usama. This is a nation of 1.2 billion Muslims, which absolutely cannot leave God's old house to the malicious Jews and Christians. The nation, God willing, will continue [along this path]. We are confident that they will continue jihad and continue to deal painful blows to the United States and its supporters, God willing.

**Isma'il:** When the United States bombed Afghanistan on 20 August it was reported that you were attending a meeting in the Khost area, which was the target of the US missiles. It was also reported that the missile attack was timed to coincide with your presence at that meeting. Was there a meeting and were you present there? It was also said that you received a message from a neighboring country; namely, Pakistan, asking you to immediately leave that place because it could possibly be attacked. What is your

relationship with Pakistan and what is its attitude toward you? Do you think Pakistan will cooperate with the United States in dealing a blow to you?

**Bin Ladin:** Praised be God. The Americans apparently had wrong information. I was not in Khost. I was not anywhere in the Bektiya Province. I was a few hundred kilometers away from that place. As for what was said about information reaching us, we, with the help of God, found in Pakistan sympathetic and generous people. Their sympathy exceeded all our expectations. May God bless them. We get information from our beloved ones and supporters of jihad against the Americans for the sake of God. The people of Pakistan gave a clear indication of how much they hate the US arrogance against the Islamic world. There are groups in Pakistan that sympathize with Islam and THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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jihad against Americans. There are also other groups, which are few but, regrettably, continue to cooperate with the Americans, the nation's enemies.

**Isma'il:** Do you mean on the official level?

**Bin Ladin:** I mean the government; groups within the government.

**Isma'il:** Some Arab and foreign newspapers published reports on your attempt to possess nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, particularly via some merchants from central Asian states or former Soviet republics. How true are these reports, especially since the US Administration recorded these accusations in the list of 235 charges leveled at you. It says you are seriously seeking to possess such weapons.

**Bin Ladin:** As I said, we are demanding our right to have them [the Americans] evicted from the Islamic world and to prevent them from dominating us. We believe that the right to self-defense is to be enjoyed by all people. Israel is stockpiling hundreds of nuclear warheads and bombs and the Christian West is largely in possession of such weapons. Hence, we do not regard this as a charge, but rather as a right. We refuse to see anybody level charges against us in this regard. It is as if you were accusing a man of being a brave knight and fighter. It is as if you were denying him this. Only a man who is not in his right mind would level such accusations. This is a right. We supported the Pakistani people and congratulated them when God was gracious enough to enable them to acquire the nuclear weapon. We regard this as one of our rights, of Muslim rights. We will not pay attention to these worn-out US charges.

**Isma'il:** Is this a confirmation of the charges that you are seeking to possess such weapons?

**Bin Ladin:** These are not charges. It is the duty of the Muslims to possess them. The United States knows that with the help of Almighty God the Muslims today possess these weapons.

**Isma'il:** The US Administration leveled accusations at you on issues they said related to terrorism and the support extended to terrorist groups and others. Are you ready to counter these accusations and stand trial in a neutral court in another state?

**Bin Ladin:** There are two parties to the conflict: World Christianity, which is allied with Jews and Zionism, led by the United States, Britain, and Israel. The second party is the Islamic world. In such a conflict, it is unacceptable to see the first party mount attacks, desecrate my land and holy shrines, and plunder the Muslims' oil. When Muslims put up

resistance against this party, they are branded as terrorists. This is stupidity. It is an insult to people's intelligence. We believe that it is our religious duty to resist this occupation with all the power we have and to punish it using the same means it is pursuing against us.

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**Isma'il:** But the Taliban government said it will try you if hard evidence is presented by any state or quarter on the charges leveled at you. Will you agree to stand trial according to the Islamic law, which is being applied by Taliban?

**Bin Ladin:** We left our country to undertake jihad for the sake of Almighty God. God has honored us with this blessed emigration out of our desire to apply the shari'ah [Islamic law]. This is what we left for -- a country where there is a religious court that applies the Islamic shari'ah away from pressures and personal whims. This is our aim and demand. We are ready at any time to appear before any religious court, in which both the plaintiff and defendant stand. If the plaintiff is the United States, we will also sue it for many things and cardinal sins it committed in the land of Islam. When the Americans, God fight them, asked Taliban to hand me over, they refused to apply the shari'ah. They said: We demand one thing, that is, to hand over Usama Bin Ladin. They deal with people as if they were their slaves or servants. This is due to their arrogance. May God disgrace them.

**Isma'il:** Regarding the bombings against the US embassies in East Africa -- in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam -- charges were made against you, based on the confessions published in some Pakistani and world newspapers. They were attributed to Muhammad Sadiq Huwaydah, who was arrested in Pakistan and handed over to the United States and Kenyan authorities. He claimed that you ordered him to carry out the bombings. What is your opinion about these bombings and what is your relationship with Muhammad Sadiq Huwaydah?

**Bin Ladin:** With the grace of Almighty God, they [bombings] delighted Muslims in the Islamic world. Those who followed world press and media reports saw the extent of the Islamic world's sympathy with the strikes against the Americans, although people regretted the death of some innocent people of that country. What was clear was the mammoth wave of joy that swept through the Islamic world. This is so because they believe that the Jews and the United States have gone too far in their tyranny and scorn of Muslims. Peoples failed to make the Islamic states move to defend them or their religion. Therefore, these were purely popular reactions by young men who willingly offered their lives, seeking the satisfaction of Almighty God. I hold in great esteem and respect these great men because they removed the brand of shame from the forehead of our [Islamic] nation when they carried out the bombings in Riyadh, Al-Khubar, East Africa, and elsewhere.

I also view with great esteem our brother cubs in Palestine, who are teaching the Jews great lessons in faith and pride of the faithful. Regrettably, after these daring operations in Palestine, the world's infidelity gathered. It is a cause of sadness that they gathered on

the soil of Egypt. They gathered their agents from the rulers of the region -- the Arab rulers -- who had been deceiving the Islamic nation for more than half a century. Whenever a president and a king met they said they discussed the Palestinian cause. Fifty years later, the clear picture emerged; namely, they met not only to betray the mujahidin in Palestine, but to denounce those cubs whose fathers and brothers were killed, imprisoned, or tortured for trying to defend their religion or expel the infidels from their land. The proverb says: Clear things are impossible to explain. I do not know what people are waiting for after this clear agency and submission by the Arab rulers in favor of the Jews and the United States.

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**Isma'il:** Yes, but the United States says it is confident and has evidence on your involvement in these operations. It has not yet revealed this evidence. It was reported that investigations revealed that a person -- one of your group or your supporters -- confessed many things to the US intelligence about your organization and your connection with operations, including the bombing of the World Trade Center.

**Bin Ladin:** The US claims are numerous. If we presume that they are true, we are not concerned about them. These people are resisting the forces of world infidelity that occupied their land. Why should the United States get angry when the people resist its aggressions? Its claims are baseless. However, if it means that I have something to do with instigating them, I would like to say that this is obvious. I have always admitted this. I admitted that I was one of those who cosigned the fatwa [legal religious ruling] that urged the nation to engage in jihad. We did so a few years ago. Praised be God, many people responded favorably to our fatwa. Of these people were the brothers whom we regard as martyrs. They were brother Abd-al-Aziz al-Mi'thim, who was killed in Riyadh, brother Muslih al-Shamrani, brother Riyadh al-Hajiri, and brother Khalid al-Sa'id. The only strength is that bestowed by God. We beseech Almighty God to accept them all. During interrogation, they admitted to being influenced of some of the statements and circulars we issued to the people. In these statements and circulars, we communicated the fatwas issued by clergymen regarding the need to engage in jihad against these US occupiers.

The Buddhists, North Koreans, and Vietnamese fought against the Americans. This is a legitimate right. What right do the Arab and Islamic media have to criticize the Mujahidin, who emulated and were inspired by Prophet Muhammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him. The prophet was quoted as saying: By Him in whose hand is my soul, I love to invade and get killed, then invade and get killed again, and then invade and get killed. It is our wish to embark on jihad for the sake of God. I had earlier told some Western media that we missed a great deal of honor for not participating in killing the Americans in Riyadh.

These accusations are baseless in part and parcel, unless they meant instigation. True, I, together with many of my brotherly Islamic scholars, instigated the nation to embark on jihad.

**Isma'il:** Muhammad Sadiq Huwaydah claimed that he received training in your camps and that he personally knew you. How true are his claims and the statements attributed

to him by some news media?

**Bin Ladin:** What I know is that more than 15,000 young men, mostly Arabs, received training in the camps of jihad in Afghanistan. God has bestowed his grace on us and helped us open these camps during the jihad against the Soviet Union. Some trainees  
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were brothers from the Islamic world. I firmly believe that the claim that I asked him to carry out the bombing is a falsehood fabricated by the US government. It has no evidence on this. Even if we suppose that brother Huwaydah said this, he must have said this or made this confession under torture. The torture methods in Pakistan or East Africa are well known.

**Isma'il:** But Muhammad Sadiq Huwaydah also claimed that you ordered the assassination of Shaykh Abdallah Azzam in Peshawar in 1989 and that there was struggle over the leadership of the Arab Afghans or Arab mujahidin in Afghanistan between you and Shaykh Abdallah Azzam, who chaired the services bureau. How true are these claims and how do you describe your relationship with Shaykh Abdallah?

**Bin Ladin:** Shaykh Abdallah Azzam, may God have mercy on his soul, was a man worth a nation. His assassination clearly showed how sterile the Muslim women are for not giving birth to a man like him. The people of jihad, who were in the field and lived that era, know that the Islamic jihad in Afghanistan did not benefit from anyone as much as it benefited from Shaykh Abdallah Azzam. He prodded the nation [for jihad] from the farthest east to the farthest west. During the blessed jihad, he worked with our brother mujahidin in Palestine, particularly HAMAS. His books, particularly his book "The Verses of the Most Merciful" began to enter Palestine and urge the nation to undertake jihad against the Jews. He began to break out of the narrow regional circle observed by Islamists and Shaykhs and open up on the Islamic world to prod for jihad. We were in one boat as is known to you, along with our brother Wa'il (Jalidan). A plot was concocted to assassinate all. We were very careful not to be together all the time. I often asked Shaykh Abdallah Azzam to stay away from Peshawar due to the increasing plots, especially since a week or two ago a bomb was discovered in the mosque where the shaykh lives in Sab' al-Layl.

The Jews were mostly harmed by the movements of Shaykh Abdallah. It is believed that Israel, along with some of its Arab agents, were the ones who assassinated the shaykh. The Jews, Americans, and some of their agents are spreading this accusation [that Bin Ladin ordered the killing of Azzam] these days. It is illogical for someone to behead himself. Those who were in the field knew how strong my relationship with Shaykh Abdallah Azzam was. These are falsehoods said by some and they are baseless. There was no competition between us. Shaykh Abdallah's specialization was in the field of call and instigation. We were in the Bektiya mountains. He sent us young men and we observed his directives and instructions. We pray to God to accept him as a martyr, together with his sons Muhammad and Ibrahim, and to make up for his loss by sending someone who can carry out the duty he used to carry out.

**Isma'il:** Following the US missile attack on Afghanistan, the US President ordered an economic or financial war against you and the commercial institutions you are running of dealing with. It is said that the stage of drying up your financial resources has begun. Wouldn't this cause you financial problems and lead to the dispersal of your supporters in the coming stage?

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**Bin Ladin:** War has its ups and downs; we either win or lose.

The United States exerted extremely strong pressures on our activities at an early stage. This affected us. Some of the states, in which we have funds and property, responded. They ordered us to stop antagonizing the United States. But we believe it is our duty to instigate the nation. We continued the instigation. With the help of the Almighty God, we continued and now we have been doing so for several years. The US pressures did not actually begin with the latest bombardment. Some Arab countries put economic pressures on us, denying us our rights and even preventing our people from paying us our money. They are thus following the footsteps of Abdallah Bin-Salul, the leader of the hypocrites, about whom God said: They are the ones who say spend nothing on those who are with God's apostle to the end that they may disperse, but to God belong the treasures of heavens and the earth; but the hypocrites understand not. [Koranic verse] The Almighty God has punished them and they now live in a hardship worse than the restrictions they imposed on us. As our prophet, God's peace and blessing be upon him, said, the one who is secure among his people, sound in his health, and capable of earning his livelihood will possess all the world. By God, we feel that the whole world is with us. Money is perishable. We call on Muslims to spend their money on jihad and be with the jihad movements, which have devoted themselves to fighting the Jews and crusaders.

**Isma'il:** You declared jihad against Christians and Jews, especially Americans, in the fatwa issued last February. But, that fatwa coincided with a decision by several Islamist groups, which once engaged in armed struggle, to suspend this struggle, as is the case now in Egypt and Algeria. And in some Arab countries, we have also seen these Islamist groups engaging in parliamentary life or what is termed the democratic game. Don't you think that by calling for jihad now that you are moving against the general trend taken by these Islamist groups?

**Bin Ladin:** We believe that Jihad is a duty for the nation today. But, we have to distinguish between jihad as a duty and the ability to carry it out. Any country that has insured the necessary requirements for jihad -- number and equipment -- Muslims there should embark on jihad against the great infidel. Now in some countries, people may think that they have insured the requirements, but discover after a while they have not. In such a case, they are exempted of that duty. But, who defines the requirements? Is it those who went after worldly affairs or those who do not have enough juristic or military knowledge? So the correct thing here is that although jihad is a duty it could be ruled out due to lack of ability. But preparation to insure the number of equipment cannot be ruled out.

There is frequent talk among Muslims this is not the time for jihad. Now, this is incorrect if not properly documented. Some scholars also say this is not the time for jihad. This is

really wrong if documented. But, if they say that jihad is a duty today and we are striving with all the means in our power to insure the number, equipment, and other necessary requirements, this is correct. Islamic scholar Ibn-Taymah, may God be pleased with him, says on this point: The one who issues the ruling on jihad must be one who is conversant  
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with the Islamic shari'ah and with the conditions of jihad. In other words, he must have engaged in jihad himself.

But, when jihad stopped among the nation for a while, there emerged a generation of religious scholars who had no experience in jihad. They fell under the influence of the US media that invaded the Islamic countries, and were thus defeated psychologically even before engaging in military action. They say: we cannot go for jihad. True, Jihad is necessary, but we cannot do it.

But, the correct thing is that those on whom God bestowed the grace of jihad as Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Chechnya -- God has also bestowed this grace on us -- can with God's help, fight against the enemies of Islam, especially the outside great enemy, the crusader-Jewish alliance. I wish to point out here that some youths, may God preserve and bless them, are influenced by the hesitation of their elders. They think that these revered elders would not have hesitated had they not known the interests of the nation. But, facts have shown that this is not the case at all. It is not necessary for the hesitation of the revered ones stem from their awareness of the general interest.

When reading the Holy Koran we find that righteous ones, may God be pleased with them, were rebuked by God for their hesitation. So if the chaste, righteous leaders, may God be pleased with them, had suffered from this disease of hesitation over jihad, how could we claim that our present day righteous ones were hesitant over jihad for the sake of the general interest?

In the Holy Koran sura of Al-Anfal, God says, addressing his prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and the Badr Battle fighters, who were among the most righteous, may God rest their souls in peace: "Just thy Lord ordered thee out of thy house in truth, even though a party among the believers disliked it. Disputing with thee concerning the truth after it was made manifest, as if they were being driven to death and they (actually) saw it." If this description had applied to the Badr Battle fighters, the most righteous ones, it is only natural to apply to us as well.

Ka'ab Ibn-Malik, may God be pleased with him, says in a long tradition in the book of the prophet traditions: "Bukhari wa Muslim": I hesitated to join the Tabuq conquest although I was in good health and had two camels. I tried to get ready, but the day passed without being able to prepare myself. The prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, also called for that jihad around harvest time when I wanted to harvest my crops. The human being is always subject to worldly interests. Yet this man was among the vanguards. In fact, he was among those who signed the great, blessed Aqaba Allegiance Accord that launched the State of Islam in Medina. Still, he stayed behind without any reason.

In that long tradition, Ka'ab said that three men stayed behind. This was also mentioned in the Holy Koran. The story says that those who left for the Tabuq conquest were 33,000. What is 3 compared to 33,000? This number is insignificant today for any army  
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commander. The absence of 3 out 33,000 is an insignificant number. But, due to the great sin committed God Almighty from the seven heavens mentioned this in the Holy Koran so as to be taken a point against these three men to Doomsday. Ka'ab, may God be pleased with him, said: I felt so grieved and went to my cousin, Abu-Qatadah, who was closest to me, and asked him: O Abu-Qatadah, By the name of God, don't I love God and his prophet?" What a strange question! But, Ka'ab wanted to make sure of his greatest possession in life, his love for God prophet. To him, there was no meaning to our life without the love for God and the prophet.

Ka'ab said: My cousin did not reply. I appealed to him the second and third time. But, Abu-Qatadah could not confirm his love for God and the prophet. How could he prove it when he stayed behind with others? For it was said that the Romans were getting ready to attack Islam in Tabuq. The prophet left in the heat of the day to defend Islam while Ka'ab stayed behind. How could he confirm his love for God and the prophet. Abu-Qatadah could not confirm or deny his love for God and the prophet, but finally said: God and his prophet would know. Ka'ab shed a tear. His closest friend could not confirm this great thing.

The lesson here is that jihad is a duty for the nation. The unable may not have to go for jihad. But, we believe that those who waged jihad in Afghanistan performed a great duty. They managed with their limited resources of RPG's, anti-tank mines, and kalashnikovs to defeat the biggest legend known to mankind, to destroy the biggest war machine, and to remove from our minds the so-called big powers.

We believe that the United States is a great deal weaker than Russia. We have learned that from our brothers who fought in Somalia. They saw wonders about the weakness, feebleness, and cowardliness of the US soldier. Hardly 80 of them were killed, when they fled in the dark of the night, despite the uproar that was created worldwide about the New World Order.

This is our belief. If people fear God and think that they can go to jihad, then they should do so. And if they think that their present circumstances call for further preparations, then they should do so. God is all-knowing.

**Isma'il:** The US Administration has allocated the sum of \$5 million for your capture or for information that could lead to your capture. Some people think that this sum could attract one of your followers and make him reveal information about you or betray you. Don't you fear betrayal by anyone?

**Bin Ladin:** God be praised. You have come and seen what we have. These youths -- and we pray to God to bless them and those who fell martyrs among them throughout this blessed jihad -- have abandoned worldly life and come to these mountains and land. They left their families, fathers, mothers, and universities and came here to face the shelling by US Cruise and other missiles. Some of them were killed, as you have learned from our brothers. Six Arab brothers and one brother Turk were killed. May God accept them all

as martyrs. They included our brother Al-Siddiq from Egypt, our brother Hamdi from  
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Egypt, and three of our brothers from Yemen, including our brother Bashir, who was known by the name "Suraqah," There was also our brother Abu-Jihad, and our brother Zayd Salah Mutabbaqani from Medina.

These men left worldly affairs and came for jihad. The United States, which worships money, thinks that people here are like it. I swear to God that we have not shifted anyone from his place despite this propaganda. We do not suspect our brothers. Still God is our judge.

**Isma'il:** On your relationship with the Afghan Government or Taliban Movement, what is the nature of this movement? Are you part of this movement, or are you working independently in Afghanistan?

**Bin Ladin:** God has blessed this movement. It is now 14 years since the beginning of the jihad that was waged by the former mujahidin. The Taliban had a role in that jihad and helped with the defeat of the Soviet Union. Those who raised the flag of jihad at that early stage were blessed by God and made them defeat the largest country in the world and the biggest military power.

Regrettably, however, the Taliban did not capitalize on that victory. There was also disagreement, in which the United States and some pro-US Arab states had a hand. They caused sedition between the mujahidin and this led to fighting, which everyone regretted. This increased the suffering of the Muslim people in Afghanistan.

What is regrettable now is that many of the benevolent have stopped their support for Afghanistan on the pretext of internal fighting. This is wrong because the widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers were killed in the war, continue to suffer. The benevolent among Muslims should have come here to patronize these orphans and widows. But, the Satan made them give up support for Muslims, who defended Islam here and in the whole Islamic World, especially the Gulf states.

Whoever looks at the map will know that Afghanistan was not the real the target but a passageway for the Soviet forces. Having achieved great gains in worldwide at the time, the Russians thought of dealing a final blow to the West, seize the Strait of Hormuz, occupy all Gulf states, and seize the largest oil reserves in the world. This explains why some Gulf states, in fact all of them, considered backing the Afghan jihad an act of selfdefense.

They were partners in that battle. But, when the Russians were defeated, they turned their back on the Afghans. In fact, Gulf news media began attacking jihad and mujahidin and some Gulf states actually colluded in creating sedition among the mujahidin.

God blessed Muslims with the arrival of Taliban rule. This was not the result of a push by outside forces, as portrayed by the western crusader news media, but by a pull from inside forces. People got sick and tired of bandits and the levying of duties and taxes. Any tribe that had religious scholars linked to Taliban asked the movement to come to its

region. Thus, we find that Engineer Hikmatyar spent four years outside Kabul with open  
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Pakistani support without being able to venture a single step in the direction of the city. Yet the Islamic party led by Hikmatyar was the best among the Afghan parties in terms of strength, order, organization, and deployment within Afghanistan. Still he could not advance.

On the other hand, the Taliban are young and many of them did not take part in the fighting [against the Russians]. But, due to the internal pull from the people, who got desperate with previous actions, God made them triumph. We advise Muslims inside and outside Afghanistan to back Taliban. We also advise Muslims abroad that any efforts that are exerted outside the State of Islam will not achieve the desired results. Our prophet spent 13 years preaching in Mecca. But, the outcome was only a few hundred followers. But, with the establishment of the State of Medina -- despite its small size amid the big the Persian and Roman empires and the warring Arab tribes of Abs and Tibyan that gnawed at this small state -- right triumphed in the end.

We call upon Muslims to back Afghanistan with all their capabilities, thoughts, alms, and funds. Afghanistan today carries the banner of Islam, God willing. Any attack by the United States against Afghanistan today would not be against Afghanistan itself, but against Afghanistan, the bearer of the flag of Islam, the true Islam that fights for the sake of God.

God be praised our relationship with them is very strong. It is an ideological relationship that is based on faith rather than political or commercial interests. Many states have tried to pressure the Taliban through temptation and intimidation, but God strengthened them.

**Isma'il:** But, what is the truth about the reports that spoke about the readiness or the possibility of Taliban movement or government delivering you to any country in the case of official charges backed by evidence?

**Bin Ladin:** As you have heard the Taliban have denied this talk. It is incorrect talk, as far as we know, but God is all-knowing.

**Isma'il:** You spoke about a while ago about your participation in the Afghan jihad. You said that some states, especially the Gulf states, encouraged the mujahidin, and in fact aided them. Among the countries that aided the mujahidin against the Soviet Union at the time was the United States. Western and world news media said that you were linked to the US Administration or intelligence during the jihad against the Soviet Union. How true was that relationship if it existed and what is your position on it. And is it true that the Americans had a role in developing your activities against the Soviet Union at that time?

**Bin Ladin:** Let me go back to a point in your previous question on whether we work here independently. Actually, we are not working here independently. We are in a state with an Emir of the Faithful. We are legally bound to obey him in whatever that does not violate God's words. We are committed to this state and call on people to support it. We also warn, as we said, against the confusion created by the United States. It wants to

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strike at the state of Islam in Afghanistan by raising the flag of striking at Usama Bin Ladin. But, this will not do.

As far as we are concerned, we have come out here while knowing our course right from the beginning. US missiles would not scare us, God willing. But, we warn them that any attack against this people, would be an aggression on the state of Islam. Due to certain circumstances in Afghanistan, the Taliban have expressed the view that we should not operate from within Afghanistan against any other state. This was the decision of the Emir of the Faithful, as everyone knows.

But, we continue to rouse the nation, God be praised. We feel confident that the nation is taking earnest steps toward jihad against the United States. This is the duty of all Muslims, as I said.

**Isma'il:** World news media spoke about US support for Afghan jihad against the Soviet Union, and you took part in this jihad personally and with your funds. The media also said that you were in contact with the CIA and that the agency used to finance your activities and back you in the jihad against the Soviet Union. How true are these claims and your link with the United States at that time?

**Bin Ladin:** It is an attempt at distortion by the Americans. Praised be God for turning their plots against them. Every grown up Muslim hates Americans, Jews, and Christians. It is part of our belief and religion. Since I was a boy I have been at war with and harboring hatred for the Americans. What they are saying did not occur at all. Regarding their support for the jihad or fighting, that support was actually from the Arab states, especially the Gulf states, for Pakistan in order to back the jihad. That support was not for the sake of God, but out of fear of their thrones from the Russian advance. Carter, who was US president at the time, did not utter a single word until 1399 [Hegira], corresponding to 20 January [no year given], when he said that any Russian penetration into the Gulf region would be considered an aggression against the United States. Since he occupied that region and its oil sources, he said that he would use military force if this penetration took place.

The Americans are lying in their claim that they cooperated with us at any time. We challenge them to produce any evidence. In fact, they were a burden on the mujahidin and us in Afghanistan. There was no agreement. We were just performing a duty to support Islam in Afghanistan, although this duty crossed with US interests without our consent. When the Muslims fought the Romans, it was known that Romans and Persians were always at war. But, no sensible person could say that the Muslims fought the Romans in Mu'tah Battle because they were agents for the Persians. Only the interests crossed one another. The Muslims fought the Romans as part of their duty. Still, this pleased the Persians. But, once they finished with the Romans, the Muslims turned against the Persians. The crossing of interests without an agreement does not mean any link or subservience. We have been against them since those days. God be praised, we delivered lectures in Hijaz and Najd on the need to boycott US goods and strike at US forces and the US economy 12 years ago.

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**Isma'il:** Arab and world news media carried reports about activities by your followers or supporters in some Arab states, including Yemen for example. How true are these reports?

**Bin Ladin:** We are linked to the whole Islamic World. This includes Yemen, Pakistan, and others. We are part of a single nation. God be praised, those who are convinced of and enthusiastic about jihad are increasing in number every day. We have supporters in Yemen and elsewhere. We have old and strong ties with Yemen, God be praised Besides, our roots go back to Yemen.

**Isma'il:** How do you describe your relations with other Islamic organizations in the Arab World? And what is the true stand of the Islamic Jama'ah vis-a-vis the World Islamic Front and has it withdrawn from this front?

**Bin Ladin:** God be praised, our relations with the Islamic Jama'ah in the Islamic World are good. We cooperate with them through piety and godliness for the sake of this religion.

We call upon Muslims, especially those who work for Islam, to rise above secondary issues. Unfortunately, the satans, especially the crusaders, have managed to preoccupy the states and the small groups in them with regional problems. Thus, you find that Egypt has problems with Libya and Saudi Arabia with Yemen. The groups also face problems, while the great infidelity, the US-crusader alliance mutilates the Islamic World and cancels the decisions of the Muslims in an unprecedented manner. What is the second part of the question?

**Isma'il:** The Islamic Jama'ah in Egypt and whether it has withdrawn from the World Islamic Front?

**Bin Ladin:** We have strong ties with the Jama'ah since the days of the jihad. We used to fight in the same trenches against the Soviet Union. They maintained an honorable and supportive stand by signing the fatwa that calls for spilling the blood of the Americans and the Jews. They signed the fatwa, but there was confusion on an administrative matter pertaining to the issuance of the fatwa. The issuance of the fatwa coincided with the date of the establishment of the front. So people were confused that the Islamic Jama'ah was part of the Islamic Front. So the jama'ah was compelled to explain its position. It signed the fatwa, but it is not part of the World Islamic Front.

**Isma'il:** What are the final aims that you have set for yourselves, and what is the message you want to address to the Arab World and Islamic World in general?

**Bin Ladin:** God be praised. As I said, we firmly believe [sentence incomplete]. I am saying this due to the strong campaign by the regimes and the media against us. They want to deprive us of our manhood. We believe that we are men, Muslim men who must defend the greatest place in existence, the Holy Ka'aba. We want to have the honor of defending it. We do not want American women soldiers, including American, Jewish,

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and Christian women soldiers defending the grandchildren of [Muslim leaders] Sa'd, Al-Muthanna, Abubakr, and Omar. Had God not honored us with Islam, our grandfathers in the pre-Islamic [jahiliyah] period would have rejected the arrival of these women and red infidels under such claim. This claim no longer deceives even children.

The rulers in that region said that the Americans came only for a few months. They lied at the beginning and at the end. Our prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, said that three men would not be seen by God on the Day of Judgment. One of them, he said, is a liar king. The months passed and then the first and second year. We are now in the ninth year while the Americans are telling lies to everyone, saying we have interests in this region and we will not move out until we are reassured of them. An enemy enters and steals your money. You tell him, you are stealing But, he says, no this is my interest. They deceive us with words.

The rulers in that region have been deprived of their manhood. And they think that the people are women. By God, Muslim women refuse to be defended by these American and Jewish prostitutes.

Our aim is to work according to God's shari'ah and to defend the Holy Ka'aba, this great and ancient house. God has made the existence of mankind on this land based on the belief of the one God through worship, and the highest form of worship after faith is prayer. As the traditions of the prophet say, prayer is the backbone and jihad its apex. God Almighty would not accept our prayer if we did not face in the direction of the Ka'aba. God chose for this holy place the noblest of people, the father of the prophets, Ibrahim, may peace be upon him, -- after our prophet, may peace be upon him -- and his son Isma'il. Our aim is to liberate the land of Islam from infidelity and to apply God's shari'ah until we meet with Him and gain his pleasure.

All those brothers are still waiting for an improvement in conditions before taking any serious action. The Americans have tried to bribe us into silence. The United States and some of its agents in the region have tried to bribe me into silence more than 10 times. They said, keep silent and we will give you back your passport, funds, and identity card, but keep silent. They think that people live in this world for the sake of worldly things. They forgot that there is no meaning to our existence if we did not strive to gain God's pleasure.

This chart shows the density of population according to age. Children from birth to 11 years constitute the largest sector in Muslim societies. The nation would depend on them for the next 60 to 70 years. In this age, the sector that wants to make sacrifices for the sake of religion, especially, Jihad, is fed up. As we know, a person between birth and the age of 15 is not duty bound for jihad and not fully aware of its demands. And 25 years onward, a person will have been involved in family obligations. He will also have graduated and become committed to duties toward his job, wife, and children. He becomes mentally mature, but his ability to make sacrifices becomes weak. He would say, where do I leave the family and who would spend on them?

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But, if we thoroughly examined the issue, we will find that the sector between 15 and 25

years is the one that has ability for jihad and sacrifice. This was what we observed in the jihad in Afghanistan. Most mujahidin were from this age. When the Americans came in the month of Muharram 1411 hegira, the young ones were not aware of the event. Unfortunately, fatwas were issued by the state. The Gulf states helped in pressuring the state into issuing these fatwas. They claimed that they would be temporary. Some ulema that we trusted, such as Muhammad Bin-Salih al-Uthaymi, told us in his council and residence: We did not issue any fatwa. But, when the state introduced the Americans, they gathered us and said we must issue a fatwa; otherwise the youths would fight the American forces.

I spoke with him at length on the need for the Council of Senior Ulema to issue a fatwa on the eviction of the Americans. He told me very clearly, and may God be my witness: Usama, it is not our right in the Council of Senior Ulema to issue a fatwa out of own free will. But, if it is referred to us by the highest authority, as he said, we will issue it. This is our situation, very unfortunately.

When the people remained silent, no one knew about this sector from 15 to 25 years. Nine years have passed since the invasion. This entire sector, except those who are 16 years old, arrived here. Their age is now 34 years. They entered into the sector that matured mentally and could no longer make sacrifices. And with regard to the young sector that can make sacrifices now, nothing is done to prepare the situation for them. If we kept silent, our situation would be like that existed in Andalusia. Some 10 years would pass and the mentality would then gradually become indolent.

This is serious. People must do all they can to rouse the nation with all the means in their power; with their tongues, pens, and persons. With the grace of God, we performed our duty and we continue in this duty until we meet God Almighty. Finally, I would like to advise all Muslims that they should read the Holy Book. It is the one that salvaged us from the rotten backwardness [jahiliyah] in those dark ages. Our remedy is in the Holy Book and the prophet's traditions. When one reads the Koran, he wonders why many people are reneging. Don't they read the Koran, or do they read it, but not ponder it? God says: "Ye believers take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors. They are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily God guideth not a people unjust" [Holy Koran]. He is of them, meaning that he becomes infidel like them. God says in the next verse: "Those in whose ears is a disease -- thou seest how early they run about among them, saying: we do fear lest a change of fortune bring us disaster. Ah! perhaps God will give (thee) victory, or a decision to His will. Then they will repent of the thoughts which they secretly harbored in their hearts."

I hope that my brother Muslims would read the Koran and also read the interpretation of these verses. There are many verses in the Holy Book where God warns us against loyalty to infidels. They should read the "Interpretation" by Ibn-Kathir and "The Abridged Interpretation" by Shaykh Muhammad Muslim al-Rifa'i. I say that the world is

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unanimous on devouring the Islamic World. The crusader world is unanimous on devouring us. The nations have been called up against us. God Almighty taught us how to reply to those who make excuses in order to delay the jihad. God says: "When (at length) the order for fighting was issued to them, behold a section of them feared men as -- or even more than -- they should have feared God. They said: Our Lord! Why hast Thou ordered us to Fight? Wouldst Thou not grant us respite to our (natural) term, near (enough)? Say: Short is the enjoyment of this world: The hereafter is the best for those who do right. Never will ye be dealt unjustly in the very least!"

Whoever believes that the enjoyment of this world is short and the Hereafter is best and more lasting, then he is the one who will respond to God's order.

In the previous verse which says "ye believers take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors," Ibn-Kathir, May God rest his soul in peace, explains that the Muslims discovered the hypocrites the day they defended and supported the Baynuqa Jewish tribe. Today, the Arab rulers are openly loyal to Jews and Christians and people are praising the enemies of Islam and Muslims, God forbid! There must be a serious and sincere pause from which we seek God's mercy. "For the life of this world is but goods and chattels of deception." [Koranic verse]

Every Muslim who can volunteer, should do so and inquire about the places of jihad and preparation so he would meet God's pleasure.

I rouse the faithful and myself after all these great disasters by citing the poet who says: "Get ready for struggle for matters have gone beyond sweet words. I will dress up and defend the nation with the edges of spearheads and swords. Do you abandon us when the many infidel wolves gnaw at our flesh? The infidel wolves are turning evil men against us from all parts of the world. Where are the free men from among our co-religionists to defend women with weapons. Death is better than humiliated life, as shame cannot be erased."

I pray to God Almighty to help Muslims return to their religion and to grant victory to the youths who went out for jihad for his sake and pleasure. O God! Give us patience, strengthen our position, and give us victory over the infidels. O God, who runs clouds, reveals the Book, and vanquishes enemies, vanquish them and give us victory over them. O God give us grace in this world and in the Hereafter and save us from hell. O God give us victory over the Americans, Israel and their supporters, for You are capable of everything. Finally, praise to God Almighty.

[Announcer: Al-Jazirah Channel is not responsible for what came in this interview. All that Usama Bin ladin said expressed his personal viewpoints]

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

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**Text of Bin Ladin's Letter to the Pakistani People 24 Sep**

**Website of Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic**

[FBIS Report] Website of Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic, independent television station financed by the Qatari Government, which can be accessed at URL: <http://www.aljazeera.net>, carries at 2011 GMT on 24 September the text of the

following letter by Usama Bin Ladin "to the Pakistani people."

And the witnesses who testify in the eyes of their lord, they shall have their reward and their lights. [Koranic verse]

To our Muslim brothers in Pakistan

God's peace and prayers be upon you:

I have heard with great sorrow that some of our brethren Muslims in Karachi were killed while they were expressing their opposition to the aggression of the forces of crusader America and its allies against the Muslims' territories in Pakistan and Afghanistan. We beseech Almighty God to accept them as martyrs and place them among the prophets, the sincere lovers of truth, the martyrs, and the benevolent people who are the best companions, grant their families patience and solace, bless their children and property, and reward them on behalf of Islam.

Those who left children behind them, their children are mine. I will be their caretaker, God willing.

No wonder that the Muslim nation in Pakistan has rushed to defend their Islam. Pakistan is the first line of defense of Islam in this region, as Afghanistan was on the front line of defending itself and Pakistan against the Russian invasion more than 20 years ago.

We hope that these brothers would be the first martyrs in Islam's battle in this age against the new Jewish crusade that is being led by the biggest crusader, Bush, under the banner of the cross. This battle is one of Islam's immortal battles.

We incite our Muslim brothers in Pakistan to deter with all their capabilities the American crusaders from invading Pakistan and Afghanistan for the prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, who said: He who does not join fighters in battle, fails to support them financially or take care of a fighter's family will be punished by God before the Day of Judgment.

I bring you the good news, brothers, that we are firm on the path of jihad for the cause of God, following the example God's messenger, God's peace and blessings be upon him, with the heroic faithful Afghan people, and under the leadership of our mujahid amir, who prides himself in his religion, Prince of the Faithful Mullah Mohammad Omar.

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We beseech God to grant him victory against the forces of infidelity and arrogance, and to crush the new crusader-Jewish campaign on the land of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

"If Allah helps you, none can overcome you: If He forsakes you, who is there, after that, that can help you? In Allah, then, let believers put their trust." Koranic verse

[Signed] Your brother in Islam, Usama Bin-Muhammad Bin Ladin

**'Exclusive' Interview With Usama Bin Ladin on 11 Sep Attacks in US**

**Karachi Ummat in Urdu 28 Sep 01 pp 1, 7**

["Exclusive" interview with Usama Bin Ladin by unidentified Ummat special correspondent: "The US should search attackers within itself", place and date not given, first paragraph is Ummat introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text]

**Kabul:** Prominent Arab Mujahid [holy warrior] Usama Bin Ladin has said that he or his al-Qua'ida group has nothing to do with the 11 September suicidal attacks in Washington and New York. He said the US Government should find the attackers within the country. In an exclusive interview with daily "Ummat," he said these attacks could be the act of those who are part of the American system and are rebelling against it and working for some other system. Or, Usama said, this could be the act of those who want to make the current century a century of conflict between Islam and Christianity. Or, the American Jews, who are opposed to President Bush ever since the Florida elections, might be the masterminds of this act. There is also a great possibility of the involvement of US intelligence agencies, which need billions of dollars worth of funds every year. He said there is a government within the government in the United States. The secret agencies, he said, should be asked as to who are behind the attacks. Usama said support for attack on Afghanistan was a matter of need for some Muslim countries and compulsion for others. However, he said, he was thankful to the courageous people of Pakistan who erected a bulwark before the wrong forces. He added that the Islamic world was attaching great expectations with Pakistan and, in time of need, 'we will protect this bulwark by sacrificing of lives.' Following is the interview in full detail:

**Ummat:** You have been accused of involvement in the attacks in New York and Washington. What do you want to say about this? If you are not involved, who might be?

**Usama:** In the name of Allah, the most beneficent, the most merciful. Praise be to Allah, Who is the creator of the whole universe and Who made the earth as an abode for peace, THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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for the whole mankind. Allah is the Sustainer, who sent Prophet Muhammad for our guidance. I am thankful to the Ummat Group of Publications, which gave me the opportunity to convey my viewpoint to the people, particularly the valiant and Momin [true Muslim] people of Pakistan who refused to believe in lie of the demon. I have already said that I am not involved in the 11 September attacks in the United States. As a Muslim, I try my best to avoid telling a lie. Neither I had any knowledge of these attacks nor I consider the killing of innocent women, children, and other humans as an appreciable act. Islam strictly forbids causing harm to innocent women, children, and other people. Such a practice is forbidden ever in the course of a battle. It is the United States, which is perpetrating every maltreatment on women, children, and common people of other faiths, particularly the followers of Islam. All that is going on in Palestine for the last 11 months is sufficient to call the wrath of God upon the United States and Israel. There is also a warning for those Muslim countries, which witnessed all these as a silent spectator. What had earlier been done to the innocent people of Iraq, Chechnya, and Bosnia? Only one conclusion could be derived from the indifference of the United States and the West to these acts of terror and the patronage of the tyrants by these powers that America is an anti-Islamic power and it is patronizing the anti-Islamic forces. Its friendship with the Muslim countries is just a show, rather deceit. By enticing or intimidating these countries, the United States is forcing them to play a role of its choice.

Put a glance all around and you will see that the slaves of the United States are either rulers or enemies [of Muslims]. The US has no friends, nor it wants to keep one because the prerequisite of friendship is to come to the level of the friend or consider him at par with you. America does not want to see anyone equal to it. It expects slavery from others. Therefore, other countries are either its slaves or subordinates. However, our case is different. We have pledged slavery to God Almighty alone and after this pledge there is no possibility to become the slave of someone else. If we do that, it will be disregarding to both our Sustainer and his fellow beings. Most of the world nations upholding their freedom are the religious ones, which are the enemies of United States, or the latter itself considers them as its enemies. Or the countries, which do not agree to become its slaves, such as China, Iran, Libya, Cuba, Syria, and the former Russia. Whoever committed the act of 11 September are not the friends of the American people. I have already said that we are against the American system, not against its people, whereas in these attacks, the common American people have been killed. According to my information, the death toll is much higher than what the US Government has stated. But the Bush administration does not want the panic to spread. The United States should try to trace the perpetrators of these attacks within itself; the people who are a part of the US system, but are dissenting against it. Or those who are working for some other system; persons who want to make the present century as a century of conflict between Islam and Christianity so that their own civilization, nation, country, or ideology could survive. They can be any one, from Russia to Israel and from India to Serbia. In the US itself, there are dozens of well-organized and well-equipped groups, which are capable of causing a large-scale destruction. Then you cannot forget the American Jews, who are annoyed with President Bush ever since the elections in Florida and want to avenge him. Then there are intelligence agencies in the US, which require billions of dollars worth of funds from the Congress and the government every year. This [funding issue] was not a big problem till the existence of the former Soviet Union but after that the budget of these

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agencies has been in danger. They needed an enemy. So, they first started propaganda against Usama and Taliban and then this incident happened. You see, the Bush administration approved a budget of \$40 billion. Where will this huge amount go? It will be provided to the same agencies, which need huge funds and want to exert their importance. Now they will spend the money for their expansion and for increasing their importance. I will give you an example. Drug smugglers from all over the world are in contact with the US secret agencies. These agencies do not want to eradicate narcotics cultivation and trafficking because their importance will be diminished. The people in the US Drug Enforcement Department are encouraging drug trade so that they could show performance and get millions of dollars worth of budget. General Noriega was made a drug baron by the CIA and, in need, he was made a scapegoat. In the same way, whether it is President Bush or any other US President, they cannot bring Israel to justice for its human rights abuses or to hold it accountable for such crimes. What is this? Is it

not that there exists a government within the government in the United States? That secret government must be asked as to who made the attacks.

**Ummat:** A number of world countries have joined the call of the United States for launching an attack on Afghanistan. These also include a number of Muslim countries. Will al-Qa'ida declare a jihad against these countries as well?

**Usama:** I must say that my duty is just to awaken the Muslims; to tell them as to what is good for them and what is not. What does Islam say and what the enemies of Islam want? Al-Qa'ida was set up to wage a jihad against infidelity, particularly to encounter the onslaught of the infidel countries against the Islamic states. Jihad is the sixth undeclared element of Islam. [The first five being the basic holy words of Islam, prayers, fast, pilgrimage to Mecca, and giving the poor-due] Every anti-Islamic person is afraid of it. Al-Qa'ida wants to keep this element alive and active and make it part of the daily life of the Muslims. It wants to give it the status of worship. We are not against any Islamic country nor we consider a war against an Islamic country as Jihad. We are in favor of armed jihad only against those infidel countries, which are killing innocent Muslim men, women, and children just because they are Muslims. Supporting the US act is the need of some Muslim countries and the compulsion of others. However, they should think as to what will remain of their religious and moral position if they support the attack of the Christians and the Jews on a Muslim country like Afghanistan. The orders of Islamic Shariat [jurisprudence] for such individuals, organizations, and countries are clear and all the scholars of the Muslim brotherhood are unanimous on them. We will do the same, which is being ordered by the Ameerul Momineen [the commander of the faithful] Mulla Omar and the Islamic scholars. The hearts of the people of Muslim countries are beating with the call of jihad. We are grateful to them.

**Ummat:** The losses caused in the attacks in New York and Washington have proved that giving an economic blow to the US is not too difficult. US experts admit that a few more such attacks can bring down the American economy. Why is al-Qa'ida not targeting their economic pillars?

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**Usama:** I have already said that we are not hostile to the United States. We are against the system, which makes other nations slaves of the United States, or forces them to mortgage their political and economic freedom. This system is totally in control of the American Jews, whose first priority is Israel, not the United States. It is simply that the American people are themselves the slaves of the Jews and are forced to live according to the principles and laws laid by them. So, the punishment should reach Israel. In fact, it is Israel, which is giving a blood bath to innocent Muslims and the US is not uttering a single word.

**Ummat:** Why is harm not caused to the enemies of Islam through other means, apart from the armed struggle? For instance, inciting the Muslims to boycott Western products, banks, shipping lines, and TV channels.

**Usama:** The first thing is that Western products could only be boycotted when the Muslim fraternity is fully awakened and organized. Secondly, the Muslim companies should become self-sufficient in producing goods equal to the products of Western

companies. Economic boycott of the West is not possible unless economic self-sufficiency is attained and substitute products are brought out. You see that wealth is scattered all across the Muslim world but not a single TV channel has been acquired which can preach Islamic injunctions according to modern requirements and attain an international influence. Muslim traders and philanthropists should make it a point that if the weapon of public opinion is to be used, it is to be kept in the hand. Today's world is of public opinion and the fates of nations are determined through its pressure. Once the tools for building public opinion are obtained, everything that you asked for can be done.

**Ummat:** The entire propaganda about your struggle has so far been made by the Western media. But no information is being received from your sources about the network of al-Qua'ida and its jihadi successes. Would you comment?

**Usama:** In fact, the Western media is left with nothing else. It has no other theme to survive for a long time. Then we have many other things to do. The struggle for jihad and the successes are for the sake of Allah and not to annoy His bondsmen. Our silence is our real propaganda. Rejections, explanations, or corrigendum only waste your time and through them, the enemy wants you to engage in things which are not of use to you. These things are pulling you away from your cause. The Western media is unleashing such a baseless propaganda, which makes us surprised but it reflects on what is in their hearts and gradually they themselves become captive of this propaganda. They become afraid of it and begin to cause harm to themselves. Terror is the most dreaded weapon in modern age and the Western media is mercilessly using it against its own people. It can add fear and helplessness in the psyche of the people of Europe and the United States. It means that what the enemies of the United States cannot do, its media is doing that. You can understand as to what will be the performance of the nation in a war, which suffers from fear and helplessness.

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**Ummat:** What will the impact of the freeze of al-Qua'ida accounts by the US?

**Usama:** God opens up ways for those who work for Him. Freezing of accounts will not make any difference for al-Qua'ida or other jihad groups. With the grace of Allah, al-Qua'ida has more than three such alternative financial systems, which are all separate and totally independent from each other. This system is operating under the patronage of those who love jihad. What to say of the United States, even the combined world cannot budge these people from their path. These people are not in hundreds but in thousands and millions. Al-Qua'ida comprises of such modern educated youths who are aware of the cracks inside the Western financial system as they are aware of the lines in their hands. These are the very flaws of the Western fiscal system, which are becoming a noose for it and this system could not recuperate in spite of the passage of so many days.

**Ummat:** Are there other safe areas other than Afghanistan, where you can continue jihad?

**Usama:** There are areas in all parts of the world where strong jihadi forces are present, from Indonesia to Algeria, from Kabul to Chechnya, from Bosnia to Sudan, and from

Burma to Kashmir. Then it is not the problem of my person. I am helpless fellowman of God, constantly in the fear of my accountability before God. It is not the question of Usama but of Islam and, in Islam too, of jihad. Thanks to God, those waging a jihad can walk today with their heads raised. Jihad was still present when there was no Usama and it will remain as such even when Usama is no longer there. Allah opens up ways and creates loves in the hearts of people for those who walk on the path of Allah with their lives, property, and children. Believe it, through jihad, a man gets everything he desires. And the biggest desire of a Muslim is the after life. Martyrdom is the shortest way of attaining an eternal life.

**Ummat:** What do you say about the Pakistan Government policy on Afghanistan attack?

**Usama:** We are thankful to the Momin and valiant people of Pakistan who erected a blockade in front of the wrong forces and stood in the first file of battle. Pakistan is a great hope for the Islamic brotherhood. Its people are awakened, organized, and rich in the spirit of faith. They backed Afghanistan in its war against the Soviet Union and extended every help to the Mujahidin and the Afghan people. Then these are very Pakistanis who are standing shoulder by shoulder with the Taliban. If such people emerge in just two countries, the domination of the West will diminish in a matter of days. Our hearts beat with Pakistan and, God forbid, if a difficult time comes we will protect it with our blood. Pakistan is sacred for us like a place of worship. We are the people of jihad and fighting for the defense of Pakistan is the best of all jihads to us. It does not matter for us as to who rules Pakistan. The important thing is that the spirit of jihad is alive and stronger in the hearts of the Pakistani people.

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**Al-Jazirah Carries Bin Ladin's Address on US Strikes**

**Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 1825 GMT 07 Oct 01**

[Speech by Usama Bin ladin on 7 October -- recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Praise be to God and we beseech Him for help and forgiveness. We seek refuge with the Lord of our bad and evildoing. He whom God guides is rightly guided; but he whom God leaves to stray, for him wilt thou find no protector to lead him to the right way. [Koranic verse] I witness that there is no God but God and Muhammad is His slave and Prophet. God Almighty hit the United States at its most vulnerable spot. He destroyed its greatest buildings. Praise be to God. Here is the United States. It was filled with terror from its north to its south and from its east to its west. Praise be to God.

What the United States tastes today is a very small thing compared to what we have tasted for tens of years. Our nation has been tasting this humiliation and contempt for more than 80 years. Its sons are being killed, its blood is being shed, its holy places are being attacked, and it is not being ruled according to what God has decreed. Despite this, no body cares. When Almighty God has rendered successful a convoy of Muslims, the vanguards of Islam, He allowed them to destroy the United States. I ask God Almighty to elevate their status and grant them Paradise. He is the one who is capable to do so. When these defended their oppressed sons, brothers, and sisters in Palestine and in many Islamic countries, the world at large shouted. The infidels shouted, followed by the

hypocrites. One million Iraqi children have thus far died in Iraq although they did not do anything wrong. Despite this, we heard no denunciation by anyone in the world or a fatwa by the rulers' ulema. Israeli tanks and tracked vehicles also enter to wreak havoc in Palestine, in Janin, Ramallah, Rafah, Bayt Jala, and other Islamic areas and we hear no voices raised or moves made. But if the sword falls on the United States after 80 years, hypocrisy raises its head lamenting the deaths of these killers who tampered with the blood, honor, and holy places of the Muslims. The least that one can describe these people is that they are morally depraved. They champion falsehood, support the butcher against the victim, the oppressor against the innocent child May God mete them the punishment they deserve.

I say that the matter is clear and explicit. In the aftermath of this event and now that senior US officials have spoken, beginning with Bush, the head of the world's infidels, and whoever supports him, every Muslim should rush to defend his religion. They came out in arrogance with their men and horses and instigated even those countries that belong to Islam against us. They came out to fight this group of people who declared their faith in God and refused to abandon their religion. They came out to fight Islam [words indistinct] in the name of terrorism. Hundreds of thousands of people, young and old, were killed in the farthest point on earth in Japan. [For them] this is not a crime, but rather a debatable issue. They bombed Iraq and considered that a debatable issue. But **FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

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when a dozen people of them were killed in Nairobi and Dar Al-Salam, Afghanistan and Iraq were bombed and all hypocrite ones stood behind the head of the world's infidelity, behind the Hubal [one of the main idols worshipped by pagans before the advent of Islam] of the age; namely, America and its supporters.

These incidents divided the entire world into two regions—one of faith where there is no hypocrisy and another of infidelity, from which we hope God will protect us. The winds of faith and change have blown to remove falsehood from the [Arabian] peninsula of Prophet Muhammad, may God's prayers be upon him. As for the United States, I tell it and its people these few words: I swear by Almighty God who raised the heavens without pillars that neither the United States nor he who lives in the United States will enjoy security before we can see it as a reality in Palestine and before all the infidel armies leave the land of Muhammad, may God's peace and blessing be upon him.

God is great and glory to Islam. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you [Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

**2002**

**Al-Jazirah TV Website Reports on 'Row' With CNN Over Bin Ladin's Tape**

**Doha Al-Jazirah Net WWW-Text in Arabic 1211 GMT 01 Feb 02**

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The airing of an interview conducted by Al-Jazirah Satellite

Channel with Al-Aqa'ida leader Usama Bin Ladin has created a row between the Dohabased

Al-Jazirah channel and the American CNN network.

In his interview, Bin Ladin affirmed that the fight against the United States will continue. In the meantime, a US Congressman said that Boeing Company could have been a potential target for the Al-Qa'ida organization, noting that the US forces found pictures of the company's facilities in Afghanistan

In a videotape broadcast by the CNN, Usama Bin Ladin swore to continue his fight against the United States until death.

Two weeks after the start of the US bombing against Afghanistan, Bin Ladin told Al-Jazirah correspondent in Kabul that "the battle has moved to inside America," adding that "we will continue this battle until victory or until we meet God." Bin Ladin said that he thinks that "America's defeat is possible, with God's assistance. It is easier for us than the defeat we inflicted upon the Soviet Union before." He noted that the mission of the US forces in Somalia in 1993 failed.

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Replying to a question on his responsibility for the 11 September attacks, Bin Ladin said that the United States leveled many accusations at us and at many other Muslims and accused us of committing unjustified terrorist actions. But he added, "If urging people to do this is viewed as terrorism, then let history record that we are terrorists.

On whether he is responsible for the lethal Anthrax attacks in the United States in the wake of the 11 September attacks, Bin Ladin said "These diseases are a punishment from God and are in response to the call of persecuted women in Lebanon and Palestine."

Bin Ladin said that freedom and human rights are violated in the United States. He added that the US Government will drag the US people and the Western world into unbearable hell and stifling life.

Al-Jazirah's objection:

The tape recorded by Al-Jazirah correspondent last October led to tense relations between Al-Jazirah television, the owner of the tape, and the US CNN television network that aired the tape late Thursday evening, US time.

Al-Jazirah Space Channel objected to CNN's transmission of the tape and said that CNN got the tape in an illegal way. Al-Jazirah Director Muhammad Jasim al-Ali said that the relationship with CNN will become tense and that Al-Jazirah will resort to the necessary legal actions that are taken in such cases. He added that the agreement with CNN allows the latter to obtain tapes from Al-Jazirah through the customary legal channels and not through any other illegal way.

CNN defended the airing of the tape. A CNN official said, "when the tape reached our hands, we felt that we had to report about it and air it for it was of high news value.

Al-Jazirah at the time decided not to air the interview, saying it has no news value.

[passage omitted on US congressman's statements]

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Net WWW-Text in Arabic -- Internet site of Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television, an independent television station financed by the Qatari Government; root URL on filing date: <http://www.aljazeera.net>]

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**Bin Ladin Calls Saudi Initiative 'High Treason', Urges**

**Muslims To Take up Jihad**

**London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic 28 Mar 02 p3**

[Unattributed report: "Usama Bin Ladin: Prince Abdallah's Initiative Is High Treason"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

London, Al-Quds al-Arabi-Saudi oppositionist Usama Bin Ladin has described Prince Abdallah's initiative "high treason." In a rare statement, a copy of which reached Al-Quds al-Arabi, he said the aim of the Saudi initiative for peace with Israel is "to destroy the serious popular move to liberate Palestine."

Bin Ladin—whose Al-Qa'ida Organization was the target of the US strikes in Afghanistan that inflicted heavy losses on it, if not paralyzed it completely—said: "Everyone is today required to take up the jihad and serious action. All the popular leaderships from all sectors should act to stop this thunderous hemorrhage and expose these blatant treasons.

Washington has asserted that it paralyzed Al-Qa'ida's capabilities for the second time during the past weeks but did not divulge anything that indicates whether its forces have killed Bin Ladin or know his whereabouts.

Following is the text of the statement:

"Thanks be to God who says: "O Prophet! Strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites." [Koranic verse] Peace and prayers be on the Imam of the mujahidin and Leader of the brilliant recruits the universal faithful Prophet, His Family, and His Companions who carried the banner and defended Islam and Muslims.

"God Almighty says: "Those who conceal the clear (signs) We have sent down, and the Guidance, after We have made it clear for the people in the Book -- on them shall be Allah's curse, and the curse of those entitled to curse." [Koranic verse]

"To the nation of 1 billion, the nation of jihad, the nation of the declaration of faith and martyrdom. To the nation of the best of peoples evolved for mankind. To our Muslim nation: How the situation today is similar to the one of yesterday. How many lessons but how few were learnt. How many cups of humiliation have we drunk and how selfesteem

abandoned us when the subservient ones took charge of our affairs!

"Our Muslim Nation,

"The one who takes a discerning look, understands the language of reason, and probes deeply into events knows for certain that the nation has woken up from its slumber and has recognized its path after its features have become clear to it and its signposts have

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become visible. It has learned that if the dream is corrupt then forgiveness is a miracle, that patience is good unless it harms religion, and that forbearance is commendable unless there is an opportunity. The Al-Aqsa intifadah broke out and the stone spoke in the hands of the mujahidin, the righteous men and women, young and old. The Jews tried in vain to flee but could find no haven and became exposed behind walls facing exploding bodies that are making them taste death, pursuing them with terror, and shaking the ground under their feet so that they have become like agitated wild asses fleeing from a lion. Then came the New York invasion that ignited the house of the idiots of the age, smashed their citadels, nullified their witchcraft, exposed all the flags that marched behind them, and announced the beginning of their end, God willing.

"These momentous events are the blessed jihad that has continued its march toward the desired objective and the promised day. It has come to expose the feeble and refuted argument. There is no place for this feeble saying and refuted argument "What can we do? There is nothing we can do!! It is not up to us!!" No heart accommodates it and no live conscience accepts it. In view of the bloody events that our nation is subjected to, everyone is today required to take up the jihad and serious action. The popular leaderships from all sectors must act to stop this thunderous hemorrhage and expose these blatant treasons. The least that anyone of these leaders who cannot act because of these regimes' pressures and terrorism can do is to give way to others with courageous capabilities who are capable of bringing about the change and putting things right. Let him avoid inaction and betrayal and let him avoid acts of abhorrent waylaying and the forbidden monopolization. It is the jihad that has brought out these youths who responded to God Almighty's words "But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)", Al-Tawbah Surah, verse (5).

"This jihad is capable of bringing out and stirring other sons of the nation. The jihad is continuing until the day of resurrection. But we, as individuals, our days are numbered and after them we will stand before God Almighty. "Then shall anyone who has done an atom's weight of good, see it! And anyone who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it", Al-Zalazalah Surah, verses (7 and 8).

"Our Muslim Nation,

"The treacherous character and personality of Abu-Raghal [person who played the role of the guide for the Abyssinian army that advanced toward Mecca more than 1,500 years ago] has been recurring for more than a century to suppress, lower the banners, bury the jihad alive, save unbelief and consolidate its pillars. The initiative of Prince Abdallah Bin-Abd-al-Aziz (Zio-American in Saudi Government's clothes) is just one of Abu-Raghal's tricks, a conspiracy, and one of the forms of the recurrent treasons in the history of our region's rulers toward our causes in general and the Al-Aqsa one in particular. By announcing it, he is following in the footsteps of his father who aborted the intifadah of 1936/1354 Hegira with a false promise from him and the English Government. He deceived the Palestinians and they stopped the intifadah while the English occupation

remained until 1948/1366 Hegira when it handed Palestine over to the Jews. He is also  
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following in the footsteps of his ilk, the traitorous rulers who marched the seven armies  
under English command, the command of the English Government's man (Glubb Pasha)  
and crushed the serious popular action to liberate Palestine. They completed the  
conspiracy and signed a truce to cease the fighting in 1949/1367 Hegira. Their high  
treason to crush the first Al-Aqsa intifadah was however in Oslo in 1992/1412 Hegira."

[Description of Source: London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic -- London-based  
independent Arab nationalist daily with an anti-US and anti-Saudi editorial line;  
generally pro-Palestinian, pro-Iraqi regime, tends to be sympathetic to Bin Ladin.]

**MBC TV Carries Video of Bin Ladin, Aides Supporting 911**

**Attacks**

**London MBC Television in Arabic 1815 GMT 17 Apr 02**

[Announcer-read report over video]

[FBIS Translated Text]

**Anchorperson Nicole Tannuri:** MBC has obtained a videotape showing for the first  
time pictures of a number of fighters of the Al-Qa'ida organization who were killed in the  
recent US campaign against Afghanistan. In the tape, Bin Ladin lauds the material losses  
the brother martyrs have inflicted on the US economy. According to Bin Ladin, a small  
portion of these losses is equivalent to Sudan's budget for 640 years, according to Bin  
Ladin.

The tape also includes shots of Sulayman Abu-Ghayth, spokesman for Al-Qa'ida, during  
which he praises the 11 September attacks and says that the organization has managed to  
attack the head of infidelity in his own country:

**Begin report by correspondent Ahmad al-Qurashi Idris:** In this unique tape, which  
MBC broadcasts for the first time, Sulayman Abu-Ghayth, spokesman for Al-Qa'ida  
organization, has emphasized the Al-Qa'ida organization's responsibility for the  
Washington and New York attacks on 11 September. He said that his organization  
attacked infidelity in its own house.

**Begin Abu-Ghayth recording:** My beloved ones, we have done what Almighty God  
ordered us to do. We did not invent anything. Nor did we invent any words. However,  
we implemented what Almighty God ordered us to do. Almighty God ordered us to  
perform jihad, and therefore we performed jihad. God ordered us to support the  
oppressed, and therefore we supported the oppressed. God Almighty ordered us to  
terrorize the infidels, and therefore we terrorized the infidels. God Almighty ordered us to  
fight the leaders of infidelity, and therefore we fought the leaders of infidelity. We  
believe that we have aided the religion of God Almighty. We also believe that we have

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responded to the appeal of the oppressed in Palestine, the appeal of the oppressed in Chechnya, and the appeal of the oppressed everywhere. We have managed to attack the head of infidelity, who deliberately and openly declares his hostility to Islam day and night, in his own country. This is purely grace from Almighty God. This is success from Almighty God. We gave Almighty God what he ordered us, and so, God Almighty will give us what He promised us. It is either victory or martyrdom. [end recording] [Video shows Sulayman Abu-Ghayth, sitting on the floor, speaking]

For his part, Usama Bin Ladin, leader of the Al-Qa'ida organization, lauded the losses resulting from the Washington and New York attacks:

**Begin Bin Ladin recording:** Based on their own [American] confessions, the losses on Wall Street amounted to 16 percent, and they said that this was a record loss that had never happened since the market opened more than 230 years ago. Such a huge collapse had never happened before.

The capital in circulation in this market amounts to \$4 trillion. If we multiply 16 percent by \$4 trillion to find out the losses that their shares suffered, we find that it is \$640 billion. This is their loss in shares, and credit goes to God Almighty. This number is equivalent to the budget of Sudan, for instance, for 640 years. This is what they lost thanks to God as a result of a strike carried out with God's help in one hour. The daily gross national income in the United States is \$20 billion. On the first week [after the 11 September attacks] they did not work at all because of the psychological shock. Even to this very day some people still do not go to work because of the enormous shock.

If you multiply \$20 billion by seven days, you get \$140 billion. But it is really more than that. Add this to \$640 [billion], what do you get? [voices of people answering back with indistinct words] Approximately \$800 [billion]. We said that the loss in buildings and facilities amounts to more than \$30 [billion]. Until today, or two days ago, they have laid off more than 170,000 airline employees. They were completely dismissed. This applies to carrier as well as manufacturing airlines.

Some US analysts and studies said that 70 percent of the American people are still suffering from depression and psychological disorders to this very day after the incident of the two towers and the strike on the Pentagon, thanks to God Almighty [sniffs].

One of the famous US chain hotel companies; namely, Intercontinental, has dismissed 20,000 employees. They just told them to go. The credit goes to God Almighty. The repercussions are so great, enormous, and are spreading out that no one can estimate them in cash, [sniffs] and they are on the rise, praise be to God.

To say the least, more than \$1 trillion in losses resulted from these successful and blessed strikes, and may God receive these brothers as martyrs and welcome them to higher paradise. [end recording] [video shows Bin Ladin sitting down on the floor next to Ayman Al-Zawahiri speaking, gesturing with his left hand]

In these scenes, which the MBC airs for the first time, we see a tape of the bombings recorded at the Al-Qa'ida bases in Afghanistan. The video footage, which was received  
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by MBC, show pictures of dead leaders in Al-Qa'ida organization killed in recent battles. Al-Qa'ida organization was careful to identify its dead by their titles and the countries

from which they came--Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Qatar, and other Arab and Islamic states.

In the tape which MBC received, Muhammad Atif, alias Abu-Hafs al-Masri, the Al-Qa'ida military commander, who was reported to have been killed, calls on Muslims to come to Afghanistan.

[Begin al-Masri recording, in progress] ... So be reassured, O slaves of God. The liberation of Palestine starts from here. [End recording]

Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, deputy leader of Al-Qa'ida organization, also spoke on the tape.

[Begin al-Zawahiri recording] [words indistinct] [end recording]

In this tape, which is aired by the MBC for the first time, Bin Ladin appears in an Afghan military uniform. Bin Ladin had rarely been seen in such a uniform before. He called for steadfastness.

**Begin Bin Ladin recording:** The happy man is the one who has been martyred in God's path. We pray to God Almighty to grant us success in supporting the religion of God, and to grant us martyrdom while facing the enemy and not while turning our backs to the enemy. [end recording]

In the tape, which was produced by a media establishment belonging the Al-Qa'ida organization and received by MBC, a number of speakers describe the attacks on Washington and New York as the raids of New York and Washington. Sometimes they called the September 11th the blessed Tuesday.

[Description of Source: London MBC Television in Arabic -- Saudi-Financed, Covering Events in the Arab World]

### **Al-Jazirah Airs 'Selected Portions' of Latest Al-Qa'ida Tape on 11 Sep Attacks**

#### **Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 1835 GMT 18 Apr 02**

[FBIS Translated Text]

Dear viewers, may God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you. Welcome to this special episode of the "Under the Microscope" program, in which we will discuss the content of the latest tape disseminated by the Al-Qa'ida Organization. In this tape, one of

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the perpetrators of New York and Washington incidents reads his will, which he wrote six months before these incidents. After viewing selected portions of the tape, we will discuss it with our guests here in the studio: Muhammad al-Awadi, Kuwaiti Islamist writer and Jamal Khashuqji, deputy chief editor of the Saudi Arab News newspaper. We will also have with us from Washington David Aspey, a US lawyer and expert in security affairs.

First, let us watch the tape:

**Begin recording of Narrator:** In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. Think not of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance from their lord. They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah. And with regard to those left behind, who have not yet joined them in their bliss, the martyrs glory

in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they cause to grieve. [Koranic verse]  
Our words will remain dead and motionless. But, when we die for their sake, they will become alive among the living. Every word that survived, survived due to the sacrifices of a person. Those living do not adopt the dead.

**Bin Ladin:** The men who left [their homes] truly believed that what God, praise be to him, has in store for them is better than this life short life. They were not just talking about this, but had faith in it. This faith became deeply-rooted in their hearts, until what is unseen became seen to them, as if they see the paradise of God, praise be to him.

**Ayman al-Zawahiri:** This great victory, which was achieved, is due, in fact, to the grace of Allah alone. It was not due to our skillfulness or superiority, but it is due to Allah's blessing alone. Allah Almighty grants his mercy to whoever He wants. Allah looks into the hearts of his slaves and chooses from them those who are qualified to win His grace, mercy, and blessings. Those 19 brothers, who left [their homes], made efforts, and offered their lives for Allah's cause--Allah has favored them with this conquest, which we are enjoying now. The one who looks at the situation of these brothers, finds that there is no comparison between the strength of 19 men and that of America. The magnitude of the losses sustained by America cannot be compared to the strength of these men.

**Sulayman Abu-Ghayth:** This small group championed the religion of God, praise be to him, and championed the weak ones at a time when the world and the entire nation renounced them. This group did not proceed from a regional viewpoint. It also did not proceed from a national or parochial viewpoint. It rather proceeded from the great universal viewpoint of Islam. It was prompted by the principle of jihad for the sake of God the Almighty.

**Narrator:** They opened a door for pride, dignity, victory, jihad, and martyrdom. They have sacrificed their lives for the sake of God the Almighty and God accepted their sacrifice.

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**Ahmad al-Haznawi al-Ghamidi:** I have sworn that I will either live in pride and dignity or that I will be killed. O my Islamic nation, I have sacrificed my soul to God, and God has accepted my sacrifice. This is my message, which has the color of my blood that was shed, to every ear and to all people.

**Narrator:** He is the son of Al-Jarrah al-Ghamidi, Ahmad al-Haznawi, from the land of the two holy mosques, from the south, the land of mujahidin and martyrs, from Ghamid. He was a preacher and a mujahid. He was raised in a house of religion and ethics. His father is a scholar, and his mother is a preacher. His heart was attached to jihad.

Therefore, he emigrated to Afghanistan for self-preparation. He was one of the 19 heroes of the blessed Tuesday Washington and New York raids. No matter how you talk about this hero, you will not say enough. Just ponder the will he wrote months before the operations to see in it sincere intentions, powerful justice, definite confidence in God's promise, and a true reflection of reality. We pray to God to accept his sacrifice and to make him join the martyrs in their abodes in Heaven. May he be able to plead for his family and parents. Make him a good example for the Muslim youths, who reject humiliation.

**Al-Ghamidi:** With these words of mine, I am not telling you anything new or anything that you might have chosen to ignore. I have reflected on the status of our wounded nation and the killing, displacement, and torture it is suffering. Its honor is being raped, its blood is being shed, and its innocents are being killed. All this and more is happening to our brothers across the world. Palestine has been bleeding for over half a century.

**Narrator:** Occupation, demolitions, killings, and destruction are taking place in the land of the prophet's ascension to heaven. These actions are carried out by the Jews, the offspring of monkeys and pigs, the killers of prophets, and those who fail to keep their commitments.

**Bin Ladin:** The United States will not even dream of enjoying security if we do not experience security as a living reality in Palestine, the land of the two holy mosques, and all Muslim countries, God willing. Thanks to Almighty God, we brought you weeks ago the good news that brothers of yours have left, ready to sacrifice themselves, for a rendezvous with death, seeking the satisfaction of God Almighty. I pray to God to grant them victory and make them score direct hits, God is all-capable.

**Al-Ghamidi:** Kashmir is not too far away from it [Palestine]. The rancorous worshippers of cows continue to kill our brothers there. The same thing is taking place in many other Muslim countries. The question is this: Who will then avenge our brothers? What is the path to victory, if it is not jihad? What life will I lead after US soldiers became my defenders? What glory would I live, what dignity would I hope for, what victory for my religion would I seek, and what honor would I seek for the nation while I am living under the US rule in the land of the two holy mosques. By God, power is for the Almighty God and those who obey him, follow him, and adhered to His religion. If they manufacture missiles and cannons, and even if they make nuclear and atomic bombs, and if they reach in their military advancement and technological progress the highest levels, we have  
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something that can overcome all that. It is God's words: Verily, when He intends a thing, His command is, "Be", and it is! [Koranic verse] Then how can anyone who God is on his side and his supporter be humiliated and defeated?

**Bin Ladin:** The difference between us and our adversaries in terms of military strength, manpower, and equipment is very huge. But, for the grace of God, the difference is also very huge in terms of psychological resources, faith, certainty, and reliance on the Almighty God. This difference between us and them is very, very huge and great. As a matter of fact, we [words indistinct] by our reliance on the Almighty God.

**Ahmad al-Haznawi al-Ghamidi:** [words indistinct] (?a hot front) against America, the head of world infidelity. We said: How are we to do this? The enemy committed injustice and its tyranny and aggression increased. Every day, we hear about the murder of several of our brothers and the violation of their honor. By God, we have not found any solution or remedy to this--after seeking the advice of the religious scholars, including the scholar Shaykh Humud Bin-Uqlah al-Shu'aybi, His eminence the scholar Shaykh Abdallah al-Jibril, the scholar Shaykh Sulayman al-Alwan, Shaykh Hasan Ayyub, Shaykh

Muhammad Bin-Muhammad al-Mukhtar al-Shanqiti, Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin, and Shaykh Abu-Umar (?al-Sayf), may God watch over them all and may the nation benefit from their scholarly expertise -- other than carrying out martyrdom operations against the enemy's interests, sons, and soldiers. The impact and effectiveness of such operations were known following the two operations carried out against the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, and after blowing up the US destroyer in Aden, which was heading to Kuwaiti shores to attack our brethren in Iraq.

Our virtuous scholars issued fatwas sanctioning these operations, saying that they are not suicide attacks, but rather martyrdom operations designed to uphold the cause of the Almighty God, for we cannot reach the enemy except through this method.

To conclude my will, I would like to reiterate my call for the nation's scholars and clergymen, for the good youths who were not prevented from championing the cause of their faith and jihad by any excuse, for those who are reluctant to walk the path of jihad and true manliness, particularly in the lands of the two holy mosques [Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere in Muslim lands, saying: If you agreed to accept a life of humiliation and disgrace, and if you find emigration and the carrying of swords difficult, back us and do not let us down. The least that you can do is to back us by your words. Forge the glories of your nation with your pens on the gates of the times. As for myself, by God, I have not accepted a life of humiliation, which was accepted by others. My soul was determined to lead a life of pride derived from the faith of its God, even if this were to cost it emigration and living away from its beloved ones. For these are the arenas where heavenly rewards are given. Paradise has been prepared for those who covet it. That is why I have chosen to fight the enemies of the Almighty God, the Americans, wherever I find this possible, and to kill and fight them in their backyard.

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I seek and pursue martyrdom. I also seek the elevation of my faith and the murder of its enemies. I left for the lands of preparedness to kill Americans and the enemies of the faith so as to champion the cause of my God's faith and avenge my brothers' blood.

By God, I have not forgotten, nor will I forget the blood of my brothers, which was shed on the Palestinian lands at the hands of the treasonous Jews, the ancestors of monkeys and pigs, thanks to the clear support extended by the head of world infidelity. My only consolation is that my God's faith will not triumph until blood is shed and until the limbs are torn apart. My brothers and I hastened to the fight, reciting the following verses:

We left for death, with our heads held high, just as lions leave their forests.

We walk on the blades of swords and knock at death's gate.

Our nation will learn that we risked death because we have a lot of compassion for it.

We left our families to send a message, which has the color of blood, to reach the whole world: the friends and enemies, the near and far, the lofty and humiliated, the honest and agent. This message says: O Allah, take from our blood today until you are satisfied. O Allah, do not make a grave for our bodies, nor soil to be buried in, nor a grave to cover them, so that, on the Day of Judgment, they will be blessed with an eternal Paradise--blessed be its Builder. The message says: The time of humiliation and slavery is over.

It is time to kill the Americans in their own backyard, among their sons, and near their

forces and intelligence. It is time to prove to the whole world that the United States of America has worn a garment, which was not originally made for it, when it merely thought about facing or resisting the mujahidin. The United States is nothing but propaganda and a huge mass of false statements and exaggeration. The purpose of this propaganda was to make the United States big in the eyes of the world. What it wanted has happened. However, the truth is what you saw. We killed them outside their land, praise be to Allah. Today, we kill them in the midst of their own home.

Where is their scientific and technological progress? It did not prevent our attack and it did not protect them. The message says: If the US leadership wants the safety of its people and forces, it must leave all the Islamic territories and leave the place toward which Muslims turn in prayer [Saudi Arabia]. Let it prove to the entire world that it will not--it will never be able to--resist the Islamic trend of jihad as long as there are men in the Islamic nation who defend it and protect its land and sacred places. Let the United States know that no woman will ever give birth to men like Khalid Ibn-al-Walid and Salah-al-Din al-Ayyubi, may their souls rest in peace and may God bless them. No woman in the world will be able to give birth to men like our Shaykh Abdallah Azzam or the other men who sacrificed much for their religion. May God have mercy on their souls.

The message says: Abdallah Azzam was killed, may God have mercy on his soul and may he accept him as a martyr. However, the Islamic nation has thousands of Abdallah  
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Azzams. Yahya Ayyash, was killed. May God have mercy on his soul and may he accept him as a martyr. The Islamic nation has thousands like Ayyash. Usama Bin Ladin, may god grant him long life. However, if he is killed there will be thousands of Bin Ladins in the Islamic nation.

Let the United States wait for our men. Our men have not been speaking but they want to write what they want to say by their blood. They want to cross the t's and dot the i's with their bodies, calmly and in silence.

To the Americans: prepare your coffins and dig your graves. Death is coming to you, God willing.

Almighty God. Destroy the state of infidelism by our hands. Establish the state of Islam on our bodies so that we might be rewarded.

O Allah, revive an entire nation by our deaths. O Allah, I sacrifice myself for your sake, accept me as a martyr. O Allah, I sacrifice myself for your sake, accept me as a martyr. O Allah, I sacrifice myself for your sake, accept me as a martyr. To the Garden of Eden, our first house. We shall meet in the eternal Paradise with the prophets, honest people, martyrs, and righteous people. They are the best of companions. Praise be to Allah.

Allah's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you. [end recording]

**Kurayshan:** These were excerpts of the tape as received. All sound and visual effects are as received. We have not touched anything in this regard. All we did is that we took out some of the statements that we deemed as direct slander.

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

**Sunday Times Obtains Film of Bin Ladin Vowing Revenge on UK, US, Others**

**London The Sunday Times (Internet Version-WWW) in English 19 May 02**

[Article by Dipesh Gadhre: "Bin Ladin Film Vows Revenge On the UK"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] An encrypted video containing previously unseen footage of Usama Bin Ladin singling out Britain as a terrorist target has been obtained by The Sunday Times.

The 40-minute propaganda film includes an interview with the Al-Qa'ida leader, recorded after the start of the West's offensive in Afghanistan, in which he compares the conflict with the medieval crusade led by Richard the Lion-Heart.

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Another short section shows the terrorist warlord speaking about martyrdom against the backdrop of a fertile plain and hills that his supporters claim, was filmed just eight weeks ago. If true, it would provide the first evidence that Bin Ladin survived the recent allied attacks on the Tora Bora mountain complex in Afghanistan.

The film's existence is revealed as US intelligence agencies report a number of communications among Al-Qa'ida members that suggest the organisation is plotting to carry out an operation at least as big as the September 11 attacks.

Debbie Weierman, an FBI spokesman, said last night that the agencies had received "non-specific" information that Al-Qa'ida could be planning to rent a flat and pack it with explosives. She said that FBI offices and local apartment managers around the country had been alerted.

Last Friday a London-based Arabic newspaper claimed that Mullah Omar, the former Taliban leader, whose whereabouts are also unknown, had confirmed in an interview that Bin Ladin was still alive.

According to a Birmingham-based Islamic news agency, which obtained the film of Bin Ladin, it was passed to one of its journalists by a Pakistani intelligence official who said the "new" segment had been filmed in March.

The tape arrived in Britain on an encrypted CD-Rom and was decoded by the agency last week. The "new" footage shows Bin Ladin sitting under a tree outside a stone building on what appears to be a pleasant spring evening, wearing a camouflage jacket and an Afghan pakul hat. He is filmed discussing jihad and martyrdom with several armed henchmen.

In the sequence Bin Ladin appears more gaunt than in previous footage and his delivery lacks some of the zeal of previous broadcasts.

"Concerning the situation that we are in, we must praise Allah that he has allowed us to follow the path of [men who are among] the best of creation," he says. Quoting from an Islamic scripture, Bin Ladin adds: "I wish that I would go to jihad and die."

Whitehall sources, who have yet to view the film, said the transcript did not provide enough clues to date it. Other experts were sceptical that Bin Ladin was still alive, believing Al-Qa'ida would have publicised his survival more directly.

The film is interspersed with images of the attacks on the World Trade Center and footage of western leaders meeting their Middle Eastern counterparts. One clip shows Tony Blair being greeted by Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia. The film also includes a lengthy tribute to Al-Qa'ida men allegedly killed in action. The opening sequence, however, is likely to be of greatest interest to the British authorities. It features an interview with Bin Ladin carried out by a reporter from AIFOR

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Filmed by Al-Qa'ida cameramen last October, it has not been broadcast to date because Al-Jazeera executives judged that they had not had sufficient control over the interview. Bin Ladin makes it clear that any country siding with Israel and America is a target for Islamic terrorists. "The war is between us and the Jews," he says. "Any country that steps into the same trench as the Jews has only herself to blame."

Referring to an earlier warning made by Sheikh Sulaiman Abu Gaith, a spokesman for Al-Qa'ida, Bin Ladin adds that if the sheikh "specifically targeted Britain and America - this war is not confined to them - it served as an opportunity for other nations to revise their stance". He then proceeds to draw parallels between the war on terror and the crusades of the 12th and 13th centuries. "This war is similar to the previous crusades, led by Richard the Lion-Heart, [King Frederick] Barbarossa of Germany and Louis [IX] of France. In the present age, they rally behind [George] Bush," he says.

Shortly after becoming king of England in 1189, Richard I set out on the third crusade and in 1191 captured Acre, in what is now Israel. His most notorious act was ordering the execution of 2,700 Muslim prisoners.

Another part of the film features images of several Al-Qa'ida "martyrs" believed to have been killed in fighting in Kandahar.

Intelligence officials in Washington who have intercepted Al-Qa'ida communications say they have increased in the past month and relate to a possible attack in Europe, the Arabian peninsula or America. Some information has come from interviews with fighters captured in Afghanistan.

[Description of Source: London The Sunday Times (Internet Version-WWW) in English -- conservative newspaper covered for worldwide reports]

**British-Based Islamic News Agency Receives Encrypted Bin Ladin Video**

**Paris AFP (North European Service) in English 0950 GMT 19 May 02**

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

LONDON, May 19 (AFP) -- A video featuring Al-Qa'ida leader Usama Bin Ladin uncovered in Britain has sparked new claims that the suspected mastermind of the September 11 terrorist attacks is still alive, *the Sunday Times* reported.

It said the video was obtained by a British-based Islamic news agency, which claims that Pakistani intelligence officials who supplied the film said that part of the footage was filmed just eight weeks ago.

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If that is true, the film would be the first hard evidence that the chief suspect for the attacks on New York and Washington survived the US-led military assaults on the Tora Bora, eastern Afghanistan, the paper said.

The 40-minute film came to Britain on an encrypted CD-ROM and was decoded by the agency based in Birmingham, central England, last week, the British weekly said.

It said that the part of the video that is claimed to have been filmed in March shows Bin Ladin sitting outside under a tree on what appears to be a pleasant spring evening.

According to the paper, Bin Ladin appears thinner than in previous footage and his delivery lacks some of the zest of previous clips.

It quoted Bin Ladin as saying: "The war is between us and the Jews.

"Any country that steps into the same trench as the Jews has only herself to blame."

He adds that if he "specifically targeted Britain and America -- this war is not confined to them -- it served as an opportunity for other nations to revise their stance."

The report follows warnings from US officials on Saturday that militants from the Al-Qa'ida network may be preparing another massive strike against the United States, including US apartment buildings.

The announcement came as US intelligence analysts reported increased communications among Al-Qa'ida cells around the world, which they said could be an indication that preparations for a new terrorist attack against the United States could be under way.

[Description of Source: Paris AFP in English -- North European Service of independent French press agency Agence France-Presse]

**Pro-Al-Qa'ida Site Posts Poems by Bin Ladin, Son Hamzah on 'Insecure' Future**

**London Al-Sharq al-Awsat in Arabic 26 Jun 02 p6**

[Report by Muhammad al-Shafi'i in London: "A Site Close to Al-Qa'idah Posts a Poem by Bin Ladin in Which he Responds to his Son Hamzah, Who Inquires About the Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Hamzah, son of Al-Qa'ida leader Usama Bin Ladin, has wondered in a 34-line poem about the state of dispersion that his family is experiencing and the spheres of danger that

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surround them in every direction amidst mountains and in valleys as they continue to be constantly on the move.

Bin Ladin responded to his son with similar lines of poetry in which he talked about an insecure future. He said: "Pardon me my son, but I can only see a very steep path ahead. A decade has gone by in vagrancy and travel."

It was not possible to obtain from an independent source confirmation that the lines of poetry had indeed been written by Bin Ladin or his son, although fundamentalist sources

in London noted that Al-Qa'ida leader has often used poetry in his speeches and videocassettes released after the US raids on Afghanistan.

Hamzah Bin Ladin, aged 14, asked in a poem posted on the internet site of the Islamic Studies and Research, which is close to the Taliban and Al-Qa'ida: "O father: Where is the escape and when will we have a residence? O father: I see spheres of danger everywhere I look. How come our home has vanished without a trace? Why is it that we only see barriers and holes along our path? O father: Why have they showered us with bombs like rain, having no mercy for a child or an elderly?"

According to fundamentalist sources in London, the poem posted on Al-Qa'ida site may have been written before the collapse of the Taliban and Bin Ladin's escape with his family to an unknown destination.

Bin Ladin's son added in the poem: "O father: What has happened for us to be chased by danger? Immortality is our destiny should God Almighty desire victory for us. Tell me father something useful and brief about what I see."

Responding to his son, Bin Ladin said: O son: Suffice it that I am full of grief and sighs. What can I say if we are living in a world of laziness and discontent? What can I say to a world that is blind in both sight and perception? Pardon me my son, but I can only see a very steep path ahead. A decade has gone by in vagrancy and travel, and here we are in our tragedy. Security has gone, but danger remains. It is a word of crimes in which children are slaughtered like cows. For how long will real men be in short supply and successors in danger? Action must somehow be done to ward off harm. By God, this is a major stigma that makes headlines. I have sworn by God Almighty to fight the infidel."

Meanwhile, fundamentalists in London have revealed the existence of Bin Ladin tapes that were recorded during the military operations in Afghanistan. These tapes are accessible to Al-Sahab media institution, which has earlier released a tape by Ahmad al-Ghamidi al-Haznawi, who is suspected to be one of the suicide pilots that took part in the September 11th attack; as well as the recent tape by Al-Qa'ida spokesman Sulayman Abu-Ghayth. The same sources added that the purpose of leaking tapes by Bin Ladin or his spokesman is to keep the media war against the US machine. The sources noted that a new Bin Ladin tape, which is being prepared, will be released in the coming days.

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[Description of Source: London Al-Sharq al-Awsat in Arabic -- Influential Saudi-owned London daily providing independent coverage of Arab and international issues; editorials reflect official Saudi views on foreign policy.]

#### **Website Posts Bin Ladin's Statement on Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah's Initiative**

#### **Afghanistan--FBIS Report in Arabic 27 Jun 02**

[FBIS Report] The internet site WWW.JIHAD.NET, an Islamic site that publishes pro-Al-Qa'ida news, was checked on 27 June and found to contain a link to a site called Sariyat al-Jabal (<http://www.cybcity.com/mnzmas/>), which posts a statement attributed to Usama Bin Ladin on Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah's initiative on peace with Israel. The statement is signed by Usama Bin Ladin's own handwriting. The statement is dated 1

Muharram (15 March 2002). The following is a translation of the text of the statement found on the website:

"Praised be God who says: "O Prophet! Strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites." [Koranic verse] May the peace and blessings of God be upon the Imam of the mujahidin and Leader of the brilliant recruits, the universal faithful Prophet, His Family, and His Companions who carried the banner and defended Islam and Muslims. "God Almighty says: "Those who conceal the clear (signs) We have sent down, and the Guidance, after We have made it clear for the people in the Book -- on them shall be Allah's curse, and the curse of those entitled to curse." [Koranic verse]

"To the nation of 1 billion, the nation of jihad, the nation of the declaration of faith and martyrdom. To the nation of the best of peoples evolved for mankind. To our Muslim nation: How similar is the situation today to what it was yesterday, how many are the lessons, and how few are those who have learned them. How many also are the cups of humiliation we have drunk and how that self-esteem has abandoned us when the subservient took charge of our affairs!

"Our Muslim Nation,

"The one who takes a discerning look, understands the language of reason, and probes deeply into events knows for certain that the nation has woken up from its slumber and has recognized its path after its features have become clear to it and its signposts have become visible. It has learned that if clemency is corruption then forgiveness is a miracle, that patience is good unless it harms religion, and that forbearance is commendable unless there is an opportunity. The Al-Aqsa intifadah broke out and the stone spoke in the hands of the mujahidin, the righteous men and women, young and old. The Jews tried in vain to flee but could find no haven and became exposed behind walls facing exploding bodies that are making them taste death, pursuing them with terror, and shaking the ground under their feet so that they have become like agitated wild asses

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fleeing from a lion. Then came the New York invasion that ignited the house of the idiots of the age, smashed their citadels, nullified their witchcraft, exposed all the flags that marched behind them, and announced the beginning of their end, God willing.

"These momentous events are the blessed jihad that has continued its march toward the desired objective and the promised day. It has come to expose the feeble and refuted argument. There is no place for this feeble saying and refuted argument "What can we do? There is nothing we can do! It is not up to us!" No heart accommodates it and no live conscience accepts it. In view of the bloody events that our nation is subjected to, everyone is today required to take up the jihad and serious action. The popular leaderships from all sectors must act to stop this thunderous hemorrhage and expose this open treason. The least that anyone of these leaders who cannot act because of these regimes' pressures and terrorism can do is to give way to others with courageous capabilities who are capable of bringing about the change and putting things right. Let him avoid inaction and betrayal and let him avoid acts of abhorrent waylaying and the

forbidden monopolization. It is the jihad that has brought out these youths who responded to God Almighty's words "But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)", Al-Tawbah Surah, verse (5).

"This jihad is capable of bringing out and stirring other sons of the nation. The jihad is continuing until the day of resurrection. But we, as individuals, our days are numbered and after them we will stand before God Almighty. "Then shall anyone who has done an atom's weight of good, see it! And anyone who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it", Al-Zalazalah Surah, verses (7 and 8).

"Our Muslim Nation,

"The treacherous character and personality of Abu-Raghal [person who played the role of the guide for the Abyssinian army that advanced toward Mecca more than 1,500 years ago] has been recurring for more than a century to suppress, lower the banners, bury the jihad alive, and save unbelief and consolidate its pillars. The initiative of Prince Abdallah Bin-Abd-al-Aziz (Zio-American in Saudi Government's clothes) is just one of Abu-Raghal's tricks, a conspiracy, and one of the forms of the recurrent treasons in the history of our region's rulers against our causes in general and Al-Aqsa in particular. By announcing it, he is following in the footsteps of his father who aborted the intifadah of 1936/1354 Hegira with a false promise made by him and the English Government. He deceived the Palestinians and they stopped the intifadah while the English occupation remained until 1948/1366 Hegira when it handed Palestine over to the Jews. He is also following in the footsteps of his ilk, the traitorous rulers who sent the seven armies under an English command, the command of the English Government's man (Glubb Pasha), and crushed the serious popular action to liberate Palestine. They completed the conspiracy and signed a truce to stop the fighting in 1949/1367 Hegira. Their biggest treason to crush the first Al-Aqsa intifadah, however, was Oslo in 1992/1412 Hegira."

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If he has betrayed the first of the two Qiblas and the third holiest mosque, and thus aborted the cause of an entire nation motivated by the lust for power, there is nothing surprising about that. After all, he betrayed the two holy mosques before when he allowed the Americans to violate the land of the two holy mosques. He did that through the lie, which he and his brothers told the nation; namely, the need to enlist the help of the Americans for a period of three months only. But, that period has extended to this day, in which we enter the 13th year of the violation of the land of the two holy mosques by the infidels.

No doubt, this initiative is a clear attempt to save the usurper Jewish state and help it achieve its aims. Meanwhile, the US forces are setting up military bases on the land of the two holy places to threaten the region and strike at the Muslim Iraqi people. As to the statements that the Saudi regime would not permit the use of its territories in any attack against Iraq, they are empty. Had he been in real control, he would have evicted the US occupation forces from the land of the two holy mosques.

Our Muslim nation: The fate of the tyrants and traitors is too clear to explain. The fate they met proves the faith and zealously of the sons of the nation. Here is King

Abdallah, the son of Al-Sharif Husayn, who was murdered at the hand of one of the heroes of Palestine. Here is Anwar al-Sadat, whom they accused of treason and then followed his course. He was killed at the hand of Khalid al-Islambuli, one of the heroes of Muslim Egypt. Here also are the little and big traitors and agents meeting the fate that must be met by every traitor.

Our Muslim nation: In the Pharaonic language, these initiatives are no more than impudent plots and obvious plans. Their definition in the dictionary of politics is "seats of power in return for treason." But, in the dictionary of the shari'a, this is "apostasy" by supporting infidels against Muslims. In our religion, this is considered one of the ten greatest sins in Islam that lead to disbelief. The Muslim, whoever he is and regardless of his position and circumstances, cannot but reject this sin and its perpetrator, as it is one of the acts of the tyrants. A person is not a believer until he rejects Tagut [meaning anyone worshipped beside Allah]. "Whoever rejects Tagut and believes in Allah hath grasped the most trustworthy Hand-hold that never breaks." (Al-Baqarah 256).

Our Muslim nation: Whoever sells an inch sells a state, whoever belittles a drop of blood does not care about rivers of blood, whoever kills a people kills a nation, and whoever turns a deaf ear today, turns a blind eye tomorrow. O nation of Islam, rise against injustice and tyranny, oppression and aggression, and humiliation and degradation. Bread is not more dear to us than our religion, nor is money more precious than our honor, or death more difficult than our sense of humiliation and degradation. The means are possible and available to every member of our nation. They are as follows:

1. Rejecting the capitulatory initiative and rallying the nation in order to stage public demonstrations and exercise civil disobedience until the overthrow of the traitorous governments.

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2. Exerting an effort to disown the leaders of disbelief and hypocrisy, who have reneged on their religion and betrayed their nation.

3. Striking at US interests in the world in general and on the land of our Arab and Islamic nation in particular.

4. Boycotting US and Jewish goods.

5. Killing Americans and Jews with a bullet, a knife, or a stone.

6. Backing the mujahidin and giving them every encouragement and support.

O our Palestinian people: Heroism is the action that you take, sacrifice is the price that you pay, dignity and honor is the fruit that you deserve to pick. You still prove to the whole nation day after day that religion is precious and that blood and soul are nothing before the holy places. Proceed on God's course with His blessing and support. We will also proceed on the course of Jihad. We shall continue to hold to the pledge. Your blood is our blood, your sanctities are our sanctities, your sons are our sons, and the blood of Al-Durrah and his brothers will not go to waste. We swear by the one and only God that we will support you until you achieve victory and Muslim Palestine is returned or face the fate [martyrdom] met by [the prophet's uncle] Hamzah Bin-Abd-al-Muttalib, may

God be pleased with him. "And soon will the unjust know what vicissitudes their affairs will take" [Al-Shu'ara 117]

O God, deprive the Arab and non-Arab tyrants of their power, put the righteous in charge of our affairs, save us from the evil ones, and afford this nation a regime that hails those who obey you and humbles those who disobey you. Afford it a regime that orders what is good and forbids what is wrong. "Allah will certain aid those who aid His cause, for verily Allah is full of strength, exalted in might and able to enforce His will." [Koranic verse]

[Signed] Usama Bin Muhammad Bin Ladin.

**Al-Jazirah TV: Bin Ladin Threatens Attacks on 'Key Sectors' of US Economy**

**Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 2000 GMT 06 Oct 02**

[Announcer-read report]

[FBIS Translated Text] Al-Jazirah has obtained an audio recording of [a message by] Al-Qa'ida Leader Usama Bin Ladin, in which he threatens the United States with further attacks. In his message, Bin Ladin singled out key sectors of the US economy as potential targets for his followers' attacks. He said that the US preparations for what he described as a new aggression against the Islamic world mean that Washington has not understood the lessons of the 11 September attacks.

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**Begin Bin Ladin recording:** In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate; A message to the American people: Peace be upon those who follow the right path. I am an honest adviser to you. I urge you to seek the joy of life and the afterlife and to rid yourself of your dry, miserable, and spiritless materialistic life. I urge you to become Muslims, for Islam calls for the principle of "there is no god but Allah," and for justice and forbids injustice and criminality. I also call on you to understand the lesson of the New York and Washington raids, which came in response to some of your previous crimes. The aggressor deserves punishment.

However, those who follow the movement of the criminal gang at the White House, the agents of the Jews, who are preparing to attack and partition the Islamic world, without you disapproving of this, realize that you have not understood anything from the message of the two raids. Therefore, I am telling you, and God is my witness, whether America escalates or de-escalates this conflict, we will reply to it in kind, God willing. God is my witness, the youth of Islam are preparing things that will fill your hearts with fear. They will target key sectors of your economy until you stop your injustice and aggression or until the more short-lived of us die.

We beseech Almighty God to provide us with His support. He is the protector and has the power to do so. Say: O people of the Book! Come to common terms as between us and you: That we worship none but Allah; that we associate no partners with Him; that we erect not from among ourselves lords and patrons other than Allah. If then they turn back, say ye: Bear witness that we at least are Muslims bowing to Allah's will. [Koranic verse] [end recording]

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic --

Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

**Al-Qa'ida Issues Statement Under Bin Ladin's Name on  
Afghan War Anniversary**

**(Internet) Al-Qal'ah WWW-Text in Arabic 14 Oct 02**

[Unattributed report: "Statement From Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin, May God Protect him, and Al-Qa'ida Organization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

A statement from Al-Qa'ida Organization to the Islamic Nation on the first anniversary of the start of the new US Crusade.

All praise be for Allah and prayers and peace be on the Messenger of Allah, his family, his Companions, and those who follow him.

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The US Crusade that the US President has declared and in which he led a coalition of more than 90 countries against Afghanistan began on these days one year ago.

With the passage of one year since the start of the Crusade against Afghanistan, the United States is today preparing for a new round in its Crusade against the Muslim world.

It is this time against the Iraqi Muslim people and its aim is to complete its scheme of fragmenting and ripping apart this nation, looting its resources and wealth, and preparing for the establishment of the greater State of Israel after expelling the Palestinians from it.

We want on this occasion to underline a number of things in the following points:

First, the failure of the US campaign to achieve its main objectives.

The US campaign has failed to achieve any of its main objectives. Regarding the elimination of the jihad leaders, it has failed to kill or arrest any of the Taliban or Al-Qa'ida leaders or any of the other mujahidin leaders.

Regarding the achievement of security and stability in Afghanistan, the United States has failed to achieve its promise of uniting the country under one central government and forming a unified army to maintain security and eliminate the military militias' control.

The most noticeable success of the US campaign was that unequalled success in repartitioning the country into torn and fragmented (cantons) where the warlords and former drug dealers are feuding with each other.

Regarding human rights, the best example provided by the US campaign here was the burning of hundreds of tied prisoners in (Jangi) Fort in Mezar-e Sharif with US-made cluster bombs and napalm shells, which they claim are internationally banned, and the killing of thousands of other prisoners from thirst and asphyxiation in the death containers in which they were transported under the US forces' supervision. This is in addition to the thousands of civilians; women, children, and old people who were killed equally by the US smart and idiot bombs.

Regarding the elimination of drugs as promised by the United States and which it made one of the war's objectives, it suffices for us to know that the Afghan opium crop this year has set an unprecedented record figure, all under the supervision of the US and international forces in Afghanistan, as the United Nations has stated.

The same thing is said about the failure of the dream of rebuilding the country and other such honeyed US promises.

Second, the US quandary in Afghanistan.

The US forces of invasion in Afghanistan and all their equipment and personnel have now started to sink in the Afghan quagmire. An unusual paradox is that these Crusader forces that came to protect the ruling regime in Kabul from the mujahidin's strikes are THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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now themselves in need of the regime's forces to protect them as they are coming under the mujahidin's constant attacks. Who is protecting whom?

The US and international forces that have come to maintain security have become the biggest burden on security!!

As an American commentator said, the US (Infinite Justice) operation in Afghanistan has turned into the (infinite failure and frustration) operation.

The US occupation of Afghanistan is not going to have a better result than the Soviet one, God willing. And this is a fact that the US administration has started to realize and is now seeking to cover up its failure in Afghanistan and diverting attention from that failure by beating the drums of the war on Iraq.

Third, we do not forgive or give up.

The mujahidin, with the Grace of Allah, still maintain their pledge; they do not forgive or give up. They are maintaining their pledge to Allah to continue the jihad in His cause, their pledge to their nation to sacrifice everything that is dear for the sake of liberating it from all forms of injustice and oppression and all forms of subservience and occupation "until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevails justice and faith in Allah altogether and everywhere." Surah Al-Anfal.

All the tribulations and suffering to which the mujahidin have been subjected have only made them, with the Grace of Allah, more resolute along the course, more determined about the objectives, and with a stronger belief in the policy and more certain of victory. "Allah has promised, to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds, that He will, of a surety, grant them in the land, inheritance (of power), as He granted it to those before them; that He will establish in authority their religion -- the one which He has chosen for them; and that He will change (their state), after the fear in which they (lived), to one of security and peace." Surah al-Nur.

Fourth: An appeal to the nation.

In these dangerous circumstances through which our nation and even the whole world are going today, we address an appeal to this great nation, which is the greatest of nations; to the victorious and benevolent nation that still has goodness and good people in it until the Day of Judgment; to this nation that is the best of all peoples evolved for mankind; to this nation where a victorious section in it is still fighting for justice until the Day of Judgment and which is not hurt by those who have let it down or opposed it.

O nation of Islam, you who have believed in Allah as your God, Islam as your religion, and Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of God be with him, as your prophet:

The issue now is not anymore whether the nation is targeted totally and comprehensively, with no distinction between the so-called moderates and extremists or between allies and

enemies. The enemy has spared us the task of revealing this truth with his covert and overt statements in which he has revealed some of his hostile intentions. "Rank hatred has  
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already appeared from their mouths; what their hearts conceal is far worse." Surah Al Imran.

The issue now is how do we confront this blatant aggression and defend our creed, honor, and dignity and therefore earn the honor of this world and win the Hereafter?

If we want Allah to assign victory to us and achieve for us this triumph in this confrontation, then we must be armed by several things, foremost of them:

1. A return to Allah.

The first thing we should do is to turn to Allah with sincere repentance, a true repentance, by devoted work, honest intentions, and dedication to justice, and by letting shari'ah rule all aspects of our work and dealings, of every minor and major detail of our lives.

We must admit that the enemy's dominance over us is partially the result of what our hands have wrought. Allah says: "Whatever misfortune happens to you is because of the things your hands have wrought, and for many (of them) He grants forgiveness."

Surah al-Shura.

2. Hold fast all together by the rope of Allah.

If it is axiomatic that a dispute and difference are one of the most important causes of the failure and loss of power from which our nation is suffering today, then it is also axiomatic that unity, consensus, and holding fast to the rope of Allah is the key to victory and triumph and the door to sovereignty and leadership.

Ordering unity and consensus, Allah said: "And hold fast, all together, by the Rope which Allah (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves." Warning against division and dispute, He said: "And fall into no disputes, lest ye lose heart and your power depart; and be patient and persevering: For Allah is with those who patiently persevere." Surah Al-Anfal.

The unity to which we are calling the Muslims today does not necessarily need putting an end to disputes over all small questions and minor issues. An end cannot be put to such disputes and their existence is not damaging. The unity we are demanding is the unity of the constants of the creed, the dogmatism of religion, and the schools of shari'ah.

3. Mobilizing and unleashing the nation's resources.

Our nation is rich with many resources and capabilities and the absolutely most important resource is the Muslim person who is the battle's fuel and the conflict's motor. We do not mean by the person here only the scholars and propagators who are committed to and working for Islam and the sons of the Islamic awakening and movements but also the Muslim peoples and all their general and particular groups. If the particular groups have their role that others do not undertake, then the general groups are the real fuel of the

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battle and the explosive material. The role of the particular groups is that of the detonator and the motor that detonates this material.

There are the nation's material and economic resources. Our nation is considered one of the richest nations on earth and the one with most capabilities and resources that have been exploited for decades to serve the enemies and conspire against the brothers.

There are the massive military capabilities that abound in the Islamic countries and which have rusted in the arsenals and warehouses. Years and years have passed without them being used for a parade or for defending a land but they have remained a nightmare towering over the peoples and a dagger in the brothers' side.

There are many and many of the nation's resources and capabilities that the time has come for them to be liberated and unleashed and for them to rebel and find their way toward defending the targeted creed, the desecrated dignity, the violated honor, the usurped land, and the looted resources.

If the nation has its collective duty and its total role that it must carry out collectively, then there are groups who have a special role that they should carry out in a particular way.

Topping these groups are the scholars and propagators who are the prophets' heirs and the bearers of the trust of learning, the duty of propagation, and the upholding of the rules that this entails. Allah has therefore raised their degrees and said: "Allah will raise up, to (suitable) ranks (and degrees) those of you who believe and who have been granted knowledge." Surah Al-Mujadilah.

O honest scholars, propagators, and reformers:

It is you who should be at the head of the ranks, lead the action, and direct the march.

This is the requisite for inheriting the prophets.

Your first duty is to tell the truth to the nation and to declare it in the face of darkness without equivocation or fear. This is the requirement of the covenant that Allah took from you, "And remember Allah took a covenant from the People of the Book, to make it known and clear to mankind, and not to hide it." [Koranic verse]

The importance of your task stems from the dangerous act of deception and misguidance practiced by the authority's scholars and the rulers' clerics who are trading with religion, who were put in charge of it before the nation, and who have sold their faith for temporal gain.

You have to put aside every disagreement that delays action, every dispute that leads to failure. You have to dispel all doubts with certainty, hesitation with determination, and hasten and take the initiative. The cycle of events does not wait for anyone.

While addressing this appeal, we spur your resolution and exhort your resolve. We

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realize that there are some differences in interpretations between those working for Islam that cannot be ignored. But it is neither acceptable nor reasonable for us to remain the prisoners of some dispute over small questions and minor issues, thus disrupting action in

accordance with the rules of religion and the schools of shari'ah at such a critical time in the nation's history.

In addition to the scholars, there is the group of the Muslim youths who have been the driving force of change throughout this nation's history. They are the real fuel of the battle at present and in future.

O youths of Islam; o grandsons of Khalid and al-Qa'qa; o successors of Mas'ab Bin-Umayr, Usama Bin-Zayd, Muhammad al-Qasim, and Muhammad al-Faith; o brothers of Muhammad Atta, Marwan al-Shahhi, Ziyad al-Jarrah, Hani Hanjur, and the other members of the squad; o comrades of Anas al-Kandari and Jasim al-Hajiri:

You are the ones over whose bridge of sacrifices this nation will cross to the stage of glory and the arena of dignity and the vault that will bring happiness to mankind and mercy to humanity.

You are the knights of the fight and the heroes of the battle. We only address you like Allah the Almighty addressed you, called upon you, and incited you to do; to fight His enemies and the enemies of His religion when He said: "Fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)." Surah al-Tawbah. The Almighty also said: "And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevails justice and faith in Allah altogether and everywhere." Surah al-Anfal.

The priority in this fight and at this stage should be given to the pagans' leaders, the Americans and Jews who will not end their aggression and stop their domination over us except with jihad. Allah the Almighty said: "Fight ye the chiefs of unfaith: For their oaths are nothing to them." Surah Al-Tawbah. Take care not to be pushed into fragmenting your efforts and squandering your resources in marginal battles with the lackeys and parties but concentrate the blows on the head of the unfaith until it collapses. Once it collapses, all the other parts will collapse, vanish, and be defeated. "On that day shall the believers rejoice with the help of Allah. He helps whom He will, and He is Exalted in Might, Most Merciful." Surah Al-Rum.

There is the group of the media people and writers who have a prominent impact on and a big role in directing the battle, breaking the enemy's morale, and boosting the nation's morale. The time has come for the media to occupy its rightful position and play its required role in confronting this vicious campaign and the declared Crusade with all its visual, audio, and written organs. The media men -- whether they are writers, journalists, analysts, or correspondents -- should rise to the level of responsibility and the event and play their required role of enlightening the nation, revealing the truth about the enemy, and exposing his schemes and ploys. They should stand as one rank regardless of their affiliations; the enemy today does not differentiate between one group and another. His aim is to destroy everything that has anything to do with Arabism and Islam.

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There is the group of merchants and financiers who are as important as the others in propelling this battle toward its desired aim and intended objective of spreading Allah's religion in the world and applying His shari'ah. Allah the Almighty said: "Only those are believers who have believed in Allah and His Messenger, and have never since

doubted, but have striven with their belongings and their persons in the cause of Allah: Such are the sincere ones." Surah Al-Hujurat.

O merchants and financiers:

Spending in the cause of Allah is a religious duty and an urgent demand imposed on you by your belonging to your religion and nation. The money you will spend, even if little, will stop a sweeping torrent that wants to destroy us all.

O merchants and financiers:

Your religion is calling you today; your brothers are asking for your help. Allah is looking at you for what He has granted you: "Behold, ye are those invited to spend (of your substance) in the way of Allah: But among you are some that are niggardly. But any who are niggardly are so at the expense of their own souls. But Allah is free of all wants, and it is ye that are needy. If ye turn back (from the path), He will substitute in your stead another people; then they would not be like you." Surah Muhammad.

There is the Muslim woman whose role is by no means less than that of men. O wife who is following in the footsteps of Khadijah, may Allah be well pleased with her, who stood behind her husband in support of justice. O mother who follows in the footsteps of Al-Khansa by sacrificing her sons for the religion. O sister who is following in the footsteps of the virtuous ones by sending her brothers to the arenas of heroism with firmness and determination.

You are the ones who have incited and motivated and before then reared all the men who fought the jihad in Palestine, Lebanon, Afghanistan, and Chechnya. You are the ones who brought forth the band of heroes in the New York and Washington conquests.

If we do forget, we will not forget the heroism of the Muslim Palestinian woman in the sacred land and her great stands that many men could not equal. She has not spared a husband or a son in her support for the blessed Al-Aqsa. She has even offered and sacrificed herself to join the convoys of martyrs so as to find sustenance in the presence of her Lord, thus ignoring all the world's temptations and attractions.

O Muslim woman, we are expecting too much from you today. You do not lack any means for supporting your religion, nation, and the sunna of your Prophet when you are true to Allah.

At the conclusion of this statement, we:

1. Congratulate the Muslim nation for the bold heroic jihad operations that were carried out by its mujahidin sons in Yemen against the Crusaders' oil tanker and against  
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the US forces of invasion and occupation in Kuwait. By bombing the oil tanker in Yemen, the mujahidin struck the umbilical cord and the supplies for the Crusader nation's lifeblood, thus reminding the enemies of how heavy is the invoice of blood and the heavy losses that they will pay as the price for their continued aggression against our nation and their looting of our wealth and resources.

The heroic Kuwait operation also underlined the magnitude of the danger threatening the US forces in whatever Islamic country they land. The Political Bureau will issue two

separate statements about the two operations and their significance

2. We reiterate our support for our brothers who are holding the live coal around Bayt al-Maqdis in Palestine and the mujahidin and the ones standing fast in Chechnya, Afghanistan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Kashmir, and elsewhere, the strangers who have fled with their religion everywhere, and the free detainees and prisoners in the prisons of the infidels and despots.

3. We assert that the timing of the strike on a military target as important as the Marines in Kuwait, the bombing of an economic target of the oil tanker size in Yemen, and the issuance of audio and written statements by the Taliban and Al-Qa'ida leaderships -- whose destruction the United States has banked on -- was not coincidental at all but a clear and strong message to all the enemies and friends equally that the mujahidin have not, by the Grace of Allah, weakened by what has befallen them in the cause of Allah and have not yielded. "And Allah turned back the unbelievers for (all) their fury: No advantage did they gain." [Koranic verse]

4. We are continuing along the path, waiting for one of two glorious things: "Say: Can you expect for us (any fate) other than one of two glorious things -- (martyrdom or victory)? But we can expect for you either that Allah will send His punishment from Himself, or by your hands. So wait (expectant); we too will wait with you." Surah Al-Tawbah.

We renew our pledge to Allah, our promise to the nation, and our threat to the Americans and Jews that they shall remain restless, shall not feel at ease, and shall not dream of security until they take their hands off our nation and stop their aggression against us and their support for our enemies. And soon will the unjust assailants know what vicissitudes their affairs will take. [Koranic verse]

Your brother,

Usama Bin Ladin.

Saturday, 5 Sha'ban 1423 Hegira, corresponding to 12 October 2002.

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### **Al-Jazirah TV Reports on Bin Ladin's Statement**

#### **Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 1300 GMT 14 Oct 02**

[FBIS Report] Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic, an independent television station financed by the Qatari Government, carries as the first item in its 1300 GMT "Al-Jazirah at Midday" program on 14 October a one-minute report on Bin Ladin's statement, in which "he congratulates the Islamic nation on what he termed as the heroic and jihadist operations, which targeted the French oil tanker in Yemen and the US forces in Kuwait." The report adds that "Bin Ladin noted in the statement -- a copy of which was received by Al-Jazirah and which carries his signature -- that the political bureau of Al-Qa'ida Organization will issue two independent statements on both operations."

*Al-Jazirah TV also carries a still picture of the statement, signed by Usama Bin Ladin and dated Monday, 7 Sha'ban 1423 hegira corresponding to 14 October. According to the statement posted on the Internet the date of the statement is 12 October.*

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

## **Islamist Site Publishes Bin Ladin's 'Letter to the American People'**

**(Internet) Waaqiah WWW-Text in English 26 Oct 02**

[Letter from Usama Bin Ladin to the American People -- date not given: "Azzam Exclusive: Letter From Usama Bin Muhammad Bin Ladin to the American People" -- Waaqiah.com Headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Letter From Usama Bin Muhammad Bin Ladin to the American People

"Permission to fight (against disbelievers) is given to those believers) who are fought against, because they have been wronged, and surely, Allah is Able to give them (believers) victory" (Quran 22:39)

"Those who believe fight in the Cause of Allah, and those who disbelieve fight in the cause of Taguut (anything worshipped other than Allah e.g. Satan). So fight you against the friends of Satan; ever feeble is indeed the plot of Satan."(Quran 4:76)

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Some American writers have published articles attempting to explain the motivation behind our fight against the United States of America and others who have the blood of Muslims on their hands. These articles have generated a number of replies from a spectrum of people, with a variety of sources from which they quote. Some explanations have been made based on Islamic Law, yet some quite clearly have not. Here we outline our reply to two questions addressing the Americans:

Q1) Why are we waging Jihad against you?

Q2) What advice do we have for you and what do we want from you?

The answer to the first question is very simple: Because you attacked us and continue to attack us.

You attacked us in Palestine:

Palestine is a place that has been suffering from military occupation for more than 80 years. The British handed over Palestine, with your help and your support, to the Jews, who have occupied it for more than 50 years. The Jews attacked the Palestinians viciously, sparing no method, including killings, crimes, punishments and destruction. The creation, nurturing, and protection of Israel is a great crime and you are the leaders of this crime.

And of course there is no need to explain and prove the degree of American support for Israel. The creation of Israel is a crime and it has to be erased. Each and everyone who has polluted him or herself with this crime has to pay for it, and pay for it heavily. The absurdity of your claims brings us to tears, as we see that you have still not become bored of your fabricated lies saying that the Jews have a historical right to live in Palestine as it was promised to them in the Torah. Anyone who tries to challenge you on this argument is given your historical Sam reference. This fabricated lie is one of the most faulty ones. The Arabs of Palestine are pure Arabs and are the real Sams (from the Prophet Sam). Muslims are the followers of Musa (peace be upon him) and it is the

Muslims who have inherited the real Torah that has not been changed.

Muslims believe that all the Messengers and Prophets are from Allah, including Ibrahim (Abraham), Musa (Moses), Isa (Jesus) and Muhammad, peace and blessings of Allah be upon them all. So when those who say that the Torah mentions that the followers of Musa should live in Palestine, do they not also see that the Muslims are the best suited for this position?

The blood pouring out of Palestine must be treated - with revenge of equal quantity. And you have to know that the Palestinians are not crying alone. You must be aware that the women are not becoming widows alone. You must be aware that their sons are not becoming orphans alone.

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You attacked us in Somalia. You have been silent towards, and at times even encouraged Russian atrocities against us in Chechnya. You have clearly supported Indian butchery against us in Kashmir, and the world has been witness to your relentless assistance to several Jewish attacks, including killing us in Lebanon.

Under your supervision and instructions, your agent countries continue to attack us and hunt us on a daily basis, hence:

The policies employed in these countries stop our nation from establishing the Islamic Shariah, thereby causing great harm to this Ummah.

The policies employed in these countries makes all of us taste this insult and places us inside the prison of fear.

The policies employed in these countries steal our Ummah's wealth and fortunes and sells them to you for a cheap price, so that a few of the elite may indulge themselves whilst the general population starves to death.

The policies that are employed in these countries happily surrender to the Jews, and have been handing over to them most of Palestine, even allowing the existence of Jewish settlements.

So the removal of these policies is an individual obligation upon us so as to make the Shariah the supreme law and to regain Palestine. Our fight against these policies is the same as fighting against you.

So it is clear that it is essential that we remove these policies to make the Shariah (Law of Allah) the supreme law, and that we heal the wounds of Palestine. As you are the Chief designers and sponsors for these policies that are causing immeasurable harm to this Ummah (nation), our fight against these policies is the same fight against you.

You ransack our lands, stealing our treasures and oil, simply because of the pressure you exert via your international influence and military threats. This theft is indeed the biggest theft ever witnessed in the history of the world.

Your forces occupy our lands spreading your ideology and thereby polluting the hearts of our people. You have laid siege on our holy places, mocking the sanctity of our mosques. You have done all of this to protect the Jews and safeguard your pillage of our treasures. You have starved the Muslims of Iraq where each passing hour sees a new grave dug for yet another Iraqi child killed by you. It is deplorable that 1.5 million children have been killed by you and your siege, without anyone saying anything. Yet when 3000 of your

people died, the entire world woke up and stood to fight, and to date have not stopped their fight against us. You have agreed with the Jews that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and have set up your embassy there. And it is with your help and support the Israelis are planning to destroy the Al-Aqsa mosque. You even aided Sharon with guards  
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so that he was able to enter the Al-Aqsa mosque preparing to capture and destroy it. The examples here are only a few amongst an ocean of oppression, injustice, slaughter and plunder carried out by you on our Islamic Ummah. It is therefore commanded by our religion that we must fight back. After all, how can you expect that after you have attacked us for more than half a century, that we will then let you live in peace?! What you wish for is irrelevant, what you must be made aware of is that you should expect nothing less from us than Jihad and resistance.

You may then ask why we are attacking and killing civilians because you have defined them as innocent:

Well this argument contradicts your claim that America is the land of freedom and democracy, where every American irrespective of gender, color, age or intellectual ability has a vote. It is a fundamental principle of any democracy that the people choose their leaders, and as such, approve and are party to the actions of their elected leaders. So 'In the land of freedom' each American is 'free' to select their leader because they have the right to do so, and as such they give consent to the policies their elected Government adopts. This includes the support of Israel manifesting itself in many ways including billions of dollars in military aid. By electing these leaders, the American people have given their consent to the incarceration of the Palestinian people, the demolition of Palestinian homes and the slaughter of the children of Iraq. The American people have the ability and choice to refuse the policies of their Government and even to change their Government, yet time and time again, polls show that the American people support the policies of the elected Government.

The tax paid by the American people is spent against us, building planes to bomb our homes in Afghanistan, building tanks to strike and destroy our homes in Palestine, to finance the armies that occupy our lands in the Arabian Gulf and the fleets surrounding Iraq. These tax dollars are given to Israel so that it will be better equipped to attack us and penetrate our lands. So the American people are Israel's financial source, and through the elected American leaders, this money is spent on little else but killing our families in our lands.

Further, the American army is part of the American people. It is these very same people who are shamelessly helping the Jews fight against us.

This is why the American people are not innocent. The American people are active members in all these crimes.

In our religion, Allah, The Lord of the Worlds, gave us the permission and the option to take revenge and return to you what you gave us. Anyone who tries to destroy our villages and cities, then we are going to destroy their villages and cities. Anyone who

steals our fortunes, then we must destroy their economy. And anyone who kills our civilians, then we are going to kill their civilians. The American Government and press still cannot answer why we hit them in New York and Washington. If according to your President, Sharon is a man of peace, then we are also men of peace!!! Since its inception, America has illustrated that that it does not understand the language of love and manners. THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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So we are using the language they understand.

Now let's answer the second question: What advice do we have for you and what do we want from you?

The first thing that we are inviting you to is Islam, the religion of Tawheed and no association with Allah. This is an invitation to the love of Allah, complete submission to His orders, and the discarding of all the opinions, orders, theories and religions which contradict with Allah's orders. This is the religion that Allah has chosen to be the Prophet's (peace be upon him) religion. Islam is the religion of all the prophets without any difference.

We call you to Islam; the last religion that has replaced all the previous religions; the religion of good manners, sincerity, mercy, fear of Allah, kindness to others, justice between people, giving the rights to people who deserve them, protection of people from oppressors and unjust acts; the religion which calls upon its followers to amr bil maroof (enjoin the good) and nahi an al-munkar (forbid the evil) with hand, tongue and heart. This is the religion of Jihad in the way of Allah so that Allah's Word and religion are made Supreme. This is the religion of obligation to Allah, demanding its followers to act with justice and equality between people without differentiating between their language, sex or color.

This is the religion that has the Qur'an, the book that has not been changed like the other books. The Qur'an is the living miracle until the Day of Judgment. Allah has challenged anyone to bring a book like the Quran or even ten versus like it. To date this challenged has not been met, will not and can not be met, as the Quran is the uncreated Speech of Allah.

We ask you next to stop your unfair acts, lies, immorality and debauchery.

We regret to tell you that you are the worst civilization in the history of mankind:

You are the nation who, rather than ruling by the Law of Allah, choose to implement your own inferior rules and regulations, thus following your own vain whims and desires. You run a society contrary to the nature of mankind by separating religion from your policies. So much so that people believe that even if they commit adultery, theft, and other wicked acts, as long as they go and confess, everything will be okay.

You are the nation who allows riba (interest on money), even though all the religions, including Christianity, have forbidden partaking in riba (interest on money). Yet you build your economy and investments on riba (interest on money). As a result of this, the Jews controlled your economy and then your media and now control all aspects of your life, making you their servants and achieving their aims at your expense, which is what Binyameen (Benjamin) Franklin warned you against.

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Your nation encourages drinking alcohol in all its shapes and forms i.e. production, trading and usage. On the one hand, you have made selling and using some drugs illegal, yet you so often turn a blind eye to this vice. Is it any surprise that your country has the largest drug addiction problem?

Your nation allows immoral acts and you assume that these are part of personal freedom, all whilst you continue to move towards this hell without any concern. Even your policies and rules show no concern for these things. Who can forget your previous President's immoral acts committed in the Oval office? After that you did not even bother putting him on trial and instead allowed him to wriggle himself out of the situation without reprimanding him in any way. History will remember you for all of this.

Your nation endorses gambling in its all forms. Your companies practice this as well, resulting in the investments becoming active and the criminals becoming rich.

Your nation exploits women like consumer products or advertising tools, calling upon customers to purchase them. You use women to serve passengers, visitors and strangers to increase your profit margins. You plaster your naked daughters across billboards in order to sell a product without any shame. You have brainwashed your daughters into believing they are liberated by wearing revealing clothes, yet in reality all they have liberated is your sexual desire. After all this you say that you are the nation that supports women's freedom.

You promote immoral acts in all their forms directly and indirectly. With the help of this, you open the door for your tourists, encouraging them to join you in these immoral acts spreading filth upon whoever comes into contact with you.

And because of all this, you have been described as the nation of all kinds of different diseases -- diseases that had never existed in the past. So you have to be proud of yourself, because your evil acts have spread AIDS all around the world, especially to the poorest countries in the world, killing many millions.

You are the biggest nation that destroys our natural surroundings and pollutes it with industrial waste. You then refuse to sign the KITO agreement, so that you can continue to profit from these industries, whilst leaving a world barely inhabitable for our children.

Your law is the law of the rich and wealthy people. Behind you, there are the Jews who are controlling your policies, media and economy.

The most unique thing about you, is your use of weapons and power everywhere -- not for defensive purposes, but for destructive ones. It is you who dropped a nuclear bomb on Japan, even though Japan was ready to negotiate an end to the war. So what is left on the list of the most heinous, evil and unjust acts that you have not done? And you call yourself the nation of freedom and justice.

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Let us not forget one of your major characteristics, which is your duality in both manners

and law. Your manners and policies have two categories: one for you and one for the others.

(a) You claim freedom and democracy for yourselves, but for others you impose your monstrous policies and governments, calling the latter your "American friends". Of the "American friends," which of them applies the democracy and freedom that you so cherish? When the Islamic party in Algeria wanted to practice democracy and when they won the election, you instructed your friends, the Algerian army, to crush them, teaching them a lesson from the "American book of democracy"!!!

(b) Your policy on prohibiting and forcibly removing weapons of mass destruction only applies to those countries which you do not want possessing these weapons. However, for Israel, they can keep and use them for their "self defense". Anyone else who you suspect might be manufacturing or keeping these kinds of weapons, you call them criminals and you have to take military action against them.

(c) You are the last ones to respect the resolutions and policies of the UN, yet you claim to want to selectively punish anyone else who does the same. Israel has, for more than 50 years, been pushing UN resolutions and rules against the wall with the full support of America.

(d) You search for and imprison war criminals, yet when it comes to your own war criminals you demand that they are granted immunity. However, history will not forget your killings in Japan, Afghanistan, Somalia, Lebanon and Iraq. This is a disgrace which will be attached to you forever. It would be enough to mention some of your recent war crimes against the Muslims in Afghanistan in which densely populated innocent civilian villages were destroyed, bombs were dropped on mosques causing the roof of the mosque to come crashing down on the heads of the Muslims praying inside. You are the ones who broke the agreement with the Mujahidin when they left Qunduz, bombing them in the Qila Janghi fortress killing more than 1,000 people because of suffocation and thirst. Allah knows best how many people have died under your torture, and torture by the hands of your agents. Your planes are still looking for anyone remotely suspicious to them, bombing their homes and killing their women and children.

(e) You have claimed to be the vanguards of Human Rights. Previously, your Ministry of Foreign affairs used to issue annual statistics of those countries violating Human Rights. However, all these things vanished when the Mujahidin hit you, and after that you became of the chiefs of the Human Rights violators, even though previously you had publicly cursed such policies. So in your country, you started capturing the Muslims and Arabs, placing them into custody without any reason, any court trial, or even checking their name. Some of the victims of your Human Right violations are in Guantanamo Bay, which is a real historical embarrassment to America screaming at your faces:

"You hypocrite! what is the value of your signature on Human Rights agreement?!"

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Our third piece of advice is that you should be honest with yourself. Even as I say this, I doubt whether you will, for if you did honestly look at yourself, you would discover that

you are a nation without principles or manners. However, you are also a people who impose certain values and manners on other people, but believe you are above all of that.

4- We also advise you to stop supporting Israel, end your support of the Indians in Kashmir, the Russians against the Chechens and to also cease supporting the Manila Government against the Muslims in Southern Philippine.

5- We also advise you to pack your luggage and get out of our lands. We want you to have a successful and happy life, so don't force us to send you back in coffins in cargo planes.

6- Bring to an end to supporting your agents in our countries. Don't interfere in our life, education and politics. Leave as alone or else you will find us in New York and Washington.

7- It is better for you to deal with us and interact with us on the basis of mutual interests and benefits. You have been warned not to continue your policy of stealing our treasures and supporting the Jews because this will result in more disasters for you.

If you fail to respond to all these conditions, then prepare for fight.

We are the nation of Islamic Monotheism ("Tawheed"), and we trust and depend ("Tawakkul") on Allah and we do not fear anyone except Allah.

The Quran calls to us:

"Do you fear them? Allah has more right that you should fear Him if you are believers. Fight against them so that Allah will punish them by your hands and disgrace them and give you victory over them and heal the breasts of a believing people. And remove the anger of their (believers') hearts. Allah accepts the repentance of whom He wills. Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise." (Quran 9:13-1)

We are the nation of honour and respect:

"But honour, power and glory belong to Allah, and to His Messenger (Muhammad- peace be upon him) and to the believers." (Quran 63:8)

"So do not become weak (against your enemy), nor be sad, and you will be superior (in victory) if you are indeed (true) believers" (Quran 3:139)

We are the nation eager for Martyrdom ("Shahaada"). The nation that looks forward to death rather than living on this world:

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"Think not of those who are killed in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are alive with their Lord, and they are being provided for. They rejoice in what Allah has bestowed upon them from His bounty and rejoice for the sake of those who have not yet joined them, but are left behind (not yet martyred) that on them no fear shall come, nor shall they grieve. They rejoice in a grace and a bounty from Allah, and that Allah will not waste the reward of the believers." (Quran 3:169-171)

We are the nation of victory and success that Allah has promised us

"It is He Who has sent His Messenger (Muhammad peace be upon him) with guidance and the religion of truth (Islam), to make it victorious over all other religions even though the Polytheists (Mushrikeen) hate it." (Quran 61:9)

"Allah has decreed that "Verily it is I and My Messengers who shall be the victorious." Verily Allah is All-Powerful, All-Mighty." (Quran 58:21)

We are the nation of Islam. The nation that was able to dismiss and destroy the previous evil Empires like yourself.

The nation that rejects your attacks on her, wishes to remove your evils and fight against you. You are well aware that from the very core of our soul we despise you.

If you refuse to listen to our advice, then be aware that you will lose this Crusade Bush began, just like the other previous Crusades in which you were humiliated by the hands of the Mujahidin, fleeing to your home in great disgrace. Your end will be like the Soviets who fled from Afghanistan after suffering a colossal military and economic defeat.

This is our message to them answering their inquiries and Inshallah (by the Will of Allah) the victory will be ours.

### **Saudi Magazine Publishes 'Important Parts' of Usama Bin Ladin's 'Will'**

**London Al-Majallah in Arabic 27 Oct 02 pp 22-26**

[Unattributed report: "Al-Majallah Obtains Bin Ladin's Will: It Bears His Signature in His Own Hand and Is Dated Ramadan 1422 Hegira, Corresponding to 14 December 2001. To His Friends: If it Was Not for Treachery, the Situation Would Not Be What it Is Now; To His Wives: Do Not Marry After Me and Devote Yourselves to the Children; To His Sons: Stay Away From Al-Qa'ida and the Front"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Al-Majallah, exclusive (Copyright reserved for Al-Majallah)-- Al-Majallah has obtained a top-secret document that bears the title of "The Will of One  
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Seeking the Support of Allah Almighty, Usama Bin Ladin." It is dated 14 December 2001 and bears the signature of the Al-Qa'ida Organization's leader.

The will consists of four pages written on the computer and signed personally by Usama Bin Ladin. It is obvious that the Al-Qa'ida leader wrote it while in a position fraught with dangers from every corner and at the peak of the US bombardment of his organization's positions in Afghanistan. He says: "Allah, praise and glory be to Him, commended us that when death approaches any of us that we make a bequest to parents and next of kin and to Muslims as a whole who are in the ill-omened age like parents and next of kin. What grieves them grieves me and what saddens them saddens me and Allah, praise and glory be to Him, is a witness to what I say."

It becomes clear in another part of the will that Bin Ladin felt he was certainly going to be defeated by the Western attack on his positions. Addressing all the mujahidin, he says: "Put your trust in Allah, for Allah loves those who put their trust in Him. Ask for His forgiveness and repent to Him for He has let us down because of our sins and evil actions and our defeat by Him is a trial. We praise Him in prosperity and adversity, for Allah has power over all things."

He adds in another paragraph: "I have chosen a road fraught with dangers and for this sake suffered from hardships, embitterment, betrayal, and treachery. If it was not for treachery, the situation would not be what it is now and the outcome would not be what it

is now." This shows that Bin Ladin was expecting his death, in case he was killed, to be the result of "betrayal and treachery" from those around him. This impression is bolstered by his remark in another paragraph as he talks bitterly about what had happened after the US attack: "My mujahidin brothers and I were grieved when we saw our nation in the east and west watching the United States, the head of unbelief, afflicting the worst of torment on the oppressed men, women, and children while the nation watched the painful scene as if it was watching an entertainment movie." He then adds: "The situation was overturned as we saw the coward crusaders and the humiliated Jews remain steadfast in the fighting while the soldiers of our nation lifted a white flag and surrendered to their enemies like women -- may Allah give us strength. Only very few from the students of religion (he meant Taliban) remained steadfast. The rest surrendered or fled before they encountered the enemy."

In addition to this, the will includes the usual thing in Al-Qa'ida' hard-line policy, such as Bin Ladin's attacks on what he called the "clean-shaven clerics", accusing them of issuing fatwas [religious legal rulings] on demand for the Americans.

Following are excerpts of the most important parts in Bin Ladin's will as received:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The Will of One Seeking the Support of Allah Almighty, Usama Bin Muhammad Bin Ladin.

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Praise be to Allah and peace be upon the Master of the Messengers, his family, and his companions. We ask for His forgiveness, seek His guidance, and seek refuge from Him for our sins and evil actions. And such as Allah doth guide there can be none to lead astray; to such as Allah rejects from His guidance, there can be no guide. I witness that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger. We pray to Allah, praise and glory be to Him, to accept us with the martyrs and the virtuous ones among His worshippers and to make us die Muslims.

Allah commended to us that when death approaches any of us that we make a bequest to parents and next of kin and to Muslims as a whole who are in the ill-omened age like parents and next of kin. What grieves them grieves me and what saddens them saddens me and Allah, praise and glory be to Him, is a witness to what I say.

Allah bears witness that the love of jihad and death in the cause of Allah has dominated my life and the verses of the sword permeated every cell in my heart, "and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together." How many times did I wake up to find myself reciting this holy verse!

If every Muslim asks himself why has our nation reached this state of humiliation and defeat, then his obvious answer is because it rushed madly for the comforts of life and discarded the Book of Allah behind its back, though it is the only one that has its cure and deliverance in the fleeting and after life. The Jews and Christians have tempted us with the comforts of life and its cheap pleasures and invaded us with their materialistic values before invading us with their armies while we stood like women doing nothing because the love of death in the cause of Allah has deserted the hearts.

My mujahidin brothers and I were grieved when we saw our nation in the east and west

watching the United States, the head of unbelief, afflicting the worst of torment on the oppressed men, women, and children while the nation watched the painful scene as if it was watching an entertainment movie. The principal cause of our nation's ordeal is its fear from dying in the cause of Allah. The situation was overturned as we saw the coward crusaders and the humiliated Jews remain steadfast in the fighting while the soldiers of our nation lifted a white flag and surrendered to the enemies like women -- may Allah give us strength. Only very few from the students of religion remained steadfast. The rest surrendered or fled before they encountered the enemy. Today, the nation has failed to support us and support the loyal ones from the students of religion who established the first Islamic state in Afghanistan that applied Allah's shari'ah. The evidence of this is America's hatred for the students of religion and their fundamental laws. It, in collusion with its agents in the Northern Alliance and other governments who mobilized their intelligence services to serve the United States, Britain, and the infidel West, repealed the fundamental laws that the students of religion's government had enacted. It repealed the laws on veils and growing beards and restored the practices of imitating the infidels. The nation is guided to the straight path by its clerics. Our disease today is that the nation's clerics have turned away from their mission of guiding the nation. Their aberrance and misguidance have reached a level that the Muslim does not believe. They

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came to Afghanistan to deter its clerics from destroying the Buddhist statues but the virtuous students of religion's clerics sent them back empty handed.

The argument of shaykh (...) and his companions was the need to satisfy the Jews, Christians, and their public opinion. They forgot Allah Almighty's words "never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with thee unless thou follow their form of religion." These clerics betrayed their mission of serving the nation and its causes, championed its enemies, and became hostile to its mujahid vanguards that inflicted on the United States the first defeat in its history, and which, Allah willing, will be like the Mu'tah conquest that was commanded by the Messenger of Allah and led to the disappearance of their state.

The New York and Washington action represented the third of the increasing blows dealt to the United States. The first was the bombing of the Marines in Lebanon and the second was the bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi from where the US invasion of Somalia was launched during which 31,000 of our brothers were killed under the UN flag.

Despite the setback that Allah, praise and glory be to Him, has tried us with, this battle will lead to the disappearance of the United States and the infidel West, even after dozens of years.

O youth of the nation. Crave death and life will be given to you. Listen to the few of the nation's clerics who are adhering to the rule, guiltlessness, and loyalty and who are hostile to those loyal to the nation's enemies who have adopted the temporal ideas and the customs and corruptions of the pagan nations, such as borrowing from usurious banks, the criminal penal codes, and the secular dealings and insurances and allowed the

establishment of parties, labor associations, women's societies, all of which are unacceptable fads as the ancestral clerics and their successors had unanimously ruled. O clerics of Islam. You are today a small minority and I know you by name and read your statements and your truthful fatwas. But I do not want to mention you by name so as not to give the enemies of Allah the excuse they are looking for to persecute you in these days that are critical for us.

O women kinsfolk. Do not ever use cosmetics or imitate the whores and mannish women of the West. Be a school that graduates men and mujahidin in the cause of Allah, protect your honor and be a good example for the mothers of the faithful.

O wives. May Allah bless you. You were, after Allah, praise and glory be to Him, the best support and the best help from the first day you knew that the road was full of thorns and mines. You left the comforts of your relatives and chosen to share the hardships next to me. You renounced worldly pleasures with me, renounce them more after me. Do not think of remarrying and you need only to look after our children, make sacrifices, and pray for them.

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As to you my children, forgive me because I have given you only a little of my time since I answered the jihad call. I have shouldered the Muslims' concerns and the concerns of their causes. I have chosen a road fraught with dangers and for this sake suffered from hardships, embitterment, betrayal, and treachery. If it was not for treachery, the situation would not be what it is now and the outcome would not be what it is now. I advise you to fear Allah for it is the most precious provision in life. I advise you not to work with Al-Qa'ida and the Front [Islamic Front for Fighting the Jews and Christians], as Umar Bin-al-Khattab advised his son Abdallah, may Allah be pleased with them. He forbade him from becoming caliph and said; "If it is good, then we have had our share; if it is bad, then it is enough for Al al-Khattab what Umar had had from it."

My last advise to all the mujahidin wherever they are: Recover your breath and forget for the time being the fight against the Jews and crusaders. Devote yourselves to purging your ranks from the agents and the weak and the bad clerics who are refraining from jihad and who have let the nation down.

Your brother Abu-Abdallah Usama Bin Muhammad Bin Ladin,  
Friday, 28 Ramadan 1422 Hegira corresponding to 14 December 2001.

[The report is followed by Al-Majallah comment: "Fear of Treachery and an Advise To Leave Al-Qa'ida"]

This will is an extremely important document because it points to Bin Ladin's way of thinking and action under difficult conditions. Its date, 28 Ramadan 1422 Hegira, corresponding to 14 December 2001, matches what the experts believe to be the last confirmed date of Bin Ladin's survival. Several question marks emerge from reading the will and its contents:

First. This will was definitely written during the pressures exerted by the American forces on the battlefronts and Bin Ladin felt that his hour of death was getting nearer.

Observers and analysts remember that the date at the bottom of the document points to that period during which Bin Ladin disappeared from view and was not heard of.

Everyone started to refer to the possibility of his death and Pakistan's Prime Minister Pervez Musharraf [title as published] even said publicly that Bin Ladin had died, basing this on information he had received that the US bombardment of the area in which Bin Ladin was staying had killed him.

Bin Ladin has not appeared in a clear and open way so far to indicate that he is still alive despite the recent tape recording of his voice that was aired and which did not include any documented information, such as the timing of an incident or the date of a public issue. The call to jihad could have been from any of his speeches at a meeting or gathering or from his lectures to Al-Qa'ida members.

Second. Bin Ladin refers to "betrayal and treachery" in several places as if he is expecting "treachery and betrayal" from those around him. This impression is bolstered

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by his remark in another paragraph as he talks bitterly about what had happened after the US attack. He said: Only very few from the students of religion (he meant Taliban) remained steadfast. The rest surrendered or fled before they encountered the enemy.

Bin Ladin once again underlined the issue of treason at a more critical situation when he said: "I have chosen a road fraught with dangers and for this sake suffered from hardships, embitterment, betrayal, and treachery. If it was not for treachery, the situation would not be what it is now and the outcome would not be what it is now."

### **His Family**

Third. He did not refer to the number of his wives and did not choose any of them to mention in particular, especially the older ones among them. He did not mention those who had remained with him or who had left and returned to their countries or somewhere else. All he did was ask them not to marry after him.

Fourth. He did not specify the number of his children or those who had stayed with him and whether they were with him or somewhere safe and who was protecting them and looking after their security and well being.

The noticeable thing about his children is that he asked them not to work with Al-Qa'ida and the (World Front for Fighting the Jews and Christians, which he founded when he was joined by the Egyptian Jihad Organization that is led by Ayman Al-Zawahiri). It becomes obvious from looking at the example of Umar Bin-al-Khattab that he cited that he has suffered from Al-Qa'ida more than he has benefited from it by asking his children to stay away from it.

### **The Agents**

Fifth. Bin Ladin's advise to his followers whom he addresses in his will by telling "all the mujahidin -- in case of his death of course -- to forget for the time being about fighting the Jews and crusaders and to devote themselves to purging their ranks from the agents and the weak and the bad clerics who have refrained from jihad and who have let the nation down."

Beside meaning ceasing the "world jihad" and focusing on reorganizing and purging the ranks, this recommendation once again confirms the importance of Bin Ladin's remarks

about "betrayal and treachery" to the point where he makes the purging of the ranks his men's priority, in case of his death, even if this necessitated forgetting or ceasing the "world jihad" for the time being. It could also be interpreted as the planting of new Al-Qa'ida cells in other parts of the world outside Afghanistan, as some experts are asserting. Sixth. He did not refer to any of his friends and those close to him, such as Mullah Omar, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Abu-Hafs, Sayf-al-Adl, and others. This is quite remarkable and looks as if the will was written away from them.

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[Description of Source: London Al-Majallah in Arabic -- London-based Saudi-owned weekly; sister magazine of Al-Sharq al-Awsat newspaper providing independent coverage of Arab and international issues]

**Al-Jazirah: Usama Bin Ladin Hails Recent Operations in Bali, Moscow, Jordan**

**Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 12 Nov 02**

[FBIS Translated Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. From the slave of God, Usama Bin Ladin, to the peoples of the countries allied with the tyrannical US Government.

May God's peace be upon those who follow the right path. The road to safety begins by ending the aggression. Reciprocal treatment is part of justice. The incidents that have taken place since the raids of New York and Washington until now -- like the killing of Germans in Tunisia and the French in Karachi, the bombing of the giant French tanker in Yemen, the killing of marines in Faylaka and the British and Australians in the Bali explosions, the recent operation in Moscow, and some sporadic operations here and there -- are only reactions and reciprocal actions. These actions were carried out by the zealous sons of Islam in defense of their religion and in response to the order of their God and prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon him. What Bush, the pharaoh of this age, was doing in terms of killing our sons in Iraq, and what Israel, the United States' ally, was doing in terms of bombing houses that shelter old people, women, and children with US-made aircraft in Palestine were sufficient to prompt the sane among your rulers to distance themselves from this criminal gang.

Our kinfolk in Palestine have been slain and severely tortured for nearly a century. If we defend our people in Palestine, the world becomes agitated and allies itself against Muslims, unjustly and falsely, under the pretense of fighting terrorism. What do your governments want by allying themselves with the criminal gang in the White House against Muslims? Do your governments not know that the White House gangsters are the biggest butchers of this age? Rumsfeld, the butcher of Vietnam, killed more than two million people, not to mention those he wounded. Cheney and Powell killed and destroyed in Baghdad more than Hulegu of the Mongols. What do your governments want from their alliance with America in attacking us in Afghanistan? I mention in particular Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany, and Australia.

We warned Australia before not to join in [the war] in Afghanistan, and [against] its despicable effort to separate East Timor. It ignored the warning until it woke up to the sounds of explosions in Bali. Its government falsely claimed that they [the Australians]

were not targeted. If you were distressed by the deaths of your men and the men of your allies in Tunisia, Karachi, Faylaka, Bali, and Amman, remember our children who are **FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

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killed in Palestine and Iraq everyday, remember our deaths in Khowst mosques, and remember the premeditated killing of our people in weddings in Afghanistan. If you were distressed by the killing of your nationals in Moscow, remember ours in Chechnya. Why should fear, killing, destruction, displacement, orphaning, and widowing continue to be our lot, while security, stability, and happiness be your lot? This is unfair. It is time we get even. You will be killed just as you kill, and will be bombed just as you bomb. And expect more that will further distress you. The Islamic nation, thanks to God, has started to attack you at the hands of its beloved sons, who pledged to God to continue jihad, as long as they are alive, through words and weapons to establish right and expose falsehood.

In conclusion, I ask God to help us champion His religion and continue jihad for His sake until we meet Him while He is satisfied with us. And He can do so. Praise be to Almighty God.

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent]

**'Abdallah Usama Bin Ladin' Warns Countries Allied to US**

**(Internet) Alneda WWW-Text in Arabic 21 Nov 02**

["Statement from Abdallah Usama Bin Ladin to the Peoples of Countries Allied to Tyrannical US Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

From Abdallah Usama Bin Ladin to the peoples of the countries allied with the tyrannical US Government.

Peace be upon those who follow the Straight Path.

The road to safety begins by lifting the aggression. Reciprocity is only fair. What has happened since the New York and Washington conquests to this day -- such as the killing of Germans in Tunisia and the French in Karachi, the bombing of the French supertanker in Yemen, the killing of the Marines in Faylaka, the killing of the British and Australians in the Bali bombings, the recent Moscow operation, and the miscellaneous operations here and there -- are only reactions and reciprocal actions carried out by the ardent sons of Islam to defend their religion and in response to the order of their Allah and their Prophet, may peace and blessings be with him.

What Bush -- the pharaoh of the age -- is doing killing our sons in Iraq and what Israel, America's ally, is doing by bombarding houses and the old people, women, and children in them with US aircraft in Palestine should have been sufficient for the wise ones among

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your rulers to distance themselves from this criminal gang. Our people in Palestine are being killed and tortured for almost a century.

If we defend our kinsmen in Palestine, the world becomes agitated and wrongly and unjustly forms an alliance against the Muslims under the name of fighting terrorism. Why do your governments ally themselves to the criminal gang in the White House against the Muslims? Do not your governments know that the White House gang members are the biggest butchers of the age?

This Rumsfeld is the Vietnam butcher. He killed more than 2 million humans in addition to the wounded. And Cheney and Powell have caused more deaths and destruction in Baghdad than Hulego the Tatar.

Why did your governments ally themselves to the United States in this attack on us in Afghanistan, and I mention in particular Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany, and Australia?

We had previously warned Australia against participating in Afghanistan in addition to its objectionable endeavors for East Timor's secession. It ignored the warnings until it woke up to the sound of explosions in Bali and its government then claimed falsely and untruly that they were not targeted.

If looking at your killed men and the killed men of your allies in Tunisia, Karachi, Faylaka, and Amman has aggrieved you, then remember our children in Palestine and Iraq who are killed every day. Remember our killed ones in the Khowst mosques. Remember our deliberately killed ones at weddings and celebrations in Afghanistan. If looking at your killed ones in Moscow has aggrieved you, then remember our killed ones in Chechnya.

Until when will fear, killing, destruction, displacement, orphanhood, and widowhood remain limited to us? And security, stability, and happiness limited to you?

This is an unfair division. The time has come for us to be equal. Just as you kill you are killed. Just as you bombard you are bombarded. Rejoice at the harm coming to you.

Here is the Islamic nation starting, with God's Grace, to strike you with its own children who have made a covenant with Allah to continue the jihad with the word and the spear so as to cause the truth to triumph and bring falsehood to nothing as long as they have an eye that twitches and a vein that throbs.

Finally, I pray to God to help us so as to give victory to His religion and continue the jihad in His cause until we meet Him and He is well-pleased with us for He is the Protector and hath the power to do so.

Our last prayer is Praise be to Allah the Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds.

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**Bin Ladin Urges 'Arabian Peninsula' People To Prepare for 'All-out War'**

**London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic 28 Nov 02 p1**

[Unattributed report: "Bin Ladin in a Special Message to the 'People of the Peninsula': Take up Arms To Defend Your Honor. Warned of 'Critical Days and All-out War'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Quds al-Arabi--An internet website close to Al-Qa'ida Organization has carried a new message from Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin, which it said was brought by one of the senior mujahidin who has returned from Afghanistan. The message calls on the people of the Arabian Peninsula in particular to get ready to face critical days and an all-out war.

The Al-Qa'ida leader's new message says: "From my examination of the bitter reality and of the conspiracies and terrible disasters being hatched between the corridors of the crusaders and Jews in Congress and the so-called "Security Council" and with which they will strike, starting in the Middle East with a strike on Iraq -- having in fact already taken the decision to strike it -- I would like you to tell your kinsfolk, your tribesmen, and all people: Do not think that the war will be between the United States and Iraq or between Bush and Saddam. It is between you, all our Muslim brothers, and us on one side and the crusaders and the Jews on the other. Therefore you the people of the Peninsula in particular are facing difficult days ahead and very dangerous ordeals that Allah will test you with, so be prepared with weapons, even if light ones, at least to defend your honor. Urge Allah the Almighty to let you stand firm and save you from these ordeals that will be more dangerous than the great ordeals through which the Peninsula has been.

"Nevertheless, we will give you everything we possess and will defend the land of Muhammad -- may the peace and blessings of Allah be with him -- as much as we can if these ordeals do break out. We will do to the United States what pleases the Muslims and fill their hearts with joy, God willing.

"Let us, we and you, be one hand until relief follows these ordeals and victory comes to this religion." End of the text of the message.

The bearer of the message, a senior mujahid who had fought in Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, and recently in Afghanistan, says: Special circumstances happened to my family that required me to return to them from the land of jihad. When I took leave of Shaykh Usama -- may Allah protect and grant him victory -- he gave me a legacy and insisted I deliver it to the largest number of people in the Arabian Peninsula.

[Description of Source: London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic -- London-based independent Arab nationalist daily with an anti-US and anti-Saudi editorial line; generally pro-Palestinian, pro-Iraqi regime, tends to be sympathetic to Bin Ladin]  
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**2003**

**Bin Ladin Message Urges Islamic Factions To Unite, Fight 'External' Enemy**

**London Al-Sharq al-Awsat (Internet Version-WWW) in Arabic 19 Jan 03**

[Report by Muhammad al-Shafi'i in London: "New Message From Bin Ladin Justifies Mistakes of Al-Qa'ida Leaders, Attacks 'Secularist Movements', and Calls for Unity of 'Islamic Factions'" Correction: added Urgent tag]

[FBIS Translated Text] Al-Sharq al-Awsat obtained yesterday a new message prepared by the "Islamic Studies and Research Center" in Pakistan, the main mouthpiece for Al-Qa'ida organization. The message is titled "Islamic Action Between Causes of Consensus and Advocates of Disagreement" [al-amal al-islami bayn dawa'i al-ijtima wa du'at alniza].

The foreword was written by Usama Bin Ladin, the leader of the secret organization whom Washington is hunting down as the main defendant in the September 2001 terrorist attacks on Washington and New York. The Islamic Studies and Research Center reported exclusively during the past months Al-Qa'ida's operations, most notably the Mombassa operation in Kenya, the Faylaka operation in Kuwait, and the attack on the French oil tanker Limburg in Yemen's waters last October.

Bin Ladin says in a new message that fundamentalist sources in London say was written only few weeks ago: "It is the extent of differences and disunity among Muslims in general and those working for Islam in particular that the Muslim observes today which is surprising and bewildering. This dangerous phenomenon has almost become the only point of consensus and agreement between the various Islamic action factions in the arena."

Bin Ladin adds in the 26-page message: "The importance of the message does not lie only in its contents but also in its source. It comes from the depth of the jihadist tendency inside the blessed Islamic awakening. It expresses a broad sector inside this tendency, which used to be and is still described as the proudest of its views on disputed issues among the Islamic tendencies." He did not talk about or touch upon the other jihadist or Islamic tendencies that disagree with Al-Qa'ida's thinking.

He hastens to add however: "If the feeling that disunity and differences are dangerous and unity and agreement are important has prompted this important party in the cause to raise it within this universal and unifying framework, then it is with greater reason that the other parties should deal positively with this proposal."

The Al-Qa'ida leader goes on to say: "The message we are presenting today falls within the framework of the commendable efforts that are closing an important gap in this matter. The message sets forth the most important evidence from the Holy Book, the Sunna, and the sayings of the nation's ulemas concerning the need for unity and

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consensus and renunciation of disunity and differences and for concentrating on the effects and damages that differences in views cause."

He then reviews the Islamic situation and the splits, differences, disunity, and disagreements in which it is living. According to Bin Ladin, the message underlines the need for adhering to the course followed by the people of the Sunna and for a set of shari'ah rules that govern the relationship between Muslims and those working for Islam so as to protect their Islamic brotherhood even if they hold different scholastic views and practical interpretations.

The fundamentalist sources in London disclosed that this is the first time that Bin Ladin affiliates himself openly to the jihadist tendency. In the past, he spoke about jihad as a religious duty, that is as an absolute, but now affiliates himself to a specific tendency with ideological precepts and practices that distinguish it from the other Islamic tendencies.

**"The New Crusade", Prepared by Al-Qa'ida on a CD**

Bin Ladin's message asks when will Muslims wake up from the long slumber and deep sleep? When will they rise to carry out serious action for their religion and call? When will they distinguish between their friend and their enemy? When will they point their arrows, with which they are fighting each other, at their external enemy that is oppressing their nation, looting and robbing its resources and wealth?

On his part, Libyan Islamist Nu'man Bin-Uthman, the expert in fundamentalist movements, said in a telephone contact with Al-Sharq al-Awsat that this latest message is not the only one prepared by Al-Qa'ida's Political Bureau. There is another 160-page book titled "The New Crusade" that is on CD and its foreword contains a dedication to the US Congress.

There is also the "Allegiance and Disavowal" book by Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of the Egyptian Jihad Organization and Bin Ladin's right-hand man. This book can be found on the Islamic Studies and Research Center's Internet website. Al-Zawahiri had earlier written "Knights under the Prophet's Banner" book, which Al-Sharq al-Awsat published last year as part of his recollections about some contemporary leaders of the Islamic movements.

The Libyan Islamist said the purpose behind the publication of these fundamentalists' studies is an Al-Qa'ida attempt to restore the conceptual structure of the jihadist tendency movement. He pointed out that "The New Crusade" book defines Al-Qa'ida's priorities in the operations against US targets and is dedicated to the US Congress.

He asserted that Bin Ladin's new message comes at the right time because it presents through its shari'ah-based evidence and documentation a clear call to renounce the differences between the fundamentalists, no matter how profound they are, and to unite the ranks against the external enemy.

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He explained that all Al-Qa'ida's recent books agree on the need to stand by the believers and to be hostile to the infidel, who are in particular the United States and Israel; that is, to concentrate on the "violent struggle between the forces of unbelief, tyranny, and arrogance and the Muslim nation and its jihad vanguard and which reached its peak with the New York and Washington conquests."

In reply to an Al-Sharq al-Awsat question about the timing of publishing Bin Ladin's message, the Libyan Islamist answered that he is still alive and said: "Bin Ladin's death or arrest is something that cannot be kept secret. The man does not live alone but is hiding among a group of Islamists who are in charge of protecting him." He added: Such a thing cannot be kept secret, especially in the Afghan milieu that is known to be unable to keep a secret. The Arab Afghans who took part in the jihad against the Russians used to joke and mock this to the point where they said that if you wanted the secret of the last Arab Afghans' operation, then go to the Afghan cook at the front and he would tell you all the details.

Bin Ladin's message touches on the Muslims' differences and disunity and says these are not anymore something inherited from the old negative legacy, which the Muslims inherited from the past eras and the direct occupation ones, but they are being entrenched and deepened in the Islamic awakening's reality by those working for Islam who are

rearing the generations on these differences and planting in their minds in a practical way the idea that action according to them is part of the rules of allegiance and disagreement. The message adds: "In addition to being disobedience to Allah the Almighty, disunity and differences are the cause of betrayal, defeat, and failure."

### **Disunity and Differences**

About the reality in the Islamic arena and the disunity and differences it is living in, Bin Ladin's message says: "Despite what Islam and its people are suffering from at the hands of their enemies the secularist movements, despotic governments, and infidel nations, and despite the calamities from which the nation is suffering, foremost of them the desecration and occupation of its holy places, the occupation of territories, and the violation of honor, despite all this and that, the Muslims are still wholly engaged in violent differences, blazing feuds, and issues and matters that are not part of the rules of religion or the consensus where differences are not permitted."

The message addresses sharp criticisms "to the enemies who are waging an intellectual campaign of disinformation parallel to the military crusade in an endeavor to patch up the worn-out reality." Touching on the secularists, it says: "Tongues very often seek to harm the propagators, ulema, and seekers of knowledge who hold their heads high because truth is on their side at a time when the heads of the lowly bend before the storm of falsehood, betray the trust of the truth, and offer it in the street of inducement and intimidation. The tongues that seek to harm the ulema are quite often the same ones that praise and extol the actions of the despotic and other enemies of Islam and Muslims who have declared war on Allah and fought His holy men and supported His enemies."

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The message then goes on to justify the mistakes of the organization's leaders and downplay their consequences. It says under the headline "A Mistake Is Assessed Proportionately" that the human being is by nature liable to make mistakes and to err. This being so and as all the virtuous and ulema are liable too, rules ought to be laid down that protect their dignity from being destroyed and their status from being wrecked for some mistake they make." It adds: "The crucial factor is not a person's mistakes but his good deeds and righteousness. His status is not wrecked because of an accidental mistake, from which no one is infallible."

There is contradiction in the message that ignores the mistakes of Al-Qa'ida's leaders and demands that rules be laid down to protect its ulema's dignity while at the same time not ignoring the mistakes of those who have moved to the camp of tyranny and falsehood and who have devoted themselves to fight the truth and its upholders.

The message urges the loyal youth to mobilize their efforts for the battle that has not finished yet by saying: "The situation that Muslims are living in today requires the mobilization of everyone who belongs to this religion and the utilization of his resources and efforts in the battle that Islam is fighting against the crusaders' alliance, which has bared its teeth and revealed its true objectives from fighting Islam and Muslims, and is not content anymore with what its agents in the region are doing."

[Description of Source: London Al-Sharq al-Awsat (Internet Version-WWW) in Arabic -- Influential Saudi-owned London daily providing independent coverage of Arab and international issues; editorials reflect official Saudi views on foreign policy]

**Full Text of interview Held with Al-Qa'ida Leader Usama Bin Ladin on 21 Oct 2001**

**(Internet) Jihad Online News Network WWW-Text in Arabic 21 Jan 03**

[FBIS Translated Text]

**Alluni:** There is a question that is being reiterated by many people in different parts of the world about your involvement in the New York and Washington incidents, and the United States claims to have convincing proofs. What is your reply to these claims?

**Bin Ladin:** Praise be to God, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds, and may the peace and blessings of God be upon Muhammad and his family and all companions. As to the description of these acts as terrorism, it is false. And, as to the youths, whom God had opened their hearts, transferred their battle to the heart of the United States, and made them destroy its most prominent economic and military landmarks, they acted with God's grace in the way we understand and uphold it and in self-defense. It was in defense of our sisters and brothers in Palestine and the liberation of their holy places. If rousing these  
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acts is terrorism and killing those who kill our sons is terrorism then let history be a witness that we are terrorists.

**Alluni:** The follower of your statements and pronouncements sees a link between your recent oath -- in which you said verbatim, "I swear by God Almighty, who raised the heavens without pillars, that the United States will not enjoy security before it becomes a reality in Palestine" -- and the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington. What is your opinion on this conclusion?

**Bin Ladin:** The link is understandable, since we roused these acts. We roused such acts for years and issued statements and fatwas [religious rulings] on them. There was continuous rousing in many meetings and in the media. If they or you meant that there was a link between these acts and the rousing, then it is correct. We rouse, and rousing is a duty today. God Almighty entrusted it to the best of mankind, Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, when He said: "Then fight in God's cause -- though art held responsible only for thyself -- and rouse the believers. It may be that God will restrain the fury of the unbelievers; for God is the strongest in might and in punishment." The fury of the unbelievers is restrained through fighting and liberation. The link is correct. We roused the believers to fight the Americans and the Jews. This is correct.

**Alluni:** Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin, Al-Qa'ida Organization is now facing a country that dominates the world militarily, politically, and technologically. Under what logic can Al-Qa'ida, which does not have the material capabilities possessed by the United States, defeat that country militarily?

**Bin Ladin:** Praise be to God, I say that the battle is not between Al-Qa'ida and the world Crusade. The battle is between Islam and Muslims on the one hand and the world Crusade on the other. With God's grace, this organization fought on the side of our

brother Afghan mujahidin, and people used to say the same things, and even more. They said how could you defeat the Soviet Union? The Soviet Union then was a great power that frightened the whole world. Even NATO used to tremble with fear from the Soviet Union. Where now is that power, which was said to be impossible for our brother mujahidin? With God's grace, the Soviet Union has vanished into oblivion. It no longer exists. It split up into several small states, with only Russia left. It was God Almighty that gave us the support and the help to defeat the Soviet Union. And, God Almighty will give us the support once again to defeat the Americans on the same land and with the same people. That was God's grace. We believe that the defeat of the United States is possible, God willing. In fact, it would be easier, God willing, than the earlier defeat of the Soviet Union.

**Alluni:** How do you explain that; why is would it be easier?

**Bin Ladin:** We found that out from our brothers who fought the Americans in Somalia. They did not see it as a power worthy of any mention. It was the big propaganda that the United State used to terrify people before fighting them. Our brothers, who were here in  
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Afghanistan, also tried the Americans. God gave them and the mujahidin success in Somalia and the United States pull out, trailing disappointment, defeat, and failure behind it. It achieved nothing. It left quicker than people had imagined. It forgot all the big uproar it created in the media about the New World Order and its being the master of that order, which could do what it liked. Praised be God, it swallowed up all those trivialities, gathered its army, and withdrew in abject defeat.

We fought the Russians from 1979 to 1989. And, with God's grace, we continued fighting the Afghan communists. Today, we are at the end of the second week. What a big difference there is between the two battles and two groups. We pray to God to give us support to break America's back, for He is Omnipotent.

**Alluni:** Regarding the land, you said, "we will defeat it on the same land." Don't you think that Al-Qa'ida's existence on Afghan soil costs the Afghan people a heavy price?

**Bin Ladin:** This is a narrow view and not a full view. It is a view from one angle. When we came to Afghanistan to support the Afghan mujahidin against the Russians, who entered in the year 1399 Hegira corresponding to 1979 A.D., the Saudi Government asked us officially not to proceed to Afghanistan. It said our entry into Afghanistan would implicate the Saudi regime. The message that came was an order to me not to go to Afghanistan, but to stay with the refugees in Peshawar. It said that if the Russians arrested me that would be proof of support for the mujahidin against the Soviet Union. At that time the whole world trembled from the Soviet Union. But, I ignored the ban. It was wrong from their viewpoint. When we came to Afghanistan for the first time we suffered a great deal for the sake of saving Muslim lives, protecting children, preventing harm to Muslims, and supporting religion. That was the duty of all Muslims and not just the Afghans.

Therefore, if my brethren or I have carried out the duty of jihad in support of our brethren

in Palestine, this does not mean that I alone must assume this duty. It is a duty, which everyone and the entire nation must assume for the sake of God. Today, jihad is a duty for ourselves, Afghans, and others. True, they already assume this duty, but it is a shari'a duty, which they and others must assume for the sake of God.

They attack the Afghans because of us, although this is not a personal issue. The United States did not seize my funds or hurt me in any way. They are enraged because we have roused people against the Jews and the Americans in defense of the Islamic nation.

It is also understood that the United States was against the establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan. The Emir of the Faithful said that on more than one occasion.

Taliban leaders also made similar statements. So they were targeted for their religion and due to the existence of Usama Bin Ladin. The Emir himself said that the British came and attacked Afghanistan before the existence of Usama Bin Ladin. The Russians also came before we came. And now the Americans have come, and we pray to God that He would defeat them the way he defeated their allies before them.

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**Alluni:** Let us go back to the attacks in New York and Washington. What is your assessment of what happened, and what is its effect on the United States and the Islamic World? The question is in two parts, please?

**Bin Ladin:** I say that what happened in New York and Washington on Tuesday, 11 September, was a great event by all standards and its repercussions continue to this moment. The collapse of the twin towers has taken place a while ago, but the repercussions continue. Let us speak about the economic effects that are still continuing. According to their own admission, the loss in Wall Street was 16 percent. They also said it was an all-time figure since the market opened more than 230 years ago. The big collapse in the dealings in this market amounted to \$4 trillion. If we multiply the \$4 trillion by 16 percent, we will find that the loss sustained by their shares amounted to \$640 trillion. This figure is equivalent to Sudan's budget for 640 years.

This was their loss as a result of the strike that took place in just one hour, with God's assistance. The daily US income is \$20 billion. There was no business during the first week due to the psychological shock. And, no one has gone to work to this day due to the big shock. If you multiply \$20 billion by seven days, the answer is \$140 billion. But, it is actually more than that. You have to add it to the \$640 billion. So what is the result? It is more than \$800 billion. The loss of buildings is more than \$30 billion. The number of employees dismissed by aviation companies to this day, or until two days ago, was over 170,000. US researches and studies say that more than 70 percent of the American people suffer to this day from depression and mental disturbances after the attacks on the twin towers and the Defense Department, The Pentagon. One famous international hotel chain, Intercontinental, dismissed 20,000 employees. No one can actually determine the total losses due to their vastness, numerousness, and ramifications. God be praised, they are on the increase. What is obvious is that the loss is at least \$1 trillion, God be praised. With these blessed and successful strikes, we pray to God to accept the brothers as martyrs and to make paradise their abode.

But, I also say that there are other repercussions, which are more serious than the collapse

of the twin towers. It is the collapse of the western civilization headed by the United States. The incidents destroyed its values. They also destroyed those huge moral towers that spoke of freedom, human rights, and humanity. They vanished into thin air. This was clear when the US Government intervened and banned the news media from carrying our statements, which were just for a few minutes. It was because they felt that the truth would become clear to the Americans, that we were not terrorists in the sense they wanted, but were aggrieved parties in Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Sudan, Somalia, Kashmir, the Philippines, and other places. This was a reaction by the youths of the nation against the attacks by the British Government (possibly a slip of the tongue, as he might have meant the US Government).

Thus they made those statements and gave those orders and forgot the opinion and the other opinion and such things. Therefore, I say that US liberties and human rights have gone to the guillotine and might vanish forever, unless they realize that very soon. The government will push the Americans and the West in general into an unbearable

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strangling life, in fact hell. The reason is that the governments leaders there and in close contact with and under the influence of the Zionist lobby. They are serving the interests of "Israel," which kills our sons and children without any right, so that they would remain in power.

**Alluni:** Regarding the effect of these operations on the Islamic World, there have been conflicting statements. On the one hand, there has been an overwhelming joy in the Islamic World, and on the other you have heard official and private statements saying that these are unacceptable terrorist attacks against civilians and that they conflict with the teachings of the Islamic religion and so on. What is your assessment of what has happened on the basis of your follow up of what is taking place in the Islamic World through the network, which you own and run in different parts of the world?

**Bin Ladin:** I say that events have greatly proven the terrorism, which the United States is practicing against the world. Bush has said that the world must make a choice between one of two parties; there is the party that supports him, and that any state that does not join the Bush government and the world Crusade will necessarily be considered with the terrorists. Can there be a clearer terrorism than this one? Thus, many states that do not control their affairs had to go along with this powerful world terrorism. They were compelled first to appease him and say, we are with you. But, when they knew full well that we were defending our brothers and holy places the statements by the leaders, whether in the West or in the East, said that it was essential to resolve the problem by eliminating the basic causes of terrorism. What are these causes? They said it is the Palestine question. So we are a people with a just cause. But, fearing the United States, they could not say that we were the defenders of a just cause, but said we were terrorists. So go ahead and resolve the Palestine question.

Due to these strikes and their repercussions, Bush and Blair moved and said that it was time an independent Palestinian state was established. Good grace! It was not possible to

resolve the issue for the past 20 years except when this strike took place. These people only understand the language of force and fighting. Just as they fight us, we must also fight them until we achieve a balance of terror. This is the first time in this modern age in which the two sides -- the Muslims and the Americans -- come closer to a balance of terror. US politicians used to do what they liked with us. The victim was banned from crying or paining. Muslims were crushed. And, Clinton came out after the 1996 Qana massacre to say "Israel" had a right to defend itself. They did not even rebuke the Israelis. And while the new president Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell were still in the first months of their administration, they said that they would allow the transfer of the American Embassy to Jerusalem to become the eternal capital of "Israel." The Congress and the House of Representative applauded them. What sheer hypocrisy and plain injustice! They will not understand until the blows fall on their heads. Thus, with God's grace, the battle was transferred to US territory. We will continue with it, God willing, until victory or martyrdom.

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**Alluni:** I see that your answers always lead to the talk about Palestine and the Palestine question. Let us pose this question: Your recent statements, or to be more precise a statement that you made several years ago, called for fighting the Jews and Crusaders. We recall that the statement carried a title, which included a quotation from a prophet's tradition. It said: "Expel the infidels from the Arabian Peninsula." You emphasis then was on evicting the Americans from the Arabian Peninsula. Recently, however, we have observed a change in your priorities. You have placed the Palestine question, or what you term "Al-Aqsa issue," as first priority and the issue of the two holy mosques as second priority, if I may so. What is your comment on that?

**Bin Ladin:** I say that no doubt the jihad to liberate Al-Aqsa and save the oppressed people in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, and all Muslim countries is a religious duty. No doubt also, the liberation of the Arabian Peninsula from the infidels is a religious duty. But the talk that I have given priority to the Palestine question is not correct. This humble subject delivered lectures in the year 1407 Hegira urging Muslims to boycott US goods. I used to say then that the Americans were taking our money and given it to the Jews to kill our brothers in Palestine. This is a religious duty and that is a religious duty. There are many such religious duties, including the jihad in Kashmir and other places. The front, which we established a few years ago, was called the Islamic Front against Jews and Crusaders. Both issues are important. But, sometimes, developments in one issue prompt us to take more action in its direction without ignoring the other direction.

**Alluni:** What were the developments that made you push in the direction of the Palestine question?

**Bin Ladin:** The outbreak of the recent blessed intifadah -- the Rajab [September 2000] intifadah -- prompted us to push in this direction. This was the main reason that made us push in this direction, rather than the other direction. But, our endeavor shifts from one duty to another. Moving from one duty to another is not a taboo in religion. The duties serve one another. The strike against the Americans on the Palestine question serves the strike against them on the issue of the two holy mosques and vice versa. The Americans

in Tabuk and the eastern region of Saudi Arabia consider themselves a second defense line for the Jews. So there is no conflict between the two issues.

**Alluni:** Let us now consider the case of the Jews and Crusaders, as you said. You issued a fatwa calling for jihad against the Jews and Crusaders. Meanwhile, other ulema issued different fatwas. Some have supported you, but other have criticized or opposed your fatwa. Some of them asked: Under what religious basis must we kill a Jew, a Crusader, or a Christian simply because of his religion? There was also no coordination between your fatwa and those by the other ulema?

**Bin Ladin:** Praise be God, I say that many fatwas have been issued on these matters. Muslim ulema in Pakistan issued many fatwas, especially the one by Mufti Nizamuddin. Many fatwas were also in the Arab countries, especially in the land of the two holy mosques. Foremost, was the one by Hamud Bin-Abdallah Bin-Uqlah al-Shu'aybi, may God prolong his age. He is one of the prominent scholars in the land of the two holy

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mosques. He supports fighting Americans and Israelis in Palestine and permits the spilling of their blood and the seizure of their property. A fatwa was also issued by Shaykh Sulayman al-Alwan. Moreover, a scholar published a book on the reality of the new Crusade wars. He refuted the claims made by those who say that jihad is wrong, and those who say that it is a religious duty. But, he also noted certain evils. Yes, I read them all and he was successful in that, may God bless him.

**Alluni:** And what about killing innocent civilians?

**Bin Ladin:** Killing innocent civilians, as the United States and some intellectuals claim, is strange talk. What I mean to say is that who says that our sons and civilians are not innocent and that it is right to spill their blood? When we kill their civilians the whole world from East to West cries out, and the United States instigates its allies and small agents. Who says that our blood is not bad and theirs is good? Who issued such a fatwa? Who has been killing in our countries for scores of years? More than one million children died in Iraq and many more are still dying? Why didn't we hear anyone denouncing these acts or supporting or even condoling? A tradition by the prophet says: "A woman was put in hell for tying up a cat, without feeding it or letting it feed itself." This was just a cat. How about the millions of Muslims who are being killed? Where are the intellectuals, writers, and ulema? Where are the free men? Where are the ones with faith in their hearts? How can these people take action when American civilians are killed, while we are being killed daily, and our children are killed in Palestine every day?

There is a big fault here. There must be a clear and strong stand, as well as recalculation. But, it is in the nature of people to support the powerful without knowing what it is. They talk against us, because they know that we will not respond to them. And when they stand alongside the governments and Americans, they feel something without knowing that it is. Arab history tells us that an Arab king once killed a man. People then were used to kings killing people. The brother of the victim lurked for the king and killed him. When this man committed this act to avenge for his brother people said, do you kill a king for

the sake of your brother? He said, why should the king be different? This is a soul and that is a soul, and souls are equal. So the blood of Muslims is equal. In that age, blood was equal. The man said my brother is my king. The man you see is my king. We also say that all our sons in Palestine are our kings. We will kill the kings of infidelity, the kings of the Crusaders, and the infidel civilians for killing our sons. This is permissible legally and logically.

**Alluni:** So you say that it is on the basis of reciprocity; they kill our innocent civilians and we kill their innocent civilians?

**Bin Ladin:** We kill their innocent civilians and it is permissible legally and logically, because some of those who spoke on the subject argued on a legal basis.

**Alluni:** What is their proof?

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**Bin Ladin:** They said it is impermissible and cited the proof that the prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, banned the killing of children and women. This is correct.

**Alluni:** This is exactly what we are wondering about?

**Bin Ladin:** But, the ban on killing innocent children is not absolute. There are provisions that restrict it. God says: "And if ye do catch them out, catch them out no worse than they catch you out." Religious scholars, including Ibn-al-Qayyim, Al-Shawkani, and Al-Qurtubi say in their interpretations and many also say that if infidels purposely kill our women and children, then there is no reason why we should not treat them equally so as to stop them from killing our children and women again. Now, this is from the legal aspect. As for those who talk without religious knowledge, they say that it is impermissible to kill a child. The youths, whom God opened the way for them did not intend to kill children. They simply attacked the biggest military center in the world -- The Pentagon that has more than 64,000 employees. It is a military place and the center of military power and expertise.

**Alluni:** What about the World Trade Center towers?

**Bin Ladin:** Those who were killed in the World Trade Center towers were an economic power, not a school for children or a house. Those who were in the center backed the biggest economic power in that world that sows corruption on earth.

These people must pause and recalculate. They must recalculate. We are treating them the way they treat us. Those who kill our women and innocent civilians we will kill their women and innocent civilians until they stop that.

**Alluni:** News media and intelligence services say that you are running a wide network that is spread out in 54 countries. Reports also say that Al-Qa'ida's financial assets are enormous and that you are using them in the operations that are carried out. Moreover, they say that you back Islamic movements, or movements that are called terrorist in several other places. The question posed to you is: How attached is Al-Qa'ida to the person of Usama Bin Ladin?

**Bin Ladin:** Praise be to God, I say in response to your question and repeat what I said before that the matter does not concern this humble subject or Al-Qa'ida. We are the sons of an Islamic nation, whose leader is Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of God be

upon him. Our God is one and He is the Almighty Allah. Our prophet is one, who is Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. Our qibla is also one. We are one nation, with one book. This Holy Book and the prophet's traditions oblige us under the shari'a to become brothers in faith. All the faithful are brothers -- the faithful are brethren.

The question is not as portrayed in the West that there is an organization known by such and such a name. This name is very old. It emerged without our intention. Brother

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Ubaydah al-Banshiri, may his soul rest in peace, set up a military training camp for youths to fight the tyrannical, oppressive, and atheist Soviet Union, which really terrorized peaceful civilians. We used to call that training camp the base. The name then stuck. As to ourselves, we are not separate from the nation. We are the sons of the nation and an indivisible part of it. These massive demonstrations from the Philippines in the Far East to Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, and Mauritania only express the conscience of the nation. These youths that sacrificed their lives in New York and Washington -- and we pray to God to accept them as martyrs -- were the spokesmen of the true conscience of the nation. They were its pulsating conscience, which believed that there must be revenge against injustice, the tyrant, the criminal, and the terrorist who truly terrifies innocent people. Not every kind of terrorism is censured. There is malignant terrorism and benevolent terrorism. The criminal thief is frightened of the police. Do you tell the policeman you are a terrorist because you frighten the thief? No, police terrorism of criminals is benevolent terrorism. The criminal's terrorism of innocent civilians is malignant terrorism. The United States and "Israel" practice malignant terrorism, and we practice benevolent terrorism, which deters those who kill our children in Palestine and other places.

**Alluni:** What is the Al-Qa'ida strategy in the Arab states? It was observed that some Arab states criticized what took place in New York and Washington and supported US charges that you were behind what happened in New York and Washington. Some of these states went even beyond that in their criticism, such as the recent comment by the Saudi interior minister in which he warned people against following your course and statements. Do you have any special strategy for the Arab states and what is your reply to the recent statement by the Saudi interior minister?

**Bin Ladin:** I affirm that we are part of this nation and our aim is to support our nation and remove the injustice, humiliation, and submissiveness. Our aim is also to remove the rules that the United States has imposed on its agents in the region. We want this nation to be ruled according to the book of God, who created it. I heard part of the statement made by the interior minister. He accused me directly. He said we consider Muslims infidels, God forbid! We believe that Muslims are Muslims. We do not consider any one of them infidel, unless he violated any of the known Islamic rules intentionally. But, we say that in general our interest is to unite the nation under the book of God and the

traditions of his prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. We want the revival of this nation under the Islamic caliphate, as predicted by the prophet in his traditions. He said that the caliphate would return. The nation must unify its efforts against this Crusade. It is the most savage and violent Crusade against the Islamic World since the dawn of Islamic history. Many Crusades have occurred in the past. But, this one is unprecedented. Bush himself spoke about this "Crusade." The strange thing is that we are misquoted and people believe that. They believe the Saudi interior minister when he says we consider Muslims infidels, God forbid! But, they find excuses for Bush when they he did not mean to say a Crusade war. He said that it was a Crusade war. Bush was also considered right when he said: "You are either with us or with terrorism." In other words, you are either with the Crusade or Islam.

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Today, Bush is the leader and bearer of the big cross. I swear to God that anyone who follows Bush in his plan is a renegade from the creed of Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. This is one of the clearest rules in God's book and the traditions of the prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. The ulema have issued fatwas on this subject. And the proof is in the words of God when addressing the faithful: "O ye who believe take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors; they are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily, God guideth not a people unjust." Religious scholars say that who befriends infidels blasphemes. One manifestation of this friendship is making statements of support. Those who follow Bush in his campaign against Muslims blaspheme. God also says: "Those in whose hearts is a disease -- thou seest how eagerly they run about amongst them saying: We do fear lest a change of fortune bring us disaster. Ah perhaps God will give thee victory or a decision according to His will. Then will they repent of the thoughts which they secretly harbored in their hearts." God also says: "And those who believe will say: Are these the men who swore their strongest oaths by God that they were with you? All that they do will be in vain and they will fall into nothing but ruin."

Ibn-al-Kathir, may his soul rest in peace, says in his interpretation of the Koran that many of the prophet's companions did not know that Abdallah Bin-Abi Bin-Salul was a hypocrite infidel. When a conflict occurred between the Muslims and the Jews, the prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, wanted to punish the Jews. This hypocrite suddenly sided with the Jews against the prophet. Thus, the verse "those who befriend infidels blaspheme" was revealed. Then came the next verse, which emphasized the same point: "Ye who believe, if any from among you turn back from his faith, soon will God produce a people whom He will love and they will love Him; lowly with the believers, Mighty against the rejecters, fighting in the way of God and never afraid of the reproaches. Of such as find fault. That is the grace of God, which He will bestow on whom He pleaseth, and God encompasseth all, and He knoweth all things." I tell Muslims to be very careful of befriending Jews and Christians, and to the one, whose tongue has slipped with a word, to fear God and repent for what he did.

**Alluni:** Even for one word?

**Bin Ladin:** Even for one word, and whoever befriends them with one word falls in apostasy, extreme apostasy. Power is from God.

**Alluni:** But, this is a very big section of the nation?

**Bin Ladin:** It is not a big section. This is the ruling of God Almighty. It is clear in His Holy Book. In fact, it is one of the clearest rules.

**Alluni:** How about the Arab and Islamic governments?

**Bin Ladin:** Whoever does not hurt us when say this or that knows the truth and he will know its people. This is God's book. It is one of our constants. Even if the whole world  
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tried to change anything in it, it will not change our convictions. It is either right or false, Islam or infidelity.

**Alluni:** Is it possible to find excuses for some helpless states? Let us take Qatar for example. It is a small state, whose foreign minister said once: I am surrounded by a great power that could wipe me out of the map easily. Therefore, I am compelled to strike an alliance with the Americans and others." Is it possible to find an excuse for the State of Qatar, Kuwait, or Bahrain, for example?

**Bin Ladin:** In these Islamic matters, where the faithful are killed, the talk about coercion by these people is not acceptable under the shari'a. If the Amir of Qatar ordered a man to kill your son and then we asked the soldier why he killed your brother and he said: "I was forced to do it. You, Taysir, know how dear you are to me, but I was forced to do it." This how people's blood is wasted under such excuses. This coercion is not acceptable. The soul of this soldier is not better than that of your son. He has no right to appoint an oppressor to kill your son. This is not acceptable under the shari'a.

**Alluni:** What is your comment on what Samuel Huntington and others say about the inevitability of the clash of civilizations? Your repetition of the words Crusade and Crusades indicates that you support the inevitability of the clash of civilizations?

**Bin Ladin:** I say there is no doubt about that. It is clearly established in the book and the sunna. No faithful Muslim can deny these facts. Whether it is said or not, what counts to us is what exists in the book and the sunna of our prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. But, the Jews and the United States have come out with a fib to make simple Muslims believe it. Unfortunately, the rulers of the region and many others believed the call for peace and world peace. This is a baseless fib.

**Alluni:** Peace?

**Bin Ladin:** The peace they claim is intended to lull Muslims before butchering them. For the butchering continues. If we defend ourselves, they say we are terrorists and the butchering continues. Our prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, said: "Doomsday shall not come until Muslims fight Jews. A Jew would be hiding behind a tree or a stone. The tree or the stone would say, O Muslim, O subject of God, there is a Jew behind me come and kill him. The only exception is [Gharqad] tree is a tree that belongs to Jews. Whoever claims that there is lasting peace with the Jews is a disbeliever of what the prophet, may the peace and blessings of God upon him, said. Our conflict

with the enemies of Islam will continue until Doomsday. The so-called Peace Prize is a fib awarded to the biggest murderers. Here is Begin, the man behind the Dayr Yasin massacre on 10 April 1948 awarded the Peace Prize. Here is traitor Anwar al-Sadat, who sold the land, the country, the cause, and the blood of the martyrs awarded the Peace Prize. We are at the time mentioned by our prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, in his traditions. He said: "There will come a time when people will witness years of deception, when people would believe the liar rather than the truthful and trust the traitorous rather than the honest, and the al-Ruwaybidah would spread." Asked what THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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is Al-Ruwaybidah, the prophet said: The trivial man who speaks on public affairs. This, unfortunately, is the state of affairs of the Islamic World under its big leaders and known leadership. It is deception. They deceive and lie to people. But, God willing, God's relief and promised victory are near.

**Alluni:** So we can conclude from what Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin said that he assesses that the current crisis in Afghanistan and the war now waged by the United States and its allies are taking place within the circle of the conflict between what you call the Crusade and Islam. But, how do you see the way out of the current crisis?

**Bin Ladin:** As I said, we are in a strong and decisive battle with the Jews headed by "Israel" and the Zionists and Crusaders who help it. We will not hesitate to kill the Israelis who occupied the site [Jerusalem] of the ascension of our prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and who are killing our children, women, and brethren day and night. Whoever stands in their trench must only blame himself. As to how we can get out of the crisis, this is in the hands of the others. As for us, we are the aggrieved party. Our first duty is to end the aggression. Whoever aggresses upon us must lift his aggression. The prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, has heralded that we would fight the Jews on this land, this blessed land, near the site of the ascension. The United States has involved itself and its people several times for more than 53 years. It is the one that recognized Israel. It is also the one that supported it. Moreover, it is the one that set up an air bridge in the year 1393 Hegira, corresponding to 1973 A.D., under Nixon from the United States to Tel Aviv with weapons, equipment, and men, thereby changing the course of the battle. How can we not fight it? Every Muslim must fight it. If it wants salvation, we said it in simple words, but these words frightened the United States. They ridiculously claimed my messages were coded messages for the terrorists. It is as if we are living in the age of pigeon carriers and that there are no telephones, travelers, Internet, ordinary mail, express mail, or e-mail. The whole thing is ridiculous. They insult people's intelligence. The words were our oath that the United States will not dream of security until it becomes a reality in Palestine. This exposed the US Government and showed it an Israeli puppet, placing the interests of "Israel" before the interests of its own people. The question is simple. The United States will not come out of this crisis unless it comes out of the Arabian Peninsula, stops supporting "Israel" and interfering in the affairs of the Islamic World. If we gave this equation to any child in any American school, he would have solved it in seconds. But, being agents, Bush and his followers will not be able to solve it until the swords fall on their heads, God willing.

**Alluni:** Shaykh Usama do you have any message to address to your viewers?

**Bin Ladin:** Regarding this crisis, this conflict, and this fighting between Islam and the Crusade, I assure you that God willing we will continue this jihad and rouse the nation until we meet God. As we were promised, the war with the Jews will continue, as it is now. Any country that joins the Jewish trench should only blame itself. If Shaykh Salman Abu-Ghayth had only mentioned the United States and Britain in his previous statements,  
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this is not to say that the matter is confined to these countries only. It was just to give the other countries a chance to revise their calculations. What has Japan got to do with our affairs? Who has involved Japan in this difficult, strong, and fierce war against our sons in Palestine? Japan will not endure if it involved itself in a war with us. Therefore, it should reconsider its position. What has Australia, which is in the far south, got to do with the oppressed people in Afghanistan and Palestine? What has Germany got to do with this war other than the subject of infidelity and the Crusade? It is a repetition of the old Crusades led by Richard the Lion Heart, Barbarossa of Germany, and Louis of France. The same thing is happening today. The moment Bush raised the cross, all the Crusade countries rush to him.

What have the Arab states also got to do with this Crusade War and the intervention day and night? The states have chosen to be ruled by the cross. But, whoever supports Bush with one word, let alone facilities or so-called facilities would be committing high treason. They are twisting things. There aren't any military facilities, they say, yet they cooperate with them to kill our sons.

How can we believe that this regime is collecting donations for the innocent here in Afghanistan, when it is the main cause for the presence of the Americans and their allies in the land of the two holy mosques? How can we believe it when it is the main cause for killing more than one million children? Don't these people and rulers have hearts and faith? How can they have faith when these infidels and debauchers against the sons of Islam? They help them against our sons in Iraq and Palestine. I say, tit for tat. Those who talk about innocent civilians in the United States have not tasted the bitterness of losing sons. They also did not see the remains of children in Palestine and elsewhere. Under what right to they deprive our kinfolk in Palestine of security, thereby letting them be hunted by helicopters in their homes and among their women and children? The bodies of dead and wounded are hauled up every day, yet the stupid ones bemoan the dead in America and not the dead among our sons? Do they not fear punishment by the same method? Our prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon, said: "Whoever does not invade or begets an invader in his family, God would hit him with a disaster before Doomsday."

So let them fear and repent to God and lift this embargo on our innocent children.

Westerners are free. If Europe chooses to join the war, this is its affair. But, as far we are concerned, we will fight whoever stands in the trench of the Jews. The United States and its people are free to join the Jewish trench, but they should be ready to receive what

comes their way.

As for us, we are in worship and jihad. Our prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, said: "Prayer for one hour within the ranks is better than worship for 60 years. What a great honor it is to be on the side of God Almighty fighting for the sake of religion. We pray to God to accept our deeds and your deeds.

Regarding Muslims, I tell them that they should place their trust in God's victory. They should also respond to the order of the Almighty God and His prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, by fight world infidelity. The luckiest is the one who dies a martyr today. The luckiest is the one who stands under the flag of Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, the flag of Islam to fight the world Crusade. Everyone should come forward to fight these Jews and Americans. Killing of Jews and Americans is one of the biggest duties and closest way to God. Let them remember the instructions give by our prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. The prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, told the youth Ibn-Abbad, may God be pleased with him: "O young man, let me teach you these words: Hold to God and God will hold to you. Hold to God and you will find Him by your side. If you are asked anything, turned to God. If you seek help, turn to God. Remember that even if the nation gathered to help you, it will only help you with what God has willed for you. And if it gathered to hurt you, it will not hurt you unless God has willed it for you. Don't consult anyone on killing the Americans, proceed with God's blessing, and remember your rendezvous with God Almighty in the company of the best of the prophets, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him.

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Finally, I address this appeal to my brothers in Pakistan. Unfortunately, the position taken by the Pakistani Government has made it a pillar in this ominous alliance, this Crusader alliance. Action by our brethren in Pakistan would, God willing, lead to a strong blow to this ominous Crusader alliance. Supporting the United States, whether with medical or any other facilities means disbelief and departure from the creed. The brethren in Pakistan must take serious action in support of God's religion and prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. Today, Islam is calling them: Come to Islam, come to Islam, come to Islam! I have conveyed the message. O God, be my witness! I have conveyed the message. O God, be my witness! I have conveyed the message? O God, be my witness! May the peace and blessings of God be upon you.

[Description of Source: Jihad Online News Network WWW-Text in Arabic -- A Salafi jihadist website that often carries statements and news from Al-Qa'ida]

Attachments:

[Bin ladin 21 Oct 2001.mht \(65.3 KB\)](#)

**Usama Bin Ladin's Message to Iraq, Urges Muslims To Overthrow Regimes**

**Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 2001 GMT 11 Feb 03**

[Audiotaped "message to our brothers in Iraq" by Usama Bin Ladin, leader of Al-Qa'ida Organization -- date and place not given]

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[FBIS Translated Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate;  
A message to our Muslim brothers in Iraq, may God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

O you who believe fear Allah (by doing all that He has ordered and by abstaining from all that He has forbidden) as He should be feared. Obey Him, be thankful to Him, and remember Him always, and die not except in a state of Islam [as Muslims] with complete submission to Allah. [Koranic verse]

We are following up with great interest and extreme concern the Crusaders' preparations for war to occupy a former capital of Islam, loot Muslims' wealth, and install an agent government, which would be a satellite for its masters in Washington and Tel Aviv, just like all the other treasonous and agent Arab governments. This would be in preparation for establishing the Greater Israel. Allah is sufficient for us and He is the best disposer of affairs. [part of Koranic verse]

Amid this unjust war, the war of infidels and debauchees led by America along with its allies and agents, we would like to stress a number of important values:

First, showing good intentions. This means fighting should be for the sake of the one God. It should not be for championing ethnic groups, or for championing the non-Islamic regimes in all Arab countries, including Iraq.

God Almighty says: Those who believe fight in the cause of Allah, and those who reject faith fight in the cause of evil. So fight ye against the friends of Satan: feeble indeed is the cunning of Satan. [Koranic verse]

Second, we remind that victory comes only from God and all we have to do is prepare and motivate for jihad.

God Almighty says: Oh ye who believe! If ye will help the cause of Allah, He will help you and plant your feet firmly. [Koranic verse]

We must rush to seek God Almighty's forgiveness from sins, particularly the grave sins. Prophet Muhammad, God's peace be upon him, said: Avoid the seven grave sins; polytheism, sorcery, killing -- unless permitted by God -- usury, taking the money of orphans, fleeing from combat, and slandering innocent faithful women.

Also, all grave sins, such as consuming alcohol, committing adultery, disobeying parents, and committing perjury. We must obey God in general, and should in particular mention the name of God more before combat.

Abu-al-Darda, may God be pleased with him, said: Perform a good deed before an attack, because you are fighting with your deeds.

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Third, we realized from our defense and fighting against the American enemy that, in combat, they mainly depend on psychological warfare. This is in light of the huge media machine they have. They also depend on massive air strikes so as to conceal their most

prominent point of weakness, which is the fear, cowardliness, and the absence of combat spirit among US soldiers. Those soldiers are completely convinced of the injustice and lying of their government. They also lack a fair cause to defend. They only fight for capitalists, usury takers, and the merchants of arms and oil, including the gang of crime at the White House. This is in addition to Crusader and personal grudges by Bush the father. We also realized that one of the most effective and available methods of rendering the air force of the Crusader enemy ineffective is by setting up roofed and disguised trenches in large numbers.

I had referred to that in a previous statement during the Tora Bora battle last year. In that great battle, faith triumphed over all the materialistic forces of the people of evil, for principles were adhered to, thanks to God Almighty.

I will narrate to you part of that great battle, to show how coward they are on the one hand, and how effective trenches are in exhausting them on the other.

We were about 300 mujahids. We dug 100 trenches that were spread in an area that does not exceed one square mile, one trench for every three brothers, so as to avoid the huge human losses resulting from the bombardment. Since the first hour of the US campaign on 20 Rajab 1422, corresponding to 7 October 2001, our centers were exposed to a concentrated bombardment. And this bombardment continued until mid-Ramadan.

On 17 Ramadan, a very fierce bombardment began, particularly after the US command was certain that some of Al-Qa'ida leaders were still in Tora Bora, including the humble servant to God [referring to himself] and the brother mujahid Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri.

The bombardment was round-the-clock and the warplanes continued to fly over us day and night. The US Pentagon, together with its allies, worked full time on blowing up and destroying this small spot, as well as on removing it entirely.

Planes poured their lava on us, particularly after accomplishing their main missions in Afghanistan. The US forces attacked us with smart bombs, bombs that weigh thousands of pounds, cluster bombs, and bunker busters. Bombers, like the B-52, used to fly over head for more than two hours and drop between 20-30 bombs at a time.

The modified C-130 aircraft kept carpet-bombing us at night, using modern types of bombs. The US forces dared not break into our positions, despite the unprecedented massive bombing and terrible propaganda targeting this completely besieged small area. This is in addition to the forces of hypocrites, whom they prodded to fight us for 15 days non-stop. Every time the latter attacked us, we forced them out of our area carrying their dead and wounded.

Is there any clearer evidence of their cowardice, fear, and lies regarding their legends about their alleged power. To sum it up, the battle resulted in the complete failure of the

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international alliance of evil, with all its forces, [to overcome] a small number of mujahidin -- 300 mujahidin hunkered down in trenches spread over an area of one square mile under a temperature of 10 degrees Celsius below the zero. The battle resulted in the injury of 6 percent of personnel -- we hope God will accept them as martyrs -- and the

damage of two percent of the trenches, praise be to God.

If all the world forces of evil could not achieve their goals on a one square mile of area against a small number of mujahidin with very limited capabilities, how can these evil forces triumph over the Muslim world? This is impossible, God willing, if people adhere to their religion and insist on jihad for its sake.

O mujahidin brothers in Iraq, do not be afraid of what the United States is propagating in terms of their lies about their power and their smart, laser-guided missiles. The smart bombs will have no effect worth mentioning in the hills and in the trenches, on plains, and in forests. They must have apparent targets. The well-camouflaged trenches and targets will not be reached by either the smart or the stupid missiles. There will only be haphazard strikes that dissipate the enemy ammunition and waste its money. Dig many trenches.

The [early Muslim caliph] Umar, may God be pleased with him, stated: Take the ground as a shield because this will ensure the exhaustion of all the stored enemy missiles within months. Their daily production is too little and can be dealt with, God willing.

We also recommend luring the enemy forces into a protracted, close, and exhausting fight, using the camouflaged defensive positions in plains, farms, mountains, and cities. The enemy fears city and street wars most, a war in which the enemy expects grave human losses.

We stress the importance of the martyrdom operations against the enemy -- operations that inflicted harm on the United States and Israel that has been unprecedented in their history, thanks to Almighty God.

We also point out that whoever supported the United States, including the hypocrites of Iraq or the rulers of Arab countries, those who approved their actions and followed them in this Crusade war by fighting with them or providing bases and administrative support, or any form of support, even by words, to kill the Muslims in Iraq, should know that they are apostates and outside the community of Muslims. It is permissible to spill their blood and take their property.

God says: O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors: they are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily, Allah guideth not a people unjust.

[Koranic verse]

We also stress to honest Muslims that they should move, incite, and mobilize the [Islamic] nation, amid such grave events and hot atmosphere so as to liberate themselves  
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from those unjust and renegade ruling regimes, which are enslaved by the United States. They should also do so to establish the rule of God on earth. The most qualified regions for liberation are Jordan, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, the land of the two holy mosques [Saudi Arabia], and Yemen.

Needless to say, this Crusade war is primarily targeted against the people of Islam. Regardless of the removal or the survival of the socialist party or Saddam, Muslims in general and the Iraqis in particular must brace themselves for jihad against this unjust campaign and acquire ammunition and weapons. This is a prescribed duty. God says:

[And let them pray with thee] taking all precautions and bearing arms: the unbelievers wish if ye were negligent of your arms and your baggage, to assault you in a single rush. [Koranic verse]

Fighting in support of the non-Islamic banners is forbidden. Muslims' doctrine and banner should be clear in fighting for the sake of God. He who fights to raise the word of God will fight for God's sake.

Under these circumstances, there will be no harm if the interests of Muslims converge with the interests of the socialists in the fight against the crusaders, despite our belief in the infidelity of socialists. The jurisdiction of the socialists and those rulers has fallen a long time ago. Socialists are infidels wherever they are, whether they are in Baghdad or Aden.

The fighting, which is waging and which will be waged these days, is very much like the fighting of Muslims against the Byzantine in the past. And the convergence of interests is not detrimental. The Muslims' fighting against the Byzantine converged with the interests of the Persians. And this was not detrimental to the companions of the prophet. Before concluding, we reiterate the importance of high morale and caution against false rumors, defeatism, uncertainty, and discouragement.

The prophet said: Bring good omens and do not discourage people. He also said: The voice of Abu-Talhah [one of the prophet's companions] in the army is better than 100 men.

During the Al-Yarmuk Battle, a man told Khalid Bin-al-Walid [an Islamic commander]: The Byzantine soldiers are too many and the Muslims are few. So, Khalid told him: Shame on you. Armies do not triumph with large numbers but are defeated if the spirit of defeatism prevails.

Keep this saying before your eyes: "It is not fitting for a Prophet that he should have prisoners of war until he hath thoroughly subdued the land." [Koranic verse]

"Therefore, when ye meet the unbelievers (in fight), smite at their necks." [Koranic verse]

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Your wish to the crusaders should be as came in this verse of poetry: "The only language between you and us is the sword that will strike your necks."

In the end, I advise myself and you to fear God covertly and openly and to be patient in the jihad. Victory will be achieved with patience. I also advise myself and you to say more prayers.

O ye who believe! When ye meet a force, be firm, and call Allah in remembrance much (and often); That ye may prosper. [Koranic verse]

God, Who sent the book unto the prophet, Who drives the clouds, and Who defeated the enemy parties, defeat them and make us victorious over them.

Our Lord! Give us good in this world and good in the Hereafter and save us from the torment of the Fire! [Koranic verse].

May God's peace and blessings be upon Prophet Muhammad and his household!

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic --

Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]  
**Bin Ladin's Statement Calls for Revolt Against Saudis, Death to Americans, Jews**

**[www.cybcity.com/mnzmas/osam.htm](http://www.cybcity.com/mnzmas/osam.htm) in Arabic 01 Mar 03**

[FBIS Translated Text] The following is a translation from Arabic of a statement by Usama Bin Ladin entitled, "Abdallah's initiative . . . and the great treason."

Thanks be to Allah who said, "O messenger of Allah, go on jihad against the infidels and the hypocrites."

And peace be upon the imam of the Muhahidin and the leader of the finest, the messenger of Allah, and all his family and followers and all those that carried the banner and defended Islam and Muslims.

Allah said, "Surely those who conceal the clear proofs and the guidance that we revealed after we made it clear in the book for men, these it is whom Allah shall curse, and those who curse shall curse them (too)."

To the nation of billions, to the nation of jihad, to the best nation ever sent to mankind, to our Muslim nation:

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How similar today is to yesterday; how numerous are the lessons and how little have we learned; and how great our humiliation and disgrace have been since we stopped following the fathers and came under the rule of the disgraceful leaders.

Our Muslim Nation:

Anybody with eyes that can see, has common sense, and can read into events knows with certainty that the nation has awakened from its slumber and now can clearly see its course. The nation can see the signs on its way and now realizes that while tolerance may lead to corruption, permitting it leads to impotence. She knows now that patience is good unless it spoils faith, and that perseverance is a virtue except when there is a chance for deliverance. It is as a result of this awakening that the Al-Aqsa intifadah and rose and used the language of stones from the hands of the courageous Mujahidin, men, women, and children and when the Jews tried to run away they could find no place to hide. They became exposed, even behind the walls, thus facing exploding bodies that give them a taste of death and terrorize them and shake the earth under their feet and make them full of fear like zebras in the presence of lions. Then the blessed attack on New York came to set the house of today's Hubal(1) on fire, level his forts, hurt his pride, render ineffective his magic, expose all banners that were behind him, and declare his end, Allah willing.

These great events are all a manifestation of this blessed jihad that stayed its course and always continued toward the ultimate objective and Allah's promised end. This jihad came to expose the weak and unsupported statements made by the rulers such as, "what can we do? It is out of our hands!! We have no control over the issue!!" These types of statements no longer have a place in anyone's heart or mind in light of the bloody attacks perpetrated against our nation. Today everyone is required to join jihad and be serious in their commitment. The leadership among the people at all social levels needs to mobilize to stop this heavy bleeding and to expose all the obvious acts of treason being

committed. As for those leaders unable to act due to pressures or terror by the regimes, they should give the stage to those other courageous and energetic individuals that are capable of bringing change and putting things in their right places. Be aware of complacency and avoid undesirable lurking and exclusiveness. Know that the young men who responded to Allah's word: "and when the sacred (haram) months are over, slay the polytheists wherever you find them. Arrest them, besiege them, and lie in ambush everywhere for them." We are drawn out by jihad, this jihad that is still capable of drawing out and mobilizing more of the nation's sons like them. Jihad will go on until the Day of Judgment while our days as individuals on this earth are numbered; and one day we will stand judged in front of Allah who said: "So, he who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and he who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it."

Our Muslim Nation:

Our nation has seen for the past century many instances of the infamous traitor Abu-Raghal (2) with his treacherous and deceiving personality. Their objective is to break what strength we have, frustrate all efforts and buy jihad alive, then bring about the false

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ways of the infidel and firmly establish their values. Prince Abdallah's recent initiative is just another trick from Abu-Raghal's bag of tricks; another Zionist-American conspiracy painted with the Saudi Government colors. It is nothing more than another example of continuous treason, something the rulers of the region are historically known for when dealing with our causes, in general, and the Palestinian cause, in particular. He is only doing what his father did before him in 1936 when he gave the Palestinians empty promises from him and from the English government, thus tricking the Palestinians who stopped their uprising while the occupation continued until 1948 when their land was handed over to the Jews. Abdallah is only following the same path as those traitorous rulers like him that headed the Seventh Column under the command of the English to put an end to the serious public movement to liberate Palestine. They then continued their conspiracy by signing a truce in 1949, but their greatest treason came in 1992 when they signed the Oslo agreement, which came to put an end to the first intifadah. It is not surprising that the prince is now committing another treason against the first of the two qiblas [directions of prayer] and the third shrine of Islam and has decided to bury alive the cause of a whole nation because of his personal desires. He did so before when he allowed the Americans on the holy sites under a false pretext he and his brothers told the nation. They lied when they claimed they needed assistance from the Americans for three months and here we are going to our thirteenth year of allowing the infidels on the holy land. This initiative is clearly an attempt to firmly implant the land extorting Jewish state while the American forces are establishing military bases on the holy land to threaten the region and attack Iraq and its Muslim people. The statements made by the Saudi regime saying that they will not permit the use of Saudi territory to strike Iraq are empty lies because if they could indeed do anything they would have kicked the occupying American forces out from the holy land.

Our Muslim Nation:

The fate of despots and traitors is very clear to all and what they have deservingly received is only proof of the faith and pride the sons of this nation have. Take a look at King Abdallah Bin-al-Sharif Husayn who was killed by a Palestinian hero, and Anwar al-Sadat who was called a traitor, then shot by one of the heroes of Egypt called Khalid al-Islambuli. Here are all the traitors and agents, big and small, receiving the same fate that every traitor deserves.

Our Muslim Nation:

This type of initiative seen in the media of the (Pharonic) despotic regime is nothing more than a dirty conspiracy. It means "the right to rule in return for treason" in the political dictionary and it means heresy in the dictionary of Islamic law. Being on the side of the infidels against Muslims is one of the ten acts that nullify faith and turn the Muslim into an infidel. The Muslim must utterly decry this act and disown those committing it, whoever they are. Allah said: "Whoever rejects evil and believes in Allah hath grasped the most trustworthy handhold, that never breaks."

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Our Muslim Nation:

One that sells out an inch of land can sell out a whole country; one that permits a drop of blood to be spilled will not mind if rivers of it flow; one that can bury alive a people can bury alive a whole nation; and one that chooses not to listen today may choose not to see tomorrow. O nation of Islam, rise up against injustice and aggression, revolt against disgrace for bread is not dearer to us than our religion, nor is money more precious to us than our honor, nor is death harder on us than a life of dishonor and disgrace. Every member of our nation can do something; here is the way:

Rejecting the submissive initiative and rallying the nation to go out on strikes and demonstrations and civil disobedience until the fall of the traitor regimes.

Revolt against the hypocritical (imams) clerics that betrayed their religion and nation.

Strike blows against American interests all over the world, in general, and against Arab and Islamic lands, in particular.

Boycott American and Jewish products.

Kill Americans and Jews with a bullet, a knife, or a stone.

Support the Mujahidin; stand behind them and pray for them.

Our Palestinian People:

You gave the example of heroism, sacrifice, and honor. Until this day you are still proving to the whole nation that our religion is precious and that our sacred sites will be defended with blood and lives. Go on with Allah's blessing on the path; He will guide you. We will continue in the path of jihad; we are still with you; your blood is our blood, your honor is our honor, and your sons are our sons. Your blood will not be wasted; I swear that we will support you until Palestine is Islamic again.

(Closing prayers)

Signed,

Usama Bin Ladin

1. Calling the United States Hubal is synonymous with calling it a false god. Hubal

is one of the major gods worshiped by Arabs before Islam and which Islam destroyed with the rest of the idols once revered by Arabs.

2. Abu-Raghal is a figure from the pre-Islamic period that is referred to as the model of a traitor from within. He was an Arab guide that assisted the Ethiopian Emperor Abrahah to reach Mecca with the purpose of destroying the Kaaba.

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**Pakistan: Usama Bin Ladin Urges Muslims To Launch 'Suicide Attacks' Against US**

**Islamabad Ausaf in Urdu 09 Apr 03 pp 1, 7**

[ANN report From Islamabad: "Usama Bin Ladin Urges Muslims To Launch Suicide Attacks Against US"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a recorded message, Usama Bin Ladin has called on Muslims to wage jihad against the United States and its Muslim allies. He said the Governments of Pakistan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Afghanistan are US agents imposed on the Muslim countries. Usama Bin Ladin said it is a religious obligation to wage jihad against these governments.

The Associated Press released the tape that was recorded in Afghanistan by an Algerian national Aadil. In the message, Usama Bin Ladin said after finishing with Iraq, the United States will launch an offensive against Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan. However, Bin Ladin said the United States will face stiff resistance from Muslim movements in Saudi Arabia and the West.

Usama Bin Ladin strongly condemned the Muslim countries that supported the US-led campaign against terrorism. Quoting a verse from the Muslim holy book, Usama Bin Ladin reminded the Muslims that God had promised heavens for those who were martyred for a righteous cause. In the recorded message, he urged Muslim women to support the holy warriors by raising their morale so that the holy warriors could fight against the Zionist forces, which are dominating the world.

Bin Ladin said: "I salute those who died in jihad. I call upon the elderly Muslims to pray for the success of jihad. There is no reason to feel frightened by the US power. US tanks and troops are only cosmetic symbols of power. If you launch suicide attacks, I assure you, the US citizens all over the world will be frightened. The United States will retreat in the face of your suicide missions. Those of you who cannot participate in the suicide campaign should offer financial support to the Mujahidin. This will be their contribution to jihad against the United States."

[Description of Source: Islamabad Ausaf in Urdu -- Newspaper with strong anti-India views. Gives wide coverage to fundamentalist religious groups]

**Kashmiri Daily Reports UBL's Message Urging Jihad Against Pakistan, Arab States**

**Srinagar Kashmir Images (Internet Version-WWW) in English 09 Apr 03**

[Unattributed Report: "Usama urges Jihad against Pakistan, Arab countries"]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Islamabad, April 08: Usama Bin Ladin has called upon the "faithful" to wage Jihad against Pakistan and the Arab countries for supporting the US led war on Iraq in a recorded message delivered to newspaper offices Tuesday.

Audiocassettes containing Bin Ladin's message, who is believed to be hiding in rugged mountains of Afghanistan, were delivered to newspaper offices in Peshawar.

This is for the first time that Bin Ladin's message was delivered in audiocassettes. All his previous messages and announcements were either recorded in videotapes or typed. "We received the cassette in routine packets that people usually leave with the reception at our office," Wahid Shah, a reporter of Peshawar-based daily, "Wahdat" told IANS [Indo-Asian News Service] over phone. He said the message was in Arabic and the recording was of very bad quality. "It is difficult to say if this is Bin Ladin's voice. But an announcement prior to the message says this is 'Mujahid Usama Bin Ladin's message for the Muslims who have faith in Allah,'" Shah said.

In his message Bin Ladin urges the "faithful" to attack the governments of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bahrain, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Unlike previous such tapes, this one had a single theme - suicide attacks. "Jihad against them is your duty," Shah quoted Bin Ladin as saying. Shah said some of his journalist colleagues who had met Bin Ladin on different occasions have refused to confirm the voice because of the poor recording quality. "The United States has attacked Iraq and soon it will also attack Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan. The attacks in Saudi Arabia and Egypt will be against the Islamic movements there," said the recording. "If you start suicide attacks you will see the fear of the Americans all over the world. Those people who cannot join forces in Jihad should give financial help to those Mujahidin who are fighting against the US aggression," Bin Ladin urged in the message.

[Description of Source: Srinagar Kashmir Images in English -- Internet version of daily specializing in coverage of Kashmir developments]

**Riyadh, Casablanca Attacks**

**Algiers Le Matin (Internet Version-WWW) in French 18 May 03**

[FBIS Translated Text] The cassette had arrived at the London headquarters of the Algerian Khalifa News television channel two days before the Riyadh attacks which resulted in 34 dead on Monday, 13 May, and its message was awful: "I shall soon strike the traitorous regime of King Fahd, who has submitted to the American aggressor (against Iraq) as well as King Abdallah (of Jordan), who is guilty of complicity in this unjust war and all the Arab powers that have engaged in a guilty silence and will soon pay the price for their betrayal." It was an awful and fateful prediction: 48 hours later, Bin Ladin would keep his macabre promises in Saudi Arabia. There he went and struck again in Morocco, whose monarchy indeed matches the criteria of the "Arab governments which have engaged in a guilty silence" in addition to the fact that it is one of the rare Arab countries to welcome Israelis and give citizens of the Jewish religion every facility for trade and social activity. That makes the country a special target for the Islamist

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terrorists and the fact that one of the targets of yesterday's [17 May] attacks was in fact a Jewish shop shows that quite well. So, if one is to believe the cassette, the contents of which *Le Matin* was able to obtain, the carnage yesterday in Casablanca has every chance of having been perpetrated by Al-Qa'ida and so seems quite directly tied to the war in Iraq, to which it seems to be a bloody response. It alas risks being followed by others in certain Arab capitals, if one believes in the content of the cassette that was received by Khalifa News and which the channel, for ethical reasons as well as motives peculiar to it, refused to broadcast. The channel only slightly appreciates this poisoned gift which, in other times, would have delighted reporters. Why Khalifa News? The choice of the Algerian channel, according to journalists, was reportedly made by Al-Qa'ida itself, the organization henceforth preferring it over al-Jazirah, about whose reliability it is reportedly not certain and with whose treatment of current news it is reportedly unhappy. The cassette, according to the channel's reporters, "seems quite authentic." It should seem so more today since the head of the terrorist organization has taken action. Bin Ladin, who appears on it with the same pale face, stated in a weakened voice that the "punishments will rain down on the Arab regimes that are the henchmen of the United States and which refrained from reacting during the war." A long portion of the film, as an introduction, is devoted to the traditional speech on the virtues of the Islamic path that Al-Qa'ida always says it is determined to see respected in the world "until total triumph." So, if one goes on the remarks in this recording, it is to be feared that the terrorist organization's plan will not stop in Saudi Arabia and Morocco. Bin Ladin seems to be kicking off a series of attacks in response to the war in Iraq. Before the killing in Riyadh, Bin Ladin had struck in Bali (Indonesia) last October (100 or more victims), in a final response to the war in Afghanistan. Today he is trying to "repair" the Iraqi injustice and seems to have planned and prepared lethal attacks. In any event, the hypothesis, which has been strengthened by the message of the cassette received by Khalifa News, is being taken very seriously by European countries, most of whom, following France's example, starting yesterday, beefed up the vigilance measures. [Description of Source: Algiers *Le Matin* (Internet Version-WWW) in French -- ]

**Bin Ladin Threatens 'Terrible Response' if Death of 2 Saudi Clerics Is Confirmed**

**(Internet) Movement for Islamic Reform WWW-Text in Arabic 29 May 03**

[Unattributed report: "Very Urgent: Shaykh Bin Ladin and the Mujahidin Threaten Terrible Response to Two Shaykh's Death"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Some jihad leaders in the south of the Arabian Peninsula have learned that Shaykh Usama [Bin Ladin] and Al-Qa'ida leaders in Afghanistan are following up very closely reports of the death of Shaykh Ali al-Khudayr and Shaykh Ahmad al-Khalidi.

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It was learned from a telephone contact with one of Shaykh Usama's personal guards that

he saw the shaykh deeply affected and saying: If the martyrdom of Shaykh Ali al-Khudayr in particular -- our most prominent supporter -- at the hands of the Saudi security forces is confirmed, then our response to Al Sa'ud will be what they will see and not hear. The response will be commensurate with the shaykh's high standing with us and with all those who carry their lives in their hands. We will not issue a statement on the matter other than one dripping with blood that will be a strong deterrent to anyone who is tempted to harm the nation's jihadist ulemas.

The shaykh is still in an emergency meeting with some Al-Qa'ida leaders to discuss this painful event because of which the country might face a big danger.

Once this report is confirmed, Shaykh Usama will automatically give the green light to his followers -- the largest and with most presence in the country -- to make the prominent Saudi figures that are known for their hostility to the jihadists targeted in all cases.

Observers believe that Shaykh Usama and Al-Qa'ida's military and political leaders see in this an excuse for Al-Qa'ida and a justification before the people and nation for launching smashing military campaigns against the Americans and their agents in the country.

[Passage omitted covered by referent item]

[Description of Source: (Internet) Movement for Islamic Reform WWW-Text in Arabic - - Saudi dissident organization based in London; URL: <http://www.miraserve.com>]

### **Saudi Sources: UBL Denied Involvement in Riyadh Bombing in Message to His Mother**

**(Internet) Ilaf WWW-Text in Arabic 11 Jul 03**

[Unattributed 'exclusive' report: "'Ilaf' Learns From its Own Sources in Jeddah: Usama Bin Ladin to His Mother Through an Intermediary: I Did Not Carry Out Terrorist Actions Against Saudi Arabia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, exclusive-Private sources in the Saudi city of Jeddah have told "Ilaf" that Al-Qa'ida network leader and Saudi dissident Usama Bin Ladin had contacted his mother through an intermediary and sent her a message in which he asserted that he had no connection with the terrorist operations that hard-line elements carried out in Saudi Arabia and for which Al-Qa'ida was held responsible.

It is recalled that the mother of Usama, whose Saudi nationality was revoked in 1996 for disobeying the authorities and declaring in the 1990's a jihad against Western interests in the kingdom, lives in the coastal city of Jeddah on the Red Sea with her three sons and daughters from another husband than the late Muhammad Bin Ladin. The latter was a

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well-known construction magnate who was killed when his private plane crashed in the late 1960's while supervising the massive road-building projects to link the Saudi regions together under the reign of late King Faysal Bin-Abd-al-Aziz.

Usama's mother (of Syrian origin) sent a message to her son in which she pleaded with him not to carry out terrorist actions against his Saudi homeland, its sons, and its interests. Strong and bloody explosions rocked high-class residential complexes in the

capital Riyadh in May that claimed the lives of 39 persons from various Arab, Muslim, and Western nationalities, but the majority Saudis and Americans, and injured 200 others. According to the sources that spoke to Ilaf, Usama Bin Ladin's message to his mother indicates that he lives somewhere. There are reports that he is in the areas that Western intelligence services guess he is in them, that is, in western Afghanistan or in the border area with Pakistan and Iran.

The sources assert that Al-Qa'ida's leader is probably living in some unexpected place and in disguise and that he contacts his supporters intermittently to ensure the safety of his movements.

It is recalled that reports said the recent Riyadh bombings were planned by elements linked to Al-Qa'ida that are present in Iran. The information said the original planner was the Egyptian Sayf-al-Adl who is reportedly present in Iran, if not imprisoned in it. According to the reports, Sayf-al-Adl carries out Usama Bin Ladin's right hand man's task, like the other Egyptian hardliner Ayman al-Zawahiri whose name was mentioned very frequently after the September 2001 bombings in New York.

These two Egyptian men, who are hostile to President Husni Mubarak's regime, apparently masterminded all the terrorist actions and plans for which responsibility was laid squarely on Usama's shoulder. The latter fought with the Afghan mujahidin against the Soviet occupation of that Asian Muslim country at the end of the 1970's and in the 1980's.

The Saudi authorities continue meanwhile to hunt down the hard-line groups that carried out the Riyadh bombings and which entrenched themselves in Medina and Mecca during the past weeks. They arrested several perpetrators and are searching for the terrorist gang's remaining members.

Hard-line groups using different names claimed responsibility for the terrorist operations in the kingdom, claiming that their aim is to liberate the holy sites from the US crusader occupation.

It is recalled that the United States withdrew its forces from the kingdom under heavy pressures from the Saudi leadership and redeployed them in Qatar where it leased the strategic Al-Udayd base, the largest in the region, for 30 years, thus staying away from Saudi territories. The US decision to withdraw American forces from Saudi Arabia  
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immediately after the war that brought down President Saddam Husayn's regime in Baghdad is altogether and primarily a Saudi one.

[Description of Source: Internet Ilaf WWW-Text in Arabic -- Electronic London daily providing independent coverage of Arab and international issues; headed by Al-Sharq al-Awsat's former chief editor]

#### **Al-Jazirah Airs Bin Ladin, Al-Zawahiri Tape on Anniversary of 11 Sep Attacks**

#### **Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 10 Sep 03**

[Announcer-read report over video]

[FBIS Translated Text] Al-Jazirah has obtained a recorded tape in which Usama Bin Ladin, leader of the Al-Qa'ida organization, and his right-hand man Ayman al-Zawahiri

are shown walking in an unknown mountainous area. Signs of old age have appeared on each of Bin Ladin and Al-Zawahiri. It is most probable that the tape was produced in late April or early May 2003.

Now let us listen to the audio message of Bin Ladin that accompanied the pictures. Bin Ladin hailed once again the perpetrators of the New York and Washington attacks two years ago.

**Begin Bin Ladin recording:** He who wants to learn faithfulness, honesty, generosity, and courage to support religion from contemporary persons, then he must draw lessons from Sa'id al-Ghamidi, Muhammad Ata, Khalid al-Mihdar, Ziyad al-Jarrah, Marwan al-Shihhi, and their brothers, may God have mercy on them. These persons learned from the traditions of our prophet Muhammad, May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon him, who is the most honest, courageous, and generous man. He, may God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon him, said: You will never find me to be stingy, a coward, or a liar.

Here, I say to those who do not enjoy some of these characteristics and who failed to carry out jihad: He who is not convinced of killing should go away and not influence those who are convinced [of killing]. I say to them: He who fears climbing mountains will always live among holes. [verses of poetry] [end recording]

The same tape obtained by Al-Jazirah included an audio message by Ayman al-Zawahiri in which he recounted what he considered to be achievements made by the Al-Qa'ida organization over the past two years. He also talked about what he described as lies of the United States and its allies. He challenged Washington to announce the real size of its losses in Afghanistan and Iraq. He also said that Al-Qa'ida will strongly respond to any aggression that is waged against it.

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**Begin Al-Zawahiri recording:** This is the second anniversary of the New York and Washington conquests defying America and its Crusade campaign from whose wounds it is staggering in Afghanistan and Iraq. We tell them that we are not advocates of killing and destruction, but with God's help, we will cut any hand that carries an aggression against us.

We are concerned about telling you more than this and emphasize to you that what you have seen so far are only the first skirmishes and the beginning of the clash. The real battle, however, has not started yet. So, prepare yourselves to be punished for your crimes.

We call upon you to honestly contemplate and review your crimes against Muslims, and then to ask your chief criminals about the real size of your losses in Iraq and Afghanistan. We challenge them if they have the courage to speak frankly to you, but they are too cowardly to do so.

We advise the mothers of the crusade soldiers if they hope to see their sons to quickly ask their governments to return them before they return to them in coffins.

On this anniversary, we address our Muslim brothers in Palestine to emphasize to them

that the wound of Palestine is bleeding in the heart of every Muslim, and that with God's help and might, we will not allow America to dream of security until we see it materializing in Palestine and all Islamic countries. We call on them to stand fast on the path of jihad and not to be deceived by the tricks of America and its agents who bless the road map to hell. Palestine will only be liberated with jihad. So, beware, beware, and beware to lay down your arms. You should stick to the position of having the faithful as allies and to antagonize the infidels only on the basis of which one can be described as monotheistic. Beware of making allies those who recognize the legitimacy of Israel and accept the crumbs from it.

Regarding our brother mujahidin in Iraq, we greet them and press their hands. We beseech God to bless their sacrifices and courage in fighting the Crusaders. We tell them that God is with you and the entire nation supports you. So, rely on God, and pounce on the Americans just as lions pounce their prey, and bury them in Iraq's graveyard. Victory is only a matter of the patience of hours.

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

**Al-Jazirah TV Carries Usama Bin Ladin Audio Statement on Sep 11 Anniversary**

**Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 1826 GMT 10 Sep 03**

[Audio statement by Usama Bin Ladin; place, date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Those youths inflicted heavy moral and material losses on the  
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enemy. They also confused the enemy's hostile schemes. Documents have shown that this aggression to occupy and divide the region had been preplanned six months ahead of the two conquests [the New York and Washington attacks]. The confusion caused to the enemy was sufficient to make people wake up from their slumber and rise for jihad for the sake of God.

I had the honor of knowing these men. One is honored by knowing such men. God has honored them and enabled them to champion the cause of Islam. I do not see them except as seeds that God planted in His faith and used in His obedience. May God bless them.

These are my forefathers; Get me men like them if we are to meet again, O Jarir. [a line of poetry]

He who wants to learn faithfulness, honesty, generosity, and courage to support religion from contemporary persons, then he must draw lessons from Sa'id al-Ghamidi, Muhammad Ata, Khalid al-Mihdar, Ziyad al-Jarrahi, Marwan al-Shihhi, and their brothers, may God have mercy on them. These persons learned from the traditions of our prophet Muhammad, May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon him, who is the most honest, courageous, and generous man. He, may God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon him, said: You will never find me to be stingy, a coward, or a liar.

These traits are necessary for upholding the faith. Whoever is denied these traits cannot champion or uphold the faith.

Here, I say to those who do not enjoy some of these characteristics and who failed to carry out jihad: He who is not convinced of killing should go away and not influence

those who are convinced [of killing]. I say to them: He who fears climbing mountains will always live among holes. [verses of poetry]

This faithful youth and his brothers are young. Man is judged by the tiniest parts of his body; that is, his heart and tongue [saying by Prophet Muhammad]. However, they are men with big brains and great resolve. They repeatedly protected their sanity and minds from being trampled under foot or exposed to danger by the deception of the agent governments and their institutions, which paint vice as virtue and vice versa, falsehood as right, and enemies as friends. This is because these young men are true believers, and believers are not bitten twice from the same hole, as our prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, says.

Those youths knew that the road to eternal damnation is the obstruction of the shar'iah [Islamic law], and even some of its rulings." They refuse to bootlick even princes and ulema over this. They believe that the integrity of the shari'ah enjoys precedence over the safety of men regardless of how great they are. In God's faith, people are treated as equals. They are guided by the saying of the prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, which says: By God, if Fatimah Bint-Muhammad were to steal, I would chop off her hand.

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These young men have understood the meaning of the phrase "There is no God but God, which is the core of Islam. It must prevail over our actions, and guide us in all aspects of our life. Because the facts on the ground are otherwise -- as a matter of fact, the rulers' whims and their legislation prevail over people's actions, even though they permit people to perform some rituals -- these young men knew that the rulers were in the wrong. As a matter of fact, they are apostates, even if they perform prayers, fast, and claim to be Muslims. These young men refused to stay behind and engage in unimportant things. They set out on jihad and hastened to uphold the cause of God and the call for monotheism: There is no God but God. Muhammad is the prophet of God. They engaged in jihad against the infidels. Their condition is like that of Mu'az Bin-al-Jamuh when he asked Abd-al-Rahman Bin-Awf, may they both achieve God's satisfaction, the following question: O uncle, do you know Abu-Jahl [Amr Bin-Hisham, archenemy of Prophet Muhammad and Islam in the early years of Islam]? Bin-Awf said: Yes. What for, my nephew? Bin-al-Jamuh said: I have been told that he called the messenger of God names. By God, if I see him, I will engage him in a fight until the one who is predestined to die before the other is killed. This is honesty, and this is faith.

Each and every matter has its own reality. The reality of this hero, Sa'id al-Ghamidi and his brothers, is that they showed the truthfulness of their faith by offering themselves and their souls for the sake of God. Thus, they gained a status that greatly angered the infidels, and will continue to anger them for a long time, God willing. This happened when they opted for practical applications and drastic solutions to champion the cause of the faith and shunned the unjust atheistic solutions -- the solutions offered by the United Nations, the atheistic parliaments, and the tyrannical rulers, who turned themselves into

Gods who legislate and shun God's rulings.

Moreover, they did not pay attention to the futile solutions, the solutions of the prevaricators, the Arabs of the desert who failed to join the mujahidin who were preoccupied with their money and kindred and who were deceived by themselves to the effect that they have been busy [preparing for jihad] for dozens of years. There is a difference between he who views the fields of preparation and the arenas of jihad as a hardship, separation of fathers and sons, and risking one's life and money, thus Satan will prevent him from continuing on the road to jihad and force him not to go to jihad along with those who failed to join the mujahidin. And he who views the arenas of jihad as being the market of Paradise, whose doors are open, thus he fears that they will be closed to him if he is late for an hour or that God is not pleased with him, and so, He will make him lag behind.

God says: And if they had intended to march out, certainly, they would have made some preparation for it; but Allah was averse to their being sent forth, so He made them lag behind, and it was said to them: "Sit you among those who sit (at home)." [Koranic verse] If he does not respond to God's order and fails to go to jihad by obeying the Arabs of the desert who failed to join the mujahidin, God will come in between him and his heart, and thus he will stray from the right path and be of the sinful ones.

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God says: O you who believe! Answer Allah (by obeying Him) and His Messenger when he calls you to that which will give you life, and know that Allah comes in between a person and his heart (i.e. He prevents an evil person to decide anything). And verily, to Him you shall all be gathered. [Koranic verse]

God also says: Say: If your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your wives, your kindred, the wealth that you have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, and the dwellings in which you delight are dearer to you than Allah and His Messenger, and striving hard and fighting in His cause, then wait until Allah brings about His decision (torment). And Allah guides not the people who are Al-Fasiqun (the rebellious, disobedient to Allah). [Koranic verse]

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

#### **Al-Jazirah Carries Bin Ladin's Audio Messages to Iraqis, Americans**

#### **Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 1602 GMT 18 Oct 03**

[Announcer-read report]

[FBIS Translated Text] Usama Bin Ladin, Al-Qa'ida leader, has hailed those whom he described as the mujahidin in Iraq. In an audio recording, a copy of which was obtained by Al-Jazirah, Bin Ladin said the United States has fallen into what he described as the quagmires of the Tigris and Euphrates. In a message Bin Ladin called "The Second Message to the Iraqi People," there is a mention of the interim Iraqi Governing Council. He also mentioned the call by Washington on the world countries to send their soldiers to Iraq, proof that the audio recording is new.

[Begin Bin Ladin recording] Praise be to God, Praise be to God, who says: "O Prophet!

strive hard against the unbelievers and the Hypocrites, and be firm against them. Their abode is Hell,- an evil refuge indeed. [koranic verse]

May God's blessings be upon our prophet Muhammad, who says: He who is killed in defense of his property is a martyr; he who is killed in self-defense is a martyr; he who is killed in defense of his religion is a martyr; and he who is killed in defense of his family is a martyr.

This is the second message to our Muslim brothers in Iraq. O grandchildren of Sa'd, Al-Muthanna, Khalid, Al-Mu'anna, and Saladin [early Muslim commanders] May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you. I greet you, your effort, and blessed Jihad. For you have massacred the enemy and brought joy to the hearts of Muslims, particularly the people of Palestine. May God reward you for that. You are to be thanked for your jihad.

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May God strengthen your positions and guide you to achieve your targets.

You should be pleased, for America has fallen into the quagmires of the Tigris and Euphrates. Bush thought that Iraq and its oil are easy spoils. Now, he is in a critical situation, praised be God. Today, America has started to cry out and crumble before the entire world. Praise be to God, Who foiled its plots and made it ask for help from the lowliest people and beg for the mercenary soldiers from the East and West. No wonder you did these deeds to America and made it suffer in this way, for you are the sons of those great knights, who carried [the message of] Islam eastward until they reached China. Let it be known to you that this war is a new Crusader campaign against the Muslim world, and it is a war that is crucial to the entire nation. Only God knows the extent of its serious repercussions and negative effects on Islam and Muslims.

O young people of Islam everywhere, especially in the neighboring countries and in Yemen, you should pursue jihad and roll up your sleeves. Follow the right path and be careful not to support the men who follow their whims, those who sat idle, or those who relied on oppressors. For those would seek to shake you and inhibit you from pursuing this blessed jihad.

There have been voices in Iraq, as there were in Palestine, Egypt, Jordan, Yemen, and other countries before, calling for a peaceful, democratic solution in dealing with the apostate governments or the Jewish and Crusader invaders instead of fighting for the cause of God.

It was thus imperative to draw attention briefly to the seriousness of this wrong, misleading approach, which is against God's law and which inhibits fighting for His sake. For how can you obey, when jihad becomes a duty, those who never fought for the sake of God?! Will you not learn a lesson?! It was those who obstructed the efforts of the honest men of the nation. They relied on the whims of people and on democracy -- the religion of the pre-Islam era -- to join legislative councils. They have gone far astray and misled many people. Why do they join the council of polytheism -- the legislative council of representatives, which Islam destroyed -- thus destroying the pillars of religion?

What was left for them? They claim that they are on the right path, but they are doing a

great wrong. God knows that Islam is innocent of their deeds, for Islam is the religion of God. The legislative councils of representatives are the religion of the pre-Islam era. He who obeys the leaders or scholars in permitting what God banned, such as joining the legislative councils, or banning what He permitted, such as jihad for His sake, would be associating other gods with Him. God is our sole source of strength.

I call on Muslims, in general, and on the Iraqi people, in particular, to not support the Crusader US forces and their allies. Those who cooperate with the United States or its off-shoots, regardless of names and titles, are infidels and so are those who support infidel parties such as the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, and the democratic Kurdish parties and their like. It is not a secret that any government formed by the United States is a traitor and collaborator government just like all governments in the region, including the

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governments of Karzai and Mahmud Abbas, which were set up to terminate jihad. The road map is nothing but a new link in the chain of conspiracies to abort the blessed intifadah. Hence, jihad must continue until an Islamic government, which rules by God's religion, is established.

O Muslims:

This is a serious matter. I say to whoever has an opinion, power, or money, and whoever could help or make an effort: This is the time to put it to use. Under such conditions, people are examined and one could tell the truthful from the liar, and the one who upholds the religion from the idle one. The proud Muslim women are requested to carry out their duty.

I tell my mujahid brothers in Iraq: By God, I share your worries, feel with you, and envy you for your state of jihad. God knows that had I found a way to reach your arenas [of jihad] I would have taken it. How would I not do so when we know that our prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him -- our example-- said: By God, had it not been hard for Muslims, I would have always joined each contingent that fights for the sake of God.

The prophet also said: By God, I wish I would fight for the sake of God and be killed, fight again and be killed, and fight again and be killed.

This was the path tread by our Prophet Muhammad. It is the path that leads to granting victory to religion and establishing the state of Muslims. Hence, adhere to this path. Only the sincere ones adhere to it.

O Muslim peoples, O peoples of Rabi'ah and Mudar [old Arab tribes], O Kurds, hoist your flags, may God raise your status. Do not allow these louts to scare you with their weapons. God has aborted their plots and weakened their might; so do not be scared of their great numbers. Their hearts are full of sins and they have begun to weaken militarily and economically, particularly in the aftermath of the Yew York day which was blessed by God. Their losses following the strike and its repercussions have reached more than a trillion dollars. They also witnessed a budget deficit for the third consecutive year. This year's deficit reached a record number estimated at \$450 billion. Therefore, we thank God.

Finally, to my mujahid brothers in Iraq, to the heroes in Baghdad, the house of Islamic

caliphate, and places around it, to the followers of Islam, grandchildren of Salah-al-Din, to the free people of Ba'qubah, Mosul, and Al-Anbar, and to those who traveled to sacrifice themselves for the cause of God and in support of their religion leaving behind their parents, children, and homeland, to all those people I send my greetings and say to you that you are the soldiers of God, the arrows of Islam, and the first line of defense of this nation nowadays. I also tell you that the Romans have gathered under the banner of the cross to fight the nation of beloved Muhammad, may God's peace and blessings be upon him. Let your jihad be for the cause of God and I beseech God that you would not forsake Muslims. What a sublime duty you are entrusted with. We pin great hopes on you

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after God. Do not scandalize Muslims and follow the example of Sa'd, may God be pleased with him, on the day of Al-Khandaq battle [old Islamic battle] when he said: Take your time and even a lamb will join the battle. It is all right to die when it is time. O God, this is one of your days. Therefore, guide the Muslim youth to jihad for your sake. O God, strengthen their hearts, help them stand fast, and bring them closer together. O God, grant your victory to your mujahidin worshippers everywhere, in Palestine, Iraq, Chechnya, Kashmir, the Philippines, and Afghanistan. O God, help release our brother prisoners in the prisons of tyrants in America, Guantanamo, occupied Palestine, Al-Riyadh, and everywhere. You are capable of everything. O God, grant us patience, strengthen our hearts, and help us achieve victory over the infidels. And God hath full power and control over His affairs; but most among mankind know it not. [Koranic verse]

May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be on our Prophet Muhammad, his household, and companions. Our last prayer is praise be to God. [end recording]

The recording contained a message that Usama Bin Ladin directed to the American people. In the message, Bin Ladin said that the US President and his administration lie to mislead the world. Bin Ladin also called on the US soldiers in Iraq to leave Iraq, saying that their continued presence in Iraq is 'compound injustice.' He warned the American people that fighting will continue against them and that martyrdom operations will continue inside and outside the United States.

[Begin Bin Ladin recording] Praise be to God. There is to be no transgression except on the ones that do injustice to others.

From Usama Bin Muhammad Bin Ladin to the American people regarding your aggression on Iraq.

I greet those that follow the guidance of God. O American people, some people pictured you as a great people. It turned out that most of you are riffraff who do not have any share in great ethics. You elect the evildoers from among you who tell many lies and are impolite. You are being enslaved by those who have the most money, the most influential ones, and those who have the strongest news media, particularly the Jews, who are dragging you behind them under the trick of democracy in order to support the Israelis and their schemes and hostility to our religion and at the expense of our blood and land,

as well as at the expense of your blood and economy.

Events have proven this. The fact that you were driven to the Iraqi war, in which you have no interest whatsoever, is evidence of this. Bush came with his hard-booted, hardhearted

gang. This gang is a huge evil on all humanity, its blood, money, environment, and morality. They came to deal strong and consecutive blows to honesty that is the basis of morality, each from the position he holds, until they professionally rendered it dead  
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before the world. With this behavior of theirs, they encouraged hypocrisy, corrupted people, and spread political bribery at the level of heads of state with no shame.

This gang and their leader do not find any thing wrong with lying, war, theft, and robbery if it would serve their personal greed. Their fangs drip blood from the corpses of the children of Vietnam and Somalia and the children of Afghanistan and Iraq. They did not care about you, went behind your backs, invaded Iraq once again, and lied to you and the whole world. It has been said: a nation's strength is in its morality; if the morality of the people of any nation was to deteriorate they would cease to exist.

Bush has pushed your children into the mouth of the lion so that they will slaughter others and get slaughtered, claiming that this is in defense of international peace and America. In so doing, he hides the true motive. On the one hand, he implements the demands of the Zionist lobby, which helped him enter the White House, to destroy the military power of Iraq, which neighbors the Jews in occupied Palestine. In so doing, he shows absolute indifference to the repercussions on your blood and economy. On the other hand, he conceals his own greed and the ambitions of this lobby in Iraq and its oil. He is still thinking in the mentality of his ancestors who used to kill the red Indians to seize their lands and loot their wealth.

He thought that the matter will be easy spoils and a short trip that will not end in failure. However, God had those lions waiting for him in Baghdad, the home of Islamic caliphate, the lions of the desert who believe that the taste of death in their mouths is better than honey. They, praised be God, turned his gains into losses and his joy into sorrow. Bush is now like the one who would be pleased to relinquish the spoils if he comes back safe. Praised be God who uncovered his lies and exposed his motives and brought more calamities to you under his rule.

I tell Bush that appealing for help from the world around you and begging for mercenary soldiers from everywhere, even from the small countries, has shattered your pride, insulted your prestige, and exposed your powerlessness after you used to defend the world in its entirety. You are now like the one who used to defend people with his own sword, but now he looks for others to defend him.

Let the unjust ones know that we maintain our right to reply, at the appropriate time and place, to all the states that are taking part in this unjust war, particularly Britain, Spain, Australia, Poland, Japan, and Italy. The Islamic world's states that are taking part in this war, particularly the Gulf states, mainly Kuwait, the land base for the Crusader forces, will not be excluded from this.

I also tell the US soldiers in Iraq: After the daylight emerged and the biggest liar and his

true nature were exposed, your continued presence in Iraq is compound injustice and a great folly. You are selling your life for the sake of others. So, your blood is being shed in order to increase the assets of the White House's gang and their partners of the arms dealers and owners of the conniving big companies. The most stupid person is the one who sells his life for the sake of others.

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Concluding, I tell the American people: God willing, we will continue to fight you. We will continue the martyrdom operations inside and outside the United States until you end your injustice, abandon your stupidity, and curb your insolent fellows. You should know that we count our killed ones, may God have mercy on their souls, particularly those killed in Palestine at the hands of your allies, the Jews. So, we will punish you for them, God willing, just as what happened during the New York day. Just remember what I told you at the time about our security and your security.

As for Baghdad, the Caliphate house, God willing, you will never take it. We will fight you as long as we have weapons in our hands, and if these weapons fall, our sons will pick them up. Let our mothers be bereaved of us if we leave any friar of you on our land. How can a person sleep when his main concern is to remove injustice? You will never be able to take Baghdad as long as there is a sword in our hand. We fight those who fight us and chop their heads with our swords. There will be no peace until infidelity is defeated. God suffices us, and He is our supporter, and you do not have any supporter. [end recording]

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

**Al-Jazirah TV: Al-Qa'ida Claims Responsibility for Istanbul Bombings**

**Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 2000 GMT 16 Nov 03**

[Announcer-read report]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement received by the London-based Al-Quds al-Arabi newspaper today, Sunday, the Al-Qa'ida Organization, led by Usama Bin Ladin, has claimed responsibility for the attacks on two Jewish synagogues in Istanbul. Bin Ladin threatened to mount further strikes everywhere in the world. In the statement, a copy of which was received by AFP, Bin Ladin noted that the Martyr Abu-Hafs al-Misri Brigades, affiliated with Al-Qa'ida, carried out the two attacks after monitoring the presence of Israeli intelligence agents inside the synagogues.

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic -- Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

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**Al-Arabiya Broadcasts Excerpts of Previously Aired Bin**

## **Ladin Tape**

### ***Dubai Al-Arabiyah Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 20 Dec 03***

[FBIS Report] Dubai Al-Arabiyah Television in Arabic at 1800 GMT carries what it terms a "new audio recording" by Usama **Bin Ladin**. The 5-minute recording was found to be identical to an older audio tape broadcast by Al-Jazirah TV on 18 October 2003 as a "message to the Iraqi people" from **Bin Ladin** and filed as GMP20031018000194. The following are the audio portions carried on Al-Arabiyah.

"Today, America has started to cry out and crumble before the entire world. Praise be to God, Who foiled its plots and made it ask for help from the lowliest people and beg for the mercenary soldiers from the East and West. No wonder you did these deeds to America and made it suffer in this way, for you are the sons of those great knights, who carried [the message of] Islam eastward until they reached China. Let it be known to you that this war is a new Crusader campaign against the Muslim world, and it is a war that is crucial to the entire nation. Only God knows the extent of its serious repercussions and negative effects on Islam and Muslims. "

"There have been voices in Iraq, as there were in Palestine, Egypt, Jordan, Yemen, and other countries before, calling for a peaceful, democratic solution in dealing with the apostate governments or the Jewish and Crusader invaders instead of fighting for the cause of God. It was thus imperative to draw attention briefly to the seriousness of this wrong, misleading approach, which is against God's law and which inhibits fighting for His sake. For how can you obey, when jihad becomes a duty, those who never fought for the sake of God?! Will you not learn a lesson?! It was those who obstructed the efforts of the honest men of the nation. They relied on the whims of people and on democracy -- the religion of the pre-Islam era -- to join legislative councils. They have gone far astray and misled many people. Why do they join the council of polytheism -- the legislative council of representatives, which Islam destroyed -- thus destroying the pillars of religion? What was left for them? They claim that they are on the right path, but they are doing a great wrong. God knows that Islam is innocent of their deeds, for Islam is the religion of God. The legislative councils of representatives are the religion of the pre-Islam era. "

"It is not a secret that any government formed by the United States is a traitor and collaborator government just like all governments in the region, including the governments of Karzai and Mahmud Abbas, which were set up to terminate jihad. The road map is nothing but a new link in the chain of conspiracies to abort the blessed intifadah. Hence, jihad must continue until an Islamic government, which rules by God's religion, is established."

"O Muslim peoples, O peoples of Rabi'ah and Mudar [old Arab tribes], O Kurds, hoist your flags, may God raise your status. Do not allow these louts to scare you with their weapons. God has aborted their plots and weakened their might; so do not be scared of their great numbers. Their hearts are full of sins and they have begun to weaken militarily

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and economically, particularly in the aftermath of the Yew York day which was blessed by God. Their losses following the strike and its repercussions have reached more than a trillion dollars. They also witnessed a budget deficit for the third consecutive year. This year's deficit reached a record number estimated at \$450 billion. Therefore, we thank God."

FBIS Jordan Bureau plans no further processing.

[Description of Source: Dubai Al-Arabiyah Television in Arabic -- independent television station financed by Arab businessmen ]

**2004**

### **Bin Ladin Warns of 'Grand Plots' Against Arabs, Criticizes Gulf Rulers**

**Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic 2000 GMT 04 Jan 04**

[Announcer-read report, from the "Today's Harvest" news feature ]

[FBIS Translated Text] Usama Bin Ladin, leader of the Al-Qa'ida Organization, has urged Muslims to continue with what he called jihad to thwart the conspiracies being hatched against the Muslim nation, noting the occupation of Iraq, the road map, and the Geneva document on peace between the Palestinians and Israelis.

In a new audio message received by Al-Jazirah, Bin Ladin criticized the demands for changing the Muslims' curricula, warning that what is taking place is a religious-economic war designed to control the Gulf states after the occupation of Iraq, as he put it.

[Begin Bin Ladin recording] From Usama Bin-Muhammad Bin Ladin to his brothers and sisters in the entire Islamic nation: May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you. My message to you concerns inciting and continuing to urge for jihad to repulse the grand plots that have been hatched against our nation, especially since some of them have appeared clearly, such as the occupation of the Crusaders, with the help of the apostates, of Baghdad, the house of the caliphate, under the trick of weapons of mass destruction. There is also the fierce attempt to destroy the Al-Aqsa Mosque and destroy jihad and the mujahidin in beloved Palestine by employing the trick of the road map and the Geneva peace initiative.

The Americans' intentions have also become clear in statements about the need to change the beliefs, curricula, and morals of the Muslims to become more tolerant, as they put it. THIS REPORT MAY CONTAIN COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL. COPYING AND DISSEMINATION IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS.

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In clearer terms, it is a religious-economic war. The occupation of Iraq is a link in the Zionist-Crusader chain of evil.

Then comes the full occupation of the rest of the Gulf states to set the stage for controlling and dominating the whole world. For the big powers believe that the Gulf and the Gulf states are the key to controlling the world due to the presence of the largest oil reserves there.

O Muslims: The situation is serious, and the misfortune is momentous. By God, I am keen on safeguarding your religion and your worldly life. So, lend me your ears and open up your hearts to me so that we may examine these pitch-black misfortunes, and so that we may consider how we can find a way out of these adversities and calamities. The West's occupation of our countries is old, yet new. The struggle between us and

them, the confrontation, and clashing began centuries ago, and will continue because the ground rules regarding the fight between right and falsehood will remain valid until Judgment Day. Take note of this ground rule regarding this fight.

There can be no dialogue with occupiers except through arms. This is what we need today, and what we should seek. Islamic countries in the past century were not liberated from the Crusaders' military occupation except through jihad in the cause of God. Under the pretext of fighting terrorism, the West today is doing its utmost to tarnish jihad and kill anyone seeking jihad. The West is supported in this endeavor by hypocrites. This is because they all know that jihad is the effective power to foil all their conspiracies. Jihad is the path, so seek it. This is because if we seek to deter them with any means other than Islam, we would be like the one who goes round in circles. We would also be like our forefathers, the Al-Ghasasinah [people who lived in a state historically located in the northwest of the Persian empire]. The concern of their seniors was to be appointed officers for the Romans and to be named kings in order to safeguard the interests of the Romans by killing their brothers of the peninsula's Arabs. Such is the case of the new Al-Ghasasinah; namely, Arab rulers.

Muslims:

If you do not punish them for their sins in Jerusalem and Iraq, they shall defeat you because of your failure. They will also rob you of land of Al-Haramayn [Mecca and Medina]. Today [they robbed you] of Baghdad and tomorrow they will rob you of Riyadh and so forth unless God deems otherwise. Sufficient unto us is God.

What then is the means to stop this tremendous onslaught? In such hard times, some reformers maintain that all popular and official forces should unite, and that all government forces should unite with all their peoples. Everyone would do what is needed from him in order to ward off this Crusader-Zionist onslaught. The question strongly raised is: Are the governments in the Islamic world capable of pursuing this duty of defending the faith and nation and renounce allegiance to the United States?

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The calls by some reformers are strange. They say that the path to righteousness and to defend the country and people passes through the doors of those rulers. I tell those reformers: If you have an excuse for not pursuing jihad, it does not give you the right to depend on the unjust ones, thus becoming responsible for your sins as well as the sins of those you misguide.

Fear God for your sake and for your nation's sake. God does not need your flattery of dictators for the sake of God's religion. [end recording]

In his audio message, Bin Ladin strongly criticizes the Arabian Gulf rulers, casting doubt on their ability to resist any possible US attack against their states.

To prove his point, Bin Ladin gave an historical example, such as these rulers' stand on what happened between Iraq and Kuwait in 1990 and 1991 and their hesitation in supporting the United States in its latest war against Iraq, which he attributed to their fears of the principle of changing regimes by force.

Bin Ladin also spoke about the arrest of Saddam Husayn, showing that the audio message was recorded recently.

Bin Ladin also criticized the Arab regimes' pursuing of their own people and accusing them of embracing the creed of Al-Khawarij [rebellious Islamic group in early Islam].  
Begin Bin Ladin recording: The Gulf states proved their total inability to resist the Iraqi forces. They sought help from the Crusaders, led by the United States, as is well known. How can these states stand up to the United States?

In short, these states came to America's help and backed it in its attack against an Arab state which is bound to them with covenants of joint defense agreements. These covenants were reiterated at the Arab League just a few days before the US attack, only to violate them in full. This shows their positions on the nation's basic causes.

These regimes wavered too much before taking a stand on using force and attacking Iraq. At times they absolutely rejected participation and at other times they linked this with UN agreement. Then they went back to their first option. In fact, the lack of participation was in line with the domestic desire of these states. However, they finally submitted and succumbed to US pressure and opened their air, land, and sea bases to contribute toward the US campaign, despite the immense repercussions of this move. Most important of these repercussions is that this is a sin against one of the Islamic tenets. Most important and dangerous in their view was that they feared that the door would be open for bringing down dictatorial regimes by armed forces from abroad, especially after they had seen the arrest of their former comrade in treason and agency to the United States when it ordered him to ignite the first Gulf war against Iran, which rebelled against it.

The war consumed everything and plunged the area in a maze from which they have not emerged to this day. They are aware that their turn will come. They do not have the will to make the difficult decision to confront the aggression, in addition to their belief that  
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they do not possess the material resources for that. Indeed, they were prevented from establishing a large military force when they were forced to sign secret pledges and documents long ago.

In short, the ruler who believes in some of the above-mentioned deeds cannot defend the country. How can he do so if he believes in all of them and has done that time and again? Those who believe in the principle of supporting the infidels over Muslims and leave the blood, honor, and property of their brothers to be free for their enemy in order to remain safe, claiming that they love their brothers but are being forced to take such a path -- of course this compulsion cannot be regarded as legitimate -- are in fact qualified to take the same course against one another in the Gulf states. Indeed, this principle is liable to be embraced within the same state itself.

Those who read and understood the history of kings throughout history know that they are capable of committing more than these concessions, except those who enjoyed the mercy of God. Indeed, the rulers have practically started to sell out the sons of the land by pursuing and imprisoning them and by unjustly and wrongly accusing them of becoming like the Al-Khawarij sect who held Muslims to be infidels and by committing the excesses of killing them. We hold them to be martyrs and God will judge them.

All of this happened before the Riyadh explosions in Rabi al-Awwal of this year [around May, 2003]. This campaign came within a drive to implement the US orders in the hope that they will win its blessings. [End recording]

Bin Ladin's message said that the Muslim rulers are not capable of confronting what he described as the US aggression, referring to the history of dealing with the Palestinian issue and explaining how the concessions made by the rulers since the beginning of the conflict show that they are willing to make concessions in the future. Bin Ladin criticized the Arab rulers' fighting of the Palestinian resistance as represented by the Sharm al-Shaykh summit in 1996, the Arab initiative in the Beirut summit, and the road map.

Bin Ladin also criticized the countries that stopped the financial assistance that was sent to the families of the Palestinian martyrs. He also criticized the Gulf governments' reception of members of the transitional Iraqi Governing Council in Iraq. In his message, Bin Ladin drew a comparison between the economic development of one country that was an Islamic country in the past; namely Spain, and the Arab countries whose collective economic capabilities are less than those of the Spanish economy.

Bin Ladin also said in his message that the reason for the deterioration of the Arabs and Muslims is due to ignoring Islam as a way for governing. He called on Muslims to establish a council for Ahl al-Hall wa al-Aqd [literally those who loose and Bind; reference to honest, wise, and righteous people who can appoint or remove a ruler in Islamic tradition] to fill the vacuum that will result from the legitimate collapse of the governing regimes, as he asserted. He said that the task of this council is to unify the word and raise the flag of jihad to stop what he termed as the Roman raid against the Muslims, which started in Iraq.

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**Begin Bin Ladin recording:** Based on the above, the extent of the real danger, which the region in general and the Arabian Peninsula in particular, is being exposed to, has appeared. It has become clear that the rulers are not qualified to apply the religion and defend the Muslims. In fact, they have provided evidence that they are implementing the schemes of the enemies of the nation and religion and that they are qualified to abandon the countries and peoples. Now, after we have known the situation of the rulers, we should examine the policy they have been pursuing. Anyone who examines the policy of those rulers will easily see that they follow their whims and desires and their personal interests and Crusade loyalties. Therefore, the flaw does not involve a secondary issue, such as personal corruption that is confined to the palace of the ruler. The flaw is in the very approach. This happened when a malicious belief and destructive principle spread in most walks of life, to the effect that absolute supremacy and obedience are due to the ruler, and not to the religion of God. In other countries, they have used the guise of parliaments and democracy.

Thus, the situation of all Arab countries suffers from great deterioration in all walks of life, in religious and worldly matters. We have reached this miserable situation because many of us lack the correct and comprehensive understanding of the religion of Islam.

Many of us understand Islam to mean performing some acts of worship, such as prayer and fasting. Despite the great importance of these rituals, the religion of Islam encompasses all the affairs of life, including the religious and the worldly, such as economic, military, and political affairs, as well as the scales by which we weigh the actions of men--rulers, ulema, and others--and how to deal with the ruler in line with the rules set by God for him and which the ruler should not violate. Therefore, it becomes clear to us that the solution lies in adhering to the religion of God, by which God granted us pride in the past centuries, and installing a strong and faithful leadership that applies the Koran among us and raises the true banner of jihad.

The honest people who are concerned about this situation, such as the ulema, leaders who are obeyed among their people, dignitaries, notables, and merchants should get together and meet in a safe place away from the shadow of these suppressive regimes and form a council for Ahl al-Hall wa al-Aqd [literally those who loose and Bind; reference to honest, wise, and righteous people who can appoint or remove a ruler in Islamic tradition] to fill the vacuum caused by the religious invalidation of these regimes and their mental deficiency. The right to appoint an imam [leader] is for the nation. The nation also has the right to make him correct his course if he deviates from it and to remove him if he does something that warrants this, such as apostasy and treason.

This temporary council should be made up of the minimum number of available personnel, without [word indistinct] the rest of the nation, except what the religion allows in case of necessity, until the number is increased when the situation improves, God willing. Their policy should be based on the book of God [the Koran] and the Sunna of His Prophet [Muhammad], God's peace and blessings be upon him. They should start by directing the Muslims to the important priorities at this critical stage and lead them to a safe haven, provided that their top priority should be uniting opinions under the word of monotheism and defending Islam and its people and countries and declaring a general  
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mobilization in the nation to prepare for repulsing the raid of the Romans, which started in Iraq and no one knows where it will end. God suffices us and He is the best supporter.  
[End recording]

[Description of Source: Doha Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television in Arabic --

Independent Television station financed by the Qatari Government]

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*Triste cosa es no tener amigos, pero más triste ha de ser no tener enemigos porque quién no tenga enemigos señal es de que no tiene talento que haga sombra, ni carácter que impresione, ni valor temido, ni honra de la que se murmure, ni bienes que se le codicien, ni cosa alguna que se le envidie. A sad thing it is to not have friends, but even sadder must it be not having any enemies; that a man should have no enemies is a sign that he has no talent to outshine others, nor character that inspires, nor valor that is feared, nor honor to be rumored, nor goods to be coveted, nor anything to be envied. -Jose Marti*

From the desk of Craig B Hulet:

Craig B Hulet was both speech writer and *Special Assistant for Special Projects* to Congressman Jack Metcalf (Retired); he has been a consultant to federal law enforcement ATF&E of Justice/Homeland Security for over 25 years; he has written four books on international relations and philosophy, his latest is *The Hydra of Carnage: Bush's Imperial War-making and the Rule of Law - An Analysis of the Objectives and Delusions of Empire*. He has appeared on over 12,000 hours of TV and Radio: *The History Channel* "De-Coded"; He is a regular on *Coast to Coast* AM w/ George Noory and *Coffee Talk* KBKW; CNN, C-Span ; European Television "American Dream" and *The Arsenio Hall Show*; he has written for *Soldier of Fortune Magazine*, *International Combat Arms*, *Financial Security Digest*, etc.; Hulet served in Vietnam 1969-70, 101st Airborne, C Troop 2/17th Air Cav and graduated 3rd in his class at *Aberdeen Proving Grounds Ordnance School* MOS 45J20 Weapons. He remains a paid analyst and consultant in various areas of geopolitical, business and security issues: terrorism and military affairs. Hulet lives in the ancient old growth *Quinault Rain Forest*.