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APPROVED FOR -RELEASE⊓ DATE: 25-April-2012



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DCI Report: The Rise of UBL and Al-Qa'ida And the Intelligence Community Response

March 19, 2004

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maintained recruitment centers and guesthouses in several Middle Eastern countries and organized and funded paramilitary training camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Under al-Qa'ida's auspices, Bin Ladin also imported heavy equipment to build roads, tunnels, caves, hospitals, and storage depots in Afghanistan for use by the mujahedin and, eventually, to form part of his terrorist infrastructure.

The Afghan experience was key to radicalizing Bin Ladin and cementing his dedication to Islamic extremist causes. It provided him with an opportunity to make and strengthen contacts with a wide variety of Islamic extremists of various nationalities. Many of the men who became key members of the al-Qa'ida leadership met and fought. alongside him in Afghanistan against the Soviets.

- It is also at this time that Bin Ladin began perverting the teachings of Islam and the Prophet Mohammed for his own violent purposes. And it is then that he began to exploit underlying social, political, and economic discontent and widespread resentment of the West in many parts of the Muslim world.
- In a 1988 press interview, he claimed, "I felt it a sign from God to battle all opponents of Islam when a mortar shell that landed a few feet away from me did not explode." Urged on by fervent Islamic radicals, he began using his personal fortune to shelter and employ hundreds of militant, stateless "Afghan Arabs" and train them for jihad or holy war around the world.

Although Bin Ladin returned to Saudi Arabia to work in his family's construction business after the Soviets left Afghanistan in early 1989, he continued to support militant Islamic causes and radicals who by then had begun redirecting their efforts against secular and moderate Islamic governments in the region. He began publicly criticizing the Saudi Government and harshly condemned the Gulf War and the presence of US and other Western forces in the Arabian Peninsula.

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icai ui	ring his stay in Sudan from 1	991 to 1990.		
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adin had grown signi		JO Our awarer	icas of the time	it represented by Bir
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	establishment	in late January	1996 of an "Is	sue Station" within th
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	that reached well beyond fir	nancial activity.	more permittors terror	ise capatinity
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	Bin Ladin's stay in Sudan, i connections with Egyptian t	errorists.	s tole in terrorism, and	IBIN Latin S
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If any doubts remained about the emerging threat to the United States represented by Bin Ladin and al-Qa'ida, they were gradually dispelled by a series of declarations he issued from his refuge in Afghanistan during the 1996-1998 timeframe.

- In an undated interview in Afghanistan published in July 1996 in the London daily *The Independent*, Bin Ladin declared that the killing of Americans in the Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia in June 1996 marked the beginning of the war between Muslims and the United States.
- One month later, in August 1996, Bin Ladin, in collaboration with radical
  Muslim clerics associated with his group, issued a religious edict or fatwa in
  which he called "Declaration of War" authorizing attacks against Western
  military targets on the Arabian Peninsula.
- Eighteen months later, six months prior to the 1998 US Embassy bombings in
  East Africa, al-Qa'ida issued another fatwa—under the banner of the "World
  Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders"—stating that all Muslims
  have a religious duty "to kill Americans and their allies, both civilian and
  military" worldwide.
- During a subsequent media interview, Bin Ladin explained that all US citizens
   were legitimate targets because they pay taxes to the US Government.

By the time of the 1998 East Africa bombings, al-Qa'ida had established its intention to inflict high casualties and a modus operandi emphasizing careful planning and exhaustive field preparations, which Bin Ladin saw as a prerequisite for the type of spectacular operations he had in mind.

For example, when asked in a November 1996 interview why his organization had not yet conducted attacks in response to its August fativa statement, Bin Ladin replied, "If we wanted to carry out small operations it would have been easy to do so after the statements, but the nature of the battle requires qualitative operations that affect the adversary, which obviously requires good preparation."

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By early 1998, CIA knew that we	were dealing with a
sophisticated terrorist organization bent on causing large number	
casualties. The East Africa bombings in August 1998 and the at	
October 2000 succeeded because of al-Qa'ida's meticulous prep	paration and effective
security practices.	
<ul> <li>CIA analysts looked at al-Qa'ida targeting studies ar</li> </ul>	of training materials
captured around the time of the East Africa and USS	
published an in-depth intelligence study of al-Qa'ida	
revealed that much of the terrorists' advance planning	
patient, and meticulous preparation.	
	经出售帐户的总额的支援 化二氯
This included extensive surveillance and the prepara	
detailed the vulnerabilities of potential targets. In the	
in Nairobi, for example, the terrorists' casing study v	vas prepared in 1993, five
years before the attack	1.85
• The analysts also pointed out in the same in-depth st	udy of al-Qa'ida methods
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# 전환·나는 전환 :	
We were also becoming increasing	gly concerned—and
therefore warned about—al-Qa'ida's interest in acquiring chemi	cal and biological
weapons and nuclear materials.	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY.
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DCI Deutsch expressed his	concern about the
growing lethality, sophistication, and wide-ranging natu	
threat, and that terrorists would push this trend to its mo	
employing weapons of mass destruction." DCI Tenet ma	
as early as 1998, when he pointed to	
to purchase or manufacture biological and chemical wea	apons for an attack
against US facilities.	
None of Bin Ladin's and al-Qa'ida's planning, recruiting, and training in the late 1990s would he Taliban sanctuary in Afghanistan.  Although Afghanistan had served as a place of refuge fo	nave been possible
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 It provided Bin Ladin an isolated and relatively safe operating environment to oversee his organization's worldwide terrorist activities.

of thousand of Islamic extremists from all over the world.

Militants who received training there were sent to fight in jihads in Kashmir,
 Chechnya, or Bosnia. When they returned to their homes to resume their
 normal lives or migrate to other countries, they constituted a ready supply of
 manpower for terrorist operations. Two of the 9/11 hijackers followed this
 pattern.

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The al-Qa'ida-Taliban trainin	
foundation of a worldwide network by sponsoring and encou from diverse locations to forge longstanding ideological, log	iraging islamic extremists istical, and personal ties.
and guerrilla tactics	ning in the use of small arms more advanced
and specialized training in subjects such as explo-	The same of the control of the contr
assassination techniques.	
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Bin Ladin emphasized indoctrination in extremist	religious ideas and included-
the constant repetition that the United States is every regimes of Arab countries are not true believers in	
overthrown as a religious duty.	
In summary, what Bin Ladin created in Afgh	anistan was a sophisticated
adversary	
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	- Consistent
The IC's Efforts to Track, Disrupt, and Bring Bin Ladin	to Justice
The Strategy	
By 1998, the key elements of a	the CIA's strategy against
Bin Ladin were emphatically offensive rather than defensive	
<ul> <li>Hitting Bin Ladin's infrastructure;</li> </ul>	
Working with liaison to break up cells and carry of the control of the contr	out airests;
Pursuing a multi-track approach to bring Bin Ladi	in himself to justice,
including working with liaison services, developing	ng a close relationship with
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	In the spring of 199	9, in response to the DCI's request for a	
	baseline review or the CIA's operational stratege plan, CTC produced a new comprehensive oper	y against Bin Ladin and a new strategic	
	Ladin-al-Qa'ida target inside and outside Afgha	unistan.	
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	The Pla	un emphasized in its multifaceted program	
	the priority of capturing and rendering to justice	Bin Ladin and his principal lieutenants.	
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	program to gather the intelligence to	be able to track and act against Bin Ladin	
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disrupt planned Bin Ladin-sponsored terrorist operations on a worldwide basis, which diluted the focus on Bin Ladin himself.

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Responding to the Millennium threat, the attack on the USS Cole, and the rash of indications of planned terrorist actions during Ramadan 2000 and the months leading to September 11 worked to shift the focus of operational effort away from internal Afghan operations. away from internal Afghan operations.

CIA submitted a revised strategic proposal on counterterrorism to the NSC Staff in December 2000 that would have significantly

expanded our activities

It was too late for the departing Clinton administration to take action on this strategic proposal, however.

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unis et	mphasis has fostered both i	improved communication	is as well as degun t	O DICAK
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	este différe. Liste d	After we received	a rash of reports in 1	998 threatening attack	s in the United	All and the second
		States, we worked	together to provide	advisories for local lay	v enforcement	
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		• One such episode			plot in the fall of	
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con	Despite this excellent record of continue. A major, ongoing concern is FBI's own inte	ernal dissemination system. CIA	
offi	icers still often find it necessary to hand-deliver me hin FBI. In addition, FBI has not perfected its FI re	essages to the intended recipient	
field	d communication, so dissemination of intelligence	porting system and meanquartors and activities of FBI still is spotty	首次 1
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	This different promines	ben IGGGs die Ekste Akt o	
CIA	A sometimes get in the way of desired results. The I	ional culture and goals of FBI and FBI focuses on gathering evidence	
to so	olve crimes and CIA focuses on threat assessments elligence. When these two goals compete, problems	s and collecting and analyzing	
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poin beca their	FBI had been institutionalized to continue a problems unuse of "the natural tension [to different missions, which can't difficulties cited by the IC.	nat pernaps might be in that] exists between the an be negotiated but no	e two organization	come fully ns, deriving from	ing the state of t
. A Salan	. The difference in order	anizational mission—i	ntelligence colleg	tion and Covert	
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		intelligence opportunit	ies because of de	ference to law	i kacing pangalan
	enforcement goals.	The state of the s		The second s	
200 ·	Concerns in both ores	anizations about access	s to the other's m	ission critical	
	information.				
				er indicates something	depolition of the
	No	onetheless, the leaders	hip of the two age	encies have	20 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
cons	sistently worked these issues	and will continue to d	o so as we identii	y tnem.	
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	CTA will con	itinue to move to com	rect problems and mak	re mrodredd in
clos	sing the gap between where w	e are and where we w	ant to be. Progress in	raising the
leve	of cooperation among the C	ommunity agencies o	ver the years has been	key to
war	ning policymakers and stoppi	ng and disrupting atta	icks against US intere	sts overseas.
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	without FBI inpu	it on the domestic ne	xus of international te	rrorism, CIA
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	the al Qa'ida leadership. sources pinpointing the ti	l several planned cruise mis The demand by policy offic ime and place where Bin La	cials for multiple, corre	oborative	
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	constraints to the final go	ahead to launch.	civilians, however, ser	ved as major	
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ultimately policy o	fficials decided the risks	of collateral damage	to a nearby	\. \.
mosque were too g	reat to call in a strike.			:
	1999, military continger		ike against	
BIII LAGER TOCUSED	on hunting camps used l	by OAE princes		1. To
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		Following	policy official	
	e UAE about the presence			٠٠٠ :
	camp UBL reportedly h	ad visited—Shaykh.	Ali's Camp—	· ·
was dismantled.		!		:::
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<ul> <li>In May 1999, the n</li> </ul>	nilitary again <u>contemplat</u>	ed a cruise missile st	rike against	·
Bin Ladin in the Q	andahar area			<i>i</i> :
· .		cked and reported or	Bin Ladin's	
whereabouts for all	nost a week			•
	4 4 4 4 6 6 6 6 6	from May 13-	19. Again, the	
	med about the precision ation of particular building	ran an vivall an materit	of collatoral	•••
	ling facilities, resulting i			· ··
strike.	ang momento, robuming .	ir portey officials no.		
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Budget and Resource	Š			##. · · ·
The ICV a man	-idh al Oalida in dha daa.	da aalaa ta Gautamb	au 11 did mat	
ne cheaply. In a period whe	with al-Qa'ida in the deca			٠.
ency showed little if any ac				
interterrorism funds		e than		
and of the control of	:		r a number of	- "
se years the overall annual	appropriation included so	ubstantial supplemen	tals. These	
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With the North Control				
	While this growth pa	attern was clearly favora elemental appropriations	ble, the fact that it reste	d and a second
		nemental appropriations Ity in program planning.		icasures
	These figures demonsterrorism	nstrate a steady growth in	n positions targeted aga	inst
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	A review of the	context in which persor	mel resources were allo	cated
	ates that despite the downs s of DCI's worked aggressi			
	asingly dangerous and sopl		nood to vot of original	into carry
	In the decade m	rior to the attacks on Ser	stambar 11 the Intellige	and the state of the second of
Com	munity experienced a subst	tantial decrease in perso	nnel resources across th	e board.
This	reduction began in the wak	ce of the demise of the S	oviet Union and contin	ied well
reduc	the <u>mid-1990s, reaching its</u> ced	Hadir in 1999. Overan (	resulting	
	tantial decrease in case offic			
reduc	ctions of analysts and suppo	ort personnel.		TANGTAN PARAMAKAN PARAMAKAN PANGHATAN
		e Community dealt with		
	War environment by prior 35. But at the same time it			
	nunity for intelligence supp			
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anastian afnar	· harrian andia andid	es that drew on CIA e	vnertice and staff n	ergonnel
indeed: CIA ha	d to contend with the	he resource demands of	xperuse and start pr of several emerging	or heightened
threats and eve				
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• Moi	unting concern over	proliferation of weap	ons of mass destruc	tion. This
		the forefront as conce		
secu	urity of former Sovi	et WMD stockpiles, a	ggressive efforts by	/ Iraq, Iran,
and	North Korea to dev	elop these weapons a	nd their means of d	elivery and, at
the	end of the decade, t	he emergence of India	a and Pakistan's nuc	clear tensions.
• The	Gulf War		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
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		y of personnel and ex		
	cy makers and war i	fighters sharply constr	ained our ability to	shift
personnel resou	cy makers and war i urces within the Age		ained our ability to new and shifting pr	shift iority

In this constrained environment, a series of DCI's nonetheless saw to it that the personnel resources committed to the counterterrerism effort was not only protected but actually enhanced. the depth of the Community draw down, personnel positions within CTC grew despite percent reduction in personnel Agency wide. With respect to the analytic effort, in 2001 across the Agency were making analytic contributions to the counterterrorist mission in a variety of ways, such as traditional analysis, targeting, and operational support. dedicated to al-Qa'ida. The equivalent of were working terrorism-related issues or applying specialized skills to the terrorism problem from their positions in the DI, in addition CTC After September 11 those numbers rose dramatically. The total analytic presence in CTC

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terror	finance trends working wi	th the US notice and law	anal	yzing	_ <b>_</b>
utiliz	finance trends, working wi	di the CB poney and law	emorecinem commu	intres, and	
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	<ul> <li>Identified al-Qa'ida's networks as vehicles for</li> </ul>	growing interest in cash c or transferring funds in th	ouriers and trusted he Middle East and S	awala outh Asia.	•
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Integration	of	Coll	ection
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Integration of Collection
has been a key element in our ability to learn about and operate against the terrorists.
In undertaking this integration effort, the ADCI for Collection convened daily
meetings with analysts and collection officers from NSA, NGA, and CIA to
develop a collaborative collection effort
Through forward adjusting was many the to build a second state in the second state in the second sec
• Through focused collection, we were able to build a more complete picture of
This integrated intelligence collection effort also supported military targeting
operations prior to September 11, including the cruise missile attack against the al-Qa'ida training camp complex in northeastern Afghanistan in August
1998; in addition, it helped to provide baseline data for the US Central
Command's target planning against al-Qa'ida facilities and infrastructure
throughout Afghanistan.
Following the September 11 attacks, the IC redoubled its
efforts to collect and integrate all of the intelligence disciplines.
This information,
greatly facilitated our
ability to locate, track, and support US military operations against al-Oa'ida and Taliban
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	and dynamic c	offection on Bi	in Ladin and res	sidual al-Qaʻida lea	dersnip.	•
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intentic	ons to acquire wear			s operandi, capabil		
	the summer of 200					
perform	nance was the resu	lt of significant	t measures by th	he Directorate of Ir		
enhanc	e our analytical car	oabilities assign	ned to this targe	et.		•
	After the l	Rast Africa hor	nhings in 1008	Bin Ladin and al-	Oa'ida were	
the targ	get against which w		nomga m 1990,	Din Ladin and ar	Qu ida woro	1
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mork e	Each analgeach bearing respon			l range of tactical a		
	search, current inte					
most at	nalysts were consur	med by tactical	work. We need	led to get the right	balance	
	n strategic and tact	ical analytical	work by giving	more effort to stra	tegic analytic	
issues.		٠		•		
	CIA therefore	created a Strate	egic Analytic U	nit in July 2001 to	fix this	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
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				e analysts assigned	to it from the	
	gring or daily o	rises to focus (	on the bigger pi	cture.		
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•	In addition, during 2000 and 2001, we engaged in a full-scale effort to our analysis into the broadest possible circulation	push
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lanning urrent ir iting plo	Many of these steps contributed to our analysts' warning during the of 2001 that Bin Ladin and al-Qa'ida were engaged in intensive operations and preparations against US interests. We documented the increased three ntelligence products such as the President's Daily Brief (PDB) and the SE ots in the Arabian Peninsula and Europe. Four current intelligence pieces only stand out.	al at in
•	On June 29, 2001, our analysts published a piece in the SEIB entitled "Terrorism: Bin Ladin Threats Are Real" which concluded that recent indications of near-term attacks were not part of a disinformation camp but were consistent with other reporting and public statements by Bin L	
· •	A June 30 SEIB article entitled "Bin Ladin Plans High Profile Attacks,"  al-Qa'ida operatives expected next round of attacks to have dramatic consequences.	
•	Another SEIB article, on July 25, noted that, although one Bin Ladin at had been delayed for a few months, preparations for other, near-term at were still underway.	
•	A SEIB article on August 7, 2001, "Bin Ladin Determined to Strike in underscored Bin Ladin's desire to conduct terrorist attacks in the US homeland. It noted that the Millennium plot to bomb the Los Angeles a might have been Bin Ladin's first serious attempt to strike in the United	irport i
1	States. It pointed out that al-Qa'ida members—including some who are citizens—have resided in or traveled to the US for years, and the group apparently maintains a support structure that could aid attacks.	
ommun	The interagency Intelligence Committee on Terrorism, through CT nity Counterterrorism Board, also issued several threat advisories during the	
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In addition to the analytic effort done in CTC, analysts from across CIA's Directorate of Intelligence contributed to the counterterrorism mission by doing specialized work on topics such as the financial flows that enable terrorism

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	Authorities				· · ·
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	By 199	8, the IC knew th	iat in Bin Ladin we v	vere dealing with	
	more than a 'terrorist financier' an	d that in al-Qa'id	a we were dealing w	ith a	1
	sophisticated and determined globa to the security of Americans at hon	l'terrorist organi	zation that represente	d a serious threat	·
	to the security of Americans at hon	ne and abroad. A	s such, the CIA's stra	tegy against this	
	threat became emphatically offensi	ve			¬
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	by the President during the 1990s es				
	activity against al-Qa'ida but also s	et boundaries aro	und what the Agency	could and	·:
	could not do. Indeed, although these	MONs provide	broad authorities to	render Bin	;
	Ladin, they also gave rise to persist	ant converna izuet	in the Aganov shout	the level and	
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	A December 24,	1998 MON	for the fi	rst time and	horized t	he use of	lethal
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	remained in force	e in all subs	emeni ivi	JIVS			
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ınd tech	in Ladin to justice and destroy al-Qa'ida. It involved building up our HUMINT unical collection capabilities, working with foreign liaison services and friendly pups—including Northern Alliance commander Masood
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in Lad	Operational planning for a capture and rendition operation of
	viay 1998 an operational plan to use a mendiy rocal droat group in stan to capture Bin Ladin and turn him over to US officials.
	The operational proposals were discussed with the White House in May 1998.  The plan also was discussed with other principals, but CIA did not formally submit the plan for approval because we assessed the chances for success as low.  During the same general time frame.  Prince Turki, the
	Saudi Director of General Intelligence, to pressure the Taliban to expel or deport Bin Ladin.
1	and Tanban to exper of deport the fadin.
	In the end, this initiative did not pan out, but given the potential loss of life involved in other plans, we chose to await its outcome.
pprove	In the wake of the East Africa bombings three months later, a plan to use the friendly tribal group to capture Bin Ladin was forwarded to and d by the President in the form of the August 1998 MON. Its authorities, as noted were expanded in subsequent MONs. The following actions were initiated under nority.
	September 1998 - Afghan tribal assets initiated a search and rendition operation in their area of influence. Efforts by this group continued until 11 Sep 2001 without significant results. On 9 Aug 2000, an ambush operation was reportedly launched against a convoy in which UBL was a passenger; it was unsuccessful. We have been unable to confirm that this operation actually took place.
	In addition to the unilateral efforts then underway
	also enlisted for capture and rendition operations against UBL. While

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that a successful operat	ion to capture was r	ot feasible, Fo	llowing receipt of th	is new
directive, the group dev			,	
OHOVE IV. MICHELLIAN INC.	Citates in the commission of t	ì	1	
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			ned an ambush again	
of vehicles in which UI	3L was believed to I	oe a passenger.	. The ambush was te	rminated
when the attackers hear				
			firm that this operation	on activally
tools who a Although th				
took place. Although th				
September 11, 2001 W		tacks, they we	re unable to execute	a
successful operation to	capture UBL.	•	,	
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•	The principal n	eason for the in	nability to execute th	e capture
and render operation wa				
intentions and translated	ex mod	iciy and accur-	ate internsence on tr	
intentions, and travel of				throughout
the operational period.	UBL was absent. to	r extended per	ods of time, from th	e area in
			Heavy sec	urity for
UBL also had an advers	se impact on efforts	by the indigen	ous group to launch	an
operation throughout th				
of the indigenous group				
questions were never ar	iswered satisfactoril	y. This created	l major difficulties in	a making
decisions regarding pro	posed operations ba	sed solely on r	eporting from this g	roup.
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<b>Executing The Plan</b>		1	•.	
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	T- 41	1000 CTA 1	4	1
			an to put in place the	
of its operational strateg				already
had made a significant i	impact on the al Qa	ida organizatio	on and its affiliates.	
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By the sprin	g of 1000 CIA	<del></del>		had
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terrorist cens	s in Albania, Azerba	ujan and		
stopped at le	ast two probable att	acks against U	S interests in Albani	a and in
			ations created disrur	
			re al-Qa'ida was atte	
			believe created dou	
Qa'ida's per	ceptions about its al	ollity to organi	ze and operate with i	impunity.
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This activity was in addition to efforts to bring the perpetrators of the East Africa embassy bombings to justice. CIA operations sent the message that the United States was not only going after al Qa'ida for crimes it had already committed but also seeking out, breaking up, and rendering to justice terrorists engaged in planning future attacks wherever we could find them.

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	There was an important, yet unintended, consequence of our
halle rity p	against the al-Qa'ida target prior to our development of the Plan that deepened enge of identifying and stopping the terrorists' activities. They increased their practices, not only for physically guarding Bin Ladin himself and his senior its, but also for compartmenting terrorist operations.
•	Persistent publicity and leaks of information about our methods in the United States and abroad caused the terrorists to
	emphasize their compartmentation, and recruit individuals for operations who had never attracted any kind of attention
ipal	ional activities to identify, locate, and render to justice Bin Ladin and his lieutenants  We understood that
an a	approach would require the development of the right type of officer
an a	
an a	We knew there were insufficient case officers in CTC.
an a	We knew there were insufficient case officers in CTC.  we started to homebase  Clandestine Service Trainees in CTC. In the meantime, we moved to encourage quality officers from line divisions and other directorates to rotate to CTC Headquarters and overseas slots, directly hired officers with special
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## TOP SECRET

get access to him, and tried to convince the Taliban regime that Bin Ladin was a liability to them.

It should be kept in mind that CIA efforts to get to Bin Ladin and his people in Afghanistan took place against a backdrop of a worldwide effort against

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Section 1						
1 1 1		TOP SECRET.				
		al-Qa'ida. We cooperated with number of specific terrorist plo	foreign liaison service	s throughout the world	l to break up a	
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Control of the second	róm.		:			
:		The Kuala Lumpur M	eeting			
		period that two of the September Hazmi—came across our screen	or 11 hijackers—Khali n, which has raised the	question of how we w	raf al- rere able to	
		identify them but not uncover the	ne plot they were part	of. CIA, in fact, did so	me things on	
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	this case superbly while others revealed flaws in our approach that we subsequently
	addressed.
	Turning first to how we were able to identify al-Mindhar and al-Hazmi,
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	from .
	about the travel of possible Bin Ladin operatives to
· -	Malaysia. As a consequence surveillance
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	concerned that the suspects were traveling to Malaysia to support regional terrorist plans
	or operations.
	The results of these efforts meant that we knew Khalid al-Mihdhar's true
1.	name by early January 2000 and Nawaf al-Hazmi's by early March 2000. These two
	dates, respectively, were our first opportunities to watch list them. We had another
	opportunity to do so in December 2000, when we were able to link one of the Cole
	bombing suspects as a participant in the Kuala Lumpur meeting. In August 2001, as a
	result of increasing concern about an al Qa'ida attack in the US, we reviewed our holdings and on August 23, 2001, sent to the Department of State, FBI, INS, and
	other US Government agencies requesting that al-Hazmi and al-Mihdhar be entered into
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	be watch listed immediately and denied entry into the US.
	The fact that we did not recommend either of them for watch listing in
and the second and a second and	The fact that we did not recommend either of them for watch listing in March or December 2000 is not attributable to a single point failure. Rather, it
يبد بدمج مجترين فعمد المجتمعة الدير	The fact that we did not recommend either of them for watch listing in
يعياء بروميي معتشيهم والمدهد المناف الدامة	The fact that we did not recommend either of them for watch listing in March or December 2000 is not attributable to a single point failure. Rather, it demonstrated that a whole new system was needed, not just a fix at a single point.
يباء برادي معتبين شاه الماد الماد الماد	The fact that we did not recommend either of them for watch listing in March or December 2000 is not attributable to a single point failure. Rather, it
يند بردي محتيره والمحاد المحاد الدي	The fact that we did not recommend either of them for watch listing in March or December 2000 is not attributable to a single point failure. Rather, it demonstrated that a whole new system was needed, not just a fix at a single point.  Ramadan 2000 Plans Disrupted
بيد بدير معتميري فده المان علا الدي	The fact that we did not recommend either of them for watch listing in March or December 2000 is not attributable to a single point failure. Rather, it demonstrated that a whole new system was needed, not just a fix at a single point.  Ramadan 2000 Plans Disrupted  While we did not prevent the attack on the USS Cole,
يبد بدمي مختير و شماد المجاد المدير	The fact that we did not recommend either of them for watch listing in March or December 2000 is not attributable to a single point failure. Rather, it demonstrated that a whole new system was needed, not just a fix at a single point.  Ramadan 2000 Plans Disrupted  While we did not prevent the attack on the USS Cole, we were able, during the Ramadan period in the autumn of 2000, to break up terrorist
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<u> </u>	Attempting to Capture Bin Ladin
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	Let us now turn to our specific activities in the Afghanistan sanctuary to capture and render Bin Ladin.
	sanctually to capture and render bin Launa.
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	None of the available potential capture units were judged to
	None of the available potential capture units were judged to have more than a ten percent chance of capturing Bin Ladin.
	have more than a ten percent chance of capturing Bin Ladin.  fehan tribal group
	have more than a ten percent chance of capturing Bin Ladin.  fehan tribal group  was judged to be unlikely to successfully
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	By late 1999, CIA realized that our chances to accomplish the
local	of the US Government regarding Bin Ladin by using the options described above—Afghan tribes, Masood, and neighboring liaison services—were extremely poor.
	Consequently, we needed a new initiative.
ene Philippin in the Control of the Control	The Predator Initiative
the	After consulting with the Defense Department and others, IA began advocating the use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Afghanistan for
	maissance purposes in the spring of 2000.
	• The idea of using UAVs in Afghanistan originated in April 2000 as a result of

a request from the NSC's Coordinator for Counterterrorism to the CIA and the Department of Defense to come up with new ideas to go after the terrorists in Afghanistan.

• In response, the Assistant DCI for Collection, the Assistant DCI for Military

• In response, the Assistant DCI for Collection, the Assistant DCI for Military Support, and the Director of Military Operations (J-3) at the Pentagon agreed that Predator UAV reconnaissance flights could be a useful source of actionable intelligence of on-the-ground terrorist activity in Afghanistan.

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othor openator are and	The decision to recommend to the NSC that CIA and the ing the program be allowed to proceed with Predator testing and	
operations was made in deliberations and deba	n late May 2000. The decision came only after considerable te at CIA about the Predator's utility as a collection platform, the ircraft should be used, and the risks involved.	
mid-Apoust 2000 the	program was well on track and progressing rapidly.	J
ime ragust 2000, mo	brogram was work our strong und brogramme rabrard.	
Testing ber	gan	
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Afghanistan	able to conduct the first Predator mission over September 7, 2000.	
Aignamstan	September 7, 2000.	
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The Talibar	n unsuccessfully scrambled a Mig-21 during	_
	n CIA expressed concern that the aircraft was vulnerable to	
detection	Such concern intensified after Force notified CIA that it would have to pay for lost aircraft.	
uic OS Air	Porce notified CIA that it would have to pay for lost anciate.	•
	the UAV had completed 10 missions	:
with varying degrees of		·
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•		Te in turn where to what their at this time OTA and the molive
	communi	It is important to note that at this time CIA and the policy ity saw the objectives of the Predator program as two-fold: giving the United
· .		yes on the target" capability and collecting intelligence
_		Twice in the fall of 2000, the Predator observed an individual most likely to
	· · · · ·	be Bin Ladin; however, we had no way at the time to react to this information.
		Dispring began for a 2001
	deployme	Planning began for a 2001 ent, and counterterrorism officials discussed the possibility of capitalizing on an
:	Air Force	e program to weaponize the Predator by adapting it to carry and fire Hellfire
	missiles.	
		CIA recognized that significant issues would need to be resolved to
	•	implement the program.
•		
	•	CIA leadership from the beginning felt it important that there was a full
•	•	understanding by the President and the National Security Council of the
		capabilities of the armed Predator and the implications of its use.
	; .	The decision to advocate arming the Predator followed
	considera	ible depare within the Agency.
		Some contended that the potential risks involved in deploying an armed
•	•	aircraft exceeded the potential intelligence return or operational advantages,
	in the second second second	while others argued that the opportunity to strike at Bin Ladin, if he could be
•		located, would outweigh the risks involved in an aircraft being shot down over
•	•	Afghanistan.
		Another debate centered on whether reconnaissance only
		ould be conducted while the weaponized capability was being engineered and
	policy an	d legal questions were being resolved.
	•	Some maintained that flying the Predator for reconnaissance purposes
		produced high-quality imagery intelligence and insights
		that could not be obtained otherwise.
		Others posed what eventually became the Agency's position: that continued
		use of the UAV for reconnaissance only could reveal to al-Qa ida and the
		Taliban the areas in Afghanistan in which the United States was particularly
	•	interested and possibly result in shooting one down. Either premature
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# discovery or loss would reduce the chances of success if policymakers later decided to use the weaponized aircraft.

Neither DoD nor CIA wanted to assume the cost of lost UAVs. While we finally agreed to split the cost evenly, the question was still in negotiation

It is important to emphasize, however, that this issue, while contentious, did not slow down the program. We continued to work all the preparations for deployment, including resolving several technical problems with the missile, with the full expectation that the funding question would eventually be resolved.

Liability for lost Predators and developing a command and

September 4. As a result, CIA was authorized

control arrangement also emerged as important issues.

reconnaissance purposes only.

#### Continued Warning

The leadership of the Agency repeatedly warned the policy community in the Executive Branch and the Congress of the seriousness of the threat.

- During the Millennium threat in late 1999, we told the President to expect between 5 to 15 terrorist attacks against American interests both here and overseas.
- In spring and summer of 2001, we sought every opportunity to vehemently
  express our concern about the high level of threat, and we launched the
  massive program of disruption described above.
- We placed the Bin Ladin threat prominently in every single annual testimony
  to the appropriate Congressional Committees on the Worldwide Threat since
  1998. In the 1999 testimony, for example, the DCI stated that, "There is not
  the slightest doubt that Bin Ladin is planning attacks against us. He will strike

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### anywhere in the world he thinks we are vulnerable...and I must tell you we are concerned [these strikes] can occur at any time." We also warned about the growing likelihood of an unconventional CBRN attack in the United States homeland and elsewhere. threat from al-Qa'ida was "an immediate and pressing concern." And that, "Despite [our] successes, there are limits to what we can do. We will generally not have specific time and place warning of terrorist attacks...The result...is that I consider it likely that over the next year or so that there will be an attempted terrorist attack against US interests. During the week of July 2, 2001, the DCI contacted by phone approximately 13 of his foreign liaison counterparts to urge them to redouble their efforts against al-Qa'ida. The chief of the Counterterrorist Center, the chief of Near East Division, and others made additional urgent calls. The DCI's concern about the al-Qa'ida threat was such that he sent a memo to the top leaders of the CIA on December 4, 1998 stating the following: "We must now enter a new phase in our effort against Bin Ladin. Our work to date has been remarkable and in some instances heroic, yet each day we all acknowledge that retaliation is inevitable and that its scope may be far larger than we have previously experienced. We must redouble our efforts against Bin Ladin himself, his infrastructure, followers, finances, etc. with a sense of enormous urgency. We are at war. I want no resources or people spared in this effort, either inside CIA or the Community." Even with the intense focus on terrorism in general and Bin Ladin in particular, the Intelligence Community had to deal with several other major challenges that demanded the highest attention. Some issues were themselves closely linked to terrorism, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the danger that some terrorist group would acquire such weapons. In this regard, we have worked extensively—both operationally and analytically—on the danger of rogue elements helping terrorists gain access to these weapons.

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US policy and our military forces

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Throughout the 1990s and beyond, we were intensely engaged in supporting

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and analysis. A	nd some of these	ies nad resource con issues required incr our efforts on terror	eased tasking of col	lection assets that	
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Afghanistan co	vered a wide array	eptember 2001 our v of capabilities tha	t could help bring at	out CIA's	
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	Following UBL	's departure from S	udan in the spring o	f 1996, we had	<u></u>
intelligence ope	erations targeting I	nis Afghanistan pre	sence		
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By	spring 1998 we ha	ad opened contact v	vith the Northern Al	liance's	
Commander Ma	asood and the UIS	FA	t.		
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	The period follo	wing the DCI's De	cember 4, 1998 decl	aration of war	ـا · ·.
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prior to S methods,	During the IC's nearly decade-long war with Bin Ladin and al-Qa'ida eptember 11 we learned enormously about the threat—their intentions, their their tactics, their determination, their strengths, and their vulnerabilities.
•	We used this knowledge to improve our operations, to exploit every opportunity to collect information on the threat, and to gauge the risks and costs of what it would take to defeat the enemy.
•	We also used it to provide strategic warning that al-Qa'ida was the number one threat to the security of Americans and that a major attack against US interests, possibly including even the US homeland, was coming. We succeeded in giving the policymaker a good appreciation of the increasing danger the US faced from the terrorists.
obtaining attacks ag	Al-Qa'ida's extreme security measures, compartmentation, and ated tradecraft, as well as their sanctuary in Afghanistan, prevented us from the detailed information required to provide tactical warning of the major gainst our embassies in East Africa, of the bombing of the USS Cole, and of the of September 11.
•	In each of these cases, we saw the smoke but could not see the flames directly.
headlines	When we talk about results, it is natural to focus on those instances when operations succeed by making horrific headlines. Seldom do we discuss the that might have been were it not for disruptions by the heroic efforts of our ice and law enforcement officers.
•	Examples of those headlines would include: "Hundreds killed during Millennium terror attacks"
1. Martinger	to name a few where we know plots were successfully disrupted.
prospects	The IC's war with al-Qa'ida taught us a few ingredients that boost the for success:
•	The various INTs working together produce better results.
•	Close cooperation with friendly liaison services is essential.
•	Aggressively tracking down all leads increases the chances for disruption.
•	Finally, good luck helps.
Tirana is	Our success in thwarting the plot US Embassy in an excellent example
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	December 2000, CIA worked with		to detect and pres	mpt
	attacks.		•	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
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	In the	spring and summ	ner 2001, we launched another	
ļ	massive disruption errort in response	to the increase in	n terrorist operational activity	ind
	indicators of imminent attacks. Our a	actions stopped se	everal attacks and probably car	ısed
•	terrorists to postpone others. For exa	mple		
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	The IC also we	a at vera suith other	er terrorist groups, not just al-	
	Qa'ida. And we scored successes on		a terrorist groups, not just ai-	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
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Impact o	f September 11	. ·
inhibition	The tragedies of September 11 did what the Intelligence Community's incessant warnings could not do. They galvanized the attention and ended the as of the US Government; they galvanized and enraged the American people in they galvanized foreign governments to take strong measures against	3
•	We, together with our allies, used our military power to clean out the terror den that Afghanistan had become.	ist
•	We are spending billions of dollars in addressing lax security measures are our nation's transportation infrastructure, particularly airports.	und
•	We are implementing vastly increased security measures around our energy and industrial infrastructure.	γ <sub>.</sub> .
•	We are revamping the process surrounding the administration of foreign student visas and developing the kinds of information flows to keep track of foreign visitors.	f
Intelligen	We have significantly expanded the authorities and resources of the ice and Law Enforcement Communities to target the terrorist threat.	. `
•	The USA Patriot Act of 2001, among other things, removed legal impediments to the ability of law enforcement agencies to share with CIA	· ]·
_	Because of the strong support we have received from these Committees and	i .
of a many laters or the later of the later o	the Congress, we have significantly increased the funding and security, logistics, technology, and communications support to our counterterrorism objectives.	
	These new resources have buttressed our pre-September 11 initiatives to	-
	None of these authorities, resources, and measures would have been hout the traumatic impact of September 11. There is now a whole new approace of homeland security.	ach
•	This country's infrastructure was absolutely unprotected, and we have been helping the President's Homeland Security Coordinator Tom Ridge think through how to protect it.	ι, .

## TOP SECRET The attacks changed all the rules—perhaps forever.

#### The War with Terrorism: A Look Ahead

The war with international terrorism continues, and the fight will be long and difficult.

- It will require the patience and diligence that the President has asked for.
- It will require resources—sustained over a multi-year period—to re-capitalize our intelligence infrastructure at a pace that matches the changing technical and operational environment we face.
- It will also require countries that have previously ignored the problem of terrorism or refused to cooperate with us to step up and choose sides.
- It will require even closer sharing of information between intelligence and law enforcement agencies.

And despite all our efforts, another major terrorist attack is not just possible, but likely.

Our effectiveness has increased since September 11, and the Intelligence
Community will continue to be riveted to an offensive strategy of bringing
that war to the terrorists. But, in the counterterrorism business there is no such
thing as 100 percent success, and there never will be.

 A 1.000 batting average would mean the complete absence of terrorism, which would be extraordinary and unprecedented.

As we look ahead in this war with terrorism, and Congress tries to legislate effective measures against the threat, significant questions arise about security and freedom, safety and privacy, which call for extensive public debate and careful consideration by Congress. Terrorists have learned to exploit the vulnerabilities inherent in a free, open, and democratic society like ours.

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intern	ational politics and o	ur own vulnerabili	y," and that the to	errorist attacks	
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