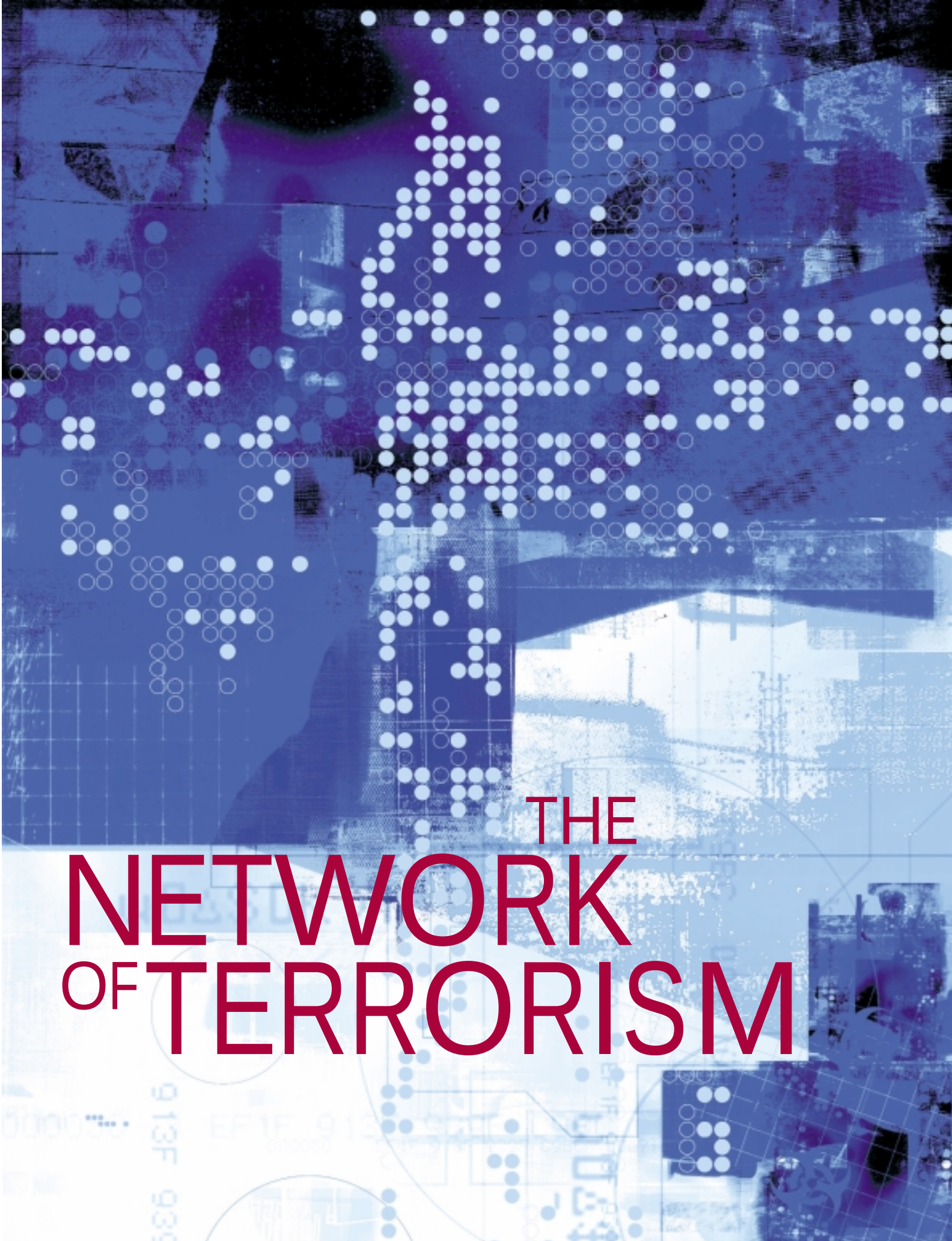
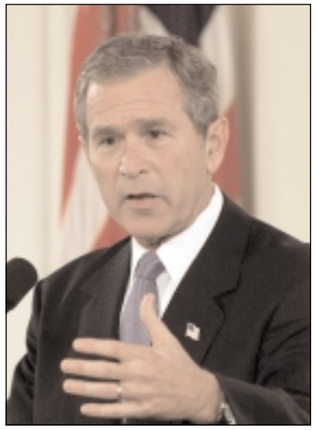


THE NETWORK OF TERRORISM

AN ATTACK ON THE CIVILIZED WORLD



"One month ago today, innocent citizens from some 80 nations were attacked and killed, without warning or provocation, in an act that horrified not only every American, but every person of every faith, and every nation that values human life.

The attack took place on American soil, but it was an attack on the heart and soul of the civilized world. And the world has come together to fight a new and different war, the first, and we hope the only one, of the 21st century. A war against all those who seek to export terror, and a war against those governments that support or shelter them.

We're mounting a sustained campaign to drive the terrorists out of their hidden caves and to bring them to justice....At the same time, we are showing the compassion of America by delivering food and medicine to the Afghan people who are, themselves, the victims of a repressive regime.

We're angry at the evil that was done to us, yet patient and just in our response....Our war on terrorism has nothing to do with differences in faith. It has everything to do with people of all faiths coming together to condemn hate and evil and murder and prejudice.

People often ask me, how long will this last? This particular battlefront will last as long as it takes to bring al Qaeda to justice. It may happen tomorrow; it may happen a month from now; it may take a year or two. But we will prevail."

President George W. Bush
October 11, 2001

THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO END GLOBAL TERRORISM

DEFEATING TERROR

DEFENDING FREEDOM

Today,
the United States,
joined by nations throughout the world,
is engaged in a sustained effort to identify and destroy
a global network of terrorists. With our abiding faith in human life
and freedom, we will prevail over those who, cynically exploiting the
fears of others, offer nothing but suffering and death.

"Islam,
the religion of tolerance,
holds the human soul
in high esteem
and considers the attack
against innocent
human beings
a grave sin....
I categorically go against
a committed
Muslim's embarking on
such attacks.
Islam never allows
a Muslim to kill
the innocent
and the helpless."

— Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi,
Muslim scholar, Doha, Qatar
IslamOnline & News Agencies, September 13, 2001

"Our war on terrorism has nothing to do with differences in faith," President Bush said. "It has everything to do with people of all faiths coming together to condemn hate and evil and murder and prejudice."

This worldwide campaign against terror has many faces, some highly visible, others not:

- In Afghanistan, U.S. forces, with coalition support, are conducting military operations to root out and destroy the al Qaeda terror network and its Taliban supporters.
- International relief agencies, with U.S. assistance, are providing food, medicine, and shelter for Afghan refugees who have endured the humanitarian disaster over which the Taliban have presided.
- Law enforcement agencies are identifying and arresting suspected terrorists, and governments are freezing the financial assets of terrorists and their supporters.
- In the United States and around the world, families gather to mourn for the dead of September 11, and to care for the families bereft of sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers.
- At the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, workers continue to clear wreckage and begin the process of rebuilding.

Yet out of this pain and loss, we can already see a renewed determination to find the perpetrators of these acts and to defend the values of humanity, diversity, and freedom that unite the world community.

How did we reach this time of sorrow and resolve, pain and hope?

DAY OF BLOOD AND FIRE

In describing the events of September 11, 2001, it is easy to fall back on familiar, journalistic terms and refer to attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon as if the buildings were the chief victims. The reality, of course, is much different: Within the space of two hours, more than 5,000 men, women, and children were terrorized, tortured, slashed with knives, burned to death, and crushed under tons of rubble in a premeditated act of mass murder. In addition, 4,000 or more children lost a parent that day in the terrorist attacks, according to the Twin Towers Orphan Fund.

The basic facts: On the morning of September 11, terrorists operating in bands of four to five hijacked four commercial jetliners departing from airports on the East Coast of the United States. Using knives and box cutters, the 19 hijackers transformed *(continued on page 6)*

THE HIJACKINGS

The worst act of terrorism on U.S. soil was committed on September 11, 2001, when bands of four to five terrorists took control of four airliners, United Airlines Flights 93 and 175 and American Airlines Flights 11 and 77. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) knows from witness accounts of cell phone conversations with passengers on the hijacked airliners that the terrorists eluded security measures and used cardboard-box cutters and razors to take control of the four aircraft. Hijackers also smuggled other types of knives through airport security and turned off cockpit transponders to evade detection by air traffic controllers, investigators believe. Security experts say the hijackers almost certainly scouted their locations with care, choosing flights and airports that would give them the greatest chance of success.

The events aboard United Airlines Flight 93 are perhaps the best known. Bound from Newark, New Jersey, to San Francisco, California, the Boeing 757 was loaded with more than enough fuel to carry it across the continent. The hijackers chose a busy metropolitan airport. They picked a plane that was making a nonstop flight, departing early on a Tuesday morning, a week after the Labor Day holiday — factors that almost guaranteed fewer passengers and, more important, less opposition. The terrorists also appear to have had help. Sources say the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) received bomb threats for three or four other planes in the air that morning, creating a distraction that would give the hijacked planes extra time to change course without being noticed.

United Airlines Flight 93 was airborne by 8:44 a.m., according to radar logs, and headed west, flying apparently without incident until it reached Cleveland, Ohio, about 50 minutes later. Passengers reported that hijackers brandished cigarette lighters with hidden switchblades to take control of the jetliner once it was airborne. At 9:37 a.m., the plane turned south and headed back the way it came. Descriptions from people aboard Flight 93 indicate that there was pandemonium on the plane. Four men wearing red headbands and speaking with accents killed a passenger, rushed the cockpit, injured both pilots, and took over flying the aircraft. The remaining passengers and crew were split into two groups — a few were held in the first-class compartment but most were moved to the galley in the rear of the plane.

One of the hijackers — the one watching the passengers in the galley — had a small red box tied to his waist with a belt; he said the box was a bomb. CNN reported that it had obtained a partial transcript of cockpit chatter and talked with a source who had listened to the air-traffic control tape. The source said that a man had said in broken English: "This is the captain speaking. Remain in your seat. There is a bomb on board. Stay quiet. We are meeting with their demands. We are returning to the airport."

Passengers on cell phones learned of the crashes at the World Trade Center and formulated a plan to respond to the hijackers. After making a number of odd maneuvers in midair — indications of a struggle to gain control of the plane — Flight 93 slammed nose-first into a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, killing everyone on board. *(continued on page 4)*

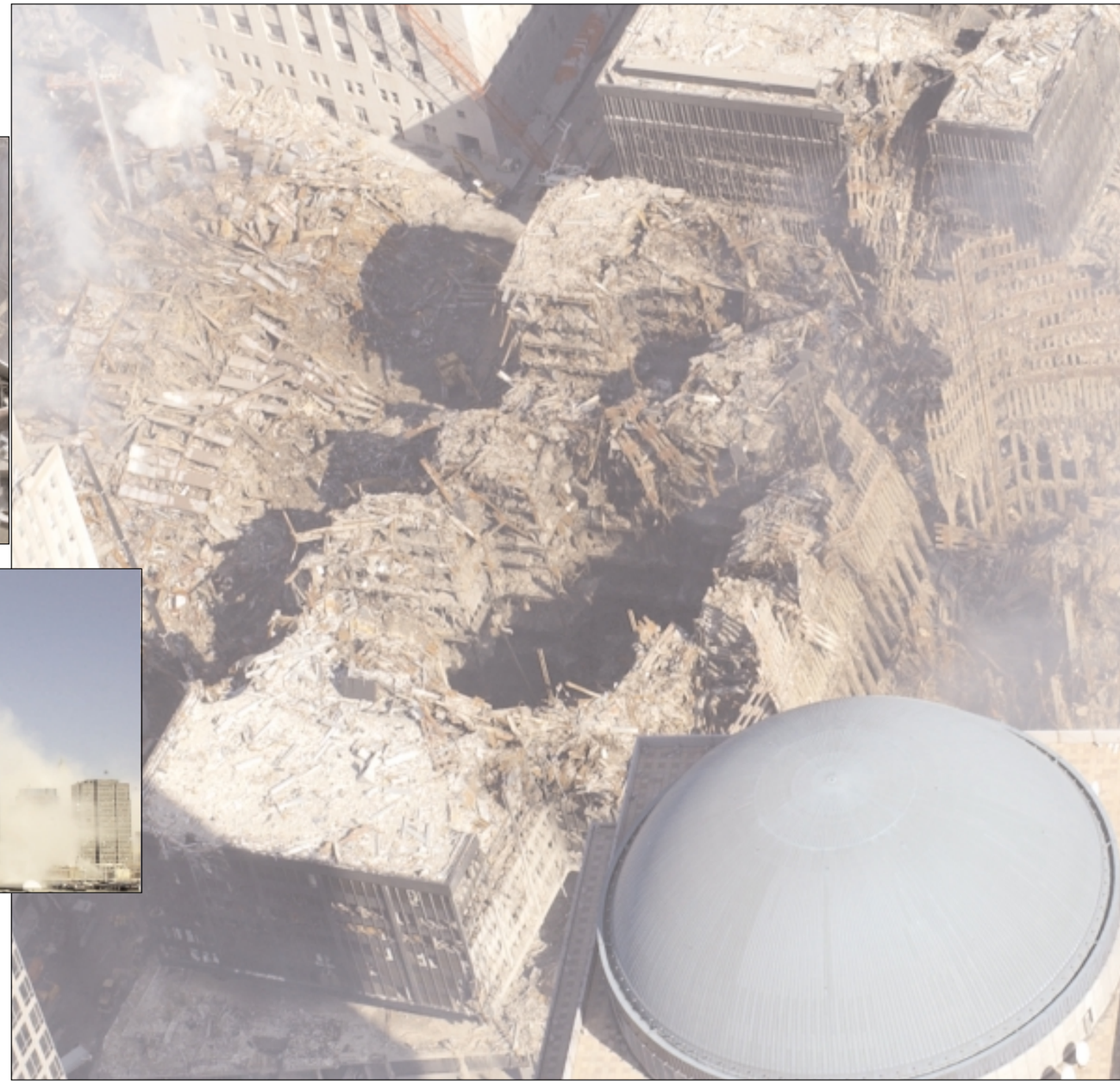
(continued from page 3)

Similar stories abound from the other doomed flights of September 11. Hijackers told passengers that the planes flying from Boston, Massachusetts, to Los Angeles, California, would be used as bombs and crash into New York City. A flight attendant on one of those planes — American Airlines Flight 11 — made a cellular phone call in which she said several "Middle Eastern men" had used knives to wound passengers. The cell phone call sheds light on how a few men armed only with small knives or box cutters could quickly commandeer an airliner: they did not hesitate to draw blood.

On American Airlines Flight 77, a passenger described how several men with knives and box cutters had hustled passengers to the rear of the Boeing 757 aircraft after it had departed from Washington's Dulles International Airport en route to Los Angeles. About an hour after takeoff on Tuesday morning, Flight 77 became a massive missile aimed apparently at Washington, D.C. The target changed suddenly as the unidentified pilot executed a pivot so tight it reminded observers of a fighter jet. The plane cut 270 degrees to the right to approach the Pentagon from the southwest; it fell below radar level and vanished from controllers' screens, the sources said. Aviation experts said the plane was flown with skill, making it highly likely that a trained pilot — possibly one of the hijackers — was at the helm.

If a plane's pilots were killed, forced out of the cockpit, or incapacitated, it would be relatively simple to steer a jumbo jet into the World Trade Center or the Pentagon, aviation and security experts said. "We have to assume that the pilots were no longer a factor; they were either shot or killed somehow," said retired Air Force Colonel Dale Oderman. ❑

Osama bin Laden (center), the prime suspect in the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, with his top lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahri of the Egyptian Jihad group (left), and an unidentified bodyguard.



Clockwise from above: Forever changed, the New York City skyline is awash in smoke for hours following the collapse of the World Trade Center after two hijacked airliners crashed into the twin 110-story towers; firefighters make their way through the rubble of the World Trade Center on September 11; looking down at "ground zero," the site of the World Trade Center, one week after the attack.

(continued from page 2)

planes into huge, fuel-laden missiles. The killers crashed two of them into New York's World Trade Center and a third into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Passengers and crew heroically fought with the hijackers aboard the fourth plane, apparently headed toward another Washington target. The plane crashed in Pennsylvania, killing all aboard.

The attacks inside the planes were brutal and calculated. In the inhuman words found in luggage left behind by one of the killers: "Let each find his blade for the prey to be slaughtered." The hijackers either killed or wounded the pilots, and stabbed and killed passengers. Reports indicate that, in several instances, flight attendants had their throats slashed with their arms helplessly bound behind them.

But the horror was only beginning. Along with the hundreds of passengers who died aboard the planes, more than 4,800 human beings died in the fire and wreckage of the World Trade Center. Many were trapped and killed immediately following the impact of the planes into the towers; some, forced by intense flames, fell or jumped from windows on high floors. And tragically, the intense flames weakened structures that survived the actual impact of the planes; in less than two hours from the first impact, both towers imploded, killing thousands, including the citizens of 78 countries and people of virtually every religious faith and ethnic group in the world today.

In Washington, 189 people died at the Pentagon, including those aboard the plane; 45 died aboard the fourth plane, which crashed in rural Pennsylvania.

The terrorists may have thought that, in attacking the World Trade Center, they were attacking a "symbol of America." They weren't. Instead, they attacked an institution of international trade, prosperity, and economic opportunity. Along with government offices of Thailand, Chile, and Côte d'Ivoire, for example, the World Trade Center held offices of 430 companies from 28 countries.

In short, the terrorists attacked not just the United States, they attacked the world.

MURDEROUS DECLARATIONS

The September 11 atrocity is the responsibility of the al Qaeda terrorist network, headed by Osama bin Laden.

Clockwise from above: An emergency worker helps a woman who was injured in the attack on the World Trade Center; pedestrians scramble for safety as the first World Trade Center tower collapses; destruction and debris at the Pentagon, near Washington, D.C., after a hijacked jetliner crashed into the southwest side of the building on September 11, 2001; a person falls headfirst after jumping from the inferno of the World Trade Center following the crash of an airliner into the north tower. More than 5,000 people were killed in New York and Washington and in the crash of a fourth hijacked airliner in Pennsylvania.

"Attacking innocent people is not courageous; it is stupid and will be punished on the day of judgment. It's not courageous to attack innocent children, women, and civilians. It is courageous to protect freedom; it is courageous to defend oneself and not to attack."

— Sheikh Mohammed Sayyed al-Tantawi of Al-Azhar mosque and university, Cairo, Egypt
Agence France-Presse, September 14, 2001

- Before September 11, bin Laden indicated that he was planning an attack on the United States.
- In August and September, bin Laden operatives around the world were warned to return to Afghanistan by September 10.
- One of bin Laden's closest associates has been identified as conducting detailed planning for the September 11 attacks.
- Of the 19 hijackers, at least three have been identified as al Qaeda operatives.
- At least one hijacker is known to have been involved in the attack on the Navy ship USS *Cole* and the bombings of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.
- In tracking the hijackers' movements prior to September 11, investigators have found that many of them met with bin Laden operatives and regularly received money and support from the al Qaeda network.

More broadly, the planning, pattern, and character of the September attacks were similar to those of previous al Qaeda terrorist attacks. The September 11 operation involved long-term planning, coordinated actions, lack of warning, use of suicide attackers, and an effort to kill and maim as many people as possible, including Muslims and citizens of other nations.

In his notorious, pre-taped statement released on October 7, bin Laden said, "God has blessed a group of vanguard Muslims, the forefront of Islam, to destroy America." Taken as a whole, his words amount to a confession and acceptance of responsibility for the September 11 attacks — and falsely invoke the faith of Islam to justify mass killing. But this is only the latest in a series of bin Laden pronouncements:

- In his 1996 "Declaration of Jihad," he urged coordinated efforts to kill Americans and encouraged others to attack the American "enemy."
- In a 1998 statement published in the Arabic newspaper *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*, he stated that Muslims should kill Americans — including civilians — "anywhere in the world where they can be found."
- In a 1999 interview on the Arabic-language al Jazeera television, bin Laden stated, "Our enemy … is every American male, whether he is directly fighting us or paying taxes."
- In two 1997 and 1998 television interviews, he specifically described the terrorists who bombed the World Trade Center in 1993 as role models and urged his followers to "take the fighting to America."

HIJACKING THE WORLD

Al Qaeda's record of death and destruction extends back long before September 11. In October 1993, operatives trained by al Qaeda killed 18 U.S. soldiers serving with United Nations peacekeeping forces in Somalia. This organization bombed the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998, killing 223 and wounding more than 4,000 — the overwhelming majority of them Kenyans. And in October 2000, these terrorists attacked the Navy ship USS *Cole* with a bomb-laden small boat, killing 17 American crew members.

Al Qaeda is closely tied to the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, and other terrorist groups.

Al Qaeda doesn't take credit for its failures, but it is implicated in other terrorist conspiracies. In January 1995, Philippine authorities discovered a plan to blow up as many as 12 jetliners as they crossed the Pacific. In Jordan, authorities foiled the so-called Millennium Plot to attack Westerners across Jordan during the January 1, 2000, celebrations. A plan to bomb Los Angeles International Airport failed when customs officials at the Canadian border found bomb materials in a car. Authorities in Frankfurt, Germany, arrested members of a terrorist cell who were assembling bombs and had surveillance tapes of a crowded Christmas market in Strasbourg, France.

Al Qaeda is by no means the only terrorist band operating today. On October 10, the United States issued a "List of Most Wanted Terrorists." Along with al Qaeda suspects, the 22 names include suspects who

Muslim-American woman prays at the Islamic Society of Nevada on Friday, September 14, 2001, during a special service for the victims of the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington. President Bush declared that day a national day of remembrance and prayer.

THE TOLL IN THE U.S. EMBASSY BOMBINGS IN AFRICA

On August 7, 1998, terrorists associated with al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden bombed American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The vast majority of those killed and injured in these bombings were Kenyans and Tanzanians.

Location	Killed	Wounded
Nairobi	212*	Over 4,000
Dar es Salaam	11**	72***

** includes 12 Americans, 31 Kenyans employed by the U.S. embassy*

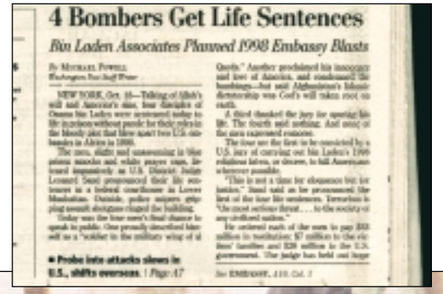
*** includes 7 Tanzanians employed by the U.S. embassy*

**** includes 2 Americans*

Opposite page: Rescue workers carry an employee of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, following a terrorist bombing on August 7, 1998. Bombs exploded minutes apart outside the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 223 people and injuring over 4,000. On October 18, 2001, four operatives of Osama bin Laden were sentenced in U.S. District Court in New York City to life in prison for their roles in the bloody plot.

Top: U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Prudence Bushnell is overcome with emotion after laying a wreath at the site of the embassy bombing in Nairobi a few days after the attack. Above: A Kenyan woman, who was an employee of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, speaks to the media after arriving for treatment at Landstuhl Regional Medical Center in Germany.

hijacked a TWA jetliner in 1985 and killed an American passenger; detonated a tanker truck in 1996 at Khobar Towers, a military housing complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. Air Force personnel and wounding 280; and bombed the World Trade Center in 1993, killing six and wounding hundreds.



4 Bombers Get Life Sentences

Bin Laden Associates Planned 1998 Embassy Blasts

By Michael Powell
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Oct. 18—Taking of Allah's will and America's sins, four disciples of Osama bin Laden were sentenced today to life in prison without parole for their role in the bloody plot that blew apart two U.S. embassies in Africa in 1998.

The men, shifty and unnerving in blue prison smocks and white prayer caps, listened impassively as U.S. District Judge Leonard B. Sand pronounced their life sentences in a federal courthouse in Lower Manhattan. Outside, police snipers gripping assault shotgun stalked the building.

Today was the four men's final chance to speak in public. One proudly described himself as a "soldier in the military wing of al Qaeda."

Another proclaimed his innocence and love of America, and condemned the bombings—but said Afghanistan's Islamic dictatorship was God's will taken root on earth.

A third thanked the jury for sparing his life. The fourth said nothing. And none of the men expressed remorse.

The four are the first to be convicted by a U.S. jury of carrying out bin Laden's 1998 religious fatwa, or decree, to kill Americans wherever possible.

"This is not a time for eloquence but for justice," Sand said as he pronounced the first of the four life sentences. Terrorism is "the most serious threat . . . to the society of any civilized nation."

He ordered each of the men to pay $10 million in restitution: $7 million to the victims' families and $20 million to the U.S. government. The judge has held out hope

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■ Probe into attacks slows in U.S., shifts overseas | Page A7

See EMBASSY, A10, Col. 1

THE TALIBAN CONNECTION

Over the past 20 years, 4 million Afghans have fled the country as refugees. Since taking power in 1996, the Taliban regime in Afghanistan has presided over a humanitarian catastrophe. Millions have fled drought, war, and the repressive policies of the Taliban, including 80,000 to 100,000 who have fled since September 11.

The Taliban, operating one of the most repressive and abusive regimes in the world today, have systematically violated every basic norm of human rights. They have attacked and burned towns, summarily killed civilians, conscripted children into the military, and profited from heroin trafficking.

The regime's assault on women is unprecedented in modern times. Women are prevented from attending schools or conducting business, denied access to health

"Just as he must not be allowed to get away with the terrorist hijackings and cold-blooded murder of September 11, Osama bin Laden must not be allowed to get away with hijacking Islam and the good name of religion generally."

— Joint statement of the Canadian office of the Council on American-Islamic Relations and the Canadian Muslim Civil Liberties Association
October 17, 2001

care, and forbidden to leave their homes without male escorts. Widows or women without a male relative, with or without children, are essentially treated as non-persons by the state and often face starvation.

But these are not the reasons why the United States is now conducting military operations in Afghanistan. The United States is using military force because the Taliban, despite repeated warnings, have continued to provide support and shelter to Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda terrorists.

More accurately, the evidence now indicates that the Taliban have been bought and paid for by bin Laden's money. Rather than describe the relationship as "state-supported terrorism," the Taliban can be characterized as a "terrorist-supported state." Al Qaeda has provided the Taliban with training, weapons, soldiers, and money — lots of it. The Taliban, in turn, provide safe haven and logistical facilities.

It is these malignant networks — the Taliban and al Qaeda — that the United States is targeting in its military campaign, not the Afghan people. The United States repeatedly warned the Taliban that they must either hand over bin Laden and his associates, or share their fate. They have chosen the latter, and forced the Afghan people to suffer as the al Qaeda network inside the country is methodically located and destroyed.

The civilian casualties suffered by the Afghan people during the air campaign are tragic, and they could be avoided but for the Taliban and al Qaeda, who bear the responsibility for the suffering of the innocent. Unlike terrorists, the United States doesn't target civilians: it strives to protect them. It is the Taliban that choose to protect an organization whose declared purpose is the killing of civilians. Both the Taliban and al Qaeda continue to use innocents as human shields, and both rob food and shelter from the Afghan people.

AFGHANISTAN'S FUTURE

Afghanistan's immediate future will be difficult, but it can be one of hope, if only because the Taliban and al Qaeda will soon be consigned to the past.

On the humanitarian front, the United States and other nations, working as part of an international coalition with the UN World Food Program and other international relief organizations, continue to take steps to avert the human tragedy brought on by the Taliban. Even before the September 11 *(continued on page 16)*

THE TALIBAN'S BETRAYAL OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE

The Afghan people have been the primary victims of Taliban misrule since the Taliban came to power in 1996. The Taliban have made them the unwilling hosts of foreign armed terrorists, who have exploited and endangered the Afghan people and made Afghanistan a pariah in the world community. This fact sheet outlines documented atrocities and human rights abuses committed by the Taliban against the Afghan people.

Massacres: The Taliban have massacred hundreds of Afghan civilians, including women and children, in Yakaolang, Mazar-I-Sharif, Bamiyan, Qezelabad, and other towns. Many of the victims of these massacres were targeted because of their ethnic or religious identity.

Human Rights Abuses Against Women and Girls: Girls are formally prohibited from attending school. Women are prohibited, with very few exceptions, from working outside the home and are forbidden to leave their homes except in the company of a male relative. The Taliban have significantly reduced women's access to health care by decreeing that women can be treated only by women doctors.

The Taliban and the Humanitarian Situation: Twenty years of internal armed conflict and four years of devastating drought have contributed to a grim situation, but the Taliban have made the situation much worse, holding the Afghan people hostage to a corrupt agenda. The Taliban do not share the hardships they have imposed on the Afghan people, and they have done nothing to alleviate these hardships. The Taliban have disrupted the efforts of international relief agencies to deliver desperately needed food and medical supplies.

The Taliban and Islam: The Taliban have used Islam as a cloak to practice ethnic cleansing in Afghanistan. Warning against "converting our countries into another Afghanistan," Saudi writer Turki Al Hamad, writing in *As-Sharq Al Awsat*, put it this way: "...[under the Taliban], Islam would be relegated from a world religion with a global human and civilized mission to a Taliban-like dogma that bans pigeon breeding, long hair, kite flying, and listening to music."

Destruction of Afghan Culture: The Taliban have perverted Afghan customs, tradition, and religious practice for their own narrow political interests. They have looted and destroyed the historical and cultural patrimony of the Afghan people — the Kabul Museum, formerly one of the finest museums in the region, is largely empty; the centuries-old Buddhist statues in Bamiyan have been reduced to rubble.

For more information on Afghanistan, see this web site: http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/sasia.

al Qaeda Taliban terrorist network

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has identified these 19 individuals as the hijackers aboard the four airliners that crashed in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001.

Nawaf Alhazmi

Saeed Alghamdi

Fayez Rashid Ahmed Hassan Al Qadi Banihammad

Ahmad Ibrahim A. Al Haznawi

Ahmed Alghamdi

Hamza Alghamdi

Abdulaziz Alomari

Salem Alhazmi

Ziad Samir Jarrah

Khalid Almihdhar

Mohamed Atta

Wail M. Alshehri

Waleed M. Alshehri

Majed Moqed

Hani Hanjour

Mohand Alshehri

Satam M. A. Al Suqami

Ahmed Alnami

Marwan Al-Shehhi

Osama bin Laden and 21 others comprise the FBI's "Most Wanted Terrorists" list.

Hasan Izz-Al-Din was indicted for his role in planning and participating in the June 14,1985, hijacking of a commercial airliner that resulted in the assault on passengers and crew and the murder of one U.S. citizen.

Imad Fayez Mugniyah was indicted for his role in planning and participating in the June 14, 1985, hijacking of a commercial airliner that resulted in the assault on passengers and crew and the murder of one U.S. citizen.

Mustafa Mohamed Fadhil was indicted in New York on December 16,1998, for his alleged involvement in the August 7,1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and conspiring to kill U.S. nationals.

Fazul Abdullah Mohammed was indicted in New York on September 17, 1998, for his alleged involvement in the August 7,1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Osama bin Laden is wanted in connection with the August 7, 1998, bombings of the United States embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya. These attacks killed over 200 people. In addition, Bin Laden is a suspect in other terrorist attacks throughout the world.

Ibrahim Salih Mohammed Al-Yacoub has been indicted in Virginia for the June 25, 1996, bombing of the Khobar Towers military housing complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

Ahmed Mohammed Hamed Ali is wanted in connection with the August 7, 1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Abdul Rahman Yasin is wanted for his alleged participation in the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York, on February 26, 1993, which resulted in six deaths, numerous injuries, and significant destruction of property.

Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani was indicted in New York on December 16, 1998, for his alleged involvement in the August 7, 1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Fahid Mohammed Ally Msalam was indicted in New York on December 16,1998, for his alleged involvement in the August 7, 1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and conspiring to kill U.S. nationals.

Ali Atwa was indicted for his role and participation in the June 14, 1985, hijacking of a commercial airliner that resulted in the assault on passengers and crew and the murder of one U.S. citizen.

Anas Al-Liby is wanted in connection with the August 7, 1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Ahmad Ibrahim Al-Mughassil has been indicted in Virginia for the June 25, 1996, bombing of the Khobar Towers military housing complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

Muhsin Musa Matwalli Atwah is wanted in connection with the August 7, 1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Abdullah Ahmed Abdullah has been indicted for his alleged involvement in the August 7, 1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Sheikh Ahmed Salim Swedan was indicted in New York on December 16,1998, for his alleged involvement in the August 7,1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and conspiring to kill U.S. nationals.

Abdelkarim Hussein Mohamed Al-Nasser has been indicted in Virginia for the June 25, 1996, bombing of the Khobar Towers military housing complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

Ayman Al-Zawahiri has been indicted for his alleged role in the August 7, 1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Khalid Shaikh Mohammed was indicted in New York in January 1996 for his alleged involvement in a plot to bomb commercial airliners flying to the U.S. from Southeast Asia in January 1995.

Saif Al-Adel is wanted in connection with the August 7,1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Muhammad Atef was indicted for alleged involvement with the August 7, 1998, bombings of U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.

Ali Saed Bin Ali El-Hoorie has been indicted in Virginia for the June 25, 1996, bombing of the Khobar Towers military housing complex.

"Such attacks
on such a grand scale —
it's very outrageous,
it's worth every
condemnation.
Whoever carried out
the attack
did not have a right
to do it in the name of
the religion,
namely Islam....
Killing innocents
to achieve a target
has never been the heart
of the religion."

— Yusuf Muhammad,
Muslim cleric, Jakarta, Indonesia
Reuters, September 14, 2001

(continued from page 12) tragedy, the United States had long been the largest single donor of humanitarian supplies to the Afghan people, donating some $180 million in humanitarian assistance last year. President Bush recently announced that the United States will contribute another $320 million in Afghan aid. U.S. planes have airdropped hundreds of thousands of individual rations to needy areas inside the country. Approximately 85 percent of the more than 200,000 metric tons of food aid — either in transit or stored in the region — comes from the United States.

Recently, the United States announced a five-point strategy to meet Afghanistan's humanitarian crisis:

- Reduce death rates by opening every possible pipeline to move food, seed, blankets, and health kits into the country before winter.
- Minimize population movements by moving as much food as possible to villages and rural areas.
- Lower and stabilize food prices by selling significant amounts of food to local merchants.
- Ensure that aid reaches the needy and prevent the Taliban from looting or manipulating aid.
- Begin developmental relief programs that will encourage Afghans to start rebuilding homes, villages, farms, and markets where possible.

Afghans, not outsiders, must determine the future of their country. Secretary of State Colin Powell said, "We want to see eventually arise a government that represents all the people of Afghanistan, that is prepared to take care of the needs of its people, not repress its people. And so we are in touch with all of the different factions to see how such a government could arise if the Taliban were to collapse and go out of power."

In addition to the strategy for assistance inside Afghanistan, the United States is providing assistance, through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international organizations, to the millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan and other neighboring countries.

THE INTERNATIONAL COALITION

The world community has confronted the threat posed by global terrorism with an unprecedented worldwide coalition that is employing every tool of national and international power at its command: diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence, financial investigation, military action, and humanitarian aid. Just

BUILDING COALITIONS

Left: President Bush confers with German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. Below left: The upper house of the Japanese Diet passes anti-terrorism legislation. Below right: The Canadian destroyer HCMS *Iroquois* heads out to join the war against terrorism.

as terrorism constitutes a fluid, elusive enemy, so the new anti-terror alliance has assumed new and flexible forms in which different countries assume different levels of action and responsibility.

Already, the war against global terrorism has achieved important successes. On the diplomatic front, for example, a UN Security Council resolution, adopted unanimously, obligates all 189 members to end all terrorist activity and support, and to bring the perpetrators of terrorism to justice.

"We cannot overestimate the importance of that trailblazing resolution," said Secretary Powell. "No resources plus no refuge ultimately equals no escape."

Investigators throughout the world have arrested hundreds of individuals with possible ties to al Qaeda and other terrorist networks. The threat of future attacks remains, but the sustained pressure of police work and intelligence gathering, coupled with military operations in Afghanistan, means that al Qaeda is on the run and its network is being dismantled cell by cell, cave by cave.

Killing and hate take money. Drying up the financial sources of terror is vital to end the terrorist threat. More than 112 nations have issued blocking orders and frozen assets used to finance terrorism, which have been found everywhere from bank accounts in the United States to relief organizations in Europe and chains of honey shops in the Middle East. The 29-nation Financial Action Task Force has played a particularly active role in coordinating efforts to identify and stop financial flows to terrorist organizations.

Nations bring their own experiences, concerns, and even policy differences to this effort. That is inevitable, and positive; the diversity and flexible nature of this unprecedented coalition is one of its strengths. But the unity and commitment of the coalition remains deep as well: everyone recognizes that, without concerted action, all nations remain vulnerable to terrorist attacks.

TERRORISM AND U.S. POLICY

The United States recognizes no such thing as "Islamic terrorism." The members of al Qaeda are simply terrorists and criminals, nothing more. They cynically seek to exploit Islam to disguise their murderous agenda, which is nothing less than an attack on the values of civilization and humanity itself.

Bin Laden and al Qaeda attempt to justify themselves by the words of Islam for the same reasons that they burrow into Afghan caves: to escape the wrath of the international community for their savage acts of mass killing. Just as they hijacked airplanes, they now seek to hijack a world religion.

Muslim leaders and clerics throughout the world have condemned the terrorist attacks as a perversion and betrayal of Islam. As just one example, a panel of independent Muslim scholars, including the prominent Qatar-based cleric Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, condemned the terrorist attacks and said that it is the duty of Muslims to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Above: U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell (left) and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf speak to the press after their meeting in Islamabad on October 16, 2001. Left: Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee (center) and External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh talk with Secretary Powell at the prime minister's residence in New Delhi on October 17, 2001.

Americans find the baseless charge that the United States is waging a war against Islam deeply offensive. This allegation, no matter how many times it is repeated, is not legitimate criticism of U.S. foreign policy, but a calculated lie. Millions of Americans are Muslims; freedom of speech and religion stand at the very core of America's identity. To suggest that the United States would attack another's religious faith is inconceivable. In this anti-terrorist campaign, the United States and its partners are upholding the values of tolerance, diversity, and freedom of faith — and battling against the fanaticism and hatred of organizations seeking to destroy those values.

For its part, the United States can point to its long and tireless record of seeking peace with security and justice for Israel and the Palestinians. The United States can also cite its indisputable record in defending Muslim populations and nations from invasion and ethnic cleansing — from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in the Gulf to Bosnia and Kosovo in the Balkans.

COURAGE AND HOPE

Bin Laden and his band of killers offer nothing but pain and suffering to a world where they have consigned the world's billions of non-Muslims as "infidels" and labeled the vast majority of Muslims who abhor their words and deeds as "heretics." They cause death, but create nothing, and offer no future except for a nightmare of violence and evil.

In the end, their monument will be as lasting as a footprint in the desert.

The United States, with its coalition partners, will fight the sustained, unrelenting, multifaceted battle necessary to defeat global terrorism. Together with the world community, we will prevail.

But the United States also will not allow the shadow of terrorism to hijack its efforts to address other foreign policy challenges of the 21st century. As America and the world rebuild from the ashes of September 2001, the United States will continue to offer leadership and a vision of hope, stability, freedom, and economic opportunity for all peoples. ❑

"It would be a grave calamity when the followers of this phenomenon [terrorism] use religion as a camouflage, because true Islam stands innocent from all that. Its teachings stand aloft from people who believe in violence as a course of action and sabotage as a method and bloodshed as a way of reform."

— Sheikh Abdul-Rahman al-Sudais,
at the Grand Mosque, Mecca, Saudi Arabia
Reuters, September 28, 2001

Condemned in His Own Words

Osama bin Laden speaking in the October 7 videotape.

"God has blessed a group of vanguard Muslims, the forefront of Islam, to destroy America."

From videotaped statement broadcast by Al Jazeera, October 7, 2001

"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....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."

From World Islamic Front Statement, February 23, 1998

Before These Remarks, Bin Laden Was Innocent. However, Now He Is Condemned

— Faisal Salman, As-Safir, Lebanon, October 9, 2001

A Confession Is the Most Conclusive Piece of Evidence

— Al-Ra'i, Jordan, October 9, 2001

Misuse of the Palestinian Issue

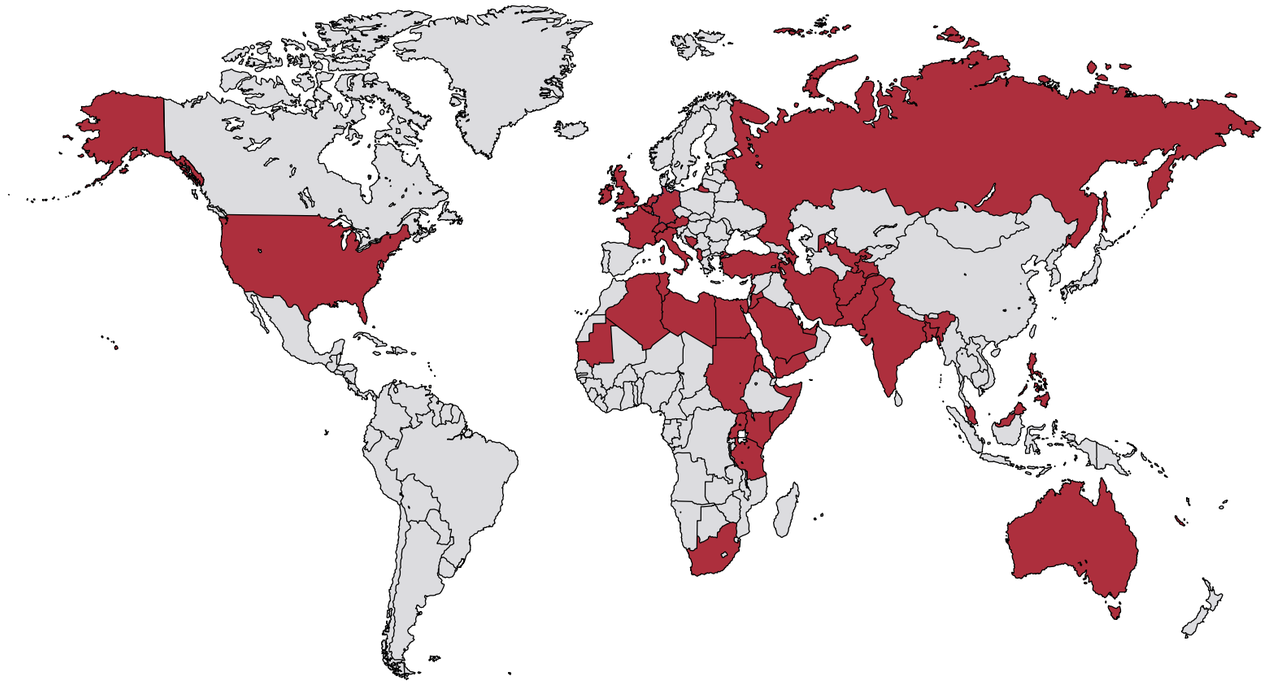
— Al-Ayyam, West Bank, October 9, 2001

Bin Laden Disturbs Us; However, He Doesn't Convince Us

— La Vie Economique, Morocco, October 12, 2001

Al Qaeda Is Not Authorized to Speak on Behalf of Muslims

— Akhbar Al-Arab, United Arab Emirates, October 15, 2001



COUNTRIES WHERE AL QAEDA OR AFFILIATED GROUPS HAVE OPERATED

Albania
Algeria
Afghanistan
Azerbaijan
Australia
Austria
Bahrain
Bangladesh
Belgium
Bosnia
Egypt
Eritrea
France
Germany
India
Iran
Ireland
Italy
Jordan
Kenya
Kosovo
Lebanon
Libya
Malaysia
Mauritania
Netherlands
Pakistan
Philippines
Qatar
Russia
Saudi Arabia
Somalia
South Africa
Sudan
Switzerland
Tajikistan
Tanzania
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom
United States
Uzbekistan
Yemen

HUMANITARIAN AID TO AFGHANISTAN

After 22 years of war, three years of drought, and five years of Taliban misrule, Afghanistan is facing a major famine. The U.S. government is leading the international community in responding to this humanitarian crisis.

Afghanistan was the number one recipient of humanitarian assistance prior to September 11 — and remains so today. Last fiscal year, the United States provided nearly $180 million in aid. This year, President Bush has already announced $320 million in additional humanitarian assistance for the people of Afghanistan.

The United States has supplied more than 80 percent of all food aid for vulnerable Afghans through the United Nations' World Food Program, and will continue to be the lead donor.

The United States is using every available means — emergency shelter, clothing, and supplies; minimizing population movements; stabilizing food prices; and increasing food arriving by boat, plane, and truck from every border — to reduce the death rates among the Afghan people through the winter.

The U.S. Agency for International Development is beginning developmental relief efforts and long-term planning to help the Afghan people eventually resettle and rebuild, including programs to provide clean water, sanitation and irrigation systems, and seeds for next year's crops.

Providing humanitarian assistance is the right thing to do — and it benefits us all. Our work overseas helps stabilize vulnerable societies and prevent future conflicts. To eradicate terrorism, we must replace poverty and despair with hope and economic opportunities. ❑

Above: U.S. Air Force C-17 loadmasters inspect the aerial delivery system loaded with Humanitarian Daily Rations (HDRs) en route to a drop zone. The C-17s carry some 37,000 prepackaged meals per day to Afghan refugees inside the borders of Afghanistan.

Center: Pakistani and Afghan workers load a World Food Program (WFP) truck with wheat donated by the U.S. government at the WFP compound near Peshawar, Pakistan, on October 1, 2001. The trucks carried 1,000 tons of wheat to Kabul, Afghanistan. Left: Afghans in Kabul load food supplies from the WFP and the U.S. Agency for International Development onto a bicycle on October 2, 2001.

CURRENT U.S. FOOD SHIPMENTS TO THE AFGHAN PEOPLE

What is the level of crisis? Nearly half the population, 12 million people, are drought affected, 5 to 7 million will need food aid to make it through the winter, and 1.5 million are at serious risk of starvation. A food deficit of nearly 2 million metric tons existed in early October 2001. Food supplies may run out in some parts of the country and, according to an assessment team sent into the country in May 2001, famine has already started. According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the country will produce only 10,000 of the 400,000 metric tons of seed that it will need for next year's planting. Afghanistan currently ranks last among all nations in the calories consumed per person and first in the number of women who die in childbirth.

What is the extent of the new U.S. aid effort? During the 12 months ending September 30, 2001, the U.S. government contributed nearly $180 million in humanitarian assistance for the Afghan people. In addition, President Bush has announced new aid of $320 million. The administration's goal is to get as much food as possible into the country as soon as possible, particularly to the central highlands of the Hindu Kush. This means doubling or more the amount of tonnage going in from about 29,000 metric tons per month to 52,000 metric tons.

Is the kind of food aid appropriate for the Afghan people? The Afghan people are used to eating flat bread made from wheat flour so about 90 percent of the food going in is wheat. Of the remaining 10 percent, 7 percent is lentils or beans needed to provide protein, and 3 percent is in vegetable oils necessary for a balanced meal. None of the rations contain any meat.

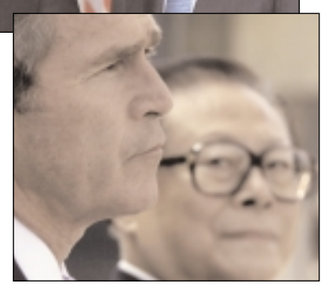
How will food get to the Afghan people? Food will be moved into the country by the World Food Program and nongovernmental organizations through every border of Afghanistan — through Iran, the Central Asian republics in the north, and Pakistan. If needed, airlifts of food will be used in remote areas affected by winter snows. To reduce the chances of looting and diversion of the food aid, large quantities will be stored in secure areas in the bordering countries.

Will the Afghan people know the food aid comes from the United States? We are printing "Gift of the People of the United States" in Pashto and Dari and a large U.S. flag on each bag of food. The United States also will implement a public information campaign so that the Afghan people know the aid is on the way. This will discourage further population movements and provide a check against diversion or manipulation of aid. ❑

A LONG AND DETERMINED COMMITMENT

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DONALD RUMSFELD

"This war will not be waged by a grand alliance united for the single purpose of defeating an axis of hostile powers. Instead, it will involve floating coalitions of countries, which may change and evolve. Countries will have different roles and contribute in different ways. Some will provide diplomatic support, others financial, still others logistical and military. Some will help us publicly, while others, because of their circumstances, may help us privately and secretly. In this war, the mission will define the coalition — not the other way around."



Clockwise from top: U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (left) and NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson (right) talk to the press after meeting at the Pentagon; flags of NATO's 19 member countries fly at half staff; President Bush (right) shakes hands with King Abdullah II of Jordan at the White House; President Bush and China's President Jiang Zemin meet in Shanghai; British Prime Minister Tony Blair (left) and President Bush meet with the press at the White House; Uzbekistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdulaziz Kamilov, at the Pentagon for a meeting with U.S. officials.

"The global reaction to the attacks should give us courage and hope that we can succeed in this fight. The sight of people gathering in cities in every part of the world from every religion to mourn — and to express solidarity with the people of the United States — proves more eloquently than any words that terrorism is not an issue that divides humanity, but one that unites it. We are in a moral struggle to fight an evil that is anathema to all faiths. Every state and every people has a part to play. This was an attack on humanity, and humanity must respond to it as one."

KOFI ANNAN, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, OCTOBER 1, 2001

"NATO Ambassadors this morning expressed their full support for the actions of the United States and the United Kingdom, which follow the appalling attacks perpetrated against the United States on 11 September 2001....The campaign to eradicate terrorism has reached a new stage. It will be pursued on many fronts with determination and with patience. The Alliance stands ready to play its role."

LORD ROBERTSON, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF NATO, OCTOBER 8, 2001

"Two weeks on from the attacks on the United States, it's clear to me that the coalition of support for firm action against those responsible is strengthening, not weakening....As the coalition builds and our preparations continue, the terrorists inside Afghanistan and the Taliban regime that harbors them should be in no doubt of the unity of the alliance built against them and our determination to do what is necessary to bring those responsible to account."

PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR OF GREAT BRITAIN, SEPTEMBER 25, 2001

"China and the United States are two countries with significant influence in the world. As such, we share common responsibility and interest in maintaining peace and security in the Asia Pacific and the world at large, promoting regional and global economic growth and prosperity, and working together with the rest of the international community to combat terrorism."

PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN OF CHINA, OCTOBER 19, 2001

"We have decided to be with the coalition in the fight against terrorism and whatever operation is going on in Afghanistan within the parameters — within the three parameters which have been enunciated — that is, the intelligence cooperation, use of air space, and logistical support. And to this extent we will certainly carry on cooperating as long as the operation lasts."

PRESIDENT PERVEZ MUSHARRAF OF PAKISTAN, OCTOBER 16, 2001

"We continue to hold that September 11 was an assault on freedom, on civilization, on democracy, and India's stand against terrorism — not simply starting from September 11, even before that — has been unequivocal, and we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the international community and the United States of America in our battle against this global menace."

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER JASWANT SINGH OF INDIA, OCTOBER 17, 2001

"It should be said that in the course of these three years, Uzbekistan has been witnessing the inhumane face of terror; therefore, we cannot afford standing aside, and we are taking part in this anti-terrorism operation that the international community called for."

PRESIDENT ISLAM KARIMOV OF UZBEKISTAN, OCTOBER 5, 2001

"The message I brought was a message of reiterating our condolences and reiterating our solidarity — the solidarity of the Egyptian people, president, and government with the United States — and our determination to work together in the fight against terrorism."

FOREIGN MINISTER AHMED MAHER OF EGYPT, SEPTEMBER 26, 2001

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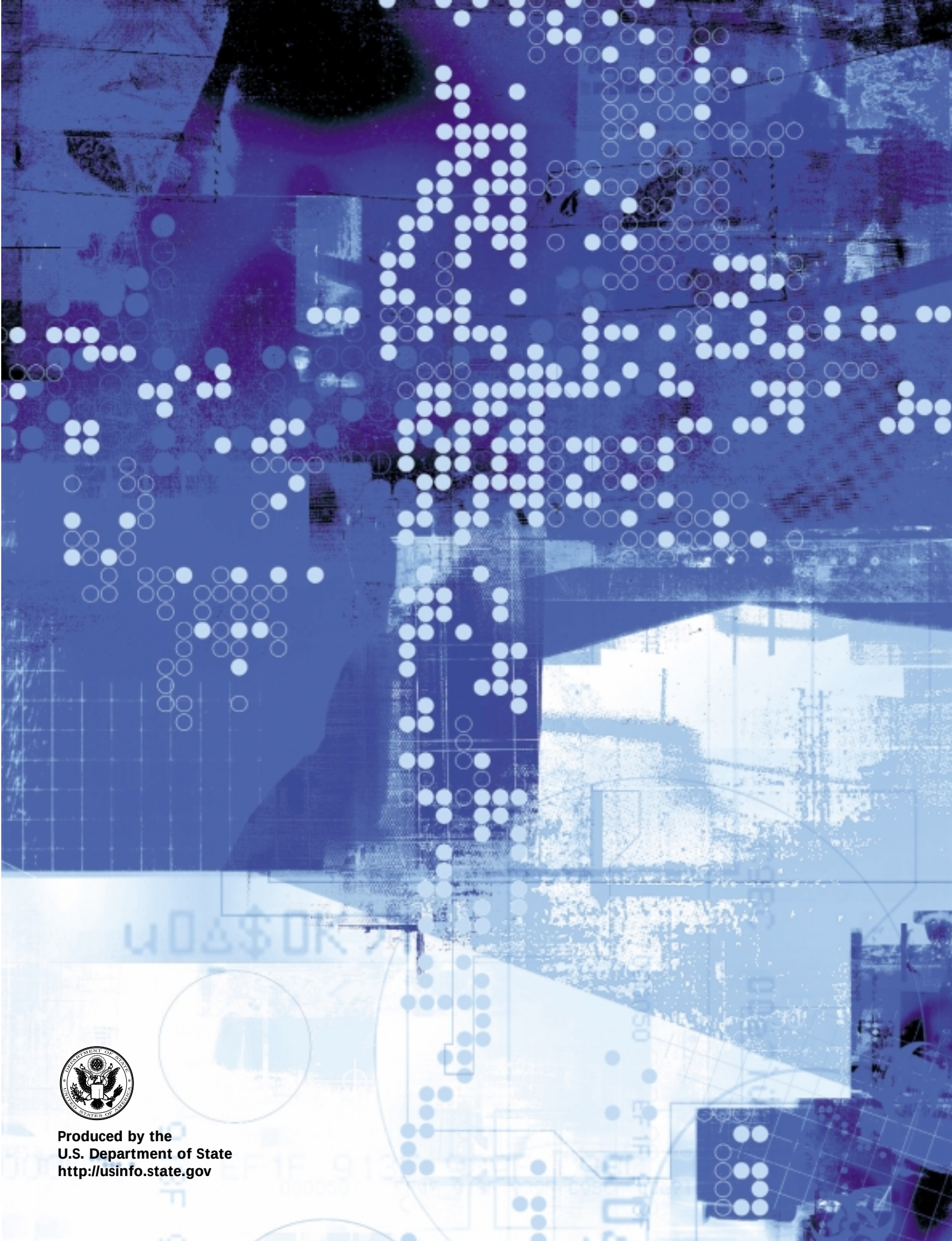

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