

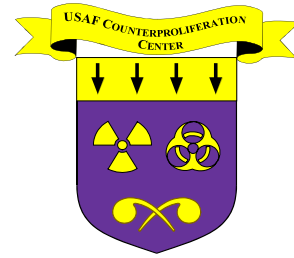
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USAF COUNTERPROLIFERATION CENTER

# CPC OUTREACH JOURNAL

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Editor's Note: Dear Readers, still trying to get through all the recent news stories. I divided this Outreach into the following categories: Analytical/General, Response, and International News/Response. Thanks, Jo Ann

## ANALYTICAL/GENERAL

Wall Street Journal  
September 13, 2001

### **Bin Laden Isn't Only One To Blame**

*By Laurie Mylroie, author of "Study of Revenge: Saddam Hussein's Unfinished War Against America" (American Enterprise Institute, 2000)*

Whether Osama bin Laden was involved in Tuesday's terrorist assault remains to be seen. Yet if that proves to be so, it is extremely unlikely that he acted on his own. It is far more likely that he operated in conjunction with a state -- the state with which the U.S. remains at war, namely Iraq.

Firstly, bin Laden's Afghan-based al-Qaeda organization does not really have the organizational capabilities to carry out such well-coordinated attacks. Someone had to understand how to smuggle weapons through U.S. airport security and which airports and airlines to choose. The hijacked planes were flown by terrorists as they crashed into the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon. Where did these pilots come from?

During the recently completed trial for the 1998 African embassy bombings, a story emerged of bin Laden's attempt to acquire a pilot and airplane. He turned to an Egyptian, Essam Rida, who had previously been involved in the fighting in Afghanistan, but had since settled in the U.S. Rida purchased a mothballed jet in 1993, refurbished it and flew it to the Sudanese capital of Khartoum, then returned home. Some months later, al-Qaeda called him back to Khartoum to take some passengers to Nairobi. Apparently, no one else could fly the plane.

#### **'At Times Slipshod'**

At year's end, he was called back again. The plane had not been maintained and was in terrible condition. Rida nonetheless took it out on a test flight. When he landed the plane, the brakes failed, so he drove it into a sand dune on the edge of the landing strip and left it there. Indeed, following the conclusion of that trial, the New York Times noted the discrepancy between the image of al-Qaeda as a fearsome terrorist organization and the reality of a group that was "at times slipshod, torn by inner strife, betrayal, greed."

Moreover, the trial revealed that al-Qaeda was intimately connected to at least one foreign intelligence agency: Sudan's. In 1991, Sudanese intelligence approached bin Laden, then based in Afghanistan, and invited him to move to Khartoum, which he did. The government's star witness -- who defected from al-Qaeda in 1996 -- also worked for Sudanese intelligence. The information that emerged in the trial about the close ties between bin Laden and the Sudanese government helps explain why the U.S. also struck Khartoum, in addition to bin Laden's camps in Afghanistan, in retaliation for the embassy bombings.

Yet although the trial detailed close ties between Sudanese intelligence and al-Qaeda, they were not portrayed as especially significant. Instead attention focused on the individual wrongdoers, some of them in the dock, others still on the lam. Presumably, that is because a prosecutor cannot indict and convict a state, or at least not so easily. Thus, the trial distorted the public understanding of bin Laden's terrorism to make it appear to be a "stateless" phenomenon.

States have far more capabilities for terrorist actions than do individuals. They control territory; maintain embassies abroad; regularly transfer material in diplomatic pouches, secure from outside probing; and often have very large intelligence agencies.

And al-Qaeda's demonstrated ties to Sudanese intelligence raise another question. Iraq has close ties to Sudan. Sudan supported Iraq during the Gulf War and subsequently established Khartoum as a major center for Iraqi intelligence. Abd al Samad al-Ta'ish, a highly placed Iraqi intelligence agent, was Iraq's ambassador to Khartoum until the summer of 1998. Al-Ta'ish arrived in Khartoum in July 1991 with 35 other intelligence officers to establish a base for Iraqi operations in the wake of the upheaval wrought by the Gulf War.

Was al-Qaeda also in contact with Iraqi intelligence while it was based in Khartoum? The months preceding the Aug. 7, 1998, embassy bombings are suggestive. The bombings occurred during Saddam's campaign to drive the United Nations weapons inspectors (known as Unscm) out of Iraq. Starting in the fall of 1997, Baghdad orchestrated a series of crises that had the effect, a year later, of ending Unscm's presence there.

Following the "resolution" of the second crisis, in late February 1998, through the mediation of U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Anan, bin Laden began to issue a series of bloody-minded threats against Americans. Soon Baghdad was issuing its own threats, asserting that its proscribed weapons of mass destruction had been eliminated and demanding that sanctions be lifted.

The threats issued by bin Laden, the threats issued by Iraq, and the preparations for the bombing all moved in virtual lockstep. On Aug. 3, 1998, Unscm chairman Richard Butler arrived in Baghdad. The Iraqis demanded that he declare Iraq in compliance or leave immediately. Mr. Butler departed the next day. The following day, Aug. 5, Baghdad declared "suspension day" -- that is, the suspension of weapons inspections. It restated its previous threats, affirming, "To those against whom war is made, permission is given to fight."

Two days later, the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed simultaneously. Initial media speculation focused on Iraq, but as luck would have it, one of those involved in the bombing, Muhammad Sadek Odeh, was already in the custody of Pakistani authorities. He had flown into Karachi on a false passport that was so ill-suited to his likeness that he was detained at the airport and subject to a harsh interrogation. U.S. authorities soon had critical evidence linking bin Laden to the attacks.

Yet that information did not address the question of whether Iraq might also have been involved, as its harsh threats and the crisis over Unscm had seemed to suggest. Indeed, the possibility of Iraqi involvement was probably a line of inquiry that the Clinton White House was not interested in pursuing -- although it could have been legitimately asked whether bin Laden alone really had the capability to carry out simultaneous bombings of two major U.S. targets.

One reason so many in the U.S. bureaucracies believe that bin Laden is the greatest terrorist threat to America -- and, therefore, quite possibly behind Tuesday's attacks -- is the wealth of signals intelligence they pick up about al-Qaeda's plotting. That intelligence leads to repeated alerts about possible attacks on U.S. targets, including an alert last June, which caused U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf and Jordan to put to sea.

It is somewhat surprising that the U.S. can regularly pick up so much information about bin Laden's planning, but miss the signs of Tuesday's attack. Is it possible that deception -- a common practice in war -- is involved? Is the U.S. meant to pick up those communications, thereby reinforcing a disposition to believe that the terrorism is being carried out by al-Qaeda and not by an enemy state?

### **Plenty of Precedent**

There is plenty of precedent for such actions. In World War II, prior to the Allied landing at Normandy, an elaborate deception campaign was conducted to make the Germans believe that the allies would attack elsewhere. That included the creation of a fake "First Army" in Britain, which appeared poised to attack at Pas de Calais. False signals were a critical element of that deception.

Similarly, the U.S. used fake communications prior to the start of the Gulf War to make the Iraqis believe that it would attack their forces up through Kuwait, while radio silence was maintained in the area where the real attack -- far off to the west -- would come.

It does not make a great deal of sense to attribute to one man -- Osama bin Laden -- all the acts of terrorism which are regularly ascribed to him, including Tuesday's assault. It is time to take a new look at the major terrorists acts of terrorism directed against the U.S. in recent years. Are they, perhaps, more complicated than they seem? Indeed, are they acts of war, with all the complexity that wartime activities regularly involve?

London Daily Telegraph  
September 13, 2001

## **Clancy Is A Better Guide Than Von Clausewitz**

By Roy Godson

WELL, we can't say we weren't warned. Scores of blue ribbon panels and federal agencies - including the Defence Science Board, the Defence Intelligence Agency, the President's commission on critical infrastructure protection - all said that America needed to pay more attention to the threat of "asymmetrical warfare".

With differing emphases, all of these reports had concluded that the United States was insufficiently prepared to cope with the dangers posed by economically and technologically inferior state and sub-state forces that might seek to use unconventional methods to compensate for weakness.

Some may now be tempted to invoke the spirit of John F Kennedy's essay on pre-war appeasement, *Why England Slept*. But the appropriate image today is not so much of the federal government as a somnolent or dozy sentry. Rather, it is of a guard who knew that substantial sections of the perimeter fence had been breached, but was too lazy, frivolous or gripped by "old thinking" to do enough to mend the gaps.

It may be that specific clues were missed by intelligence or law enforcement agencies - especially if the conspiracy was as large as many believe. For instance, after the first bombing of the World Trade Centre in 1993, it emerged that one of the Muslims arrested in connection with the earlier killing of the Jewish extremist Meir Kahane, had done a drawing of two massive towers. These were captioned in Arabic as symbols of capitalism, but nothing was done at the time and their significance was certainly not spotted.

There are signs that a subtle form of "passing the buck" is already under way. Senator Carl Levin, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, was quick to point out that Congress had granted successive administrations everything they had asked for in terms of financial resources to cope with such threats. In a narrow sense, he was right, but in recent years, the legislative branch has not been exactly shy about imposing its priorities on a reluctant administration.

The "blame game", though, has its limitations. In a democracy such as America, which is so sensitive to the ebbs and flows of opinion, the ultimate responsibility lies with the people. They are sovereign. Instead of focusing on the clear and present dangers, of which there has been ample evidence, they have been riveted on such matters as the private lives of Bill Clinton and Congressman Gary Condit. A hideous price has been paid for the trivialisation of discourse.

In fact, it was the first President Bush and subsequently President Clinton who began the process of shifting priorities towards non-traditional threats - in which the latter received discreet but significant support from his ideological and personal ally, Tony Blair. Though Mr Clinton would have not put it in this way, the essence of his message was that Tom Clancy had more to teach us than von Clausewitz. States, and even rogue states, were no longer the sole threats. Even traditional Left-wing terrorist groups, with coherent strategies, were on the wane. Instead, the new breed of terrorists tended to have different motives. Some, like the Japanese cult that launched a nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway in 1995, appeared to have no misgivings about mass slaughter. In some instances, their own spiritual gratification appeared to be reward enough.

More important still, in an era when states were becoming ever weaker, and more than half of them did not control major portions of their own territory, the initiative had shifted to sub-state forces and transnational forces. These are often tolerated by, and are sometimes in league with, those weakened states (vide the prime suspects in the latest atrocities, Osama bin Laden and the Taliban regime). Sometimes, as in the case of Colombia, the government is unable to control the terrorist and criminal elements and the ensuing "criminal-political nexus" takes many forms. Mr Clinton, however, was unable to follow through with a proper strategy and resources. Partly, this was because the bureaucracy remains primarily "state-centric" and is uncomfortable with dealing with actors outside the regular channels. The Bush administration is staffed by serious people, including some proteges of the ultimate exponent of the traditional international order, Henry Kissinger. But what if there are no states at which to strike back - or which are too weak to do anything about the forces in their midst?

Colin Powell, the Secretary of State, yesterday showed signs of grasping that all has been changed utterly. He pointed out that America was in it for the long haul, and needed to employ a wide range of measures. But much more attention needs to be paid to the cultural aspects of fighting what now appears to have been a highly co-ordinated set of terror strikes. America has made minimal efforts to encourage a shift in the balance of discourse within the Muslim world, even though intra-cultural constraints are at least as powerful as vigorous responses from outside.

Thus, many US educational organisations, some backed with government funds, have refused to back those Muslims who have been willing to tackle the most extreme elements in the mosques - on the grounds that such support would violate the traditional doctrine of separation of church from state.

But whatever form it ultimately takes, this struggle is too important to be left to governments alone. It requires a strategy for a much fuller engagement of the civil society and the private sector. In that sense, it is truly a citizens' war, reminiscent of the founding of the Republic.

*The author is professor of government at Georgetown University and president of the National Strategy Information Centre in Washington*

New York Times  
September 14, 2001  
Pg. 1

News Analysis

## **No Middle Ground**

By R. W. Apple Jr.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — Sketching in the outline of an aggressive new American foreign policy, the Bush administration today gave the nations of the world a stark choice: stand with us against terrorism, deny safe havens to terrorists or face the certain prospect of death and destruction.

The marble halls of Washington resounded with talk of war.

Senior officials cast aside the niceties of diplomatic language and the military restraint that the United States had manifested in dealing with past terrorist attacks, promising that the response to Tuesday's suicide missions in New York and near Washington would be "a campaign, not a single action," that might last a year or more.

Such a campaign could involve American forces in protracted fighting against a number of Asian and African countries, like Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan and even Pakistan, which occupies a vital strategic position south of Afghanistan, where the Islamic militant Osama bin Laden is believed to be based.

Other top officers at the battered Pentagon made it clear that "ending states who sponsor terrorism" meant wiping out governments that refused to cooperate. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell used language similar to the bellicose phrases he employed in 1991, when he said of Saddam Hussein's army in Kuwait, "First we're going to cut it off, and then we're going to kill it."

Today, Secretary Powell said that once the Bush administration had finished assembling and showing the world evidence against the bin Laden network, "we will go after that group, that network, and those who have harbored, supported and aided that network, to rip the network up."

"When we're through with that network," he continued, "we will continue with a global assault against terrorism in general."

By equating acts of terrorism and even the harboring of terrorists with acts of war, the administration is going well beyond traditional international practice. In this new kind war, it is saying, there are no neutral states and no clear geographical confines. You must choose sides. Us or them. You are either with us or against us.

What the administration appears to have in mind, in fact, is assembling the broadest possible worldwide coalition, as President George Bush did for the Persian Gulf war of 1991, and using it for a different kind of war against a different kind of enemy.

This coalition would then try to strike in a pre-emptive way. By denying sanctuary to terrorists and eliminating them wherever they are, Washington hopes to regain the initiative, which usually lies with the terrorists, because they move in the shadows and can strike at any time.

Achieving this will be more difficult, of course, than winning a conventional war against Iraq. The United States went to war in Cambodia in an effort to deny the Vietcong and North Vietnamese sanctuaries there and failed, even though in that case the geographical area involved was small.

Washington is ratcheting up the pressure on countries like Pakistan. Its leader, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has condemned the attacks on the United States. But Secretary Powell has made it clear that words are not enough. He spoke today on the telephone with General Musharraf and read him an "action list" the administration wanted the Pakistani leader to follow.

General Musharraf will have to weigh the sympathies of his own militants, who have tended to side with the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan, against the wishes of the United States. He now knows that the United States is determined to eliminate sympathizers of the Taliban and their most notorious guest, Mr. bin Laden, if Pakistan does not take the firm actions Washington requires.

President Bush, displaying much more public emotion than he had permitted himself earlier in the week, seemingly close to tears at one point, yet speaking with evident resolution, began in earnest the task of rallying the nation for the stress and sacrifice that might well lie ahead.

He said at an informal news conference: "I'm a loving guy. And I am also someone, however, who's got a job to do, and I intend to do it. This is a terrible moment. But this country will not relent until we have saved ourselves and others from the terrible tragedy that came upon America."

The president also began to get out and about. He visited the Pentagon crash site late Wednesday, called on hospitalized victims of that attack today and announced that he would travel to New York City on Friday. His closest aides have been pressing hard for him to be as visible as possible, in the belief that the nation expects it and his political health requires it.

Mr. Bush has been telephoning leaders abroad, seeking their support. The Russians are a particular focus of his diplomacy, not only because of their deep knowledge of Afghanistan, where they fought a long war, but also because Russia dominates the immense region to the north of Afghanistan. Mr. Bush has made progress with Moscow.

In addition, said Dominique Moisi, the leading French scholar on international affairs, in today's Financial Times, "All over Europe, not only in London but from Paris to Madrid, from Berlin to Rome, the terrorists who struck at America have recreated the strong sense of Western solidarity loosened by the end of the cold war."

This week, he added, "we are all New Yorkers."

Unlike his father, who was reluctant to ask Congress for a resolution of support for the gulf war, Mr. Bush has already petitioned the lawmakers for a formal authorization for the use of force. While broadly supportive, members of Congress are dubious about granting open-ended authority for the use of force in a strange new kind of war.

The president is unlikely to be deterred by any new outbreak of the usual conflict between the White House and Capitol Hill over foreign policy. Like his predecessors, Mr. Bush questions the constitutionality of the War Powers Resolution and believes he has enough power to act as things stand.

But every president since Vietnam has been leery of going to war without widespread popular support. The nation is rallying around its young, largely untried leader — as his rising approval ratings and the proliferation of flags across the country vividly demonstrate — but a vote of confidence from Congress would be a boost.

Defense Daily  
September 14, 2001  
Pg. 10

## **Myers Outlines Capabilities Critical To Homeland Defense**

By Kerry Gildea

As the United States bolsters its homeland defense capability, it will be essential to enhance multiple layers of intelligence and force protection equipment, Air Force Gen. Richard Myers, the nominee to become the new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told lawmakers yesterday.

What was scheduled as a typical Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on Myers' confirmation to the JCS post, turned into a status update on rescue and relief efforts at the Pentagon and what assistance the military is providing in New York.

"Because this is no ordinary time, this will be no ordinary nomination hearing," said SASC Chairman Carl Levin (D-Mich.), who asked Myers what steps the nation needs to take to strengthen ongoing efforts to combat terrorism. "We have what we need today to do what we need to do," Myers told the panel, but there are areas that need improvement.

"This whole role of homeland defense, homeland security needs a lot more thought," Myers said.

Myers said enhancements are needed in intelligence, command and control and force protection--areas he said he hoped would be funded in the \$20 billion emergency disaster relief supplemental Congress was expected to pass either last night or today.

The United States needs to come to grips with what role the United States will play in homeland defense and he predicts drastic changes "in the way we are organized and equipped."

Myers agreed with senators who said more assets are needed for counterterrorism.

"This is where we've got to beef up," said Sen. Max Cleland (D-Ga.). "We spend well over \$300 billion a year on defense, yet on Tuesday we appeared defenseless."

Also, Myers said he has concerns about the potential for enemies to use weapons with chemical, biological and nuclear agents. In some recent wargames dealing with weapons of mass destruction, local authorities were often overwhelmed and there was a reliance on Pentagon capabilities, he noted.

Sen. Pat Roberts (R-Kan.) told Myers he is very concerned about the potential for a chemical or biological assault on U.S. soil, which he would have expected far before the type of attacks witnessed Tuesday.

"I am worried about it as well...we know that is a real threat to our troops around the world and from terrorists in the United States," Roberts said. "We have to be ready for that as well as the more conventional threats."

While these "homeland defense" capabilities are addressed, the conventional systems like the Lockheed Martin [LMT] F-22 and other modernization programs must continue to proceed at a steady pace as well, Myers noted.

"We are not always flying the best fighters in the world anymore," he said.

Myers also recommended more attention be given to defense of cyber warfare and methods to ensure secure military communications.

SASC members met in a closed session with Myers following the open hearing. The committee is expected to unanimously approve his appointment.

"The tragic events of the last two days vividly remind us again of the importance of this position," Levin said. "The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the highest-ranking military officer in the United States armed forces and the principal military adviser to the president, the National Security Council and Secretary of Defense. General Myers is uniquely well-qualified to serve as the next chairman of the Joint Chiefs."

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot  
September 14, 2001

## **Norfolk Command To Send Military Contingent To N.Y., D.C.**

By Jack Dorsey, The Virginian-Pilot

NORFOLK -- The Norfolk-headquartered Joint Forces Command was tapped Thursday to send the first military contingent to New York City and Washington, to provide assistance following Tuesday's terrorists attacks.

While no specific request for military aid has been received, a small advance-planning unit arrived in the areas to see what might be needed, Army Gen. William F. Kernan, commander-in-chief of the Joint Forces Command, said Thursday.

Kernan was ordered to make his Joint Task Force Civil Support available to the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the lead federal agency involved in disaster relief.

Major Gen. Bruce Lawlor, an Army National Guard officer who heads the civil support task force out of Fort Monroe in Hampton, is among a dozen military personnel sent to New York.

Lawlor heads about 100 people who can call upon Kernan to provide any of the 1.1 million military personnel under his command.

Kernan said he didn't know what was required because New York City already has a civil support team. However, the military may be asked to send engineers, medical personnel and mortuary affairs specialists, or help with grave registration and removal of the dead, he said.

"New York City has done a tremendous job responding to this," Kernan said. "The capabilities and professionalism of those forces and the courage and commitment of the fire, police, civil authorities, hospital workers and volunteers have been absolutely tremendous. That also includes those in Washington, D.C."

Joint Task Force Civil Support was established in October 1999.

In an address to the Senate Armed Services Committee in May, Lawlor said that his task force focuses exclusively on providing support to the lead federal agency in the aftermath of a chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear or "high yield explosive" attack on U.S. soil.

Its mission is part of the Pentagon's response to a presidential directive on combating terrorism.

Kernan, who also serves as NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, called Tuesday's attack nothing short of "horrific."

"Our friends in the international community have supported us and are equally horrified by this situation," he said.

"It is heinous. . . . I see this as cowardly and criminal. . . ."

The Texas-born former staff sergeant, who commanded the 101st Airborne, said he welcomed NATO's commitment this week to back the United States.

"You've now got 19 nations that have committed themselves to the defense of the alliance," he said, meaning "an act of war against one is an act of war against the entire alliance."

"That is the way you have to treat it. This is a war on terrorism. We don't need to live like this."

The terrorists have forgotten America's resolve, Kernan said, "the commitment and the determination of Americans when their backs are up against the wall."

"Some terrorist out there may have thought he won. But his defeat is already inevitable," Kernan said.

New York Times  
September 14, 2001

## **Bin Laden: Child Of Privilege Who Champions Holy War**

By Judith Miller

With his gentle eyes, skeletal frame, long black beard and habitual Kalashnikov, Osama bin Laden has become the world's most reviled symbol of terror.

While his connection to this week's devastating attacks in New York and Washington has yet to be definitively established, his image has evolved in the last decade from that of financier of terror to its most prominent promoter, catalyst and mastermind.

His goal has been consistent for a decade: victory in a self-proclaimed jihad, or Islamic holy war, against the United States and its allies. Now he is suspected of having added thousands of new deaths to an already impressive terrorist toll.

As he has done before, Mr. bin Laden summoned Arab reporters on Wednesday to a compound in Afghanistan to deny responsibility for the stunning strikes while praising those who conducted them.

American intelligence officials now dismiss such denials. While they once debated Mr. Bin Laden's specific connection to the terrorism his networks have spawned, they now acknowledge that this frail, squeaky-voiced Saudi has mobilized hundreds of Muslims in far-flung countries to fight and die for his embittered vision of Islam, if not for him.

But while government experts no longer dispute his influence, they do take issue with many of the myths that have been cultivated about him.

Though he styles himself as a humble man of the Muslim people, he is, in fact, an unlikely spokesman for the oppressed and dispossessed. Born in the mid-1950's, the youngest of some 20 sons of a Yemeni-born Saudi construction magnate, he enjoyed a youth of wealth and privilege. While many Saudis of his era sweltered in the desert sun, he had air-conditioned houses and private stables, and was pampered by servants. His father's close ties to King Faisal of Saudi Arabia won the family business rich contracts to rebuild mosques in Mecca and Medina. After his father's death in 1968, Mr. bin Laden inherited some \$300 million.

Mr. bin Laden, who graduated from King Abdul Aziz University in Jidda in 1979 with a degree in civil engineering, was not always interested in religious politics. Associates portrayed him as a frequent visitor with Saudi royalty to Beirut, where he drank heavily at night clubs and wound up in bar brawls.

He has said he was galvanized by three events in the late 1970's: the Camp David peace accords between Egypt and Israel, the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in a radical Islamic revolution, and the Soviet incursion in Afghanistan. "I was enraged," he told *Al Quds al Arabi*, an Arabic-language newspaper sympathetic to him, "and I went there at once."

He actually spent the first years of the Afghanistan war traveling to raise money for the jihad against the Soviets. He moved to the Pakistani border town of Peshawar in 1984, by which time Soviet forces were encountering fierce opposition from Afghan guerrillas.

Mr. bin Laden's money earned him instant access and popularity. Abdullah Anas, a former Algerian ally who later fell out with him, said that while he was not "very sophisticated politically or organizationally," he was an activist with "great imagination."

"He ate very little," Mr. Anas said. "He slept very little." And above all, he said, he was very generous: "He'd give you his clothes."

Mr. Anas said that in Afghanistan, Mr. bin Laden fell under the influence of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, seasoned militants who had helped assassinate President Anwar el-Sadat in 1981. They persuaded him that the jihad had to be expanded to other Muslims who were living under autocratic "infidel" regimes.

In 1986, Mr. bin Laden established the first of more than a dozen training camps he would eventually sponsor in Afghanistan, Mr. Anas and intelligence officials said.

About a year later, with the tide turning against the Soviets, he and the Egyptians founded Al Qaeda, the organizational base from which they hoped to stage their global Islamic crusade.

Euphoric about their victory over the Soviets, Mr. bin Laden and his extremist allies concluded that no secular state could defeat holy warriors. He opened more camps and spent more of his personal fortune, much of which the United States and its allies have now frozen, to help finance training and indoctrination to produce militants for the new borderless jihad.

While the United States had worked alongside him to help oust the Russians from Afghanistan, Mr. bin Laden turned violently anti-American in 1990 after King Fahd invited the United States and its allies to station forces in Saudi Arabia to help defend the oil-producing kingdom against an invasion by Iraq. The presence of American soldiers in Saudi Arabia, the birthplace of the Prophet Muhammad and the home of the two holiest Muslim shrines, enraged Mr. bin Laden and other Arab militants. Over time, they increasingly came to blame the United States for Muslim woes, among them oppression of Palestinians by Israel.

After Saudi intelligence officials caught Mr. bin Laden smuggling weapons from Yemen, they withdrew his passport and pressed him into leaving the country. Mr. bin Laden made his way to Sudan, where, once again, his money earned him a warm welcome.

After the 1993 World Trade Center bombing by Muslim militants, some of whom had ties to Mr. bin Laden's network, American intelligence began focusing more intently on him.

Worried about his money and growing influence, the Saudis rescinded his citizenship in 1994. He stepped up his anti-Saudi invective and anti-American activities.



After two terrorist attacks on Americans in Saudi Arabia in 1996, at least one of which was attributed to Mr. bin Laden, the Americans pressed Sudan to expel him. He found fertile ground for his jihad in Afghanistan, and two years later, his Qaeda organization formed an international militant Muslim coalition that formally declared that it was "the duty" of Muslims everywhere to kill Americans.

Since then, members of his network have been tied to at least a dozen successful or failed attacks that he ordered. Until now, the most deadly was the 1998 twin bombings of American embassies in Africa and the attack in Yemen on the American destroyer Cole in October 2000, in which 17 sailors died.

Each American effort to contain or defeat him, even the placing of a \$5 million dollar reward on his head, has made him more of a hero to those who hate America. After the Clinton administration attacked his camps in Afghanistan and a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan in response to his bombings, Mr. bin Laden issued another warning. America, he said, was weak. "The battle," he said, had not yet begun.

New York Times  
September 15, 2001  
Pg. 1

## **U.S. Demands Arab Countries 'Choose Sides'**

By Jane Perlez

WASHINGTON, Sept. 14 — Moving swiftly in America's new war on terrorists, a senior State Department official today met with 15 Arab representatives and gave them a stark choice: either declare their nations members of an international coalition against terrorism, or risk being isolated in a growing global conflict.

Unusually, the meeting included the ambassador of Syria, a country long on the State Department's list of those that foster terrorism. It followed a 98-to-0 vote in the Senate to give President Bush the power to use "all necessary and appropriate force" to respond to the terror attacks on the United States this week.

The House approved the use of force resolution late today by a vote of 420-1.

President Bush said after the House voted: "I am gratified that the Congress has united so powerfully by taking this action. It sends a clear message — our people are together and we will prevail."

The lone member of Congress to vote against the measure, Rep. Barbara J. Lee, Democrat of California, said the nation risked entering an open-ended war without a clear target. She said in a statement, "I am convinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States."

Mr. Bush took the first concrete step toward a military response to Tuesday's acts of terror, giving the Pentagon authority to activate as many as 50,000 reserve troops to maintain aerial patrols over American cities and to strengthen security at crucial military and civilian installations. Some of the reservists could also be deployed overseas to provide security at American bases or perform other support missions, Pentagon officials said.

As Congress was also voting today to authorize \$40 billion for increased military preparedness and disaster relief, William J. Burns, assistant secretary of state for Near East affairs, met with the Arab envoys and delivered what a senior administration official called a simple message: "The time has come to choose sides."

The State Department described the nascent antiterror coalition as embracing "all civilizations," not just the West. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell said at a news conference today, "This has become a new benchmark, a new way of measuring the relationship and what we can do together."

Mr. Burns read to the Arab envoys — who included a representative of the Palestinians, whose leader, Yasir Arafat, has yet to meet with the president — a list of actions their nations were expected to take against terrorism, including the arrest and prosecution of terrorists on a country's soil.

In addition, the State Department sent a cable to all its embassies and posts around the world today listing the conditions that nations were expected to meet in order to qualify for membership in the antiterror coalition.

Quoting from the cable, a State Department official said it included a demand that each country must "wrap up and prosecute terrorists on your own soil."

The Arab representatives were not given a deadline for deciding whether to sign on to the antiterror cause. Nor was there any discussion of possible military contributions by the Arab nations represented at the meeting.

Whether the Arab governments, which must often contend with significant segments of their populations who sympathize with the goals of militants like Osama bin Laden, will agree to the administration's request is an open question. Hints that Mr. Bush may have trouble holding together the coalition he envisions were not long in coming.

One of the envoys who met with Mr. Powell, Nabil Fahmy, the ambassador from Egypt, warned the administration that it must focus on finding and punishing those responsible for this week's attacks, and not broaden the effort to include other geopolitical goals.

He said the international coalition that waged the Persian Gulf war in 1991 — which included Egypt and Syria — worked because it kept to the clear objective of pushing the Iraqis out of Kuwait.

Hours before the session with the Arab diplomats, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel spoke to Mr. Bush, and according to officials, expressed skepticism about the United States' enlisting the aid of Israel's foes, Syria and the Palestinian Authority.

"If there is an attempt to bring Syria and Arafat into the coalition, then that is a problem," an Israeli official said. Having spent a day attending a national prayer service in Washington and visiting rescue workers at the remains of the destroyed buildings in lower Manhattan, Mr. Bush was planning to meet with members of his cabinet and his national security advisers during the weekend at Camp David. The White House, taking extraordinary security measures, disclosed few details about the president's schedule over the next several days.

Unity was the theme on Capitol Hill as Congress moved with exceptional speed to express support for the president and provide funds for retaliation and reconstruction. Congress was appropriating twice as much as the \$20 billion that the administration had asked for to start the antiterror campaign.

"These are different times," said the Senate minority leader, Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi. "And we have got to act decisively. The American people expect it of us, and they will accept nothing less."

But some members of Congress also injected a note of caution into the administration's rapid-fire military and diplomatic campaign. The resolution authorizing military action was intended to give the president political support, but not unfettered power to wage war.

The joint resolution fell short of a full declaration of war, which lawmakers said would have been inappropriate in military action against a shadowy enemy.

The resolution states: "That the president is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on Sept. 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons."

Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said Congress was not ceding its constitutional authority to declare war or intending to write a measure like the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which President Lyndon B. Johnson used in 1964 to justify escalation of the war in Vietnam.

The resolution specifically states that it does not supersede the War Powers Resolution of 1973, which requires the president to seek Congressional approval for any extended use of American forces in combat.

London Times  
September 15, 2001

## **Saddam Should Not Be Ruled Out, Says US Intelligence**

By Richard Beeston, Diplomatic Editor

SADDAM HUSSEIN had the motive, the experience and the resources to help the hijackers involved in the suicide attacks in the United States and should not be ruled out as a prime suspect, according to US intelligence experts.

James Woolsey, Director of the CIA in 1993-95, said yesterday that there was considerable circumstantial evidence suggesting that the Iraqi President may in the past have co-operated with Osama bin Laden, the man widely suspected of orchestrating the attacks. "It could be a very fruitful marriage between Saddam and bin Laden," Mr Woolsey said.

"Bin Laden gets the publicity he wants, while Saddam is the sleeping partner who gets revenge and causes disruption, while still selling his oil and keeping the support of Russia and China."

US investigators studying the first bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York, in 1993, found that Ramzi Yousef, the man convicted of masterminding the attack, may have had ties to Iraqi intelligence. He was accused of planning to bomb an American airliner at the time he was arrested and was found to be linked to bin Laden's group. That same year the United States made a cruise missile attack on Baghdad after the CIA uncovered a plot to kill the former President George Bush.

In *Study of Revenge*, a book published last year, Laurie Mylroie, an expert on Iraq, argued that Saddam has been waging a secret terror campaign against America since 1993. Citing evidence from Yousef's trial she blamed Iraq for the first attack on the World Trade Centre. Other terrorism experts remain cautious about linking Iraq to the attack because bin Laden's brand of Islamic fundamentalism is ideologically at odds with Saddam's Stalinist-style dictatorship.

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchinson of Texas, a Republican, said after an intelligence briefing that bin Laden was high on the list of suspects. "But he is not the only one," she said. "There are others that are being looked at."

Intelligence experts have long been suspicious of small terrorist groups apparently able to operate across the globe without the assistance of friendly states.

For instance, the Shia Muslim suicide bombers who hit US targets in Beirut in the 1980s and held Western hostages were found later to have been working under the direct orders of Iran.

Similarly the notorious Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal carried out attacks across Europe and the Middle East thanks to the patronage of Syria, Libya and now Iraq.

Experts say that terrorist organisations require enormous resources, such as fake documents, intelligence information and money, which are hard to obtain without the help of a sympathetic foreign intelligence organisation.

Suspicious about Iraqi involvement were also raised on Wednesday by Saddam. He is the only world leader who openly welcomed Tuesday's attacks and said that America deserved what had happened.

"Irrespective of the conflicting human feelings about what happened, America is reaping the thorns planted by its rulers in the world," he said. "There is hardly a place (in the world) that does not have a memorial symbolising the criminal actions committed by America against its natives," he told Abdul Thawwab al-Malahwish, the Military Industrialisation Minister.

He went on to cite America's record in using nuclear weapons against Japan and in the Vietnam War and the Gulf War against Iraq a decade ago. "He who does not want to reap evil should not sow evil, and he who considers the lives of his people precious must remember that the lives of the people in the world are precious also," he said.

London Daily Telegraph  
September 15, 2001

## **Al'Qaeda 'Has Network Of Sleepers Across North America'**

By Ahmed Rashid

THE real fear for the future since the attacks in New York and Washington is that dozens, perhaps hundreds of operatives loyal to Al'Qaeda are in America and Canada ready to strike again, awaiting a call from Osama Bin Laden.

Al'Qaeda, or The Base, also has supporters in almost every European country and active cells in 34 nations.

In every terrorist act by Al'Qaeda since the early 1990s bin Laden has ensured that the actual suicide bombers were "sleepers", long-time residents of the countries they attacked, with ordinary jobs, identity papers and a social and family life. Bin Laden has spent a decade building up such networks of individuals, some of whom have never travelled to Afghanistan to meet him.

A Pakistani official said: "Bombing Afghanistan and bin Laden will just be lopping off the top of the tree, it will not be taking out all the branches, which are everywhere."

Building up such a network has required money, weapons and secure sanctuaries and staging areas, which bin Laden has acquired only because the West has ignored the civil war in Afghanistan for a decade.

Bin Laden set up Al'Qaeda in Peshawar, Pakistan, in the late 1980s as a welfare organisation to pay pensions to the widows and orphans of Arabs who had died while fighting Soviet troops alongside the Afghan Mujaheddin.

It expanded as bin Laden set up businesses, training schools and money laundering rings in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sudan and the Middle East.

He also had the resources of his wealthy family, the largest construction magnates in Saudi Arabia. His personal wealth was estimated by the CIA at £160 million, although much of that was frozen by America after Al'Qaeda bombed two US embassies in Africa in 1998.

Since then bin Laden has raised funds by drugs trafficking from Afghanistan and smuggling consumer goods from Dubai and other ports in the Arabian Gulf to Iran, Pakistan and Central Asia.

Bin Laden has also ignored the world banking system in favour of "hundi". For decades, millions of migrant workers from the Indian subcontinent who work in the Arab states use Pakistani and Indian money lenders to send earnings home.

Last year Pakistan's State Bank received about £540 million in remittances from the country's migrant workers. Hundi delivered an estimated £2 billion. It is an informal system, which uses chits of paper, telephone calls and word of mouth.

Workers in the Gulf hand over their earnings to money lenders, who phone their agents scattered in towns and villages in the home country, who in turn deliver the same sum to the families of the workers.

Hundi is now operating in America, Canada and Britain, and bin Laden has tapped into this risk-free system. The US attacks were likely to have been funded through hundi.

Afghanistan and the Taliban have provided extraordinary facilities not available anywhere in the shadowy world of international terrorism. Thousands of Al'Qaeda recruits spend six months of the year fighting for the Taliban, gaining battle experience and training in the use of weapons and explosives.

Since 1998, bin Laden has used fax, telephone and e-mail connections from Pakistan rather than Afghanistan, as satellite communications in Afghanistan are too closely monitored by the CIA.

Al'Qaeda is an umbrella organisation that now includes dozens of militant groups from around the Muslim world.

Bin Laden provides funds, training facilities in Afghanistan and overall direction, but he does not necessarily provide daily control. Instead, these groups, such as the 20 Algerians arrested in Europe this summer, have their own agendas, which are not necessarily communicated to bin Laden, unless there are big operations such as the American attacks.

By distancing himself from these sub-groups, bin Laden has confidently been able to deny responsibility for every act of terrorism he has carried out, even though he has always praised the perpetrators, just as he has denied involvement in the American attacks but praised the suicide bombers.

*Ahmed Rashid is the author of The Taliban, Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia, published by IB Tauris.*

New York Times  
September 15, 2001

## **A Terrorist Profile Emerges That Confounds The Experts**

By Jodi Wilgoren

They were adults with education and skill, not hopeless young zealots. At least one left behind a wife and young children. They mingled in secular society, even drinking forbidden alcohol, hardly typical of Islamic militants. Some of the men who are suspected of hijacking four airplanes in the world's worst terrorist attack do not fit the profile of the suicide bombers who have plagued the Middle East, Sri Lanka and Chechnya over the past two decades. Most of those self-proclaimed martyrs had little to lose, and were indoctrinated for short, intense periods between recruitment and their deadly missions; in contrast, the hijackers who perpetrated Tuesday's destruction had, in some cases, spent years studying and training in the United States, collecting valuable commercial skills and facing many opportunities to change their minds.

"What we see here is a totally new pattern," said Ehud Sprinzak, a terrorism expert and the dean of the Lauder School, a public policy institute in Herzliyah, Israel. "We have published a book on suicide bombing, but now we'll have to rewrite the book. This is staggering new evidence."

This week's events differed not just in scale, but in the fact that the hijackers died in groups. Preliminary evidence about the terrorists also suggests that they were not reckless young men facing dire economic conditions and dim prospects but men as old as 41 enjoying middle-class lives. Just last week, even those numbed to suicide bombings in Israel were shocked by the latest incident there because the perpetrator, an Israeli Arab, was 48 and a father. Experts called it too early to say what the demographic differences might mean about the shifting dynamics of international terrorism. Perhaps, they said, loyalty to Osama bin Laden is even more powerful than the religious and nationalist fanaticism that has been behind other suicide attacks. Perhaps the size of the target attracted more sophisticated candidates. Or perhaps the hatred of the United States and Western culture is seeping into a broader spectrum of the world's disaffected populations.

"People who have a lot of other reasons to live for are deciding that this is such an important cause that they're willing to die anyway," said Andrea Talentino, a political science professor at Tulane University who specializes in security studies. "That, obviously, is very frightening."

The concept of the suicide bomber dates to the 11th century, when the Assassins adopted it as a strategy to spread Islam through northern Persia. It appeared again among Muslims from India to the Philippines in the 1700's. During World War II, Japanese fighter pilots were recruited for suicide, or kamikaze, missions.

Today, suicide bombings are a prime tool of terrorism. Researchers documented 286 incidents from 1983 to 2000 in Lebanon, Israel and Turkey, but bombings were also a part of the civil war in Sri Lanka, where the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam formed elite army units for such missions and used them to assassinate two heads of state. Among the most devastating recent suicide attacks were the 1998 bombings of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

The prototype for Muslim suicide bombers is young, single, caught up in religious fervor and, often, desperate. They are usually promised financial security for their parents and told that they will be greeted by 70 black-eyed virgins in heaven. Though suicide is prohibited by Islamic law, some leaders have said there is an exception for soldiers in what they see as a holy war.

"We have nothing with which to repel killing and thuggery against us except the weapon of martyrdom," Dr. Ramadan Shalah, secretary general of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, was quoted as saying in an article by Mr. Sprinzak last year in Foreign Policy magazine. "It is easy and costs us only our lives."

In the article, Mr. Sprinzak cited the tactical advantages of suicide terrorism: no escape routes or rescue operation are required; there is no risk of captured perpetrators divulging information; and the public feels extraordinarily helpless.

"One of the virtues of the suicide bomber is that it's very simple technically — no sophisticated detonators, no time delays — it's much simpler to bring off and thus you're much more likely to get through," said Martha Crenshaw, a professor of government at Wesleyan University who specializes in the issue. "This operation, the hijackings, was very complicated. You certainly needed more than one person to pull it off. You had to have a small group of people who worked together, who knew each other and trusted each other."

Small group dynamics, Ms. Crenshaw said, may propel the mission beyond any individual's commitment. "What keeps them fighting is what keeps soldiers in a platoon fighting," she said. "They don't want to let their buddies down."

Ariel Merari, a political psychologist at Tel Aviv University who is writing a book on suicide bombers in Lebanon and Israel, said the average age of the 74 he studied was 22. Documents show that one of this week's hijackers was 41, another 33; two were 28, two 26 and three 25 (ages were not available for all of them).

Mr. Merari's study of previous bombers showed that virtually none were married or engaged. But interviews suggest that Abdul Alomari, one of those aboard the plane that hit the north tower of the World Trade Center, lived with his wife and four children in a stucco house near his Florida flight training school. Contrary to the image of the fundamentalist Muslim, Mohammed Atta, who was aboard the same plane, was seen drinking and playing video games at a Florida sports bar last week.

Ms. Crenshaw said that seemingly secular activity could have been part of a ruse, noting that a training manual introduced as evidence in the embassy bombing trials instructed suicide bombers: "When you're in the outer world, you have to act like them, dress like them, behave like them."

Stuart Grassian, a psychiatrist at Harvard Medical School who examined some of the suspects in the embassy bombings, said evidence of older, better educated and more stable suicide soldiers may indicate that individuals' rage has resonated to become endemic to a culture.

"The kind of horrifying prospect is that Osama bin Laden and what he represents has sort of crystallized a moment in history that has an evil and a horror to it that's sort of akin to what Hitler was able to crystallize around him," Dr. Grassian said.

New York Times  
September 15, 2001

## **War Against Terror Tests Fragile Relations With U.S.**

By Neil MacFarquhar

CAIRO, Sept. 14 — Saudi Arabia's track record in previous terrorism investigations has been one of keeping its distance from the United States. It is a distance that illustrates a challenge: how does Washington square Saudi Arabia, the loyal ally and vital oil supplier, with Saudi Arabia, the guardian of Islam, a power of the Arab world and birthplace of suspected terrorists?

In past cases when it has been called upon to investigate terrorism, Saudi Arabia seemed less concerned with finding the killers than with making sure it did not stir up radical opponents at home who might paint members of the royal dynasty as American lackeys.

Despite evidence suggesting that some of those who carried out the massive attack on the United States this week might have been Saudi citizens or at least linked to another former Saudi resident, Osama bin Laden, it remains to be seen to what extent the kingdom will aid the United States in taking on his shadowy movement. Some Saudi officials noted that names bandied about this week as armed and dangerous men and even suicide pilots turned out to be average Saudi citizens sitting quietly home in Jidda and Mecca, their flight training over.

While Saudi diplomats and other officials reached by telephone remained noncommittal and said there had been no formal American request for help, there were unusual expressions of support.

The Saudi chief justice, Sheik Saleh bin Muhammad al-Luhaidan, not normally the kind of figure to express public sympathy for the West's problems, condemned the attacks. He added his voice to that of senior royal figures, including King Fahd, Crown Prince Abdullah and Prince Bandar, the Saudi ambassador to Washington.

"We in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia are fully prepared to cooperate with you in every way that may help identify and pursue the perpetrators of this criminal incident," the official Saudi Press Agency quoted Prince Abdullah as telling President Bush in a telephone conversation this week.

Among Saudis there was a sense that the movement of Mr. bin Laden, if indeed it carried out this week's attacks, had moved beyond the pale.

"If in the past there were supporters or sympathizers or admiration, what happened in New York will turn it off," said Jamal Khashoggi, the managing editor of The Arab News in Jidda, who spent years covering Islamic movements. "He is dragging all of us into a conflict with the West that we don't want."

Once, Mr. bin Laden was a kind of icon for young children in Saudi Arabia and the Arab world who spent their free time collecting piasters to help him and other mujahadeen dedicating their lives to freeing Afghanistan from Soviet tyranny.

No one remembers Mr. bin Laden actually soliciting funds. His father, a billionaire contractor, left him a healthy inheritance. But during the battle for Afghanistan in the 1980's, richer patrons around the Persian Gulf were generous, adding their millions to funding from the governments of the United States — then backing Islamic warriors against the Soviets — and Saudi Arabia, among others.

That seemingly stopped when Mr. bin Laden's increasing radicalization in the 1990's finally prompted the Saudis to strip him of his passport in 1994. His criticism for the way the royals were running the country dried up any official support. His wealthy family disavowed him too.

Anyone found overtly supporting Mr. bin Laden would have risked having all assets in the kingdom seized. Yet the Saudi government finances various conservative religious organizations without much rigorous accounting of where the money goes.

The Saudi authorities, guardians of Islam's most holy shrines, have never been able entirely to smother the idea that Mr. bin Laden was engaged in a glorious and glamorous struggle. To this day, young Saudis and other Arabs find their way to Mr. bin Laden in Afghanistan, if not in very large numbers. The ruling family allows no domestic dissent, so radical Islam has always served as the outlet for those who would topple their government.

The arrival of hundreds of thousands of American troops in 1990 to expel Saddam Hussein and Iraq's forces from Kuwait galvanized recruitment. Fervent followers of Islam were horrified that infidel troops had been brought into the land of Mecca and Medina.

That animosity only deepened after the United States military established a permanent air force presence to patrol the skies over Iraq.

In 1995, after a terrorist bombing in Riyadh killed four Americans working in Saudi Arabia to train the National Guard, their killers made televised confessions in which they said they had never met Mr. bin Laden, nor did they work for him. But they made it clear that he was their inspiration.

In that case, investigators from the F.B.I. who had hoped to interview the suspects never got the chance. The men were beheaded.

After a bombing at the Al Khobar towers in Dhahran in June 1996, which killed 19 American servicemen, the F.B.I. was similarly thwarted. Its investigators were denied access to evidence like the getaway car, although after endless wrangling they were eventually allowed to watch from behind glass as Saudi investigators posed questions to the suspects.

Last June, after a federal grand jury indicted 13 Saudis and a Lebanese man for carrying out the Dhahran attack, Saudi Arabia expressed a lack of interest even though it held most of the men. Their own courts would handle the case, officials said.

"Maybe what has been published matters to the United States, but it does not concern us in any way at all," Prince Nayef, the interior minister, said in an interview then about the indictments.

At that time, many Saudis were grumbling about the kingdom's close ties to the United States. In the diwaniyyas, the nightly gatherings in Saudi homes where educated professionals discuss issues of the day, there was disgust over the lack of American support for the Palestinians in their uprising against Israel. "I consider the United States my enemy," said an educated Saudi at one such gathering.

Senior Saudi officials have signaled their displeasure in less harsh terms. Crown Prince Abdullah, who effectively runs the country because King Fahd is ill, spurned an invitation to visit Washington to meet with President Bush — despite the close ties between the crown prince and Mr. Bush's father — and the Saudi military chief of staff stayed away from this summer's usual joint talks.

The Saudi challenge posed by ties to Washington finds an echo in Egypt, which with its own violent Islamic insurgency has never wanted to be shown working closely with American intelligence on anything.

After the attacks, however, there has been a marked change in tone. Ordinary Egyptians have approached Americans on the street to tell them how profoundly ashamed and horrified they are by the attack.

## RESPONSE

Washington Post  
September 14, 2001  
Pg. 9

### **U.S. Rethinks Strategy For Coping With Terrorists** ***Policy Shift Would Favor Military Action, Tribunal Over Pursuing Suspects Through American Courts***

By John Lancaster and Susan Schmidt, Washington Post Staff Writers

Stunned by the magnitude of Tuesday's terrorist attacks, Congress and the White House are reassessing an approach to fighting terrorism that until this week has favored the tools of law enforcement over those of war.

The immediate focus of the discussions is President Bush's request for congressional authority to wage war on nontraditional foes such as Osama bin Laden, the top suspect in the attacks, and Afghanistan's ruling Taliban militia, which gives him refuge. In addition, outside experts have suggested that the administration set up a military tribunal that could try suspected terrorists outside the normal constraints of American constitutional law.

In substance as well as tone -- lawmakers and administration officials have referred often this week to "an act of war" -- the debate over how to respond to the attacks appears to herald a significant shift in the nation's strategy for coping with terrorism. Beginning with the first Bush administration, policymakers have preferred to pursue terrorists through the courts. That was the strategy in the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am jetliner over Scotland and in the assault a decade later on two U.S. embassies in East Africa, both of which led to trials and convictions.

Although military force has always been an option -- President Bill Clinton launched cruise missiles at Afghanistan and Sudan after the embassy bombings -- policymakers frequently have argued that such action only invites retaliation. The goal in treating terrorism as a criminal matter, a senior Clinton administration official said in an interview last year, is to "depoliticize" terrorism and "delegitimize" it in the eyes of the world.

That legalistic approach has long had its critics, who say that putting terrorists on trial does not adequately address the role of hostile foreign governments, such as Libya or Iran, in sponsoring terrorism.

They also say it complicates the work of intelligence agencies that may be inhibited by courtroom rules of evidence and procedure.

Some saw vindication for their views in Tuesday's carnage.

"We have judicialized more aspects of human behavior than any civilization in history, and we may have come to the limit of that," said Stewart Baker, who served as general counsel to the National Security Agency from 1992 to 1994. "Frankly, if Osama bin Laden did this, I'm not really interested in bringing him back for a trial, and I don't think we're obliged to think in those terms."

Daniel Benjamin, a counterterrorism specialist in the Clinton White House, said such arguments posit a "false choice" between a military and legal response to terrorism. "To be able to try someone under the laws of our society is an expression of the power of those laws," he said. "Having said that, military action is absolutely indicated in a situation like this if it can be effective."

Benjamin acknowledged that "after an event like Tuesday, there has to be a fundamental shift" in how the nation defends itself against terrorism. And judging by the rhetoric of the past few days, that shift has begun.

In his address to the nation Tuesday night, Bush vowed that "we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them" -- a point that has been echoed repeatedly on Capitol Hill.

Lawmakers were not prepared yesterday to grant Bush's initial request for unrestricted authority to wage war, fearing that such a resolution could return to haunt them if things turned sour, according to congressional staff members. Nevertheless, said a Senate aide, "the lawyers on both sides are sitting down to try to figure out what needs to be done to give the president all the authority he feels he needs," while retaining an oversight role for Congress.

Some former law enforcement officials close to the Bush administration suggest that the government set up a military tribunal to deal with terrorism suspects who are apprehended or turned over to U.S. authorities.

"A tribunal is a civilized response that lies between just killing the perpetrators and giving them the full panoply of rights afforded to U.S. citizens in U.S. courts," said Charles Cooper, a former high-ranking Justice official during the Reagan administration. "Civil courts would not be an appropriate forum for those prosecuting war against our country."

A source confirmed that the White House is considering the possibility that Bush could establish such a tribunal or ask Congress to do so.

Military tribunals have been used in past wars, including the Mexican War and World War II. During World War II, German saboteurs were captured in the United States, tried secretly at the Justice Department building in Washington and executed 30 days later by hanging.

"The Constitution is intended to protect the liberties of American people, not terrorists overseas," said a former senior law enforcement official. "Prosecuting these people in U.S. courts doesn't make any sense if you're essentially in a state of war."

There is some precedent for a swift and harsh response to terrorist attack. In 1986, President Ronald Reagan launched air raids against the Libyan capital of Tripoli, killing 39 people, days after the bombing of a Berlin discotheque in which two American servicemen died. U.S. intelligence had pinned the bombing on Libya.

Libya was also identified as the primary culprit in the Dec. 21, 1988, bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed 270 people. But that attack triggered a more cautious American response, in part because U.S. intelligence did not reach its conclusion about Libyan involvement until more than a year later.

U.S. officials also feared that a military response would do nothing to enhance national security -- and, in fact, might goad Libya's erratic leader, Moammar Gaddafi, into further attacks on U.S. interests.

So the Bush administration opted for the criminal justice route, indicting the two Libyan suspects and insisting that Libya turn them over for trial. Under pressure of U.N. economic sanctions, Libya finally did so in 1999; one of them was convicted this year by a Scottish court in the Netherlands. William Barr, attorney general in the first Bush administration, had asked the Scots to consider setting up a joint military tribunal, but they declined.

New York Times  
September 14, 2001

### Military Analysis

## **U.S. Force vs. Terrorists: From Reactive To Active**

By Michael R. Gordon

LONDON, Sept. 13 — If the terrorist attacks this week, as George W. Bush says, mark the first war of the 21st century, waging that fight will require new military thinking and bolder tactics, allied experts say.

For the last decade, the use of American might has been shaped by several principles: emphasizing air power and long-range precision arms, avoiding ground combat whenever possible and using overwhelming ground forces when it is not.



The use of American military force has also been reactive. Pre-emptive action was ruled out, partly because American law prohibits assassination as state policy. The United States waited to be hit before striking back, and American casualties were to be avoided at all costs.

All of those principles were at work when the Clinton administration struck at Osama bin Laden, the architect of the 1998 bombing of the American Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and the suspected sponsor of the attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

The United States fired several dozen Tomahawk cruise missiles at his training camps in Afghanistan. There was no risk to American personnel; unfortunately for the Pentagon, there was little risk to the terrorist leadership either. That approach is now clearly in the process of being abandoned. The analogy between this week's terrorist attacks and Pearl Harbor is apt in one sense. The attacks have shaken the American public and the Pentagon leadership. Strategies and tactics that seemed unthinkable just weeks ago are thinkable now.

"Forget about the cruise missiles," said Francois Heisbourg, a French military expert and the incoming chairman of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. "The only thing that is worth thinking about now is how to dismantle and eradicate the organization that brought the terrorism about. You can use air power in support of joint military operations. But the coalition that takes on the terrorists has to actually send in people with guns and that means taking high risks."

For the better part of a year Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld has been overseeing one review after another as the Pentagon struggled to define a compelling post-cold-war mission and force structure for the American military. Now the devastating attacks this week have given it a mission: stopping terrorist attacks and eliminating terrorist cells around the world. The Pentagon will likely have most of the resources it wants. Congress seems certain to give the Pentagon the money it wants to update its conventional forces, at the very least.

It is certainly wrong to think that the threat of terrorism can be addressed through military force alone. There is a role for diplomacy in marshaling international pressure against regimes that shelter terrorists. There is also a need for improved security at home. But it seems certain that the Pentagon will develop plans to punish state sponsors of terrorism with air strikes, air and sea embargoes and, in extreme cases, the use of ground troops.

Punishing terrorist groups in the remote terrain of distant countries like Afghanistan will require rapid military operations to maintain some element of surprise. It may require repeated raids as they move from country to country.

Conventional bombing of military headquarters and forces — the strategy the United States employed with considerable success during the Kosovo campaign — may not work because terrorist cells often have no permanent headquarters or armor and their forces can easily disperse. So taking on the terrorists may mean the use of ground troops supported by air power.

Because speed may be crucial and infrastructure may be sparse, those ground forces will need to be more mobile than the heavy armor divisions that took months to deploy for the 1991 war with Iraq.

Paratroopers, helicopter assault units and special forces could have a critical role. Their aim would be strike fast and then withdraw, not to seize and hold territory.

Such attacks could well mean casualties. "Forget about avoiding casualties," said John Keegan, the British military historian. "Air power can play its part, but this is not a conventional enemy."

There has been a long-standing assumption at the Pentagon that the American public would not tolerate significant casualties. The Pentagon boasted that it did not lose a single soldier in combat during the Kosovo campaign as if that was as important as the mission of evicting Yugoslav troops from the province.

The loss of just 18 United States soldiers during an ill-planned operation to capture clansmen in Somalia led the United States to abandon its mission in that East African nation. But the casualties seemed high because the mission seemed to be unclear and perhaps even unnecessary.

Now that terrorism has reached the American political and economic centers, inhabiting the minds of Americans in a way that is altogether new, the stakes have soared. Terrorism is no longer a foreign policy issue; it is central domestic issue.

With the political stakes so high, the United States may be obliged to seek unconventional partners. Afghanistan is remote from NATO's bases. Access to bases or airfields in Russia, once unthinkable, or Pakistan, problematic because of its relations with the Taliban, could be important if the United States decided to take the fight to the terrorist cells in Afghanistan.

Military raids might not succeed in capturing a terrorist like Mr. bin Laden. But they would show that there are few sanctuaries and would disrupt his terrorist network, at least for a while. In that sense, the advocates of using force acknowledge that the military option is also a test of wills.

"The terrorists think democracies are soft," Mr. Keegan said. "And of course they are soft most of the time. But when they get aroused they are far more resolute and harsher than an authoritarian system."

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## **US Possesses A Large 'Hammer,' But How To Wield It?**

***Military responses to Tuesday's attacks could range from 'surgical' air strikes to an international coalition.***

By Brad Knickerbocker, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

At the end of a week scarred by unprecedented terrorist attacks on American soil, it seems increasingly likely that the United States will retaliate with force.

It may be a matter of months (as it was after the attack on Pearl Harbor), or just days. But the signs are clear. President Bush - the commander in chief - talks of heinous "acts of war" that must be responded to, and he vows to "conquer" the enemy. Top administration officials are working to build allied support, as Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of State Colin Powell did during the Gulf War under former President George Bush. Massive US naval forces - the nation's prime means of extending its conventional military might around the world - are being positioned for possible action. Contingencies are being discussed, as are the lessons of previous failed attempts to strike at those believed to have ordered terrorist attacks against US facilities abroad.

"In the near term, our goal must be to identify the terrorists, and to launch a devastating retaliation against any such movement and any nation that provides them with shelter," says Anthony Cordesman, a national-security expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. That's a saber-rattling view many defense experts share, as well as most Americans, according to polls taken after the attacks against the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington.

Increasingly, it looks like the attacks were directed by exiled Saudi Osama bin Laden, who is living in Afghanistan under the protection of a government ruled by the Taliban Islamic militia. According to those who have held senior US military and intelligence positions, these are the options for a counterstrike with force:

\* A limited "surgical" strike involving ship-based cruise missiles. The US did this in 1998 against targets in Afghanistan and Sudan, following bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, believed to have been masterminded by Mr. bin Laden.

\* Larger airstrikes by fighter jets aboard aircraft carriers nearby and Air Force bombers flying thousands of miles from secure airfields (as they did in the Balkans).

\* Ground troops, ranging from smaller special forces units tasked with capturing bin Laden and spirited him out of Afghanistan to larger Army units designed to seize and hold territory.

\* A larger coalition of forces, including not only NATO allies, but also neighboring Arab states. This kind of coalition won the Gulf War in short order - not only militarily, but politically. This week, NATO opened the way for such an effort, invoking its mutual-defense clause for the first time since its inception in 1949. This means an attack against any one of the 19 member countries is considered an attack against all.

"We have a very large hammer that can be brought to bear in a number of ways at any time," one defense official told Reuters. "That's not a threat, it's a fact."

But each of the various weapons and tactics that make up that very large hammer has its own set of challenges. Many experts dismiss the idea of a relatively small cruise-missile strike as ineffectual. "What doesn't work is taking out a couple of mud huts in Afghanistan," says Paul Bremer, the former ambassador who chaired the National Commission on International Terrorism last year. Ambassador Bremer (and others) refer specifically to the Clinton administration's sending cruise missiles against Afghanistan and Sudan. Bin Laden escaped the attack on suspected terrorist camps in Afghanistan, and a suspected chemical weapons plant in Sudan, turned out to be a pharmaceutical-manufacturing facility, where civilian workers were killed by American weapons.

Sending aircraft against targets in Afghanistan involves a fairly long flight over Pakistani airspace - something Islamabad seems unlikely to approve, given its own difficulties with extremist Islamic groups and its tacit support of the Taliban. And while bombing strikes by manned aircraft can be devastating, they don't necessarily get rid of the designated "bad guy," as was seen with Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

"We could clearly deliver huge air strikes," says Larry Seaquist, a retired Navy-warship captain. "But to escalate above that, you need feet on the ground." Moreover, says Capt. Seaquist, that would probably take large Army units (not just small special forces) for sufficient political impact.

Considering such options and their unique problems, former CIA Director and retired US Navy Admiral Stansfield Turner says, "You've got inhibitions on all sides."

Military force could also exacerbate deep tensions between the US and many states in the region, particularly if more than one country has been aiding bin Laden (who denies involvement in this week's attacks).

"There's a tremendous amount of anger against the United States, especially in the Arab and Muslim world," says Ray Helmick, a professor of the Middle East at Boston College. "That anger has to be taken seriously."

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## **Time To Use The Nuclear Option**

By Thomas Woodrow

The time has come for the United States to make good on its past pledges that it will use all military capabilities at its disposal to defend U.S. soil by delivering nuclear strikes against the instigators and perpetrators of the attacks against the nation's political capital and the nation's financial capital.

At a bare minimum, tactical nuclear capabilities should be used against the bin Laden camps in the desert of Afghanistan. To do less would be rightly seen by the poisoned minds that orchestrated these attacks as cowardice on the part of the United States and the current administration.

To consider use of the nation's nuclear forces, in the present circumstances, cannot be brushed aside as an overly emotional response to the unknown face of terrorism. To begin with, we know who that face belongs to, and we know where a goodly portion of his logistical and training capabilities are located. A series of low-level, tactical nuclear strikes in the Afghanistan desert would pose no risk to large population centers and would carry little risk of fallout spreading to populated areas.

Also, our nuclear capabilities were designed to include just such a mission, and they are capable of fulfilling such a mission.

Lastly, the use of nuclear weapons against the bin Laden groups and his supporters will rightly shock the world, but it will also shock those nations that have been disposed for a variety of reasons to back the terrorist groups with economic and political support. The United States will, in effect, have raised the bar against future such acts from occurring. If we, as a nation, show the willingness to use the ultimate weapon in the current situation, there can be no doubt anywhere in the globe that the United States will make good on its past pledges to defend its sovereign territory with such weapons.

The attacks that occurred this week have been classified both as acts of war and as a second Pearl Harbor, but these designations ennoble the acts in Washington and New York. An act of war is constituted when one nation-state uses military force against another. Pearl Harbor was used by Japan to attack U.S. military targets to begin such an act of war. The bin Laden groups are not nations or states, and they have primarily targeted civilian populations. In fact, the use of so-called Islamic fundamentalist terrorism on a global scale is a new phenomena, a product of the modern age. In centuries past, civilized nations would conduct "punitive" expeditions against pirate regimes, but those actions were strictly local in scope and the protagonists could not approach the sophistication shown by the bin Laden groups. As we have seen from such "punitive" actions by the previous administration, those actions achieved next to nothing.

The fight against the bin Laden groups will be a fight to the death, and this is another valid reason to make use of our nation's nuclear forces. Unlike the more limited goals of wars between nations -- territory, formal surrender, etc. -- bin Laden's goals are the elimination of the United States as the global leader for progressive political, economic and cultural change. Should, God forbid, the United States withdraw from the Middle East and Persian Gulf, the terrorists will raise their sights to eliminate our influence elsewhere in the world. For a vision of what these groups see as their ultimate objective, we need look no further than the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, where women are beaten in the street for walking in public, owners of television sets are sent to prison or shot and ancient Buddhist monuments to universal peace and understanding are reduced to rubble.

No, the bin Laden groups must be exterminated completely before they become more powerful in their efforts to exterminate us. We should use our nuclear capabilities to help achieve this. We must, as a nation, take the firmest action possible against this growing evil in the world, before its poison spreads even further. If not the United States, who? If not now, under these circumstances, when?

*Thomas Woodrow, a 22-year veteran intelligence officer, resigned from the Defense Intelligence Agency in May.*

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## **District, Nation Move To High Alert**

### ***Washington, Nation Move To High Alert***

By Neely Tucker and Vernon Loeb, Washington Post Staff Writers

Washington and the nation moved the defense of the homeland yesterday to a level not seen since the raid on Pearl Harbor, reflecting the deep civil and military concern that the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were but the opening salvos in a war unlike any the United States has ever faced.

Without warning and without stated reason, the U.S. Secret Service effectively annexed dozens of blocks around the White House late Thursday and early Friday to create a defense perimeter. Coast Guard cutters patrolled ports and waterways at unprecedented levels from New York harbor to San Diego. F-15 Eagles and F-16 Fighting Falcons continued to fly combat patrols over Washington, New York and other major cities, supported by AWACs airborne surveillance and tanker aircraft, according to a spokesman for the North American Aerospace Defense Command in Colorado.

President Bush signed an order authorizing Pentagon officials to call up 35,000 reserves, most of whom will be used to keep military jets on alert at bases across the country, check ships in ports, assist in intelligence gathering activities and perform other missions that defense officials said either had not yet been determined -- or could not be disclosed.

"They are not convinced it is over," Rep. Jane Harman (D-Calif.), a ranking member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, said after briefings from the CIA and the FBI.

Day and night, helicopters circle the White House and the U.S. Capitol, sometimes seen and sometimes lost in cloud cover, the thump-thump of their blades beating the air. Reagan National Airport is closed. The country's most hallowed symbols along the Mall and the Tidal Basin -- the Washington Monument and the Lincoln, Jefferson and FDR memorials -- are all shut down. About a dozen police cars block access to Vice President Cheney's residence at the Naval Observatory, though he is at Camp David in Maryland.

More than 1,800 D.C. police officers are working 12-hour shifts to beef up security, particularly around government buildings and embassies. Days off have been canceled "till things settle down and we know what's going on," said D.C. Police Chief Charles H. Ramsey.

Washington's key waterways, the Potomac and Anacostia rivers, have been closed to all traffic by order of the Coast Guard. Boats are barred on the Potomac from the Woodrow Wilson Bridge upriver to the Key Bridge, about seven nautical miles. The Anacostia River is closed from the Route 50 bridge downriver to where it meets the Potomac. From New York to San Diego, city ports are closed to all but essential cargo vessels, which maritime officials board and guide into the harbor. Baggage is being inspected before it is loaded onto ships. In Pascagoula, Miss., Coast Guard vessels guard two Navy ships -- the USS Gates and the USS Cole -- under repair in local shipyards. The defensive measures were by no means limited to federal and military agencies. Maryland Gov. Parris N. Glendening (D) said yesterday that an eight-member, Cabinet-level team will immediately scrutinize the state's civil defense measures.

"This new level of terrorism demands that we review all state emergency plans and ensure they are updated, coordinated and effective," Glendening said in a statement.

Security threats, whether real or perceived, continue to come hard and fast.

In Washington yesterday, a man armed with a pistol tried to drive his black Audi onto the lawn of the Embassy of Saudi Arabia about 8 a.m. He was detained by security personnel at the diplomatic compound and then by the Secret Service. Agency spokesman Marc Connolly said officers responded in less than 60 seconds. A bomb squad examined the car and determined that it did not pose a threat, but streets around the Northwest Washington embassy have been closed while the incident is investigated.

The man is in custody and was not publicly identified yesterday.

"The people that were here were told to stay inside, and no one else was allowed into the building," said Ahmed Hassan, an adviser at the embassy. "We're not surprised, given what happened."

Besides the evacuation of the White House complex and the Capitol on Thursday, authorities said yesterday that the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center was emptied twice and that the D.C. government's headquarters at One Judiciary Square was half-abandoned by employees after the rumor of a bomb threat.

At 17th and I streets, the northern perimeter of the security zone around the White House, military police in green camouflage stood sentry on corners, and yellow police tape blocked access. D.C. police officers asked those who work inside the perimeter to show their identification before they could enter on foot.

Workers from the federal and private sector stood soberly in line in a cold, driving rain, ID cards in hand, and contemplated how life had changed.

"It's absolutely intimidating," said Therese S. Leung, a Dupont Circle resident who works at the New Executive Office Building. "It's recognition that we're not safe."

A block north on K Street, shops and the McCormick & Schmick's restaurant were evacuated because of a bomb threat. The building's occupants filled the sidewalks and nearby Farragut Square.

Within the cordoned-off zone, workers seemed to have little idea of what was happening from moment to moment. When large numbers of workers poured out of one building after hearing a rumor or a report of a bomb scare, employees across the street would also leave their offices, meeting on the sidewalk to share information.

"Ordinarily, you would complain about all the security and rumors and people coming out of their offices and nobody really knowing what's going on," said Dawn Spriggs, manager of Bethesda Engraving Ltd., minding an empty shop yesterday. "But this is a new day. If they want to check my ID 15 times, it's fine with me."

The confusion isn't limited to store employees. In Washington's tangled federal and city government relationship, city officials often seem left out of the security loop. D.C. City Administrator John A. Koskinen said his office learned of the closure of the streets around the White House by looking out the window and seeing lines of traffic backing up on major streets.

"Those are decisions that have been made solely by the Secret Service," Koskinen said. "We did not get advance notice, which created more gridlock downtown than anyone would have wanted. But this is a unique situation. It's not that anybody meant to overlook us."

A federal law enforcement official said the street closures and other emergency actions are meant to give authorities time to investigate bomb and other possible threats and prevent any problems. He said that he wasn't aware of a credible "general threat" against Washington but that some agencies are receiving information about potential problems and taking action.

"I don't think it's an exercise," said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "It takes time to evaluate things. I think that any agency that has a protective responsibility leaves nothing to chance. That's the prudent thing to do."

The speed at which intelligence and military maneuvers are moving into civilian territory has many civil libertarians almost stunned into silence. Johnny Barnes, the director of the Washington branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, declined to comment on the Secret Service maneuvers in federal parts of the city, deferring to a national statement that was mainly focused on protecting the rights of Arab Americans.

Mara Verheyden-Hilliard, co-founder of the Partnership for Civil Justice, a D.C.-based civil liberties law firm, was understanding -- but concerned for the days ahead.

"We strongly urge the Bush administration to take action within the Constitution and the Bill of Rights," she said.

"In the coming weeks, the traditional public spaces near the executive branch of government, the Ellipse and Lafayette Park, should remain available to the people of the United States to participate in the democratic process about the nation's options in response to this crisis."

Any eventual U.S. military action aimed at retaliating against those responsible for Tuesday's attacks would probably require the call-up of substantially more reserve forces, officials said yesterday. The last time a mobilization of reserves was ordered was in January 1991, when 265,322 National Guard and reserve troops were activated to fight in the Desert Storm campaign that ousted Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

Under the call-up authority, the Pentagon can keep the reservists on duty for up to two years.

Among other units that might be called, defense officials yesterday listed intelligence support, military police, medical teams, logistics specialists, engineers, search-and-rescue squads and civil affairs units.

The military services have identified requirements for 35,500 reservists, but Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld sought approval to activate up to 50,000. Under the order President Bush signed, the Pentagon can call as many as 1 million reservists. But Craig W. Duehring, principal deputy assistant secretary of defense for reserve affairs, told reporters yesterday that Rumsfeld had a "handshake agreement" with Bush to "coordinate" any possible future need to exceed 50,000.

The region's military bases remained on high alert, a status that apparently will continue well into next week.

At the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, access remained restricted to military personnel with photo identification, and all but one gate was closed.

Intercollegiate and club sports as well as all extracurricular activities through Sunday were canceled. Academy officials said that sponsors who had planned to visit with midshipmen today would have to pick them up at Navy-Marine Corps Stadium and return them there at the end of the evening.

Andrews Air Force Base is also on condition Charlie -- one step below Delta, the highest. Only "mission essential personnel" were allowed on the base yesterday, and a recording on the base's telephone system reminded callers to "be alert for unidentified vehicles, abandoned packages, suitcases and any unusual activities. Make sure all buildings and all areas remain secure at all times . . . close windows, blinds and curtains."

At Fort Detrick in Frederick County -- the medical research lab that is the focal point for military efforts to defend against biological warfare -- the base's 6,500 employees remain on the highest alert, said spokesman Charles Dacey. The post covers 1,200 acres in the foothills of the Catoctin Mountains. The perimeter is now being patrolled by military police, and employees can no longer gain admittance by driving their cars to the chain-link fence and being waved through with a proper decal on the car. Now, photo identification is required, and employees are not allowed to park near their buildings, Dacey said. Employees are also searched before they are allowed to enter any building. At Aberdeen Proving Grounds, the largest Army facility in Maryland, the base was operating under Code Charlie rules, the third of four levels of security alert.

For the more than 20,000 employees, contractors and residents, the security measures caused traffic backups on roads leading into the base as guards inspected vehicles and closely checked military ID cards.

"If you don't have the ID," said Aberdeen spokesman George Mercer, "then don't get in line, because we're not going to let you in."

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## **Terrorist Funding Targeted**

### ***Tracing Flow Has Been Hard in Past***

By Glenn Kessler, Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration yesterday vowed anew to cut off terrorists' supply of cash and financial resources in the United States and around the globe, but previous efforts have often proved ineffectual and have been hampered by a lack of coordination among federal agencies, according to experts and official reports.

As part of the new focus on disrupting terrorist fundraising, the Treasury Department said it had established an interagency task force that would coordinate information gathered throughout the government on the sources of terrorist funds.

Terrorist groups can rely on funding that falls outside traditional banking, such as the diversion of charitable contributions or the use of e-mail to exchange letters of credit, making it difficult to identify the flows of cash.

"No one knows how much money moves outside the traditional commercial banking system," said Rayburn Hesse, former chief of financial intelligence at the State Department. "With the advent of e-mail and cell phones, it is much harder to trace their kinds of transactions."

Terrorists, for obvious reasons, also use front organizations to disguise their operations. President Bill Clinton in 1998 signed an executive order allowing the government to freeze any assets linked to Osama bin Laden, the prime suspect in masterminding the attacks, but none have been positively identified, according to a Treasury report.

The terrorists who launched the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were clearly well funded; the cost of plane tickets, hotels and flying lessons for at least seven terrorists could total hundreds of thousands of dollars. Tracking the movement of those funds is an important part of the investigation, and severing the financial links is necessary to help prevent future tragedies.

"War in some cases may be military action, but can also be economic action, political action, diplomatic action and financial actions," said Secretary of State Colin L. Powell.

A senior administration official said President Bush, in his conversations with world leaders as he seeks to rally opposition to terrorism, has discussed ways to share not only military but also financial intelligence. "You can do a great deal on the financial side," the official said.

But officials acknowledge they are still formulating a strategy to block the financial resources of terrorists, given the nascent state of the investigation, the uncertainty of international cooperation and the practical limitations of linking assets to terrorist groups. "We don't have a game plan yet," another official said.

The task force announced yesterday, described by Treasury Undersecretary Jimmy Gurule as "an extraordinary effort that really illustrates the Treasury Department's creativity in developing new ways to combat terrorists," has actually been in the works for more than a year. It was mandated by Congress after a commission chaired by L. Paul Bremer, a counterterrorism expert, concluded that the government is unable to trace fundraising by terrorists.

The report noted that terrorists today rely less on state sponsorship and more on private finance, including secretly penetrating charitable organizations -- some legitimate and others front organizations -- and diverting some of their resources. It is now a crime to provide any support to an organization that the State Department has designated a terrorist operation, and an arm of the Treasury known as the Office of Foreign Asset Control is supposed to act on information provided by American financial institutions to block those resources.

But the report noted that other parts of Treasury, such as the Internal Revenue Service and Customs, have access to all sorts of information that could be used to combat terrorist fundraising. The IRS tracks nongovernmental organizations that may be collecting donations to support terrorism, while Customs has data on large currency transactions. But that information was never tracked and analyzed by a single entity.

Terrorists may also raise money through criminal acts. In July 2000, according to Treasury officials, 18 people were arrested in connection with cigarette smuggling and immigration violations. There is evidence that some of the defendants supplied money and military-style equipment to the Shiite Muslim Hezbollah organization in Lebanon, which has sponsored guerrilla attacks on Israel.

Under the 2001 budget, the foreign asset control office was able to add 36 people -- essentially boosting its staff by 50 percent -- to help set up the new information tracking center.

R. Richard Newcomb, director of the office, recently told Congress that, in addition to gathering information, the unit would seek to deny targeted terrorist groups access to the international financial system, expose and incapacitate their financial holdings and seek to persuade foreign government to take similar measures.

But underground money transfers are still extremely difficult to monitor since there is little or no paper trail and records are generally kept in code. It was, in fact, a traditional way of banking in South Asia before the advent of Western banking, and it is still favored by smugglers and terrorists, according to Hesse.

In one version of the underground transfer system, known as hawala or hundi, a person in one country -- say, Joe -- may give money to a broker, who then notifies a partner in another country. The partner then will provide the same amount of cash to whoever is designated by Joe. Anyone examining the accounts would simply see a deposit in one bank account and a withdrawal in another account in another country. But no money would appear to have been transferred across borders.

The brokers, who earn commissions of 1 to 10 percent, generally keep their money spread in a dozen or so accounts in different names in many banks, also to avoid raising suspicions.

In 1997, U.S. officials discovered the hawala system was used by South Asian smugglers to ship about 200 aliens a month from South Asia to the United States. The smuggler fees of \$20,000 a person were paid to a U.S.-based brokers, who made arrangements with alien smugglers in Asia.

Pakistani officials have accused former prime ministers Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto of using hawala to launder money.

In a recent report, the State Department said, "Dubai, India and Pakistan form a 'hawala triangle' responsible for significant international money laundering activities that go far beyond South Asia. While interdiction of non-bank money laundering systems such as hawala is difficult enough in itself, this difficulty is sometimes compounded by the lack of insufficient effective money laundering countermeasures in Dubai and the other Emirates."

## **INTERNATIONAL NEWS/RESPONSE**

London Daily Telegraph  
September 13, 2001

### **Britain Is 'Safe Haven' For World Terrorism**

By Philip Johnston, Home Affairs Editor

Osama Bin Laden's terrorist group, Al'Qaeda - which is suspected of involvement in the American attacks - has supporters in Britain and has used London as a centre for raising funds.

Al'Qaeda, or The Base, is one of 16 Islamic groups on a list of proscribed terror organisations with networks in the UK. The Home Office said people from Britain have trained with the group in Afghani camps.

When American cruise missiles were fired at the camps in 1998 after the bombing of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, a number of British Muslims were listed among the dead on "martyr" web sites.

Khalid al Fawwaz, 37, allegedly one of bin Laden's lieutenants, is in jail in Britain awaiting extradition to America on charges in connection with the embassy bombings in which 224 people died. A Saudi dissident and Afghan war veteran who sought asylum in Britain in 1994, he was living in Dollis Hill, north London, before his arrest.

The FBI claims that the London office of a group called the Advice and Reformation Committee - with which al Fawwaz was connected - is the British arm of Al'Qaeda. He is alleged to have passed on orders for fatwas, including one declaring a holy war against American citizens.

Al Fawwaz denies terrorist involvement and has appealed against extradition to the House of Lords, claiming a lack of evidence and an absence of jurisdiction. His case will be heard next month.

The extent of bin Laden's British network became apparent during the trial in New York this year of four men in connection with the African bombings and other plots to kill Americans. Much of the most crucial evidence came from Britain.

The court heard testimony alleging that dozens of telephone calls were made to bin Laden operatives from addresses in London. A terrorist handbook, *Military Studies in the Holy War Against Tyrants*, was found in a terrace house in Manchester.

The operation that gathered evidence for the African case was a rare example of direct action against Muslim militant groups. Normally, MI5 and Special Branch just keep a close watch on their activities.

Unless a case can be made out for a prosecution or a country deemed safe demands their extradition, nothing happens to them. Under human rights laws, British courts would not allow dissidents who have sought sanctuary to be repatriated to countries that might kill them.

Such tolerance has given Britain a reputation as a safe haven for world terrorism. Militant groups from Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Egypt, Algeria and Turkey all raise funds, forge links and disseminate propaganda in the UK. Britain is routinely asked by countries such as Sri Lanka and India to help cut off the millions of pounds raised annually from sympathetic migrant communities in the UK and laundered through London financial institutions. There is also an army of dissidents and their supporters ready to raise funds and preach the cause from Islamic centres, mosques and nondescript offices across the country. One is Sheikh Omar Bakri Mohammed, a Syrian who has been in Britain since 1985 and lives on benefits in London with his six children.

His al-Muhajiroun organisation group is dedicated to the overthrow of Western society and the establishment of a khilafah, an Islamic state. Interviewed on BBC Radio 4's Today programme yesterday, he said: "What happened was a direct consequence of the evil foreign policy of the USA. This is the compensation and payback for its own atrocities against Muslims."

Mainstream Muslim organisations were swift to condemn the bombings. Mohammed Shafiq, of the Muslim Council of Great Britain, said evidence should be compiled and the perpetrators brought to book. "The Muslim community wholeheartedly condemns this atrocity," he said.

But there are some within it who will be celebrating.

London Times  
September 13, 2001

## **How Islamic World Learnt To Hate The US**

### ***Michael Binyon On Dances Of Jubilation***

Who hates America? What peoples, nations or governments are so twisted by loathing that they can concoct such an atrocity, plan its execution and dance in jubilation at the murder of thousands? As they grope through the debris of normal life, Americans wonder why their country — prosperous, peaceful and lawful, a symbol since its founding of freedom and opportunity and a beacon for the oppressed and huddled masses — should have become the target of so much hatred.



No government has expressed anything but horror and grief at the carnage. No group has dared take responsibility, for fear of immediate retaliation. But the streets tell the story: rejoicing on the West Bank and in Palestinian refugee camps, "happiness" in the mountains of Afghanistan, praise to Allah among Muslims in northern Nigeria. Overwhelmingly it is among the poor, the dispossessed and those who see themselves as victims that the rejoicing is heard. More ominously, such sentiments are largely confined to one religion and one region: the Muslim world. This is, for the West, a bitter commentary: it would seem to justify those who see Islam as the new enemy of America, those who conclude that the Islamic world has demonised the West, and America in particular. Certainly there are others who are anti-American, who denounce world capitalism and see the United States as an arrogant superpower that deserves to be attacked for its oppression of the poor. They include the political radicals and intellectual revolutionaries of the European Left, the disaffected of the Balkans, especially the Serbs, and a dwindling band of hardline Marxists. But they do not have the cultural, religious and political fanaticism to take them beyond conventional low-scale terrorist attacks to suicidal mass terrorism.

Besides, most of those who hate America politically would be happy to move there, enjoy its wealth and live in its society. Soviet Russians, who before the collapse of Communism resented being called "the evil empire", saw America as a challenge for world supremacy and directed their efforts into thwarting American power politically and militarily. But they never had a personal burning hatred for the United States. It was political rivalry, not messianic demonisation. "I want to emigrate to New York," Russians would tell me in the 1970s. "We like Americans — they think big, like us."

Serbs also, embittered as they were by the bombings during the Kosovo conflict, share a Christian, Western culture with the United States, understand its motivations and recognised that the military action was an attack more on Slobodan Milosevic than on the Serb way of life. With the ousting of Mr Milosevic, Serbian hatred has faded as daylight has streamed into the country.

It is very different in countries from Nigeria to Indonesia. Even in Nigeria, far from the Middle East conflict, they were grieving for New York's victims in much of the Christian South, while the Muslim North rejoiced in the blow against America.

The Muslim world has an old and proud culture, but one that has felt under assault from the West for the past century. The modern Islamic revival has been in contradistinction to the West and its overwhelming influence. This has coincided with a feeling of political powerlessness across much of the Islamic world — a feeling that America dictates the agenda by which the world lives and that Western assumptions now order the affairs of nations. That feeling fuelled the Khomeini revolution in Iran and its virulent denunciation of "the Great Satan." Often I have sat in Palestinian refugee camps or the homes of ordinary, moderate Arabs and heard accusations not just of British responsibility for the creation of Israel but of America's unstinting support for Israeli occupation and Israeli settlements.

Islamic radicalism draws its strength from a burning sense of injustice. Any glance at the history of the Middle East and the Muslim world beyond shows that, since Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, barely a decade has passed without some Muslim area in Asia or Africa being lost to the Western Christian powers, or Muslims fighting against the encroachments of these powers. The campaigns of the past century in Central Asia, the East Indies, North Africa and India and more recent interventions in Iran, Turkey and the Arab world add up to more than 250 years of combat. Muslims see them as wars of religion, waged not only in defence of territory but also of Islam.

The West is often blithely unaware of this. If we think about the havoc the West has caused in the Muslim world, we think mainly of what we have given to the area: education systems, transport links, technology, agriculture, political structures, satellite television and the Western way of life. We do not think of what we took away, what we destroyed, consciously or unconsciously: Koranic education, a sense of community, social coherence, the old religious legal system; above all, respect for Muslim culture and values.

The West has never understood the umma — the sense of community within Islam. Nationhood in Western history is based on ethnic and linguistic foundations, not on common spiritual assumptions. Nationalism is the force the West developed, and a bacillus that has also produced a fever in the Middle East. But Muslims look back on a glorious past a thousand years ago and know they have been left far behind.

America is the model now. It is not just envy that motivates those who say that Islam is the answer and turn back to their roots and their past. It is a rejection of the sort of success that they see as as corrosive and intrusive — bringing pornography to the Internet, the atomisation of families, the neglect of religious values.

The crisis has been gathering pace and bitterness. It has led to mutual incomprehension. The West looks at Muslim political systems and shakes its head in despair. In few countries is there a functioning model based on the rule of law, human rights, democracy and political legitimacy. The closer a system comes to such a model, in Malaysia or Morocco, the less the anti-Western virulence. But the more repressed the population and the greater the sense of

injustice — in Iraq, Pakistan or Sudan — the more the ordinary person sees a conspiracy of the powerful, led by America, to keep them in misery.

The result can be a zeal bred in the alleyways of Gaza or the slums of Tehran that sees hope only in the elimination of the enemy, the crushing of the "Great Satan". This is the hope that is perverted into terrorism, the promise achievable only with the destruction of America's monopoly of power and influence. It is the deadly force that has brought mayhem to Manhattan's streets.

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## **Sympathy From Russia**

I would like to share the overwhelming grief and compassion every Russian feels these days for the people of the United States in the aftermath of the barbaric act of aggression on the part of international terrorism.

We see moving evidence of that in the outpouring of popular sympathy by the hundreds who have come to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow with flowers and candles. President Vladimir Putin made a televised address expressing deep condolences to the families of the victims and our total support for the American people. This message was reinforced in his letter to George W. Bush and in the telephone conversations between our two presidents.

On Sept. 13 flags on the whole territory of the Russian Federation and in all our embassies abroad are to be flown at half-staff. By presidential decree a minute of silence is to be observed in mourning.

Russia knows all too well what terrorism means through our own painful experience. I remember that almost exactly to this date two years ago the peace and quiet of a residential area in Moscow was broken by the explosion of an apartment building -- one in a series of heinous acts of terror in the Russian cities that took hundreds of innocent lives.

Reality will never be the same now. We entered a new stage demanding thoroughly coordinated efforts to meet the terrorist challenge. Russia stands ready to join forces with the United States, other G-8 countries and the international community. The solidarity and indignation we all feel must be translated into practical deeds now. The urgency of Russia's specific proposals to create a united front against global terrorist threat has been once again tragically underscored.

We have offered to provide our resources, including special services assets, to identify the perpetrators of the terrorist assault on the United States.

*YURI V. USHAKOV, Ambassador of the Russian Federation Washington*

New York Times  
September 14, 2001

## **Russia Condemns Attacks On The U.S. And Vows To Aid NATO**

By Suzanne Daley

BRUSSELS, Sept. 13 — President Bush's call for a global coalition against terrorism continued to gain support overseas today as Russia, in a rare joint statement with NATO, expressed its anger over Tuesday's attacks in New York and Washington and called for a worldwide effort to combat such acts.

After a special meeting here, the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council issued a statement saying that while NATO allies and Russia "have suffered from terrorist attacks against civilians, the horrific scale of the attacks of 11 September is without precedent in modern history."

The council, which oversees relations between the two former cold war enemies, said NATO and Russia would "intensify" their cooperation to fight the scourge of terrorism.

"NATO and Russia call on the entire international community to unite in the struggle against terrorism," the statement said.

Russia's support for the United States and the alliance as a whole has been unusually forthright, rooted in what Moscow perceives as a common cause: the fight against Islamic radicalism. Russia has portrayed the war in Chechnya as a struggle against Islamic fanatics and has blamed the same forces for the instability on its southern borders.

The Russian government has consistently asserted that the Islamic terrorism it is fighting has its roots in Afghanistan.

A senior NATO official said that Russia had offered the statement, without being asked by either alliance or American officials.

As shock seemed to give way to anger throughout Europe, some allies were forthright in supporting military action. In Britain, where Home Secretary Jack Straw said he had received reports that "hundreds" of British citizens had been killed in the attack on the World Trade Center, the government announced that its forces were already on alert. France's president, Jacques Chirac, did not specifically mention military action, but he said that polls showed that 96 percent of the French were "in solidarity with the U.S.," a level of support he said he had never seen before. "France, I would like to repeat, will be totally supportive," he said. "We will show solidarity."

On Wednesday, the 19 members of NATO took the unprecedented step of invoking a mutual defense clause. NATO officials denied a report in the British newspaper The Guardian saying that the alliance had already drawn up a plan to invade Afghanistan, the refuge of Osama bin Laden, an exiled Saudi suspected of having planned Tuesday's attacks.

Washington Post  
September 14, 2001  
Pg. 26

## **Key Arab States Voice Support**

### ***Allies May Balk at Military Action***

By Howard Schneider, Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, Sept. 13 -- President Bush won quick public support from key Arab governments today for his declaration of an international campaign against terrorism. But moving from that to participation in any military response may prove difficult in a region where organizations classified as terrorist in Washington are viewed by many as armies fighting for a just cause.

Officials in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan pledged that their intelligence and police services would help U.S. investigators seeking to determine who was behind Tuesday's synchronized attacks in New York and Washington. U.S. officials have said their suspicions are focused on the Afghanistan-based network of accused Saudi terrorist Osama bin Laden. According to U.S. reports, investigators are interviewing men apparently of Saudi and Egyptian origin who may be bin Laden followers.

Saudi Arabia and Egypt, as well as Jordan, have extensive experience monitoring and fighting extremist groups and will likely be asked to help unravel the case.

"We agree that this is an attack against us all," said Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdul-Allah Khatib, whose country foiled a plot by bin Laden associates in late 1999 to attack hotels and tourist sites on the eve of millennium celebrations. But he added: "We will need to exert effort to draw lines between the issues -- terrorism and the struggle for independence on the part of different people. It is not an easy thing."

Crown Prince Abdullah, Saudi Arabia's day-to-day ruler, told Bush in a telephone call that the kingdom would help find those responsible for the attacks, but warned at the same time against blaming all Arabs or other Muslims for terrorism, the Saudi Press Agency reported.

"Your excellency realizes the repercussions of issuing speculations being made by some in the media in the United States and attempts to openly accuse Arabs and Muslims in general, while Arabs and Muslims stand aloof from such acts that no sane and God-believing individual would commit," the official news agency quoted Abdullah as telling Bush.

Having spent much of the 1990s battling an Islamic uprising, Egypt maintains sometimes oppressive oversight of organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Group. President Hosni Mubarak's government has

frequently complained that Western countries, Britain in particular, offer easy asylum to individuals convicted by its military courts of terrorist crimes.

An Egyptian government spokesman, Nabil Osman, said that if the United States, NATO and the West in general were serious about crushing such movements, his country was ready to help.

"Terrorism is becoming more sophisticated and much more ferocious," Osman said. "Individually, no one will be able to combat it, and what happened in America proves that. We have been victims ourselves."

But regional analysts and government officials agreed there may be limits to what Arab countries are willing to do militarily at a time when shock over the attacks is offset by anger over U.S. support for Israel and what is seen as unjust punishment of Iraq.

Even as they pledged help in figuring out what happened in New York and Washington this week, allies in the Middle East stopped short of commitments for future military action. This is, they noted, different than the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, which threatened the sovereignty of an Arab nation and prompted Egypt, Saudi Arabia and even antagonists such as Syria to join a coalition to repel President Saddam Hussein's army.

While Afghanistan's ruling Taliban movement is not popular in most Arab countries, it could be difficult for Arab forces to join any U.S.-led military action against another Muslim state. This is particularly true at a time when Arabs feel the United States has ignored their pleas for help in stopping what they see as an unjust use of U.S.-supplied military power by Israel in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"The dilemma of the Arab leaders is on one hand to be able to prove to the U.S. that they are sincere friends, without creating too much resentment among their own public," said Walid Kazziha, a political scientist at the American University of Cairo. "To put it as good vs. evil empties the whole thing from its political context. . . . What will be required is intelligence, and that will be provided . . . but it will be support short of active military involvement."

Despite the massive scenes of destruction in New York, fighting what Bush has termed the "first war of the 21st century" may require some difficult choices in places such as Riyadh, the Saudi capital. Saudi Arabia is one of only three countries -- Pakistan and the United Arab Emirates are the others -- to have diplomatic relations with the Taliban government, which professes a strain of Islam similar to the dominant Wahhabi Islam in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the Saudi royal family's generosity toward ultraconservative religious institutes may come under scrutiny as a possible source of funding for Islamic militants. Saudi Arabia and Yemen have in the past set limits on how deeply they will let the West probe their societies: Both have frustrated attempts by the FBI to fully understand the networks behind terrorist incidents such as the bombing of the USS Cole in Aden, Yemen, last October and the 1996 explosion at the Khobar Towers apartment building that killed 19 U.S. servicemen.

When U.S. courts issued indictments in the Khobar bombing earlier this year, Saudi officials denounced what they viewed as interference in an internal matter. Likewise, U.S. officials have been frustrated at Yemen's inability -- some regard it as refusal -- to investigate possible connections between high-level Yemeni officials and bin Laden. Dismantling bin Laden's organization or even toppling the Taliban would leave untouched groups such as Hezbollah, the Shiite Muslim movement in Lebanon; the Palestinians' Islamic Resistance Movement, or Hamas, in the West Bank and Gaza; or the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Damascus-based organizations that have contributed to Palestinian attacks on Israel. Pushing into that frontier would put the United States directly in conflict with Syria, Iran and others that support armed struggle against Israel.

Washington Times  
September 14, 2001  
Pg. 3

## **China-Taliban Deal Signed On Attack Day**

By Calum MacLeod, United Press International

BEIJING -- An official Chinese delegation was in Pakistan on Tuesday -- the day of America's horror -- signing a deal with Taliban officials from neighboring Afghanistan to expand economic and technical cooperation.

In principle, Beijing still recognizes Afghanistan's government-in-exile, but in practice, it is steadily building ties to Kabul. The effort illustrates both Beijing's unique approach to fighting terrorism and the difficulty of including China in any U.S.-led coalition.

China is ready to strengthen dialogue and cooperation with the United States and the international community in combating all manner of terrorist violence, President Jiang Zemin reportedly told President Bush on Wednesday.

But Chinese diplomats hastened to clarify that Mr. Jiang meant cooperation through a multilateral forum like the United Nations, not support of American unilateral retaliation, nor any by NATO. A better option, they suggested, may be China's own Shanghai Cooperation Organization, a recent gathering of four Central Asian republics, Russia and China, that is designed to revive commerce along the Silk Road and, more importantly, clamp down on the Islamic terrorist problem in China's own back yard. Thanks to the globe-trotting Dalai Lama, Tibet is China's most celebrated ethnic and religious dilemma, yet the Turkic, Muslim region of Xinjiang, China's remote western province, arguably worries Beijing far more. For more than a decade, its native Uighur people, some 8 million strong, have responded with anger and bombing campaigns to an influx of Chinese settlers now totaling at least 7.8 million. Beijing believes Uighur separatists plotting an independent homeland are galvanized by militant strains of Islam seeping over Xinjiang's 3,200-mile border with eight different nations, including Afghanistan. China's external response to such threats stresses dialogue, not force, and partly explains why Beijing openly courts the Taliban.

"We want to understand the Afghan situation," said Fang Jinying of the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, a think tank linked to China's intelligence agency.

"In the past, all our information came from Western and Russian media, but we must see with our own eyes." Miss Fang first visited Afghanistan last year, when she was impressed with the apparent peace and stability the Taliban had brought to most of a nation long scarred by war.

"We hope the Taliban and the Northern Alliance can stop fighting and set up a unified government," Miss Fang said in an interview. "Afghan peace is good for Chinese security."

China hopes that negotiations and economic carrots will persuade the Taliban, and other neighbors, to curb "hostile forces" within their territory.

Above all, Beijing preaches its belief in a multipolar world, not dominated by one superpower, that respects "noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries."

China's leaders live in dread of Western intervention in Xinjiang or Tibet. While those same leaders crave respectability on the world stage, badges of global approval like the Olympics and membership of the World Trade Organization, they also carry weighty historical baggage on their shoulders.

During the Cold War, China saw itself the champion of the developing world and still preserved relations with many of the United States' worst enemies.

The 1999 bombing of China's em-bassy in Yugoslavia, and this year's surveillance plane crisis, marked the latest chapters of more than 150 years of painful relations with the West. For 50 years, the Communist Party has kept these wounds raw, as indicated by celebratory, anti-American comments in Chinese language Internet chat rooms. As one Western diplomat remarked yesterday in Beijing, the Chinese government has a problem, a psychological challenge, in seeing the United States as a victim. Yet it also will use this incident to push forward its own program of anti-terrorism and anti-separatism.

International Herald Tribune  
September 14, 2001

## **Attack Against U.S. Widens Fears In Southeast Asia**

By Michael Richardson, International Herald Tribune

SINGAPORE -- The devastating attack in the United States has intensified concerns about the spread of Muslim extremist groups with international connections in Southeast Asia.

Western and Southeast Asian officials say they have evidence of increasing connections among Muslim extremist groups in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, and between them and international terror organizations.

Officials and analysts note that growing economic hardship and unemployment in the region, political instability and chronic sectarian and separatist conflict are fueling Islamic extremism in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines.

As a result, Southeast Asia has become "a potentially fertile recruiting ground" for radical Muslim organizations, said Daljit Singh, a senior research fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore.

"They are taking advantage of instability to spread the Islamic cause and try to push out America," he said. "The single most important issue that fuels religious extremism in the region is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the feeling that the international community, especially the U.S., should do more to resolve it."

Although Indonesia is a secular state, it has the world's largest Muslim population, some of whom oppose the country's close ties to the United States and demand Islamic rule for their country.

Foreign Minister Hassan Wirayuda of Indonesia said Wednesday that Indonesian authorities had thwarted two planned attacks on the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, but did not give other details.

Security was recently tightened after Washington received what it said was a credible threat against U.S. interests and citizens in Indonesia.

U.S. officials say that those who carried out the attacks in the United States on Tuesday may have had links to the Saudi militant Osama bin Laden or his Qaida group. Rohan Gunaratna, a fellow at the Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at St. Andrew's University in Scotland, said that Qaida had provided money and training to a few Islamic groups in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines and planned to "widen and deepen" its influence in the region.

He said that Qaida was extending its influence in Southeast Asia by using the Internet, infiltrating Muslim nongovernmental organizations, sending extremist religious leaders to the region, and taking activists for training in Afghanistan, where Mr. bin Laden is based.

"The chances are very high that in the next three years, we will fight terrorism, specifically international terrorism, that enters Indonesia," the deputy chief of the Indonesian Army, Lieutenant General Kiki Syahnakri, said in a recent interview with The Australian newspaper.

He said that Indonesia wanted to strengthen cooperation with U.S. government agencies to upgrade its anti-terrorist capabilities.

President Megawati Sukarnoputri of Indonesia and Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia agreed at a recent meeting in Kuala Lumpur that their security agencies should cooperate closely to counter Muslim extremist groups in the region.

Shortly after they met, Muslim separatist rebels in the Indonesian province of Aceh threatened to disrupt traffic in one of the world's busiest sea lanes, the Malacca Straits, unless ships sought permission to pass.

The Indonesian police say that a small group of Malaysian Muslim militants were behind a number of bombings in Jakarta, including at two Christian churches in July, that wounded an estimated 70 people.

Last month, the police in Malaysia arrested 10 men who they said were members of an Afghan-trained militant group, Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia, that hopes to turn the country, which has a majority of Muslims among its population, into a "pure" Islamic society. Like Indonesia, Malaysia is a secular state, although Islam is the official religion.

Far Eastern Economic Review

September 20, 2001

## **Terror's Aftermath**

***Beyond the staggering human toll of this week's attacks on the United States, the events will have a lasting impact on Asia's economies and on security in the region***

By Bruce Gilley and Review correspondents

IT WAS A SHOT HEARD--and felt--around the world. For Asia, which has pinned its future on a strong and confident United States, the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon threaten not only U.S. economic leadership in Asia but also its willingness to undergird the region's often shaky security. The U.S. was the main victim of the outrage. But unless the governments and people of Asia respond quickly, they too will fall victim to the terrible impact.

The immediate toll in lives lost was not known as the REVIEW went to press. The numbers will be staggering, a bewildering testament to the horror of this day. Through television, our global village witnessed the world's worst act of terrorism.

"It was such a gorgeous day too. A perfect autumn morning. It was disbelief after disbelief," recalls Matt Pottinger, a Hong Kong-based reporter with The Asian Wall Street Journal who was heading into New York for a meeting at The Wall Street Journal offices as the first airliner slammed into the World Trade Centre next door. "After the report of the second plane, we turned for home. My heart just sank."

The U.S. nightmare spread quickly around the world, especially to Asia where stockmarkets tumbled, airports were thrown into chaos and financial sectors braced for crisis. Malaysia's twin Petronas Towers--Asia's answer to the World Trade Centre--were evacuated on September 12 after a terrorist threat.

Immediate security threats loom in Asia. China, despite words of condolence, has been a vocal critic of the U.S. military and political presence in the region. North Korea was the slowest Asian nation to respond. As the U.S. Seventh Fleet in Japan went into self-defence mode, the security of shipping through the Malacca Strait, Japan's key source of imported energy and the conduit for Asia's exports to Europe, was thrown into question. The Spratly Islands suddenly seemed more vulnerable to regional conflicts.

Critical to the impact on Asia is how the attacks affect U.S. foreign policy. Washington had taken a hawkish turn under President George W. Bush even before the attacks, forthrightly supporting Taiwan and acting tougher with North Korea. After September 11, that stance could harden further.

The question is whether the tragedy bolsters unilateralists who are already having their way in the Bush administration. Many voices will argue for an end to U.S. unilateralism in order to effectively cooperate with other nations against terrorism. But Washington will be under pressure at home to protect itself with or without regional help. That could mean sudden attacks on countries that harbour or support terrorists--possibly North Korea and Afghanistan (see story on page 22)--and immediate acceleration of plans to build a national missile-defence system that would render obsolete nuclear arsenals in China and Pakistan. A host of issues in which Asia needs U.S. cooperation--from the environment to global trade--could be affected.

More broadly, a renewed U.S. focus on fighting terrorism could halt the much-vaunted reorientation of U.S. foreign policy towards Asia. Unable to tackle security threats in both East and West, the U.S. could recommit to threats in the Middle East, opening up a power vacuum in Asia. China is the most obvious candidate to fill the void. Its China Times newspaper crowed the day after the attacks that the destruction would help bring an end to U.S. "power politics" and its "sense of God-given historic mission."

China, however, will be chagrined that the events in the U.S. stand to diminish one of the multilateral groupings to which it has warmed: the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, or Apec. China is due to host Apec leaders in Shanghai in October, but if U.S. President George W. Bush is forced to cancel his attendance in order to deal with rebuilding confidence back home, this year's meeting will lose much of its weight.

U.S. allies like Australia, South Korea and Japan might have to step in to take up the slack. India, which has been working closely with the U.S. to fight terrorism, could see its relationship with the U.S. grow stronger. Indeed, the U.S. might make it clear it expects as much. Southeast Asian nations might also be under pressure to end their long-standing ambivalence towards the U.S. role in Asian security (see story on page 19).

It is too early to tell who was behind the attacks. If, as suspected, Muslim extremists were at work, it could provoke U.S. attacks on Muslim targets that would bring a backlash from Muslim groups around Asia. Not just Indonesia and Malaysia, but the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore could be pulled into the fight. That would take the region closer to the nightmare scenario sketched out by Harvard University political scientist Samuel Huntington, who argues in his 1998 book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, that conflicts between religious groups would be impossible to manage because they were based on faith and dogma.

"If it's not [just one] big shock and we have another shock coming, if there's some retaliation from the U.S., or some other things, it will be very bad for the world," says Thai Commerce Minister Adisai Bodharamik.

The economic impact could well overwhelm the security threat. The World Trade Centre included a Who's Who of Asian business, including 43 Japanese companies. Writ large, the building symbolized Asia's economic dependence on a strong U.S. Thailand's Charoen Pokphand, Japan's Fuji Bank, Taiwan's Chung Hwa Commercial Bank, Sinopec of China, Overseas Union Bank of Singapore, South Korea's LG Group--all were there. The attacks closed stockmarkets in Thailand, Taiwan and Malaysia.

Until last Tuesday there was still hope, albeit slim, that the U.S. economy could achieve a soft landing and that the world could avoid recession. By Wednesday, following the horrific assaults, that hope had all but vanished. Now there is a real danger that the attacks could precipitate a full-blown global recession.

One lost business day in U.S. and the ensuing disruption could easily knock 0.5% from the country's GDP. With 2001 growth currently forecast at 1.5% or lower, and the economy widely expected to stagnate in the third quarter, a recession appears inevitable.

The real impact could be on confidence. Taken by itself, the direct economic impact of the attacks could be seen as just a severe storm on the U.S. East Coast. But sentiment could worsen rapidly, causing a chain reaction.

The world economy was already vulnerable. Taken together, initial vulnerability and heightened perceptions of global risk add up to a potentially crushing combination.

"There is a risk, probably high, that this crisis, as it unfolds, could come to precipitate the capitulation of the U.S. consumer and mark a new inflection point in the U.S. recession," said John Woods, Hong Kong-based head of credit research at HSBC.

Deflating U.S. consumer demand will further hammer Asia's exporters, particularly in the electronics sector. Further layoffs are likely to follow in Malaysia, Taiwan and Singapore. Falling stock prices and wider corporate bond-yield spreads as investors flee to quality mean higher capital costs for U.S. corporations. That means lower investment both at home and abroad. Expect foreign and portfolio investment into Asia to fall as a result.

Brent crude spiked following the attack. U.S. retaliation against Islamic targets could easily push the price up further. That would severely hurt Asia's oil importers, especially Korea, where oil makes up around a quarter of all imports. Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines are also vulnerable, though a weaker dollar may alleviate some of the pain.

Stockmarkets around Asia will mirror declines in U.S. markets, further damaging corporate investment plans. Asian central banks have plenty of leeway to keep interest rates low, especially given the probability of lower U.S. rates and a moderately weaker dollar. However, in an environment of heightened global risk and weaker regional economies, Asian companies cannot expect easier credit. Unemployment will reach record levels and policy responses will have little impact.

In Japan, a further stockmarket decline would devastate the financial system. Japanese banks, already saddled with nonperforming loans and slimmer profits, would see the value of their large equity portfolios drop. Consumers concerned about the stability of financial institutions may begin to consider withdrawing their deposits, while it will become harder for the country to expect an economic recovery led by external demand.

"At the moment, people in Japan don't know how to interpret or digest the impact of what is happening in the U.S.," says Masaaki Kanno, chief economist at JP Morgan.

The Asian century was nurtured by an American pre-eminence in Asia. Now it is up to Asia to show that it can respond to a vicious attack on the U.S. in a responsible and forthright manner.

London Times  
September 14, 2001

## **Thousands Of Islamic Zealots Ready To Meet Fire With Fire**

By Zahid Hussain

His grey beard coloured with henna, a frail, black-turbaned Maulana Samiul Haq sits cross-legged on a carpeted floor discussing the concept of jihad with a visiting Egyptian Islamic scholar. The pupils who crammed into the room listen in rapt silence.

Head of Pakistan's largest Islamic seminary, Mr Haq is a fiery orator and influential Islamic religious leader. He is at present leading a campaign against possible American military action against Afghanistan. "Any such action will set Pakistan and the entire region on fire," he said. "No American citizen would be safe in this country."

Situated on Grand Trunk Road near Peshawar, Jamia Darul Uloom Haqqani is Pakistan's leading Islamic institution, and it is also seen as the cradle of the Taleban movement that now rules Afghanistan.

More than 90 per cent of the leadership of Islamic militias have graduated from this school. It is also a recruiting place for dozens of Pakistan's militant groups fighting Indian forces in the disputed region of Kashmir.

Most of the three thousand students at the school are from Afghanistan and from former Soviet Central Asia. Some of them have already taken part in "holy wars" in Afghanistan and Kashmir.

"Jihad is an essential part of Islam," Mr Haq said. He denies that the school provides military training or encourages pupils to join jihad during academy sessions.

Earlier this year the school was a venue for an anti-American conference in which all militant Islamic groups participated with their armed supporters in guerrilla uniforms. A proliferation of jihadi organisations in Pakistan is a result of the militant culture espoused by a growing number of madressas (religious schools). Hundreds of thousands of Islamic zealots produced by the Jamia Haqqani and other madressas across the country are ready to take to the streets against President Musharraf of Pakistan should he decide to support military action against the Taleban. Mr Haq has already started mobilising anti-American public sentiment and is expecting an attack in a few days.



As the head of the Afghan Defence Council, an umbrella organisation of some 40 Islamic groups and political parties, he has called a meeting of the group to plan action in the event of a military strike against Afghanistan. "We will urge the people to come out on the streets and revolt against the Government if Pakistan airspace is used for an attack on our Muslim brothers," he said.

London Daily Telegraph  
September 15, 2001

## **Blair Warns Of Rogue Nuclear Strikes**

By George Jones, Political Editor

A BLEAK warning that terrorists would be prepared to use nuclear weapons if they could get hold of them was given by Tony Blair yesterday.

The Prime Minister called for a "dramatic rethink" of the way democratic countries tackled international terrorists. Tuesday's "hideous and foul" events showed that there were no longer any moral limits on their methods of killing or the number of victims, he said.

Mr Blair said that anyone who had suggested a week ago that thousands of innocent people would have been killed by terrorists in New York would have been described as "alarmist". But it had happened.

He said: "We know that they would, if they could, go further and use chemical or biological or even nuclear weapons of mass destruction." There were groups of people and occasionally states, who traded the technology and capability for such weapons.

Mr Blair said: "It is time this trade was exposed, disrupted and stamped out. We have been warned by the events of Sept 11. We should act on the warning."

Jack Straw, the Foreign Secretary, said "people who have the fanaticism and capability to fly an airliner laden with passengers and fuel into a skyscraper will not be deterred by human decency from deploying chemical or biological weapons, missiles or nuclear weapons or other forms of mass destruction".

Mr Blair used yesterday's emergency recall of Parliament to signal a concerted drive to track down and root out terrorist groups. He said that states that continued to harbour international terrorists would be regarded "as an enemy themselves".

Iain Duncan Smith, in his first Commons speech as Tory leader, praised the Prime Minister for responding "quickly and resolutely" to the crisis and giving a lead to other nations who valued freedom and democracy.

He promised full support for Mr Blair's pledge to stand "shoulder to shoulder" with the United States, Britain's strongest friend and ally. "Together we must make sure that the perpetrators are hunted down and brought to justice," he said.

The Commons was packed for Mr Blair's statement on the terrorist outrages in America. A few seconds before 11am, debates in the Commons and Lords were interrupted to allow MPs and peers to join the nation in a three-minute silence.

Mr Blair said that the death count of Britons - which is expected to total several hundreds - was of "epoch-making proportions". Murder of British people in New York was no different to their "murder in the heart of Britain".

Party political hostilities were cast aside for the day, and there was overwhelming support for British support of American action to identify and punish the perpetrators.

But several MPs expressed doubts. Labour's Tam Dalyell said that if innocent people were killed in retaliation more terrorists would be recruited.

George Galloway, Labour MP for Glasgow Kelvin, said that a retaliation attack by the US against a Muslim country would create "10,000 Osama bin Ladens".

Mr Blair insisted that Britain had "an obligation" to bring those responsible to justice and would stand by America in its time of need. He emphasised that President Bush had not "lashed out" in response to the attacks.

The US was proceeding with care, assembling hard evidence against those responsible and "their very deliberation is a measure of the seriousness of their intent".

Officials confirmed the Government was reviewing extradition laws and would also consider the question of introducing identity cards.

Action was needed to destroy the "machinery of terror" by finding out how terrorist groups were financed, their money laundered and the links between terror and organised crime.

Countries harbouring international terrorists would have to withdraw their protection or be treated as enemies themselves.

Mr Blair will discuss the fight against world terrorism with Gerhard Schroder, the German Chancellor, during private talks in Berlin on Wednesday.

Lord Robertson, the Nato Secretary General, will then visit Berlin for talks with Mr Schroder and other senior figures on Thursday.

Washington Post  
September 15, 2001  
Pg. 6

## **Russia Rejects Joint Military Action With United States**

By Susan B. Glasser, Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Sept. 14 -- Russia today rejected participation in any U.S.-led retaliatory strike against terrorists and said the United States should not use countries in Central Asia as a staging ground for an assault against neighboring Afghanistan.

Although Russia has officially pledged cooperation in fighting what President Vladimir Putin called a "common enemy," today's statements by top Russian military officials could have the effect of restricting U.S. options as President Bush considers whether and how to proceed against those responsible for Tuesday's attacks in New York and Washington. Tajikistan and several other countries in former Soviet Central Asia are among the few obvious launching pads against the Afghanistan-based organization of leading terrorism suspect Osama bin Laden.

Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov told reporters during a summit in Armenia that the United States and its allies should not rely on Central Asia to stage any assault. "I see absolutely no basis for even hypothetical suppositions about the possibility of NATO military operations on the territory of Central Asian nations," Ivanov said.

At the same time, Russian military leaders made clear Russia will not likely take part "in the retaliatory acts" planned by the United States, said Gen. Anatoly Kvashnin, head of the Russian general staff. According to the Interfax news agency, Kvashnin said, "The U.S. armed forces are powerful enough to deal with this task alone." A day earlier, Ivanov also expressed skepticism about an active role in the U.S. response, telling reporters, "Russia is not planning any kind of military actions or strikes."

But today's statements do not rule out far more extensive cooperation between Russia and the United States than in the past. Both Western and Russian sources here said that high-level bilateral talks are continuing with the aim of "constructive" cooperation that could go well beyond sharing intelligence information. U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage is to arrive in Moscow next week for meetings on joint anti-terrorist operations.

And Russia's allies in Tajikistan today did not reject the possibility that the United States could use its airspace as part of an operation against bin Laden. In a news conference today in the Kazakh city of Almaty, Tajik Prime Minister Akil Akilov said only that he will "definitely" consult with Russia before agreeing to such a step, according to Interfax.

Still, it was clear today that Russia fears U.S. strikes against bin Laden could set off a new wave of violence in the already volatile region on its southern border, where authoritarian-minded leaders in several former Soviet states are already clashing with Islamic militants at least loosely allied with the extremist Taliban leadership of Afghanistan that has given refuge to bin Laden. Inside Russia, too, there are painful memories of the Soviet Union's decade-long war in Afghanistan that ended in retreat in 1989, a national trauma comparable to the American experience in Vietnam.

But perhaps the greatest deterrent for Russians is the war they are already fighting inside their own borders against Muslim rebels in Chechnya, a bloody and inconclusive conflict that has sapped the country's military resources and made it fear terrorism at home. In recent days, Putin and Ivanov have both claimed that bin Laden has given aid to the Chechen rebels.

"Chechnya alone is enough for us," said Novgorod Gov. Mikhail Prusak. "Russia's participation [in U.S. strikes] could lead to more Islamic radicalism inside the country."

Russia's reluctance "is because we understand from our own experience in Chechnya that military operations do not always result in ending terrorist attacks," said Dmitri Rogozin, chairman of the international affairs committee in the Russian parliament.

In an interview, however, Rogozin said he believed that Putin and Bush had already agreed to substantial cooperation between their intelligence operations and special anti-terrorist forces.

And he said that "what happened in New York and Washington this week ended once and for all the Cold War. Just as 60 years ago, Russia and the U.S. have a common enemy again. Now we have the moral and ethical and political conditions for a fundamental rapprochement between the United States and Russia."

Indeed, ever since the attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, a wave of pro-American sentiment has appeared here that stands in stark contrast to recent tensions between Washington and Moscow on issues including missile defense and NATO expansion. Indeed, Putin was one of the first world leaders to offer his condolences to Bush on Tuesday; Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said that "Russia stands ready to help in any way." By Thursday, Russia had taken the rare step of issuing a joint statement with NATO calling on "the entire international community to unite in the struggle against terrorism."

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## **New Delhi Eager To Join U.S. In Fighting Terror**

By Celia W. Dugger

NEW DELHI, Sept. 14 — India has long felt the bitter hurt of terrorist attacks on civilians in the Himalayan state of Jammu and Kashmir. For just as long, it has been frustrated that the United States has not leaned more heavily on Pakistan, which India holds responsible for sponsoring the Islamic fighters it blames for atrocities in the Himalayas. Now, with the United States reeling from its own experience of terrorism, India has welcomed the Bush administration's decision to use America's military might against terrorists and has eagerly offered military cooperation.

In a nationally televised address tonight, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee pledged Indian unity with the American people, warned his country to gird for a possible American response and uttered a gently worded, "I told you so."

"For years," he said, "we in India have been alerting others to the fact that terrorism is a scourge for all of humanity, that what happens in Bombay one day is bound to happen elsewhere tomorrow."

As American attention turns inexorably toward the Taliban — which rules most of Afghanistan, is supported by Pakistan and shelters Osama bin Laden — Indian and American officials have held a flurry of meetings. In the event of an attack, it is expected that India would share intelligence on the location of Afghan and Pakistani training camps, and offer access to Indian military bases where American aircraft could refuel.

The confluence of American and Indian interests on terrorism has suddenly been elevated from one of the various themes in improving relations to the fulcrum. Indian officials and scholars say they hope the United States will repay India's solidarity by pressing Islamic Pakistan to stop the violence in mostly Muslim Kashmir.

"What Indians hope and expect is that no longer will it be possible for Americans to view the threat to their national interest as solely a function of the personality of Osama bin Laden, and that American policy makers become deeply conscious about what happens in Pakistan and translate that into pressure on Pakistan," said Amitabh Mattoo, a professor of international relations at Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi.

In the final year of the Clinton administration, the United States drew closer to India, the world's largest democracy and a growing economic power, and distanced itself from economically enfeebled Pakistan, where the military took power in a coup in 1999.

In the first months of the Bush administration, that trend has accelerated and the terrorism issue will add momentum.