

KSM, Bin Ladin moved to Kandahar “by order of Emir Al-Mouminin,” that is, Mullah Omar. See Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003. On the Taliban’s invitation to UBL, see Mike briefing (Dec. 12, 2003); Rashid, *Taliban*, p. 129. Rashid has also described the move as part of Bin Ladin’s plan to solidify his relationship with, and eventually gain control over, the Taliban. Ahmed Rashid interview (Oct. 27, 2003).

74. Intelligence report, unsuccessful Bin Ladin probes for contact with Iraq, July 24, 1998; Intelligence report, Saddam Hussein’s efforts to repair relations with Saudi government, 2001.

75. Intelligence report, Iraq approach to Bin Ladin, Mar. 16, 1999.

76. CIA analytic report, “Ansar al-Islam: Al Qa’ida’s Ally in Northeastern Iraq,” CTC 2003-40011CX, Feb. 1, 2003. See also DIA analytic report, “Special Analysis: Iraq’s Inconclusive Ties to Al-Qaida,” July 31, 2002; CIA analytic report, “Old School Ties,” Mar. 10, 2003. We have seen other intelligence reports at the CIA about 1999 contacts. They are consistent with the conclusions we provide in the text, and their reliability is uncertain. Although there have been suggestions of contacts between Iraq and al Qaeda regarding chemical weapons and explosives training, the most detailed information alleging such ties came from an al Qaeda operative who recanted much of his original information. Intelligence report, interrogation of al Qaeda operative, Feb. 14, 2004. Two senior Bin Ladin associates have adamantly denied that any such ties existed between al Qaeda and Iraq. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM and Zubaydah, 2003 (cited in CIA letter, response to Douglas Feith memorandum, “Requested Modifications to ‘Summary of Body of Intelligence Reporting on Iraq–al Qaida Contacts (1990–2003),’” Dec. 10, 2003, p. 5).

77. On Gulf-based donors to Bin Ladin, see Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003); CIA analytic report, “Saudi-Based Financial Support for Terrorist Organizations,” CTC 2002-40117CH, Nov. 14, 2002. On the relationship between Bin Ladin and Omar, see Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Feb. 20, 2002. On relations between the Arabs in Afghanistan and the Taliban, see *ibid.* On financial relations, see CIA analytic report, “Ariana Afghan Airlines: Assets and Activities,” OTI IR 1999-170CX, July 29, 1999; CIA, NID, “Near East: UAE: Imposition of Sanctions Could Disrupt Bin Ladin’s Finances,” June 9, 1999.

78. CIA analytic report, “Afghanistan: An Incubator for International Terrorism,” CTC 01-40004, Mar. 27, 2001; CIA analytic report, “Al-Qa’ida Still Well Positioned to Recruit Terrorists,” July 1, 2002, p. 1.

79. The number of actual al Qaeda members seems to have been relatively small during the period before 9/11, although estimates vary considerably, from the low hundreds to as many as 5,000. For the low hundreds, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Dec. 3, 2003. For 5,000, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khallad, Nov. 26, 2003. Khallad added that because pledging *bayat* was secret, the number of al Qaeda members can only be speculative. On al Qaeda’s training and indoctrination, see minutes from the August 1988 meeting leading to the official formation of al Qaeda, cited in Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-conspirator Statements, *United States v. Arnaout*, Jan. 6, 2003, p. 36.

80. By 1996, al Qaeda apparently had established cooperative relationships with at least 20 Sunni Islamic extremist groups in the Middle East, South Asia, Africa, and East Asia, as well as with elements of the Saudi opposition. See CIA analytic report, “Old School Ties,” Mar. 10, 2003, p. 3. On ties with Southeast Asia and the Malaysian-Indonesian JI, see, e.g., Intelligence report, interrogation of Hambali, Sept. 5, 2003. On Pakistani militant ties to Bin Ladin, see CIA analytic report, “Terrorism: Extremists Planning Attacks Against US Interests in Pakistan,” Nov. 29, 2001, p. 1 and appendix B; see also Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda*, pp. 169–171, 199; Benjamin and Simon, *Age of Sacred Terror*, pp. 286–287. On Europe, see, e.g., trial testimony of Fadl, *United States v. bin Laden*, Feb. 6, 2001 (transcript pp. 301, 315–316), Feb. 7, 2001 (transcript p. 368). On London, see, e.g., Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Sept. 17, 1997. On Balkans, see Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements, *United States v. Arnaout*, Jan. 6, 2003; Kohlmann, *Al-Qaida’s Jihad in Europe*.

81. See, e.g., “Tareekh Usama” and “Tareekh al Musadat” (described in note 25). See also FBI report of investigation, interviews of Mohammad Rashed Daoud al ‘Owhali, Aug. 22–25, 1998; FBI report of investigation, interview of Nasser Ahmad Nasser al Bahri, Oct. 3, 2001, p. 8.

82. The merger was de facto complete by February 1998, although the formal “contract” would not be signed until June 2001. See Intelligence report, Incorporation of Zawahiri’s Organization into Bin Ladin’s Al-Qa’ida, and Recent [1998] Activities of Egyptian Associates of Al-Qa’ida, Sept. 22, 1998; see also Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Feb. 8, 2002.

83. FBI report of investigation, interview of confidential source, Sept. 16, 1999; FBI report of investigation, interview of L’Houssaine Kherchtou, Aug. 28, 2000; Benjamin and Simon, *Age of Sacred Terror*, pp. 123–124.

84. On the group’s surveillance and photography activities, see trial testimony of L’Houssaine Kherchtou, *United States v. bin Laden*, Feb. 21, 2001 (transcript pp. 1499–1500); FBI reports of investigation, interviews of L’Houssaine Kherchtou, Aug. 18, 2000; Oct. 18, 2000; see also FBI report of investigation, interview of confidential source, Sept. 16, 1999. On Bin Ladin’s use of technical equipment to promote his intelligence/security capabilities, see Intelligence report, Terrorism: Usama Bin Ladin’s Intelligence Capabilities and Techniques, Dec. 5, 1996.

85. On the surveillance reports and the Hezbollah training camps, see FBI report of investigation, interview of confidential source, Sept. 16, 1999; see also Intelligence report, Al Qaeda Targeting Study of U.S. Embassy Nairobi, prepared 23 December 1993, Apr. 5, 1999; Intelligence report, Establishment of a Tripartite Agreement Among