

- Increasing diplomatic pressure on the Taliban through bilateral discussions, U.N. sanctions, and freezing of assets.

Policymakers report to the Joint Inquiry that they had limited flexibility with regard to Afghanistan. Mr. Berger testified that neither Congress, the media, nor the international community supported invading Afghanistan before September 11. During the Bush Administration, the United States issued a démarche to the Taliban in June 2001, noting that it would be held accountable for al-Qa'ida attacks on the United States.

Neither the Clinton nor Bush Administration aggressively tried to disrupt al-Qa'ida financing. A former Intelligence Community official testified that in 1996 or 1997 the Intelligence Community had plans [_____] plans the Treasury Department blocked due to concerns about [_____] and worries that [_____]. Because of Treasury's concerns, the Intelligence Community, according to the former official, was limited before September 11 to "[_____]." Mr. Clarke noted that counterterrorism officials hoped to appeal Treasury's initial position by presenting concrete information on terrorism fundraising. The Intelligence Community, however, was not able to provide the information.

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G. The Law Enforcement Approach

Some policy makers recognized that countering al-Qa'ida required the application of all aspects of U.S. power. According to testimony from Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, the effort against al-Qa'ida:

... is not just something for the Intelligence Community alone; ... you can't go to war against al-Qa'ida without recognizing the role that the Government of Afghanistan is playing. You can't go after the Government of Afghanistan without recognizing the problems in your relationship particularly with Pakistan, but with other neighboring countries, and you can't get serious about this without looking at military options.

Before September 11, however, neither the Clinton nor Bush Administration developed a plan to disrupt al-Qa'ida that integrated U.S. diplomatic, economic, intelligence, and military