For simplicity, we have adopted the following citation conventions in these endnotes.

Dozens of government agencies and other entities provided the Commission with more than 2.5 million pages of documents and other materials, including more than 1,000 hours of audiotapes. In general, we cite documents and other materials by providing the agency or entity of origin, the type of document (e.g., memo, email, report, or record), the author and recipient, the title (in quotes) or a description of the subject, and the date. We use the following abbreviations for the agencies and entities that produced the bulk of these documents: AAL—American Airlines; CIA—Central Intelligence Agency; DCI—Director of Central Intelligence; DHS—Department of Homeland Security; DOD—Department of Defense; DOJ—Department of Justice; DOS—Department of State; DOT—Department of Transportation; EPA—Environmental Protection Agency; FAA—Federal Aviation Administration; FBI—Federal Bureau of Investigation; FDNY—Fire Department of New York; GAO—General Accounting Office; INS—Immigration and Naturalization Service; NEADS—Northeast Air Defense Sector; NSA—National Security Agency; NSC—National Security Council; NTSB—National Transportation Safety Board; NYPD—New York Police Department; OEM—Office of Emergency Management, City of New York; PANYNJ or Port Authority—Port Authority of New York and New Jersey; PAPD—Port Authority Police Department; SEC—Securities and Exchange Commission; Treasury—Department of Treasury; TSA—Transportation Security Administration; UAL—United Air Lines; USSS—United States Secret Service.

Interviews, meetings, briefings, and site visits conducted by Commissioners or by members of the Commission staff are cited, for example, as “George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004).” Testimony by witnesses at one of the Com-
mission’s 12 public hearings is cited as “Condoleezza Rice testimony, Apr. 8, 2004.” Written statements for the record provided by witnesses at one of our public hearings are cited as “Thomas Ridge prepared statement, May 19, 2004.”

At the request of intelligence community agencies (including the FBI), we use the first name and last initial, only the first name, or in a few instances an alias or title when referring to working-level employees in those agencies. At the request of several intelligence agencies, we cite most reports from the CIA and other intelligence agencies generically as “Intelligence report,” followed by a description of the subject and date. In a few instances in which we were given access to highly sensitive documents or information, we cite generically to documents or information provided to the Commission.

Our investigation built on the work of many others, including the Joint Inquiry of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence into Intelligence Community Activities Before and After the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001, which we refer to as the “Joint Inquiry.” We cite as “Joint Inquiry report, Dec. 2002” the Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, S. Rep. No. 107-351, H.R. Rep. No. 107-792, 107th Cong., 2d sess. (2002), indicating “classified version” where appropriate. Testimony presented during hearings conducted by the Joint Inquiry is cited as “Joint Inquiry testimony of George Tenet, Oct. 17, 2002,” indicating “closed hearing” where appropriate. We cite interviews conducted by the Joint Inquiry staff as “Joint Inquiry interview of Cofer Black,” with the date of the interview.

Another major source for our investigation were the thousands of interviews conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation during its investigation of the 9/11 attacks, which it refers to as “Penttbom.” FBI agents write up their interviews on forms called 302s, which we cite as “FBI report of investigation, interview of John Smith, Oct. 4, 2001,” using the date of the interview. We cite interviews conducted by other agencies by agency name and date of the interview; for example, an interview conducted by the Department of Justice Office of Inspector General is cited as “DOJ Inspector General interview of Mary Jones, July 9, 2002.”
1 “We Have Some Planes”

No physical, documentary, or analytical evidence provides a convincing explanation of why Atta and Omari drove to Portland, Maine, from Boston on the morning of September 10, only to return to Logan on Flight 5930 on the morning of September 11. However, Atta reacted negatively when informed in Portland that he would have to check in again in Boston. Michael Touhey interview (May 27, 2004). Whatever their reason, the Portland jetport was the nearest airport to Boston with a 9/11 flight that would have arrived at Logan in time for the passengers to transfer to American Airlines Flight 11, which had a scheduled departure time of 7:45 A.M. See Tom Kinton interview (Nov. 6, 2003); Portland International Jetport site visit (Aug. 18, 2003).

Like the other two airports used by the 9/11 hijackers (Newark Liberty International Airport and Washington Dulles International Airport), Boston’s Logan International Airport was a “Category X” airport: i.e., among the largest facilities liable to highest threat, and generally subject to greater security requirements. See FAA report, “Civil Aviation Security Reference Handbook,” May 1999, pp. 117–118. Though Logan was selected for two of the hijackings (as were both American and United Airlines), we found no evidence that the terrorists targeted particular airports or airlines. Nothing stands out about any of them with respect to the only security layer that was relevant to the actual hijackings: checkpoint screening. See FAA briefing materials, “Assessment and Testing Data for BOS, EWR, and IAD,” Oct. 24, 2001. Despite security problems at Logan (see, e.g., two local Fox 25 television investigative reports in February and April 2001, and an email in August 2001 from a former FAA special agent to the agency’s leadership regarding his concerns about lax security at the airport), no evidence suggests that such issues entered into the terrorists’ targeting: they simply booked heavily fueled east-to-west transcontinental flights of the large Boeing aircraft they trained to fly that were scheduled to take off at nearly the same time. See Matt Carroll, “Fighting Terror Sense of Alarm; Airlines Foiled Police Logan Probe,” Boston Globe, Oct. 17, 2001, p. B1.

2. CAPPS was a FAA-approved automated system run by the airlines that scored each passenger’s profile to identify those who might pose a threat to civil aviation. The system also chose passengers at random to receive additional security scrutiny. Ten out of the 19 hijackers (including 9 out of 10 on the two American Airlines flights) were identified via the CAPPS system. According to the procedures in place on 9/11, in addition to those flagged by the CAPPS algorithm, American’s ticket agents were to mark as “selectees” those passengers who did not provide correct responses to the required security questions, failed to show proper identification, or met other criteria. See FAA report, “Air Carrier Standard Security Program,” May 2001, pp. 75–76; FAA record of interview, Donna Thompson, Sept. 23, 2001; Chuck Severance interview (Apr. 15, 2004); Jim Dillon interview (Apr. 15, 2004); Diane Graney interview (Apr. 16, 2004). It appears that Atta was selected at random. See Al Hickson briefing (June 8, 2004).

3. The call was placed from a pay phone in Terminal C (between the screening checkpoint and United 175’s boarding gate). We presume Sheikh made the call, but we cannot be sure. Logan International Airport site visit (Aug. 15, 2003); see also FBI response to Commission briefing request no. 6, undated (topic 11).


5. See UAL letter, “Flight 175—11Sep01 Passenger ACI Check-in History,” July 11, 2002. Customer service representative Gail Jawahir recalled that her encounter with the Ghamdis occurred at “shortly before 7 A.M.,” and when shown photos of the hijackers, she indicated that Mohand al Shehri resembled one of the two she checked in (suggesting they were Banihammad and Shehri). However, she also recalled that the men had the same last name and had assigned seats on row 9 (i.e., the Ghamdis), and that account has been adopted here. In either case, she almost certainly was dealing with one set of the Flight 175 hijackers. See FBI reports of investigation, interviews of Gail Jawahir, Sept. 21, 2001; Sept. 28, 2001. Even had the hijackers been unable to understand and answer the two standard security questions, the only consequence would have been the screening of their carry-on and checked bags for explosives. See FAA report, “Air Carrier Standard Security Program,” May 2001, p. 76.

6. For Flight 11, two checkpoints provided access to the gate. The second was opened at 7:15 A.M. The FAA conducted many screener evaluations between September 11, 1999, and September 11, 2001. At the primary checkpoints, in aggregate, screeners met or exceeded the average for overall, physical search, and X-ray detection, while falling below the norm for metal detection. No FAA Special Assessments (by “red teams”) were done at Logan prior to September 11, 2001. See FAA briefing materials, “Assessment and Testing Data for BOS, EWR, and IAD,” Oct. 24, 2001.

any tickets beyond those the hijackers used for themselves. See FBI response to Commission briefing request no.
undated (topic 8); AAL report, “Average Load Factor by Day-of-Week,” undated (for Flights 11 and 77 from June
11. The Hazmis checked in at 7:29; the airline has not yet been able to confirm the time of Hanjour’s check-
However, it had to have taken place by 7:35, when he appears on the checkpoint videotape. See AAL record,
SABRE information for Flight 77, Sept. 11, 2001; AAL response to the Commission’s February 3, 2004, requests,
Mar. 15, 2004; Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority videotape, Dulles main terminal checkpoints, Sept. 11,
AALA #77,” undated; FBI report of investigation, interview of Vaughn Allex, Sept. 12, 2001; Vaughn Allex inter-
view (July 13, 2004).
13. The FAA conducted many screener evaluations at Dulles between September 11, 1999, and September 11,
2001. While the test results for physical search exceeded the national average, both the metal detector and X-ray
results were below average. See FAA briefing materials, “Assessment and Testing Data for BOS, EWR, and IAD,”
14. Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority videotape, Dulles main terminal checkpoints, Sept. 11, 2001;
see also Tim Jackson interview (Apr. 12, 2004).
15. Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority videotape, Dulles main terminal checkpoints, Sept. 11, 2001;
see also Tim Jackson interview (Apr. 12, 2004).
16. For investigation findings, see FAA report, “American Airlines Flight #77: Hijacking and Crash into the
17. See AAL record, SABRE information for Flight 77, Sept. 11, 2001; AAL response to the Commission’s Feb-
18. UAL record, Flight 93 EWR bag loading status, Sept. 11, 2001; UAL record, Flight 93 EWR, AAI passenger
history, Sept. 11, 2001; UAL record, Flight 93 EWR, full bag history, Sept. 11, 2001; TSA report, “Selectee Sta-
19. The FAA conducted many screener evaluations at Newark between September 11, 1999, and September 11,
2001. Detection rates for metal detection, physical searches, and X-rays all met or exceeded the national aver-
ages. See FAA briefing materials, “Assessment and Testing Data for BOS, EWR, and IAD,” Oct. 24, 2001; see also
20. UAL record, Flight 93 EWR, ACI passenger history, Sept. 11, 2001; see also FBI report, “The Final 24
21. While Flights 11 and 77 were at or slightly above the average number of passengers for the respective flights
that summer, Flights 175 and 93 were well below their averages. We found no evidence to indicate that the hijack-
ers manipulated the passenger loads on the aircraft they hijacked. Financial records did not reveal the purchase of
any tickets beyond those the hijackers used for themselves. See FBI response to Commission briefing request no.
6, undated (topic 8); AAL report, “Average Load Factor by Day-of-Week,” undated (for Flights 11 and 77 from June
11, 2001, to Sept. 9, 2001); AAL response to the Commission’s supplemental document requests, Jan. 20, 2004; UAL
report, Flight 175 BOS-LAX Load Factors, undated (from June 1, 2001, to Sept. 11, 2001); UAL report, “Explaina-
tion of Load Factors,” undated.
22. See AAL response to the Commission’s February 3, 2004, requests, Mar. 15, 2004; AAL record, Dispatch
Seat Locations During Takeoff And Flight Attendant Typical Cabin Positions During Start of Cabin Service,”
23. Commission analysis of NTSB and FAA air traffic control and radar data. See AAL record, Dispatch Envi-
ronmental Control/Weekly Flight Summary for Flight 11, Sept. 11, 2001; NTSB report, “Flight Path Study—Ameri-
can Airlines Flight 11,” Feb. 19, 2002; Bill Halleck and Peggy Houck interview (Jan. 8, 2004). The initial service
assignments for flight attendants on American 11 would have placed Karen Martin and Bobbi Arestegui in fir st
class; Sara Low and Jean Roger in business class; Dianne Snyder in the midcabin galley; Betty Ong and Amy Sweeney
in coach; and Karen Nicosia in the aft galley. Jeffrey Collman would have been assigned to work in coach, but to
assist in first class if needed. See AAL report, “Flight Attendant Jump Seat Locations During Takeoff And Flight
24. NTSB report, Air Traffic Control Recording—American Airlines Flight 11, Dec. 21, 2001; NTSB report,
Air Traffic Control Recording—United Airlines Flight 175, Dec. 21, 2001. Given that the cockpit crew of Ameri-
can 11 had been acknowledging all previous instructions from air traffic control that morning within a matter of
seconds, and that when the first reporting of the hijacking was received a short time later (the 8:19 call from Betty
Ong) a number of actions had already been taken by the hijackers, it is most likely that the hijacking occurred at
8:14 A.M.
25. An early draft of an executive summary prepared by FAA security staff for the agency’s leadership referred
to an alleged report of a shooting aboard Flight 11. We believe this report was erroneous for a number of reasons—
there is no evidence that the hijackers purchased firearms, use of a gun would be inconsistent with the otherwise
common tactics employed by the hijackers, the alleged shooting victim was seated where witness accounts place the stabbing victim (9B), and, most important, neither Betty Ong nor Amy Sweeney, the only two people who communicated to the ground from aboard the aircraft, reported the presence of a gun or a shooting. Both reported knives and stabbings. AAL transcript, telephone call from Betty Ong to Nydia Gonzalez, Sept. 11, 2001; AAL transcript, telephone call from Nydia Gonzalez to Craig Marquis, Sept. 11, 2001; AAL transcript, telephone call from Nancy Wyatt to Ray Howland, Sept. 11, 2001; Michael Woodward interview (Jan. 25, 2004). The General Accounting Office looked into the gun story and was unable to corroborate it. GAO report, summary of briefing re investigation, Aug. 30, 2002.

26. Craig Marquis interview (Nov. 19, 2003); Michael Woodward interview (Jan. 25, 2004); Jim Dillon interview (Apr. 15, 2004). See also AAL transcript, telephone call from Betty Ong to Nydia Gonzalez, Sept. 11, 2001. At the time of the hijacking, American Airlines flight attendants all carried cockpit keys on their person. See Craig Marquis, Craig Parfitt, Joe Bertapelle, and Mike Mulcahy interview (Nov. 19, 2003).


28. AAL transcript, telephone call from Betty Ong to Nydia Gonzalez, Sept. 11, 2001; AAL transcript, telephone call from Nydia Gonzalez to Craig Marquis, Sept. 11, 2001. Regarding the claim of a bomb, see Michael Woodward interview (Jan. 25, 2004).

29. Calls to American’s reservations office are routed to the first open line at one of several facilities, among them the center in Cary, N.C. See Nydia Gonzalez interview (Nov. 19, 2003). On standard emergency training, see FAA report, “Air Carrier Standard Security Program,” May 2001, pp. 139–139o; Don Dillman briefing (Nov. 18, 2003); Bob Jordan briefing (Nov. 20, 2003). The phone call from Ong was received initially by Vanessa Minter and then taken over by Winston Sadler; realizing the urgency of the situation, he pushed an emergency button that simultaneously initiated a tape recording of the call and sent an alert notifying Nydia Gonzalez, a supervisor, to pick up on the line. Gonzalez was paged to respond to the alert and joined the call a short time later. Only the first four minutes of the phone call between Ong and the reservations center (Minter, Sadler, and Gonzalez) was recorded because of the time limit on the recently installed system. See Nydia Gonzalez interview (Nov. 19, 2003); Nydia Gonzalez testimony, Jan. 27, 2004.


31. See Nydia Gonzalez interview (Nov. 19, 2003); Craig Marquis interviews (Nov. 19, 2003; Apr. 26, 2004); AAL record, Dispatch Environmental Control/Weekly Flight Summary for Flight 11, Sept. 11, 2001; AAL transcript, telephone call from Bill Halleck to BOS ATC, Sept. 11, 2001. The Air Carrier Standard Security Program required airlines to immediately notify the FAA and FBI upon receiving information that an act or suspected act of airplane piracy was being committed.

32. See FAA recording, Boston Air Route Traffic Control Center, position 46R, at 8:25 A.M.: Air Traffic Control Recording—American Airlines Flight 11, Dec. 21, 2001. Starting at 8:22, Amy Sweeney attempted by airphone to contact the American Airlines flight service office at Logan, which managed the scheduling and operation of flight attendants. Sweeney’s first attempt failed, as did a second at 8:24. When she got through to Nunez, the latter thought she had reported her flight number as 12. Michael Woodward, supervisor at the Boston office, hearing that a problem had been reported aboard an American airplane, went to American’s gate area at Logan with his colleague Beth Williams. Woodward noted that the morning bank of flights had all departed Boston and the gate area was quiet. He further realized that Flight 12 had not even departed yet, so he and Williams returned to the office to try to clarify the situation. See FBI report, “American Airlines Airphone Usage,” Sept. 20, 2001; Michael Woodward interview (Jan. 25, 2004). The phone call between Sweeney and Woodward lasted about 12 minutes (8:32–8:44) and was not taped. See AAL email, Woodward to Schmidt, “Flight 11 Account of events,” Sept. 19, 2001; AAL notes, Michael Woodward handwritten notes, Sept. 11, 2001; FBI report of investigation, interview of Michael Woodward, Sept. 13, 2001; AAL report, interview of Michael Woodward, Sept. 11, 2001; AAL transcript, telephone call from Nancy Wyatt to Ray Howland, Sept. 11, 2001.


36. AAL transcript, telephone call from Nancy Wyatt to Ray Howland, Sept. 11, 2001; Michael Woodward interview (Jan. 25, 2004).

37. AAL transcript, telephone call from Nydia Gonzalez to Craig Marquis, Sept. 11, 2001.
42. Asked by air traffic controllers at 8:37 to look for an American Airlines 767 (Flight 11), United 175 reported spotting the aircraft at 8:38. At 8:41, the flight crew reported having “heard a suspicious transmission” from another aircraft shortly after takeoff, “like someone keyed the mike and said everyone stay in your seats.” See NTSB report, Air Traffic Control Recording—United Airlines Flight 175, Dec. 21, 2001.
43. See Marc Policastro interview (Nov. 21, 2003); FBI reports of investigation, interview of Lee Hanson, Sept. 11, 2001; interview of Marc Policastro, Sept. 11, 2001; interview of Louise Sweeney, Sept. 28, 2001; interview of Ronald May, Sept. 1, 2001. On both American 11 and United 175, Boeing 767 double-aisled aircraft, the hijackers arrayed themselves similarly: two seated in first class close to the cockpit door, the pilot hijacker seated close behind them, and at least one other hijacker seated close behind the pilot hijacker. Hijackers were seated next to both the left and right aisles. On American 77 and United 93, Boeing 757 single-aisle aircraft, the pilot hijacker sat in the first row, closest to the cockpit door. See FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004, pp. 67-69; AAL schematics for Flight 11 and Flight 97; UAL schematics for Flight 175 and Flight 93.
45. See FBI report of investigation, interview of Lee Hanson, Sept. 11, 2001.
46. Flight crew on board UAL aircraft could contact the United office in San Francisco (SAMC) simply by dialing *349 on an airphone. See FBI report of investigation, interview of David Price, Jan. 24, 2002. At some point before 9:00, SAMC notified United’s headquarters of the emergency call from the flight attendant. See Marc Policastro interview (Nov. 21, 2003); FBI report of investigation, interview of Marc Policastro, Sept. 11, 2001; Rich Miles interview (Nov. 21, 2003).
49. See FBI report of investigation, interview of Lee Hanson, Sept. 11, 2001.
54. Air traffic control notified American’s headquarters of the problem, and the airline began attempts to contact the flight by 8:59 via ACARS. See NTSB report, “Flight Path Study—American Airlines Flight 77,” Feb. 19, 2002. On American 11, the transponder signal was turned off at 8:21; on United 175, the code was changed at 8:47; on American 77, the signal was turned off at 8:56; and on United 93, the signal was turned off at 9:41. See FAA report, “Summary of Air Traffic Hijack Events: September 11, 2001,” Sept. 17, 2001; Richard Byard interview (Sept.


57. The records available for the phone calls from American 77 do not allow for a determination of which of four “connected calls to unknown numbers” represent the two between Barbara and Ted Olson, although the FBI and DOJ believe that all four represent communications between Barbara Olson and her husband’s office (all family members of the Flight 77 passengers and crew were canvassed to see if they had received any phone calls from the hijacked flight, and only Renee May’s parents and Ted Olson indicated that they had received such calls). The four calls were at 9:15:34 for 1 minute, 42 seconds; 9:20:15 for 4 minutes, 34 seconds; 9:25:48 for 2 minutes, 34 seconds; and 9:30:56 for 4 minutes, 20 seconds. FBI report, “American Airlines Airphone Usage,” Sept. 20, 2001; FBI report of investigation, interview of Theodore Olson, Sept. 11, 2001; FBI report of investigation, interview of Helen Voss, Sept. 14, 2001; AAL response to the Commission’s supplemental document request, Jan. 20, 2004.


62. The flight attendant assignments and seating included Chief Flight Attendant Deborah Welsh (first class, seat J1 at takeoff); Sandra Bradshaw (coach, seat J5); Wanda Green (first class, seat J4); Lorraine Bay (coach, seat J3); and CeciCee Lyles (coach, seat J6). See UAL response to Commission questions for the record, Apr. 5, 2004; FAA report, “Chronology of the September 11 Attacks and Subsequent Events Through October 24, 2001,” undated; UAL records, copies of electronic boarding passes for Flight 93, Sept. 11, 2001; Bob Varcadipane interview (May 4, 2004); Newark Tower briefing (May 4, 2004).

63. Although the flight schedule indicates an 8:00 A.M. “departure,” this was the time the plane left the gate area. Taxiing from the gate to the runway normally took about 15 minutes. Bob Varcadipane interview (May 4, 2004); Newark Tower briefing (May 4, 2004).

64. Commission analysis of FAA air traffic control data. On the FAA’s awareness of multiple hijackings, see AAL transcript, telephone call from Nydia Gonzalez to Craig Marquis, Sept. 11, 2001; Craig Marquis interview (Nov. 19, 2003); AAL record, System Operations Command Center (SOCC) log, Sept. 11, 2001; UAL System Operations Control briefing (Nov. 20, 2003); Rich Miles interview (Nov. 21, 2003); UAL report, “Timeline: Dispatch/SMFDO Activities—Terrorist Crisis,” undated.

65. FAA audio file, Boston Center, position 46R, 8:24:38 and 8:24:56; Peter Zalewski interview (Sept. 23, 2003).

66. On September 6, 1970, members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine hijacked a Pan American Boeing 747, a TWA Boeing 707, and a Swissair DC-8. On September 9, a British airliner was hijacked as well. An attempt to hijack an Israeli airliner was thwarted. The Pan American plane landed in Cairo and was blown up after its passengers were released. The other three aircraft were flown to Dawson Field, near Amman, Jordan; the passengers were held captive, and the planes were destroyed. The international hijacking crisis turned into a civil war, as the Jordanian government used force to restore its control of the country. See FAA report, Civil Aviation Reference Handbook, May 1999, appendix D.

67. FAA audio file, Herndon Command Center, line 5114, 9:07:13; FAA audio file, Herndon Command Center, position 13, 9:19. At 9:07, Boston Air Traffic Control Center recommended to the FAA Command Center that a cockpit warning be sent to the pilots of all commercial aircraft to secure their cockpits. While Boston Center sent out such warnings to the commercial flights in its sector, we could find no evidence that a nationwide warning was issued by the ATC system.

68. Ellen King interview (Apr. 5, 2004). FAA air traffic control tapes indicate that at 9:19 the FAA Air Traffic Control System Command Center in Herndon ordered controllers to send a cockpit warning to Delta 1989 because, like American 11 and United 175, it was a transcontinental flight departing Boston’s Logan Airport.


70. While one of Ballinger’s col-

American Airlines’ policy called for the flight dispatcher to manage only the hijacked flight, relieving him of responsibilities for all other flights. On American Airlines’ policy, see Craig Marquis, Craig Parfitt, Joe Bertapelle, and Mike Mulcahy interview (Nov. 19, 2003). United Airlines had no such “isolation” policy. UAL System Operations Control briefing (Nov. 20, 2003).

70. On FDR, see NTSB report, “Specialist’s Factual Report of Investigation—Digital Flight Data Recorder” for United Airlines Flight 93, Feb. 15, 2002; on CVR, see FBI report, “CVR from UA Flight #93,” Dec. 4, 2003; Commission review of Aircraft Communication and Reporting System (ACARS) messages sent to and from Flight 93 (which indicate time of message transmission and receipt); see UAL record, Ed Ballinger ACARS log, Sept. 11, 2001. At 9:22, after learning of the events at the World Trade Center, Melody Homer, the wife of co-pilot Leroy Homer, had an ACARS message sent to her husband in the cockpit asking if he was okay. See UAL record, ACARS message, Sept. 11, 2001.


72. The 37 passengers represented a load factor of 20.33 percent of the plane’s seating capacity of 182, considerably below the 52.09 percent for Flight 93 on Tuesdays in the three-month period prior to September 11 (June 11–September 4, 2001). See UAL report, Flight 93 EWR-SFO load factors, undated. Five passengers holding reservations for Flight 93 did not show for the flight. All five were interviewed and cleared by the FBI. FBI report, “Flight #93 ‘No Show’ Passengers from 9/11/01,” Sept. 18, 2001.


74. See FAA regulations, Admission to flight deck, 14 C.F.R. § 121.547 (2001); UAL records, copies of boarding passes for United 93, Sept. 11, 2001. One passenger reported that ten first-class passengers were aboard the flight. If that number is accurate, it would include the four hijackers. FBI report of investigation, interview of Lisa Jefferson, Sept. 11, 2001; UAL record, Flight 93 passenger manifest, Sept. 11, 2001. All but one of the six passengers seated in the first-class cabin communicated with the ground during the flight, and none mentioned anyone from their cabin having gone into the cockpit before the hijacking. Moreover, it is unlikely that the highly regarded and experienced pilot and co-pilot of Flight 93 would have allowed an observer into the cockpit before or after takeoff who had not obtained the proper permission. See UAL records, personnel files of Flight 93 pilots. For jumpseat information, see UAL record, Weight and Balance Information for Flight 93 and Flight 175, Sept. 11, 2001; AAL records, Dispatch Environmental Control/Weekly Flight Summary for Flight 11 and Flight 77, Sept. 11, 2001.

75. Like Atta on Flight 11, Jarrah apparently did not know how to operate the communication radios; thus his attempts to communicate with the passengers were broadcast on the ATC channel. See FBI report, “CVR from UA Flight #93,” Dec. 4, 2003. Also, by 9:32 FAA notified United’s headquarters that the flight was not responding to radio calls. According to United, the flight’s nonresponse and its turn to the east led the airline to believe by 9:36 that the plane was hijacked. See Rich Miles interview (Nov. 21, 2003); UAL record, “United dispatch SMFDO activities—terrorist crisis,” Sept. 11, 2001.

76. In accordance with FAA regulations, United 93’s cockpit voice recorder recorded the last 31 minutes of sounds from the cockpit via microphones in the pilots’ headsets, as well as in the overhead panel of the flight deck. This is the only recorder from the four hijacked airplanes to survive the impact and ensuing fire. The CVRs and FDRs from American 11 and United 175 were not found, and the CVR from American Flight 77 was badly burned and not recoverable. See FBI report, “CVR from UA Flight #93,” Dec. 4, 2003; see also FAA regulations, 14 C.F.R. §§ 25.1457, 91.609, 91.1045, 121.359; Flight 93 CVR data. A transcript of the CVR recording was prepared by the NTSB and the FBI.

77. All calls placed on airphones were from the rear of the aircraft. There was one airphone installed in each row of seats on both sides of the aisle. The airphone system was capable of transmitting only eight calls at any one time. See FBI report of investigation, airphone records for flights UAL 93 and UAL 175 on Sept. 11, 2001, Sept. 18, 2001.


80. We have relied mainly on the record of FBI interviews with the people who received calls. The FBI interviews were conducted while memories were still fresh and were less likely to have been affected by reading the accounts of others or hearing stories in the media. In some cases we have conducted our own interviews to supplement or verify the record. See FBI reports of investigation, interviews of recipients of calls from Todd Beamer, Mark Bingham, Sandy Bradshaw, Marion Britton, Thomas Burnett, Joseph DeLuca, Edward Felt, Jeremy Glick, Lauren Grandcolas, Linda Gronlund, CeeCee Lyles, Honor Wainio.
81. FBI reports of investigation, interviews of recipients of calls from Thomas Burnett, Sept. 11, 2001; FBI reports of investigation, interviews of recipients of calls from Marion Britton, Sept. 14, 2001, through Nov. 8, 2001; Lisa Jefferson interview (May 11, 2004); FBI report of investigation, interview of Lisa Jefferson, Sept. 11, 2001; Richard Belme interview (Nov. 21, 2003).


83. FBI response to Commission briefing request no. 6, undated (topic 11); FBI reports of investigation, interviews of recipients of calls from Jeremy Glick, Sept. 11, 2001, through Sept. 12, 2001.

84. See FBI reports of investigation, interviews of recipients of calls from United 93.

85. FBI reports of investigation, interviews of recipients of calls from United 93. For quote, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Philip Bradshaw, Sept. 11, 2001; Philip Bradshaw interview (June 15, 2004); Flight 93 FDR and CVR data. At 9:55:11 Jarrah dialed in the VHF Omni-directional Range (VOR) frequency for the VOR navigational aid at Washington Reagan National Airport, further indicating that the attack was planned for the nation's capital.

86. Flight 93 FDR and CVR data.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid. The CVR clearly captured the words of the hijackers, including words in Arabic from the microphone in the pilot headset up to the end of the flight. The hijackers' statements, the clarity of the recording, the position of the microphone in the pilot headset, and the corresponding manipulations of flight controls provide the evidence. The quotes are taken from our listening to the CVR, aided by an Arabic speaker.


91. The second half of the twentieth century witnessed a tremendous growth of the air transport industry, and the FAA's corresponding responsibilities grew enormously from the 1960s through 2001. Throughout that time, the FAA focused on setting and maintaining safety and efficiency standards. Since no plane had been hijacked inside the United States since 1991, sabotage was perceived as the most significant threat to civil aviation. For a broader discussion of the perception of the threat, see section 3.3.


93. FAA regulations, *Air Traffic Control transponder and altitude reporting equipment and use, 14 CFR § 91.215 (2001).*

94. DOD radar files, 84th Radar Evaluation Squadron, “9/11 Autoplay,” undated; Charles Thomas interview (May 4, 2004); John Thomas interview (May 4, 2004); Joseph Cooper interview (Sept. 22, 2003); Tim Spence interview (Sept. 30, 2003). For general information on approaching terminals, see FAA report, “Aeronautical Information Manual,” Feb. 19, 2004. Times assigned to audio transmissions were derived by the Commission from files provided by the FAA and the Northeast Air Defense Sector (NEADS) based on audio time stamps contained within the files provided by the sender. FAA tapes are certified accurate to Universal Coordinated Time by quality assurance specialists at FAA air traffic facilities. NEADS files are time-stamped as accurate to the Naval Observatory clock. We also compared audio times to certified transcripts when available.

95. FAA Boston Center site visit (Sept. 22–24, 2003).

96. NORAD's mission is set forth in a series of renewable agreements between the United States and Canada. According to the agreement in effect on 9/11, the “primary missions” of NORAD were “aerospace warning” and “aerospace control” for North America. *Aerospace warning* was defined as “the monitoring of man-made objects in space and the detection, validation, and warning of attack against North America whether by aircraft, missiles, or space vehicles.” *Aerospace control* was defined as “providing surveillance and control of the airspace of Canada and the United States.” See DOS memo, Exchange of Notes Between Canada and the United States Regarding Extension of the NORAD Agreement, Mar. 28, 1996; see also DOS press release, “Extension of NORAD Agreement,” June 16, 2000 (regarding the extension of the 1996 Agreement unchanged). For NORAD's defining its job as defending against external attacks, see Ralph Eberhart interview (Mar. 1, 2004).


98. For assumptions of exercise planners, see Paul Goddard and Ken Merchant interview (Mar. 4, 2004). For the authority to shoot down a commercial aircraft prior to 9/11, granted to NORAD but not used against Payne Stewart's plane in 1999 after the pilot and passengers lost consciousness, see Richard Myers interview (Feb. 17, 2004). A 1998 White House tabletop exercise chaired by Richard Clarke included a scenario in which a terrorist
group loaded a Learjet with explosives and took off for a suicide mission to Washington. Military officials said they could scramble fighter jets from Langley Air Force Base to chase the aircraft, but they would need “executive” orders to shoot it down. Chuck Green interview (Apr. 21, 2004). For no recognition of this threat, see Ralph Eberhart interview (Mar. 1, 2004).


100. Donald Quenneville interview (Jan. 7, 2004); Langley Air Force Base 119th Fighter Wing briefing (Oct. 6–7, 2003).


102. See FAA regulations, Hijacked Aircraft, Order 7110.65M, para. 10–2–6 (2001); David Bottiglia interview (Oct. 1, 2003); FAA report, “Crisis Management Handbook for Significant Events,” Feb. 15, 2000. From interviews of controllers at various FAA centers, we learned that an air traffic controller’s first response to an aircraft incident is to notify a supervisor, who then notifies the traffic management unit and the operations manager in charge. The FAA center next notifies the appropriate regional operations center (ROC), which in turn contacts FAA headquarters. Biggio stated that for American 11, the combination of three factors—loss of radio contact, loss of transponder signal, and course deviation—was serious enough for him to contact the ROC in Burlington, Mass. However, without hearing the threatening communication from the cockpit, he doubts Boston Center would have recognized or labeled American 11 “a hijack.” Terry Biggio interview (Sept. 22, 2003); see also Shirley Miller interview (Mar. 30, 2004); Monte Belger interview (Apr. 20, 2004).

103. FAA regulations, Special Military Operations, Requests for Service, Order 7610.4J, paras. 7–1–1, 7–1–2 (2001); DOD memo, CJCS instruction, “Aircraft Piracy (Hijacking) and Destruction of Derelict Airborne Objects,” June 1, 2001.

104. Ralph Eberhart interview (Mar. 1, 2004); Alan Scott interview (Feb. 4, 2004); Robert Marr interview (Jan. 23, 2004); FAA regulations, Position Reports within NORAD Radar Coverage, Order 7610.4J, para. 7–1–2 (2001); DOD memo, CJCS instruction, “Aircraft Piracy (Hijacking) and Destruction of Derelict Airborne Objects,” June 1, 2001.

105. FAA regulations, Air/Ground Communications Security, Order 7610.4J, para. 7–1–6 (2001); FAA regulations, Vectors, Order 7610.4J, para. 7–2–3 (2001).


116. On 9/11, NORAD was scheduled to conduct a military exercise, Vigilant Guardian, which postulated a bomber attack from the former Soviet Union. We investigated whether military preparations for the large-scale exercise compromised the military’s response to the real-world terrorist attack on 9/11. According to General Eberhart, “it took about 30 seconds” to make the adjustment to the real-world situation. Ralph Eberhart testimony, June 17, 2004. We found that the response was, if anything, expedited by the increased number of staff at the sectors and at NORAD because of the scheduled exercise. See Robert Marr interview (Jan. 23, 2004).
117. For the distance between Otis Air Force Base and New York City, see William Scott testimony, May 23, 2003. For the order from NEADS to Otis to place F-15s at battle stations, see NEADS audio file, Weapons Director Technician position, channel 14, 8:37:15. See also interviews with Otis and NEADS personnel: Jeremy Powell interview (Oct. 27, 2003); Michael Kelly interview (Oct. 14, 2003); Donald Quenneville interview (Jan. 7, 2004), and interviews with Otis fighter pilots: Daniel Nash interview (Oct. 14, 2003); Timothy Duffy interview (Jan. 7, 2004). According to Joseph Cooper from Boston Center, “I coordinated with Huntress ["Huntress" is the call sign for NEADS]. I advised Huntress we had a hijacked aircraft. I requested some assistance. Huntress requested and I supplied pertinent information. I was advised aircraft might be sent from Otis.” FAA record, Personnel Statement of Joseph Cooper, Oct. 30, 2001.


119. NEADS audio file, Weapons Director Technician position, channel 14; 8:45:54; Daniel Nash interview (Oct. 14, 2003); Michael Kelly interview (Oct. 14, 2003); Donald Quenneville interview (Jan. 7, 2004); Timothy Duffy interview (Jan. 7, 2004); NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander position, channel 2, 8:44:58; NEADS audio file, Identification Technician position, channel 5, 8:51:13.

120. FAA audio file, Boston Center, position 31R; NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander position, channel 2, 8:58:00; NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander position, channel 2, 8:54:55. Because of a technical issue, there are no NEADS recordings available of the NEADS senior weapons director and weapons director technician position responsible for controlling the Otis scramble. We found a single communication from the weapons director or his technician on the Guard frequency at approximately 9:11, cautioning the Otis fighters: “remain at current position [holding pattern] until FAA requests assistance.” See NEADS audio file, channel 24. That corresponds to the time after the Otis fighters entered the holding pattern and before they headed for New York. NEADS controllers were simultaneously working with a tanker to relocate close to the Otis fighters. At 9:10, the senior director on the NEADS floor told the weapons director, “I want those fighters closer in.” NEADS audio file, Identification Technician position, channel 5. At 9:10:22, the Otis fighters were told by Boston Center that the second tower had been struck. At 9:12:54, the Otis fighters told their Boston Center controller that they needed to establish a combat air patrol over New York, and they immediately headed for New York City. See FAA audio files, Boston Center, position 31R. This series of communications explains why the Otis fighters briefly entered and then soon departed the holding pattern, as the radar reconstruction of their flight shows. DOD radar files, 84th Radar Evaluation Squadron, “9/11 Autopilot,” undated.

121. In response to allegations that NORAD responded more quickly to the October 25, 1999, plane crash that killed Payne Stewart than it did to the hijacking of American 11, we compared NORAD’s response time for each incident. The last normal transmission from the Stewart flight was at 9:27:10 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time. The Southeast Air Defense Sector was notified of the event at 9:55, 28 minutes later. In the case of American 11, the last normal communication from the plane was at 8:13 A.M. EDT. NEADS was notified at 8:38, 25 minutes later. We have concluded there is no significant difference in NORAD’s reaction to the two incidents. See NTSB memo, Aircraft Accident Brief for Payne Stewart incident, Oct. 25, 1999; FAA email, Gahris to Myers, “ZJX Timeline for N47BA accident,” Feb. 17, 2004.


124. FAA audio file, Herndon Command Center, New York Center position, line 5114, 8:48.


126. Ibid., p. 15. At 8:57, the following exchange between controllers occurred: “I got some handoffs for you. We got some incidents going over here. Is Delta 2433 going to be okay at thirty-three? I had to climb him for traffic. I let you United 175 just took off out of think we might have a hijack over here. Two of them.” See FAA memo, “Full Transcript; Aircraft Accident; UAL175; New York, NY; September 11, 2001,” May 8, 2002.


As NEADS personnel looked for refueling tankers in the vicinity of New York, the mission crew commander considered scrambling the Langley fighters to New York to provide backup for the Otis fighters until the NEADS Battle Cab (the command area that overlooks the operations floor) ordered "battle stations at 9:09. Colonel Marr, the battle commander at NEADS, and General Arnold, the CONR commander, both recall that the planes were held on battle stations, as opposed to scrambling, because they might be called on to relieve the Otis fighters over New York City if a refueling tanker was not located, and also because of the general uncertainty of the situation in the sky. According to William Scott at the Commission’s May 23, 2003, hearing, “At 9:09, Langley F-16s are directed to battle stations, just based on the general situation and the breaking news, and the general developing feeling about what’s going on.” See NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander, channel 2, 9:07:32; Robert Marr interview (Oct. 27, 2003); Larry Arnold interview (Feb. 3, 2004). See also Colonel Marr’s statement that “[t]he plan was to protect New York City.” Filson, Air War Over America, p. 60.


130. “N90 [New York Terminal Radar Approach] controller stated ‘at approximately 9:00 a.m., I observed an unknown aircraft south of the Newark, New Jersey Airport, northeast bound and descending out of twelve thousand nine hundred feet in a rapid rate of descent, the radar target terminated at the World Trade Center.’” FAA report, “Summary of Air Traffic Hijack Events September 11, 2001,” Sept. 17, 2001. Former NORAD official Alan Scott testified that the time of impact of United 175 was 9:02. William Scott testimony, May 23, 2003. We have determined that the impact time was 9:03:11 based on our analysis of FAA radar data and air traffic control software logic.

131. FAA audio file, Herndon Command Center, New York Center position, line 5114, 9:02:34.

132. Ibid., 9:03; FAA audio file, Herndon Command Center, Cleveland/Boston position, line 5115, 9:05; Michael McCormick interview (Oct. 1, 2003); David LaCates interview (Oct. 2, 2003).

133. FAA Audio File, Herndon Command Center, Boston Center position, line 5115, 9:05–9:07.


135. NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander position, channel 2, 9:07:32.

154. NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander Channel 2, 9:38:02; Dawne Deskins interview (Oct. 30, 2003). The estimated time of impact of Flight 77 into the Pentagon is based on Commission analysis of FDR, air traffic control, radar, and Pentagon elevation and impact site data.
155. Joseph Cooper interview (Sept. 22, 2003); NEADS audio file, Identification Technician position, recorder 1, channel 7, 9:41.
156. NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander position, channel 2, 9:42:08.
159. The United 93 timeline in FAA report, “Summary of Air Traffic Hijack Events September 11, 2001,” Sept. 17, 2001, states that at 9:28:54 a “second radio transmission, mostly unintelligible, again with sounds of possible screaming or a struggle and a statement, ’get out of here, get out of here’ from an unknown origin was heard over the ZOB [Cleveland Center] radio.” FAA audio file, Cleveland Center, Lorain Radar position; FAA memo, “Full Transcript; Aircraft Accident; N591UA (UAL93); Somerset, PA; September 11, 2001,” May 10, 2002, p. 11. At 9:31:48, ExecJet 56 also called in, reporting that “we’re just answering your call. We did hear that, uh, yelling too.” The FAA responded at 9:31:51, “Okay, thanks. We’re just trying to figure out what’s going on.” FAA memo, “Full Transcript; Aircraft Accident; N591UA (UAL93); Somerset, PA; September 11, 2001,” May 10, 2002, p. 15.
160. FAA memo, “Full Transcript; Aircraft Accident; N591UA (UAL93); Somerset, PA; September 11, 2001,” May 10, 2002, p. 15.
162. FAA memo, “Full Transcript; Aircraft Accident; N591UA (UAL93); Somerset, PA; September 11, 2001,” May 10, 2002, p. 19.
163. Ibid., p. 23.
166. For 9:46 quotation, see ibid., pp. 19–20. For 9:49 discussion about military assistance, see ibid., p. 21.
167. For 9:53 discussion about scrambling aircraft, see ibid., p. 23. Neither Monte Belger nor the deputy director for air traffic services could recall this discussion in their interviews with us. Monte Belger interview (Apr. 20, 2004); Peter Challan interview (Mar. 26, 2004). Subsequently Belger told us he does not believe the conversation occurred. Monte Belger, email to the Commission, July 12, 2004. However, tapes from the morning reveal that at 9:53 a staff person from headquarters told the Command Center “Peter’s talking to Monte now about scrambling.” FAA memo, “Full Transcription; Air Traffic Control System Command Center, National Traffic Management Officer, East Position; September 11, 2001,” Oct. 21, 2003, p. 23. For discussions about the status of United 93, see ibid., pp. 24–27.
168. Ibid., pp. 23–27. We also reviewed a report regarding seismic observations on September 11, 2001, whose authors conclude that the impact time of United 93 was “10:06:05±5 (EDT).” Won-Young Kim and G. R. Baum, “Seismic Observations during September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attack,” spring 2002 (report to the Maryland Depart-
ment of Natural Resources). But the seismic data on which they based this estimate are far too weak in signal-to-noise ratio and far too speculative in terms of signal source to be used as a means of contradicting the impact time established by the very accurate combination of FDR, CVR, ATC, radar, and impact site data sets. These data sets constrain United 93’s impact time to within 1 second, are airplane- and crash-site specific, and are based on time codes automatically recorded in the ATC audiotapes for the FAA centers and correlated with each data set in a process internationally accepted within the aviation accident investigation community. Furthermore, one of the study’s principal authors now concedes that “seismic data is not definitive for the impact of UA 93.” Email from Won-Young Kim to the Commission, “Re: UA Flight 93,” July 7, 2004; see also Won-Young Kim, “Seismic Observations for UA Flight 93 Crash near Shanksville, Pennsylvania during September 11, 2001,” July 5, 2004.


170. For 10:17 discussion, see ibid., p. 34. For communication regarding “black smoke,” see FAA memo, “Full Transcript; Aircraft Accident; N591UA (UAL93) Somerset, PA; September 11, 2001,” May 10, 2002, pp. 16–18 (Cleveland Center, Imperial Radar position). This report from the C-130H was recorded on ATC audio about 1 minute and 37 seconds after the impact time of United 93 as established by NTSB and Commission analysis of FDR, CVR, radar, and impact data sets—more than a minute before the earliest impact time originally posited by the authors of the seismic data report.

171. NEADS audio file, Identification Technician, channel 5, 10:07.

172. NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander, channel 2, 10:10.

173. NEADS audio file, Identification Technician, channel 4, 10:14.


179. For lack of knowledge about the hijacking, see, e.g., White House transcript, Card interview with Ron Fournier of the Associated Press, Aug. 7, 2002. For information on the hijacking within the FAA, see the discussion of American 11 in section 1.2.


182. For notifications, see DOD record, Assistant Deputy Director Operations Passdown Log, Sept. 11, 2001. For the call to the FAA, see DOD record, Senior Operations Officer log, Sept. 11, 2001 (“9:00 NMCC called FAA, briefed of explosion at WTC possibly from aircraft crash. Also, hijacking of American Flight 11 from Boston to LA, now enroute to Kennedy”). For the scrambling of jets not being discussed, see Ryan Gonsalves interview (May 14, 2004).

183. Secret Service records show the motorcade arriving between 8:50 and 8:55. USSS record, shift log, Sept. 11, 2001 (8:55); USSS record, Command Post Protective Log, Sept. 11, 2001 (8:50). For Andrew Card’s recollection, see Andrew Card meeting (Mar. 31, 2004). For the President’s reaction, see Andrew Card meeting (Mar. 31, 2004); White House transcript, President Bush interview with Bob Schieffer of CBS News, Apr. 17, 2002.

184. White House transcript, Rice interview with Evan Thomas of Newsweek, Nov. 1, 2001, p. 2; see also White House record, President’s Daily Diary, Sept. 11, 2001.


186. For Rice’s meeting, see White House transcript, Rice interview with Bob Woodward of the Washington Post, Oct. 24, 2001, pp. 360–361. For White House staff monitoring the news, see, e.g., White House transcript, Rice interview with Evan Thomas, Nov. 11, 2001, p. 388.


188. For the time of the teleconference, see FAA record, Chronology ADA-30, Sept. 11, 2001. For recollections of the NMCC officer, see Charles Chambers interview (Apr. 23, 2004). For recollections of the FAA manager, see Michael Weikert interview (May 7, 2004). For Belger’s reaction, see Monte Belger testimony, June 17, 2004.

189. For the times of the video teleconference, see White House record, Situation Room Communications Log, Sept. 11, 2001 (9:25 start); CIA notes, Cofer Black timeline, Sept. 11, 2001 (CIA representatives joining at 9:40); FAA record, Chronology ADA-30, Sept. 11, 2001 (FAA representatives joining at 9:40).
190. Patrick Gardner interview (May 12, 2004). For participants, see Jane Garvey interview (Oct. 21, 2003); Monte Belger interview (Apr. 20, 2004); Jeff Griffith interview (Mar. 31, 2004). On the absence of Defense officials, see John Brumderman interview (May 17, 2004). The White House video teleconference was not connected into the area of the NMCC where the crisis was being managed. Thus the director of the operations team—who was on the phone with NORAD—did not have the benefit of information being shared on the video teleconference. See, e.g., Charles Leidig interview (Apr. 29, 2004); Montague Winfield interview (Apr. 26, 2004); Patrick Gardner interview (May 12, 2004). Moreover, when the Secretary and Vice Chairman later participated in the White House video teleconference, they were necessarily absent from the NMCC and unable to provide guidance to the operations team. See DOD report, OT-2 Analysis of NMCC Response to Terrorist Attack on 11 SEP 01, Oct. 4, 2001; John Brumderman interview (May 17, 2004).


193. For the Secretary's activities, see DOD memo, interview of Donald Rumsfeld, Dec. 23, 2002; Stephen Cambone interview (July 8, 2004).

194. Charles Leidig interview (Apr. 29, 2004). Secure teleconferences are the NMCC's primary means of coordinating emergencies, and they fall into two categories: “event” and “threat.” Event conferences seek to gather information. If the situation escalates, a threat conference may be convened. On 9/11, there was no preset teleconference for a domestic terrorist attack. NMCC and National Military Joint Intelligence Center (NMJIC) briefing (July 21, 2003). For the content of the conferences on 9/11, see DOD transcript, Air Threat Conference Call, Sept. 11, 2001. For Card's statement, see White House transcript, Card interview with Ron Fournier, Aug. 7, 2002. For the President's actions and statements to the Vice President, see Ari Fleischer interview (Apr. 22, 2004). For the FAA representative, see Rayford Brooks interview (Apr. 15, 2004).


196. On difficulties in including the FAA, see NMCC and NMJIC briefing (July 21, 2003); John Brumderman interview (May 17, 2004). On NORAD and the time of the FAA's joining, see DOD transcript, Air Threat Conference Call, Sept. 11, 2001. For the FAA representative, see Rayford Brooks interview (Apr. 15, 2004).


199. On the briefing, see ibid. The Vice Chairman was on Capitol Hill when the Pentagon was struck, and he saw smoke as his car made its way back to the building. Richard Myers interview (Feb. 17, 2004). For the Chairman being out of the country, see DOD record, Deputy Director for Operations Passdown Log, Sept. 11, 2001.


201. Ibid.

202. Ibid.

203. For the President being informed at 9:05, see White House record, President's Daily Diary, Sept. 11, 2001. For Card's statement, see White House transcript, Card interview with Ron Fournier, Aug. 7, 2002. For the President's reaction, see President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004).

204. For the President's activities, see Education Channel videotape, "Raw Footage of President Bush at Emma E. Booker Elementary School," Sept. 11, 2001 (remaining in classroom); Deborah Loewer meeting (Feb. 6, 2004) (in the holding room). For his calls, see White House record, President's Daily Diary, Sept. 11, 2001 (9:15 call to Vice President); Deborah Loewer meeting (Feb. 6, 2004) (call to Rice); President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004) (call to Pataki); White House record, Secure Switchboard Log, Sept. 11, 2001 (call to Mueller). For the decision to make a statement, see Ari Fleischer interview (Apr. 22, 2004). For the Secret Service's perspective, see Edward Marzinel interview (Apr. 21, 2004).

205. On the return to Washington, see Deborah Loewer meeting (Feb. 6, 2004); Andrew Card meeting (Mar. 31, 2004). On consulting with senior advisers, see Ari Fleischer interview (Apr. 22, 2004). On information about additional aircraft, see, e.g., Andrew Card meeting (Mar. 31, 2004). On decisions and the focus on the President's speech, see President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004); Ari Fleischer interview (Apr. 22, 2004); Andrew Card meeting (Mar. 31, 2004).


207. On not returning to Washington, see Edward Marzinel interview (Apr. 21, 2004); USSS memo, interview of Edward Marzinel, Oct. 3, 2001; Andrew Card meeting (Mar. 31, 2004). For additional sources on the President's desire to return, see White House transcript, Vice President Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 19, 2001, p. 5. For the Vice President's recollection, see President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004). For time of departure, see USSS record, Command Post Protective Log, Sept. 11, 2001. On Air Force One’s objectives on takeoff, see Edward Marzinel interview (Apr. 21, 2004).
208. USSS memo, interview of Gregory LaDow, Oct. 1, 2001, p. 1. Shortly after the second attack in New York, a senior Secret Service agent charged with coordinating the President's movements established an open line with his counterpart at the FAA, who soon told him that there were more planes unaccounted for—possibly hijacked—in addition to the two that had already crashed. Though the senior agent told someone to convey this information to the Secret Service's operations center, it either was not passed on or was passed on but not disseminated; it failed to reach agents assigned to the Vice President, and the Vice President was not evacuated at that time. See Nelson Garabito interview (Mar. 11, 2004); USSS memo, interview of Nelson Garabito, Oct. 1, 2001; see also Terry Van Steenbergen interview (Mar. 30, 2004).

209. American 77's route has been determined through Commission analysis of FAA and military radar data. For the evacuation of the Vice President, see White House transcript, Vice President Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 19, 2001, p. 2; USSS memo, interview of Rocco Delmonico, Oct. 1, 2001 (evacuation of the White House); see also White House notes, Mary Matalin notes, Sept. 11, 2001. On the time of entering the tunnel, see USSS report, “Executive Summary: U.S. Secret Service Timeline of Events, September 11–October 3, 2001,” Oct. 3, 2001, p. 2. Secret Service personnel told us that the 9:37 entry time in their timeline was based on alarm data, which is no longer retrievable. USSS briefing (Jan. 29, 2004).

210. White House transcript, Vice President Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 19, 2001, p. 4; President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004).

211. On Mrs. Cheney, see USSS report, “Executive Summary: U.S. Secret Service Timeline of Events, September 11–October 3, 2001,” Oct. 3, 2001, p. 2 (time of arrival); White House transcript, Lynne Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 9, 2001, p. 2 (joining the Vice President). For the contemporaneous notes, see White House notes, Lynne Cheney notes, Sept. 11, 2001. On the content of the Vice President's call, see White House transcript, Vice President Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 19, 2001, p. 5. According to the Vice President, there was “one phone call from the tunnel. And basically I called to let him know that we were a target and I strongly urged him not to return to Washington right away, that he delay his return until we could find out what the hell was going on.” For their subsequent movements, see White House transcript, Vice President Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 19, 2001, p. 5; White House transcript, Lynne Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 9, 2001, p. 2.

212. On communications problems, see, e.g., President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004). On lack of an open line, see, e.g., Deborah Loewer meeting (Feb. 6, 2004).

213. On the Vice President's call, see President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004). For the Vice President's time of arrival in the shelter conference room, see White House record, PEOC Shelter Log, Sept. 11, 2001 (9:58); USSS memo, OVP 9/11 Timeline, Nov. 17, 2001 (9:52; Mrs. Cheney arrived White House and joined him in tunnel); White House notes, Lynne Cheney notes (9:55; he is on phone with President); White House transcript, Lynne Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 9, 2001, p. 2 (“And when I got there, he was on the phone with the President . . . But from that first place where I ran into him, I moved with him into what they call the PEOC”); White House transcript, Vice President Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 19, 2001, p. 4 (9:35 or 9:36 arrival; he estimated a 15-minute stay); Carl Truscott interview (Apr. 15, 2004) (arrived with Rice and the Vice President in conference room; called headquarters immediately; call logged at 10:00); President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting, Apr. 29, 2004 (Vice President viewed television footage of Pentagon ablaze in tunnel); White House transcript, Rice interview with Evan Thomas, Nov. 1, 2001, p. 388 (Rice viewed television footage of Pentagon ablaze in Situation Room). For the Vice President's recollection about the combat air patrol, see President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004); White House transcript, President Bush interview with Bob Woodward and Dan Balz, Dec. 17, 2001, p. 16.

214. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004); see also White House transcript, Vice President Cheney interview with Newsweek, Nov. 19, 2001, pp. 7–8.


216. In reconstructing events that occurred in the PEOC on the morning of 9/11, we relied on (1) phone logs of the White House switchboard; (2) notes of Lewis Libby, Mrs. Cheney, and Ari Fleischer; (3) the tape (and then transcript) of the air threat conference call; and (4) Secret Service and White House Situation Room logs, as well as four separate White House Military Office logs (the PEOC Watch Log, the PEOC Shelter Log, the Communications Log, and the 9/11 Log).

217. DOD transcript, Air Threat Conference Call, Sept. 11, 2001. For one open line between the Secret Service and the FAA, see note 208. At Secret Service headquarters, personnel from the intelligence division were also on a phone conference with FAA headquarters. Chuck Green interview (Mar. 10, 2004). For notification of an inbound aircraft at 10:02, see USSS record, Intelligence Division timeline, Sept. 11, 2001; USSS record, Crisis Center Incident Monitor, Sept. 11, 2001. For the FAA's projection, see Tim Grovack interview (Apr. 8, 2004). For Secret Service updates, see DOD transcript, Air Threat Conference Call, Sept. 11, 2001.

219. For Libby’s characterization, see White House transcript, Scooter Libby interview with Newsweek, Nov. 2001. For the Vice President’s statement, see President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004). For the second authorization, see White House notes, Lynne Cheney notes, Sept. 11, 2001; White House notes, Lewis Libby notes, Sept. 11, 2001.

220. Joshua Bolten meeting (Mar. 18, 2004); see also White House notes, Lewis Libby notes, Sept. 11, 2001 (“10:15–18: Aircraft 60 miles out, confirmed as hijack—engage? VP: Yes. JB [Joshua Bolten]: Get President and confirm engage order”).

221. For the Vice President’s call, see White House record, Secure Switchboard Log, Sept. 11, 2001; White House record, President’s Daily Diary, Sept. 11, 2001; White House notes, Lewis Libby notes, Sept. 11, 2001. Fleischer’s 10:20 note is the first mention of shootdown authority. See White House notes, Ari Fleischer notes, Sept. 11, 2001; see also Ari Fleischer interview (Apr. 22, 2004).


223. On reports of another plane, see White House notes, Lynne Cheney notes, Sept. 11, 2001; White House notes, Lewis Libby notes, Sept. 11, 2001. On the Vice President’s authorization, see ibid.; DOD transcript, Air Threat Conference Call, Sept. 11, 2001. For Hadley’s statement, see DOD transcript, Air Threat Conference Call, Sept. 11, 2001.


227. Ibid.

228. Ralph Eberhart interview (Mar. 1, 2004). On the morning of 9/11, General Eberhart was in his office at headquarters—roughly 30 minutes away from Cheyenne Mountain, where the operations center is located.


231. For the statements of NEADS personnel, see Robert Marr interview (Jan. 23, 2004) (NEADS commander); Kevin Naspany interview (Jan. 22, 2004) (mission commander); James Fox interview (Oct. 29, 2004) (senior weapons director). On the understanding of leaders in Washington, see DOD transcript, Air Threat Conference Call, Sept. 11, 2001. For the orders to Langley pilots, see NEADS audio file, Weapons Director position, recorder 1, channel 2, 10:10–11.

232. For evidence of the President speaking to Rumsfeld, see White House notes, Ari Fleischer notes, Sept. 11, 2001. On inability to recall this conversation, see Donald Rumsfeld interview (Jan. 30, 2004).


234. Donald Rumsfeld interview (Jan. 30, 2004). At 11:15, Secretary Rumsfeld spoke to the President and told him DOD was working on refining the rules of engagement so pilots would have a better understanding of the circumstances under which an aircraft could be shot down. See, e.g., DOD notes, Stephen Cambone notes, Sept. 11, 2001. DOD did not circulate written rules of engagement until sometime after 1:00 P.M. See DOD memo, rules of engagement, Sept. 11, 2001 (faxed to Andrews Air Force Base at 1:45 P.M.).

235. David Wherley interview (Feb. 27, 2004).

236. The 113th Wing first learned from the FAA tower at Andrews that the Secret Service wanted fighters airborne. The FAA tower had been contacted by personnel at FAA headquarters, who were on an open line with senior agents from the President’s detail. See Nelson Garabito interview (Mar. 11, 2004); Terry Van Steenbergen interview (Mar. 30, 2004). On the Secret Service agent relaying instructions, see USSS memo, Beauchamp to AD-Inspection, September 11 experience, Feb. 23, 2004. On the order to fly weapons free, see David Wherley interview (Feb. 27, 2004); DOD memo, interview of David Wherley, Oct. 3, 2001, p. 12.

237. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004).

238. These estimates are based on analysis of Boeing 757 maximum operating speed data, FAA and military radar data, and assumptions regarding how the airplane would be operated en route to the Washington, D.C., area. The shortest time frame assumes maximum speed without regard to overspeed warnings, a straight-line path, and no time allowed for maneuvering or slowing to aim and crash the airplane into its target. The probable time frame allows for speeds consistent with the observed operation of the airplane prior to its final maneuvers and crash, as well as for maneuvers and slowing in the D.C. area to take aim. According to radar data, the fighters from Langley Air Force Base arrived over Washington at about 10:00 a.m. Two of the three Langley fighters were fully armed (i.e., with missiles and guns); the third fighter carried only guns. Craig Borgstrom interview (Dec. 1, 2003).

239. For the pilots’ awareness, see Dean Eckmann interview (Dec. 1, 2003); Bradley Derrig interview (Dec. 1, 2003); Craig Borgstrom interview (Dec. 1, 2003). For the quotation, see Dean Eckmann interview (Dec. 1, 2003).

240. For no authority at 10:10, see NEADS audio file, Mission Crew Commander, channel 2. For shootdown
2 The Foundation of the New Terrorism

1. “Text of World Islamic Front’s Statement Urging Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders,” Al Quds al Arabi, Feb. 23, 1998 (trans. Foreign Broadcast Information Service), which was published for a large Arab world audience and signed by Usama Bin Ladin, Ayman Al Zawahiri (emir of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad), Abu Yasir Rifi’a’s Ahmad Taha (leader of the Egyptian Islamic Group), Mir Hamzah (secretary of the Jamiat ul Ulema e Pakistan), and Fazlul Rahman (head of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh).


5. Ibid.


9. From the perspective of Islamic, not Arab, history, the Baghdad Caliphate’s destruction by the Mongols in 1292 marks the end not of Islamic greatness but of Arab dominance of the Muslim world. Moghul India, Safavid Persia, and, above all, the Ottoman Empire were great Islamic powers that arose long after the Baghdad Caliphate fell.


11. The Muslim Brotherhood, which arose in Egypt in 1928 as a Sunni religious/nationalist opposition to the British-backed Egyptian monarchy, spread throughout the Arab world in the mid–twentieth century. In some countries, its oppositional role is nonviolent; in others, especially Egypt, it has alternated between violent and nonviolent struggle with the regime.


14. “Bin Laden’s ‘Letter to America,’” Observer Worldview, Nov. 24, 2002 (trans., online at http://observer.guardian.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,845725,00.html). The al Qaeda letter was released in conjunction with the release of an audio message from Bin Ladin himself.

15. Ibid.


19. “Open resistance flared so quickly that only two months after the invasion . . . almost the entire population of Kabul climbed on their rooftops and chanted with one voice, ‘God is great.’ This open defiance of the Russian generals who could physically destroy their city was matched throughout the countryside.” General (Ret.) Mohammed Yahya Naswrooz and Lester W. Grau, “The Soviet War in Afghanistan; History and Harbinger of Future War?” Military Review (Fort Leavenworth Foreign Military Studies Office), Sept./Oct. 1995, p. 2.


most accounts, Bin Ladin initially viewed Azzam as a mentor, and became in effect his partner by providing financial backing for the MAK.

23. In his memoir, Ayman al Zawahiri contemptuously rejects the claim that the Arab mujahideen were financed (even “one penny”) or trained by the United States. See Zawahiri, “Knights Under the Prophet’s Banner,” Al Shag al Awsat, Dec. 2, 2001. CIA officials involved in aiding the Afghan resistance regard Bin Ladin and his “Arab Afghans” as having been militarily insignificant in the war and recalling having little to do with him. Gary Schroen interview (Mar. 3, 2003).


25. A wealth of information on al Qaeda’s evolution and history has been obtained from materials seized in recent years, including files labeled “Tareekh Usama” (Usama’s history) and “Tareekh al Musadat” (History of the Services Bureau). For descriptions of and substantial excerpts from these files, see Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements, United States v. Arnaout, Jan. 6, 2003. See also Intelligence report, Terrorism: Historical Background of the Islamic Army and bin Ladin’s Move from Afghanistan to Sudan, Nov. 26, 1996; DOD document, “Al-Qaeda,” AFGP-2002-000080 (translated). For a particularly useful insight into the evolution of al Qaeda—written by an early Bin Ladin associate, Adel Batterjee, under a pseudonym—see Basal Muhammad, Al Ansar al Arab fi Afghanistan (The Arab volunteers in Afghanistan) (Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) and World Association of Muslim Youth, 1991).


31. See Intelligence report, Terrorism: Historical Background of the Islamic Army and bin Ladin’s Move from Afghanistan to Sudan, Nov. 26, 1996.


33. For Bin Ladin’s confrontation with the Saudi regime, see, e.g., Peter L. Bergen, Holy War Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden (Touchstone, 2001), pp. 80–82. On aid provided by a dissident member of the royal family, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Sept. 27, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Sept. 26, 2003. See also FBI report of investigation, interview of Fadl, Nov. 10, 1996.

34. Gunaratna, Inside Al-Qaeda, p. 34.


40. Benjamin and Simon, Age of Sacred Terror, pp. 100, 235.


43. On Wali Khan’s relationship with Bin Ladin, see Intelligence report, Usama Bin Ladin’s Historical Links to ‘Abdallah Azzam, Apr. 18, 1997; FBI report of investigation, interview of Fadl, Nov. 10, 1996; Muhammad, Al’Ansar al Arab fi Afghanistan. On the Blind Sheikh, Bin Ladin eventually spoke publicly of his admiration. See ABC News interview, “To Terror’s Source,” May 28, 1998. In late 1992, Abu Zubaydah confided to his diary that he was getting ready to go to one of al Qaeda’s military camps: “Perhaps later I will tell you about the QA’ida and Bin Ladin group.” Intelligence report, translation of Abu Zubaydah’s diary, June 9, 2002. Ramzi Yousef and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed masterminded the 1995 Manila air plot, and KSM helped fund Yousef’s attempt to blow up the World Trade Center in 1993. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004. The Blind Sheikh was linked to Yousef and the 1993 World Trade Center attack, while Wali Khan was convicted together with Yousef for the Manila air conspiracy.


47. For background about the attack on the training facility, see, e.g., Benjamin and Simon, Age of Sacred Terror, pp. 132, 242. On the proposed attack in Saudi Arabia, see Intelligence report, Fatwa to attack U.S. interests in Saudi Arabia and movement of explosives to Saudi Arabia, Jan. 8, 1997; FBI reports of investigation, interviews of Fadl, Nov. 12, 1996; Feb. 13, 1998. On associates taking credit, see Intelligence report made available to the Commission.


55. Intelligence reports, interrogations of detainee, May 22, 2003; May 24, 2003. At least one of these reports dates the meeting to 1994, but other evidence indicates the meeting may have occurred in February 1995. Greg interview (June 25, 2004). Two CIA memoranda of information from a foreign government report that the chief of Iraq’s intelligence service and a military expert in bomb making met with Bin Ladin at his farm outside Khartoum on July 30, 1996. The source claimed that Bin Ladin asked for and received assistance from the bomb-making expert, who remained there giving training until September 1996, which is when the information was passed to the United States. See Intelligence reports made available to the Commission. The information is puzzling, since Bin Ladin left Sudan for Afghanistan in May 1996, and there is no evidence he ventured back there (or anywhere else) for a visit. In examining the source material, the reports note that the information was received “third hand,” passed from the foreign government service that “does not meet directly with the ultimate source of the information, but obtains the information from him through two unidentified intermediaries, one of whom merely delivers the information to the Service.” The same source claims that the bomb-making expert had been seen in the area of Bin Ladin’s Sudan farm in December 1995.

56. Intelligence report, Possible Islamic Army Foreknowledge of an “Egyptian Operation” and Logistical and


61. Because the U.S. embassy in Khartoum had been closed in response to terrorist threats, the U.S. Ambassador to Sudan was working out of the embassy in Nairobi. The Sudanese regime notified him there by fax. See Tim Carney interview (Dec. 4, 2003); Donald Petterson interview (Sept. 30, 2003); DOS cable, Nairobi 7020, “Sudan: Foreign Minister on Developments re Terrorism and Peace,” May 21, 1996. On the attempted assassination of Bin Ladin, see FBI report of investigation, interview of L’Houssaine Kherchtou, Oct. 15, 2000; FBI report of investigation, interview of confidential source, Sept. 16, 1999.


64. Rashid, Taliban, pp. 88–90.


66. See, e.g., Marvin Weinbaum interview (Aug. 12, 2003); William Milam interview (Dec. 29, 2003). Milam described “strategic depth” as Pakistan’s need for a friendly, pliable neighbor on the west due to its hostile relationship with India on the east.


71. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003; Gunaratna, Inside Al Qaeda, p. 41; Rashid, Taliban, pp. 19–21, 133.


73. On Bin Ladin’s promise to Taliban leaders, see government exhibit no. 1559–T, United States v. bin Laden. For the Bin Ladin interview, see CNN broadcast, interview of Bin Ladin by Peter Arnett on Mar. 20, 1997, May 9, 1997 (available online at http://news.findlaw.com/cnn/docs/binladen/binladenintvw-cnn.pdf). According to

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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.


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 Qa‘ida Contacts (1990–2003),’”) Dec. 10, 2003, p. 5).


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 Khalid, Nov. 26, 2003. Khalid 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.


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.


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


87. For general information on Hage, see Oriana Gill, “Hunting Bin Laden: A Portrait of Wadah El Hage, Accused Terrorist,” PBS Frontline broadcast, Sept. 12, 2001. On returning to the United States, Hage was met at the airport by FBI agents, interrogated, and called the next day before the federal grand jury then investigating Bin Ladin. Because he lied to the grand jury about his association with Bin Ladin and al Qaeda, he was arrested immediately after the embassy bombings a year later. Testimony of Patrick Fitzgerald before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Oct. 21, 2003, pp. 3–4. On Hage’s phone taps, see introduction of stipulation (government exhibit no. 36), United States v. bin Laden, Feb. 27, 2001 (transcript pp. 1575–1576). For Harun’s fax, see government exhibit no. 300A–T, United States v. bin Laden.


3. Counterterrorism Evolves


8. These prosecutions also had the unintended consequence of alerting some al Qaeda members to the U.S. government’s interest in them. In February 1995, the government filed a confidential court document listing Usama Bin Ladin and scores of other people as possible co-conspirators in the New York City landmarks plot. Ali Mohamed, who was on the list, obtained a copy and faxed it to a close Bin Ladin aide for distribution. Statement of Ali Mohamed in support of change of plea, United States v. Ali Mohamed, No. S(7) 98 Cr. 1023 (S.D.N.Y.), Oct. 20, 2000 (transcript p. 29); Statements of Prosecutor and Judge, United States v. Bin Laden, No. S(7) 98 Cr. 1023 (S.D.N.Y.), Mar. 26, 2001 (transcript pp. 3338–3339); Patrick Fitzgerald interview (Jan. 28, 2004).


20. Janet Reno interview (Dec. 16, 2003); Dale Watson interview (Feb. 5, 2004); Stephen Colgate interview (May 19, 2004); OMB budget examiner interview (Apr. 27, 2004).


22. For the mid-1990s numbers, see FBI memo, Freeh to Reno, “Reorganization of FBI Headquarters—Establishment of Counterterrorism Division and Investigative Services Division,” Apr. 22, 1999. For the 1998–2001 num-


25. For training statistics, see DOJ Inspector General report, “Review of the FBI’s Counterterrorism Program,” Sept. 2002, p. 74. For translation resources, see FBI report, “FY 2002 Counterterrorism Division Program Summary,” undated, p. 4. Since 9/11, the FBI has recruited and processed more than 30,000 translator applicants. This has resulted in the addition of nearly 700 new translators. FBI report, “The FBI’s Counterterrorism Program Since September 2001,” Apr. 14, 2004. The FBI’s hiring process includes language testing, a personnel security interview, polygraph, and a full background investigation. The FBI must maintain rigorous security and proficiency standards with respect to its permanent and contract employees. Even as the FBI has increased its language services cadre, the demand for translation services has also greatly increased. Thus, the FBI must not only continue to bring on board more linguists, it must also continue to take advantage of technology and best practices to prioritize its workflow, enhance its capabilities, and ensure compliance with its quality control program. FBI linguists interviews (July 31, 2003–May 10, 2004); Margaret Gulotta interview (May 10, 2004). See DOJ Inspector General report, “A Review of the FBI’s Actions in Connection with Allegations Raised by Contract Linguist Sibel Edmonds,” July 1, 2004; Sibel Edmonds interview (Feb. 11, 2004).


28. International terrorism intelligence cases were designated as 199 matters; international terrorism criminal cases were designated as 265 matters. In 2003, these designations were eliminated; all international terrorism matters now receive the same designation, 315.


32. Bellows Report, pp. 712–714, n. 947, appendix D tabs 2, 3; Richard Scruggs interview (May 26, 2004); Larry Parkinson interview (Feb. 24, 2004). Because OIPR had ultimate authority to decide what was presented to the FISA Court, it wielded extraordinary power in the FISA process.

33. The group included representatives from the FBI, OIPR, and the Criminal Division. In addition, the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York was given an opportunity to comment on the procedures. The procedures that were eventually issued were agreed to by all involved in the drafting process. As a member of the Commission, Gorelick has recused herself from participation in this aspect of our work.

Some barriers were proposed by OIPR in the FISA applications and subsequently adopted by the FISC; others, less formally recorded, were believed by the FBI to be equally applicable.

35. On the misapplication of the procedures and the role of OIPR, see Bellows Report, pp. 721–722; Marion Bowman interview (Mar. 6, 2004); Fran Fragos Townsend meeting (Feb. 13, 2004). On the OIPR as gatekeeper, see Michael Vatis interview (Jan. 21, 2004); Larry Parkinson interview (Feb. 24, 2004). On OIPR’s stated defense, see David Kris interview (May 19, 2004); Richard Scruggs interview (May 26, 2004). On OIPR’s threat, see Larry Parkinson interview (Feb. 24, 2004); Thomas A. interview (Mar. 16, 2004). On the lack of information flow, see Bellows Report, pp. 722, 724–725, 729–731.


37. For an example of the barriers between agents, see DOJ emails, Jane to Steve B., interpreting the wall to apply to non–FISA information, Aug. 29, 2001; David Kris interview (Jan. 15, 2004). On the NSA barriers, see DOJ Inspector General interview of Jane, Nov. 4, 2002. These barriers were reinforced by caveats NSA began placing on all of its Bin Ladin–related reports and later on all of its counterterrorism–related reports—whether or not the information was subject to the attorney general’s order—which required approval before the reports’ contents could be shared with criminal investigators. Ibid. On the several reviews of the process, see Bellows Report, pp. 709, 722; DOJ Inspector General report, “The Handling of FBI Intelligence Information Related to the Justice Department’s Campaign Finance Investigation,” July 1999, pp. 15–16, 235, 256, 328–330, 340, 344; GAO report, “FBI Intelligence Investigations: Coordination Within Justice on Counterintelligence Criminal Matters Is Limited,” July 2001, pp. 3–5.

38. In December 1999, NSA began placing caveats on all of its Bin Ladin reports that precluded sharing of any of the reports’ contents with criminal prosecutors or FBI agents investigating criminal matters without first obtaining OIPR’s permission. These caveats were initially created at the direction of Attorney General Reno and applied solely to reports of information gathered from three specific surveillances she had authorized. Because NSA decided it was administratively too difficult to determine whether particular reports derived from the specific surveillances authorized by the attorney general, NSA decided to place this caveat on all its terrorism–related reports. In November 2000, in response to direction from the FISA Court, NSA modified these caveats to require that consent for sharing the information with prosecutors or criminal agents be obtained from NSA’s Customer Needs and Delivery Services group. See DOJ memo, Reno to Freeh, E.O. 12333 authorized surveillance of a suspected al Qaeda operative, Dec. 24, 1999; NSA email, William L. to Brian C., “dissemination of terrorism reporting,” Dec. 29, 1999; NSA memo, Anna D. to others, “Reporting Guidance,” Dec. 30, 1999; Intelligence report, Nov. 6, 2000. See also discussion of the history of the NSA caveats in the notes to Chapter 8.

39. See DEA report, “DEA Staffing & Budget” (figures for 1972 to 2003) (online at www.usdoj.gov/dea/agency/staffing.htm). For USMS staffing, see DOJ information provided to the Commission.


rity Strategy and Casework Oversight”). On the work of the National Security Unit and the Intelligence Unit, see Daniel Cadman interview (Oct. 17, 2003); Cliff Landesman interview (Oct. 27, 2003).

44. For number of agents on Canadian border, the Canadian situation generally, and the inspector general’s recommendations, see INS report, “Northern Border Strategy,” Jan. 9, 2001; DOJ Inspector General report, “Follow-up Review of the Border Patrol Efforts Along the Northern Border,” Apr. 2000 (inspection plan). On terrorists entering the United States via Canada, see, e.g., INS record, Record of Deportable Alien, Abu Mezer, June 24, 1996. Mezer was able to stay in the United States despite apprehensions for his illegal entries along the northern border.

45. The inspectors’ views are drawn from our interviews with 26 border inspectors who had contact with the 9/11 hijackers. On the incomplete INS projects, see Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, Pub. L. No. 104-208, 110 Stat. 3009 (1996), §§ 110, 641.


52. The FAA maintained formal agreements with the CIA, FBI, Department of State, Department of Defense, and NSA to receive data of interest as outlined in the agreement. In addition, the FAA posted liaisons with the CIA, FBI, and Department of State to facilitate the flow of intelligence and threat information. See Claudio Manno interview (Oct. 1, 2003); Matt K. interview (Feb. 13, 2004). The FAA civil aviation security officials reported that the agency’s intelligence watch received about 200 pieces of intelligence per day. See Claudio Manno interview (Oct. 1, 2003). The analysis regarding the passage of FBI information was based on a review of the FAA’s Intelligence Case Files. The FBI analyst who worked on the 1998 tasking indicated that the information was shared with the FAA liaison to the Bureau, but the liaison did not recall having seen it. Cathal Flynn interview (Sept. 9, 2003); Matt K. interview (Feb. 13, 2004).
53. Regarding intelligence reports, the Daily Intelligence Summary (DIS) prepared by the FAA’s Office of Civil Aviation Intelligence was reviewed first by an assistant to Acting Deputy Administrator Belger, who would inform him of any information that she felt merited his attention. Belger in turn would determine whether the information needed to be raised with Administrator Garvey. Garvey told us that she maintained an open door policy and counted on her security staff to keep her informed on any pressing issues. Jane Garvey interview (Oct. 21, 2003); Monte Belger interview (Nov. 24, 2003); Cathal Flynn interview (Sept. 9, 2003); Shirley Miller interview (Mar. 30, 2004); Claudio Mannio interview (Oct. 1, 2003). Regarding the intelligence unit, see Nicholas Grant interview (May 26, 2004); Claudio Mannio interview (Oct. 1, 2003); Mike Canavan interview (Nov. 4, 2003); Alexander T. Wells, Commercial Aviation Safety (McGraw-Hill, 2001), p. 308.

54. On the threat to civil aviation, see Lee Longmire interview (Oct. 28, 2003). On CAPPS, also known as CAPS (Computer Assisted Profiling System), see FAA security directive, “Threat to Air Carriers,” SD 97-01, Oct. 27, 1997. The profile was derived from information on the Passenger Name Record and did not include factors such as race, creed, color, or national origin. In addition to those chosen by the algorithm, a number of other passengers were selected at random, both to address concerns about discrimination and to deter terrorists from figuring out the algorithm and gaming the system. On no-fly lists, see FAA security directive, “Threat to U.S. Air Carriers,” SD 95, Apr. 24, 2000. Some of the individuals on the no-fly list were in U.S. custody as of 9/11. See Kevin G. Hall, Alfonso Chardy, and Juan O. Tamayo, “Mix-Up Almost Permitted Deportation of Men Suspected of Terrorist Activities,” Miami Herald, Sept. 19, 2001; FAA security directive, “Threat to U.S. Aircraft Operators,” SD 108-1, Aug. 28, 2001. On the Gore Commission, see Final Report of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, Feb. 12, 1997, p. 28. On the TIPOFF database (used to screen visa applicants and persons seeking permission to enter the United States against the names of known or suspected terrorists), see DOS cable, State 182167, “Fighting Terrorism: Visas Viper Procedures,” Oct. 19, 2001. Finally, on the watchlist, officials told us that large lists were difficult to implement, particularly when they weren’t accompanied by numeric data such as date of birth that would enable an air carrier to distinguish the terrorist from others around the world who had his or her name. In addition, the U.S. intelligence community was required to approve the “no-fly” listing of an individual in order to protect sources and methods. Matt Kormann interview (Feb. 13, 2004).

55. On selectees, see James Padgett interview (Oct. 7, 2003). Their bags were either screened for explosives or held off their flight until they were confirmed to be aboard. See FAA security directive, “Threat to Air Carriers,” SD 97-01 Oct. 27, 1997. Under the previous noncomputerized profiling system, selectees were subject to secondary screening of their carry-on belongings, and checked baggage. See FAA security directive, “Threat to Air Carriers,” SD 96-05, Aug. 19, 1996.


57. “Knives with blades under 4 inches, such as Swiss Army Knives, scout knives, pocket utility knives, etc. may be allowed to enter the sterile area. However, some knives with blades under 4 inches could be considered by a reasonable person to be a ‘menacing knife’ and/or may be illegal under local law and should not be allowed to enter the sterile area.” See FAA regulations, Air Carriers Checkpoint Operations Guide, Aug. 1999; see also Air Transport Association Regional Airlines Association report, “Checkpoint Operations Guide,” Aug. 1999; Cathal Flynn interview (Sept. 9, 2003); Lee Longmire interview (Oct. 28, 2003); Leo Boivin interview (Sept. 17, 2003). A 1994 FAA assessment of the threat to civil aviation in the United States stated that "system vulnerabilities also exist with respect to hijackings . . . aircraft can be hijacked with either fake weapons or hoax explosive devices. Cabin crew or passengers can also be threatened with objects such as short blade knives, which are allowable on board aircraft." See FAA report, “The Threat to U.S. Civil Aviation in the United States,” Sept. 1994.


59. Courtney Tucker interview (June 3, 2004); Kenneth Mead prepared statement, May 22, 2003. Some air carrier officials, however, enjoyed a strong reputation for leadership in aviation security, including United Airlines’ Ed Soliday. Bruce Butterworth interview (Sept. 29, 2003); Cathal Flynn interview (Sept. 9, 2003); Steven Jenkins interview (Feb. 24, 2004).


61. On a hardened cockpit door making little difference, see Tim Ahern interview (Oct. 8, 2004). For regulations governing the doors, see FAA regulations, “Miscellaneous Equipment” (emergency exit), 14 C.F.R., § 121.313 (2001); FAA regulations, “Closing and locking of flight crew compartment door,” 14 C.F.R. § 121.587 (2001). Also compromising cockpit security was the use of common locks (one key fit the cockpits of all Boeing aircraft) and the absence of procedures to properly manage and safeguard cockpit keys. Michael Woodward interview (Jan. 25, 2004). For the quote on reinforced cockpit doors, see Byron Okada, “Air Rage Prompts Call for Safety Measures: The FAA Is Expected to Release a Report Today,” Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Jan. 10, 2001, p. 1.

62. James Underwood interview (Sept. 17, 2004); Mike Canavan interview (Nov. 4, 2003).
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64. As defined by statute, covert action “means an activity or activities of the United States Government to influence political, economic, or military conditions abroad, where it is intended that the role of the United States Government will not be apparent or acknowledged publicly, but does not include—(1) activities the primary purpose of which is to acquire intelligence[,]” 50 U.S.C. § 413b(e). Executive Order 12333, titled “United States Intelligence Activities,” terms covert action “special activities,” defined as “activities conducted in support of national foreign policy objectives abroad which are planned and executed so that the role of the United States Government is not apparent or acknowledged publicly, and functions in support of such activities[,]” E.O. 12333 § 3.4(h). Pursuant to that order, the CIA has primary responsibility for covert action; another nonmilitary agency may conduct covert action only if the president determines that it “is more likely to achieve a particular objective.” Ibid. § 1.8(e).


67. For quote, see Joint Inquiry testimony of Michael Hayden, June 18, 2002; see also Michael Hayden interview (Dec. 10, 2003).


69. For the CIA’s early years, see John Ranelagh, The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA (Simon & Schuster, 1986). For the Agency’s more recent history, see Robert M. Gates, From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider’s Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War (Simon & Schuster, 1996).


75. Steve Kappes interview (May 7, 2004); James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004).


78. See Tom Mangold, Cold Warrior: James Jesus Angleton, the CIA’s Master Spy Hunter (Simon & Schuster, 1991).

79. Ruth David interview (June 10, 2003).


84. James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004).


86. Richard Armitage interview (Jan. 12, 2004).


91. William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004); John Hamre interview (Dec. 9, 2003); Hugh Shelton interview (Dec. 5, 2004); Cohen Group meeting (Dec. 12, 2003).


93. John Hamre interview (Dec. 9, 2003); Henry Allen Holmes interview (Nov. 10, 2003); Brian Sheridan interview (Feb. 25, 2004).


102. President Clinton, “Remarks by the President in a Congressional Meeting,” July 29, 1996.


108. Hamilton, How Congress Works, p. 17. Our review of the classified schedules of authorization from 1995 to 2001 found that Congress generally supported the top line requests made by the administration for intelligence, never reducing it by more than 2 or 3 percent; however, the congressional oversight committees did reallocate the administration’s requests significantly, sometimes increasing programs like counterterrorism that they believed were being underfunded. On the intelligence budget, see George Tenet prepared statement, Mar. 24, 2004, pp. 23–26. The DCI added that frustrations with getting additional funding requests arose mainly from the administration. See ibid.


111. For neglect of airline security, see Commission analysis of the Congressional Daily Digest and the Congressional Record using the search term “aviation security.” See also FAA briefing materials, “FAA Hearing/Briefing Activity Prior to September 11, 2001,” undated. For the focus on the Southwest border, see Commission analysis of the hearing records of the subcommittees on immigration of the House and Senate Judiciary committees from 1993 through 2001. On restricting the FBI’s appropriations, see Robert Dies interview (Feb. 4, 2004); Stephen Colgate interview (May 19, 2004). On sanctions on Pakistan, see Strobe Talbott interview (Jan. 15, 2004); Karl Inderfurth interview (Feb. 18, 2004); Christina Rocca interview (Feb. 18, 2004). On the lack of time for oversight, see Hamilton, How Congress Works, p. 112; see also Center for Strategic and International Studies meeting (July 23, 2003); Jay Rockefeller meeting (Oct. 16, 2003). On the Senate Appropriations Committee, the long-serving Chair (Ted Stevens) and Ranking Minority Member (Daniel Inouye) of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee conduct at least weekly oversight sessions of the intelligence community, always behind closed doors, the effectiveness of which we cannot judge.

112. Although some members of the House sought the creation of a Select Committee on Terrorism in the beginning of 2001, the Speaker asked the intelligence committee to set up a terrorism working group instead. Under Rep. Saxby Chambliss and Rep. Jane Harman, it held several briefings before 9/11 and became a subcommittee of the Intelligence Committee immediately afterward.
113. Rep. Christopher Shays of Connecticut, chairman of the National Security Subcommittee of the Government Reform Committee, held 12 wide-ranging hearings on terrorism between 1999 and July 2001, with special attention on domestic preparedness and response to terrorist attack. Though the intelligence oversight panels’ work was largely secret, the intelligence community’s annual worldwide threat testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence was public testimony (typically followed by a closed session). From 1997 through 2001, the threat of terrorism rose on the priority list from third (1997–1998) to second (1999–2000) to first in 2001. See Commission analysis of congressional hearings on terrorism.


4 Responses to Al Qaeda’s Initial Assaults


3. On Fadl, see, e.g., Intelligence reports on historical background of Bin Ladin’s army (Nov. 26, 1996; Apr. 18, 1997); on the structure of al Qaeda and leadership composition (Dec. 18, 1996; Dec. 19, 1996; Dec. 19, 1996); on roles and responsibilities of the organizational component (Dec. 19, 1996); on objectives and direction (Jan. 8, 1997; Jan. 27, 1997); on the financial infrastructure and networks (Dec. 30, 1996; Jan. 3, 1997); on connections and collaboration with other terrorist groups and supporters (Jan 8, 1997; Jan. 31, 1997; Jan 31, 1997; Feb. 7, 1997); on activities in Somalia (Apr. 30, 1997); on Bin Ladin’s efforts to acquire WMD materials (Mar. 18, 1997). On the other walk–in source, see CIA cable, Jan. 3, 1997. Material from the Nairobi cell was introduced into evidence during the testimony of FBI Special Agent Daniel Coleman, United States v. Usama Bin Laden, No. S(7) 98 Cr. 1023 (S.D.N.Y.), Feb. 21, 2001 (transcript pp. 1078–1088, 1096–1102).


6. On Sudanese discussions with Saudi officials, see Frank interview (Mar. 18, 2004); Ron interview (Mar. 18, 2004). Timothy Carney believed the Saudis told Sudan that they did not want Bin Ladin. Timothy Carney interview (Dec. 4, 2003).

7. The CIA official who held one-on-one discussions with Erwa said that Erwa never offered to expel Bin Ladin to the United States or render him to another country. Mark interview (May 12, 2004). For Carney’s instructions and the lack of a U.S. indictment, see Timothy Carney interview (Dec. 4, 2003). On the indictment issue and the supposed Sudanese offer to give up Bin Ladin, see Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).

In early May 1996, the CIA received intelligence that Bin Ladin might be leaving Sudan. Though this reporting was described as “very spotty,” it would have been passed along to the DCI’s office because of high concern about Bin Ladin at the time. But it did not lead to plans for a U.S. operation to snatch Bin Ladin, because there was no indictment against him. Ron interview (Mar. 18, 2004); Frank interview (Mar. 18, 2004). It appears, however, that if another country had been willing to imprison Bin Ladin, the CIA might have tried to work out a scenario for apprehending him. CIA cable, May 8, 1996. The Sudanese government did not notify the United States that Bin Ladin had left the country until about two days after his departure. DOS cable, Nairobi 07020, “Sudan: Foreign Minister on Developments,” May 21, 1996.
President Clinton, in a February 2002 speech to the Long Island Association, said that the United States did not accept a Sudanese offer to take Bin Ladin because there was no indictment. President Clinton speech to the Long Island Association, Feb. 15, 2002 (videotape of speech). But the President told us that he had “misspoken” and was, wrongly, recounting a number of press stories he had read. After reviewing this matter in preparation for his Commission meeting, President Clinton told us that Sudan never offered to turn Bin Ladin over to the United States. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004). Berger told us that he saw no chance that Sudan would have handed Bin Ladin over and also noted that in 1996, the U.S. government still did not know of any al Qaeda attacks on U.S. citizens. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).

Alleged Sudanese offers to cooperate on counterterrorism have been the subject of much recent controversy. After repeatedly demanding that Sudan stop supporting terrorist groups, in 1993 the U.S. government designated the country a state sponsor of terrorism. Diplomatic discussions continued but had little impact on Sudanese support for terrorism or on other issues, such as human rights. In the fall of 1995, the United States conducted a Sudan policy review and, supported by a vocal segment of Congress, the White House sought to pressure and isolate the Sudanese. Susan Rice interview (Jan. 9, 2004).

After Bin Ladin left Sudan in May 1996, some State Department officials, including Ambassador Carney, criticized the NSC’s hard-line policy, which he felt provided no “carrots” for Sudanese moderates to cooperate on counterterrorism. He also faulted the NSC for not reopening the U.S. embassy in Khartoum (closed in early 1996) when security concerns there were reevaluated. State’s Sudan desk officer agreed, noting that the embassy was an excellent vehicle for gathering information on terrorists. According to one State official, NSC policymakers’ views were too firmly set to engage and test the Sudanese on counterterrorism. Timothy Carney interview (Dec. 4, 2003); David Shinn interview (Aug. 29, 2003); Stephen Schwartz interview (Dec. 30, 2003).

But supporters of the tough line, such as the NSC’s Susan Rice, argued that any conciliatory statements from Khartoum belied its unhelpful actions. For example, she noted, though Sudan did eventually expel Bin Ladin, his al Qaeda network retained a presence in the country. Susan Rice interview (Jan. 9, 2004). In addition, the CIA’s Africa Division, whose operatives had engaged the Sudanese on counterterrorism in early 1996, would conclude that “there is no indication that Sudanese involvement with terrorism has decreased in the past year.” They saw the Sudanese gestures toward cooperating as “tactical retreats” aimed at deceiving Washington in hopes of having sanctions removed. CIA memo, Walter to Acting DCI, “Africa Division’s Recommendations Regarding Sudan,” Dec. 17, 1996. The CIA official who ran the Sudanese portfolio and met with the Sudanese on numerous occasions told us the Sudanese were not going to deliver, and the perceived moderates “were just flat-out lying,” Mark interview (May 12, 2004).

In February 1997, the Sudanese sent letters to President Clinton and Secretary of State Albright, extending an invitation for a U.S. counterterrorism inspection mission to visit Sudan. The Sudanese also used private U.S. citizens to pass along offers to cooperate. Mansoor Ijaz interview (May 7, 2004); Janet McElligot interview (Oct. 20, 2003). But these offers were dismissed because the NSC viewed Sudan as all talk and little action. U.S. officials also feared that the Sudanese would exploit any positive American responses, including trips to the region by U.S. officials, for their own political purposes. See Joint Inquiry interview of David Williams, June 26, 2002. Today, Sudan is still listed as a state sponsor of terrorism.

10. CIA memos, summary of weekly Berger/Tenet meeting, May 1, 1998.
13. For State Department officials’ views, see Strobe Talbott interview (Jan. 15, 2004); Karl Inderfurth interview (Feb. 18, 2004).
14. On the civil war and UNOCAL, see Karl Inderfurth interview (Feb. 18, 2004); Robin Raphel interview (Dec. 8, 2003). The former UNOCAL chief for the pipeline project, Marty Miller, denied working exclusively with the Taliban and told us that his company sought to work with all Afghan factions to bring about the necessary stability to proceed with the project. Marty Miller interview (Nov. 7, 2003). UNOCAL hired, among others, Robert Oakley, the former ambassador to Pakistan. Oakley told us that he counseled the company about the internal dynamics of Afghanistan and Pakistan but never lobbied the State Department on UNOCAL’s behalf. Robert Oakley interview (Sept. 7, 2003); see also “Advisory Consulting Agreement” between UNOCAL and Oakley, Oct. 1996. On giving the Taliban a chance, see Marvin Weinbaum interview (Aug. 12, 2003).
15. See Madeleine Albright, speech at Nashir Bagh refugee camp in western Pakistan, Nov. 18, 1997. For a description of the Richardson mission, see Bill Richardson interview (Dec. 15, 2003); Karl Inderfurth interview (Feb. 18, 2004).
view, see Anthony Zinni interview (Jan. 29, 2004).
19. For a description of the plan, the content of briefing papers, and the Berger–Tenet meeting, see CIA memo, Jeff to Tenet, “Information Paper on Usama Bin Ladin,” Feb. 12, 1998 (with attached paper for Tenet’s meeting with Berger on Feb. 13, 1998, “Next Steps Against Usama Bin Ladin”). The paper also briefly noted other options the CIA could be pursuing against Bin Ladin: paramilitary or sabotage attacks—possibly lethal—against Bin Ladin’s facilities in Kandahar and Sudan, or even intelligence support for U.S. military strikes. On the Kansi operation, see Coll, *Ghost Wars*, p. 373.
24. CIA memo, summary of weekly Berger/Tenet meeting, May 1, 1998.
25. CIA memo, summary of Covert Action Planning Group meeting, May 18, 1998; CIA memo, “Tentative Timeline for the Bin Ladin Capture Operation,” May 19, 1998. The summary of the meeting notes that the initiative was not an assassination, despite the inaccurate comments of some in the NSC.
26. Mike interviews (Dec. 11, 2003; Jan. 6, 2004); Jeff interview (Dec. 17, 2003); Mary Jo White interview (May 17, 2004).
28. CIA memo, summary of weekly Berger/Tenet meeting, May 20, 1998. It is unclear if a decision had been made at this point on where to bring Bin Ladin.
30. Richard Clarke interview (Dec. 18, 2003), in which he also noted that Tenet did not approve of the plan. For Clarke’s comments to the NSC, see CIA cable, “Info from State on Status of Political Approvals for [Tribals],” May 29, 1998. See Jeff interview (Dec. 17, 2003); James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004); George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004), in which he also said he did not tell the Principals Committee his reasons for canceling the operation because there was no reason for the principals to hear details of an unsound plan. See also Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).
33. On Saudi disruptions generally, see CIA report, “Additional Background on the Saudi discovery of an UBL Network in Saudi Arabia,” undated (appears to be May 1998). On the DCI’s visits to Saudi Arabia, see Intelligence reports made available to the Commission.
34. See Intelligence reports made available to the Commission.
42. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).
43. NSC emails, Simon to Kerrick, Aug. 5, 1998. For the report of Bin Ladin’s comment, see, e.g., NSC email, Clarke to Berger, July 15, 1998. EMPTA stands for O-ethyl methylphosphonothioic acid.
44. NSC memo, McCarthy to Berger, re Shifa, Aug. 11, 1998; Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).
45. For a timeline of the decisionmaking events, see NSC memo to Steinberg et al., Aug. 17, 1999. The list of concurrences is drawn from talking points prepared for Berger’s use with the main four leaders of the House and
Senate; the list explicitly mentions the Attorney General. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Aug. 19, 1998. Reno told us she did not mention her concerns to the President but discussed them with Berger, Tenet, White House Counsel Charles Ruff, and DOJ staff. Janet Reno interview (Dec. 16, 2003).


50. See NSC memo, McCarthy and Clarke to Berger, Apr. 17, 2000, reporting that on balance, they think the CIA claim was valid. See also President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); Vice President Gore meeting (Apr. 9, 2004); Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004); George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004); Richard Clarke interview (Dec. 19, 2003).

51. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 22, 2004). President Clinton told us that he had directed his national security team to focus exclusively on responding to the embassy bombings. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004). See also William Cohen testimony, Mar. 23, 2004. When “wag the dog” allegations were again raised during the December 1998 Desert Fox campaign over Iraq, Defense Secretary Cohen, formerly a Republican senator, told members of Congress that he would have resigned if he believed the President was using the military for any purpose other than national security, William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004).


58. Ibid. See also NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Sept. 7, 1998.

59. Handwritten note from Steinberg on NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Apr. 14, 2000. For the views of Small Group members, see William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004); Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004); President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004); Madeleine Albright interview (Jan. 7, 2004); James Steinberg interview (Dec. 5, 2003).

60. Richard Clarke interview (Jan. 12, 2004); DOD memo, Slocombe to Cohen, Aug. 27, 1998.

61. DOD memo, “Towards a More Aggressive Counterterrorism Posture,” undated, pp. 1, 7. The principal author of this paper was Thomas Kuster, a career civil servant and former special forces officer. He told us that this paper was drafted in September 1998. On this episode, see Thomas Kuster interviews (Dec. 9, 2003; Mar. 5, 2004); Allen Holmes interview (Mar. 10, 2004); Jan Lodal interview (Mar. 5, 2004).

62. DOS cable, Islamabad 06863, “Afghanistan: Demarche To Taliban on New Bin Ladin Threat,” Sept. 14, 1998. See also NSC memo, Clarke to principals, “Possible New Attacks on US by UBL Network,” Sept. 12, 1998, which suggested language for the demarche, including a warning that future attacks would bring “severe consequences.” NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Sept. 19, 1998, indicates that the State Department used both its embassy in Islamabad and a direct call to Mullah Omar’s office to deliver the warning.


65. NSC memo, Sept. 24, 1998; Coll, Ghost War, p. 414.

66. The CIA in particular pressed the Saudis hard on intelligence sharing, DCI Tenet met with Crown Prince Abdullah, Ambassador Bandar, the minister of defense and aviation, and other senior officials repeatedly and pressed them on counterterrorism. See, e.g., CIA memo, Tenet to Berger, Tenet’s meeting with Crown Prince Abdullah in Jeddah, June 7, 1998. As late as July 3, 2001, the DCI was pressing Bandar, conveying the urgent need for information. CIA cable, DCI meeting with Bandar, July 3, 2001.

67. See, e.g., Mike interview (Dec. 11, 2003). The Saudis, however, were reluctant to provide details of incomplete investigations and highly sensitive to any information related to Saudi nationals, particularly those in the Kingdom. See CIA memo, Saudi CT Cooperation, June 18, 1998.

68. CIA talking points, Vice President’s meeting with Crown Prince Abdullah, Sept. 24, 1998; NSC memo,

69. NSC memo, Wechsler, summary of conclusions of Nov. 16, 1998, meeting of Working Group on UBL’s Finances.

70. Rick Newcomb interview (Feb. 4, 2004); Treasury memo, Office of Foreign Asset Control to DOS, “Draft Cable on Meeting with Two of UBL’s Brothers,” May 19, 2000; DOS cable, State 035243, “January 2000 Meeting Regarding UBL Finances,” Feb. 27, 2000; Frank G. interview (Mar. 2, 2004). The U.S. government team learned that the Bin Ladin family sold UBL’s share of the inheritance and, at the direction of the Saudi government, placed the money into a specified account then frozen by the Saudi government in 1994.

71. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Roadmap, Nov. 3, 1998. According to Clarke, Tenet’s deputy, John Gordon, agreed that there was no senior CIA manager to answer these questions and promised to fix that.

72. DOS memo, McKune to Albright, “State Sponsorship of Terrorism: Pakistan,” Feb. 1998. For the rejection of the proposed designation, see handwritten notes on the McKune memo.

73. Madeleine Albright interview (Jan. 7, 2004).

74. NSC memo, Simon to NSC officials, Oct. 6, 1998. Links between Pakistan’s military intelligence service and Harakat ul Ansar trainees at Bin Ladin camps near Khowst were also discussed in DOS memo, Inderfurth to Talbott, “Pakistan Links to Kashmiri Militants,” Aug. 23, 1998.

75. William Milam interview (Dec. 29, 2003).

76. By the fall of 1999, the Glenn, Pressler, and Symington amendments prohibited most economic and military assistance to Pakistan. Clinton administration officials told us that these sanctions made it impossible to offer “carrots” to Pakistan, and that before 9/11, waiving sanctions was not feasible because of the Musharraf coup, non-proliferation concerns, and Congress’s pro-India orientation. Karl Inderfurth interview (Feb. 18, 2004); Strobe Talbott interview (Feb. 8, 2004).

77. Strobe Talbott interview (Feb. 8, 2004). Berger agreed with Talbott that using other sticks, such as blocking loans from international financial institutions, would have risked a collapse of the Pakistani government and the rise of Islamists to power in a nuclear-armed country. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).


79. White House reports made available to the Commission. President Clinton met with Prime Minister Sharif on December 2, 1999, and called him on December 18, 1999.

80. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Dec. 9, 1998. The event described in the intelligence report was said to have occurred on November 17, 1998. Intelligence officials now tell us that there are some doubts about the accuracy of the report.


83. NSC email, Riedel to Berger and Clarke, June 8, 1999.

84. See Karl Inderfurth interview (Feb. 18, 2004); DOS memo, Inderfurth to Albright, May 6, 1999; Michael Sheehan interview (Dec. 16, 2003). Although Sheehan told us he was initially skeptical about supporting the Northern Alliance, he eventually came around in the fall of 2000.

85. For aid to the exile groups, see Karl Inderfurth interview (Feb. 18, 2004); Peter Tomsen interview (July 14, 2004). The aid was later cut because of alleged accounting deficiencies. For the diplomat’s views, see Christina Rocca interview (Jan. 29, 2004). But Peter Tomsen, the State Department’s special envoy to the Afghan resistance in the late 1980s, believed that neither administration did enough to assemble an anti-Taliban ruling coalition inside and outside Afghanistan. Peter Tomsen interview (Oct. 8, 2003); see also letter from Peter Tomsen to the Commission, June 30, 2004.

86. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Roadmap, May 18, 1999.

87. DOS memo, Inderfurth to Albright, May 6, 1999; DOS memo, Oakley to Pickering, “Designating the Taliban a FTO,” Apr. 22, 1999; Executive Order 13129, July 4, 1999. Since 1979, the secretary of state has had the authority to name “state sponsors of terrorism,” subjecting such countries to significant economic sanctions. Being designated a “foreign terrorist organization” also brings sanctions and stigmatizes a regime. While the U.S. government did not use either designation against the Taliban, the sanctions under this executive order mimicked the sanctions that would have been implemented under them.

88. UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1267, Oct. 15, 1999. UNSCR. 1267 demanded that the Taliban render Bin Ladin to justice within 30 days; upon noncompliance, UN member states were called on to restrict takeoff and landing rights of Taliban-owned aircraft. The sanctions also required member states to freeze Taliban funds and financial resources. But Taliban “charter flights” continued to fly between Afghanistan and the UAE. Judy Pasternak and Stephen Braun, “Emirates Looked Other Way While Al Qaeda Funds Flowed,” Los Angeles Times, June 24, 2004.

89. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Oct. 30, 1999.
90. Ibid.; NSC memo, Benjamin to CSG, Nov. 12, 1999. Earlier, Clarke had worried that the expulsion of Bin Ladin might mean he would move to Somalia or Libya, where he might be even harder to target. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Oct. 8, 1998.
95. Ambassador Milam characterized UNSCR 1267 and UNSCR 1333 as “punchless.” DOS cable, Islamabad 000656, “Options for dealing with Afghan terrorism problem,” Feb. 6, 2001. But Ambassador Sheehan indicated that even if UNSCR. 1333 failed to stop the arms flow from Pakistan to the Taliban, it had enormous symbolic importance. He also noted that UNSCR. 1333 must have stigmatized the Taliban because they “went ballistic over the sanctions.” Sheehan added that UNSCR 1333 made Saudi Arabia and the UAE “very nervous” about their relationships with the Taliban. Michael Sheehan interview (Dec. 16, 2003).
97. White House cable to U.S. Embassy, Islamabad, message to Prime Minister Sharif, June 16, 1999; Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004); President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); NSC memo, Clarke and McCarthy to Berger, Aug. 2, 1999.
98. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); DOS memo, Sheehan to Albright, “S/CT Update on Critical Issues,” July 9, 1999.
99. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004); President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004).
102. CIA talking points, information on Bin Ladin for the DCI’s Sept. 2, 1998, briefing to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Sept. 2, 1998. For the Tirana raid and resulting operations, see Benjamin and Simon, Age of Sacred Terror, pp. 364, 368; Clarke, Against All Enemies, p. 183; CIA talking points, “CIA Operation Results in Capture of Two Bin Ladin Operatives,” July 7, 1998; CIA memo, Jeff to Tenet, “Biweekly Developments in CT Policy,” July 15, 1998. For other operations, see NSC memo, Benjamin to Berger, Oct. 9, 1998. For the threat against Washington, see NSC memo, Benjamin to Berger, Oct. 9, 1998; NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Sept. 17, 1998. For an overview of the CIA’s efforts to disrupt al Qaeda, see Joint Inquiry testimony of George Tenet, Oct. 17, 2002. For Clarke’s comment to Berger, see NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Sept. 25, 1998.
110. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Nov. 4, 1998. Evidence on Iraqi ties to al Qaeda is summarized in chapter 2.
112. The PDB was a summary of Intelligence report, planning by UBL to hijack U.S. airplane, Dec. 4, 1998. For the immediate responses, see NSC memo, summary of conclusions of Dec. 4, 1998, CSG meeting; FAA security directive, “Threat to Air Carriers,” SD 108-98, Dec. 8, 1998. We requested declassification of this document; the declassified document was delivered on July 13, 2004.
113. On further information, see Intelligence report, possible arrest of persons involved in hijacking plan, Dec. 18, 1998; Intelligence report, timeframe for completion of hijacking operation, Dec. 24, 1998; Intelligence report, claim that Bin Ladin postponed hijacking, Jan. 8, 1999; CIA analytic report, “Reporting on Al-Qaida plans to Use Aircraft as Terrorist Weapons,” Aug. 26, 2002. After 9/11, the U.S. government checked again with the foreign government to determine if there could be any connection between the attacks and these 1998–1999 reports. The foreign government had no intelligence of such links, but judged that the 1998 plan could have influenced planning for the 9/11 operation. Ibid.

On the FBI followup in 1998–1999, see FBI memo, Jack S. to FAA ACI, “FBI Investigative Efforts,” Jan. 27, 1999; FAA records, information in FAA Intelligence Case File 98-0199B. A Saudi who had just completed pilot training, boarding a flight to return to Saudi Arabia, had been arrested at JFK Airport in late November 1998. He had been carrying an inert hand grenade, which was detected by a checkpoint screener. The terminal was evacuated, and police found miscellaneous gun parts, pistol ammunition, and military paraphernalia in the man’s checked bags. FAA record, “Security Summary NY-99-007,” undated. The man was released after a few days in jail and, assisted by the local Saudi consulate, had returned to Saudi Arabia. The new threat information caused the FBI and the CIA to look again at this case. FBI agents found that the man’s statements about his flight training were true and that his firearms were legally registered. The Saudi investigators reported that the Saudi had enjoyed shooting at a gun club in Texas, where he had completed his flight training for a commercial pilot’s license. The Saudis further indicated that the man had no apparent political motive, and the results of a security investigation in the Kingdom were negative. FAA memo, Matthew K. to Jack S. and Tom K., Saudi national, Jan. 17, 1999; FBI memo, Jack S. to FAA ACI, “FBI Investigative Efforts,” Jan. 27, 1999; Intelligence report (to FAA), Saudi information, Apr. 13, 1999. For the expiration of the FAA security directive, see FAA security directive, SD 108–95; FAA record, “SD/EA Status: 108 Security Directives,” May 20, 2002.


117. NSC memo, Benjamin to Berger, Dec. 18, 1998; Mike interview (Jan. 6, 2004); CIA emails, Mike to Schroen, “Urgent re UBL,” and Schroen’s response, Dec. 20, 1998.

118. John Maher III interview (Apr. 4, 2004). Maher said he found General Zinni’s figures to be “shockingly high.” On the principals’ decision against recommending an attack, see NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Jan. 12, 1999. See also George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004); Mike interview (Feb. 6, 2004).


122. NSC note, Dec. 20, 1998. There is no indication as to who wrote this note or to whom it was directed. It was cleared with Berger, Reno, Assistant Attorney General Randy Moss, and CTC’s “Jeff,” and briefed in substance to Leon Fuhrer, national security adviser to Vice President Gore, and to Deputy DCI Gordon. See also attached CIA memo, Gordon to Berger, Dec. 21, 1998; NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, Dec. 24, 1998.

123. NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, Dec. 24, 1998; Randy Moss interview (Feb. 6, 2004); James Baker interview (Feb. 4, 2004). Both Moss and Baker told us they concluded that killing Bin Ladin did not violate the assassination ban contained in Executive Order 12333.

124. NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, Dec. 24, 1998; Janet Reno interview (Dec. 16, 2003). See also Randy Moss interview (Feb. 6, 2004). Tenet told us he does not recall this episode.


126. CIA cable, instructions passed to tribals and response, Dec. 27, 1998.

127. CIA cable, comments on tribals’ response, Dec. 27, 1998. “Mike” noted that the tribals’ reaction had “attracted a good deal of attention” back at CIA headquarters. CIA cable, comments from Schroen, Dec. 28, 1998. Schroen commented that the tribals’ response was an effort to appear statesmanlike and take the moral high ground.

128. See President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 1, 2004); Richard Clarke interview (Jan. 12, 2004). For a CIA senior intelligence manager, operator, and lawyer’s view, see George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004); Gary Schroen interview (Jan. 6, 2004); Doug B. interview (Nov. 17, 2003); Mike interview (Jan. 6, 2004).

129. James Baker interview (Feb. 4, 2004); President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004).

130. NSC memo, McCarthy to CIA, Dec. 1999.

131. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Jan. 12, 1999.
133. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Jan. 12, 1999.
134. NSC email, Clarke to Kerrick, Feb. 10, 1999; Charles Allen interview (Jan. 27, 2004).
135. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Feb. 11, 1999. The email in fact misspells “boogie” as “boggie.”
136. NSC email, Riedel to NSC front office, Feb. 16, 1999. The email does not provide Riedel’s source. For Berger’s authorization, see NSC notes, TNT note, Feb. 12, 1999.
140. Ibid.
143. Peter Schoomaker interview (Feb. 19, 2004); William Boykin interview (Nov. 7, 2003).
144. Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004).
145. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004).
146. Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004); William Boykin interview (Nov. 7, 2003).
147. General Zinni reminded us that in addition to severing military-to-military relations with Pakistan after the 1998 nuclear test, the United States had not shipped to Pakistan the F-16s Pakistan had bought prior to the test. Instead, the United States kept the money Pakistan paid for the F-16s to fund storage of the aircraft. Meanwhile, Pakistani pilots were crashing and dying. “Guess how they [felt] about the United States of America,” Zinni said. Nevertheless, Zinni told us that Musharraf was someone who would actually work with the United States if he was given the chance to do so. Anthony Zinni interview (Jan. 29, 2004).
149. Richard Clarke interview (Jan. 12, 2004).
153. DOD order, MOD 001 to CJCS warning order, Feb. 8, 1999.
156. NSC email, Clarke to Kerrick, Feb. 10, 1999.
159. John Maher III interview (Apr. 22, 2004); Richard Clarke interview (Jan. 12, 2004); Gary Schroen interview (Mar. 3, 2004); Mike interview (Jan. 6, 2004).
161. NSC memo, Clarke, secure teleconference between UAE Chief of Staff Muhammad bin Zayid and Clarke, Mar. 7, 1999.
162. Mike interview (Jan. 6, 2004). Maher told us he thinks it “almost impossible” that the CIA cleared Clarke’s call, John Maher III interview (Apr. 22, 2004).
163. Days before overhead imagery confirmed the location of the hunting camp, Clarke had returned from a visit to the UAE, where he had been working on counterterrorism cooperation and following up on a May 1998 UAE agreement to buy F-16 aircraft from the United States. His visit included one-on-one meetings with Army Chief of Staff bin Zayid, as well as talks with Sheikh Muhammad bin Rashid, the ruler of Dubai. Both agreed to try to work with the United States in their efforts against Bin Ladin. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Trip Report, Feb. 8, 1999; Theodore Kattouf interview (Apr. 21, 2004). On February 10, as the United States considered striking the camp, Clarke reported that during his visit bin Zayid had vehemently denied rumors that high-level UAE officials were in Afghanistan. NSC email, Clarke to Kerrick, UBL update, Feb. 10, 1999. Subsequent reporting, however, suggested that high-level UAE officials had indeed been at the desert camp. CIA memo, “Recent High Level UAE Visits to Afghanistan,” Feb. 19, 1999. General Shelton also told us that his UAE counterpart said he had been hunting at a desert camp in Afghanistan at about this time. Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004).
164. Mike briefing (Mar. 3, 2004). Talking points for the DCI to use at a late March Small Group meeting note that concurrently with the UAE being “tipped off” to the CIA’s knowledge of the camp, one of the tribal network’s major subsources (within Bin Ladin’s Taliban security detail) was dispatched to the north, further handicapping reporting efforts. CIA talking points, “Locating Bin Ladin,” Mar. 29, 1999.
165. Theodore Kattouf interview (Apr. 21, 2004). Kattouf was the U.S. ambassador to the UAE from 1999 to 2001. He indicated that high-level UAE officials would agree to restrict Afghan flights but told him that the government had a difficult time enforcing this. For communications with the UAE, see White House letter, President Clinton to bin Zayid, July 23, 1999; DOS memo, Sheehan to Albright, “Signs of Progress on our UBL strategy,” Sept. 12, 1999.


168. Jeff interview (Dec. 17, 2003). Schroen, however, told us that the tribals’ reporting was 50–60 percent accurate. Gary Schroen interview (Mar. 3, 2004).

169. For discussion of the Taliban generally, see Ahmed Rashid, Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia (Yale Univ. Press, 2000).


171. John Maher III interview (Apr. 22, 2004). For an account of the reporting from this period written by Mike, see CIA memo, Jeff to Tenet, “Tracking Usama Bin Ladin, 14–20 May 1999,” May 21, 1999. Mike’s account was also used to prepare the DCI for a May 25, 1999, Principals Committee meeting. CIA briefing materials, “Background Information: Evaluating the Quality of Intelligence on Bin Ladin (UBL) in Qandahar, 13–20 May, 1999,” undated (probably May 25, 1999).

172. CIA memo, Mike to Schroen, “Re: Your Note,” May 17, 1999.


174. The May 1999 intelligence on Bin Ladin’s location in Kandahar came as criticism of the CIA over the recent bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade was at its peak. The DCI later testified that this bombing was the result of a CIA mistake. Testimony of George Tenet before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, July 22, 1999. On Bin Ladin’s whereabouts during the December 1998 episode, see John Maher III interview (Apr. 22, 2004).

175. Cruise missiles were readied for another possible strike in early July 1999. But none of the officials we have interviewed recalled that an opportunity arose at that time justifying the consideration of a strike. See, e.g., John Maher III interview (Apr. 22, 2004).

176. Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004); DOD briefing materials, UBL JCS Focused Campaign, undated.

177. Berenger notes on NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, June 24, 1999. For Clarke’s request to Berger to convene the Small Group, see NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Analysis/Options re UBL, June 13, 1999. See also NSC email, Storey to Berger and Clarke, June 24, 1999.

178. According to CTC talking points for the CSG in June 1999, more than 40 members of al Qaeda had been imprisoned over the past year. CTC talking points, C/CTC TPs/Backgrounder for CSG, June 7, 1999. Figures cited in the DICI’s letter to President Clinton in October, however, are slightly different: CTC had helped render 32 terrorists to justice since July 1998, more than half of whom were al Qaeda. CIA letter, Tenet to President Clinton, “CIA’s Counterterrorism Efforts,” Oct. 16, 1999.
“Outline of Program to Build Pakistan Team to Seek the Capture and Rendition of Usama Bin Ladin and his Lieutenants,” July 27, 1999; CIA memo, CIA Outline of Program to Build Uzbek and other teams to Seek the Capture and Rendition of Usama Bin Ladin and his Lieutenants, July 27, 1999; CIA briefing materials, talking points for the DCI for the Aug. 3 Small Group meeting, Aug. 3, 1999 (Other Pakistani Involvement in Efforts to Capture UBL; Uzbek and other programs). On the Uzbek's readiness, see CIA briefing materials, “Executive Summary for UBL Conference,” Sept. 16, 1999.

191. CIA briefing materials, “Executive Summary for UBL Conference,” Sept. 16, 1999. For its preface, the Plan quoted a memo Tenet had sent to the CIA's senior management in December 1998: “We are at war with Usama bin Ladin.”

192. Ibid. See also the following briefings of the Plan: CIA briefing materials, CTC/NSC Briefing on the Plan, Sept. 29, 1999; CIA briefing materials, Executive Summary: UBL Conference, prepared for Berger, Nov. 30, 1999; CIA briefing materials, CTC briefing for the NSC Small Group, Dec. 2/3, 1999.


5 Al Qaeda Aims at the American Homeland

1. Though KSM and Bin Ladin knew each other from the anti-Soviet campaign of the 1980s, KSM apparently did not begin working with al Qaeda until after the 1998 East Africa embassy bombings. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Nov. 21, 2003; Jan. 9, 2004; Feb. 19, 2004.

2. Those detainees are Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, Abu Zubaydah, Riduan Isamuddin (also known as Hammali), Abd al Rahim al Nashiri, Tawfiq bin Attash (also known as Khalid), Ramzi Binalshibh, Mohamed al Khatani, Ahmad Khalil Ibrahim Samir al Ani, Ali Abd al Rahman al Faqasi al Ghamdi (also known as Abu Bakr al Azdi), and Hassan Ghul.


4. In an uncorroborated post-capture claim that may be mere bravado, KSM has stated that he considered assassinating Rabbi Meir Kahane when Kahane lectured in Greensboro at some point between 1984 and 1986. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003. On KSM’s connection to Sayyaf, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 3, 2003; July 12, 2003; FBI electronic communication, “Summary of Information . . . with regard to . . . KSM,” July 8, 1999. On KSM’s battle experience and his electronics work, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 3, 2003; July 12, 2003. On KSM’s anti-Soviet activities, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 17, 2004 (in which KSM says he apparently met Bin Ladin for the first time when the Sayyaf group and Bin Ladin’s Arab mujahideen group were next to each other along the front line).

5. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003 (in which KSM also notes that his group continued fighting in the Jalalabad area, and his brother Abid was killed there). KSM claims that Ramzi Yousef visited the NGO’s establishment in Jalalabad while Yousef was undergoing training. KSM adds that between 1993 and 1996, he traveled to China, the Philippines, Pakistan, Bosnia (a second time), Brazil, Sudan, and Malaysia. Most, if not all, of this travel appears to have been related to his abiding interest in carrying out terrorist operations. Although KSM claims that Sheikh Abdallah was not a member, financier, or supporter of al Qaeda, he admits that Abdallah underwrote a 1995 trip KSM took to join the Bosnian jihadi. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 23, 2003.

6. On KSM’s learning of Yousef’s plans, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004 (in which KSM also contends that Yousef never divulged to him the intended target of the attack). On KSM/Yousef phone conversations, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 17, 2004 (in which KSM also says that most of his phone conversations with Yousef were social in nature, but that Yousef did discuss mixing explosives ingredients once or twice and that on one occasion, Yousef asked him to send the passport Yousef had in his true name, Abdul Basit). On KSM’s money transfer, see FBI report, Tradebom investigation, Mar. 20, 1993.

7. Evidence gathered at the time of Yousef’s February 1995 arrest included dolls wearing clothes containing nitrocyclol, FBI evidence, Manila air investigation. On KSM’s rationale for attacking the United States, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Sept. 5, 2003 (in this regard, KSM’s statements echo those of Yousef, who delivered an extensive polemic against U.S. foreign policy at his January 1998 sentencing). On the Manila air plot, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Apr. 17, 2003; July 12, 2003 (in which KSM also says bojinka is not Serbo–Croatian for “big bang,” as has been widely reported, but rather a nonsense word he adopted after hearing...
it on the front lines in Afghanistan). According to KSM, the plot was to receive financing from a variety of sources, including associates of co-conspirator Wali Khan and KSM’s own funds. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Nov. 26, 2003; Jan. 9, 2004; Feb. 19, 2004. On activities during the summer of 1994, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, May 3, 2003; July 12, 2003; Nov. 10, 2003; Feb. 21, 2004; Feb. 24, 2004.

8. On recruiting Wali Khan in Karachi, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Abdul Hakim Murad, Apr. 13, 1995; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003 (in which KSM recounts how he knew Wali Khan from Afghanistan). On the testing of the timer, see Brief for the United States of America, United States v. Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, No. 98-1041 (L) (2d Cir. filed Aug. 25, 2000), pp. 85–86, 88–91. The last explosion caused the death of a passenger and extensive damage to the aircraft, which was forced to make an emergency landing in Okinawa. In 1996, Yousef was convicted on charges arising out of the Bojinka plot, including the bombing of the Philippine Airlines flight. See ibid., p. 8. On KSM’s travels, see generally Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003. Yousef managed to escape to Pakistan, but his accomplice, Murad—who KSM claims to have sent to Yousef with $3,000 to help fund the operation—was arrested and disclosed details of the plot while under interrogation. Contrary to Murad’s confession, in which he described his intended role as one of the five operatives who would plant bombs on board the targeted aircraft, KSM has said that Murad’s role was limited to carrying the $3,000 from Dubai to Manila. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Feb. 19, 2004; (two reports); Feb. 24, 2004; Apr. 2, 2004. This aspect of KSM’s account is not credible, as it conflicts not just with Murad’s confession but also with physical evidence tying Murad to the very core of the plot, and with KSM’s own statements elsewhere that Murad was involved in planning and executing the operation. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003; Jan. 9, 2004; Feb. 24, 2004 (in which KSM also claims that while he was in Qatar in February 1995, he and Yousef consulted by telephone regarding the cargo carrier plan, and Yousef proceeded with the operation despite KSM’s advice that he hide instead). We have uncovered no evidence that KSM was present at the guesthouse in Islamabad where Yousef’s arrest took place, as has been suggested in the press.

9. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003. KSM’s presence in Bosnia coincided with a police station bombing in Zagreb where the timing device of the bomb (a modified Casio watch) resembled those manufactured by KSM and Yousef in the Philippines for the Manila air operation. FBI report, Manila air investigation, May 23, 1999. On the Sudanese trip and Afghanistan, see Intelligence report, interrogation of SM, July 12, 2003 (in which KSM also claims to have encountered Sayf al Adl while in Yemen; apparently KSM has not divulged the substance of this meeting).

10. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004. In another interrogation report, however, KSM downplays the significance of his relationship to Yousef in enabling him to meet with Bin Ladin. Specifically, KSM notes that Yousef was not a member of al Qaeda and that Yousef never met Bin Ladin. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 19, 2004.


13. Probably inflating his own role, KSM says he and a small group of colleagues, including Yousef and Wali Khan, were among the earliest advocates of attacking the United States. KSM asserts that Bin Ladin and some of the other jihadist leaders concentrated on overthrowing Arab regimes and argued for limiting confrontation with the United States to places like Somalia. On KSM’s description of Bin Ladin’s agenda, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Nov. 13, 2003. As discussed in chapter 2, we do not agree with this assessment. On Bin Ladin’s reactions to KSM’s proposal, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 12, 2003; Jan. 9, 2004; Feb. 19, 2004. On KSM’s intent to target the United States and Bin Ladin’s interest in Somalia, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Nov. 13, 2003.

14. On KSM’s independence, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004. Even after he began working with Bin Ladin and al Qaeda, KSM concealed from them his ongoing relationship with Sayaf. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 30, 2003. Although KSM says he would have accepted the support of another organization to stage a 9/11-type operation, there is no evidence he ever peddled this idea to any other group. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 19, 2004. On his travels after meeting Bin Ladin, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003. Hamahli also was one of the founders of Konsojaya, a Malaysian company run by a close associate of Wali Khan. FBI report, Manila air investigation, May 23, 1999. Hamahli claims he was asked to serve on the company’s board of directors as a formality and insists that he did not recognize the “Arabs” who were to run the company or play any role in its operations. Intelligence report, interrogation of Hambali, Nov. 19, 2003.

15. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 12, 2003; Feb. 19, 2004 (two reports). KSM maintains that he provided similar services for other mujahideen groups at this time, including the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group and a group headed by Abu Zuhaydah. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 19, 2004.

16. On KSM’s understanding of Bin Ladin’s commitment, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb.
19, 2004. On KSM’s assistance to al Qaeda, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 12, 2003 (two reports). On Bin Laden’s decision to approve 9/11 operation, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004. KSM has observed that the East Africa bombings and the subsequent bombing of the USS Cole yielded a recruiting bonanza for al Qaeda, as increasing numbers of Arab youth became enamored of the idea of waging jihad against the United States. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Sept. 5, 2003.

17. On KSM’s decision to move to Kandahar, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004. On the media committee, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 12, 2003 (in which KSM also says that as head of the media committee, he would take charge of producing the propaganda video al Qaeda issued following the bombing of the USS Cole). On the oath, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Nov. 13, 2003 (in which KSM also claims his reluctance stemmed from a concern that he would lose the ability to persevere with the 9/11 operation should Bin Laden subsequently decide to cancel it).


24. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, June 9, 2003. KSM also maintains that he persuaded Hambali to focus on “soft” targets in Singapore, such as oil tankers, the U.S. and Israeli embassies, and Western airlines. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, June 24, 2003.

25. As discussed in greater detail in section 5.2, Khalid was sent by Bin Laden to Kuala Lumpur to case U.S. airline flights in the Far East for possible future attacks there, whereas Hazmi and Mihdhar were on the first leg of their travel from Karachi to Los Angeles, where they would arrive on January 15, 2000. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 31, 2003. On Hambali’s assistance at KSM’s request, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 31, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 8, 2003. On assistance to Moussaoui, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Mar. 24, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Apr. 9, 2002. According to statements attributed to Hambali and Sufaat, in each of these instances the al Qaeda guests were lodged at Sufaat’s condominium, an apartment on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur. Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Jan. 22, 2002; Intelligence reports, interrogations of Hambali, Sept. 8, 2003; Sept. 12, 2003.

26. On Hambali’s relationship with Bin Laden, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Hambali, Aug. 29, 2003; Sept. 5, 2003 (in which Hambali also explains his relationship with al Qaeda as follows: he received his marching orders from JI, but al Qaeda would lead any joint operation involving members of both organizations). On Hambali’s objections, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 8, 2003. On KSM’s coordination with Hambali, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 17, 2003. On KSM’s recognition of Hambali’s domain, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003. According to KSM, his close relationship with Hambali prompted criticism from Bashir, the JI leader, who thought Hambali should focus more directly on Indonesia and Malaysia instead of involving himself in al Qaeda’s broader terrorist program. Indeed, KSM describes Hambali as an al Qaeda member working in Malaysia. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003. Nashiri observes that al Qaeda’s standard security practice dictated that no senior member could manage terrorist activities in a location where another senior member was operating. Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, Jan. 14, 2003. Yet al Qaeda’s deference to Hambali’s turf apparently had limits. Khalid says he and Hambali never discussed the intended Southeast Asia portion of the original 9/11 plan. Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Apr. 27, 2004.

27. On Nashiri’s recruitment, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Nasser Ahmad Naser al Bahri, a.k.a. Abu Jandal, Sept. 17–Oct. 2, 2001. On Nashiri’s refusal to swear allegiance, see Intelligence report, interrogation of...
KSM, Nov. 21, 2003. On Nashiri’s idea for his first terrorist operation and his travels, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Nashiri, Nov. 21, 2002; Dec. 26, 2002.


29. For Nashiri’s version, which may not be true, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, Dec. 26, 2002. On communication between Nashiri and Bin Ladin about attacking U.S. vessels, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Ladin, Nov. 21, 2002. The reporting of Nashiri’s statements on this subject is somewhat inconsistent, especially as to the exact timing of the original proposal. Some corroboration does exist, however, for Nashiri’s claim that the original proposal was his. A detainee says that 9/11 hijacker Khalid al Mihdhar told him about the maritime operation sometime in late 1999 and credited Nashiri as its originator. Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Dec. 2, 2001.

30. Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, Jan. 27, 2003. Nashiri claims not to have had any telephone or email contact with Bin Ladin while planning the Cole operation; rather, whenever Bin Ladin wanted to meet, he would have an al Qaeda member travel to Pakistan to summon Nashiri by telephone. Ibid.

31. As an example of Nashiri’s status, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Abu Jandal, Sept. 17–Oct. 2, 2001 (in which Nashiri is described as widely known to be one of al Qaeda’s most committed terrorists and, according to one of his mujahideen colleagues, so extreme in his ferocity in waging jihad that he “would commit a terrorist act ‘in Mecca inside the Ka’aba itself’ [the holiest site in Islam] if he believed there was a need to do so”). On Nashiri’s role on the Arabian Peninsula, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Jan. 14, 2004. Nashiri also enjoyed a reputation as a productive recruiter for al Qaeda. See Intelligence report, interrogation of Abu Zubaydah, Aug. 29, 2002. On Nashiri’s discretion, see, e.g., Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, Nov. 20, 2002. On Nashiri seeking Bin Ladin’s approval, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 14, 2004. On the Limburg operation, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, May 21, 2003. On Nashiri’s security concerns, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, Feb. 20, 2003.

32. See Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 1, 2003; Sept. 5, 2003.

33. For KSM’s learning from the first World Trade Center bombing and his interest in a more novel form of attack, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 1, 2003. For KSM’s interest in aircraft as weapons and speculation about striking the World Trade Center and CIA, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 19, 2004. KSM has stated that he and Yousef at this time never advanced the notion of using aircraft as weapons past the idea stage. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 2, 2004.

After 9/11, some Philippine government officials claimed that while in Philippine custody in February 1995, KSM’s Manila air plot co-conspirator Abdul Hakim Murad had confessed having discussed with Yousef the idea of attacking targets, including the World Trade Center, with hijacked commercial airliners flown by U.S.-trained Middle Eastern pilots. See Peter Lance, 1000 Years for Revenge: International Terrorism and the FBI—the Untold Story (HarperCollins, 2003), pp. 278–280. In Murad’s initial taped confession, he referred to an idea of crashing a plane into CIA headquarters. Lance gave us his copy of an apparent 1995 Philippine National Police document on an interrogation of Murad. That document reports Murad describing his idea of crashing a plane into CIA headquarters. However, in this report Murad claims he was thinking of hijacking a commercial aircraft to do it, saying the idea had come up in a casual conversation with Yousef with no specific plan for its execution. We have seen no pre-9/11 evidence that Murad referred in interrogations to the training of other pilots, or referred in this casual conversation to targets other than the CIA. According to Lance, the Philippine police officer, who after 9/11 offered the much more elaborate account of Murad’s statements reported in Lance’s book, to have passed this added information to U.S. officials. But Lance states the Philippine officer declined to identify these officials. Peter Lance interview (Mar. 15, 2004). If such information was provided to a U.S. official, we have seen no indication that it was written down or disseminated within the U.S. government. Incidentally, KSM says he never discussed his idea for the planes operation with Murad, a person KSM regarded as a minor figure. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 2, 2004.


35. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 12, 2003; Nov 6, 2003. Abu Zubaydah, who worked closely with the al Qaeda leadership, has stated that KSM originally presented Bin Ladin with a scaled-down version of the 9/11 plan, and that Bin Ladin urged KSM to expand the operation with the comment, “Why do you use an axe when you can use a bulldozer?” Intelligence report, interrogation of Abu Zubaydah, May 16, 2003. The only possible corroboration we have found for Abu Zubaydah’s statement is Khalid’s suggestion that Bin Ladin may have expanded KSM’s original idea for an attack using planes. Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Apr. 22, 2004. Neither Abu Zubaydah nor Khalid claims to have been present when KSM says he first pitched his proposal to Bin Ladin in 1996.

36. For the scheme’s lukewarm reception, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Nov. 6, 2003. For Bin Ladin’s response, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003; Feb. 19, 2004.


40. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003; Feb. 20, 2004; Apr. 30, 2004. An earlier KSM interrogation report, however, states that Bin Laden preferred the Capitol over the White House as a target. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 17, 2003. KSM has admitted that his statement in a post-9/11 interview with Al Jazeera reporter Yosri Fouda—that an al Qaeda “reconnaissance committee” had identified 30 potential targets in the United States during the late 1990s—was a lie designed to inflate the perceived scale of the 9/11 operation. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 23, 2004. For the specific targets, see Intelligence report, selection of 9/11 targets, Aug. 13, 2003 (citing KSM interrogation).

41. For the four individuals, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003. Abu Bara al Yemeni is also known by the names Abu al Bara al Taizi, Suhail Shurabi, and Barakat. Ibid. KSM has also stated that he did not learn of the selection of Hazmi and Mihdhar for the planes operation until November 1999. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 2, 2004. For Mihdhar's and Hazmi's eagerness, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004; Feb. 20, 2004. For Bin Laden's instruction, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004. Hazmi obtained a B-1/B-2 multiple-entry visa issued at Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, on April 3, 1999; Mihdhar obtained the same type of visa at the same location on April 7, 1999. DOS records, NIV applicant details for Hazmi and Mihdhar, Nov. 8, 2001. Hazmi and Mihdhar both obtained new passports shortly before they applied for visas. FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Jan. 31, 2003, p. 9.


44. For Khalid's visa application under a false name and its rejection, see DOS record, visa application of Salah Saeed Mohammed bin Yousaf (alias for Khalid), Apr. 3, 1999; Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 20, 2003. Khalid's visa denial was based not on terrorism concerns but apparently on his failure to submit sufficient documentation in support of his application. See DOS record, NIV applicant detail, Mar. 31, 2004. For Khalid's 1999 mission to Yemen, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 20, 2003. For the U.S. point of contact, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 22, 2003. Khalid claims he cannot remember his U.S. contact's full name but says it sounded like “Barzan.” According to the CIA, “Barzan” is possibly identifiable with Sarbarz Mohammed, the person who resided at the address in Bothell, Washington, that Khalid listed on his visa application as his final destination. Ibid. For his contacts with “Barzan” and his arrest, see ibid.; Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 20, 2003. Nashiri has confirmed that Khalid had been assigned to help procure explosives for the ship-bombing plot, and that his arrest caused work on the operation to stop temporarily. Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, Feb. 21, 2004.

45. For the interventions, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalld, Aug. 20, 2003. Khalid has provided inconsistent information as to his release date. Ibid. (June 1999); Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalld, Jan. 6, 2004 (August 1999). Khalid’s brother reportedly has confirmed that Khalid was released from custody only after negotiations with the Yemeni director for political security in which a deal was struck prohibiting Khalid and his associates from conducting operations in Yemen. Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Oct. 1, 2002. For his giving up on a visa and his return to Afghanistan, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khalld, July 31, 2003; Aug. 22, 2003.


47. For the second part of the operation, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003.
alternate scenario, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 30, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Apr. 21, 2004. Khalid has provided contradictory statements about the number of planes to be destroyed in East Asia. Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khalid, Aug. 13, 2003; Apr. 5, 2004. According to Khalid, Thailand, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Malaysia were likely origins of the flights because Yemenis did not need visas to enter them. Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 13, 2003. For the importance of simultaneity, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003.

48. For the four operatives’ training, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003. For the elite nature of the course and Nibras’s participation, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khalid, Sept. 8, 2003; Sept. 11, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 15, 2003. For KSM’s view, see ibid.; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003. For KSM’s visit, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004.

49. For a description of the camp and the commando course, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 15, 2003. For Bin Ladin’s interest and the decision on the number of trainees, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Sept. 8, 2003.

50. For the nature of the commando course, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Sept. 8, 2003. KSM claims that the course proved so rigorous that Mihdhar quit after a week and returned to his family in Yemen. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003. However, two of Mihdhar’s al Qaeda colleagues who were present during the training have provided different accounts. Khalid apparently has stated both that Bin Ladin pulsed Mihdhar and Nawaf al Hazmi out of the course early and that Mihdhar actually completed the course. See Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khalid, Sept. 1, 2003; May 21, 2004. See also FBI report of investigation, interview of Abu Jandal, Oct. 2, 2001 (indicating that Mihdhar completed the course).


52. For Khalid, Abu Barb, and Hazmi’s travels, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, May 30, 2003. Khalid has provided a second version, namely that all three traveled together to Karachi. Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, July 31, 2003. For Hazmi and Atta’s simultaneous presence in Quetta, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004; Mar. 31, 2004. KSM maintains it was a coincidence. Ibid.

53. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Mar. 31, 2004. In his initial post-capture statements, KSM claimed that Mihdhar did not have to attend the training because he had previously received similar training from KSM. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Mar. 24, 2003. KSM subsequently expressed uncertainty about why Bin Ladin and Atef excused Mihdhar from the training. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004.

54. For the varying accounts of the course’s length, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003; Feb. 20, 2004; Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khalid, Nov. 6, 2003; July 31, 2003. For KSM’s description, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Mar. 24, 2003; Aug. 18, 2003; Feb. 20, 2004. For Khalid’s description, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Apr. 5, 2004. KSM says that he permitted the trainees to view Hollywood films about hijackings only after he edited the films to cover the female characters. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Nov. 10, 2003. For the use of game software and discussions of casing flights, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Nov. 6, 2003. For KSM’s instructions regarding casing, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, July 31, 2003. For visits to travel agencies, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 13, 2003.


57. For the trip’s original purpose and Bin Ladin’s suggestion, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, July 31, 2003. On Malaysia, Endolite, and the financing of Khalid’s trip, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 22, 2003.


59. For the dates of Khalid’s travel, his mistake in seating, and his other efforts to case flights, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khalid, July 31, 2003; Aug. 21, 2003. Khalid says he put the box cutter alongside tubes
of toothpaste and shaving cream with metallic exteriors, so that if the metal detector at the airport was triggered, the inspector would attribute the alarm to the other items. He also carried art supplies, which he hoped would explain the presence of a box cutter if anyone asked. Ibid.


61. For the Bangkok meeting, see CIA analytic report, “The Plot and the Plotters,” June 1, 2003, pp. 49–50. For relocation of the meeting to Bangkok, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khallad, Aug. 18, 2003; Jan. 7, 2004. Fahd al Quso, a close friend of Khallad’s, accompanied Nibras on the trip to Bangkok to Khal­lad. Quso claims that the amount was $36,000. FBI report of investigation, interview of Quso, Jan. 31, 2001. Khal­lad claims that it was only $10,000 to $12,000. Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khal­lad, May 30, 2003; Aug. 18, 2003. Khal­lad has identified contradictory purposes for the money: a donation to charities benefiting amputees, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khal­lad, Aug. 8, 2003; and to advance the ship-bombing operation, see Intel­ligence report, interrogation of Khal­lad, Jan. 7, 2004. Khal­lad has explicitly denied giving any of the money he received from Nibras and Quso to Hazmi and Mihdhar. Intelligence reports, interrogations of Khal­lad, Aug. 8, 2003; Jan. 7, 2004. Given the separate reporting from KSM that he gave Hazmi and Mihdhar $8,000 each before they traveled to the United States, we have insufficient evidence to conclude that the Nibras/Quso money helped finance the planes operation. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, June 15, 2004. For Hazmi and Mihdhar’s interest in traveling to Bangkok, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khal­lad, Jan. 7, 2004. For Hambali’s assistance, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khal­lad, Aug. 8, 2003. For Abu Bara’s return to Yemen, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khal­lad, May 30, 2003.

62. For the hotel arrangements, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khal­lad, Jan. 7, 2004. For the two groups not meeting with each other, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khal­lad, Aug. 18, 2003. For Khal­lad’s sub­sequent actions, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khal­lad, July 31, 2003.


67. German BKA report, investigative summary re Binalshibh, July 4, 2002; Federal Prosecutor General (Germany), response to Commission letter, June 25, 2004, pp. 3–4; FBI report of investigation, interview of Fuad Omar Bazarah, Apr. 9, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Sept. 24, 2002. Binalshibh used various names, such as Ramzi Omar and Ramzi al Sheiba. In May 1998, months before he was expelled from school, German authorities had issued a warrant to arrest and deport “Ramzi Omar.” German BKA report, investigative summary re Binalshibh, July 4, 2002. But Binalshibh was no longer using this alias, so the German authorities did not discover that he and Ramzi Omar were the same person until after the attacks of September 11. Ibid.

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73. Ibid.
76. German BKA report, investigative summary re Jarrah, July 18, 2002; Federal Prosecutor General (Germany), response to Commission letter, June 25, 2004, pp. 3–4. In 1999, Jarrah and Senguen allegedly married in an Islamic ceremony not recognized under German law. Senguen has only acknowledged that she and Jarrah were engaged. German BKA report, investigative summary re Jarrah, July 18, 2002.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
81. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Nov. 6, 2003; German BKA investigation of Bahaji, summary of interrogation of Nickels on Oct. 30, 2001. On one occasion, German authorities intercepted a call in which such a gathering was mentioned. An individual phoning Zammar’s house on February 17, 1999, was told that he was away on a trip to a distant, “bad” region, but that “people” at 54 Marienstrasse knew where he was. The same conversation revealed that these “people” included “Said, Mohamed Amir, [and] Omar,” likely a reference to the apartment’s original occupants, Said Bahaji, Atta, and Binalshibh. Federal Prosecutor General (Germany), response to Commission letter, June 25, 2004, p. 9. Shehhi also appears to have lived there briefly, in November 1998 and again in the summer of 1999. German BKA report, investigative summary re Shehhi, July 9, 2002. The Marienstrasse apartment remained an important location for the group even after Binalshibh, Atta, and Shehhi all moved out, as some of their closest associates, including Zakariya Essabar and Abdelghani Mzoudi, moved in. See German BKA report, investigative summary re Binalshibh, July 4, 2002.
82. German BKA report, investigative summary re Bahaji, Mar. 6, 2002. A document containing a biography of Bin Ladin—seized from the residence of Said Bahaji, a member of Atta’s circle—also contains the phrase “Dar el Ansar,” which refers to the name of a guesthouse Bin Ladin established in Afghanistan for mujahideen recruits. Ibid.
86. German BKA report, investigative summary re Mzoudi, Jan. 13, 2003; German BKA report, investigative summary re Motassadeq, Oct. 22, 2001. Mzoudi and Motassadeq were both tried in Germany on charges related to the 9/11 attacks. Mzoudi was acquitted in February 2004, in part because Binalshibsh was not produced as a witness. Motassadeq was convicted in 2003 for being an accessory to the attacks and received a 15-year prison sentence, but his conviction was reversed. See Richard Bernstein, “Germans Free Moroccan Convicted of a 9/11 Role,” New York Times, Apr. 8, 2004, p. A18.
87. Summary of Judgment and Sentencing Order by Hanseatic Regional High Court, Motassadeq trial, Feb. 19, 2003; German BKA investigation of Bahaji, summary of interrogation of Nickels on Oct. 30, 2001. According to Nickels, who was distancing himself from the group by this time, “Atta was just too strange.” Ibid.
88. Shehhi and other members of the group used to frequent a library in Hamburg to use the Internet. According to one of the librarians, in 1999 Shehhi, unprompted, inveighed against America, and boasted that “something was going to happen” and that “there would be thousands of dead people.” FBI electronic communication, summary of testimony of Angela Duile on Aug. 28, 2003, at Mzoudi trial, Oct. 27, 2003. Another witness who lived in the same dormitory as Motassadeq testified that in late 1998 or early 1999, he overheard a conversation in which Motassadeq told someone that “we will do something bad again” and that “we will dance on their graves.” The conversation also contained a reference to the “burning of people.” FBI electronic communication, summary of testimony of Holger Liszkowski on Sept. 9, 2003, at Mzoudi trial, Nov. 17, 2003. On another occasion, according to the same witness, Motassadeq apparently identified Atta as “our pilot.” Another witness recalled Atta ominously observing in 1999 that the United States was not omnipotent and that “something can be done.” German BKA investigation of Bahaji, summary of interrogation of Nickels on Nov. 20, 2001.


92. On meetings with Atef and Bin Ladin, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Binalshibh, Dec. 10, 2002; Mar. 4, 2003; Mar. 31, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004. Atta reportedly had between two and five meetings with Bin Ladin before leaving Kandahar and was the only 9/11 hijacker who knew the entire scope of the operation from the outset. Intelligence report, comments of Binalshibh, Apr. 21, 2003.


94. In addition, Atta obtained a new passport in June 1998, even though his current one was still valid for nearly a year, a sign that he may have been following the al Qaeda practice of concealing travel to Pakistan. Federal Prosecutor General (Germany), response to Commission letter, June 25, 2004, p. 11.

95. German BKA report, investigative summary re Motassadeq, Oct. 22, 2001; Summary of Judgment and Sentencing Order by Hanseatic Regional High Court, Motassadeq trial, Feb. 19, 2003. Motassadeq continued to handle some of Shehhi’s affairs even after Shehhi returned to Hamburg. Most importantly, in March 2000, Motassadeq paid Shehhi’s semester fees at the university, to ensure Shehhi’s continued receipt of scholarship payments from the UAE. Ibid.

96. German BKA report, investigative summary re Motassadeq, Oct. 22, 2001. After 9/11, Motassadeq admitted to German authorities that Shehhi had asked him to handle matters in a way that would conceal Shehhi’s absence. Motassadeq also would claim later that he did not know why his friends had gone to Afghanistan, saying he thought they were planning to go fight in Chechnya. For assistance provided by both Motassadeq and Bahaji, see Federal Prosecutor General (Germany), response to Commission letter, June 25, 2004, pp. 13–14.

97. Jarrah encountered a minor problem during his return trip to Hamburg. On January 30, 2000, while transiting Dubai on his way from Karachi to Germany, Jarrah drew questioning from UAE authorities about an overlay of the Qu’ran that appeared on one page of his passport. The officials also noticed the religious tapes and books Jarrah had in his possession, but released him after he pointed out that he had lived in Hamburg for a number of years and was studying aircraft construction there. FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004, p. 13.


99. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Nov. 6, 2003. Binalshibh and the others kept their distance from Zammar even before visiting Afghanistan and getting their instructions from Bin Ladin and Atef. Ibid.


102. On Ali Abdul Aziz Ali, also known as Ammar al Baluchi, see FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investi-
gation,” Feb. 29, 2004, p. 78. Ali, in turn, would ship these materials to his uncle, KSM, in Karachi. Intelligence report, interrogation of Ali Abdul Aziz Ali, Feb. 11, 2004. On Jarrah, see German BKA report, investigative summary re Jarrah, July 18, 2002. Following his sudden decision to study aircraft engineering in Hamburg, Jarrah had expressed interest in becoming a pilot around the end of 1998, well before he traveled to Afghanistan. According to Senguen, Jarrah told her about friends of his who had interrupted their studies to join the German army so that they could become pilots. Jarrah’s pre-Afghanistan interest in aviation also is confirmed by a January 22, 1999, email recovered after the September 11, 2001, attacks, in which Jarrah told a friend from Beirut that he might “come next year and . . . have something to tell about airplanes.” Ibid. On Binalshibh, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Sept. 24, 2002.

103. Summary of Judgment and Sentencing Order by Hanseatic Regional High Court, Motassadeq trial, Feb. 19, 2003, pp. 10–11. Zacarias Moussaoui later would benefit from the results of all this research. Following his August 2001 arrest, the FBI discovered among his possessions a fax copy of an advertisement for U.S. flight schools. According to Binalshibh, notes in the margin of the advertisement were written by Atta. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Dec. 19, 2002.

104. DOS record, NIV applicant detail, Marwan al Shehhi, Mohamed Atta, Ziad Jarrah, Nov. 8, 2001. The visa applications were destroyed by the State Department according to routine document handling practices before their significance was known.


110. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 25, 2003. A small amount of the plot’s backing came from Shehhi’s own funds. He received a salary from the UAE military, which was sponsoring his studies in Germany, through December 23, 2000. Binalshibh apparently used some of this money to wire just over $10,000 to Shehhi in the United States and pay some of his own plot-related expenses. Adam Drucker interview (Jan. 12, 2004); FBI Report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004, pp. 20–22.


112. In the wake of the East Africa embassy bombings, the NSC led trips to Saudi Arabia in 1999 and 2000 to meet with Saudi officials on terrorist financing. These meetings, and subsequent interviews of Bin Ladin family members in the United States, helped the U.S. government revise its understanding of Bin Laden’s wealth. Rick Newcomb interview (Feb. 4, 2004); William Wechsler interview (Jan. 7, 2004).

113. See William Wechsler interview (Jan. 7, 2004); Rick Newcomb interview (Feb. 4, 2004); Frank G. interview (Mar. 2, 2004); Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003). See also DOS cable, State 035243, “January 2000 Meeting Regarding UBL Finances,” Feb. 27, 2000; DOS cable, Riyadh 000475, “The Saudi Binladin Group: Builders to the King,” Feb. 16, 1999; Treasury memo, Office of Foreign Asset Control to DOS, Draft Cable on Meet-
The United States was not a primary source of al Qaeda funding, although some funds raised in the United States may have made their way to al Qaeda or its affiliated groups. Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003).

More pervasive than Western ideas of charity, in that it functions not only as charity but also as social welfare, educational assistance, foreign aid, a form of income tax, and a source of political influence. Bob Jordan interview (Jan. 14, 2004). In Saudi Arabia, *zakat* is broader and more pervasive than Western ideas of charity, in that it functions not only as charity but also as social welfare, educational assistance, foreign aid, a form of income tax, and a source of political influence.

A *hawala*, at least in the “pure” form, transfers value without the use of a negotiable instrument or other commonly recognized method for the exchange of money. For example, a U.S. resident who wanted to send money to a person in another country, such as Pakistan, would give her money, in dollars, to a U.S.-based hawaladar. The U.S. hawaladar would then contact his counterpart in Pakistan, giving the Pakistani hawaladar the particulars of the transaction, such as the amount of money, the code, and perhaps the identity of the recipient. The ultimate recipient in Pakistan would then go to the Pakistani hawaladar and receive his money, in rupees, from whatever money the Pakistani hawaladar has on hand. As far as the sender and ultimate recipient are concerned, the transaction is then complete. The two hawaladas would have a variety of mechanisms to settle their debt, either through offsetting transactions (e.g., someone in Pakistan sending money to the United States using the same two hawaladas), a periodic settling wire transfer from the U.S. hawaladar’s bank to the Pakistani hawaladar’s bank, or a commercial transaction, such as the U.S. hawaladar paying a debt or an invoice, in dollars, that the Pakistani hawaladar owes in the United States. Hawalas typically do not have a large central control office for settling transactions, maintaining instead a loose association with other hawaladas to transfer value, generally without any formal or legally binding agreements. See Treasury report, “A Report to Congress in Accordance with Section 359 of the [USA PATRIOT Act]” Nov. 2002; Treasury report, “Hawala: The Hawala Alternate Remittance System and its Role in Money Laundering,” undated (prepared by the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network in cooperation with INTERPOL, probably in 1996).

Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003); CIA analytic report Al-Qa’ida Financiers, CTC 2002-30138H, Jan. 3, 2003. Moreover, because al Qaeda initially was living hand to mouth, there was no need to store funds.


For al Qaeda spending, see Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003). The 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in East Africa cost approximately $10,000. CIA analytic report, “Gauging the War on Terrorism: Most 11 September Practices Still Viable,” Jan. 30, 2002; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, June 3, 2003. Although there is evidence that al Qaeda experienced funding shortfalls as part of the cyclical fund-raising process (with more money coming during the holy month of Ramadan), we are not aware of any intelligence indicating that terror-
ist acts were interrupted as a result. For al Qaeda expenditures, see, e.g., CIA analytic report, “Usama Bin Ladin’s Finances: Some Estimates of Wealth, Income, and Expenditures,” CTC IR 98-40006, Nov. 17, 1998. For payments to the Taliban, see Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003); CIA analytic report, “Terrorism: Amount of Money It Takes to Keep al-Qa’ida Functioning,” PWR080702-05, Aug. 7, 2002. On start-up funds, see Frank G. interview (Mar. 2, 2004).

128. Doug Wankel interview (Mar. 15, 2004); Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003). Although some reporting alleges that Bin Ladin may have been an investor, or even had an operational role, in drug trafficking before 9/11, this intelligence cannot be substantiated. Ibid. Frank G. interview (Mar. 2, 2004). No evidence indicates any such involvement in drug trafficking, and none of the detained al Qaeda operatives has indicated that this was a method of fund-raising.


130. Highly publicized allegations of insider trading in advance of 9/11 generally rest on reports of unusual pre-/9/11 trading activity in companies whose stock plummeted after the attacks. Some unusual trading did in fact occur, but each such trade proved to have an innocent explanation. For example, the volume of put options—investments that pay off only when a stock drops in price—surged in the parent companies of United Airlines on September 6 and American Airlines on September 10—highly suspicious trading on its face. Yet, further investigation has revealed that the trading had no connection with 9/11. A single U.S.-based institutional investor with no conceivable ties to al Qaeda purchased 95 percent of the UAL puts on September 6 as part of a trading strategy that also included buying 115,000 shares of American on September 10. Similarly, much of the seemingly suspicious trading in American on September 10 was traced to a specific U.S.-based options trading newsletter, faxed to its subscribers on Sunday, September 9, which recommended these trades. These examples typify the evidence examined by the investigation. The SEC and the FBI, aided by other agencies and the securities industry, devoted enormous resources to investigating this issue, including securing the cooperation of many foreign governments. These investigators have found that the apparently suspicious consistently proved innocuous. Joseph Cella interview (Sept. 16, 2003; May 7, 2004; May 10–11, 2004); FBI briefing (Aug. 15, 2003); SEC memo, Division of Enforcement to SEC Chair and Commissioners, “Pre-September 11, 2001 Trading Review,” May 15, 2002; Ken Breen interview (Apr. 23, 2004); Ed G. interview (Feb. 3, 2004).

131. The hijackers spent more than $270,000 in the United States, and the costs associated with Moussaoui were at least $50,000. The additional expenses included travel to obtain passports and visas, travel to the United States, expenses incurred by the plot leaders and facilitators, and the expenses incurred by the people selected to be hijackers who ultimately did not participate. For many of these expenses, we have only fragmentary evidence and/or unconfirmed detainee reports, and can make only a rough estimate of costs. The $400,000 to $500,000 estimate does not include the cost of running training camps in Afghanistan, where the hijackers were recruited and trained, or the marginal cost of the training itself. Finally, the architect of the plot, KSM, put the total cost at approximately $400,000, apparently excluding Moussaoui’s expenses. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, June 3, 2003; Apr. 5, 2004. Our investigation has uncovered no evidence that the 9/11 conspirators employed hawala as a means to move the money that funded the operation. Indeed, the surviving plot participants have either not mentioned hawala or have explicitly denied using it to send money to the United States. Adam Drucker interview (Jan. 12, 2004); Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, April 5, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Apr. 2, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of Ramzi Binalshibh, Apr. 7, 2004. On domestic U.S. and foreign government funding, see, e.g., Adam Drucker interviews (Jan. 12, 2004; May 19, 2004); Dennis Lormel interview (Jan. 16, 2004); FBI response to Commission question for the record, July 13, 2004. As discussed in chapter 7, we have examined three transactions involving individuals in San Diego. Based on all of the evidence, we have concluded that none of these transactions involved a net transfer of funds to the hijackers.

132. Shehhi received a salary from the UAE military, which was sponsoring his studies in Germany. Adam Drucker interview (Jan. 12, 2004). For funds received by facilitators, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 5, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Apr. 9, 2004. Notwithstanding persistent press reports to the contrary, there is no convincing evidence that the Spanish al Qaeda cell, led by Inmad Barkar Yarkas and al Qaeda European financier Mohammed Galeb Kalaje Zouaydi, provided any funding to support the 9/11 attacks or the Hamburg participants. Zouaydi may have provided funds to the Hamburg participants or that any of his funds were used to support the plot. Adam Drucker interview (Jan. 12, 2004); Ed G. interview (Feb. 3, 2004).

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1. President Clinton was a voracious reader of intelligence. He received the President's Daily Brief (PDB), Senior Executive Intelligence Brief (SEIB), and the State Department’s intelligence updates daily, as well as other products episodically. Berger, Clarke, and Chief of Staff John Podesta received daily Bin Ladin “Situation Reports” from the CIA detailing Bin Ladin’s reported location and movements. Berger told us he would tell President Clinton if there was anything in these reports that he needed to know. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004). Information on distribution of Bin Ladin Situation Reports provided to the Commission by CIA.

2. President Clinton spoke of terrorism in numerous public statements. In his August 5, 1996, remarks at George Washington University, he called terrorism “the enemy of our generation.” He usually spoke of terrorism in two related contexts: new technologies and the greater openness engendered by post–Cold War globalization; and weapons of mass destruction (WMD), especially—and increasingly over time—the threat from biological and chemical weapons. President Clinton repeatedly linked terrorist groups and WMD as transnational threats for the new global era. See, e.g., President Clinton remarks, “On Keeping America Secure for the 21st Century,” Jan. 22, 1999 (at the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C.), in which he spoke directly to these topics.


5. Ibid. On Hoshar and Hijazi, see Jason Burke, Al Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror (I. B. Tauris, 2003), p. 188. Khaldan and Derunta were terrorist training camps in Afghanistan controlled by Abu Zubaydah. While the camps were not at Qaeda facilities, Abu Zubaydah had an agreement with Bin Ladin to conduct reciprocal recruiting efforts whereby promising trainees at the camps could be invited to join al Qaeda. See Intelligence report, interrogation of Abu Zubaydah, July 10, 2002.


8. FBI electronic communication, “Ahmed Ressam; Usama bin Ladin; Sbih Benyamin; Lucia Garofalo; Bouabide Chamchi,” Dec. 29, 1999; Miller, “Holy Warriors,” Jan. 15, 2001. The Encyclopedia is a multivolume instruction manual containing lessons on weapons handling, tactics, covert operations, bomb making, and other topics. The manual was originally created in the late 1980s by Afghanistan-based extremists, who considered it essential for waging terrorist operations and guerrilla warfare in the jihad against the Soviets. For more on the origins of the Encyclopedia, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Abu Zubaydah, June 24, 2003. Although Deek’s precise role within the extremist community is unknown, his name appears variously as a staff member, instructor, and technical guru for the Khaldan and Derunta terrorist training camps in Afghanistan. Intelligence has revealed no extant links to the al Qaeda inner circle. For more on Deek, see FBI electronic communication, “Usama Bin Laden; Penttbomb; Taliban,” May 25, 2002.


11. NSC note, Clarke to Berger, Dec. 4, 1999; Richard Clarke interview (Jan. 12, 2004). In the margin next to Clarke’s suggestion to attack al Qaeda facilities in the week before January 1, 2000, Berger wrote “no.”

12. NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, Dec. 9, 1999.

13. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Dec. 14, 1999. The State Department, through the U.S. embassy in Riyadh, also asked the Saudis to relay the same threat to the Taliban. The diplomat said the United States was delivering “a strong and unmistakable message to the Taliban that should such attacks occur, they and Bin Ladin will be subject to swift and serious response.” See DOS cable, Riyadh 003900, “Saudis on USG Warning to Taliban Concerning UBL Threats,” Dec. 14, 1999. Berger wrote President Clinton that the State Department’s warning seemed to barely register with the Taliban. See NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, terrorist threat at the millennium, Dec. 18, 1999.

14. See NSC memo, talking points for Zinni, Dec. 20, 1999; Anthony Zinni interview (Jan. 19, 2004); NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Dec. 22, 1999 (in which Clarke writes that “the Milam mission has largely failed”); NSC memo, Riedel re Milam call (attached to the Clarke email).


16. Randy Moss interview (Feb. 6, 2004). In sending the draft MON to the CIA, the NSC’s senior director for intelligence programs, Mary McCarthy, cited only the August 1998 and July 1999 MONs as relevant prece-
dents—indicating that these new authorities were limited to using the capture and rendition approach. There was no indication that this MON authorized kill authority, although lethal force could be used in self-defense. See NSC memo, McCarthy to CIA, Dec. 1999.


23. PBS Frontline broadcast, “Trail of a Terrorist.” Leo Nkounga was the document broker and an illegal alien in Canada from Cameroon who failed to surrender himself for deportation in 1993. Canadian deportation order, Adjudication file no. A0793-0077, Sept. 15, 1993. He said he obtained two genuine Canadian passports for Ressam by submitting fake baptismal certificates to Canadian authorities. CBC News broadcast, Disclosure, “Target Terrorism,” Mar. 26, 2002 (online at www.cbc.ca/disclosure/archives/020326_leo/resources.html). Ressam told border officials that he did not have a visa for Pakistan because he was only transiting on his way to India. FBI report of investigation, interview of Ressam, May 15, 2001, p. 7.

24. FBI case profile (part of materials provided to Dale Watson), “Abdelghani Meskini,” Feb. 8, 2000. Meskini, who spoke English, was to drive Ressam and to give him money, but Ressam never showed up at the border. Meskini was arrested on Dec. 30, 1999, and charged with material support and interstate fraud. See Testimony of Dale Watson before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Feb. 9, 2000, pp. 11–12. On passports and visas provided by Haouari, see United States v. Haouari, 319 F. 3d 88, 91 (2d Cir. 2002).

25. INS alien file, No. A73603119, Abdel Hakim Tizegha. There is no record of Tizegha’s entry into the United States.


29. NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, terrorism threat at the millennium, Dec. 9, 1999.


32. NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, terrorism threat at the millennium, Dec. 18, 1999.


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48. CIA cable, “UBL Associates: Flight Manifest,” Jan. 9, 2000. None of the CIA personnel at CIA headquarters or in the field had checked NSA databases or asked NSA to do so. If this had been done, on the basis of other unreported intelligence associated with the same sources, analysts would have been able to quickly learn “Nawaf” was likely Nawaf al Hazmi. Such analysis was not conducted until 9/11. After 9/11 it was determined that Salhsae was part of a name being used by Tawfiq bin Attash, also known as Khalid. On early arrival for what would become the 9/11 plot.

49. CIA cable, “Efforts to Locate al-Mihdhar,” Jan. 13, 2000. We now know that two other al Qaeda operatives flew to Bangkok to meet Khalid to pass him money. See chapter 8. That was not known at the time. Mihdhar was met at the Kuala Lumpur airport by Ahmad Hikmat Shakir, an Iraqi national. Reports that he was a lieutenant colonel in the Iraqi Fedayeen have turned out to be incorrect. They were based on a confusion of Shakir's identity with that of an Iraqi Fedayeen colonel with a similar name, who was later (September 2001) in Iraq at the same time Shakir was in police custody in Qatar. See CIA briefing by CTC specialists (June 22, 2004); Walter Pincus and Dan Eggen, “Al Qaeda Link to Iraq May Be Confusion over Names,” Washington Post, June 22, 2004, p. A13.


53. CIA cable, “UBL Associates: Identification of Possible UBL Associates,” Mar. 5, 2000. Presumably the departure information was obtained back in January, on the days that these individuals made their departures. Because these names were watchlisted with the Thai authorities, we cannot yet explain the delay in reporting the news. But since nothing was done with this information even in March, we do not attribute much significance to this failure alone.

55. CIA briefing, CTC Update, “Islamic Extremist Terrorist Threat,” Jan. 5, 7, 2000; George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004). Tenet described the millennium alert as probably the most difficult operational environment the CIA had ever faced.


57. NSC memo, “Review of Terrorism Alert and Lessons Learned,” Jan. 3, 2000 (draft). This paper is part of a packet Clarke sent to Deputy Attorney General Thompson, copying White House officials, on Sept. 17, 2001.

58. NSC memo, McCarthy to Berger, need for new strategy, Jan. 5, 2000.

59. NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, roadmap for March 10 PC meeting, Mar. 8, 2000.


63. In February 2000, the CIA began receiving information about a possible Bin Ladin–associated plot to attack Air Force One with Stinger missiles if President Clinton visited Pakistan; this information was deemed credible by early March. The CIA also reviewed reported threats to the President in Bangladesh and India. CIA briefing, “Reported Plan To Attack U.S. Presidential Plane If He Visits Pakistan,” Feb. 18, 2000; NSC email, Clarke to Berger, terrorism update, Feb. 29, 2000; CIA briefing, chief of CTC for the President, “Threats to the President’s Visit to Asia,” Mar. 2, 2000; NSC memo, Kurtz, “Summary of Conclusions of March 14, 2000 Meeting on Clinton Trip to South Asia;” NSC email, Kurtz to Berger, two new threats to assassinate the President in Bangladesh, Mar. 16, 2000. Berger told us that the Secret Service was vehemently opposed to a presidential visit to Islamabad; it took the extraordinary step of meeting twice with the President and offering very serious warnings. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).

64. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004). President Clinton told us he offered Musharraf aid and help in improving U.S.-Pakistani relations. A conversation that day between the two leaders in the presence of several close advisers is described in DOS cable, State 073803, “Memorandum of the President’s Conversation with Pervez Musharraf on March 25, 2000,” Apr. 19, 2000. A third meeting was apparently held in front of additional aides. Berger told that President Clinton did not want to press the Bin Ladin issue too heavily at the main meeting because ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate) members were present. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).


67. DOS cable, Islamabad 79983, “DCI Meets with Chief Executive General Musharraf,” June 21, 2000. Musharraf agreed to create a counterterrorism working group to coordinate efforts between Pakistani agencies and the CIA. Tenet noted that he was not asking the Pakistanis to deliver Bin Ladin next Tuesday; the DCI said he was “ambitious, but not crazy.”


69. UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1333, Dec. 19, 2000. UNSCR 1333 also called for countries to withdraw their officials and agents from the Taliban-held part of Afghanistan. Sheehan said that the new UN sanctions were aimed at the Taliban’s primary supporters: Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Michael Sheehan interview (Dec. 16, 2003).


72. The CIA appears to have briefed President Clinton on its “Next Steps and New Initiatives” in February 2000, noting the need to hire and train the right officers with the necessary skills and deploy them to the right places, as well as to work with foreign liaison. The CIA noted in its briefing that the President should press foreign leaders to maintain pressure on terrorists. See CIA briefing materials, “Targeting the Terrorists: Next Steps and New Initiatives,” Feb. 1, 2000 (for the President); NSC email, Cressey to Berger, “CT Briefing for Clinton,” Feb. 8, 2000.

73. For the CTC’s perspective, see CIA briefing materials, “Talking Points for the DCI for the Principals Committee meeting on Terrorism: The Millennium Alert—After Action Review,” Mar. 9, 2000. Deputy Chief of CTC Ben Bonk noted in the talking points that the CTC had obligated 50 percent of its fiscal year 2000 budget by Jan. 31, 2000, spending about 15 percent of its budget directly on the millennium surge. He stated that without a supplemental, it would be impossible for the CTC to continue at its current pace, let alone increase the operational tempo. On Tenet meeting with Berger, see George Tenet interview (Jan. 28, 2004).

74. Joan Dempsey interview (Nov. 12, 2003); George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004). Tenet called the supple-
mental appropriation "a lifesaver." See, for example, the request for supplemental appropriations in CIA briefing materials, "Targeting the Terrorists: Next Steps and New Initiatives," Feb. 1, 2000 (for the President).


78. CIA memos, summary of weekly Berger/Tenet meeting, Apr. 5, 12, 2000; NSC memo, “April 19, 2000 Agenda for Deputies Committee Meeting on CT: The Millennium Threat FY00 and FY01 Budget Review;” NSC memo, “Summary of Conclusions of April 18, 2000 CSG Meeting,” Apr. 26, 2000. On May 2, 2000, Berger was updated on budget issues relating to the CIA and other agencies; there was agreement on the most critical items to be funded, but not on the source of that funding. In CIA’s case, it had already reprogrammed over $90 million, but Tenet wanted to use most of this money on non–counterterrorism programs. NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, “Budget Issues,” May 2, 2000. On June 29, 2000, the President authorized raising the CIA’s covert action funding ceiling. NSC memo, McCarthy to CSG, “DCI Wants to Raise Funding Ceiling,” May 8, 2000; NSC memo, McCarthy to others July 7, 2000 (appendix on authorities). But funding issues in other agencies remained unresolved. Clarke complained that neither Treasury nor Justice would identify offsets. Clarke encouraged OMB to tell both departments that if they would not identify offsets then OMB would. NSC email, Clarke to Rudman and Mitchell, May 9, 2000. On August 1, 2000, Clarke wrote Berger that one of five goals by the end of the Clinton administration was to secure appropriations for cybersecurity and millennium after-action review projects. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, “Goals and Wildcards,” Aug. 1, 2000. As late as September 2000, Clarke was advising Berger that unfunded counterterrorism requests continued to be his number one priority; NSC note, Clarke to Berger, Sept. 9, 2000.

79. Executive Order 13099 (Aug. 20, 1998); Rick Newcomb interview (Feb. 4, 2004); Robert McBride interview (Nov. 19–20, 2003); NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, June 28, 2000. OFAC did freeze accounts belonging to Salah Idris, the owner of the al Shifa facility bombed in response to the East Africa embassy bombings. Idris filed suit against his bank and OFAC. OFAC subsequently authorized the unfreezing of those accounts. James Rosen, “To Bomb Sudan Plant, or Not? A Year Later, Debates Rankle,” New York Times, Oct. 27, 1999, p. A1. The inability to freeze funds is attributed in part to a lack of intelligence on the location of Bin Ladin’s money, OFAC’s reluctance or inability to rely on what classified information there may have been, and Bin Ladin’s transfer of assets into the hands of trusted third parties or out of the formal financial system by 1998. Even if OFAC had received better intelligence from the intelligence community, it would have been powerless to stop the bulk of the problem. Al Qaeda money flows depended on an informal network of hawalas and Islamic institutions moving money from Gulf supporters to Afghanistan. These funds would not therefore have touched the U.S. formal financial system. OFAC’s authorities are only against U.S. persons, financial institutions, and businesses. Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003); Rick Newcomb interview (Feb. 4, 2003).


82. The Financial Action Task Force, a multilateral government organization dedicated to standard setting, focused on money laundering, particularly as it related to crimes such as drug trafficking and large-scale fraud that involved vast amounts of illegally procured money. Although the UN General Assembly adopted the International Convention for the Suppression of Financing Terrorism in December 1999, the convention did not enter into force until April 2002.

83. Doug M. interview (Dec. 16, 2003); Frank G. interview (Mar. 2, 2004). See also Mike interview (Dec. 11, 2003), setting forth the goals of the UBL station; none relate specifically to terrorist financing. Another witness recalled that the UBL station made some effort to gather intelligence on al Qaeda financing, but it proved to be too hard a target, the CIA had too few sources and, as a result, little quality intelligence was produced. Ed G. interview (Feb. 3, 2004). Some attributed the problem to the CIA’s separation of terrorist-financing analysis from other counterterrorism activities. Within the Directorate of Intelligence, a group was devoted to the analysis of all financial issues, including terrorist financing. Called the Office of Transnational Issues (OTI), Illicit Transaction Groups (ITG), it dealt with an array of issues besides terrorist financing, including drug trafficking, drug money laundering, alien smuggling, sanctions, and corruption. ITG was not part of the CTC, although it rotated a single analyst to CTC. Moreover, OTI analysts were separated from the operational side of terrorist financing at CTC, which planned operations against banks and financial facilitators. William Wechsler interview (Jan. 7, 2004); Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003).


85. Mike interview (Dec. 11, 2003).

87. See NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, June 28, 2000; NSC document, TNT to Berger, Nov. 3, 1998, roadmap for Small Group, undated. The problem continued until 9/11. Intelligence reporting was so limited that one CIA intelligence analyst told us that, unassisted, he could read and digest the universe of intelligence reporting on al Qaeda financial issues in the three years prior to the 9/11 attacks. Frank G. and Mary S. briefing (July 15, 2003).

88. Richard Clarke interview (Feb. 3, 2004); see, e.g., NSC memo, Clarke to CSG, “Concept of Operations for Task Force Test of the Foreign Terrorist Asset Tracking Center,” Nov. 1, 2000; Treasury memo, Romey to Sloan, “FTAT SCIF,” May 17, 2001; Treasury memo, Newcomb to Sloan, “Response to Romey Memo,” May 23, 2001. Despite post-9/11 declarations to the contrary, on the eve of 9/11 FTAT had funds appropriated, but no people hired, no security clearances, and no space to work. Treasury memo, Newcomb to Dam, “Establishing the Foreign Asset Tracking Center,” Aug. 3, 2001. One Treasury official described CIA’s posture as “benign neglect” toward the Foreign Terrorist Asset Tracking Center (FTATC), and characterized the CIA as believing that financial tracking had limited utility. Treasury memo, Mat Burrows to O’Neill, “Your PC on Counterterrorism on 4 September,” Sept. 4, 2001. National Security Advisor Rice told us she and her staff had determined by spring 2001 that terrorist financing proposals were a good option, so Treasury continued to plan to establish an office for 24 financing analysts. Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004). In fact, as noted above, Treasury failed to follow through on the establishment of the FTATC until after 9/11.

89. This assessment is based on an extensive review of FBI files and interviews with agents and supervisors at FBI Headquarters and various field offices.

90. Although there was an increased focus on money laundering, several significant legislative and regulatory initiatives designed to close vulnerabilities in the U.S. financial system failed to gain traction. Some of these, such as a move to control foreign banks with accounts in the United States, died as a result of banking industry pressure. Others, such as the regulation of money remitters within the United States, were mired in bureaucratic inertia and a general antiregulatory environment. In any event, it is an open question whether such legislative or regulatory initiatives would have significantly harmed al Qaeda, which generally made little use of the U.S. financial system to move or store its money.


96. PDD-62, May 22, 1998, p. 9. Congress had authorized the Alien Terrorist Removal Court at the request of the Justice Department in 1996, and it was established in 1997. Clarke noted the court had not been “highly useful.” NSC email, Berger’s office to executive secretaries, “Millennium Alert After Action Review,” Mar. 9, 2000. Indeed, it had not been used at all.

97. PDD-62, May 22, 1998, p. 8; NSC memo, Clarke, “Summary of Conclusions for March 31, 2000 Millennium Immigration Review Meeting,” Apr. 13, 2000. One provision from PDD-62 not updated and reiterated in 2000 was a directive to CIA to ensure that names (and aliases) of terrorists were collected and disseminated to State, INS, and the FBI in a timely way, so that the border agencies could place them on a watchlist and the FBI could identify them in the United States.


99. Richard Clarke interview (Feb. 3, 2004); Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004); Scott Fry interview (Dec. 29, 2003); Scott Gotraint interview (March 3, 2004); NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, Mar. 2, 2000. Clarke apparently took the comment as a presidential instruction to take another look at what additional actions could be taken against Bin Laden. Given diplomatic failures to directly pressure the Taliban through Pakistan, the NSC staff saw increased support to the Northern Alliance and Uzbeks as alternative options. NSC memo, “The Millennium Terrorist Alert—Next Steps,” undated.

100. A good account of the episode is found in Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 (Penguin, 2004), pp. 487–491; see also ibid., pp. 495–496, 502-503, 517–519; Richard interview (Dec. 11, 2003). “Richard” told us the attack had already occurred when CIA headquarters heard about it; “within this building, they were breathless,” he remarked. The CIA concern was apparently over possible casualties and whether, by sharing intelligence with Massoud on Bin Ladin’s possible location, the CIA might have violated the assassination ban. Tenet did not recall the incident, saying it was no doubt just “a blip” on his screen within the context of the millennium alerts. George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004). The incident was, however, noticed by the NSC counterterrorism staff, which pointedly asked to be kept in the loop in the future. NSC memo, “Review of Terrorism Alert and Lessons Learned,” Jan. 3, 2000 (draft).

101. See, e.g., CIA officers’ visits to Tashkent noted in CIA briefing materials, DCI Update. “Islamic Extremist Terrorist Threat,” Feb. 18, 2000; CIA briefing materials, EXDIR Update, Visit to Tashkent, Apr. 5, 2000. CTC teams were deployed to Afghanistan to meet with Massoud on March 13–21, 2000, and possibly on April 24–28,

102. On Black and Clarke’s positions, see Cofer Black interview (Dec. 9, 2003); Roger Cressey interview (Dec. 15, 2003). On reasons for caution, see, e.g., Strobe Talbott interview (Jan. 15, 2004).

103. See, e.g., CIA briefing materials, CTC Update for the DDCI, July 7, 2000 (“Direct engagement with Massoud would enhance our ability to report on UBL and increase retaliation options if we are attacked by UBL”).

104. The deputy chief for operations of CTC, “Henry,” told us that going into the Afghanistan sanctuary was essential. He and Black proposed direct engagement with Massoud to the CIA’s senior management, but the idea was rejected because of what “Henry” called “a question of resources”—the CIA did not have effective means to get personnel in or out of Afghanistan. When he proposed sending a CIA team into northern Afghanistan to meet with Massoud in August 2000, the idea was turned down; local helicopters were not deemed airworthy, and land access was too risky. Henry interview (Nov. 18, 2003); Henry briefing (Apr. 22, 2004).

105. The alleged attempt was reported on August 10, 2000; see CIA memo, Bonk to McCarthy and Clarke, “Attempted Interdiction of Suspect Bin Ladin’s Convoy,” Aug. 11, 2000. For doubts as to whether the tribals made this attempt, see Cofer Black interview (Dec. 9, 2003); Richard interview (Dec. 11, 2003).


107. The 13 options included B–2 bombers, missiles, AC–130 gunships, the armed UAV, and raids to capture and destroy al Qaeda leaders and targets. DOD briefing materials, Joint Chiefs of Staff, “Operation Infinite Resolve Brief,” June 2000.


109. This quotation is taken from Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror (Random House, 2002), p. 318. President Clinton confirmed that he made this statement. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004).

110. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004); William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004).

111. Scott Graition interview (Mar. 3, 2004); Scott Fry interview (Dec. 29, 2003).

112. NSC memo, Clarke to CSG members, “Follow–Up to bin Ladin Review,” Apr. 25, 2000. See also CIA briefing materials, “DDCI Update,” Apr. 21, 2000 (J–39 “has decided to do everything possible to support CIA’s UBL efforts”). This reportedly included J–39’s belief that it would be able to pay for all costs—though, as it turned out, that would not be the case. CIA managers were reluctant to go ahead with either the telescope or the Predator options. Executive Director David Carey told us they saw the projects as a “distraction” that would pull personnel and resources away from other, high-priority activities, such as worldwide disruptions. The telescope program, for instance, was considered too challenging and risky for the CIA’s Afghan assets; development continued through the summer, but the idea was eventually dropped. David Carey interview (Oct. 31, 2003); Scott Fry interview (Dec. 29, 2003); Scott Graition interview (Mar. 3, 2004).

113. According to Charles Allen, the CIA’s senior management, especially within the Directorate of Operations, was originally averse to the Predator program mostly because of the expense—approximately $3 million, which the directorate claimed it did not have. Charles Allen interview (Jan. 27, 2004). The argument between CIA and DOD over who would pay for proposed operations continued for months. On the CIA side see, for example, CIA briefing materials, “DDO Update,” May 22, 26, 2000 (at which the DCI was told that unless funding was identified within the next 10 days, the military advised that the Predator could not be deployed that fiscal year; the military was waiting for an NSC request that it fund the projects). See also NSC memo, Clarke to Tenet, June 25, 2000 (“The other CSG agencies are unanimous that the Predator project is our highest near-term priority and that funding should be shifted to it”). Clarke noted that the CSG plan was to use DOD money to jump-start the program. On the cost-sharing agreement, see NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, June 28, 2000; NSC memo, “Small Group agenda,” June 29, 2000. Eventually, “after some pushing,” the CIA found $2 million from its funds to pay for two months of trial flights. DOD agreed to fund $2.4 million. NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, June 28, 2000.


116. NSC memo, Cressey to Berger, Aug. 18, 2000 (underlining in the original); NSC memo, Cressey to Berger, Aug. 21, 2000 (attaching informational memo to President Clinton).


118. John Maher III interview (Apr. 22, 2004). The CIA’s Ben Bonk told us he could not guarantee from analysis of the video feed that the man in the white robe was in fact Bin Ladin, but he thinks Bin Ladin is the “highest probability person.” (Bin Ladin is unusually tall.) Ben Bonk briefing (Mar. 11, 2004). Intelligence analysts seem to have determined this might have been Bin Ladin very soon after the September 28 sighting; two days later, Clarke wrote to Berger that there was a “very high probability” Bin Ladin had been located. NSC note, Clarke to Berger, “Procedures for Protecting Predator,” Sept. 30, 2000.
119. NSC note, Clarke to Berger, “Procedures for Protecting Predator,” Sept. 30, 2000. Clarke pointed to a silver lining: “The fact that its existence has become at least partially known, may for a while change the al Qaeda movement patterns,” he wrote, but “it may also serve as a healthy reminder to al Qida and the Taliban that they are not out of our thoughts or sight.” Ibid.

120. Clarke wrote to Berger that “it might be a little gloomy sitting around the fire with the al Qida leadership these days.” NSC note, Clarke to Berger, Sept. 9, 2000.


122. See Intelligence report, interrogation of Abd al Rahim al Nashiri, Feb. 21, 2004. For Khalid, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Aug. 20, 2003. For Khallad and Nibras’s full names, Quso’s responsibility to film the attack, and Nibras and Quso delivering money, see Indictment, United States v. al-Badawi, May 15, 2003, pp. 13–14. Badawi was supposed to film the attack but had to travel, so he instructed Quso to do it instead. FBI notes, notes of Nov. 11 and 13 executive conference call, Nov. 13, 2000, p. 2. For Quso’s admission of delivering money, see Al S. interviews (Aug. 26, 2003; Sept. 15, 2003).

123. For Bin Ladin’s decision, Nashiri’s trip to protest, and Nashiri’s instructions, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, Feb. 21, 2004. For a report that Nashiri did not instruct the operatives to attack, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Nashiri, Nov. 21, 2002.


125. For Bin Ladin’s order to evacuate and subsequent actions, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Abu Zubaydah, Dec. 13, 2003. For Bin Ladin’s, Atef’s, and Zawahiri’s movements, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Sept. 27, 2003.


127. For the media committee, the video, and its effect, see Intelligence report, autobiography of KSM, July 12, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 4, 2003. On the bombing of the Cole sparking jihadist recruitment, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Sept. 5, 2003.


129. For suspicion of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, see NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, update on Cole attack, Oct. 12, 2000. For McLaughlin’s statement, see John McLaughlin interview (Jan. 21, 2004). In this vein, the State Department advised the investigation not to rush to judgment that al Qaeda was responsible. Barbara Bodine interview (Oct. 21, 2003).


133. For suspicion of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, see NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, update on Cole attack, Oct. 12, 2000. For McLaughlin’s statement, see John McLaughlin interview (Jan. 21, 2004). In this vein, the State Department advised the investigation not to rush to judgment that al Qaeda was responsible. Barbara Bodine interview (Oct. 21, 2003).


135. For the additional covert action authorities, see NSC memo, McCarthy to Berger, new covert action authorities, Oct. 31, 2000. For Tenet developing options, see NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, update on Cole investigation, Nov. 25, 2000.

136. For Berger’s authorization, see NSC memo, TNT to Berger, responding to Taliban’s September overture, Oct. 20, 2000. For Berger’s statement, see NSC memo, Berger to TNT, reply to Oct. 20, 2000, memo. For the admin-
istration working with Russia, see NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, update on Cole investigation, Nov. 25, 2000.

137. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004).
139. In the first ten days after the bombing, between October 13 and 23, at least three high-level briefing items discussed responsibility for the attack. The next such briefing item we can find summarized the evidence for the new Bush administration on January 25, 2001. On the guidance, and the presumed reasons for it, see Barbara Bodine interview (Oct. 21, 2003); Pattie Kindsvater interview (Mar. 29, 2004); Ben Bonk statement during John McLaughlin interview (Jan. 21, 2004); see also John McLaughlin interview (Jan. 21, 2004); Richard interview (Dec. 11, 2003).
140. For Clarke’s statement, see NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Nov. 7, 2000. For the November 10 briefing, see CIA briefing materials, preliminary findings regarding the Cole attack for the Nov. 10, 2000, Small Group meeting, undated (appears to be Nov. 10, 2000). For Berger and Clarke’s communication with the President, see NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, USS Cole investigation update, Nov. 25, 2000.
142. NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, USS Cole investigation update, Nov. 25, 2000.
143. Ibid. For Clarke’s ideas, see NSC memo, Clarke to Sheehan and Hull, “Ultimatum Strategy with the Taliban,” Nov. 25, 2000.
145. Ibid.
146. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).
147. For Albright’s advisers, see DOS memo, Inderfuth to Albright, Dec. 19, 2000; DOS memo, Hull and Eastham to Albright, preparation for Principals Committee meeting, Dec. 21, 2000. See also DOS briefing materials, talking points for Principals Committee meeting, Dec. 21, 2000; William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004); Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004).
150. George Tenet interview (Jan. 28, 2004).
152. For the lack of meaningful targets, see Scott Fry interview (Dec. 29, 2003); Walter Slocombe interview (Dec. 19, 2003).
154. See Samuel Berger letter to the Commission, “Comments on Staff Statements 5–8,” May 13, 2004. For the Blue Sky memorandum’s proposals being rolled into proposals considered by the new administration, see George Tenet interview (Jan. 28, 2004); John McLaughlin interview (Jan. 21, 2004). On the internal CIA draft of the Blue Sky memorandum, Deputy Director for Operations James Pavitt added a handwritten note that he posed no objection if the memorandum was for transition discussion purposes, but “I do not believe a proposal of this magnitude should be on the table for implementation” so late in the Clinton administration. He also questioned the proposal for support to Massoud. CIA memo, “Options to Undermine Usama Bin Ladin and al-Qa’ida,” Dec. 18, 2000.
156. Ben Bonk interview (Jan. 21, 2004); John McLaughlin interview (Jan. 21, 2004).
158. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004); Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004); James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004). Pavitt also recalls telling the President-elect that killing Bin Ladin would not end the threat. Vice President-elect Cheney, Rice, Hadley, and White House Chief of Staff—designate Andrew Card also attended the briefing, which took place about a week before the inauguration. The President noted that Tenet did not say he did not have authority to kill Bin Ladin. Tenet told us he recalled the meeting with Bush but not what he said to the President-elect. George Tenet interview (Jan. 28, 2004). He told us, however, that if circumstances changed and he needed more authority, he would have come back to either President Clinton or Pres-

159. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004).
160. NSC briefing materials, “CT Briefing for Bush-Cheney Transition Team, APNSA-Designate Rice,” “Policy, Organization, Priorities,” undated. Powell was briefed by the full CSG, at his request.


164. Public references by candidate and then President Bush about terrorism before 9/11 tended to reflect these priorities, focusing on state-sponsored terrorism and WMD as a reason to mount a missile defense. See, e.g., President Bush remarks, Warsaw University, June 15, 2001.

165. Rice and Zelikow had been colleagues on the NSC staff during the first Bush administration and were coauthors of a book concerning German unification. See Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1995). As the Executive Director of the Commission, Zelikow has recused himself from our work on the Clinton-Bush transition at the National Security Council.

166. Richard Clarke interviews (Oct. 8, 2003).
168. Ibid.

170. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004); George Tenet interview (Jan. 28, 2004).
171. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004).
174. The Bush administration held 32 Principals Committee meetings on subjects other than al Qaeda before 9/11. Condoleezza Rice testimony, Apr. 8, 2004; White House information provided to the Commission. Rice told us the Administration did not need a principals meeting on al Qaeda because it knew that al Qaeda was a major threat. Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004) Condoleezza Rice testimony, Apr. 8, 2004.
178. NSC memo, Clarke to Vice President Cheney, Feb. 15, 2001.

180. In early March, Cressey wrote Rice and Hadley that at a belated wedding reception at Tarnak Farms for one of Bin Ladin’s sons, the al Qaeda leader had read a new poem gloating about the attack on the Cole. NSC email, Cressey to Rice and Hadley, “BIN LADIN on the USS COLE,” Mar. 2, 2001. A few weeks later, Cressey wrote Hadley that while the law enforcement investigation went on, “we know all we need to about who did the attack to make a policy decision,” NSC email, Cressey to Hadley, “Need for Terrorism DC Next Week,” Mar. 22, 2001. Around this time, Clarke wrote Rice and Hadley that the Yemeni prime minister had told State Department counterterrorism chief Hull that while Yemen was not saying so publicly, Yemen was 99 percent certain that Bin Ladin was responsible for the Cole. NSC email, Clarke to NSC Front Office, “Yemen’s View on the USS Cole,” Mar. 24, 2001. In June, Clarke wrote Rice and Hadley that a new al Qaeda video claimed responsibility for the Cole. NSC email, Clarke to Rice and Hadley, “Al Qida Video Claims Responsibility for Cole Attack,” June 21, 2001. Later that month, two Saudi jihadists arrested by Bahraini authorities during the threat spike told their captors that their al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan had held celebratory parties over the Cole attack. NSC email,

181. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004).

182. Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004); Donald Rumsfeld meeting (Jan. 30, 2004); Paul Wolfowitz interview (Jan. 20, 2004); Stephen Hadley meeting (Jan. 31, 2004).

183. See CIA memo, “History of Funding for CIA Counterterrorism,” Aug. 12, 2002. One of Clarke’s concerns had been the level of funding for counterterrorism in the new administration’s first budget. See, e.g., NSC memo, Clarke to Vice President Cheney, Feb. 15, 2001.

184. NSC note to Hadley, undated (attached to NSC memo, Cressey to Rice, aid to Northern Alliance and Uzbekistan, Mar. 2, 2001).

185. Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004). Rice remembered President Bush using this phrase in May 2001, when warnings of terrorist threats began to multiply. However, speaking on background to the press in August 2002, Richard Clarke described a directive from the President in March 2001 to “stop swatting at flies” and “just solve this problem.” A reporter then said to Clarke that he understood Bush to have given that direction in May, and Clarke said: “No, it was March.” Fox News transcript, “Clarke Praises Bush Team in ’02,” Mar. 24, 2004 (online at www.foxnews.com/printer_friendly_story/0,3566,115085,00.html).


187. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004).


190. CIA briefing materials, “U.S. Policy Against Al Qa’ida” (for the Apr. 30, 2001, Deputies Committee meeting). On the DC meeting, see also NSC email, Clarke to NSC Front Office, “Request for DC on al Qida Terrorism,” Apr. 16, 2001. DCI Tenet had already talked with Rice and Hadley about Bin Ladin and al Qaeda, the Taliban, and the Predator program. See, e.g., CIA memos, summary of weekly Rice/Tenet meeting, Jan. 24, 2001; Feb. 7, 2001; Mar. 8, 2001 (when Rice received CIA assessments on the possible impact of Taliban actions against al Qaeda and on the likely regional impact of increased aid to anti-Taliban groups in Afghanistan). Both Secretary Powell and Secretary Rumsfeld appear to have already been briefed on these topics by the DCI as well. See, e.g., CIA briefing materials, talking points on the Predator for DCI meeting with Rumsfeld, Feb. 9, 2001; CIA briefing materials, talking points on Bin Ladin, the Taliban and Afghanistan for DCI meetings with Powell, Feb. 13, 2001; Mar. 13, 2001.

191. NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions for Apr. 30, 2001, Deputies Committee meeting.

192. Ibid.


194. For threats considered by the CSG, see NSC memo, agenda for March 19 CSG videoconference, Mar. 19, 2001 (agenda item about UBL interest in targeting a passenger plane at Chicago airport); NSC memo, agenda for CSG threat videoconference, May 17, 2001 (agenda item, “UBL: Operation Planned in Us”). For Clarke’s concern about an al Qaeda presence in the United States, see NSC briefing materials, TNT to Rice, counterterrorism briefing for Bush/Cheney transition team, undated, which noted that al Qaeda had “sleepers cells” in more than 40 countries, including the United States; NSC memo, “Strategy for Eliminating the Threat from the Jihadist Networks of al Qida: Status and Prospects,” undated (appears to be Dec. 29, 2000), attached to NSC memo, Clarke to Rice, Jan. 25, 2001, discussing al Qaeda’s presence in the United States. For Clarke’s concerns about an attack on the White House, see NSC email, Clarke to Rice, briefing on Pennsylvania Ave, Mar. 23, 2001.


197. Ibid.


202. See, e.g., Condoleezza Rice testimony, Apr. 8, 2004; Richard Clarke interview (Feb. 3, 2004).
204. Condoleezza Rice memo (Feb. 7, 2004).
206. In early July 2001, shortly before retiring, Ambassador Milam met one last time with Taliban Deputy Foreign Minister Jalil in Islamabad. Milam tried to dispel any confusion about where Bin Laden fit into U.S.-Taliban relations—the Saudi terrorist was the issue, and he had to be expelled. DOS cable, Islamabad 3628, “Taliban’s Mullah Jalil’s July 2 Meeting With The Ambassador,” July 3, 2001. The State Department’s South Asia bureau called for a less confrontational stance toward the Taliban. It opposed a policy to overthrow the Taliban and was cautious about aiding the Northern Alliance. DOS memo, Rocca to Grossman, “Your Participation in Deputies Committee Meeting, Friday, June 29, 2001,” June 28, 2001; see DOS memo, “Pakistan/Afghanistan DC-Covert Action Issue,” undated (appears to be mid-June 2001); Richard Armitage interview (Jan. 12, 2004).
207. For the Deputies Committee meeting, see NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions of June 29, 2001, Deputies Committee meeting, undated (attached to NSC memo, Biegun to executive secretaries, July 6, 2001). For officials who were impatient with the pace of the Deputies’ Committee review, see, e.g., Richard Armitage interview (Jan. 12, 2004); John McLaughlin interview (Jan. 21, 2004). For Clarke’s arguments, see NSC memo, PCC Chairman’s Summary Paper, “Key Issues for Al-Qida Deputies Meeting,” Apr. 19, 2001. See also Richard Armitage testimony, Mar. 24, 2004; Stephen Hadley meeting (Jan. 31, 2004).
208. For Clarke and Black renewing their push, see, e.g., Cofer Black interview (Dec. 9, 2003). For Clarke’s suggestion, see NSC email, Cressey to Moran, various matters concerning al Qaeda, Feb. 12, 2001.
210. For the draft authorities, see CIA briefing materials, talking points for DCI meeting with Rice on the draft Afghanistan counterterrorism finding and the draft UBL Memorandum of Notification, Mar. 28, 2001. For the draft explicitly stating that the goal was not to overthrow the Taliban, see Jonathan F interview (Jan. 19, 2004).
213. For the September 10 meeting, see NSC memo, Biegun to executive secretaries, Summary of Conclusions for Sept. 10, 2001, Deputies Committee meeting on Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan, Sept. 26, 2001. For Armitage’s view, see Richard Armitage interview (Jan. 12, 2004).
215. For reviewing the possibility of more carrots, see DOS memo, Hull and Usrey to Grossman, “Deputies Committee Meeting on Terrorism and al Qaida,” Apr. 20, 2001. For the possibility of lifting sanctions, see Colin Powell interview (Jan. 21, 2004); Richard Armitage interview (Jan. 12, 2004); DOS memo, “Engagement with Pakistan: From Negative to Positive,” undated (appears to be May 29, 2001).
217. For Rice’s view on Sattar, see Condoleezza Rice memo (Feb. 7, 2004). For Sattar urging the United States to engage the Taliban, see DOS cable, State 109130, “The Secretary’s Lunch With Pakistani Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar,” June 22, 2001. For the deputies agreeing to review objectives, see NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions of June 29, 2001, Deputies Committee meeting, undated (attached to NSC memo, Biegun to executive secretaries, July 6, 2001). For Clarke urging Hadley, see NSC memo, Clarke to Hadley, “DC on Pakistan,” June 27, 2001.
221. For Shleton’s recollection, see Hugh Shleton interview (Feb. 5, 2004). For Sheridan’s departure, see Austin Yamada interview (Dec. 23, 2003); Brian Sheridan interview (Feb. 24, 2004).
It was not uncommon for FBI budget requests to be reduced by the attorney general or by OMB before being submitted to Congress; this had occurred during the previous administration.

The FBI had errand in preparing some of its applications for FISA surveillance, misstating how much information had been shared with criminal prosecutors and the nature of the walls between the intelligence and law enforcement functions within the FBI. In March 2001, Judge Royce Lamberth, chief judge of the FISA Court, chastised the FBI, sending a letter to Ashcroft announcing he was banning an offending supervisory agent from appearing before the court. Judge Lamberth also met personally with Ashcroft and his acting deputy, Robert Mueller, to complain about the performance of the FBI and the Office of Intelligence Policy and Review (OIPR). Judge Lamberth letter to Ashcroft, Mar. 9, 2001; John Ashcroft interview (Dec. 17, 2003). In May 2001, Ashcroft altered the FISA court. Judge Lamberth also met personally with Ashcroft and his acting deputy, Robert Mueller, to complain about the performance of the FBI and the Office of Intelligence Policy and Review (OIPR). Judge Lamberth letter to Ashcroft, Mar. 9, 2001; John Ashcroft interview (Dec. 17, 2003). In May 2001, Ashcroft altered the FISA application process to ensure greater accuracy. See DOJ memo, Ashcroft to Freeh, “The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) Process,” May 18, 2001.

In July 2001, the General Accounting Office criticized the way the 1995 procedures were being applied and criticized OIPR and FBI for not complying with the information-sharing requirements of the 1995 procedures. This was the third report in as many years by a government agency indicating that the procedures were not working as planned. In October 2000, December 2000, and March 2001, proposals for reform to the 1995 procedures were put forth by senior DOJ officials. None resulted in reform. One impediment was that the respective DOJ components could not agree on all the proposed reforms. A second impediment was a concern that such reforms would require a challenge to the FISA Court’s position on the matter. This was considered risky because the FISA Court of Review had never convened, and one of the judges had previously voiced skepticism regarding the constitutionality of the FISA statute. Deputy Attorney General Larry Thompson did ask the court to accept the modifications described in the text, which were distributed as part of his August 2001 memorandum reaffirming the 1995 procedures. See DOJ memo, Thompson to the Criminal Division, the Office of Intelligence Policy and Review, and the FBI, “Intelligence Sharing,” Aug. 6, 2001.

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222. Donald Rumsfeld interview (Jan. 30, 2004). Rumsfeld had been a member of the Bremer-Sonnenberg Commission on Terrorism, created by Congress in 1998.

223. Tommy Franks interview (Apr. 9, 2004).

224. For Annex B, see NSC memo, draft National Security Presidential Directive, undated (attached to NSC email, Biegun to executive secretaries, July 13, 2001). The annex said that Pentagon planning was also to include options to eliminate weapons of mass destruction that the al Qaeda network might acquire or make.


227. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004).

228. Ibid.


233. DOJ letter, Ashcroft to Daniels, transmitting the Department of Justice FY 2003 budget request, Sept. 10, 2001; Thomas Pickard interview (Jan. 21, 2004). Pickard told us that he approached Ashcroft and asked him to reconsider DOJ’s denial of the FBI’s original counterterrorism budget request in light of the continuing threat. It was not uncommon for FBI budget requests to be reduced by the attorney general or by OMB before being submitted to Congress; this had occurred during the previous administration.

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236. NSC memo, Sturtevant to Griffin, Levin, Krongard, Watson, and others, July 12, 2001.

237. See, e.g., NSC note, Clarke to Berger, Sept. 23, 2000; Richard Clarke interview (Feb. 3, 2004).

239. See NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions of Deputies Committee meeting, Apr. 30, 2001. This document noted a consensus in favor of reconnaissance missions commencing in July. But DDIC McLaughlin told us that he and Black believed that no such decision had been made at the meeting. Hadley told us he believed that a decision had been made at the meeting to fly such missions. See John McLaughlin interview (Jan. 2, 2004). See also CIA briefing materials, “Summary of April 30, 2001 Deputies Committee meeting,” May 3, 2001; Stephen Hadley meeting (Jan. 31, 2004). For Rice’s perspective, see Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004).


244. On the Deputies Committee meeting, see NSC memo, Biegun to executive secretaries, July 31, 2001; CIA memo, Campbell to McLaughlin, Pavitt, and others, Aug. 2, 2001. The White House told us that it cannot find a formal Summary of Conclusions for this meeting.

245. NSC memo, Hadley to Armitage, Wolfowitz, Myers, and McLaughlin, resolving Predator issues, Aug. 3, 2001 (including McLaughlin’s handwritten comment); NSC email, Clarke to Rice and Hadley, “Need to place a call to Tenet,” Aug. 8, 2001.


247. NSC memo, Clarke to Rice, “Observations at the Principals Meeting on Al Qaeda,” Sept. 4, 2001 (text italicized here is underlined in the original).

248. Ibid.

249. Ibid.


251. CIA memo, Black to Tenet, Sept. 4, 2001.

252. Various interviews with participants, as well as the Maher memo (see note 255 below), make it clear that the meeting focused on Predator, not the presidential directive.


255. CIA memo, Maher to limited group, “Principals Committee meeting, Sept. 4, 2001,” Sept. 4, 2001. We have not found a formal summary of conclusions, which would usually be prepared after a Principals Committee meeting.

256. Ibid.

257. Ibid.

258. Ibid.


260. On Massoud’s assassination, see Coll, Ghost Wars, pp. 574–575. On the Sept. 10 meeting, see NSC memo, Biegun to executive secretaries, “Summary of Conclusions for Sept. 10, 2001 Deputies Committee meeting on Afghanistan, India and Pakistan,” Sept. 26, 2001. Note that the agenda for this meeting, distributed on September 7, 2001, listed its topics as “Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan”; the Summary of Conclusions, written after 9/11, flipped the order of the topics.


7 The Attack Looms


2. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, May 19, 2003. Although KSM’s stated reasons for sending Hazmi and Mihdhar to California do not seem especially compelling, we have uncovered no evidence tending to establish any more plausible explanation for the California destination. The possibility that the two hijackers were pursuing another al Qaeda mission on the West Coast, while certainly conceivable—see, e.g., CIA analytic report,


4. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003. According to Hambali, in late 1999 or early 2000 KSM sent an al Qaeda operative named Issa al Britani to visit Hambali in Malaysia. At the end of the visit, Issa provided Hambali with two addresses—one in the United States (“possibly in California”) and one in South Africa—and told Hambali he could contact “people in those locations” if he “needed help.” Hambali claims he never contacted anyone at either address or passed either address to anyone else, and claims not to remember the addresses. Intelligence report, interrogation of Hambali, Sept. 12, 2003. In an assessment of KSM’s reporting, the CIA concluded that protecting operatives in the United States appeared to be a “major part” of KSM’s resistance efforts. For example, in response to questions about U.S. zip codes found in his notebooks, KSM provided the less than satisfactory explanation that he was planning to use the zip codes to open new email accounts. CIA report, Intelligence Community Terrorist Threat Assessment, “Khalid Shaykh Muhammad’s Threat Reporting—Precious Truths, Surrounded by a Bodyguard of Lies,” Apr. 3, 2003, pp. 4–5.

5. Notably, as discussed in chapter 5, precisely such arrangements—in the form of lodging and travel assistance provided by Hambali’s minions—were in place when the first contingent of operatives (including Hazmi and Mihdhar) journeyed to Kuala Lumpur in late 1999 and early 2000.


8. Although Hazmi and Mihdhar told immigration authorities on January 15, 2000, that they would be staying at the Sheraton Hotel in Los Angeles, their names do not appear in the hotel’s registration records for the second half of January. FBI searches of the records of other hotels near the airport and smaller establishments in Culver City failed to locate the hijackers, as did our own investigation. See FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Nov. 14, 2003 (Apr. 3, 1999, entry, citing 265A-NY-280350-CG, serial 4062; 265A-NY-280350-302, serial 7134); Commission investigation in Culver City; Vicki G. interview (Sept. 30, 2003).

9. For the FBI source’s claims, see FBI letterhead memorandum, Penttbom investigation, Oct. 8, 2002. For Abdullah’s recollections, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Mohdar Abdullah, Jan. 15, 2002. Other reporting indicates that Hazmi and Mihdhar spent time at the King Fahd mosque. A scholar lecturing at the mosque was reportedly approached by either Hazmi or Mihdhar about performing a wedding ceremony. Khalid A. Khalil interview (Feb. 24, 2004). On “Khallam,” see FBI electronic communication, “Fahad Althumairy,” Sept. 4, 2002; FBI electronic communication, “Ziyat Kharfan,” Jan. 8, 2002 (giving description of visitor with whom Hazmi and Mihdhar met at mosque). The Khallam story has never been corroborated. The FBI considered the possibility that Khalil might be Khallad, the al Qaeda member whose role in the 9/11 plot and the Cole attack we discussed in chapter 5. This speculation was based on reporting that Khallad was in the United States in June 2000 and was seen in the company of Fahad al Thumairy, an imam at the mosque. FBI electronic communication, investigation of Cole bombing, interview of witness, Mar. 19, 2003; CIA cable, source reporting, Mar. 18, 2003. Neither we nor the FBI have found any travel documentation establishing Khallad’s presence in the United States at any time. We doubt that the person allegedly seen with Thumairy actually was Khallad.


13. On Thumairy’s religious views, see FBI letterhead memorandum, investigation of Mohamed Aliter, Dec. 2, 2002; Fahad al Thumairy interviews (Feb. 23–25, 2004). However, two witnesses we interviewed who knew Thumairy and used to hear him preach at the King Fahd mosque deny that he promoted extremism. Sami A. Mekheimer interview (Apr. 21, 2004); Interview (Apr. 23, 2004). Despite the disparate views as to whether Thumairy...

14. We have checked, for example, the records for apartments where Thumairy is known to have placed Saudi visitors during 2001. The most intriguing lead concerns an Arabic-speaking taxi cab driver, Qualid Benomrane, who was arrested on immigration charges in early 2002. When asked to look at a series of photographs that included the 19 hijackers involved in the 9/11 attacks, Benomrane responded ambiguously, seeming first to pick out the photographs of Hazmi and Mihdhar but then denying that he recognized them. Later in the interview, Benomrane told the FBI about driving “two Saudis” around Los Angeles and to San Diego’s Sea World after being introduced to them by Thumairy at the King Fahd mosque before 9/11. According to Benomrane, someone at the consulate had asked Thumairy to assist the two Saudis, who had recently arrived in Los Angeles and had moved to an apartment near the mosque. FBI electronic communication, “Fahad Althumairy,” Sept. 4, 2002; Ashour E. interview (May 20, 2004); FBI reports of investigation, interviews of Qualid Moncef Benomrane, Mar. 7, 2002; Mar. 13, 2002; May 23, 2002. Working with agencies of the U.S. government, we have attempted to locate and interview Benomrane overseas, since he was deported in 2002. After checking many possible avenues of corroboration for this story, our investigation has not substantiated the hypothesis that Benomrane’s “two Saudis” were Hazmi and Mihdhar. In fact, we have established that Benomrane did not obtain a taxicab license, or even a driver’s license, until months after he could be supposed to have chauffeured Hazmi and Mihdhar. Moreover, before his deportation, Benomrane described the two Saudis as sons of a sick father who was seeking medical treatment in Los Angeles. Ibid. We have found evidence corroborating this account.

15. FBI document made available to the Commission; Caysan Bin don interview (Apr. 20, 2004); Omar al Bayoumi interview (Oct. 16–17, 2003); Interview (Apr. 23, 2004). In Bin Don’s presence, Bayoumi met with a still-unidentified consular employee whom Bayoumi already knew and whom Bin Don says he saw in Anaheim as recently as November 2003. The employee provided Bayoumi with Qur’ans and other religious materials during the February 1, 2000, meeting. Omar al Bayoumi interview (Oct. 16–17, 2003). At the time of the February 1, 2000, restaurant encounter, Bin Don, a U.S. citizen, went by the name Isamu Dyson.


17. See Caysan Bin Don interview (Apr. 20, 2004); FBI report of investigation, interview of Isamu Dyson, Oct. 8, 2001. Bin Don himself has been inconsistent about visiting the mosque. In his initial interviews, he recalled praying with Bayoumi at the consulate before lunch and visiting the mosque only once, after the meal; when we interviewed him recently, however, he stated that both prayer sessions took place at the mosque. For Bayoumi’s visits to Los Angeles, see FBI report of investigation, recovery of hotel records, Jan. 15, 2002. Although Bayoumi might deny visiting the mosque on February 1 to conceal some contact he may have made there that day, we have seen no evidence of such contact.

18. Saudi Civil Aviation Authority employment records for Bayoumi, Mar. 2000–Jan. 2002 (provided by the FBI); FBI report of investigation, “Connections of San Diego PENTTBOMB Subjects to the Government of Saudi Arabia,” undated; FBI letterhead memorandum, investigation of Bayoumi, Apr. 15, 2002. While in San Diego, Bayoumi was officially employed by Ercan, a subsidiary of a contractor for the Saudi Civil Aviation Administration, although a fellow employee described Bayoumi as a “ghost employee,” noting that he was one of many Saudis on the payroll who was not required to work. In April 2000, Bayoumi received a promotion and his status was also adjusted from “single” to “married” (despite the fact that he was already married). As a result, his salary was raised and his “other allowances” stipend increased significantly, from approximately $465 to $3,925 a month, remaining at that level until December 2000. In January 2001, the stipend was reduced to $3,427. It stayed constant until August 2001, when Bayoumi left the United States. Saudi Civil Aviation Authority employment records for Bayoumi, Mar. 2000–Jan. 2002 (provided by the FBI); Richard L. Lambert prepared statement, June 26, 2003, pp. 7–9; FBI reports of investigation, interviews of Samuel George Coombs, Apr. 8, 2002; July 24, 2002; Aug. 26, 2002.

19. On Bayoumi’s activities, see FBI electronic communication, interview of Bayoumi, Sept. 17, 2003. Although Bayoumi admits knowing Thumairy, no telephone records document any contact between the two just before Bayoumi’s lunch with Hazmi and Mihdhar in Los Angeles. Nor do individuals who regard Thumairy as an extremist
place Bayoumi in Thumairy's circle of associates. KSM has denied knowing Bayoumi. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 18, 2003.

Bayoumi was once the subject of an FBI counterterrorism investigation, prompted by allegations about him that appear to have been groundless. On the closing of the investigation, see FBI electronic communication, “Omar Ahmed Al Bayoumi,” June 7, 1999. Another possible source of suspicion is his passport, which contains a cachet that intelligence investigators associate with possible adherence to al Qaeda. It is a marking that can be obtained by especially devout Muslims. Although we believe the marking suggests the need for further inquiry, it is not the kind of fraudulent manipulation that would conclusively link the document with a terrorist organization. INS records, copy of Bayoumi passport; CIA analytic report, Al-Qaeda Travel Issues, CTC 2004-40002H, Nov. 14, 2003, pp. ii, 18.


24. The hijackers’ mode of transportation and the exact date of their arrival in San Diego are not known. On their locating Bayoumi on February 4 and his assistance, see Richard L. Lambert prepared statement, June 26, 2003, pp. 6–7; Omar al Bayoumi interview (Oct. 16–17, 2003); FBI report of investigation, interview of Omar al Bayoumi, Aug. 4–5, 2003. The rental application states that Hazmi and Mihdhar resided in Bayoumi’s apartment from January 15 to February 2, 2000, but Bayoumi denies it, and we have found no reason to dispute his denial. According to Bayoumi, he was in such a hurry to complete the rental transaction that he signed the application form without reading it. Bayoumi also denies receiving any money from Hazmi or Mihdhar for helping them with the apartment. Omar al Bayoumi interview (Oct. 16–17, 2003). On opening an account, see FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004, p. 12.

Contrary to highly publicized allegations, we have found no evidence that Hazmi or Mihdhar received money from another Saudi citizen, Osama Bassnan.

25. Omar al Bayoumi interview (Oct. 16–17, 2003). According to Bayoumi, he originally intended to hold the party at his own apartment, but moved it to the hijackers’ apartment when one of the guests created an awkward social circumstance by bringing his wife; Bayoumi solved the problem by having the friend’s wife stay with his own wife in Bayoumi’s apartment and moving the party to the hijackers’ residence. Bayoumi maintains that a visiting sheikh was the party’s principal honoree. Ibid. Although Bin Don has recalled that the party was intended to welcome Hazmi and Mihdhar to the community, this is belied by the hijackers’ apparent decision to sequester themselves in the back room, and by the account of another party attendee. Caysan Bin Don interview (Apr. 20, 2004); Khalid Abdulrab al Yafai interview (Feb. 24, 2004). Of the two operatives, only Mihdhar appears briefly on the video shot by Bin Don. Bayoumi videotape of party (provided by the FBI).

26. On the hijackers’ efforts to relocate, see Omar al Bayoumi interview (Oct. 16–17, 2003); Interview (Apr. 23, 2004); FBI report, “San Diego Brief to 9/11 Commission,” June 26, 2003, p. 17. Telephone records indicate that on February 9 and February 14, 2000, Bayoumi’s cell phone was used to call the landlord of the operatives’ acquaintance, Hashim al Attas, who had decided to vacate his apartment. On February 15, 2000, when the landlord returned a page from Bayoumi’s cell phone, Hazmi answered the phone. Steve O. interview (Nov. 17, 2003); FBI report of investigation, interview of George Harb, Oct. 30, 2001. Hazmi and Mihdhar appear to have used Bayoumi’s cell phone until telephone service (subscribed in Hazmi’s name) was installed in their apartment.

27. FBI report of investigation, interview of George Harb, Sept. 16, 2001. The hijackers may actually have lived in Attas’s apartment for a short while. Bayoumi has stated that he recalls hearing that Hazmi and Mihdhar moved into the apartment for two weeks but then returned to their original apartment while Bayoumi was in Washington, D.C. FBI report of investigation, interview of Omar al Bayoumi, Aug. 4–6, 2003. This account is confirmed by Attas’s girlfriend, who recalls that Attas met Mihdhar and Hazmi either through friends or at the mosque, and that the pair moved into Attas’s apartment for approximately two weeks before moving out and taking Attas’s furnishings with them. FBI report, “San Diego Brief to 9/11 Commission,” June 26, 2003, p. 18.

of the hijackers’ move to their final San Diego address are not altogether clear, as their landlord—who has been interviewed many times by the FBI and once by us—has provided various accounts of how he first met them. See also FBI electronic communication, Penttbom investigation, Oct. 3, 2001. On Mihdhar’s travels, see Interview (Apr. 23, 2004); FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004 (classified version), p. 46. On Hazmi’s departure, see FBI report, “San Diego Brief to 9/11 Commission,” June 26, 2003, p. 18.

29. On the purchase of the car, see FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Nov. 14, 2003 (citing Bank of America records). Law enforcement officials recovered the blue 1988 Toyota from the parking lot at Dulles International Airport on September 11. On the wire transfer, see FBI report of investigation, interview, Sept. 17, 2001. After 9/11, the mosque administrator came forward because he feared he had unwittingly aided the hijackers. He recalled Hazmi and Mihdhar arriving at the mosque on their own and describing themselves as clerks employed by the Saudi Arabian government. The two said they needed help finding a school where they could study English, which neither spoke well enough, in the administrator’s opinion, to permit them to become pilots. The administrator also suspected that Mihdhar might have been an intelligence agent of the Saudi government. After first declining Hazmi’s request for a loan, the administrator agreed to permit him to use the administrator’s bank account to receive the $5,000 wire transfer. Claiming to have been suspicious of the entire transaction, the administrator distanced himself from Hazmi and Mihdhar, but before they had received the assistance they needed. Ibid. We have no evidence contradicting the administrator’s account.


31. Even before learning of Abdullah’s alleged jailhouse conversations, we attempted to interview him in November 2003, while he was incarcerated and awaiting deportation. Through counsel, Abdullah refused to be interviewed unless he was released from custody. The U.S. Department of Justice declined to obtain an order of use immunity so that Abdullah’s testimony could be compelled. See Commission letter to Daniel Levin, DOJ, Dec. 31, 2003; DOJ letter, Daniel Levin to the Commission, Jan. 5, 2004. On Abdullah’s deportation, see FBI electronic communication, Abdullah investigation, July 1, 2004. Abdullah appears to be at liberty in Yemen, although he claims Yemeni authorities are watching him. H. G. Reza, “Deported Friend of Terrorists in Report,” Los Angeles Times, June 17, 2004, p. A31.


33. On Anwar Aulaqi, see Wade A. interview (Oct. 16, 2003). The FBI investigated Aulaqi in 1999 and 2000 after learning that he may have been contacted by a possible procurement agent for Bin Ladin. During this investigation, the FBI learned that Aulaqi knew individuals from the Holy Land Foundation and others involved in raising money for the Palestinian terrorist group Hamas. Sources alleged that Aulaqi had other extremist connections. FBI electronic communication, background searches, Feb. 3, 2000; FBI report of investigation, interview, Sept. 24, 2001; FBI electronic communication, interview, Oct. 8, 2002. None of this information was considered strong enough to support a criminal prosecution. For evidence of possible early contacts between Hazmi/Mihdhar and Aulaqi, see Steve O. interview (Nov. 17, 2003), noting that four calls took place between Aulaqi’s phone and Bayoumi’s phone on February 4, 2000, the day Bayoumi helped Hazmi and Mihdhar find an apartment and perhaps lent them his phone.

One witness remembered meeting Hazmi through Aulaqi and Mohdar Abdullah, and later meeting Mihdhar at Aulaqi’s mosque. This same witness recalled seeing Hazmi and Mihdhar in the guest room on the second floor of the mosque and, on one occasion, leaving the room just after Aulaqi, at the conclusion of a meeting. FBI reports of investigation, interviews of Samir Abdoun, Oct. 28, 2001; May 15, 2002; FBI report of investigation, interview of Anwar Aulaqi, Sept. 25, 2001; FBI electronic communication, Penttbom investigation, Sept. 15, 2002.


35. Aulaqi took a position at the Dar al Hijra mosque in early 2001. By the time we sought to interview him in 2003, he had left the United States, reportedly returning to Yemen. We attempted to locate and interview him in Yemen, working with U.S. agencies and the Yemeni government, as well as other governments that might have knowledge of his whereabouts. Those attempts were unsuccessful.

36. Whereas Hazmi managed to speak broken English, Mihdhar did not even have this much command of the language, which he appeared uninterested in learning. Interview (Apr. 23, 2004); FBI report of investigation, interview of Omar Bakarbashat, Sept. 17, 2001; FBI report of investigation, interview of Ramez Noaman, Oct. 1, 2001. On April 4, 2000, Hazmi took his first flying lesson, a one-hour introductory session at the National Air College in San Diego. Exactly one month later, Hazmi and Mihdhar purchased flight equipment from an instructor at the


40. Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Feb. 17, 2004; FBI report of investigation, interview, Sept. 24, 2001; FBI electronic communication, Pentbbom investigation, Sept. 15, 2001; FBI electronic communication, interview, July 26, 2002; Interview (Apr. 23, 2004); FBI electronic communication, Pentbbom investigation, Sept. 15, 2001. Both KSM and Khalid were aware of Hazmi’s interest in finding a bride, and KSM reportedly went so far as to promise Hazmi a monthly stipend of $700 in the event he succeeded in marrying. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Aug. 6, 2003; Jan. 9, 2004. Although Hazmi did not use his housemate’s telephone to make calls, he apparently received calls on it, including calls from an individual named Ashraf Suboh, who called the house 16 times between July 20 and November 18, 2000. Suboh’s name and address appear in a printed email recovered during searches at an al Qaeda site in Pakistan in May 2002. The document was dated Jan. 9, 2001, and included his name and a mailing address. FBI letterhead memorandum, San Diego investigation, July 2, 2002.

41. Salmi arrived in San Diego on August 7, 2000, and three days later moved into the house where Hazmi resided. Omar al Bayoumi—who reported (at least nominally) to Salmi’s uncle at the Saudi Civil Aviation ministry—found this accommodation for Salmi, although Salmi claims not to have known Bayoumi before coming to San Diego. FBI report of investigation, interview of Yazeed al Salmi, Oct. 8, 2001. On Salmi’s move to Abdullah’s house in La Mesa, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Salmi, Sept. 21, 2001. On possible financial links, see FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Nov. 14, 2003 (citing 265A-NY-280350-302, serial 59279); FBI electronic communication, Information and questions re Salmi interview, June 9, 2004; FBI report of investigation, interview of Salmi, June 17, 2004. For Salmi’s possible link to Hanjour, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Abdullah, July 23, 2002. We made efforts with the assistance of the FBI to interview Salmi, but without success. The FBI interviewed Salmi on its own in June 2004 but failed to ask about his reported childhood ties to Hanjour. FBI report of investigation interview of Yazeed al Salmi, June 14, 2004.

42. At KSM’s direction, Khalid notified Hazmi that another operative, who turned out to be Hanjour, would be joining Hazmi soon. Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, Feb. 17, 2004. On Hazmi’s work at the gas station and his statement about becoming famous, see FBI report of investigation, interview, May 21, 2002. The owner of the gas station, Osama Mustafa, and the manager of the station, Iyad Kreiwesh, have both been the subject of FBI counterterrorism investigations. The investigations did not yield evidence of criminal conduct. Thu­mary, the Saudi imam in Los Angeles, allegedly presided over Kreiwesh’s wedding at the King Fahd mosque, witnessed by Abdullah and Benomrane, likely around September 2000. FBI report of investigation, interview of Mohdar Abdullah, July 23, 2002; 4377 Parks Avenue, San Diego record, “Application to Rent and Rental Deposit,” Sept. 21, 2000.

43. On Hanjour’s travel to San Diego, see INS record, NIH record of Hanjour, Dec. 8, 2000. Hazmi’s housemate remembers him taking an unexplained trip to the San Diego airport around this time. FBI report of investigation, interview, Sept. 24, 2001. On Hanjour and Hazmi leaving San Diego and the visit to the gas station, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Mohdar Abdullah, Sept. 19, 2001. On Hazmi’s comment to his housemate, see Interview (Apr. 23, 2004). Although Hazmi’s housemate claims that the “Hani” whom Hazmi introduced him to is not the same person pictured in Hanjour’s photograph, we have little doubt that the housemate did in fact see Hanjour on the day he and Hazmi left San Diego. Ibid.; FBI electronic communication, Pentbbom investigation, Sept. 15, 2001.


45. For Shehhi’s arrival, see INS record, NIH record of Shehhi, May 29, 2000; Customs record, secondary inspection record of Shehhi, May 29, 2000. For Shehhi going to New York City, see FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Dec. 5, 2003 (May 30, 2000, entry citing Dresdner bank records). For Ata’s travel to the Czech Republic,


49. Adam Drucker interview (Jan. 12, 2004); wire transfer documents (provided by the FBI), pp. 6–37. Ali did provide identification for his initial wire transfer to Hazmi in April that, along with some contact information he provided when he made subsequent transfers, helped the FBI unravel his aliases after 9/11. Intelligence reports, interrogations of detainee, Feb. 11, 2004 (two reports).


Essabar may have been intended to replace Binalshibh. Like Atta, Shehhi, and Jarrah, Essabar obtained a new passport even though his old one was nearly a year from expiration, evidently to conceal his prior travel to Afghanistan during the first half of 2000. On December 12, 2000, and January 28, 2001—after Binalshibh’s four U.S. visa applications had been denied—Essabar made two unsuccessful U.S. visa applications, stating that he wished to visit the United States during the week of February 15, 2001. DOS records, Essabar visa applications, Dec. 12, 2000; Jan. 8, 2001. See Federal Prosecutor General (Germany), response to Commission letter, June 25, 2004, p. 14. Neither Binalshibh nor Essabar were denied visas based on terrorism concerns.


54. For KSM sending Moussaoui to Malaysia, see Intelligence Report, interrogation of KSM, Mar. 24, 2003. For Moussaoui not finding a flight school, see Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Jan. 22, 2002. For the ammonium nitrate purchase, see Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Apr. 9, 2002; Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Apr. 12, 2004. For the cargo planes operation, see Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Apr. 12, 2004. For KSM’s reaction, see Intelligence Report, interrogation of KSM, Mar. 24, 2003. For Moussaoui’s and Binalshibh’s trips and Moussaoui’s emails, see FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004 (classified version), p. 85. There are no witnesses who report that Moussaoui and Binalshibh actually met in London, but Moussaoui’s subsequent travel to Afghanistan implies that he received instructions from Binalshibh. See ibid., p. 86. Somewhere in his travels, Moussaoui obtained the funds he would bring to the United States. He declared $35,000 upon arrival on February 23, 2001, and he deposited $32,000 into a Norman, Oklahoma, bank account on February 26. FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004, p. 78.


We have seen no evidence of a familial relationship between Bandar al Hazmi and hijackers Nawaf al Hazmi and Salem al Hazmi. Tim T. interview (Jan. 5, 2004); Ken Williams interview (May 11, 2004). Bandar al Hazmi claims he met Hanjour in Florida, as they were both studying at the same English-language institute. FBI letterhead memorandum, investigation of Bandar al Hazmi, Jan. 15, 2002. Rayed Abdullah, who knew Bandar al Hazmi from high school, says he moved to Florida to become a commercial pilot after speaking with Bandar al Hazmi, and claims he met Hanjour upon arriving in Florida. FBI report of investigation, interview of Rayed Abdullah, Sept. 15, 2001; FBI letterhead memorandum, investigation of Abdullah Rayed Abdullah, Nov. 16, 2001, p. 8. This account is not credible, because Abdullah arrived in the United States on November 15, 1997, the day before Hanjour arrived. Ken Williams interview (May 11, 2004); FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Dec. 5, 2003 (citing 265A-NY-280350-NK, serial 1379). The three of them did attend language school together but not until after all three had arrived in the United States. FBI report of investigation, interview of Rayed Abdullah, Sept. 15, 2001. The Phoenix FBI office remains suspicious of Abdullah and Hazmi and their association with Hanjour. Ken Williams interview (May 11, 2004). (Williams is the FBI agent who authored what is referred to as the “Phoenix memo,” discussed in chapter 8.)

worked as a computer programmer in Arizona before resuming flight training during the summer of 2001. FBI report of investigation, interview of Rayed Abdullah, Sept. 16, 2001, p. 5.


58. Al Qaeda figures at the university or in Tucson included Mubarik al Duri, reportedly Bin Ladin's principal procurement agent for weapons of mass destruction; Muhammad Bayazid, an al Qaeda arms procurer and trainer; Wadi al Hage, an operative convicted for the East Africa bombings; and Wa'il Julaidan, a Saudi extremist with ties to al Qaeda. CIA and FBI joint analytic report, "Arizona: Long Term Nexus for Islamic Extremists," May 15, 2002, p. 3.


After he left the camps, Sharbi looked for his friend Hamdan al Shalawi, another student in Arizona, for a secret project. Shalawi reportedly trained in the camps in November 2000, learning how to conduct "Khorab Towers"—type attacks that he and a colleague planned to execute in Saudi Arabia. FBI electronic communication, investigation of Hamdan al Shalawi, Oct. 16, 2003, p. 2; Intelligence report, trace request on Shalawi, Nov. 27, 2000. Shalawi, however, denies this, claiming to have been studying in Arizona at the time, which neither the FBI nor we have been able to confirm. Shalawi was involved in a widely publicized incident in November 1999, when he and his friend Muhammed al Qudhaieen were detained because the crew of a cross-country America West flight reported that Qudhaieen had attempted to open the cockpit door on two occasions. FBI letterhead memorandum, Hamed al Sulami, July 25, 2002, p. 7. After the 9/11 attacks, FBI agents in Phoenix considered whether the incident was a "dry run" for the attacks. See, e.g., FBI letterhead memorandum, investigation of Fahad al Wahedi, Nov. 8, 2002, p. 4. In our interviews of Shalawi and Qudhaieen, they both claimed that Qudhaieen was only looking for the lavatory on the plane. Mohammad al Qudhaieen interview (Oct. 25, 2003); Hamdan al Shalawi interview (Oct. 22, 2003). Shalawi admits having gone to Afghanistan, but only once in the late 1980s after the war with the Soviet Union. Shalawi interview (Oct. 22, 2003).

Finally, another admitted associate of Hani Hanjour in Arizona, Hamed al Sulami, has had telephone contact with Sulayman al Alwan, a radical Saudi cleric from Qassim Province who was reported to be Abu Zubaydah's spiritual advisor and, as discussed later in this chapter, may have had a role in recruiting one or more of the muscle hijackers. FBI memorandum, investigation of Hamed al Sulami, Aug. 1, 2002, p. 2; FBI memorandum, investigation of Fahad al Wahedi, Nov. 8, 2002, p. 4; CIA analytic report, "The Plot and the Plotters," June 1, 2003, p. 27.

61. For Hanjour's meeting KSM, experience in the camp, and incorporation into the 9/11 operation, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004. It is unknown how Hanjour got to the camps or who may have directed him to go there. For new arrivals' procedures, see Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, May 15, 2003.

62. For Hanjour returning home and obtaining a visa, see DOS records, visa applications for Hanjour, Sept. 10, 2000; Sept. 25, 2000. For Hanjour's statement to his family, see Intelligence report, interviews of Saudi hijackers' families, Dec. 22, 2001. For the meeting, see Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Jan. 7, 2004.


64. For Hanjour's refresher training, see FBI report, "Hijackers Timeline," Dec. 5, 2003 (Dec. 13, 2000, entry citing 265A-NY-280350-IN, serial 29652). For his desire to train on multi-engine planes, his language difficulties, the instructor's advice, and his reaction, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Rodney McAlear, Apr. 10,


66. For Jarrah’s trip to Beirut and return trip with Senguen, see FBI letterhead memorandum, profile of Jarrah, Mar. 20, 2002. For Senguen accompanying Jarrah to flight training, see German BKA report, investigative summary re Jarrah, July 18, 2002, p. 60. According to Binalshibh, Senguen visited Jarrah in order to verify that he actually was studying to become a pilot. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, June 9, 2004. For Jarrah’s second trip to Beirut and visiting Senguen, see FBI letterhead memorandum, profile of Jarrah, Mar. 20, 2002; FBI electronic communication, Penttbom investigation, Sept. 18, 2001, p. 5.


69. Reports that Atta was in the Prague airport on May 30–31, 2000, and that he was turned back because he lacked a visa appear to be a case of mistaken identity: a Pakistani traveler with a name similar to Atta’s attempted to enter the Czech Republic from Saudi Arabia via Germany but was forced to return to Germany because he lacked a valid Czech visa. CIA cable, report re traveler to Prague, Dec. 8, 2001.

70. For Czech source reporting and credibility assessment, see CIA briefing (Jan. 28, 2004); Eliska T. interview (May 20, 2004). For the information being reported to CIA, see CIA briefing (Jan. 28, 2004). For the leak and the ministers’ statements, see CIA briefing (Jan. 28, 2004); Shirley interview (Apr. 29, 2004). On April 4, 2001, Atta cashed an $8,000 check at a bank in Virginia Beach; he appears on a bank surveillance tape. For FBI evidence of Atta being in Virginia Beach, see FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Dec. 5, 2003 (Apr. 4, 2001, entry citing 265A-NY-280350-302-615, 688, 896, 898). For FBI evidence of Atta being in Coral Springs, see ibid. (Apr. 11, 2001, entries citing 265A-NY-280350-302, serial 381; 265A-NY-280350-MM, serials 3817, 5214). For Czech government finding no evidence of Atta’s presence and having evidence that Ani was not in Prague, see CIA briefing (Jan. 28, 2004). Aside from scrutinizing various official records, the Czech government also reviewed surveillance photos taken outside the Iraqi embassy. CIA briefing (Jan. 28, 2004); Shirley interview (Apr. 29, 2004). None of the people photographed that day resembled Atta, although the surveillance only operated from 8:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. CIA cable, review of surveillance photos, Feb. 27, 2002. For Ani’s denials of any meetings and request to superiors, see CIA briefing (Jan. 28, 2004); Intelligence report, interrogation of Ahmad Khalil Ibrahim Samir al Ani, Oct. 1, 2003. For KSM’s denial of the meeting, see Shirley interview (Apr. 29, 2004). Binalshibh has stated that Atta and...
he were so close that Atta probably would have told him of a meeting with an Iraqi official. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Oct. 2, 2002. Binalshibh also stated that Bin Ladin was upset with Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein for committing atrocities against Iraqi Muslims, and that Bin Ladin would never have approved such a meeting. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Oct. 4, 2002. For Atta not using an alias during his July 2001 trip, see FBI memo, Penttbom investigation, Jan. 14, 2002.

71. Atta was admitted as a tourist for an eight-month stay, even though the legal limit for tourists is six months. Shehhi was admitted for a four-month “business” stay. The Atta and Shehhi applications to change status were ultimately adjudicated on July 17 and August 9, 2001. Each received until October 1, 2001, to complete his studies. For Atta’s INS inspection, see INS records, NIS record of Atta, Jan. 10, 2001; copy of Atta’s Egyptian passport; Atta’s inspection results; student/school form presented by Atta; primary and secondary inspectors interviews (Mar. 25, 2004). For Shehhi’s INS inspection, see INS records, NIS record of Shehhi, Jan. 18, 2001; Shehhi’s inspection results; primary inspector interview (Mar. 26, 2004); secondary inspector interview (Mar. 22, 2004).


75. The apartment was already occupied by two other individuals. The al Qaeda operatives spent little time with their roommates, but did mention at one point that they had considered going to Afghanistan for jihadi. FBI report of investigation, interview of Ahmad Ahmad, Oct. 4, 2002. For Hazmi and Hanjour meeting Rababah, see FBI electronic communication, request for interviews of certain individuals, Aug. 6, 2002. For Rababah seeking work at the mosque, his meeting them, and his assistance in finding them an apartment, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Eyad al Rababah, June 10, 2002. For Hazmi and Hanjour renting the apartment, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Derar Mohammed Saleh, Jan. 16, 2003.

76. For FBI agents’ suspicions, see Jim B. interview (Nov. 6, 2003). Rababah was reluctant to admit meeting the hijackers at the mosque and initially told a story about meeting them for the first time at a store. Rababah attributed his initial prevarication to wanting to protect the mosque from anti-Arab sentiment following September 11. FBI report of investigation, interview of Eyad al Rababah, June 10, 2002; Robert B. interview (Nov. 6, 2003). For Rababah’s deportation, see Peter A. interview (Oct. 10, 2003).


80. For Omari’s arrest, see FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Dec. 5, 2003 (citing 265A-NY-


83. For a description of the muscle hijackers, see CIA analytic report, “The Plot and the Plotters,” June 1, 2003, pp. 34–52.


85. Intelligence reports, interviews of Saudi hijackers’ families, Dec. 22, 2001; July 17, 2002; Saudi Arabian Mabahith briefing (Oct. 17, 2003) (disclosing that two of the muscle hijackers had married shortly before joining the plot and only one, Wail al Shehri, was employed, as a physical education teacher).

86. CIA analytic report, “The Plot and the Plotters,” June 1, 2003, p. 25.

87. Ibid.


91. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan 7, 2004. Khalid agrees about the recruit pool, but also argues that operatives’ ethnicity was important for symbolic reasons, citing the Nairobi and Dar es Salaam embassy bombings and the planes operation as examples. In the planes operation, Khalid claims Bin Ladin chose operatives from strong tribal areas of Saudi Arabia and chose two Saudi Arabian Mabahith briefing (Oct. 17, 2003). Also on May 2, Atta and two unidentified companions appeared at the Miami District Immigration Office, where an inspector reduced Atta’s authorized length of stay by two months, correcting the mistake made back in January. Interview of inspector (Mar. 25, 2004).


94. For trainer’s comments, see Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Feb. 8, 2002. For Omari’s, Ghamdi’s, and Shehri’s backgrounds, see CIA analytic report, “The Plot and the Plotters,” June 1, 2003, p. 27; Intelligence reports, interviews of Saudi hijackers’ families, Dec. 22, 2001; July 17, 2002.

95. CIA analytic report, “The Plot and the Plotters,” June 1, 2003, p. 26; Intelligence reports, interviews of Saudi hijackers families, Dec. 22, 2001; July 17, 2002. According to Saudi authorities, a substantial number of the hijackers isolated themselves and became religious only within a few months of leaving the Kingdom. All but Ahmad al Haznawi, who called his aunt to inquire about his sick mother, ceased contact with their families about six months before the attacks. Saudi Arabian Mabahith briefing (Oct. 17, 2003).


edge that the commander of al Faruq training camp was known to urge trainees to swear bayat. Moreover, peer pressure certainly appears to have been a factor in swaying recruits to choose “martyrdom.” Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 30, 2004.


106. Only the passports of Satam al Suqami and Abdul Aziz al Omari were recovered after 9/11. Both had been doctoroed. According to KSM, two hijacker passports were damaged in the doctoring process. These may have belonged to Saeed al Ghamdi and Ahmed al Nami, as both acquired new passports and new U.S. visas, although the old visas were still valid. Of the hijacker visa applications, we were able to review, all were incomplete. Tourist visas were granted anyway. On obtaining “clean” passports and the two damaged passports, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 3, 2003; Sept. 9, 2003. Wail and Waleed al Shehri had a family member in the Saudi passport office who provided them with new passports for their trip to the United States. See CIA analytic report, Al Qaeda Travel Issues, CTC 2004-40002H, Jan. 2004, p. 12.

107. Intelligence report, interrogation of Khallad, Apr. 5, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Mar. 20, 2004. The candidate operatives were


2. Khalid Saeed Ahmad al Zahrani. He traveled to Afghanistan illegally after being prohibited by Saudi authorities from leaving Saudi Arabia. After being assigned to a mission in the U.S., he secretly reentered the Kingdom but failed in an attempt to have his name removed from the list of prohibited travelers so that he could obtain a U.S. visa. See Intelligence reports, interrogations of detainee, Apr. 20, 2002; Oct. 4, 2002; Apr. 3, 2003.

3. Ali Abd al Rahman al Faqasi al Ghamdi. (aka Abu Bakr al Azdi) He reportedly was to have been part of the planes operation but was held in reserve by Bin Ladin for a later, even larger operation. Like other muscle hijackers, he reportedly set out for Chechnya but diverted to Afghanistan. See Intelligence reports, interrogations of Abu Bakr al Azdi, July 23, 2003; Sept. 25, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Nov. 6, 2003.

4. Saeed al Baluchi and Qutaybah al Najdi. Both were sent to Saudi Arabia via Bahrain, where Najdi was stopped and briefly questioned by airport security officials. Both were so frightened by the experience that they withdrew from the operation. KSM urged Baluchi to obtain a U.S. visa, but Baluchi refused, fearing that he might be watchlisted at the U.S. embassy. See Intelligence report, interrogation of Khallad, July 9, 2003; Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Mar. 27, 2003; July 3, 2003; Feb. 20, 2004.

5. Zuhair al Thubaiti: He has reportedly admitted membership in al Qaeda, stating “proudly” that
he was among a select number of operatives who had the personal endorsement of Bin Laden. He was not ultimately selected for the 9/11 attacks because the al Qaeda leadership considered him too high-strung and lacking the necessary temperament. CIA analytic report, “Threat Threads,” Sept. 16, 2002, p. 3; Intelligence reports, interrogations of detainee, May 21, 2002; June 17, 2002; June 20, 2002; Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004 (two reports).

7. Saeed Abdullah Saeed ("Jihad") al Ghamdi. He arranged to travel to Afghanistan in March 2000, swore allegiance to Bin Laden (agreeing to serve as a suicide operative), and was sent to Saudi Arabia by KSM with 9/11 hijacker Ahmad al Haznawi to obtain a U.S. visa, but his visa application was denied because he appeared to be intending to immigrate. DOS record, Ghamdi visa application, Nov. 13, 2000. CIA analytic report, “Threat Threads,” Sept. 16, 2002, p. 4; Intelligence reports, interrogations of detainee, Apr. 11, 2002; Sept. 11, 2002; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004.

8. Saud al Rashid. Describing him as headstrong and immature, KSM says he disappeared after being sent to Saudi Arabia for a U.S. visa, either because he had second thoughts or because his family interceded and confiscated his passport. Passport photos of Rashid and three 9/11 hijackers—Nawaf al Hazmi, Mihdhar, and Omari—were found together during a May 2002 raid in Karachi. After discovery of the photos in 2002, Rashid turned himself in to the Saudi authorities, but he has since been released from custody. In a Commission interview, he has admitted training in Afghanistan but denies hearing of al Qaeda before returning from Afghanistan or meeting Bin Laden, KSM, or any 9/11 hijacker other than Ahmad al Haznawi, whom he claims seeing only once or twice at a guesthouse. He has no credible explanation why photos of him were found with those of three other hijackers, or why others identified him as a candidate hijacker. See Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Mar. 27, 2003; June 11, 2003; July 3, 2003; Feb. 20, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of Khallad, July 9, 2003; Saud al Rashid interview (Feb. 24, 2004).

9. Mushabib al Hamlan. Sent to Saudi Arabia to acquire a U.S. visa, he and his travel companion, 9/11 hijacker Ahmed al Nami, both applied for and received visas on October 28, 2000. Hamlan never returned to Afghanistan, probably dropping out either because he changed his mind or because his family intervened. In December 1999, while still in high school in Saudi Arabia, Hamlan became involved with a group that gathered periodically to watch jihad propaganda tapes, and was encouraged by a mentor named Bandar Marui to pursue jihad, especially as practiced in the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Russian-Afghan wars and a book titled Gladiator of Passion. As instructed, Hamlan acquired a passport, on February 15, 2000, and agreed to go to Afghanistan after the hajj in mid-March 2000. He and two travel companions obtained Pakistani visas in Sharjah, UAE, and traveled to Islamabad, where al Qaeda facilitator Hassan Ghul took them to a guesthouse managed by Abu Zubaydah. Days later, two men helped Hamlan cross the Afghanistan border. At the Khaldan camp, Hamlan received military training courses. Upon hearing that the camp was to be closed, he and others traveled to al Faruq camp near Kandahar, where they received more training. He also met and proclaimed allegiance to Bin Laden at this time. Injured during a further training session, Hamlan was assigned to guard the airport, where he met future hijacker Ahmed al Nami (whose recent laser eye surgery had interrupted his training). An individual named Abu Basir al Yemeni indoctrinated the two in Bin Laden’s anti-U.S. position and extolled the virtues of martyrdom. Hamlan and Nami eventually agreed to approach Abu Hafs al Mauritani about participating in a suicide operation. The day after visiting Abu Hafs, Hamlan and Nami heard from Abu Basir that Bin Laden was planning an attack against the United States. After taking their passports, Abu Basir arranged for Hamlan and Nami to meet Bin Laden and instructed them to use the following phrase to express their desire to become martyrs: “I want to be one of this religion’s bricks and glorify this religion.” The al Qaeda leader accepted both applicants. In October 2000, Abu Basir took Hamlan and Nami to Kandahar to meet KSM, who impressed on them the high expectations for martyrs and instructed them on using coded telephone numbers. He returned their passports, which had been altered and now contained forged tourism stamps for Singapore, Malaysia, Turkey, and Egypt. KSM told them to meet with Atef before returning to Saudi Arabia, where they should contact hijacker future 9/11 hijacker Waleed al Shehri for additional documentation. After meeting with Atef, Hamlan and Nami traveled by car and by air to an address KSM had given them in Tehran, where arrangements were made for them to fly to Qatar. From Qatar they traveled onward to the UAE and then to Mecca. Nami contacted KSM and received coded instructions to go to Jeddah, call Waleed al Shehri, and obtain visas at the U.S. consulate. In Jeddah, they briefly shared an apartment with Shehri, who provided them with directions to the consulate and showed them how to fill out the visa application. After acquiring visas, Hamlan and Nami presented their passports to Shehri for inspection and returned to Mecca. Nami called KSM, who told them to return to Afghanistan the next day. Despite instructions to the contrary, Hamlan insisted on calling his family before leaving Saudi Arabia because he had begun to have second thoughts after acquiring the visa. Told by his brother that their mother had fallen ill, Hamlan decided not to return to Afghanistan even after Nami reminded him of his
allegiance to Bin Ladin and commitment to complete the suicide mission. In Riyadh, he told his brothers that he had been on jihad in Chechnya. Fearing that they might ask for his passport, he removed the U.S. visa—as later confirmed by forensic analysis performed by Saudi authorities. Hamlan returned to college and resumed living with his parents, who confiscated his passport.

Thereafter, Hamlan received a visit at the college from a former associate at al Faruq camp, Khalid al Zahran, who asked why he had not returned to Afghanistan. Zahran admitted having been sent by KSM to convince Hamlan to return to Afghanistan. Hamlan never did. Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Mar. 16, 2003.

10. Abderraouf Jdey, a.k.a. Faruq al Tunis. A Canadian passport holder, he may have trained in Afghanistan with Khalid al Mihdhar and Nawaf al Hazmi and received instruction from KSM with Atta and Binalshibh. A letter recovered from a safehouse in Pakistan, apparently written by Sayf al Adl, also suggests that Jdey was initially part of the 9/11 operation at the same time as the Hamburg group. A videotape of Jdey’s martyrdom statement was found in the rubble of Ataf’s house near Kabul following a November 2001 airstrike, together with a martyrdom video of Binalshibh. While both Binalshibh and Khalid confirm Jdey’s status as an al Qaeda recruit, KSM says Jdey was slated for a “second wave” of attacks but had dropped out by the summer of 2001 while in Canada. FBI briefing (June 24, 2004); Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Sept. 11, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of Khalid, May 21, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 1, 2003.


110. On the facilitator’s comments, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of detainee, Sept. 14, 2002; Oct. 3, 2002; May 5, 2003 (two reports), in which he claims also to have assisted the Hamburg pilots and Binalshibh. On KSM’s funding of the hijackers, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, June 15, 2004; July 25, 2003.

111. On Ali’s role and the transit of the hijackers, see Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Feb. 12, 2004. According to the detainee, the operatives arrived with their own money to buy plane tickets and anything else they needed. Ali referred them to places where they could obtain travelers checks. He also helped Ahmed al Ghamdi, one of the earliest operatives to transit Dubai, acquire a mobile phone account so that the operatives could use that number as a travel agency point of contact. Ibid.


113. Intelligence reports, interrogations of detainee, May 6, 2003; Jan. 8, 2004. See also Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Sept. 11, 2003. Hawsawi’s role as financial facilitator appears to have begun when he and hijacker Banihammad opened bank accounts at the same UAE bank while Banihammad was his way to the United States. Banihammad, who was from the UAE, was familiar with the country’s procedures and helped Hawsawi complete his account application. Banihammad gave Hawsawi roughly $3,000 and granted him power of attorney over his account so that Hawsawi could forward the bank card to him in the United States. After Banihammad arrived in the United States, Hawsawi deposited $4,900 into the account. FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004, p. 29.

114. All but 2 of the 15 muscle hijackers were admitted as tourists, affording a six-month stay in the United States (except in the case of Mihdhar, who received four months). The first pair to arrive were Waleed al Shehri (Flight 11) and Satam al Suqami (Flight 11), who flew from the UAE to London and arrived in Orlando on April 23, 2001, where Atta most likely met them. Suqami was admitted as a business visitor, allowing him only a one-month stay and thus making him an illegal overstayer by May 21, 2001. INS records, NIFS records of Waleed al Shehri and Satam al Suqami, Apr. 23, 2001. Suqami was the only hijacker not to obtain a U.S. identification document.


Hamza al Ghamdi (Flight 175), Mohand al Shehri (Flight 175), and Ahmed al Nami (Flight 93) arrived in Miami on May 28, 2001. INS records, NIIS records of Hamza al Ghamdi, Mohand al Shehri, and Ahmed al Nami, May 28, 2001. The three had taken a flight from London after starting out in Dubai. Atta probably picked up the group at the airport, having rented a Ford Explorer for the day. Shehri and Nami gave the Sheraton in Miami as their intended destination, but do not appear to have stayed there. Marwan al Shehhi helped them settle in Florida.


The remaining hijackers entered the United States through New York. Salem al Hazmi (Flight 77) and Omari (Flight 11) arrived at JFK on June 29, 2001, from Dubai with a connection in Zurich. INS records, arrival records of Salem al Hazmi and Omari, June 29, 2001. They likely were picked up by Salem’s older brother Nawaf—who was then living in Paterson, New Jersey, with Hani Hanjour—the following day, for on June 30, Nawaf had a minor car accident traveling eastbound on the George Washington Bridge, toward JFK. FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Dec. 5, 2003 (citing Bern EC Sept. 15, 2001; INS NIIS report; 265A-NY-280350-302, serial 7134; 265A-NY-280350-HQ, serial 11297; Bern EC (Omari PNR, Swiss Air); 265A-NY-280350-302, serial 60839). On Salem al Hazmi in the Paterson apartment, see FBI report of investigation, interview of Jimi Nouri, Oct. 6, 2001, p. 5.


116. In some cases, bank employees completed the Social Security number fields on the new account application with a hijacker’s date of birth or visa control number, but did so on their own to complete the form. Adam Drucker interview (Jan. 12, 2004). Contrary to persistent media reports, no financial institution filed a Suspicious Activity Report (SAR)—which U.S. law requires banks to file within 30 days of a suspicious transaction—with respect to any transaction of any of 19 hijackers before 9/11. A number of banks did file SARs after 9/11, when the hijackers’ names became public. Adam Drucker interview (Jan. 12, 2004); James Sloan interview (Nov. 14, 2003). Nor should SARs have been filed. The hijackers’ transactions themselves were not extraordinary or remarkable. See Commission analysis of financial transactions; Adam Drucker interview (Jan. 12, 2004); Dennis Lormel interview (Jan. 16, 2004).


118. Intelligence reports, interrogations of detainee, Nov. 27, 2001; Feb. 5, 2002.


130. Ibid., pp. 29–41.


135. FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Dec. 5, 2003 (citing 315N-NY-280350-302, serial 7228; 315N-NY-280350-F, serial 99; 315N-NY-280350-NK, serial 263). Documents from Sawyer Aviation in Phoenix, Arizona, show Hanjour joining the flight simulator club on June 23, 2001, with Faisal al Salmi, Rayed Abdullah, and Lotfi Raissi. FBI report of investigation, interview of Jennifer Stangel, Sept. 14, 2001. But the documents are inconclusive, as there are no invoices or payment records for Hanjour, while such documents do exist for the other three. FBI memo, Penttbom investigation, Oct. 7, 2001; FBI memo, Penttbom investigation, summary of dispatch sheets, Oct. 12, 2001; Don W. and Steve B. interview (Jan. 6, 2004). One Sawyer employee identified Hanjour as being there during the time period, though she was less than 100 percent sure. FBI report of investigation, interview of Tina Arnold, Oct. 17, 2001. Another witness identified Hanjour as being with Salmi in the Phoenix area during the summer of 2001. FBI letterhead memorandum, investigation of Lotfi Raissi, Jan. 4, 2004, p. 18. Documentary evidence for Hanjour, however, shows that he was in New Jersey for most of June, and no travel records have been recovered showing that he returned to Arizona after leaving with Hazmi in March. Nevertheless, the FBI’s Phoenix office believes it plausible that Hanjour returned to Arizona for additional training. FBI electronic communication, Penttbom investigation, Feb. 19, 2002.


137. CIA cable, communications analysis, Sept. 11, 2003.


140. For Binalshibh moving the muscle hijackers, see Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, June 9, 2004. According to Binalshibh, he took each of the muscle hijackers shopping for clothes and set them up with email accounts during their time in Karachi. Ibid. For meeting with Atta and Bin Ladin, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Binalshibh, Sept. 24, 2002; Feb. 18, 2004. Binalshibh has provided inconsistent information about who else was present during his meeting with Bin Ladin. In one interview, Binalshibh claimed he attended two different meetings, one of which was attended by Bin Ladin, Atef, KSM, and Abu Turab al Jordani, and the second of which was attended just by Bin Ladin, Atef, and KSM. More recently, however, Binalshibh has mentioned only one meeting and has claimed he alone met with Bin Ladin because Atef and KSM were busy with other matters. Compare Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Dec. 11, 2002, with Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Feb. 18, 2004.
In September 2003, the Spanish government, in an indictment of the Spanish cell members, relied on three main points. First, a 1997 trip to the United States by Ghasoub al Abrash Ghalyoun, a Syrian living in Spain. During this trip, Ghalyoun filmed a number of U.S. landmarks, including the World Trade Center. The Spanish indictment alleged that an al Qaeda courier was in Ghalyoun’s town in Spain shortly after the trip and that the courier probably delivered the tape to al Qaeda leaders in Afghanistan. Second, the Spanish government contends that during the relevant time period, an individual named Muhammed Belfatmi was near the town where the Atta-Binalshibh meeting took place. Finally, Spanish authorities rely on an intercepted telephone conversation between cell leader Imad Eddin Barakar Yarkas and an individual named “Shakur” in August 2001, in which “Shakur” describes himself as entering “the field of aviation” and “slitting the throat of the bird.” “Shakur” has been identified by Spanish authorities as Farid Hilali. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that other facts will come to light as the Spanish case progresses to trial, we have not found evidence that individuals in Spain participated in the July meeting or in the 9/11 attacks. In an indictment of the Spanish cell members dated September 17, 2003, the Spanish government relies on three main points. First, a 1997 trip to the United States by Ghasoub al Abrash Ghalyoun, a Syrian living in Spain. During the trip, Ghalyoun videotaped a number of U.S. landmarks, including the World Trade Center. The Spanish indictment alleges that an al Qaeda courier was in Ghalyoun’s town in Spain shortly after the trip and that the courier probably delivered the tape to al Qaeda leaders in Afghanistan. Second, the Spanish government contends that during the relevant time period, an individual named Muhammed Belfatmi was near the town where the Atta-Binalshibh meeting took place. Finally, Spanish authorities rely on an intercepted telephone conversation between cell leader Imad Eddin Barakar Yarkas and an individual named “Shakur” in August 2001, in which “Shakur” describes himself as entering “the field of aviation” and “slitting the throat of the bird.” “Shakur” has been identified by Spanish authorities as Farid Hilali. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that other facts will come to light as the Spanish case progresses to trial, we have not found evidence that individuals in Spain participated in the July meeting or in the 9/11 plot. See Baltasar Garzon interview (Feb. 13, 2004); Intelligence report, Central Investigating Court No. 5, Madrid, Sept. 17, 2003, pp. 151–200, 315–366; Superseding Indictment, Central Investigating Court No. 5, Madrid, April 28, 2004.

Although U.S. authorities have not uncovered evidence that anyone met with Atta or Binalshibh in Spain in July 2001, Spanish investigators contend that members of the Spanish al Qaeda cell were involved in the July meeting and were connected to the 9/11 attacks. In an indictment of the Spanish cell members dated September 17, 2003, the Spanish government relies on three main points. First, a 1997 trip to the United States by Ghasoub al Abrash Ghalyoun, a Syrian living in Spain. During the trip, Ghalyoun videotaped a number of U.S. landmarks, including the World Trade Center. The Spanish indictment alleges that an al Qaeda courier was in Ghalyoun’s town in Spain shortly after the trip and that the courier probably delivered the tape to al Qaeda leaders in Afghanistan. Second, the Spanish government contends that during the relevant time period, an individual named Muhammed Belfatmi was near the town where the Atta-Binalshibh meeting took place. Finally, Spanish authorities rely on an intercepted telephone conversation between cell leader Imad Eddin Barakar Yarkas and an individual named “Shakur” in August 2001, in which “Shakur” describes himself as entering “the field of aviation” and “slitting the throat of the bird.” “Shakur” has been identified by Spanish authorities as Farid Hilali. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that other facts will come to light as the Spanish case progresses to trial, we have not found evidence that individuals in Spain participated in the July meeting or in the 9/11 plot. See Baltasar Garzon interview (Feb. 13, 2004); Intelligence report, Central Investigating Court No. 5, Madrid, Sept. 17, 2003, pp. 151–200, 315–366; Superseding Indictment, Central Investigating Court No. 5, Madrid, April 28, 2004.

114. On Binalshibh’s meeting with Bin Ladin, Intelligence reports, interrogations of Binalshibh, Dec. 11, 2002; Sept. 24, 2002; Feb. 18, 2004; Apr. 7, 2004. KSM claims that the White House and the Capitol were both acceptable targets and had been on the list since the spring of 1999. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Apr. 2, 2004. On Binalshibh’s receipt of money, Intelligence reports, interrogations of Binalshibh, Oct. 23, 2002; Dec. 11, 2002. In one report, Binalshibh says that Atef provided him with $3,000; in another he claims it was $5,000.
118. Intelligence reports, interrogations of Binalshibh, Mar. 7, 2003; Oct. 11, 2003. Binalshibh since has denied that the term electrical engineering was used to refer to a potential nuclear target despite having said so earlier. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Sept. 11, 2003. KSM has admitted that he considered targeting a nuclear power plant as part of his initial proposal for the planes operation. See chapter 5.2. He has also stated that Atta included a nuclear plant in his preliminary target list, but that Bin Ladin decided to drop that idea. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Mar. 12, 2002.
122. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Oct. 31, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Nov. 1, 2003. KSM may also have intended to include these documents as part of the historical file he maintained about the 9/11 operation. He says the file included letters and email communications among those involved with the attacks, but was lost in Afghanistan when he fled after September 11. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Oct. 15, 2003.
127. According to Binalshibh, Jarrah was not aware of Moussaoui or the wire transfers. Intelligence reports,


161. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, July 1, 2003; July 8, 2003. In addition to Moussaoui, the two al Qaeda operatives identified by KSM as candidates for the second wave of attacks were Abderraatuf Jdey, a.k.a. Faruq al Tunis (a Canadian passport holder, discussed earlier as a candidate hijacker) and Zaini Zakaria, a.k.a. Mussa (a Jemaah Islamiah member who worked in Hambali’s Malaysia stronghold and was directed by Atef to enroll in flight training sometime in 2000, according to KSM). Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, July 8, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of Hambali, Mar. 4, 2004.

162. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Apr. 17, 2003. According to Binalshibh, KSM said that the operative had been raised and educated in Europe and that his arrest resulted, at least in part, from his having been insufficiently discreet. KSM identified this operative as an exception in Bin Laden’s overall record of selecting the right people for the 9/11 attacks. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Dec. 18, 2002. Subsequently, however, Binalshibh has sought, somewhat incredibly, to exculpate a host of individuals, including Moussaoui, from complicity in the 9/11 plot. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Apr. 2, 2004.


165. FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Dec. 5, 2003 (citing 315N-NY-280350–302, serial 14139; Boston electronic communication). The communications were recovered from materials seized during the March 2003 capture of KSM. For background, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Aug. 13, 2002 (two cables); Intelligence report, documents captured with KSM, Sept. 24, 2003.

166. Intelligence reports, interrogation of KSM, Aug. 12, 2003. Binalshibh, however, has denied that law and politics referred to two separate targets; he claims that both terms referred to the U.S. Capitol, even though in the context of the exchange it seems clear that two different targets were contemplated. Intelligence report, interrogations of Binalshibh, Sept. 11, 2003 (two reports).


170. FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004, pp. 52–57. Hanjour successfully conducted a challenging certification flight supervised by an instructor at Congressional Air Charters of Gaithersburg, Maryland, landing at a small airport with a difficult approach. The instructor thought Hanjour may have trained in flight during the Summer with his use of a terrain recognition system for navigation. Eddie Shalev interview (Apr. 9, 2004).


173. On KSM’s receipt of date of attacks, see Intelligence report, interrogations of KSM and Binalshibh, May 27, 2003. Although Binalshibh also has claimed that he called KSM with the date after receiving the information from Atta, KSM insists that he learned of the date in a letter delivered by Essabar, and that it would have been a serious breach of communications security to communicate the date over the phone. Intelligence reports, interrogations of Binalshibh, Oct. 1, 2002; Dec. 17, 2002. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Feb. 20, 2004. Most
recently, Binalshibh has claimed that he neither called nor sent a letter to KSM, but rather passed a verbal message via Essabar. Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Apr. 8, 2004. On Binalshibh’s communication to Essabar, see Intelligence reports, interrogations of Binalshibh, Dec. 17, 2002; Nov. 6, 2003; Apr. 8, 2004.


180. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004; Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, June 27, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, Feb. 5, 2002. KSM also says that he and Atef were so concerned about this lack of discretion that they urged Bin Ladin not to make any additional remarks about the plot. According to KSM, only Bin Ladin, Atef, Abu Turab al Jordani, Binalshibh, and a few of the senior hijackers knew the specific targets, timing, operatives, and methods of attack. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Oct. 27, 2003; Feb. 23, 2004. Indeed, it was not until midsummer that Egyptian Islamic Jihad leader Ayman al Zawahiri learned of the operation, and only after his group had cemented its alliance with al Qaeda and Zawahiri had become Bin Ladin’s deputy. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004.


182. On Omar’s opposition, see, e.g., Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, May 30, 2002, in which the detainee says that when Bin Ladin returned after the general alert during July, he spoke to his confidants about Omar’s unwillingness to allow an attack against the United States to originate from Afghanistan. See also Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Oct. 27, 2003. There is some discrepancy about the position of Zawahiri. According to KSM, Zawahiri believed in following the injunction of Mullah Omar not to attack the United States; other detainees, however, have said that Zawahiri was squarely behind Bin Ladin. Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, June 20, 2002; Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, June 27, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of detainee, June 27, 2003; Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Sept. 26, 2003.


184. Intelligence reports, interrogations of KSM, Oct. 27, 2003; Sept. 27, 2003, in which KSM also says Bin Ladin had sworn bayat to Omar upon first moving to Afghanistan, following the Shura Council’s advice. KSM claims he would have disobeyed even had the council ordered Bin Ladin to cancel the operation. Intelligence report, interrogation of KSM, Jan. 9, 2004.


188. FBI report, “Hijackers Timeline,” Dec. 5, 2003 (citing 315N–NY–280350, serial 3112; Western Union records; 315N–NY–280350–302, serials 28398, 37864). In addition, Nawaf al Hazmi attempted to send Hawaswi the debit card for Mihdhar’s bank account, which still contained approximately $10,000. The package containing the card was intercepted after the FBI found the Express Mail receipt for it in Hazmi’s car at Dulles Airport on 9/11. FBI report, “Summary of Penttbom Investigation,” Feb. 29, 2004, p. 61.


SD, serial 1522; 315N-NY-280350-302, serials 16597, 5029, 6072, 11098, 11114, 11133, 4119; 315N-NY-280350-BS, serials 349, 19106, 16624; 315N-NY-280350-C3, serial 373; 315N-NY-280350, serials 7441, 21340; 315N-NY-280350-AT, serial 135). There have been many speculations about why Atta scheduled the Portland flight. Although he may have believed that security was more relaxed at the smaller airport, he and Omari had to pass through security again at Logan. Ibid. (citing 315N-NY-280350-BS, serial 2909). Interrogation of detainees has produced no solid explanation for the trip. See, e.g., Intelligence report, interrogation of Binalshibh, Mar. 3, 2004.


8 “The System Was Blinking Red”

1. Beginning in December 1999, these briefings were conducted based on slides created by the CIA’s Bin Ladin unit. See Richard interview (Dec. 11, 2003). We were able to review the slides to identify the subjects of the respective briefings.

2. The exact number of persons who receive the PDB varies by administration. In the Clinton administration, up to 25 people received the PDB. In the Bush administration, distribution in the pre-9/11 time period was limited to six people. The Commission received access to about four years of articles from the PDB related to Bin Ladin, al Qaeda, the Taliban, and key countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia, including all the Commission requested. The White House declined to permit all commissioners to review these sensitive documents. The Commission selected four representatives—the Chair, the Vice Chair, Commissioner Gorelick, and the Executive Director—as its review team. All four reviewed all of the more than 300 relevant articles. Commissioner Gorelick and the Executive Director prepared a detailed summary reviewed by the White House for constitutional and especially sensitive classification concerns, that was then made available to all Commissioners and designated staff. For the August 6, 2001, PDB article, the summary could not include verbatim quotations, for example the titles of the articles, but could paraphrase the substance. Two of the articles—the December 4, 1998, hijacking article (in chapter 4) and the August 6, 2001, article discussing Bin Ladin’s plans to attack in the United States (in this chapter)—were eventually declassified.

3. The CIA produced to the Commission all SEIB articles relating to al Qaeda, Bin Ladin, and other subjects identified by the Commission as being relevant to its mission from January 1998 through September 20, 2001.


12. The information regarding KSM was not captioned as a threat. It was part of a longer cable whose subject line was “Terrorism: Biographical Information on Bin Ladin Associates in Afghanistan.” The cable reported further that KSM himself was regularly traveling to the United States. See Intelligence report, June 12, 2001. This was doubted by the CIA’s Renditions Branch, which had been looking for KSM since 1997. It noted, however, that if the source was talking about the “real” KSM, the CIA had both “a significant threat and opportunity to pick him up.” See CIA cable, request additional information on KSM, June 26, 2001. A month later, a report from the source indicated that the information regarding KSM’s travel to the United States was current as of the summer of 1998. It noted further, however, that KSM continued his old activities but not specifically the travel to the United States. Significantly, it confirmed that the source was talking about the “real” KSM. See CIA cable, follow-up source on
KSM, July 11, 2001. As noted in chapter 7, KSM has said that it was generally well known by the summer of 2001 that he was planning an operation in the United States. Roger Cressey told us he did not recall seeing this reporting, although he would have had access to it. Roger Cressey interview (June 23, 2004).


15. See NSC memo, Clarke to CSG regarding that day’s CSG meeting, June 22, 2001; NSC memo, Current U.S. Terrorism Alert, July 3, 2001. For the readiness of FESTs, see NSC email, Clarke to Rice and Hadley, Terrorism Threat Update, June 25, 2001.


20. By July 3, DCI Tenet had asked about 20 of his counterparts in friendly foreign intelligence services to detain specific al Qaeda members and to generally harass al Qaeda–affiliated cells. NSC memo, Current U.S. Terrorism Alert, July 3, 2001. For specific disruption activities and maintaining alert, see NSC email, Clarke to Rice and Hadley, Threat Updates, June 6, 2001; Richard Clarke interview (Jan. 12, 2004).


36. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004). For Rice’s reaction to the August 6 PDB article, see Condoleezza Rice testimony, Apr. 8, 2004.
37. The CTC analyst who drafted the briefing drew on reports over the previous four years. She also spoke with an FBI analyst to obtain additional information. The FBI material was written up by the CIA analyst and included in the PDB. A draft of the report was sent to the FBI analyst to review. The FBI analyst did not, however, see the final version, which added the reference to the 70 investigations. Barbara S. interviews (Apr. 12, 2004); Joint Inquiry interview of Jen M., Nov. 20, 2002. Because of the attention that has been given to the PDB, we have investigated each of the assertions mentioned in it.

The only information that actually referred to a hijacking in this period was a walk-in at an FBI office in the United States on August 6, 2001. The FBI conducted an extensive investigation of the two individuals who were stopped after being observed taking photographs of two adjacent buildings that contained FBI offices. The person taking the photographs told the FBI that he was taking them for a co-worker in Indiana who had never been to New York and wanted to see what it looked like. The picture taker was in New York to obtain further information regarding his pending citizenship application. He had an appointment at 26 Federal Plaza, where the relevant INS offices were located. This same building houses portions of the FBI’s New York Field Office. Before going into the building the individual pulled out the camera and took four photographs. When the FBI attempted to contact the co-worker (and roommate) who had requested some photographs, it was determined that he had fled without receiving his last paycheck after learning that the FBI had asked his employer some questions about him. Further investigation determined that he was an illegal alien using forged identity documents. Despite two years of investigation, the FBI was unable to find the co-worker or determine his true identity. The FBI closed the investigation on June 9, 2003, when it concluded that it was unable to connect the men’s activities to terrorism. Matthew interview (June 18, 2004); FBI case file, no. 266A-NY-279198.

The 70 full-field investigations number was a generous calculation that included fund-raising investigations. It also counted each individual connected to an investigation as a separate full-field investigation. Many of these investigations should not have been included, such as the one that related to a dead person, four that concerned people who had been in long-term custody, and eight that had been closed well before August 6, 2001. Joint Inquiry interview of Elizabeth and Laura, Nov. 20, 2002; FBI report, “70 UBL Cases,” undated (produced to the Joint Inquiry on Aug. 12, 2002).

The call to the UAE was originally reported by the CIA on May 16. It came from an anonymous caller. Neither the CIA nor the FBI was able to corroborate the information in the call. FBI report, Daily UBL/Radical Fundamentalist Threat Update, ITOS Threat Update Webpage, May 16, 2001.

38. See CIA, SEIB, “Bin Laden Determined to Strike in US,” Aug. 7, 2001; see also Roger Cressey interview (June 23, 2004). The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence testified that the FBI information in the PDB was omitted from the SEIB because of concerns about protecting ongoing investigations, because the information had been received from the FBI only orally, and because there were no clear, established ground rules regarding SEIB contents. John McLaughlin testimony, Apr. 14, 2004.

40. George Tenet interview (July 2, 2004).
41. Condoleezza Rice testimony, Apr. 8, 2004; Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004).
42. Stephen Hadley meeting (Jan. 31, 2004).
43. It is also notable that virtually all the information regarding possible domestic threats came from human sources. The information on overseas threats came mainly from signals intelligence. Officials believed that signals intelligence was more reliable than human intelligence. Roger Cressey interview (June 23, 2004).
45. Roger Cressey interview (June 23, 2004).
46. This approach was consistent with how this same issue was addressed almost exactly a year earlier, despite the fact that by 2001 the threat level was higher than it had ever been previously. On June 30, 2000, NSC counterterrorism staffers met with INS, Customs, and FBI officials to review border and port security measures. The NSC staff’s Paul Kurtz wrote to then national security adviser Samuel Berger, “We noted that there was no information regarding potential attacks in the U.S. they should inform their offices to remain vigilant.” NSC email, Kurtz to Berger, Steinberg, and Rudman, warning re: UBL threat reporting, June 30, 2000.
47. FAA briefing materials, Office of Civil Aviation Security, “The Transnational Threat to Civil Aviation,” undated (slide 24). The presentation did indicate, however, that if a hijacker was intending to commit suicide in a spectacular explosion, the terrorist would be likely to prefer a domestic hijacking. Between July 27 and September 11, 2001, the FAA did issue five new Security Directives to air carriers requiring them to take some specific secu-

48. FAA report, “Record of Air Carrier Briefings—4/18/01 to 9/10/01,” undated.


50. Thomas Pickard interview (Apr. 8, 2004). For example, an international terrorism squad supervisor in the Washington Field Office told us he was not aware of an increased threat in the summer of 2001, and his squad did not take any special actions to respond to it. The special agent in charge of the Miami Field Office told us he did not learn of the high level of threat until after September 11. See Washington Field Office agent interview (Apr. 1, 2004); Hector Pesquera interview (Oct. 3, 2003).


52. See Thomas Pickard interviews (Jan. 21, 2004; Apr. 8, 2004); Thomas Pickard testimony, Apr. 13, 2004; Thomas Pickard letter to the Commission, June 24, 2004; John Ashcroft testimony, Apr. 13, 2004. We cannot resolve this dispute. Pickard recalls the alleged statement being made at a briefing on July 12. The Department of Justice has informed us that the only people present at that briefing were Pickard, Ashcroft, Deputy Attorney General Larry Thompson, and Ashcroft’s chief of staff, David Ayres. There are no records of the discussions at these briefings. Thompson and Ayres deny Ashcroft made such a statement. Dale Watson, who did not attend any of the briefings, told us that Pickard complained after one of the briefings that Ashcroft did not want to be briefed on the threats because “nothing ever happened.” Ruben Garcia, head of the FBI’s Criminal Division, who attended some of Pickard’s briefings of the Attorney General but not the one at which Pickard alleges Ashcroft made the statement, recalls that Ashcroft was “not enthusiastic” about the classified portions of the briefings that related to counterterrorism. We have been told that Pickard and Ashcroft did not have a good relationship. This may have influenced their views on the facts surrounding their meetings. Larry Thompson interview (Jan. 29, 2004); Dale Watson interview (June 3, 2004); Ruben Garcia interview (Apr. 29, 2004); Thompson and Ayres letter to the Commission, July 12, 2004.


54. Indeed, the number of FISA warrants in effect in the summer of 2001 may well have been less than it was at the beginning of the year. Because of problems with inaccuracies in the applications, FISAs were allowed to lapse rather than be renewed with continuing inaccuracies. Michael Rolince interview (Apr. 12, 2004); Marion Bowman interview (Mar. 6, 2004).

55. See CIA cable, Base/FBI comments on draft cable, Nov. 27, 2000; FBI electronic communication, USS Cole investigation, Nov. 21, 2000; FBI electronic communication, USS Cole investigation, Jan. 10, 2001 (draft).

56. For the recollection of the FBI agent, see Al S. interviews (Aug. 26, 2003; Sept. 15, 2003). See also FBI report of investigation, interview of source, July 18, 2000; attachment to FBI electronic communication, USS Cole investigation, Jan. 10, 2001 (draft); FBI electronic communication, UBL investigation, Jan. 16, 2001.

57. For speculation regarding identities, see CIA cable, “Photo of UBL Associate,” Dec. 27, 2000. Retrospective analysis of available information would have answered that question, but that analysis was not done until after 9/11. For analysis, see Intelligence report, Retrospective review of 11 September 2001 hijackers’ activities, Sept. 23, 2002.


59. The CIA knew that Mihdhar and Khalid had both been to Bangkok in January 2000. They had not yet discovered that Khalid, traveling under an alias, had actually flown to Bangkok with Mihdhar. Still, as Director Tenet conceded in his testimony before the Joint Inquiry, the Kuala Lumpur meeting took on additional significance once Khalid was identified as having attended the meeting. See Joint Inquiry report, p. 149.

60. For Tenet and Black testimony, see Joint Inquiry testimony of George Tenet, Oct. 17, 2002; Joint Inquiry testimony of Cofer Black, Sept. 26, 2002. For documents not available to CIA personnel who drafted the testimony, see, e.g., FBI electronic communication, UBL investigation, Jan. 16, 2001; FBI emails between Al S. and Michael D., re: source, Jan. 9-11, 2001; FBI electronic communication, USS Cole investigation, Jan. 4, 2001; DOJ Inspector General interview of Jennifer M., Dec. 9, 2002. For the views of the FBI investigators, see DOJ Inspec-

61. DOJ Inspector General interview of Michael D., Nov. 6, 2002; Michael D. interview (May 4, 2004); DOJ Inspector General interview of Chris, Nov. 27, 2002.

62. For the internal CIA reports to which the FBI did not have access, see CIA cable, “UBL Operative Khal­lad,” Jan. 3, 2001; CIA cable, source debriefing, Jan. 5, 2001. The FBI agent informed us that he was unaware how such internal CIA communications worked, or that the operational cables even existed, and so did not know to ask for them. Such messages are routinely not shared in order to protect intelligence sources and methods. In this case, application of the routine procedure did not serve that purpose because the FBI agent was aware of the source’s identity as well as the methods used to obtain the information. Moreover, the FBI agent also may have been absent from the room when the identification was made. The source had brought a sheaf of documents with him that the FBI agent left the room to copy while the interview of the witness continued. Because of the circumstances of the interview site, the agent would have been absent for a significant period of time. In addition, the case officer was frequently given photographs from a broad range of CIA stations to show to this particular witness. He did not focus on the purpose of showing the photographs; he was only concerned with whether the source recognized the individuals. DOJ Inspector General interview of Michael D., Nov. 6, 2002; Michael D. interview (May 4, 2004); DOJ Inspector General interview of Chris, Nov. 27, 2002.


64. For a record of the exchange between John and Dave, see CIA emails, Dave to John, May 17, 18, 24, 2001; CIA email, Richard to Alan, identification of Khallad, July 13, 2001. For the account of John’s FBI counterpart, see Michael Rolince interview (Apr. 12, 2004). For John’s focus on Malaysia, see DOJ Inspector General interview of John, Nov. 1, 2002.


66. For the account of the desk officer, see DOJ Inspector General interview of Michael D., Oct. 31, 2002. For cable information, see CIA records, audit of cable databases.


71. “Jane” did not seek OIPR’s permission to share this information at the meeting. “Jane” also apparently did not realize that one of the agents in attendance was a designated intelligence agent, so she could have shared all of the information with that agent regardless of the caveats. No one who was at the meeting suggested that option, however. DOJ Inspector General interview of Steve B., Sept. 16, 2002; DOJ Inspector General interview of Jane, July 16, 2003. These caveats were different from the legal limits we discussed in section 3.2. The Attorney General’s July 1995 procedures concerned FISA information developed in an FBI intelligence investigation. This, however, was NSA information. These particular caveats were the result of the Justice Department’s and NSA’s overabun­dance of caution in December 1999. During the millennium crisis, Attorney General Reno authorized electronic surveillance of three U.S. persons overseas. Because the searches were not within the United States, no FISA war­rant was needed. Reno approved the surveillances pursuant to section 2.5 of Executive Order 12333 with the pro­viso that the results of these particular surveillances not be shared with criminal investigators or prosecutors without the approval of the Office of Intelligence Policy and Review. Because of the complexity of determining whether particular reporting was the fruit of particular surveillances, NSA decided to place these caveats on all its Bin Ladin–related reporting, not just reporting on the surveillances authorized by Reno. As a result, these caveats were placed on the reports relating to Mihdhar even though they were not covered by Reno’s December 1999 order. See DOJ memo, Reno to Freeh, FISA surveillance of a suspected al Qaeda operative, Dec. 24, 1999; NSA email, William L. to Karen C., “distribution restrictions,” Dec. 10, 1999; NSA email, William L. to Anthony L., “doj restric­tions,” Dec. 20, 1999; NSA email, William L. to Brian C., “dissemination of terrorism reporting,” Dec. 29, 1999. See also NSA memo, Ann D. to others, “Reporting Guidance,” Dec. 30, 1999.

In May 2000, it was brought to the Attorney General’s attention that these caveats prevented certain attorneys in the Terrorism and Violent Crime Section (TVCS) from reading the reporting. After discussions with NSA, the caveats were changed to specifically permit dissemination of these reports to designated attorneys in the TVCS and

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72. For the facts known by Dave at this time, see CIA records, audit of cable databases; see also CIA email, Dave to John, timeline entries, May 15, 2001. For CIA analyst's role, see DOJ Inspector General interview of Dave, Oct. 31, 2002. For Jane's account, see DOJ Inspector General interview of Jane, July 16, 2003.


74. For Mary's account, see DOJ Inspector General interview of Mary, Oct. 29, 2002. For the reporting regarding Mihdhar and Hazmi, see CIA cable, Khalid's passport, Jan. 4, 2000; CIA cable, Mihdhar's visa application, Jan. 5, 2000; CIA cable, Hazmi entered U.S., Mar. 6, 2000. For Mary's cable access information, see CIA records, audit of cable databases.


76. DOJ Inspector General interview of Mary, Oct. 29, 2002; Intelligence report, Watchlisting of Bin Ladin–related individuals, Aug. 23, 2001; Joint Inquiry testimony of Christopher Kojm, Sept. 19, 2002. The watch-list request included Mihdhar, Nawaf al Hazmi, Salah Saeed Mohammed Bin Yousef (they did not yet realize this was an alias for Tawfiq bin Attash, a.k.a. Khalid), and Ahmad Hikmat Shakir (who assisted Mihdhar in Kuala Lumpur).

77. Jane told investigators that she viewed this matter as just another lead and so assigned no particular urgency to the matter. DOJ Inspector General interviews of Jane, July 16, 2003; Nov. 4, 2002. For the draft lead, see attachment to FBI email, Jane to Craig D., “Re: FFI Request,” Aug. 28, 2001. For the final version, see FBI electronic communication, “Request to Open a Full Field Investigation,” Aug. 28, 2001.

78. FBI email, Craig D. to John L., “Fwd: Re: FFI Request,” Aug. 28, 2001; FBI email, John L. to Steve and others, “Fwd: Re: FFI Request,” Aug. 28, 2001. For an introduction to these legal limits and “the wall,” see section 3.2. In December 2000, pursuant to concerns of the FISA Court, the New York Field Office began designating certain agents as either intelligence or criminal agents. Intelligence agents could see FISA materials and any other information that bore cautions about sharing without obtaining the FISA Court's permission or permission from the Justice Department's OIPR. FBI electronic communication, “Instructions re FBI FISA Policy,” Dec. 7, 2000.

79. While one witness recalls a discussion with a senior FBI official, that official denies that such a discussion took place. The other alleged participant does not recall such a meeting. John interview (Apr. 2, 2004); Michael Rolince interview (Apr. 12, 2004); Jane interview (July 13, 2004); DOJ Inspector General interview of Rodney M., Nov. 5, 2002. For investigation's goal, see FBI electronic communication, “Request to Open a Full Field Investigation,” Aug. 28, 2001.


81. The analyst's email, however, reflects that she was confusing a broad array of caveats and legal barriers to information sharing and rules governing criminal agents' use of information gathered through intelligence channels. There was no broad prohibition against sharing information gathered through intelligence channels with criminal agents. This type of sharing occurred on a regular basis in the field. The court's procedures did not apply to all intelligence gathered regardless of collection method or source. Moreover, once information was properly shared, the criminal agent could use it for further investigation.

82. FBI email, Jane to Steve, NSLU Response, Aug. 29, 2001. “Jane” says she only asked whether there was sufficient probable cause to open the matter as a criminal case and whether the criminal agent could attend any interview if Mihdhar was found. She said the answer she received to both questions was no. She did not ask whether the underlying information could have been shared. Jane interview (July 13, 2004). The NSLU attorney denies advising that the agent could not participate in an interview and notes that she would not have given such inaccurate advice. The attorney told investigators that the NSA caveats would not have precluded criminal agents from joining in any search for Mihdhar or from participating in any interview. Moreover, she said that she could have gone to the NSA and obtained a waiver of any such caveat because there was no FISA information involved in this case. There are no records of the conversation between “Jane” and the attorney. “Jane” did not copy the attorney on her email to the agent, so the attorney did not have an opportunity to confirm or reject the advice “Jane” was giving to the agent. DOJ Inspector General interview of Sherry S., Nov. 7, 2002.

“Jane” asked the New York agent assigned to the Mihdhar search to sign a FISA acknowledgment form indicating the agent understood how he had to treat FISA information. Because no FISA information was involved, she should not have required him to sign such a form. To the extent she believed, incorrectly, that the Attorney General's 1995 procedures applied to this situation, there was in fact an exception in place for New York. DOJ Inspector General interview of Sherry S., Nov. 7, 2002. More fundamentally, “Jane” apparently understood the welter of restrictions to mean, in workday shorthand, that any information gathered by intelligence agencies should...
not be shared with criminal agents. This was incorrect. DOJ Inspector General interviews of Jane, July 16, 2003; Nov. 4, 2002.

82. FBI emails between Steve B. and Jane, re: NSLU Response, Aug. 29, 2001. While the agent expressed his frustration with the situation to “Jane,” he made no effort to press the matter further by discussing his concerns with either his supervisor or the chief division counsel in New York.


We believe the Attorney General’s testimony does not fairly or accurately reflect the significance of the 1995 documents and their relevance to the 2001 discussions. Whatever the merits of the March 1995 Gorelick memorandum and the subsequent July 1995 Attorney General procedures on information sharing, they did not apply to the information the analyst decided she could not share with the criminal agent. As discussed earlier, the reason “Jane” decided she could not share information was because the initial information on Mihdhar had been analyzed by the NSA. This reason was unrelated to either of the 1995 documents. The Gorelick memorandum applied to two particular criminal cases, neither of which was involved in the summer 2001 information-sharing discussions. As the FBI agent observed in his email, Part A of the 1995 procedures applied only to information obtained pursuant to a FISA warrant. None of the Mihdhar material was FISA information. There was an exemption for the Southern District of New York from Part B of the 1995 procedures, so they did not apply. Also, the 1995 procedures did not govern whether information could be shared between intelligence and criminal agents within the FBI, a separation that the Bureau did not begin making formally until long after the procedures were in place. The 1995 procedures governed only the sharing of information with criminal prosecutors. Even in that situation, the restriction obliged running the information through the OIPR screen.

What had happened, as we discussed in chapter 3, was a growing battle within the Justice Department during the 1990s, and between parts of Justice and the FISA Court, over the scope of OIPR’s screening function and the propriety of using FISA-derived information in criminal matters. The FISA Court’s concern with FBI sloppiness in its FISA applications also began to take a toll: the court began designating itself as the gatekeeper for the sharing of intelligence information; the FBI was required to separately designate criminal and intelligence agents; and the court banned one supervisory FBI agent from appearing before it. By late 2000, these factors had culminated in a set of complex rules and a widening set of beliefs—a bureaucratic culture—that discouraged FBI agents from even seeking to share intelligence information. Neither Attorney General acted to resolve the conflicting views within the Justice Department. Nor did they challenge the strict interpretation of the FISA statute set forth by the FISA Court and OIPR. Indeed, this strict interpretation remained in effect until the USA PATRIOT Act was passed after 9/11.

Simply put, there was no legal reason why the information the analyst possessed could not have been shared with the criminal agent. On August 27, “Jane” requested the NSA’s permission to share the information with the criminal agents, but she intended for the information only to help the criminal agents in their ongoing Cole investigation. She still did not believe they could be involved in the intelligence investigation even if the NSA permitted the information to be shared. DOJ IG 9/11/11 Report, July 2, 2004, p. 339. The next day the NSA notified her that it had approved the passage of the information to the criminal agents. DOJ Inspector General interview of Robert F., Dec. 18, 2002; FBI electronic communication, Los Angeles lead, Sept. 10, 2001.


85. Hazmi and Mihdhar used their true names to obtain California driver’s licenses and open New Jersey bank accounts. Hazmi also had a car registered and had been listed in the San Diego telephone book. Searches of readily available databases could have unearthed the driver’s licenses, the car registration, and the telephone listing. A search on the car registration would have unearthed a license check by the South Hackensack Police Department that would have led to information placing Hazmi in the area and placing Mihdhar at a local hotel for a week in early July 2001. The hijackers actively used the New Jersey bank accounts, through ATM, debit card, and cash transactions, until September 10. Among other things, they used their debit cards to pay for hotel rooms; and Hazmi used his card on August 27 to purchase tickets on Flight 77 for himself and his brother (and fellow hijacker) Salem al Hazmi. These transactions could have helped locate them if the FBI had obtained the bank records in time. There would have been no easy means, however, to determine the existence of these accounts, and obtaining bank cooperation pre-9/11 might have been problematic. The most likely means of successfully finding the men in the short time available was one not often used pre-9/11 for suspected terrorists: an FBI BOLO (be on the lookout) combined with a media campaign. This alone might have delayed or disrupted the plot, even if the men had not been physically located before September 11. But this would have been considered only if the FBI believed that they were about to carry out an imminent attack. No one at the FBI—or any other agency—believed that at the time.
See FBI report, financial spreadsheet re: 9/11 hijackers, undated; South Hackensack, N.J., Police Department report, Detective Bureau Report, Oct. 17, 2001 (case no. 20018437). According to Ramzi Binalshibh, had KSM known that Moussaoui had been arrested, he would have canceled the 9/11 attacks. Intelligence report, interrogation of Ramzi Binalshibh, Feb. 14, 2003. The publicity regarding Mihdhar and Hazmi might have had a similar effect because they could have been identified by the airlines and might have jeopardized the operation.


90. Unlike Moussaoui, the typical student at Pan Am Flight Academy holds an FAA Airline Transport Pilot rating or the foreign equivalent, is employed by an airline, and has several thousand flight hours. Moussaoui also stood out for several other reasons. He had paid nearly $9,000 in cash for the training, yet had no explanation for the source of these funds; he had asked to fly a simulated flight from London’s Heathrow Airport to New York’s John F Kennedy Airport; and he was also particularly interested in the operation of the aircraft doors. FBI electronic communication, Request OIPR permission to contact U.S. Attorney’s Office regarding Zacarias Moussaoui, Aug. 18, 2001. For a detailed, step-by-step chronology of activities taken regarding Moussaoui prior to September 11, see DOJ IG 9/11 Report, July 2, 2004, pp. 109–197.

94. Criminal search warrants must be approved by Department of Justice attorneys before submission to the court. Therefore, approval from the Minneapolis U.S. Attorney’s Office was required before a criminal search warrant could be obtained. DOJ Inspector General interview of Coleen Rowley, July 16, 2002. Another agent, however, said that he spoke to an Assistant U.S. Attorney in the Minneapolis office and received advice that the facts were almost sufficient to obtain a criminal warrant. DOJ Inspector General interview of Greg J., July 9, 2002. The Assistant United States Attorney said that if the FBI had asked for a criminal warrant that first night, he would have sought it. He believed that there was sufficient probable cause for a criminal warrant at that time. DOJ Inspector General interview of William K., May 29, 2003. Mary Jo White, the former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, told us that based on her review of the evidence known pre-9/11, she would have approved a criminal search warrant. Mary Jo White interview (May 17, 2004). Because the agents never presented the information to the Minneapolis U.S. Attorney’s Office before 9/11, we cannot know for sure what its judgment would have been or whether a judge would have signed the warrant. In any event, the Minneapolis agents were concerned that if they tried to first obtain a criminal warrant but the U.S. Attorney’s Office or the judge refused, the FISA Court might reject an application for a FISA warrant on the grounds that the agents were attempting to make an end run around the criminal process. Therefore, it was judged too risky to seek a criminal warrant unless it was certain that it would be approved. DOJ Inspector General interview of Greg J., July 9, 2002. In addition, FBI headquarters specifically instructed Minneapolis that it could not open a criminal investigation. DOJ IG 9/11 Report, July 2, 2004, p. 138. Finally, the Minneapolis Field Office mistakenly believed that the 1995 Attorney General procedures required OIPR’s approval before it could contact the U.S. Attorney’s Office about obtaining a criminal warrant.
95. The FISA definition of “foreign power” includes “a group engaged in international terrorism or activities in preparation therefor.”
101. Minneapolis may have been more concerned about Moussaoui’s intentions because the case agent and the supervisory agent were both pilots. They were, therefore, more highly sensitized to the odd nature of Moussaoui’s actions and comments regarding flying. DOJ Inspector General interview of Greg J., July 9, 2002; DOJ Inspector General interview of Harry S., June 20, 2002.
103. CIA briefing materials, DCI Update, “Islamic Extremist Learns to Fly,” Aug. 23, 2001. Deputy Director of Central Intelligence John McLaughlin testified that he was told about Moussaoui several days before Tenet was briefed, although he did not recall the specific date of the briefing. John McLaughlin testimony, Apr. 14, 2004.


105. For the renewed request, see FBI letterhead memorandum, Zacarias Moussaoui, Sept. 11, 2001. For the initial British response, see British Security Service memo re: Zacarias Moussaoui, Sept. 12, 2001; information provided to the Commission by the British government; British liaison telex, “Zacarias Moussaoui—Background Information,” Sept. 13, 2001. See also Joseph H. interview (May 4, 2004).

106. Joint Inquiry report (classified version), pp. 340–341. Notably, the FBI analyst “Mary” who was looking at the Mihdhar information suggested that the U.S. government talk to Ressam to see if he knew anything about Mihdhar. See CIA email, Mary to John, seeking identification by Ressam, Aug. 21, 2001. There is no evidence that Ressam was asked about Moussaoui or Mihdhar prior to 9/11.


110. CIA cable, Mukhtar information, May 23, 2002.

111. CIA cable, Biographical Information on Key UBL Associates in Afghanistan, June 11, 2001; Intelligence report, biographical information on Bin Ladin associates in Afghanistan, June 12, 2001. For the subsequent identification, see CIA cable, follow-up source on KSM, July 11, 2001.

112. For the reporting identifying Mukhtar as KSM, see CIA cable, source information re: KSM, Aug. 28, 2001.


9 Heroism and Horror

1. For the WTC’s layout, see Port Authority diagrams, “World Trade Center Concourse Level,” “Concourse Level,” and “Plaza Level,” undated. For the number of square feet of office space, see Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) report, “World Trade Center Building Performance Study,” undated. For the number of workers and passersby, see Port Authority briefing (May 13, 2004).

   For the dimensions, see FEMA report, “World Trade Center Building Performance Study,” undated. In addition, the outside of each tower was covered by a frame of 14-inch-wide steel columns; the centers of the steel columns were 40 inches apart. These exterior walls bore most of the weight of the building. The interior core of the buildings was a hollow steel shaft, in which elevators and stairwells were grouped. Ibid. For stairwells and elevators, see Port Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004.


3. Ibid. These deviations were necessary because of the placement of heavy elevators and machine rooms, and were located between the 42nd and 48th floors and the 76th and 82nd floors in both towers. For the doors being closed but unlocked, see Port Authority briefing (May 13, 2004).

4. For rooftop access and evacuations, see Port Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004. For the helpad not conforming, see PANYNJ interview 14 (July 8, 2004). In the interests of promoting candor and protecting privacy, we agreed not to identify most individuals we interviewed. Individuals are identified by a code, and individuals’ ranks or units are disclosed only in a broad manner.

5. For the 1993 attack’s effect, see Alan Reiss testimony, May 18, 2004. For the attack’s testing the city’s response capability, see FDNY report, “Report from the Chief of Department, Anthony L. Fusco,” in William Manning, ed., The World Trade Center Bombing: Report and Analysis (FEMA, undated), p. 11.

6. For the towers’ loss of power and the other effects, see New York City report, “Report of the World Trade Center Review Committee,” 1995, p. 4. For generators’ shutting down, see Port Authority briefing (May 13, 2004). For the rescue efforts, see FDNY report, “Report from the Chief of Department, Anthony L. Fusco,” in Manning, ed., The World Trade Center Bombing, p. 11. For the evacuation time, see PANYNJ interview 5 (May 15, 2004).

7. For information on rooftop evacuations, see Port Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004; NYPD interview 25, Aviation (June 21, 2004). For the rappel rescue, see Port Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004. For figure of 15 hours, see “World Trade Center Bombing,” NY Cop Online Magazine, Dec. 12, 2000 (online at www.nycop.com). For the general false impression, see Civilian interview 3 (May 4, 2004); Commission analysis of letters written to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) concerning the September 11 attacks. For the WTC fire safety plan, see Port Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004.

8. For the upgrades, see Port Authority memorandum to the Commission for Nov. 3, 2003, meeting: Port Authority briefing (May 13, 2004).

9. For the upgrades, see Port Authority memorandum to the Commission for Nov. 3, 2003, meeting: Port Authority briefing (May 13, 2004).
Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004. For the fire alarm, see PANYNJ interview 10 (June 16, 2004); PANYNJ interview 7 (June 2, 2004).


11. For fire safety teams, see PANYNJ Interview 7 (Jun. 2, 2004). For fire drill procedures, see Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004). For aids to the September 11 evacuation, see, e.g., Civilian interview 14 (Apr. 7, 2004); Civilian interview 20 (May 4, 2004); Civilian interview 21 (May 4, 2004); Civilian Interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004).

12. For instructions to civilians, see, e.g., Civilian interview 20 (May 4, 2004); Civilian interview 21 (May 4, 2004); Civilian interview 12 (May 4, 2004); Stanley Praimnath testimony, May 18, 2004 (videotaped). For civilians’ participation, see Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004); Civilian interview 15 (Apr. 21, 2004); Commission analysis of letters written to OSHA concerning the September 11 attacks. For civilians not being instructed not to evacuate up, see Port Authority briefing (May 13, 2004). For the standard fire drill announcement, see Port Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004. For civilians’ recollection, see Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004). For Port Authority acknowledgment of lack of a protocol, see PANYNJ interview 2 (Apr. 14, 2004).

13. For SPI transition, see PANYNJ Interview 11 (Jun. 23, 2004); Alan Reiss prepared statement, May 18, 2004, p. 8. For fire safety plan, see PANYNJ Interview 8 (June 6, 2004).


15. PANYNJ interview 4 (May 10, 2004).


17. For the 35 radio zones, see NYPD report, “Radio Zones,” undated. For other radio zones, see, e.g., NYPD regulations, “Transit PatrolVHF,” undated; NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb 24, 2004).

18. For the WTC supervising the emergency call system and employing more than 1,200 people, see NYPD report, “Communications Section,” undated (online at www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/otsd/commsec.html). For fire emergencies being transferred to the FDNY dispatch, see FDNY interview 28, Dispatch (Jan. 29, 2004).

19. See FDNY email to the Commission, July 9, 2004; Thomas Von Essen interview (Apr. 7, 2004). For operations being headed by the sole five-star chief, see FDNY regulations, “Regulations” chapter of “Operational Procedures and Policies,” July 1999.


22. FDNY interview 28, Dispatch (Jan. 29, 2004). Each center was staffed at all times with a supervisor and five dispatchers who worked in 12-hour tours. Positions included a decision dispatcher, responsible for directing the appropriate fire apparatus to the scene; a voice alarm or notification dispatcher, responsible for intra- and inter-agency communications; a radio in and radio out dispatcher who tracked the movement of fire apparatuses; and three alarm dispatchers, responsible for sending the appropriate number of units to a fire scene to correspond with the designated alarm level. Ibid.

23. FDNY regulations, “Communications” chapter of “Operational Procedures and Policies,” July 1999; FDNY interview 60, HQ (May 11, 2004); FDNY interview 64, HQ (June 30, 2004).


25. PANYNJ interview 1 (Nov. 6, 2003); PANYNJ interview 4 (May 10, 2004). In early 2001, New York provided its firefighters with new digital radios. The procurement process for these radios remained controversial, and they proved unpopular with the rank and file, who believed that adequate training in their use had not been provided. The new radios were withdrawn shortly after they had been introduced into the field. While the new radios briefly were in service, the WTC repeater channel could be left on at all times, because the new radios operated on entirely different frequencies and thus were not vulnerable to interference from the repeater system. Thomas Von Essen interview (Apr. 7, 2004). For the new radios permitting the repeater to stay on, see PANYNJ interview 1 (Nov. 6, 2003); PANYNJ interview 4 (May 10, 2004).


27. For the creation of the Office of Emergency Management (OEM), see Rudolph Giuliani interview (Apr. 20, 2004). For OEM’s purposes, see Richard Sheirer interview (Apr. 7, 2004). For OEM’s sending field responder, see ibid.; OEM interview 1 (Feb. 12, 2004). Other data monitored by OEM’s Watch Command included Emergency Medical Service data regarding patterns of illness (to spot a potential epidemic in its early stages), live video feeds from New York Harbor and city streets, and television news channels. Richard Sheirer interview (Apr. 7, 2004);
OEM interview 3 (Mar. 16, 2004). The Watch Command’s monitoring of EMS data proved instrumental in an extremely early identification and then highly effective containment of the 1999 West Nile outbreak, which likely would have resulted in many more fatalities but for OEM. Richard Sheirer interview (Apr. 7, 2004).


30. For the exact time of impact, see FAA analysis of American 11 radar returns and Commission analysis of FAA radar data and air traffic control software logic. For the zone of impact, see National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) report, “Interim Report on the Federal Building Fire Safety Investigation of the World Trade Center,” June 28, 2004. On people alive on the 92nd floor and above after the impact, see Commission analysis of conditions on tower floors and advice received by civilians in the towers based on (1) calls to NYPD 911 from or concerning people in the towers on September 11, 2001, and (2) transcripts of recorded calls to the Port Authority police desk from people in the towers on September 11, 2001 (hereafter “Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls”). Everyone alive on the 91st floor was able to evacuate. Civilian interview 7 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 6 (Mar. 22, 2004). For civilians being alive but trapped, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls; Civilian interview 17 (May 11, 2004); Civilian interview 2 (Mar. 19, 2004).

31. For fire in the 77th floor elevator and damage to the 22nd floor, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls; Port Authority transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001, vol. II, channel 8, p. 4 (22nd floor). For a fireball in the lobby, see PAPD interview 1, WTC Command (Oct. 14, 2003); Civilian interview 14 (Apr. 7, 2004). Burning jet fuel descended at least one elevator bank. FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004). For the roofs being engulfed and the winds, see, e.g., NYPD interview 16, Aviation (Apr. 1, 2004).


33. Ibid.

34. For the on-duty fire safety director’s perspective, see WTC interview 6 (May 25, 2004). For the chiefs being told by the Port Authority fire safety director that the evacuation order was given earlier, see PANYNJ interview 13 (Nov. 20, 2003). For him no longer being the designated fire safety director, see PANYNJ interview 11 (June 23, 2004).

35. For public announcements not being heard, see, e.g., Civilian interview 6 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 7 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 9 (Mar. 23, 2004); Civilian interview 14 (Apr. 7, 2004); Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. The evacuation tone was heard in some locations below the impact. Civilian interview 7 (Mar. 22, 2004); Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For some emergency intercoms being unusable, see WTC interview 9 (June 8, 2004); Port Authority transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001. For evidence that some were usable, see WTC interview 6 (May 25, 2004).

36. For callers being disconnected, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For the standard operating procedure and only a few people being available, causing calls to be transferred, see FDNY interview 28, Dispatch (Jan. 29, 2004). For delays and terminations, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls.

37. For operators’ and dispatchers’ situational awareness and instructions to callers, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For standard operating procedures for a high-rise fire, see FDNY interview 28, Dispatch (Jan. 29, 2004). For the fire chiefs’ view, see FDNY interview 61, Chief (May 12, 2004); FDNY interview 62, Chief (May 12, 2004). For many injuries occurring during the evacuation, see Zachary Goldfarb and Steven Kuhr, “EMS Response to the Explosion,” in Manning, ed., The World Trade Center Bombing, p. 94.

38. FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004).

39. For operators’ and dispatchers’ lack of knowledge, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For operators departing from protocol, see ibid.

40. Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls; Port Authority transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001, vol. II, channel 9, pp. 1–2, 23–24; channel 10, pp. 2, 6, 23.

41. See Civilian interview 6 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 7 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 14 (Apr. 7, 2004); Civilian interview 9 (Mar. 23, 2004). For Port Authority employees remaining, see Civilian interview 6 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 7 (Mar. 22, 2004), Port Authority report, September 11 Special Awards Ceremony, vol. 1, undated (recognitions 2, 3, 4, and 5).

42. For trouble reaching exits, see, e.g., Civilian interview 9 (Mar. 23, 2004). For “locked” doors, see, e.g., Civilian interview 6 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian Interview 14 (Apr. 7, 2004); WTC interview 9 (June 8, 2004); Civilian interview 7 (Mar. 22, 2004).

43. For smoke rising and its effect, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For people jumping, see Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls; Port Authority transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, vol. II, WTC channel 26 (channel W), Sept. 11, 2001, pp. 4–6.

44. There is no evidence of a dispute between Morgan Stanley and the Port Authority over the Port Authority’s “defend in place” evacuation policy before September 11. For occupants who were unaware of what happened, see, e.g., Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004). For civilians concluding that the incident had occurred in the other building, see Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004). For others being aware that
a major incident had occurred, see, e.g., Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004). Some of them could actually feel the heat from the explosion in the North Tower. See, e.g., Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004); Civilian interview 15 (Apr. 21, 2004). For people deciding to leave or being advised to do so by fire wardens, see, e.g., Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian interview 8 (Mar. 23, 2004); Civilian statement 1, undated. For Morgan Stanley occupying 20 floors and ordering its employees to leave, see Civilian interview 19 (June 6, 2004).

45. Port Authority, transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001, vol. II, channel 17, p. 1; PANYNJ interview 7 (June 2, 2004). Fire command stations were equipped with manuals containing prescribed announcements corresponding to a number of specified emergencies. Once the FDNY arrived on the scene, however, all decisions relating to evacuation or other emergency procedures were left to its discretion.

46. When a notable event occurred, it was standard procedure for the on-duty deputy fire safety director to make an “advisory” announcement to tenants who were affected by or might be aware of the incident, in order to acknowledge the incident and to direct tenants to stand by for further instructions. The purpose of advisory announcements, as opposed to “emergency” announcements (such as to evacuate), was to reduce panic. PANYNJ interview 7 (June 2, 2004); Port Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004. For the content of the announcement, see, e.g., Brian Clark testimony, May 18, 2004 (videotaped); Civilian interview 3 (May 4, 2004); Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); Civilian statement 1, undated. For the protocol and prescribed announcements and the death of the director of fire safety and the deputy fire safety director, see PANYNJ interview 7 (June 2, 2004); PANYNJ interview 12 (July 7, 2004). For people not thinking a second plane would hit, see, e.g., PANYNJ interview 7 (June 2, 2004). For the quotation, see FDNY interview 63, Chief (May 16, 2004).

47. For senior leaders’ response by 9:00 A.M., see FDNY interview 18, Chief (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 54, Chief (Apr. 15, 2004); FDNY interview 5, Chief (Dec. 16, 2003); FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004); FDNY interview 27, HQ (Jan. 28, 2004). For the Chief of Department’s and Chief of Operation’s actions, see FDNY interview 18, Chief (Jan. 22, 2004). For senior leaders’ response by 9:59, see FDNY report, McKinsey & Company, “FDNY Report,” Aug. 19, 2002, p. 32.

48. For advice on the ground floor, see Civilian interview 4 (Mar. 16, 2004). Nineteen of them returned upstairs, where 18 died; the 20th was told by her supervisor, who was in the group, to leave rather than return upstairs. The supervisor also survived. Civilian interview 4 (Mar. 16, 2004). For advice in the sky lobbies, see, e.g., Civilian interview 7 (June 2, 2004). For burned civilians, see FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004). For conditions in the lobby, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001. For other units lining up in the lobby, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001.

51. FDNY interview 60, HQ (May 11, 2004); see FDNY record, computer-aided dispatch report, Sept. 11, 2001, 08:47:20–9:00:00.

52. For the chief’s and companies’ arrival, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001; FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004). For burned civilians, see FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004). For the building’s physical conditions, see FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004).

53. For the initial incident commander and command post location, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001; FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004). For the transfer of incident command, see FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004). For ascertaining building systems’ status from building personnel, see FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); PANYNJ interview 13 (Nov. 20, 2003); FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004). For speaking with OEM and PAPD officials, see FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001.

54. For the ladder and engine companies’ climb, see FDNY interview 59, Battalion 2 (Apr. 22, 2004); Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001. For tactical 1, see FDNY interview 59, Battalion 2 (Apr. 22, 2004). For other units lining up in the lobby, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001.
4. Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); PANYNJ interview 13 (Nov. 20, 2003). For lack of concern about a second plane, see FDNY interview 63, Chief (May 16, 2004).

56. FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004).

57. For their situational awareness, see FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004) (quotation).

58. Peter Hayden testimony, May 18, 2004 (videotaped).

59. On the lack of information, see FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004).

60. On the staging areas, see FDNY interview 47, Chief (Mar. 11, 2004); FDNY interview 44, Chief (Mar. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 33, EMS (Feb. 9, 2004). For EMS’s response, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001. For private ambulances responding, see FDNY interview 35, EMS (Feb. 10, 2004).

61. NYPD recordings, City Wide 1, Special Operations Division, and Divisions 1, 2, and 3 radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001.

62. For the Chief of Department’s actions, see NYPD interview 8, HQ (Feb. 24, 2004). For the number of officers, see NYPD regulations, “Patrol Guide: Rapid Mobilization,” Jan. 1, 2000; NYPD recordings, City Wide 1 and Divisions 1, 2, and 3 radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001.

63. For shifting the mobilization point, see NYPD interview 17, 1st Precinct (Apr. 1, 2004). For stationing officers around the perimeter, see NYPD recordings, City Wide 1, Special Operations Division, and Divisions 1, 2, and 3 radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001. For officers being diverted, see, e.g., NYPD interview 21, 6th Precinct (May 4, 2004).

64. For the helicopters’ dispatch, see NYPD records, “Aviation Unit Flight Data Sheets,” Sept. 11, 2001. For communications with air traffic controllers and their situational awareness, see NYPD interview 12, Aviation (Mar. 10, 2004); NYPD interview 14, Aviation (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 13, Aviation (Mar. 10, 2004); NYPD interview 16, Aviation (Apr. 1, 2004).


66. For the third helicopter, see NYPD records, “Aviation Unit Flight Data Sheets,” Sept. 11, 2001. For the helicopters’ subsequent actions and protocol, see NYPD interview 12, Aviation (Mar. 10, 2004); NYPD interview 14, Aviation (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 13, Aviation (Mar. 10, 2004); NYPD interview 16, Aviation (Apr. 1, 2004); NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004).

67. Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls; NYPD recordings, City Wide 1, Special Operations, and Division 1, 2, and 3 radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001.

68. NYPD memo, requests for departmental recognition 4 and 6, Jun. 26, 2002. For those on the 22nd floor apparently not being located, see PANYNJ recognition 1, undated.

69. NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004).

70. For other officers’ positioning, see NYPD interview 20, Manhattan South Task Force (May 4, 2004); NYPD interview 21, 6th Precinct (May 4, 2004); NYPD interview 19, 13th Precinct (May 4, 2004); Housing (Feb. 17, 2004); PAPD interview 4, Port Authority Bus Terminal Command (Nov. 20, 2003). For officers assisting in the North Tower evacuation, see NYPD memo, request for departmental recognition 1 and 2, June 26, 2002.

71. NYPD recording, Transit Division 1 radio channel, Sept. 11, 2001.

72. NYPD recordings, City Wide 1, Special Operations Division, and Divisions 1, 2, and 3 radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001.

73. For the on-site commanding officer’s actions, see PAPD interview 1, WTC command (Oct. 14, 2003). For the on-duty sergeant’s initial instructions, see PAPD statement 3, WTC Command (Nov. 12, 2001). For his instructions to meet at the desk, see PAPD statement 3, WTC Command (Nov. 12, 2001); PAPD statement 12, WTC Command (Mar. 28, 2002). On the scarcity of radios, see PAPD statement 9, PATH Command (Jan. 28, 2002); PAPD statement 8, WTC Command (Jan. 12, 2002).

74. PAPD interview 7, WTC Command (Nov. 25, 2003).

75. For the response, see PAPD statement 2, WTC Command (Nov. 10, 2001). For the lack of such written standard operating procedures, see PAPD interview 3, LaGuardia Airport Command (Nov. 20, 2003); PAPD regulations, “Manual of Police Division Instructions,” undated (in existence before 9/11). Instead, the PAPD relied on tradition to dictate its response procedures. On the lack of interoperable frequencies, see PANYNJ interview 4 (May 10, 2004); PAPD statement 9, PATH Command (Jan. 28, 2002).

76. For the evacuation order, see PAPD statement 3, WTC Command (Nov. 12, 2001); PAPD interview 1, WTC Command (Oct. 14, 2003). For its transmission, see Port Authority transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001, vol. II, channel W p. 7.


78. For the Emergency Operations Center’s activation, see OEM interview 3 (Mar. 16, 2004); OEM interview 2 (Mar. 4, 2004). For the request for search teams, see OEM interview 5 (Mar. 19, 2004). For the senior OEM offi-
cial's arrival, see OEM interview 4 (Mar. 18, 2004). For other OEM officials' arrival, see Richard Sheirer interview (Apr. 7, 2004); OEM interview 6 (Mar. 24, 2004).


80. For the sky lobby, see Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004). For the condition of people on the impact floors, see Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004); Civilian interview 4 (Mar. 16, 2004); Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For events in the sky lobby after impact, see Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004).

81. For conditions in the impact zone above the 78th floor, see Civilian interview 4 (Mar. 16, 2004); Civilian interview 3 (May 4, 2004); Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For conditions on the 81st floor, see Civilian interview 4 (Mar. 16, 2004); Civilian interview 3 (May 4, 2004).

82. For the four people, see Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); Civilian interview 4 (Mar. 16, 2004); Civilian interview 8 (Mar. 23, 2004). For the first person to descend stairwell A, see Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004).

83. For civilians ascending the stairs, see Civilian interview 8 (Mar. 23, 2004); Civilian interview 16 (Apr. 27, 2004); Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Commission analysis of letters written to OSHA concerning the September 11 attacks. For the intention of the group ascending the stairwell and the conditions, see Civilian interview 8 (Mar. 23, 2004).

84. On civilians finding locked doors, see, e.g., Civilian interview 16 (Apr. 27, 2004); Commission analysis of letters written to OSHA concerning the September 11 attacks. On the lock release order, see Port Authority transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001, vol. II, channel X, pp. 25–31; Port Authority response to Commission interrogatory, May 2004. The Security Command Center did not control access areas in the Observation Deck and other private tenant spaces. It is unknown whether there were any prior or subsequent orders or attempts to release the building's locks.

85. For trouble descending, see Brian Clark testimony, May 18, 2004 (videotaped); Richard Fern testimony, May 18, 2004 (videotaped); Commission analysis of letters written to OSHA concerning the September 11 attacks. The conditions of stairwell C are unknown. For conditions in stairwells, see, e.g., Civilian Interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian Interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004).

86. For some civilians remaining, see Civilian interview 10 (Mar. 24, 2004). For some civilians ascending, see, e.g., Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian interview 11 (Mar. 25, 2004).

87. For conditions in the 90s and 100s, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For the 105th floor and the condition of the less affected area, see Civilian interview 16 (Apr. 27, 2004). For the other areas of the 105th, 88th, and 89th floors, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls.

88. For the callers, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. There are many variables to consider in determining whether, and to what extent, stairwell A was actually a viable exit. Knowing that the stairway was initially passable from at least the 91st floor down, we can conclude that it was likely open from top to bottom, on floors farther removed from the impact. However, in areas near the impact zone some doors leading to the stairwell may have jammed. We know that access to stairway A was possible from at least the 81st and 84th floors, and from several other floors between the 84th and 91st floor. It is likely that access was possible from floors higher up as well. It is not known, however, whether 911 callers had a clear path to the stairwell entrance from their locations. Damage caused by the impact of the plane, and the resulting smoke and heat, may have prevented some from being able to reach the entrance to the staircase; but the stated locations of at least some callers indicate that they were near stairwell A on their floor. Based on conditions described by civilians who descended stairwell A from at or above the impact zone, we conclude that stairwell A may have become effectively impassable as the morning progressed.

89. Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls.

90. Brian Clark testimony, May 18, 2004 (videotaped); Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls.

91. Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls.

92. Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian interview 8 (Mar. 23, 2004); Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); Civilian interview 4 (Mar. 16, 2004); Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls.

93. OEM interview 1 (Feb. 12, 2004); PANYNJ interview 7 (June 2, 2004); Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian interview 8 (Mar. 23, 2004).

94. Civilian interview 8 (Mar. 23, 2004); Civilian interview 1 (Mar. 2, 2004); Civilian interview 4 (Mar. 16, 2004); Civilian interview 13 (Mar. 25, 2004); NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004).


96. Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. It is not clear whether callers from below the impact were trapped
in offices or otherwise obstructed from proceeding, or were simply calling to seek advice. In any case, the 911 operators and FDNY dispatchers who advised them did not appear to be basing their advice on these or other factual considerations.

97. Port Authority transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001.

98. For the quotation, see Civilian interview 6 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 7 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 14 (Apr. 7, 2004); Civilian interview 9 (Mar. 23, 2004); PANYNJ interview 7 (Jun. 2, 2004).

99. FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004); FDNY interview 24, Battalion 6 (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); NYPD interview 10, ESU (Mar. 1, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 10, Battalion 2, Dec. 6, 2001.

100. Civilian interview 7 (Mar. 22, 2004); Civilian interview 6 (Mar. 22, 2004); PAPD interview 4, Port Authority Bus Terminal Command (Nov. 20, 2003); NYPD interview 10, ESU (Mar. 1, 2004). For people killed by debris, see, e.g., WTC interview 9 (June 8, 2004).


102. For the 23 engines and 13 ladders dispatched, see FDNY records, computer-aided dispatch report, Sept. 11, 2001, 09:08:28–09:15:00. For units that self-dispatched, see FDNY interview 60, HQ (May 11, 2004); FDNY report, McKinsey & Company, “FDNY Report,” Aug. 19, 2002, p. 35. For units riding heavy, see ibid., p. 131; FDNY interview 25, Battalion 4 (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 21, Battalion 1 (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 7, Battalion 4 (Jan. 9, 2004); FDNY interview 9, Battalion 8 (Jan. 9, 2004); FDNY interview 50, Battalion 11 (Mar. 17, 2004); FDNY interview 31, Battalion 1 (Jan. 30, 2004); FDNY interview 34, Battalion 1 (Feb. 9, 2004). For extra personnel being a particular issue for SOC companies, see FDNY report, 9/11 fatalities list. For firefighters responding when told not to, see FDNY interview 46, Battalion 10 (Mar. 9, 2004). For firefighters responding from houses separately from the on-duty unit, see FDNY interview 46, Battalion 10 (Mar. 9, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 26, Battalion 2, Jan. 16, 2002; FDNY interview, transcript 14, Battalion 32, Dec. 12, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 19, Battalion 2, Jan. 8, 2002. For firefighters responding from home, see FDNY interview 14, Battalion 1 (Jan. 13, 2004); FDNY interview 17, Battalion 6 (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 19, Battalion 4 (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 6, Battalion 1 (Oct. 12, 2001); FDNY interview 11, Battalion 1 (Jan. 13, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 2, Battalion 2, Oct. 9, 2001. For numerous additional FDNY personnel reporting, see FDNY interview 3, Chief (Jan. 7, 2004); FDNY interview 8, Fire Marshall (Jan. 9, 2004).


104. For FDNY personnel requesting the repeater’s activation, see FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004). For one button on the repeater channel being activated, see PANYNJ interview 1 (Nov. 6, 2003); PANYNJ interview 4 (May 10, 2004); Port Authority records, measurements of repeater activation tones on Sept. 11, 2001, undated. For it being unclear who triggered activation, see WTC interview 6 (May 25, 2004). For the mechanics of activating the repeater, see PANYNJ interview 1 (Nov. 6, 2003); PANYNJ interview 4 (May 10, 2004).

105. For the testing of the repeater system, see Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001. For the master handset not being able to transmit, see PANYNJ interview 1 (Nov. 6, 2003); PANYNJ interview 4 (May 10, 2004); Port Authority records, measurements of repeater activation tones on Sept. 11, 2001, undated. For the chief on the handset not being able to hear, see Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001. On why he could not hear, see PANYNJ interview 1 (Nov. 6, 2003); PANYNJ interview 4 (May 10, 2004). For the repeater channel being in use in the South Tower, see Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001.

106. FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 5, Chief (Dec. 16, 2003). For the quotation, see Joseph Pfeifer testimony, May 18, 2004 (videotaped).


108. FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 5, Chief (Dec. 16, 2003).

109. On units ascending to the impact zone, see, e.g., FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004); FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004). On tasks below the impact zone, see FDNY interview 9, Battalion 8 (Jan. 9, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 16, Battalion 31, Dec. 20, 2001. For rescuing civilians on the 22nd floor, see PANYNJ recognition 1, undated.

110. See FDNY interview 58, Division 3 (Apr. 22, 2004). For units using tactical 1, see FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004).

111. See FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004); Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001. For equipment being carried, see ibid.

112. FDNY interview 38, Battalion 4 (Feb. 11, 2004). For the working elevator, see FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004).
interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 24, Battalion 6 (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 10, Battalion 1 (Jan. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 20, Battalion 6 (Jan. 22, 2004).

114. FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 30, Battalion 4 (Jan. 30, 2004); FDNY interview 13, Battalion 1 (Jan. 13, 2004); FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 26, Battalion 8 (Jan. 28, 2004).

115. FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 20, Battalion 6 (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004); FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 13, Battalion 1 (Jan. 13, 2004); NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 25, Battalion 1 (Jan. 23, 2004).

116. For the instruction to return to the lobby, see FDNY interview 5, Chief (Dec. 16, 2003); Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet video footage, Sept. 11, 2001. For the rumor being debunked, see FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004). For the chief in lobby asked about helicopters, see FDNY interview, transcript 7, Chief, Oct. 23, 2001. For the rejection of helicopters, see Rudolph Giuliani interview (Apr. 20, 2004).

117. For the diminished communications, see FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 5, Battalion 6 (Oct. 12, 2001); FDNY interview 42, Field Comm (Feb. 13, 2004); Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet video footage, Sept. 11, 2001; FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); FDNY interview 5, Chief (Dec. 16, 2003). For, e.g., FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004).

118. For firefighters on the 54th floor, see NYPD interview 23, Intelligence (June 10, 2004). For firefighters on the 44th floor, see PAPD interview 7, WTC Command (Nov. 25, 2004). For firefighters between the 5th and 37th floors, see FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004).

119. For their commencing operations, see Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001. For OEM field responder joining, see OEM interview 1 (Feb. 12, 2004). For units not rerouting to South Tower, see OEM interview 1 (Feb. 12, 2004); Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 4, Battalion 4, Oct. 9, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 20, Battalion 10 (Jan. 10, 2001).

120. For the ladder company in stairwell B, see Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001. For the other ladder company, see OEM interview 1 (Feb. 12, 2004). For the senior chief’s perspective, see Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001.

121. Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001.

122. For the chief’s situational awareness, see Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001; FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); FDNY interview 43, Chief (Mar. 3, 2004). For the senior chief’s perspective, see Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001.

123. Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001. It is unknown whether the lobby chief ceased to communicate on the repeater channel because of technical problems or because he simply switched channels in order to be able to communicate with chiefs outside the South Tower. The FDNY strongly maintains that there must have been a technical problem resulting from the impact of one of the planes, because they do not believe this chief would have switched channels without first so advising on the repeater channel. FDNY letter to the Commission, July 2, 2004. However, the repeater channel subsequently worked very well for FDNY personnel on the 78th floor and in an elevator on the 40th floor. Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001.

124. FDNY interview 37, Battalion 35 (Feb. 10, 2004); FDNY interview 2, Battalion 48 (Dec. 15, 2003); FDNY interview, transcript 11, Battalion 32, Dec. 12, 2001.

125. On the need for more companies, see FDNY interview 6, HQ (Jan. 8, 2004). For only two units being dispatched, see OEM interview 1 (Feb. 12, 2004); Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 4, Battalion 4, Oct. 9, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 20, Battalion 10, Jan. 10, 2001. For the delayed dispatch, see FDNY records, computer-aided dispatch report, alarm box 8087, Sept. 11, 2001, 09:03:00–09:10:02. For units staged at the Brooklyn–Battery tunnel, see ibid., alarm box 1377, Sept. 11, 2001, 08:52:59–09:47:05. On units who parked and walked, see FDNY interview 46, Battalion 10 (Mar. 9, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 24, Battalion 35, Jan. 25, 2002; FDNY interview, transcript 22, Battalion 7, Jan. 16, 2002. For confusion about the towers, see FDNY interview, transcript 8, Chief, Oct. 23, 2001; Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001. On the inability to find the staging area, see FDNY interview 2, Battalion 48 (Dec. 15, 2003); FDNY interview, transcript 17, Battalion 12, Dec. 20, 2001. On jumpers and debris, see FDNY interview 2, Battalion 48 (Dec. 15, 2003); FDNY interview 22, Battalion 28 (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 39, Battalion 35 (Feb. 11, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 11, Battalion 32, Dec. 12, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 15, Battalion 48, Dec. 13, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 17, Battalion 12, Dec. 20, 2001.
126. For the chief’s perspective, see FDNY interview 43, Chief (Mar. 3, 2004). For the four companies, see FDNY interview, transcript 13, Battalion 11, Dec. 12, 2001.
128. For the second alarm, see FDNY interview 6, HQ (Jan. 8, 2004). For the other units, see FDNY records, computer-aided dispatch report, alarm box 1377, Sept. 11, 2001, 09:42:45–09:47:05. For some having gone through the tunnel and responded to the Marriott, see FDNY interview, transcript 15, Battalion 48, Dec. 13, 2001.
129. Port Authority recording, WTC channel 30 (repeater channel), Sept. 11, 2001.
130. FDNY interview 42, Field Comm (Feb. 13, 2004); FDNY interview 45, HQ (Mar. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 46, Battalion 10 (Mar. 9, 2004); FDNY interview 18, Chief (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 27, HQ (Jan. 28, 2004); FDNY interview 47, Chief (Mar. 11, 2004); OEM interview 6 (Mar. 24, 2004).
132. Ibid.
133. FDNY interview 27, HQ (Jan. 28, 2004).
134. For no chief fearing a total collapse, see FDNY interview 45, HQ (Mar. 8, 2004); Thomas Von Essen interview (Apr. 7, 2004); FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004); FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); FDNY interview 5, Chief (Dec. 16, 2003). For one chief’s perspective, see FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004). For the opinion not being conveyed, see FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004); FDNY interview 5, Chief (Dec. 16, 2003).
135. FDNY interview 5, Chief (Dec. 16, 2003).
137. NYPD interview 8, HQ (Feb. 24, 2004). Each Level 4 mobilization fields about 1,000 officers.
138. NYPD interview 8, HQ (Feb. 24, 2004).
139. For the ESU team’s arrival in the North Tower and attempt to talk with the FDNY chiefs without OEM intervention, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001; NYPD interview 5, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004).
140. For the ESU team’s arrival in the North Tower and attempt to talk with the FDNY chiefs without OEM intervention, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001; NYPD interview 5, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004). For the decision to have the ESU team ascend, see NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004). For the first ESU team in the South Tower checking in with the FDNY command post there, see OEM interview 1 (Feb. 12, 2004).
141. For the ESU teams’ preparations and one team entering the South Tower, see NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004). For the fifth team’s status at 9:59, see NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004); NYPD interview 7, ESU (Feb. 20, 2004). For the team at the North Tower, see NYPD interview 11, ESU (Mar. 9, 2004); NYPD interview 10, ESU (Mar. 1, 2004).
142. NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004).
143. New York City Police Museum interview of Kenneth Winkler, Apr. 17, 2003 (videotaped); NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004).
144. For the instructions to civilians, see NYPD interview 3, HQ (Jan. 15, 2004). For the pilots at 5 WTC and the concourse, see NYPD memo, requests for departmental recognition 3 and 5, June 26, 2002; NYPD memo, request for departmental recognition 3, June 26, 2002. For officers in the South Tower, see NYPD memo, request for departmental recognition 3, June 26, 2002. For officers assigned to rescue, see Port Authority transcripts.

152. For the PAPD Superintendent and inspector’s ascent, see PAPD statement 3, WTC Command, Nov. 12, 2001. For the PAPD Chief’s and officers’ ascent, see PANYNJ statement 1, Feb. 1, 2002. For the calls to the PAPD desk, see Port Authority transcripts of recorded Port Authority calls and radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001, vol. II, channel 10, pp. 16–17.

153. For officers responding on their own initiative, see PAPD interview 8, JFK Command (Mar. 31, 2004); PAPD statement 11, WTC Command, Mar. 28, 2002. For the desk’s instructions, see PAPD statement 10, Port Authority Bus Terminal Command, Mar. 20, 2002; PAPD interview 3, LaGuardia Command (Nov. 20, 2003). For formulating an ad hoc plan, see PAPD interview 3, LaGuardia Command (Nov. 20, 2003); PAPD statement 6, Port Authority Bus Terminal Command, Jan. 4, 2002. For poor situational awareness, see PAPD statement 7, Administrative Command, Jan. 6, 2002; PAPD interview 8, JFK Command (Mar. 31, 2004). For the lack of equipment, see PAPD interview 9, LaGuardia Command (Apr. 1, 2004); PAPD statement 13, Port Newark Command, Mar. 5, 2002.

154. On the PAPD officer reaching the 44th floor, see PAPD interview 7, WTC Command (Nov. 25, 2003). For the PAPD teams, see PAPD statement 4, Administrative Command, Nov. 24, 2001; PAPD interview 1, WTC Command (Oct. 14, 2003). For the officers climbing, see PAPD statement 3, WTC Command, Nov. 12, 2001. For officers on the ground floors, see PAPD interview 4, Port Authority Bus Terminal Command (Nov. 20, 2003); PAPD interview 2, Holland Tunnel Command (Oct. 27, 2003); PAPD statement 2, WTC Command, Nov. 10, 2001.


157. For information about 911 calls, see Commission analysis of 911/PAPD calls. For people alive on the 92nd and 79th floors, see ibid.; Civilian interview 5 (May 26, 2004). For civilians being assisted, see PAPD interview 4, Port Authority Bus Terminal Command (Nov. 6, 2004); NYPD interview 10, ESU (Mar. 1, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 10, Battalion 2, Dec. 6, 2001. For injured civilians being assisted, see FDNY interview, transcript 10, Battalion 2, Dec. 6, 2001; FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004); PAPD interview 6, Lincoln Tunnel Command (Nov. 24, 2003).

158. For the overall command post, see FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004). For the North Tower lobby, see FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004). For South Tower staging, see FDNY interview 6, HQ (Jan. 8, 2004). For EMS staging areas, see FDNY interview 32, Chief (Feb. 9, 2004); FDNY interview 35, EMS (Feb. 10, 2004).

159. For situational awareness in North Tower lobby, see FDNY interview 15, Chief (Jan. 14, 2004). For overall command post, see FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004).

160. For the collapse’s effect on the firefighters, see FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 25, Battalion 1 (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 24, Battalion 6 (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004). For the reaction of firefighters not facing the south, see FDNY interview 7, Battalion 4 (Jan. 9, 2004); FDNY interview 10, Battalion 1 (Jan. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 12, Battalion 4 (Jan. 13, 2004); FDNY interview 26, Battalion 8 (Jan. 28, 2004); FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004).

161. It is possible that the repeater channel satellite on the roof of 5 WTC was damaged or destroyed when the South Tower collapsed. That the repeater channel stopped recording transmissions at 9:59 does not mean transmissions no longer could be made on it.

162. For the FDNY boat radioing of the collapse, see FDNY recording, FDNY Manhattan Dispatch Channel, Sept. 11, 2001. For the van being abandoned, see FDNY interview 42, Field Comm (Feb. 13, 2004). For the order one minute after the collapse, see FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); Jules Nautel and Gedeon Nautel, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001. For the subsequent order, see FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004).

163. For evacuation instructions, our analysis is based on more than 100 interviews we conducted and our review of 500 internal FDNY interview transcripts. For three firefighters hearing “imminent collapse,” see FDNY interview, transcript 20, Battalion 10, Jan. 10, 2002; FDNY interview, transcript 23, Battalion 7, Jan. 21, 2002; FDNY interview, transcript 21, Battalion 8, Jan. 9, 2002.

164. For firefighters hearing orders over tactical 1, see, e.g., FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004). For one chief giving the instruction, see FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004).

165. For the chief on the 35th floor and the first instruction, see FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004). For the chief on the 23rd floor, see FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004). For the chief on the 35th floor hearing of the South Tower collapse and taking subsequent
action, see FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004). For firefighters beginning to evacuate because of these chiefs, see, e.g., FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 9, Battalion 6, Dec. 5, 2001.

166. For radios not working in high-rise environments, see FDNY interview 9, Battalion 8 (Jan. 9, 2004); FDNY interview 13, Battalion 1 (Jan. 13, 2004). For tactical 1 being overburdened, see FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004). For the quotation, see FDNY interview, transcript 9, Battalion 6, Dec. 5, 2001.

167. For off-duty firefighters in the North Tower, see NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); FDNY interview 24, Battalion 6 (Jan. 23, 2004). For firefighters dispatched to the South Tower, see FDNY interview 53, Battalion 11 (Apr. 14, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 20, Battalion 10, Jan. 10, 2001.

168. For units stopping or delaying evacuation to help, see FDNY interview 40, Battalion 4 (Feb. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 59, Battalion 2 (Apr. 22, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 3, Battalion 2, Oct. 9, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 5, Battalion 6, Oct. 12, 2001. For companies first trying to regroup, see FDNY interview, transcript 3, Battalion 2, Oct. 9, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 4, Battalion 4, Oct. 9, 2001. For the lack of urgency, see FDNY interview 57, SOC (Apr. 15, 2004); FDNY interview 25, Battalion 1 (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 9, Battalion 6, Dec. 5, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 4, Battalion 4, Oct. 9, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 3, Battalion 2, Oct. 9, 2001. For the belief that urgency would have increased on learning of the South Tower’s collapse, see FDNY interview, transcript 9, Battalion 6, Dec. 5, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 5, Battalion 6, Oct. 12, 2001. For firefighters sitting and not evacuating, see FDNY interview 16, Battalion 1 (Jan. 20, 2004); NY State Court interview 1 (June 22, 2004). For firefighters not leaving while others remained and convincing others to stay with them, see FDNY interview, transcript 4, Battalion 4, Oct. 9, 2001; FDNY interview 57, SOC (Apr. 15, 2004).

169. FDNY interview 57, SOC (Apr. 15, 2004); FDNY interview 55, Battalion 8 (Apr. 15, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 9, Battalion 6, Dec. 5, 2001; FDNY interview 59, Battalion 2 (Apr. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 10, Battalion 1 (Jan. 12, 2004); FDNY interview 7, Battalion 4 (Jan. 9, 2004); FDNY interview 13, Battalion 1 (Jan. 13, 2004); FDNY interview 23, Chief (Jan. 23, 2004); FDNY interview 26, Battalion 8 (Jan. 28, 2004); FDNY interview 12, Battalion 4 (Jan. 13, 2004).


171. For hotel’s damage, see Jules Naudet and Gedeon Naudet, video footage, Sept. 11, 2001. For individuals in the lobby, see FDNY interview 43, Chief (Mar. 3, 2004); FDNY interview 36, Chief (Feb. 10, 2004); FDNY interview 1, Chief (Mar. 26, 2004). On assisting the civilians, see FDNY interview 43, Chief (Mar. 3, 2004). For the line of 20 men and the 4 survivors, see FDNY interview, transcript 13, Battalion 11, Dec. 12, 2001.

172. For the two companies and their actions, see FDNY interview 22, Battalion 28 (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 37, Battalion 35 (Feb. 10, 2004); FDNY interview 39, Battalion 35 (Feb. 11, 2004); FDNY interview 41, Battalion 35 (Feb. 12, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 12, Battalion 35, Dec. 12, 2001. For the PAPD having cleared the area, see PAPD statement 3, WTC command, Nov. 12, 2001. For FDNY personnel checking the area afterward, see FDNY interview, transcript 12, Battalion 35, Dec. 12, 2001.

173. For the senior leaders confirming the collapse, and the Chief of Department issuing a radio order, see FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004). For his ordering the post’s relocation and two companies to respond, see FDNY interview 45, HQ (Mar. 8, 2004).

174. For the chiefs’ delay in learning of the collapse, see FDNY interview 4, Chief (Jan. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 56, Chief (Apr. 23, 2004). On one chief’s view of the North Tower, see FDNY interview 51 (Apr. 2, 2004); FDNY interview 36, Chief (Feb. 10, 2004).

175. For firefighters’ actions after the collapse, see FDNY interview 49, Chief (Mar. 17, 2004); FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004); FDNY interview 36, Chief (Feb. 10, 2004); FDNY interview 45, HQ (Mar. 8, 2004); FDNY interview 51 (Apr. 2, 2004); FDNY interview 22, Battalion 28 (Jan. 22, 2004); FDNY interview 1, Chief (Mar. 26, 2004); FDNY interview, transcript 1, Battalion 7, Jan. 28, 2001; FDNY interview, transcript 12, Battalion 35, Dec. 12, 2001. For some not knowing about the collapse but others knowing and remaining to help, see FDNY interview 49, Chief (Mar. 17, 2004); FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004); FDNY interview 36, Chief (Feb. 10, 2004); FDNY interview 45, HQ (Mar. 8, 2004). For the quotation, see FDNY interview 49, Chief (Mar. 17, 2004). For the firefighterdirecting those exiting, see FDNY interview 29, Battalion 1 (Jan. 29, 2004); FDNY interview 24, Battalion 6 (Jan. 23, 2004). For the using a bullhorn, see FDNY interview 52, Chief (Apr. 5, 2004). For the three senior members’ actions, see FDNY interview 51 (Apr. 2, 2004).

176. NYPD recordings, City Wide 1 and Special Operations Division radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001; see also NYPD interview 12, Aviation (Mar. 10, 2004); NYPD interview 14, Aviation (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 13, Aviation (Mar. 10, 2004); NYPD interview 16, Aviation (Apr. 1, 2004).

177. NYPD recordings, City Wide 1, Special Operations Division, and Divisions 1, 2, and 3 radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001; NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004).

178. For the ESU teams’ situational awareness, see, e.g., NYPD interview 5, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004). For the evacuation order, see NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004).

179. For the message being clearly heard, see, e.g., NYPD interview 5, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); NYPD interview
6. ESU (Feb. 19, 2004). For the subsequent exchange, see NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); NYPD interview 5, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004).

180. For the ESU team’s perspective, see NYPD interview 5, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004); NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004). For a firefighter stating he would not take instructions from the NYPD, see FDNY interview 38, Battalion 4 (Feb. 11, 2004). For a firefighter alleging that ESU officers passed him without sharing evacuation instruction, see FDNY interview 57, SOC (Apr. 15, 2004). A member of the only ESU team that this firefighter could have encountered above the 11th floor states that his team did share its evacuation instruction with firefighters it encountered. NYPD interview 6, ESU (Feb. 19, 2004).

181. NYPD interview 11, ESU (Mar. 9, 2004); NYPD interview 10, ESU (Mar. 1, 2004).

182. NYPD interview 7, ESU (Feb. 20, 2004); NYPD interview 15, ESU (Mar. 11, 2004); NYPD interview 18, ESU (Feb. 24, 2004).

183. NYPD interview 22, Intelligence (June 10, 2004); NYPD interview 23, Intelligence (June 10, 2004); NYPD interview 24, Intelligence (June 15, 2004).

184. NYPD interview 20, Manhattan South Task Force (May 4, 2004); NYPD interview 21, 6th Precinct (May 4, 2004); NYPD interview 4, Housing (Feb. 17, 2004); PAPD interview 4, Port Authority Bus Terminal Command (Nov. 20, 2003).

185. For officers being in the concourse, see NYPD recordings, City Wide 1, Special Operations Division, and Divisions 1, 2, and 3 radio channels, Sept. 11, 2001. For the survivors’ actions, see NYPD memo, requests for departmental recognition 3, 4, 5 and 6, June 26, 2002; NYPD interview 19, 13th Precinct (May 4, 2004); NYPD interview 2, Transit (Jan. 2, 2004).

186. For the collapse’s effect, see PAPD interview 3, LaGuardia Command (Nov. 20, 2003). For officers not receiving the evacuation order, see PAPD interview 7, WTC Command (Nov. 25, 2003); PAPD interview 5, Lincoln Tunnel Command (Nov. 24, 2003). For officers deciding to evacuate, see PAPD interview 10, GW Bridge Command (Sept. 25, 2003); PAPD statement 5, Lincoln Tunnel Command (Dec. 10, 2001). For officers slowing their descent, see PAPD interview 10, GW Bridge Command (Sept. 25, 2003).


188. According to the number of death certificates issued by the New York City Medical Examiner’s Office, the WTC attacks killed 2,749 nonterrorists, including nonterrorist occupants of the hijacked aircraft. New York City Office of the Chief Medical Examiner report, “WTC Victim List,” undated (as of July 9, 2004). The Pentagon attack killed 184 nonterrorists, including the occupants of the hijacked aircraft. FBI report, list of Pentagon victims, undated (as of July 9, 2004). Forty nonterrorists died in the crash of United Airlines Flight 93 in Pennsylvania. FBI report, list of Flight 93 victims, undated (as of July 9, 2004). Our conclusion that these first responder death totals were the largest in U.S. history is based on our inability to find contrary evidence. For FDNY fatalities, see FDNY report, September 11 tribute, undated (online at www.ci.nyc.ny.us/html/fdny/media/tribute/tribute.html). For PAPD fatalities, see PAPD report, “In Memoriam,” undated (online at www.panynj.gov/AboutthePortAuthority/PortAuthorityPolice/InMemoriam/). For NYPD fatalities, see NYPD report, “NYPD Memorial: 2001 Heroes,” undated (online at www.ci.nyc.ny.us/html/nypd/html/memorial_01.html).

189. Rudolph Giuliani interview (Apr. 20, 2004); OEM interview 3 (Mar. 16, 2004); Richard Sheirer interview (Apr. 7, 2004); Thomas Von Essen interview (Apr. 7, 2004); Bernard Kerik interview (Apr. 6, 2004).

190. The Incident Command System (ICS) is a formalized management structure for command, control, and coordination during an emergency response. ICS provides a means to coordinate the efforts of individual agencies as they work toward the three main priorities of most emergencies—life safety, incident stability, and property/environment conservation. Within ICS, incident command is organized into five major components: the command function, the planning section, the operations section, the logistics section, and the finance/administration section. When multiple agencies or jurisdictions are involved in a response, ICS provides for and can evolve into a unified command, with a decisionmaker from each key agency represented at the incident command level. For the system being used on 9/11, see, e.g., Arlington County, Virginia, report, Titan Systems Corp., “Arlington County: After-Action Report on the Response to the September 11 Terrorist Attack on the Pentagon,” 2002, pp. 11, A-20–A-21.


193. For reasons the response was mainly a success, see Arlington County, “After-Action Report,” pp. 11–12; Edward Plaugher interview (Oct. 16, 2003). For preparations for the International Monetary Fund and the World...

194. For a list of the response agencies, see James Schwartz and Christopher Combs, “Incident Command, Joint Operations Center and Incident Communications,” July 28, 2003 (presented at conference in Arlington, Va., “Local Response to Terrorism: Lessons Learned from the 9/11 Attack on the Pentagon”). When the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms moved from the Department of the Treasury to the Department of Justice after 9/11 in connection with the creation of DHS, it was renamed the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (still abbreviated ATF); see ATF press release, “ATF Moves to the Department of Justice,” Jan. 24, 2003.

195. For the establishment of incident command on September 11, see Arlington County, “After-Action Report,” appendix 1, p. 1-1; Schwartz and Combs, “Incident Command.”


200. For the estimate, see NIST report, “WTC Investigation Progress,” June 22–23, 2004. For the updated death certificate information, see New York City report, “WTC Victim List,” June 21, 2004. The analysis in this paragraph is based upon the following sources: CNN, “September 11: A Memorial,” updated 2004 (online at www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/memorial/index.html); company contacts, June 29, 2004 (online at http://worldtradeaftermath.com/wta/contacts/companies_list.asp?letter=a); CNN, WTC tenants, 2001 (online at www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/trade.center/tenants1.html); September 11 personal tributes, June 19, 2004 (online at www.legacy.com/LegacyTribute/Sept11.asp); September 11 personal profiles, Oct. 11, 2003 (online at www.september11victims.com/september11Victims); September 11 personal profiles, Oct. 11, 2003 (online at www.legacy.com/LegacyTribute/Sept11.asp); September 11 profiles, Oct. 11, 2003 (online at www.september11victims.com/september11Victims); New York Times, Portraits: 9/11/01: The Collected “Portraits of Grief” (Times Books, 2002). It is possible that a person who worked above the impact zone had not yet reached his or her office and was killed below the impact zone, either by falling debris, by the fireballs that exploded into the lobby, or by being trapped in an elevator. Individuals below the impact zone may have been killed for the same reasons. Individuals may also have been killed while in the process of evacuating.

201. Ironically, had the towers remained up longer, scores more first responders would have died. Twenty-six additional FDNY companies—more than 150 firefighters—were en route at the time of the South Tower’s collapse, and scores more PAPD officers on Church and Vesey were preparing to enter the towers.

202. The “advisory” announcement directed by protocol (without the expanded instruction for occupants to return to their floors) would have given greater leeway to those who judged, based on a firsthand awareness of conditions on their floors (e.g., some could feel heat from North Tower explosion), that evacuation was warranted. In retrospect, occupants would only have had to reach a point below the 77th floor to be safe.

203. Appended to the directive was a list of different types of emergencies with designated Incident Commanders. Terrorist incidents were subdivided according to the types of attack. Conventional weapons and bomb threats were assigned to the NYPD, while chemical, biological, and nuclear attacks designated “NYPD or FDNY” as the Incident Commander. The directive noted: “The handling of a threat of a chemical or biological release or the use of conventional weapons falls to the NYPD. Dealing with the consequences of the explosion or release is the responsibility of the FDNY. The investigation that follows, once the consequences of the event have been mitigated, is the responsibility of the NYPD. Any conflicts regarding the issue of Command at these incidents will be resolved by OEM.” New York City memo, Office of the Mayor, “Direction and Control of Emergencies in the City of New York,” July 2001.

204. For the NYPD clearing lanes, see, e.g., FDNY interview 43, Chief (Mar. 3, 2004).

205. For the Mayor and Police Commissioner’s consultation with the FDNY Chief of Department, see Rudolph Giuliani interview (Apr. 20, 2004).

206. The FDNY’s lack of command and control had some unintended positive consequences. One battalion chief was dispatched to the South Tower but instead responded to the North Tower, where he was instrumental in saving many lives after the South Tower collapsed. Some FDNY units dispatched to the South Tower—where they would have perished—instead were mistakenly sent to the North Tower and in many cases survived.

207. For the FDNY addressing these issues, see generally FDNY report, McKinsey & Company, “FDNY Report,” Aug. 19, 2002; Peter Hayden interview (Jan. 14, 2004). For the PAPD not changing standard operating procedures or training, see PAPD regulations, “Manual of Police Division Instructions,” undated (in existence before and after 9/11); Barry Pickard interview (Nov. 24, 2003).

208. One instance in which the FDNY/NYPD rivalry may have had an impact on the total fatalities was the alleged failure of ESU officers descending past at least two firefighters after 9:59 in the North Tower to share their evacuation instructions. It should be noted, however, that at least one firefighter has conceded that he, too, descended past other stationary firefighters without telling them to evacuate. In addition, according to one of the ESU offi-
cers and one of the firefighters in the North Tower, at least some FDNY personnel were unwilling to take evacuation orders from that morning.

209. Based on more than 100 interviews we conducted and our review of 500 internal FDNY interview transcripts, we conclude that out of these 32 companies, all on-duty members of 19 companies are likely to have known to evacuate (Engine Companies 1, 4, 7, 9, 15, 16, 21, 24, 28, 33, 39, and 65; Ladder Companies 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 110; and Rescue 1). We also conclude that at least some members of each of five companies knew to evacuate (two firefighters from Ladder Company 10; the officer of Ladder Company 20; all but the officer of Engine Company 10; at least two firefighters from Squad 18; and at least three firefighters from Engine 6). We do not know whether members of the other eight companies knew to evacuate (Engine Companies 55, 207, and 226; Rescue 2, 3, and 4; Hazmat 1; and Squad 1) because they all died, and we have come across no on-point eyewitness accounts related to their operations. It is very possible that at least some of these firefighters did hear the evacuation order but nevertheless failed to evacuate in the only 29-minute period between the collapse of the two towers. In addition, it is possible that several of the eight companies for which we have no record of their receiving evacuation instructions were in the South Tower and thus died in its earlier collapse.


10 Wartime

1. All times are Eastern Daylight Time. Sometime around 10:30, after the decision had already been made not to return to Washington, a reported threat to “Angel”—the code word for Air Force One—was widely disseminated in the Presidential Emergency Operations Center (PEOC) and aboard Air Force One. Notes from the morning indicate that Vice President Cheney informed President Bush in a phone conversation shortly after 10:30 that an anonymous threat had been phoned into the White House that was viewed as credible. At about the same time, news of the threat was conveyed on the air threat conference call.

The Secret Service’s Intelligence Division tracked down the origin of this threat and, during the day, determined that it had originated in a misunderstanding by a watch officer in the White House Situation Room. The director of the White House Situation Room that day disputes this account. But the Intelligence Division had the primary job of running down the story, and we found their witnesses on this point to be credible. During the afternoon of September 11 the leadership of the Secret Service was satisfied that the reported threat to “Angel” was unfounded.

At the White House press briefing on September 12, spokesperson Ari Fleischer described the threat to Air Force One as “real and credible.” White House transcript, Press Briefing by Ari Fleischer, Sept. 12, 2001 (online at www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/print/20010912-8.html). Fleischer told us he cited the information in good faith. Indeed, Fleischer had conferred with Vice President Cheney and Karen Hughes before the briefing, and they had decided to let people know about the threat, all of them believing it was true. According to Fleischer, only weeks later did he learn—from press reports—that the threat was unfounded. We have not found any evidence that contradicts his account. Ari Fleischer interview (Apr. 22, 2004); Chuck Green interview (Mar. 10, 2004); Deborah Loewer meeting (Feb. 6, 2004); Ralph Sigler meeting (May 10, 2004); Andrew Card meeting (Mar. 31, 2004); Edward Marinzel interview (Apr. 21, 2004); Secret Service briefing (Jan. 29, 2004).

2. Edward Marinzel interview (Apr. 21, 2004); USSS memo, interview with Edward Marinzel, Oct. 3, 2001; President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004); Ari Fleischer interview (Apr. 22, 2004); Deborah Loewer meeting (Feb. 6, 2004); White House record, PEOC Watch Log, Sept. 11, 2001.

3. Commission analysis of Air Force One radar data; Edward Marinzel interview (Apr. 21, 2004); USSS memo, interview with Edward Marinzel, Oct. 3, 2001; President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004); Ari Fleischer interview (Apr. 22, 2004); Deborah Loewer meeting (Feb. 6, 2004); White House record, Situation Room Communications Log, Sept. 11, 2001.

4. White House transcript, Rice interview with Bob Woodward of the Washington Post, Oct. 24, 2001, p. 367. In the interview, Rice also said the President characterized the war as “global in nature.” Ibid.

5. White House transcript, Rice interview with Bob Woodward of the Washington Post, Oct. 24, 2001, p. 367. In the interview, Rice also said the President characterized the war as “global in nature.” Ibid.

6. See White House transcript, Rice interview with Scott Pelley of CBS, Aug. 2, 2002, p. 408; but see Rice’s statement to Bob Woodward: “In the first video conference, the assumption that everybody kind of shared was that it was global terrorists. . . . I don’t believe anybody said this is likely al Qaeda. I don’t think so.” White House transcript, Rice interview with Bob Woodward, Oct. 24, 2001, p. 367.

7. NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions of Deputies Committee Meeting (held by secure teleconference), Sept. 11, 2001.

8. The Secretary’s decision was broadcast on the air threat conference call at 10:43. A minute later, Secretary Rumsfeld spoke to the Vice President, and he asked Rumsfeld to run the issue by the President. At 10:45 conference calls were told to “hold off” on Defcon 3, but a minute later the order was reinstated. Rumsfeld believed the matter was urgent and, having consulted DOD directives, concluded he had the authority to issue the order and would brief the President. Rumsfeld briefed the President on the decision at 11:15. See DOD transcript, Air Threat Conference Call, Sept. 11, 2001; Stephen Cambone interviews (July 8, 2004; July 12, 2004); DOD notes, Stephen Cambone notes, Sept. 11, 2001.
The 9/11 crisis tested the U.S. government’s plans and capabilities to ensure the continuity of constitutional government and the continuity of government operations. We did not investigate this topic, except as needed in order to understand the activities and communications of key officials on 9/11. The Chair, Vice Chair, and senior staff were briefed on the general nature and implementation of these continuity plans.

We studied this episode and interviewed many of the participants. The NYSE, Amex, and Nasdaq have developed plans for coordination and cooperation in the event of a disaster affecting one or all of them, but these plans do not include other exchanges or international components. The White House efforts during the crisis were coordinated plans for coordination and cooperation in the event of a disaster affecting one or all of them, but these plans were coordinated by the President’s Working Group on Financial Markets, a group created in the 1980s.

The EPA press releases were coordinated with Samuel Thernstrom, associate director for communications at the White House Council on Environmental Quality. Oral reports, interviews with EPA officials, and materials on the EPA’s Web site were not coordinated through the White House. Although the White House review process resulted in some editorial changes to the press releases, these changes were consistent with what the EPA had already been saying without White House clearance. See, e.g., David France and Erika Check, “Asbestos Alert; How much of the chemical does the World Trade Center wreckage contain?” *Newsweek Web Exclusive*, Sept. 14, 2001 (quoting EPA Administrator Whitman as saying the air quality is not a health problem); Andrew C. Revkin, “After the Attacks: The Chemicals; Monitors Say Health Risk From Smoke Is Very Small,” *New York Times*, Sept. 14, 2001, p. A6 (EPA says levels of airborne asbestos below threshold of concern); Hugo Kugiya, “Terrorist Attacks; Asbestos Targeted in Cleanup Effort; EPA’s Whitman: ‘No reason for concern,’” *Newsday*, Sept. 16, 2001, p. W31 (Whitman says there is no reason for concern given EPA tests for asbestos). There were disputes between the EPA’s communications person and the White House coordinator regarding the press releases. The EPA communications person said she felt extreme pressure from the White House coordinator, and felt that they were no longer her press releases. EPA Inspector General interview of Tina Kreisher, Aug. 28, 2002. The White House coordinator, however, told us that these disputes were solely concerned with process, not the actual substance of the releases. Samuel Thernstrom interview (Mar. 31, 2004). Former EPA administrator Christine Whitman agreed with the White House coordinator. Christine Whitman interview (June 28, 2004) The documentary evidence supports this claim. Although Whitman told us she spoke with White House senior economic adviser Lawrence Lindsey regarding the need to get the financial markets open quickly, she denied he pressured her to declare the air was safe due to economic expediency. We found no evidence of pressure on EPA to say the air was safe in order to permit the markets to reopen. Moreover, the most controversial release that specifically declared the air safe to breathe was released after the markets had already reopened.

The EPA did not have the health-based benchmarks needed to assess the extraordinary air quality conditions in Lower Manhattan after 9/11. The EPA and the White House therefore improvised and applied standards developed for other circumstances in order to make pronouncements regarding air safety, advising workers at Ground Zero to use protective gear and advising the general population that the air was safe. Whether those improvisations were appropriate is still a subject for medical and scientific debate. See EPA Inspector General report, “EPA’s Response to the World Trade Center Collapse: Challenges, Successes, and Areas for Improvement,” Aug. 21, 2003.

We do not have the expertise to examine the scientific accuracy of the pronouncements in the press releases. The issue is the subject of pending civil litigation.

We did examine whether the White House improperly influenced the content of the press releases so that they would intentionally mislead the public. The EPA press releases were coordinated with Samuel Thernstrom, associate director for communications at the White House Council on Environmental Quality. Oral reports, interviews with EPA officials, and materials on the EPA’s Web site were not coordinated through the White House. Although the White House review process resulted in some editorial changes to the press releases, these changes were consistent with what the EPA had already been saying without White House clearance. See, e.g., David France and Erika Check, “Asbestos Alert; How much of the chemical does the World Trade Center wreckage contain?” *Newsweek Web Exclusive*, Sept. 14, 2001 (quoting EPA Administrator Whitman as saying the air quality is not a health problem); Andrew C. Revkin, “After the Attacks: The Chemicals; Monitors Say Health Risk From Smoke Is Very Small,” *New York Times*, Sept. 14, 2001, p. A6 (EPA says levels of airborne asbestos below threshold of concern); Hugo Kugiya, “Terrorist Attacks; Asbestos Targeted in Cleanup Effort; EPA’s Whitman: ‘No reason for concern,’” *Newsday*, Sept. 16, 2001, p. W31 (Whitman says there is no reason for concern given EPA tests for asbestos). There were disputes between the EPA’s communications person and the White House coordinator regarding the press releases. The EPA communications person said she felt extreme pressure from the White House coordinator, and felt that they were no longer her press releases. EPA Inspector General interview of Tina Kreisher, Aug. 28, 2002. The White House coordinator, however, told us that these disputes were solely concerned with process, not the actual substance of the releases. Samuel Thernstrom interview (Mar. 31, 2004). Former EPA administrator Christine Whitman agreed with the White House coordinator. Christine Whitman interview (June 28, 2004) The documentary evidence supports this claim. Although Whitman told us she spoke with White House senior economic adviser Lawrence Lindsey regarding the need to get the financial markets open quickly, she denied he pressured her to declare the air was safe due to economic expediency. We found no evidence of pressure on EPA to say the air was safe in order to permit the markets to reopen. Moreover, the most controversial release that specifically declared the air safe to breathe was released after the markets had already reopened.

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Following interim reports in 1999 and 2000, a congressional commission...
chaired by former senators Gary Hart and Warren Rudman, and directed by retired general Charles Boyd, had, in January 2001, recommended the creation of a cabinet department dedicated to “homeland security.” In May 2001, President Bush named Vice President Cheney to head a task force on problems of national preparedness. His recently hired coordinator, Admiral Steven Abbot, had started work just before the 9/11 attack.

17. Ashcroft told us that he established a “hold until cleared” policy because of the high rate of flight from deportation proceedings. John Ashcroft testimony, Apr. 13, 2004. For closure of hearings and secrecy of the detainee names, see DOJ email, Chief Immigration Judge Michael Creppy to all immigration judges, “Cases requiring special procedures,” Sept. 21, 2001. This policy has been challenged in two U.S. courts of appeals. The Sixth Circuit held that there is a constitutional right of public access to these hearings; the Third Circuit reached the opposite result. The Supreme Court has not yet decided to resolve this “circuit split.” See Detroit Free Press v. Ashcroft, 303 F.3d 681 (6th Cir. 2002); North Jersey Media Group, Inc. v. Ashcroft, 308 F.3d 198 (3d Cir. 2002), cert. denied, 123 S.Ct. 2215 (2003). For the length of the clearance process, see DOJ Inspector General report, “The September 11 Detainees: A Review of the Treatment of Aliens Held on Immigration Charges in Connection with the Investigation of the September 11 Attacks,” Apr. 2003, p. 51.


19. John Ashcroft testimony, Apr. 13, 2004; DOJ record, “Special Interest Cases,” Sept. 16, 2003. These numbers do not add up to 768 because we have not included all categories. Some of those remanded to the Marshals Service were held as material witnesses, and individuals were released “on bond” only after they were “cleared” by the FBI of any connection to 9/11. For the response to our questions about the 9/11 detainee program, see DOJ emails, Daniel Levin to the Commission, July 9, 2004; July 13, 2004. There is one exception to the statement in the text that the detainees were lawfully held on immigration charges; one detainee was held for a short time “despite the fact that there was no valid immigration charge.” DOJ Inspector General report, “The September 11 Detainees,” Apr. 2003, p. 15, n. 22. See also Khaled Medhat Abou El Fadl testimony, Dec. 8, 2003.


23. On the early development of the Patriot Act, see, e.g., Brill, After, pp. 73–76, 120–125.

24. During the morning of September 11, the FAA suspended all nonemergency air activity in the national airspace. While the national airspace was closed, decisions to allow aircraft to fly were made by the FAA working with the Department of Defense, Department of State, U.S. Secret Service, and the FBI. The Department of Transportation reopened the national airspace to U.S. carriers effective 11:00 A.M. on September 13, 2001, for flights out of or into airports that had implemented the FAA’s new security requirements. See FAA response to Commission questions for the record, June 8, 2004.

25. After the airspace reopened, nine chartered flights with 160 people, mostly Saudi nationals, departed from the United States between September 14 and 24. In addition, one Saudi government flight, containing the Saudi deputy defense minister and other members of an official Saudi delegation, departed Newark Airport on September 14. Every airport involved in these Saudi flights was open when the flight departed, and no inappropriate actions were taken to allow those flights to depart. See City of St. Louis Airport Authority, Lambert–St. Louis International Airport response to Commission questions for the record, May 27, 2004; Los Angeles International Airport response to Commission questions for the record, June 2, 2004; Greater Orlando Aviation Authority, Orlando International Airport response to Commission questions for the record, June 8, 2004; Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority, Washington Dulles International Airport response to Commission questions for the record, June 8, 2004; Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, JFK Airport response to Commission questions for the record, June 4, 2004; Massachusetts Port Authority, Logan International Airport, and Hanscom Airfield response to Commission questions for the record, June 17, 2004; Las Vegas–McCarran International Airport response to Commission questions for the record, June 22, 2004; Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, Newark Airport response to supplemental question for the record, July 9, 2004.

Another particular allegation is that a flight carrying Saudi nationals from Tampa, Florida, to Lexington, Kentucky, was allowed to fly while airspace was closed, with special approval by senior U.S. government officials. On September 13, Tampa police brought three young Saudis they were protecting on an off-duty security detail to the airport so they could get on a plane to Lexington. Tampa police arranged for two private investigators to provide security on the flight. They boarded a chartered Learjet. Dan Grossi interview (May 24, 2004); Manuel Perez interview (May 27, 2004); John Solomon interview (June 4, 2004); Michael Fendle interview (June 4, 2004). The plane took off at 4:37 P.M., after national airspace was open, more than five hours after the Tampa airport had reopened, and after other flights had arrived at and departed from that airport. Hillsborough County Aviation Authority, Tampa International Airport response to Commission questions for the record, June 7, 2004. The plane’s pilot told us there was “nothing unusual whatsoever” about the flight other than there were few airplanes in the sky. The company’s owner and director of operations agreed, saying that “it was just a routine little trip for us” and that he would have
heard if there had been anything unusual about it. The pilot said he followed standard procedures and filed his flight plan with the FAA prior to the flight, adding, “I was never questioned about it.” Christopher Steele interview (June 14, 2004); Barry Ellis interview (June 14, 2004). FAA records confirm this account. FAA supplemental response to Commission questions for the record, June 8, 2004. When the plane arrived at Lexington Blue Grass Airport, that airport had also been open for more than five hours. Lexington–Fayette Urban County Airport Board, Blue Grass Airport response to Commission questions for the record, June 8, 2004. The three Saudi nationals debarked from the plane and were met by local police. Their private security guards were paid, and the police then escorted the three Saudi passengers to a hotel where they joined relatives already in Lexington. Mark Barnard interview (June 7, 2004). The FBI is alleged to have had no record of the flight and denied that it occurred, hence contributing to the story of a “phantom flight.” This is another misunderstanding. The FBI was initially misinformed about how the Saudis got to Lexington by a local police officer in Lexington who did not have firsthand knowledge of the matter. The Bureau subsequently learned about the flight. James M. interview (June 18, 2004).

27. Andrew Card meeting (Mar. 31, 2004); President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004); Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004); Prince Bandar interview (May 5, 2004); Richard Clarke interview (Jan. 12, 2004); Richard Clarke testimony, Mar. 24, 2004 (“I would love to be able to tell you who did it, who brought this proposal to me, but I don’t know”). Instead, the matter was handled as follows. Within days of September 11, fearing reprisals against Saudi nationals, Rihab Massoud, the deputy chief of mission at the Saudi embassy in Washington, D.C., called Dale Watson, the FBI’s assistant director for counterterrorism, and asked for help in getting some of its citizens out of the country. Rihab Massoud interview (May 11, 2004). At about the same time, Michael Rolince, chief of the FBI’s international terrorism operations section, also heard from an FBI official in Newark about a proposed flight of Saudis out of the country. Michael Rolince interview (June 9, 2004). We believe this was the Saudi deputy defense minister’s flight. Rolince says he told the Newark official that the Saudis should not be allowed to leave without having the names on their passports matched to their faces, and their names run through FBI case records to see whether they had surfaced before. Rolince and Watson briefed Robert Mueller, the director of the FBI, about the issue and how they were handling it. The State Department played a role as well in flights involving government officials or members of the royal family. State coordinated with the FBI and FAA to allow screening by the FBI of flights with Saudi nationals on board. There is no evidence that State tried to limit the screening. DOS record, Log of USA 9–11 Terrorist Attack Task Force, Sept. 13, 2001; Jack S. interview (June 14, 2004). The FBI effectively approved the Saudi flights at the level of a section chief. Having an opportunity to check the Saudis was useful to the FBI. This was because the U.S. government did not, and does not, routinely run checks on foreigners who are leaving the United States. This procedure was convenient to the FBI, as the Saudis who wished to leave in this way would gather and present themselves for record checks and interviews, an opportunity that would not be available if they simply left on regularly scheduled commercial flights.

28. These flights were screened by law enforcement officials, primarily the FBI. For example, one flight, the so-called Bin Ladin flight, departed the United States on September 20 with 26 passengers, most of them relatives of Usama Bin Ladin. Screening of this flight was directed by an FBI agent in the Baltimore Field Office who was also a pilot. This agent, coordinating with FBI headquarters, sent an electronic communication to each of the field offices through which the Bin Ladin flight was scheduled to pass, including the proposed flight manifest and directing what screening should occur. He also monitored the flight as it moved around the country—from St. Louis to Los Angeles to Orlando to Washington Dulles, and to Boston Logan—correcting for any changes in itinerary to make sure there was no lapse in FBI screening at these locations. Again, each of the airports through which the Bin Ladin flight passed was open, and no special restrictions were lifted to accommodate its passage. James C. interview (June 3, 2004).

The Bin Ladin flight and other flights we examined were screened in accordance with policies set by FBI headquarters and coordinated through working-level interagency processes. Michael Rolince interview (June 9, 2004). Although most of the passengers were not interviewed, 22 of the 26 people on the Bin Ladin flight were interviewed by the FBI. Many were asked detailed questions. None of the passengers stated that they had any recent contact with Usama Bin Ladin or knew anything about terrorist activity. See, e.g., FBI report of investigation, interview of Mohammed Saleh Bin Laden, Sept. 21, 2001. As Richard Clarke noted, long before 9/11 the FBI was following members of the Bin Laden family in the United States closely. Richard Clarke testimony, Mar. 24, 2004. Two of the passengers on this flight had been the subjects of preliminary investigations by the FBI, but both their cases had been closed, in 1999 and March 2001, respectively, because the FBI had uncovered no derogatory information on either person linking them to terrorist activity. Their cases remained closed as of 9/11, were not reopened before they departed the country on this flight, and have not been reopened since. FBI electronic communication, Summary of Information Regarding Flights taken by Saudi Citizens Out of the U.S. Shortly After September 11, 2001, Oct. 29, 2003, pp. 9–10.

29. Michael Rolince interview (June 9, 2004). Massoud corroborates this account. He said the FBI required the names and personal information of all departing passengers sponsored for departure by the Saudi Embassy. Rihab Massoud interview (May 11, 2004).
31. The FBI checked a variety of databases for information on the Bin Laden flight passengers and searched the aircraft. Because it was not clear to us whether the TIPOFF terrorist watchlist was checked by the FBI, the Terrorist Screening Center checked the names of individuals on the flight manifests of six Saudi flights against the current TIPOFF watchlist at our request prior to our hearing in April 2004. There were no matches. At our request, based on additional information, the Terrorist Screening Center in June and July 2004 rechecked the names of individuals believed to be on these six flights, the names of individuals on three more charter flights, the names of individuals on the flight containing the Saudi Deputy Defense Minister, and the names of Saudi nationals on commercial flights that journalists have alleged are suspect. There were no matches. Tim D. interviews (Apr. 12, 2004; June 30, 2004; July 9, 2004); FBI memo, Terrorist Screening Center to Director's Office, “Request by 9/11 Commission Task Force to screen the airline passenger lists through the TDSB and TIPOFF databases,” Mar. 30, 2004.
32. White House transcript, Vice President Cheney interview with Charlie Gibson of ABC, Sept. 4, 2002, p. 11.
34. On Secretary Rumsfeld's remarks, see White House transcript, President Bush interview with Bob Woodward and Dan Balz, Dec. 20, 2001. The President's adviser, Karen Hughes, who was in the interview, listed the points Rumsfeld made at the smaller NSC meeting. Ibid.
35. On the President's tasking in the earlier meeting held that day, see NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions for NSC Meeting Held on September 12, 2001, Dec. 17, 2001. On the paper that went beyond al Qaeda, see NSC memo, Deputies Draft Paper (attached to Agenda for NSC Meeting Scheduled for Sept. 12, 2001). The Summary of Conclusions for the afternoon meeting indicates that the paper was discussed.
36. NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions for Principals Committee Meeting Held on September 13, 2001. In addition to the usual members of President Bush's war cabinet, Secretary of Transportation Mineta and FAA security chief Canavan also attended.
39. NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions of NSC Meeting Held on September 13, 2001. According to the Summary of Conclusions, this meeting of the President and his advisers took place in the White House Situation Room; however, the agenda alerting agencies to the meeting specified that it would be conducted via the secure video teleconference system (SVTS). Thus, it is unclear whether the attendees met face-to-face at the White House or held their meeting remotely via SVTS.
40. State Department memo, “Gameplan for Polmil Strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan,” Sept. 14, 2001 (tasked by President Bush). The paper was sent to the White House on September 14, 2001. The demand to free all imprisoned foreigners reflected the U.S. government's concern about the welfare of several foreign aid workers in Afghanistan who had been imprisoned by the Taliban in August 2001. Two young American women, Heather Mercer and Dayna Curry of the organization “Shelter Now International,” were among those arrested and charged with promoting Christianity. The Taliban and other Islamists found their activities an affront to Islam and in violation of Afghanistan's laws and the regime's tenets. Wendy Chamberlin interview (Oct. 28, 2003). Powell stated that the President wanted to get the hostages out but that desire would not restrain American action. White House transcript, President Bush interview with Bob Woodward and Dan Balz, Dec. 20, 2001.
43. Stephen Hadley meeting (Jan. 31, 2004). Hadley told us that the White House was not satisfied with the Defense Department's plans to use force in Afghanistan after 9/11. Ibid.; see also White House transcript, Rice interview with John King of CNN, Aug. 2, 2002, p. 421.
44. Tommy Franks interview (Apr. 9, 2004).
48. DOD briefing materials, “Evolution of Infinite Resolve Planning (AQ, UBL),” undated (provided to the Commission on Mar. 19, 2004). According to Deputy National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley, the President responded to Shelton by saying that the boots-on-the-ground option was an interesting idea. He wanted to know what the CIA would do when ground forces were in Afghanistan. White House transcript, Hadley interview with Dan Balz and Bob Woodward, Jan. 11, 2002, p. 545.
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53. NSC memo, Summary of Conclusions of Terrorist Fund-raising Meeting Held on September 18, 2001.
59. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004). On Iran, see Condoleezza Rice testimony, Apr. 8, 2004.
60. Richard A. Clarke, Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror (Free Press, 2004), p. 32. According to Clarke, he responded that “Al Qaeda did this.” When the President pressed Clarke to check if Saddam was involved and said that he wanted to learn of any shred of evidence, Clarke promised to look at the question again, but added that the NSC and the intelligence community had looked in the past for linkages between al Qaeda and Iraq and never found any real linkages. Ibid.
61. President Bush told us that Clarke had mischaracterized this exchange. On the evening of September 12, the President was at the Pentagon and then went to the White House residence. He dismissed the idea that he had been wandering around the Situation Room alone, saying, “I don’t do that.” He said that he did not think that any president would roam around looking for something to do. While Clarke said he had found the President’s tone “very intimidating,” (Clarke’s Take on Terror,” CBSnews.com, Mar. 21, 2004, online at www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/03/19/60minutes/printable607356.shtml), President Bush doubted that anyone would have found his manner intimidating. President Bush and Vice President Cheney meeting (Apr. 29, 2004). Roger Cressey, Clarke’s deputy, recalls this exchange with the President and Clarke concerning Iraq shortly after 9/11, but did not believe the President’s manner was intimidating. Roger Cressey interview (June 23, 2004).
62. NSC memo, Kurtz to Rice, Survey of Intelligence Information on any Iraq Involvement in the September 11 Attacks, Sept. 18, 2001. On 60 Minutes (CBS, Mar. 21, 2004), Clarke said that the first draft of this memo was returned by the NSC Front Office because it did not find a tie between Iraq and al Qaeda; Rice and Hadley deny that they asked to have the memo redone for this reason.
64. Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004). For an account of Rumsfeld’s and Wolfowitz’s position on Iraq, see Bob Woodward, Bush at War (Simon & Schuster, 2002), pp. 83–84. Rice told us that the Bush at War account of the Camp David discussions on Iraq accorded with her memory.
67. Colin Powell interview (Jan. 21, 2004). Powell raised concerns that a focus on Iraq might negate progress made with the international coalition the administration was putting together for Afghanistan. Taking on Iraq at this time could destroy the international coalition. Ibid.
68. Colin Powell interview (Jan. 21, 2004).
70. Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004).
73. DOD memo, Wolfowitz to Rumsfeld, “Preventing More Events,” Sept. 17, 2001. We review contacts between Iraq and al Qaeda in chapter 2. We have found no credible evidence to support theories of Iraqi government involvement in the 1993 WTC bombing. Wolfowitz added in his memo that he had attempted in June to get the CIA to explore these theories.
75. DOD memo, Rumsfeld to Shelton, “Some Thoughts for CINCs as They Prepare Plans,” Sept. 19, 2001. In a memo that appears to be from Under Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith to Rumsfeld, dated September 20, the author expressed disappointment at the limited options immediately available in Afghanistan and the lack of ground options. The author suggested instead hitting terrorists outside the Middle East in the initial offensive, perhaps delib-
erately selecting a non–al Qaeda target like Iraq. Since U.S. attacks were expected in Afghanistan, an American attack in South America or Southeast Asia might be a surprise to the terrorists. The memo may have been a draft never sent to Rumsfeld, or may be a draft of points being suggested for Rumsfeld to deliver in a briefing to the President. DOD memo, Feith to Rumsfeld, “Briefing Draft,” Sept. 20, 2001.

76. Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004).

77. Tommy Franks interview (Apr. 9, 2004).

78. NSC memo, memorandum of conversation from meeting of President Bush with Prime Minister Blair, Sept. 20, 2001.

79. Tommy Franks interview (Apr. 9, 2004).

80. White House transcript, President Bush's Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, Sept. 20, 2001. British Prime Minister Tony Blair attended the session.

81. Ibid. Several NSC officials, including Clarke and Cressey, told us that the mention of the Cole in the speech to Congress marked the first public U.S. declaration that al Qaeda had been behind the October 2000 attack. Clarke said he added the language on this point to the speech. Richard Clarke interview (Feb. 3, 2004); Roger Cressey interview (Dec. 15, 2003).

82. White House transcript, President Bush's Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, Sept. 20, 2001. President Bush told the Washington Post that he considered having Powell deliver the ultimatum to the Taliban, but determined it would have more impact coming directly from the president. White House transcript, President Bush interview with Bob Woodward and Dan Balz, Dec. 20, 2001.


84. Ibid.

85. Tommy Franks interview (Apr. 9, 2004). Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Richard Myers and Major General Del Dailer, commander of Joint Special Operations Command, also attended the September 21 meeting. The meeting was in direct response to the President's September 17 instruction to Rumsfeld to develop a military campaign plan for Afghanistan. The original “Infinite Justice” name was a continuation of a series of names begun in August 1998 with Operation Infinite Reach, the air strikes against Bin Ladin’s facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan after the embassy bombings. The series also included Operation Infinite Resolve, a variety of proposed follow-on strikes on al Qaeda targets in Afghanistan.


11 Foresight—and Hindsight


4. For Bin Ladin being mentioned in only two other sentences, see ibid.

5. Titles are drawn from articles in the National Intelligence Daily and the Senior Executive Intelligence Brief.


12. For the response being routine, see Gordon Prange, At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor (McGraw-Hill, 1981), pp. 732–733. For a brief summary of these routines and the reasons why the intercepts were not properly digested, see Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, Essence of Decision, 2d ed. (Longman, 1999), p. 194, n. 72.

13. PDBs were not routinely briefed to congressional leaders, though this item could have been in some other intelligence briefing. It was not circulated in the NID or SEIB. For the September 1998 report, see Intelligence report, “Terrorism: Possible Attack on a U.S. City,” Sept. 8, 1998.
14. For the August report, see Intelligence report, “Terrorism: Alleged Threat by Arab Terrorists to Attack the World Trade Center in New York,” Aug. 12, 1998. An FAA civil aviation security official believed the plan was improbable because Libyan planes were required to operate within airspace limitations and the Libyans did not possess aircraft with the necessary range to make good on the threat. Jack S. interview (June 13, 2004). On September 30, 1999, the FAA closed the file on the August report after investigation could not corroborate the report, and the source’s credibility was deemed suspect. FAA report, Transportation Security Intelligence ICF Report 980162, undated; but see FAA/TSA rebuttal to the Joint Inquiry’s Sept. 18, 2002, staff statement, undated, p. 1 (stating that the FAA did not formally analyze this threat). The Algerian hijackers had placed explosives in key areas of the cabin. However, there was some speculation in the media based on reports from a passenger aboard the plane that the hijackers had discussed crashing it into the Eiffel Tower. FAA report, FAA Intelligence Case File 94-305, undated.

15. For Murad’s idea, see chapter 5, note 33.


20. Ibid.

21. As part of his 34-page analysis, the attorney explained why he thought that a fueled Boeing 747, used as a weapon, “must be considered capable of destroying virtually any building located anywhere in the world.” DOJ memo, Robert D. to Cathleen C., “Aerial Intercepts and Shoot-downs: Ambiguities of Law and Practical Considerations,” Mar. 30, 2000, p. 10. Also, in February 1974, a man named Samuel Byck attempted to commandeer a plane at Baltimore Washington International Airport with the intention of forcing the pilots to fly into Washington and crash into the White House to kill the president. The man was shot by police and then killed himself on the aircraft while it was still on the ground at the airport.

22. For NORAD’s hypothesis of aircraft as weapons, see, e.g., Ralph Eberhardt interview (Mar. 1, 2004). For the 2001 Positive Force 01 exercise, see DOD briefing (Apr. 29, 2004); Tom Cecil and Mark Postgate interview (June 7, 2004).


25. James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004). For more on this meeting, see Condoleezza Rice meeting (Feb. 7, 2004); George Tenet interview (Jan. 28, 2004).

26. For the briefing to the President-elect, see James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004). The CIA’s formal analysis of what would happen if Bin Ladin alone was removed as compared with the importance of shutting down the sanctuary was offered in several places. See, e.g., CIA analytic report, “Likely Impact of Taliban Actions Against Al Qaeda,” Feb. 21, 2001 (provided as background for Tenet meetings with Rice on Feb. 23 and Mar. 7, 2001).


30. For Pavitt’s view, see James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004).

31. Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004). Zinni was concerned about excessive collateral damage caused by Tomahawk strikes. See Anthony Zinni interview (Jan. 29, 2004).

32. For Shelton’s view, see Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004). For Cohen’s view, see William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004).


34. James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004).

35. Ibid.


39. See, e.g., Joan Dempsey interview (Nov. 12, 2003); Jeff B. interview (Dec. 11, 2003); Louis Andre interview.
(Nov. 10, 2003); Mary C. interview (Oct. 25, 2003); Maureen Baginski interview (Nov. 15, 2003); Thomas Wilson interview (Dec. 4, 2003). Assistant DCI Charles Allen did redouble his efforts to coordinate and improve collection at the tactical level, but this was not a plan to address larger weaknesses in the fundamental capabilities of the intelligence community. See Charles Allen interview (Sept. 22, 2003).

40. For Dempsey’s action, see Joan Dempsey interview (Nov. 12, 2003). For Minihan’s view, see Joint Inquiry interview of Kenneth Minihan, Sept. 12, 2002. For the CIA viewing the memorandum as intended for non-CIA intelligence agencies, see Dave Carey interview (Oct. 31, 2003).

41. George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004); James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004).


12 What to Do? A Global Strategy


3. “Islamist terrorism is an immediate derivative of Islamism. This term distinguishes itself from Islamic by the fact that the latter refers to a religion and culture in existence over a millennium, whereas the first is a political/religious phenomenon linked to the great events of the 20th century. Furthermore Islamists define themselves as ‘Islamiyoun/Islamists’ precisely to differentiate themselves from ‘Muslimun/Muslims.’ . . . Islamism is defined as ‘an Islamic militant, anti-democratic movement, bearing a holistic vision of Islam whose final aim is the restoration of the caliphate.’” Mehdi Mozaffari, “Bin Laden and Islamist Terrorism,” Militaert Tidskrift, vol. 131 (Mar. 2002), p. 1 (online at www.mirkflem.pup.blueyonder.co.uk/pdf/islamistterrorism.pdf). The Islamist movement, born about 1940, is a product of the modern world, influenced by Marxist-Leninist concepts about revolutionary organization. “Islamists consider Islam to be as much a religion as an ‘ideology,’ a neologism which they introduced and which remains anathema to the ulamas (the clerical scholars).” Olivier Roy, The Failure of Political Islam, trans. Carol Volk (Harvard Univ. Press, 1994), p. 3. Facing political limits by the end of the 1990s, the extremist wing of the 1990s, the extremist wing of the Islamist movement “rejected the democratic references invoked by the moderates; and as a result, raw terrorism in its most spectacular and destructive form became its main option for reviving armed struggle in the new millennium.” Gilles Kepel, Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam, trans. Anthony Roberts (Harvard Univ. Press, 2002), p. 14.

4. Opening the Islamic Conference of Muslim leaders from around the world on October 16, 2003, then Malaysian prime minister Mahathir Mohamad said: “Today we, the whole Muslim ummah [community of believers] are treated with contempt and dishonour. Our religion is denigrated. Our holy places desecrated. Our people are starved and killed. None of our countries are truly independent. We are under pressure to conform to our oppressors’ wishes about how we should behave, how we should govern our lands, how we should think even.” He added: “There is a feeling of hopelessness among the Muslim countries and their people. They feel that they can do nothing right. They believe that things can only get worse. The Muslims will forever be oppressed and dominated by the Europeans and Jews.” The prime minister’s argument was that the Muslims should gather their assets, not striking back blindly, but instead planning a thoughtful, long-term strategy to defeat their worldwide enemies, which he argued were controlled by the Jews. “But today the Jews rule the world by proxy. They get others to fight and die for them.” Speech at the Opening of the Tenth Session of the Islamic Summit Conference, Oct. 16, 2003 (online at www.oicsummit2003.org.my/speech_03.php).

5. CIA map, “Possible Remote Havens for Terrorist and Other Illicit Activity,” May 2003.

6. For the numbers, see Tariq interview (Oct. 20, 2003).

7. For Pakistan playing a key role in apprehending 500 terrorists, see Richard Armitage testimony, Mar. 23, 2004.

8. For Pakistan’s unpolicing areas, see Tasneem Noorani interview (Oct. 27, 2003).


11. For a review of ISAF’s role, see NATO report, “NATO in Afghanistan,” updated July 9, 2004 (online at www.nato.int/issues/afghanistan).


13. For the change, see Lakhdar Brahimi interview (Oct. 24, 2003); U.S. officials in Afghanistan interview (Oct.
2003). For the request that the United States remain, see Kandahar province local leaders interview (Oct. 21, 2003).

14. Some have criticized the Bush administration for neglecting Afghanistan because of Iraq. Others, including General Franks, say that the size of the U.S. military commitment in Afghanistan has not been compromised by the commitments in Iraq. We have not investigated the issue and cannot offer a judgment on it.

15. Even if the U.S. forces, stretched thin, are reluctant to take on this role, “a limited, but extremely useful, change in the military mandate would involve intelligence sharing with civilian law enforcement and a willingness to take action against drug warehouses and heroin laboratories.” United States Institute of Peace report, “Establishing the Rule of Law in Afghanistan,” Mar. 2004, p. 17.

16. For barriers to Saudi monitoring of charities, see, e.g., Robert Jordan interview (Jan. 14, 2004); David Aufhauser interview (Feb. 12, 2004).

17. For the Saudi reformer’s view, see Members of majles al-shura interview (Oct. 14, 2003).


20. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004).


23. For the statistics, see James Zogby, What Arabs Think: Values, Beliefs, and Concerns (Zogby International, 2002).

24. For polling soon after 9/11, see Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, p. 2. In our interviews, current and former U.S. officials dealing with the Middle East corroborated these findings.


32. The names of at least three of the hijackers (Nawaf al Hazmi, Salem al Hazmi, and Khalid al Mihdhar) were in information systems of the intelligence community and thus potentially could have been watchedlist. Had they been watchedlist, the connections to terrorism could have been exposed at the time they applied for a visa or at the port of entry. The names of at least three of the hijackers (Nawaf al Hazmi, Salem al Hazmi, and Khalid al Mihdhar), were in information systems of the intelligence community and thus potentially could have been watchedlist. Had they been watchedlist, their terrorist affiliations could have been exposed either at the time they applied for a visa or at the port of entry. Two of the hijackers (Satam al Suqami and Abdul Aziz al Omari) presented passports manipulated in a fraudulent manner that has subsequently been associated with al Qaeda. Based on our review of their visa and travel histories, we believe it possible that as many as eleven additional hijackers (Wail al Shehri,
to Secure the Homeland and Protect Its People from Terrorism

Waleed al Shehri, Mohand al Shehri, Hani Hanjour, Majed Moqed, Nawaf al Hazmi, Hamza al Ghamdi, Ahmed al Ghamdi, Saeed al Ghamdi, Ahmed al Nami, and Ahmad al Haznawi held passports containing these same fraudulent features, but their passports have not been found so we cannot be sure. Khalid al Mihdhar and Salem al Hazmi presented passports with a suspicious indicator of Islamic extremism. There is reason to believe that the passports of three other hijackers (Nawaf al Hazmi, Ahmed al Nami, and Ahmad al Haznawi) issued in the same Saudi passport office may have contained this same indicator; however, their passports have not been found, so we cannot be sure.

33. Khalid Bin Attash, Ramzi Binalshibh, Zakariya Essabar, Ali Abdul Aziz Ali, and Saeed al Ghamdi (not the individual by the same name who became a hijacker) tried to get visas and failed. Kahtani was unable to prove his admissibility and withdrew his application for admission after an immigration inspector remained unpersuaded that he was a tourist. All the hijackers whose visa applications we reviewed arguably could have been denied visas because their applications were not filled out completely. Had State visa officials routinely had a practice of acquiring more information in such cases, they likely would have found more grounds for denial. For example, three hijackers made statements on their visa applications that could have been proved false by U.S. government records (Hani Hanjour, Saeed al Ghamdi, and Khalid al Mihdhar), and many lied about their employment or educational status. Two hijackers could have been denied admission at the port of entry based on violations of immigration rules governing terms of admission—Mohamed Atta overstayed his tourist visa and then failed to present a proper vocational school visa when he entered in January 2001; Ziad Jarrah attended school in June 2000 without properly adjusting his immigration status, an action that violated his immigration status and rendered him inadmissible on each of his six subsequent reentries into the United States between June 2000 and August 5, 2001. There were possible grounds to deny entry to a third hijacker (Marwan al Shehhi). One hijacker violated his immigration status by failing to enroll as a student after entry (Hani Hanjour); two hijackers overstayed their terms of admission by four and eight months respectively (Satam al Suqami and Nawaf al Hazmi). Atta and Shehhi attended a flight school (Huffman Aviation) that the Justice Department’s Inspector General concluded should not have been certified to accept foreign students, see DOJ Inspector General’s report, “The INS’ Contacts with Two September 11 Terrorists: A Review of the INS’s Admissions of Atta and Shehhi, its Processing of their Change of Status Applications, and its Efforts to Track Foreign Students in the United States,” May 20, 2002.


36. The logical and timely rollout of such a program is hampered by an astonishingly long list of congressional mandates. The system originated in the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 and applied to all non-U.S. citizens who enter or exit the United States at any port of entry. Pub. L. No. 104-208, 110 Stat. 3009 (1996), § 110. The Data Management Improvement Act of 2000 altered this mandate by incorporating a requirement for a searchable centralized database, limiting the government’s ability to require new data from certain travelers and setting a series of implementation deadlines. Pub. L. No. 106-215, 114 Stat. 337 (2000), § 2(a). The USA PATRIOT Act mandated that the Attorney General and Secretary of State “particularly focus” on having the entry-exit system include biometrics and tamper-resistant travel documents readable at all ports of entry. Pub. L. No. 107-56, 115 Stat. 272 (2001), § 1008(a). In the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act, Congress directed that, not later than October 26, 2004, the attorney general and the secretary of state issue to all non-U.S. citizens only machine-readable, tamper-resistant visas and other travel and entry documents that use biometric identifiers and install equipment at all U.S. ports of entry to allow biometric authentication of such documents. Pub. L. No. 107-173, 116 Stat. 543 (2002), § 303(b). The Act also required that increased security still facilitate the free flow of commerce and travel. Ibid. § 102(a)(1)(C). The administration has requested a delay of two years for the requirement of tamper-proof passports. Testimony of Thomas Ridge before the House Judiciary Committee, Apr. 21, 2004 (online at www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/display?theme=45&content=3498&print=true). Program planners have set a goal of collecting information, confirming identity, providing information about foreign nationals throughout the entire immigration system, and ultimately enabling each point in the system to assess the lawfulness of travel and any security risks.

37. There are at least three registered traveler programs underway, at different points in the system, designed and run by two different agencies in the Department of Homeland Security (outside the U.S. VISIT system), which must ultimately be the basis for access to the United States.

38. For the statistics, see DOS report, “Workload Statistics by Post Regions for All Visa Classes” June 18, 2004. One post-9/11 screening process, known as Condor, has conducted over 130,000 extra name-checks. DOS letter, Karl Hofmann to the Commission, Apr. 5, 2004. The checks have caused significant delays in some cases but have never resulted in visas being denied on terrorism grounds. For a discussion of visa delays, see General Accounting Office report, “Border Security: Improvements Needed to Reduce Time Taken to Adjudicate Visas for Science Students and Scholars,” Feb. 2004. We do not know all the reasons why visa applications have dropped so significantly. Several factors beyond the visa process itself include the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, which requires additional screening processes for certain groups from Arab and Muslim countries; the Iraq war; and per-

39. These issues are on the G-8 agenda. White House press release, “G-8 Secure and Facilitated Travel Initiative (SAFTI),” June 9, 2004 (online at www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040609-51.html). Lax passport issuance standards are among the vulnerabilities exploited by terrorists, possibly including two of the 9/11 hijackers. Three models exist for strengthened prescreening: (1) better screening by airlines, such as the use of improved document authentication technology; (2) posting of border agents or inspectors in foreign airports to work cooperatively with foreign counterparts; and (3) establishing a full preinspection regime, such as now exists for travel to the United States from Canada and Ireland. All three models should be pursued, in addition to electronic prescreening.

40. Among the more important problems to address is that of varying transliterations of the same name. For example, the current lack of a single convention for transliterating Arabic names enabled the 19 hijackers to vary the spelling of their names to defeat name-based watchlist systems and confuse any potential efforts to locate them. While the gradual introduction of biometric identifiers will help, that process will take years, and a name match will always be useful. The ICAO should discuss the adoption of a standard requiring a digital code for all names that need to be translated into the Roman alphabet, ensuring one common spelling for all countries.

41. On achieving more reliable identification, see Markle Foundation task force report, Creating a Trusted Information Network for Homeland Security (Markle Foundation, 2003), p. 72 (online at www.markle.org).


13 How to Do It? A Different Way of Organizing the Government

1. The Bush administration clarified the respective missions of the different intelligence analysis centers in a letter sent by Secretary Ridge, DCI Tenet, FBI Director Mueller, and TTIC Director Brennan to Senators Susan Collins and Carl Levin on April 13, 2004. The letter did not mention any element of the Department of Defense. It stated that the DCI would define what analytical resources he would transfer from the CTC to TTIC no later than June 1, 2004. DCI Tenet subsequently told us that he decided that TTIC would have primary responsibility for terrorism analysis but that the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency would grow their own analysts. TTIC will have tasking authority over terrorism analysts in other intelligence agencies, although there will need to be a board to supervise deconfliction. George Tenet interview (July 2, 2004). We have not received any details regarding this plan.

2. “TTIC has no operational authority. However, TTIC has the authority to task collection and analysis from Intelligence Community agencies, the FBI, and DHS through tasking mechanisms we will create. The analytic work conducted at TTIC creates products that inform each of TTIC’s partner elements, as well as other Federal departments and agencies as appropriate.” Letter from Ridge and others to Collins and Levin, April 13, 2004.


4. In this conception, the NCTC should plan actions, assigning responsibilities for operational direction and execution to other agencies. It would be built on TTIC and would be supported by the intelligence community as TTIC is now. Whichever route is chosen, the scarce analytical resources now dispersed among TTIC, the Defense Intelligence Agency’s Joint Interagency Task Force—Combatting Terrorism (JITF–CT), and the DCI’s Counterterrorist Center (CTC) should be concentrated more effectively than they are now.

- The DCI’s Counterterrorist Center would become a CIA unit, to handle the direction and execution of tasks assigned to the CIA. It could have details from other agencies, as it does now, to perform this operational mission. It would yield much of the broader, strategic analytic duties and personnel to the NCTC. The CTC would rely on the restructured CIA (discussed in section 13.2) to organize, train, and equip its personnel.

- Similarly, the FBI’s Counterterrorism Division would remain, as now, the operational arm of the Bureau to combat terrorism. As it does now, it would work with other agencies in carrying out these missions, retaining the JTTF structure now in place. The Counterterrorism Division would rely on the FBI’s Office of Intelligence to train and equip its personnel, helping to process and report the information gathered in the field.

- The Defense Department’s unified commands—SOCOM, NORTHCOM, and CENTCOM—would be the joint operational centers taking on DOD tasks. Much of the excellent analytical talent that has been assembled in the Defense Intelligence Agency’s JITF–CT should merge into the planned NCTC.

- The Department of Homeland Security’s Directorate for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection should retain its core duties, but the NCTC should have the ultimate responsibility for producing net assessments that utilize Homeland Security’s analysis of domestic vulnerabilities and integrate all-source analysis of foreign intelligence about the terrorist enemy.

- The State Department’s counterterrorism office would be a critical participant in the NCTC’s work, taking the lead in directing the execution of the counterterrorism foreign policy mission.
The proposed National Counterterrorism Center should offer one-stop shopping to agencies with counterterrorism and homeland security responsibilities. That is, it should be an authoritative reference base on the transnational terrorist organizations: their people, goals, strategies, capabilities, networks of contacts and support, the context in which they operate, and their characteristic habits across the life cycle of operations—recruitment, reconnaissance, target selection, logistics, and travel. For example, this Center would offer an integrated depiction of groups like al Qaeda or Hezbollah worldwide, overseas, and in the United States.

The NCTC will not eliminate the need for the executive departments to have their own analytic units. But it would enable agency-based analytic units to become smaller and more efficient. In particular, it would make it possible for these agency-based analytic units to concentrate on analysis that is tailored to their agency’s specific responsibilities.

A useful analogy is in military intelligence. There, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the service production agencies (like the Army’s National Ground Intelligence Center) are the institutional memory and reference source for enemy order of battle, enemy organization, and enemy equipment. Yet the Joint Staff and all the theater commands still have their own J-2s. They draw on the information they need, tailoring and applying it to their operational needs. As they learn more from their tactical operations, they pass intelligence of enduring value back up to the Defense Intelligence Agency and the services so it can be evaluated, form part of the institutional memory, and help guide future collection.

In our proposal, that reservoir of institutional memory about terrorist organizations would function for the government as a whole, and would be in the NCTC.

5. The head of the NCTC would thus help coordinate the operational side of these agencies, like the FBI’s Counterterrorism Division. The intelligence side of these agencies, such as the FBI’s Office of Intelligence, would be overseen by the National Intelligence Director we recommend later in this chapter.

6. The quotation goes on: “It includes gaps in intelligence, but also intelligence that, like a string of pearls too precious to wear, is too sensitive to give to those who need it. It includes the alarm that fails to work, but also the alarm that has gone off so often it has been disconnected. It includes the unalert watchman, but also the one who knows he’ll be chewed out by his superior if he gets higher authority out of bed. It includes the contingencies that occur to no one, but also those that everyone assumes somebody else is taking care of. It includes straightforward procrastination, but also decisions protracted by internal disagreement. It includes, in addition, the inability of individual human beings to rise to the occasion until they are sure it is the occasion—which is usually too late. . . . Finally, as at Pearl Harbor, surprise may include some measure of genuine novelty introduced by the enemy, and some sheer bad luck.” Thomas Schelling, foreword to Roberta Wohlstetter, Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision (Stanford Univ. Press, 1962), p. viii.


8. For a history of the DCI’s authority over the intelligence community, see CIA report, Michael Warner ed., Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution (CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence, 2001). For the Director’s view of his community authorities, see DCI directive, “Director of Central Intelligence Directive 1/1: The Authorities and Responsibilities of the Director of Central Intelligence as Head of the U.S. Intelligence Community,” Nov. 19, 1998.


10. For the DCI and the secretary of defense, see 50 U.S.C. § 403–6(a). If the director does not concur with the secretary’s choice, then the secretary is required to notify the president of the director’s nonconcurrency. Ibid. For the DCI and the attorney general, see 50 U.S.C. § 403–6(b)(3).

11. The new program would replace the existing National Foreign Intelligence Program.

12. Some smaller parts of the current intelligence community, such as the State Department’s intelligence bureau and the Energy Department’s intelligence entity, should not be funded out of the national intelligence program and should be the responsibility of their home departments.

13. The head of the NCTC should have the rank of a deputy national intelligence director, e.g., Executive Level II, but would have a different title.

14. If the organization of defense intelligence remains as it is now, the appropriate official would be the under secretary of defense for intelligence. If defense intelligence is reorganized to elevate the responsibilities of the director of the DIA, then that person might be the appropriate official.

15. For the information technology architecture, see Ruth David interview (June 10, 2003). For the necessity of moving from need-to-know to need-to-share, see James Steinberg testimony, Oct. 14, 2003. The Director still has no strategy for removing information-sharing barriers and—more than two years since 9/11—has only appointed a working group on the subject. George Tenet prepared statement, Mar. 24, 2004, p. 37.
16. The intelligence community currently makes information shareable by creating “tearline” reports, with the nonshareable information at the top and then, below the “tearline,” the portion that recipients are told they can share. This proposal reverses that concept. All reports are created as tearline data, with the shareable information at the top and with added details accessible on a system that requires permissions or authentication.


18. Markle Foundation Task Force report, *Creating a Trusted Information Network*, p. 12. The pressing need for such guidelines was also spotlighted by the Technology and Privacy Advisory Committee appointed by Secretary Rumsfeld to advise the Department of Defense on the privacy implications of its Terrorism Information Awareness Program. Technology and Privacy Advisory Committee report, *Safeguarding Privacy in the Fight Against Terrorism* (2004) (online at www.sanic.com/tapac/TAPAC_Report_Final_5-10-04.pdf). We take no position on the particular recommendations offered in that report, but it raises issues that pertain to the government as a whole—not just to the Department of Defense.

19. This change should eliminate the need in the Senate for the current procedure of sequential referral of the annual authorization bill for the national foreign intelligence program. In that process, the Senate Armed Services Committee reviews the bill passed by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence before the bill is brought before the full Senate for consideration.


22. For the directorate’s current capability, see Patrick Hughes interview (Apr. 2, 2004).