

USD(P) \_\_\_\_\_

I-04/009650

As of November 26, 2008 3:30 pm

**READ AHEAD FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

**Meeting with HUMAN RIGHTS EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS WORKING GROUP**

July 21, 2004, 1:30-2:00 pm, SecDef Conference Room

From: Thomas W. O'Connell, Assistant Secretary of Defense (SO/LIC), (b)(2)

**Attendees (all DoD):**

- PDUSD(P) Ryan Henry
- DASD for African Affairs Theresa Whelan
- Acting DASD for Stability Operations Caryn Hollis
- Acting DASD for Detainee Affairs Matt Waxman
- OGC representative, TBD
- COL (b)(6) J-5 Detainee Policy

**Visitors:**

- Dr. William Schulz, Amnesty International
- Ken Roth, Human Rights Watch
- Michael Posner, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
- Holly Burkhalter, Physicians for Human Rights
- Ashley Barr, The Carter Center
- John Bradshaw, Coordinator, Human Rights Executive Directors Working Group
- Patrick McGreevy, Assistant to Coordinator

**Issues:** The Human Rights Working Group requested this meeting with you to discuss:

- detainees
- DoD's role in the Darfur humanitarian crisis
- expanding the mandate for U.S. troops in Afghanistan
- DoD's policy on cluster munitions.

You last met with them in December 2002.

**Desired Outcome:** A constructive exchange of ideas. Improved understanding by human rights directors of DoD's approach to the issues raised.

**Recommendations:** None.

USD(P) AMNESTY/CCR 1

## **Talking Points: Issue 1 -- Darfur/ Sudan**

The U.S. Government is working with international partners to identify additional funding, planners, and logistics assets, such as airlift, needed for the Darfur humanitarian crisis.

State is working with its contractors to line up the necessary airlift (fixed and rotary wing) to deploy African Union troops and deliver humanitarian aid.

Background: Concerned about the mounting Sudanese humanitarian crisis, the group will explore the possibility of DoD providing direct support (such as airlift capacity) to AU forces and assisting humanitarian groups in Darfur. DoD has deployed three soldiers as part of the AU ceasefire monitoring mission and sent an operations planner to assist the AU in planning for future deployments to Darfur.

## **Talking Points: Issue 2 -- Detainees**

### **Treatment of Prisoners in Iraq, Guantanamo, and Afghanistan**

- It has always been the policy and practice of the Defense Department and the U.S. government to treat detainees humanely, and to the extent appropriate and consistent with military necessity, in a manner consistent with the Geneva Conventions.

### **Existing Standards for Interrogations**

- On July 19, 2004, DoD released documents relating to the development of interrogation procedures in use prior to April 2003, and those currently in use at Guantanamo.
- The base document is Army Field Manual 34-52, which establishes basic principles of interrogation doctrine in accordance with U.S. and international law.
- Development and approval of interrogation techniques is done in a deliberate manner with strict legal and policy reviews.
- The guidelines issued ensure the protection of the detainees and our forces.
- No procedures ordered, authorized, permitted, or tolerated torture.

### **“Ghost” Detainees (Iraq)**

- In June 2004, the Secretary briefed the press about a detainee in Iraq who had not been acknowledged to the ICRC.

- This case was an anomaly inconsistent with DoD policy regarding notification to ICRC.
- DoD has since corrected the problem and has allowed the ICRC access to the detainee.
- DoD has instituted additional measures to ensure that this situation does not happen again. To my knowledge, this was the only case of a “ghost” detainee.

### **Unacknowledged Prisoners at Guantanamo**

- The ICRC receives notification on every DoD detainee at Guantanamo.
- The ICRC pays frequent visits to the detainees at Guantanamo.

### **Provision of Lawyers to Detainees at Guantanamo**

- We are working with the Justice Department to determine how to resolve the question on access to lawyers for the habeas process.
- For the Combatant Status Review Tribunal and Administrative Review, the detainees will be assigned a personal representative to explain the process and assist the detainee in preparing his case.

### **Nature and Procedures of Military Tribunals (Combatant Status Review Tribunal)**

- The Combatant Status Review, which you may know as Military Tribunals, an Article 5, or a Army Regulation 190-8 Hearing, is designed to examine the information surrounding each detainee’s capture to ensure that he is, in fact, an enemy combatant.
- The Combatant Status Review is an administrative procedure that looks at whether the U.S. is holding the detainee under the proper authorities. The detainees are not charged with specific crimes or violations.
- Military commissions are a separate process that will try a detainee charged with violations of the law of war. Nine detainees have been declared eligible for commissions under the President’s Order, and four have had charges referred.

- The Secretary of the Navy is the official responsible for overseeing the Combatant Status Review and the yearly administrative review procedures, which examines the threat posed by individual detainees.

### **Renditions of Detainees**

- DoD has transferred some of the detainees held at Guantanamo to the control of their country of citizenship.
- The U.S. requires that the receiving country provide assurances that the detainee will be treated humanely.
- DoD does not turn over detainees for the purpose of torture.

**Background:** The group will ask about DoD treatment of prisoners, existing standards for interrogations, ICRC access to prisoners, and so-called ghost detainees. They will also raise issues specific to Guantanamo, including provision of lawyers, nature of military tribunals, and Article V hearings for enemy combatants. The group will also inquire about DoD's role in turning over prisoners to other countries.

**If time permits:**

### **Talking Points: Issue 3 -- Afghanistan**

- U.S. continues to work with Coalition partners, Afghan authorities, and the UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan to ensure smooth transition to democratic governance and full implementation of the December 2001 Bonn Agreement.
- LTG Barno, Commander of Combined Forces Command -- Afghanistan, has pledged Coalition support to safeguard upcoming presidential and parliamentary elections from attacks by extremists and anti-government forces.

**Background:** The group will inquire about prospects of DoD expanding the mandate of U.S. forces in Afghanistan to provide support for the electoral process.

### **Talking Points: Issue 4 -- Cluster Munitions**

- Submunitions are lawful weapons under the law of armed conflict. They have been widely used, and can be accurately directed to reduce the risk of incidental injury.
- The United States gives careful consideration when deciding whether to use submunitions in order to minimize the risk to civilians.

- Information about submunition failure rates has been inconsistent, but we are working to reduce failure rates so these weapons function against the enemy, and not against civilians or friendly forces.

*[If asked about use of cluster munitions in populated areas in Iraq]*

- Iraq violated the obligation of states not to place military targets among civilian populations.
- The U.S. military followed strict rules of engagement whether and when to use submunitions. Using other munitions would not necessarily decrease the risk to civilians. In many cases, other munitions would increase the risk of injury where an enemy has illegally placed military targets among a civilian population.

**Background:** The Human Rights Executive Directors Working Group will outline its concern about the humanitarian dangers arising from use of cluster munitions by U.S. forces.

Coordination: Tab A

Prepared by: (b)(6) SO/LIC Stability Operations, (b)(2) and (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Detainees Activities Office, (b)(2)  
Approved by: Caryn Hollis, Acting DASD Stability Operations, (b)(2)

INFO MEMO

DepSecDef \_\_\_\_\_

USD(P) \_\_\_\_\_

I-04/010339-DA

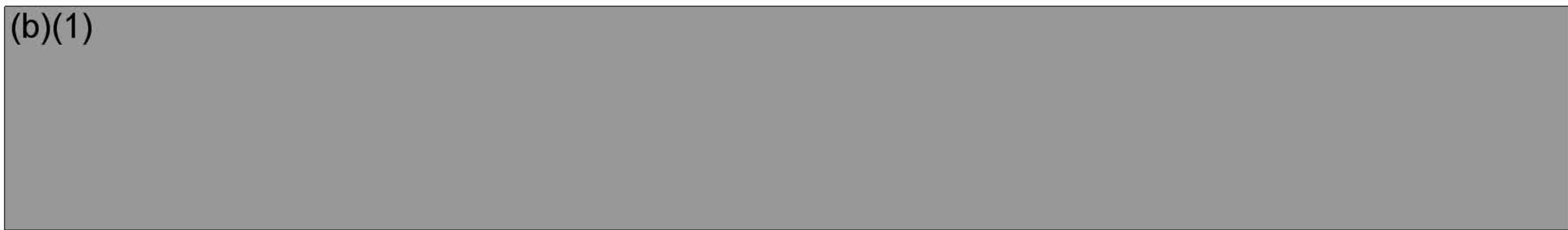
FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Ryan Henry, PD Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

SUBJECT: Defining "Ghost" Detainees

- (U) Members of Congress, the press, and some NGOs have raised questions and made allegations about "ghost" detainees. It is important to clarify the differences among detainees who are being categorized under this term and to set the record straight.


- (b)(1)



- (U) The media and Congress have since used the term "ghost" detainees to refer to three other categories of detainees:

- ~~(S)~~ Detainees recently captured: DoD policy is that detainees must have an ISN within 96 hours unless the security situation prohibits moving a detainee to a processing point in that time.

- (b)(1)



- (U) The attached talking points should be used in response to queries on the subject of "ghost" detainees to clarify the definition (Tab A).

Derived from: Multiple Sources  
Reason or Reasons: 1.4 (a)  
Declassify On: 3 August 2024

Coordination: Tab B

Attachment: As stated.

Prepared by: (b)(6) OUSD(P) Detainee Affairs, (b)(2)

**Talking Points on “Ghost” Detainees**

- There have been several recent media reports alleging that DoD holds “ghost” or “hidden” detainees. I would like to clarify this issue.
- DoD does not hold “ghost” detainees.
- All DoD detainees have internment numbers, and the Red Cross is notified that they are under DoD control.
  - DoD policy is to issue an internment number to each detainee captured within 96 hours.
- On occasion, for reasons of military necessity, DoD may restrict access to a detainee. However, the detainee is not “hidden” from the ICRC, and the ICRC knows that the person remains in DoD control.
- As I discussed in a press conference on June 17, there was one detainee in Iraq whom we did not register with the ICRC for about seven months in response to a request by the (b)(1)
- This situation was an anomaly, and DoD has taken steps to correct the situation. That situation does not reflect our policy on ICRC access to detainees.



COORDINATION

Office of the General Counsel  
Of the Department of Defense

Copy provided August 2, 2004

USD (Intelligence)

Copy provided August 2, 2004

Joint Staff

Copy provided August 2, 2004

ASD (Public Affairs)

Copy provided August 3, 2004

~~SECRET~~

In response refer to:  
I-04/010339-DA

FOR UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (INTELLIGENCE)  
GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY (PUBLIC AFFAIRS)  
DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF

SUBJECT: Press Points on "Ghost" or "Hidden" Detainees

Members of Congress, the press, and some NGOs have made statements or asked questions about "ghost" or "hidden" detainees being held by the Department of Defense. It is important that we set the record straight on this issue and clarify what the term "ghost" detainee means.

Please verify the veracity of the attached information memorandum and talking points and provide your coordination by August 9, 2004.

Ryan Henry

~~SECRET~~

Unclassified when separate from attachment

USD(P) AMNESTY/CCR 10







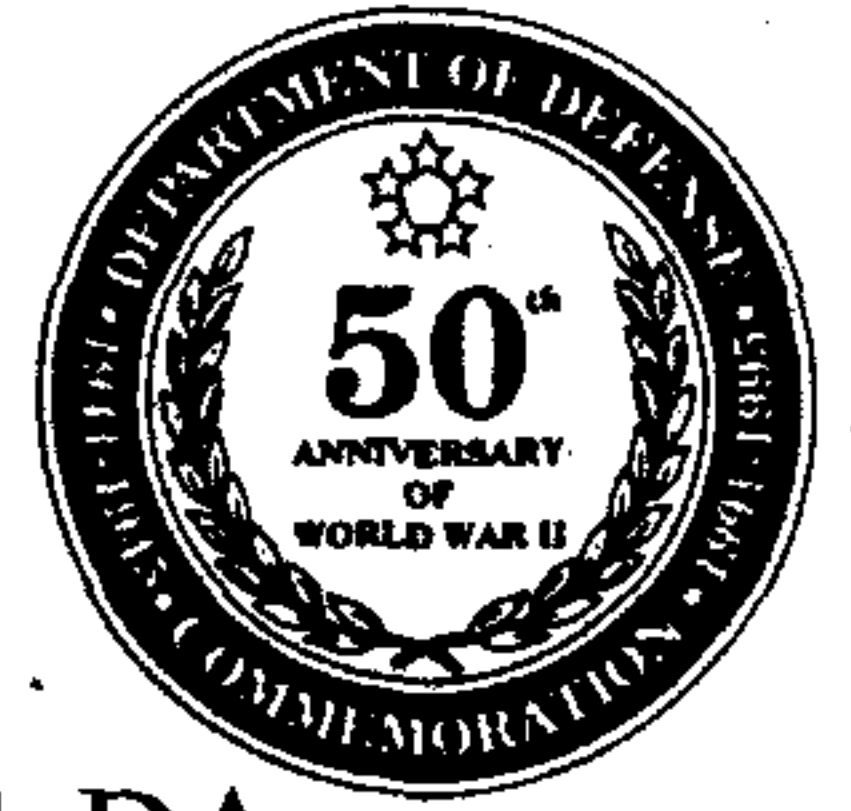






POLICY

PRINCIPAL DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
2000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2000



05/000431-DA

INFO MEMO

FOR PD UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY

FROM: Matthew Waxman, DASD for Detainee Affairs *MW*  
*1/2*

SUBJECT: Alberto Gonzales Confirmation Hearing Testimony on Detainee Issues

- (U//~~FOUO~~) Judge Gonzales' testimony in his confirmation hearing unequivocally stated USG policy opposing torture.
- (U//~~FOUO~~) In the opening statements, Senator Leahy stated that the Justice (OLC) memo served as justification for "harsh treatment that is tantamount to torture." Further, he stated that the Department had agreed to detain "ghost detainees" in violation of international law for the purposes of hiding them from the ICRC. Senator Kennedy characterized U.S. interrogation techniques as committing acts of torture, and said we "tortured people" at Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib.
- (U//~~FOUO~~) In general, Democrat members of the committee vigorously pursued a line of questioning to imply that the Administration, the Department, and Judge Gonzales, supported, or intended to commit, acts of torture, and that the OLC "torture memos" gave legal force to that intent.
- (U//~~FOUO~~) Gonzales took the following positions in his testimony:
  - (U//~~FOUO~~) An unequivocal condemnation of the use of torture.
  - (U//~~FOUO~~) At the time of its issuance, he did not agree with the legal reasoning of the OLC memorandum interpreting the U.S. anti-torture statute (the "Torture Memo"), but it was not his position as White House Counsel to direct the analysis conducted by Justice.
  - (U//~~FOUO~~) It would be inappropriate to have expanded the protections of the Geneva Conventions to al Qaida and the Taliban because those combatants did not abide by the laws of war, and because the U.S. was not engaged in an international armed conflict in fighting them.





- (U//~~FOUO~~) It is correct to treat all detainees, regardless of status, humanely, and in the case of al Qaida and Taliban detainees, consistent with the Geneva Convention and military necessity as dictated in the President's November 11, 2001 military order.
- (U//~~FOUO~~) The Geneva Conventions applied in a limited manner in Afghanistan and applied in full in Iraq.
- (U//~~FOUO~~) The events of Abu Ghraib, based upon his understanding of the findings of the investigations conducted, were the result of failures of discipline and a "policy migration" problem.
- Key issues that have import to the Department:
  - As DoJ withdrew the "Torture Memo," and has subsequently issued a new memorandum interpreting the Federal Torture Statute in a different manner, questions may arise asking why the Department did not also withdraw its documents / policies based upon the original OLC interpretation of the federal torture statute.
  - In replying to such criticism, it would be important to state:
    - The Secretary revoked authorization for interrogation techniques beyond standard Army interrogation techniques long before the OLC withdrew its position.
    - In light of the new OLC opinion, we are preparing for the Secretary's signature a directive that DoD components review the new opinion and ensure that DoD policies and guidelines are in compliance.
  - Judge Gonzales offered an analysis on the findings of the independent investigative panels. In his testimony, Gonzales stated that policy migration was to blame. Critics may charge the Department with not doing enough to rectify this "problem."
    - The Office of Detainee Affairs, the Joint Staff and the Combatant Commands are analyzing this issue and implementing changes.
    - We are in the process of publicizing our efforts to address the recommendations put forth in the investigative reports.

Document 4

**From:** O'Connell, Thomas, HON, OSD-POLICY  
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 07, 2004 8:00 AM  
**To:** Henry, Ryan, HON, OSD-POLICY; Haynes, WJ, Hon, DoD-OGC; Liotta, Alan, CIV, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) OSD-POLICY; Butler, Paul, CIV, OSD; Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD; Waxman, Matthew, CIV, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) OSD-LA  
**Cc:** Feith, Douglas, HON, OSD-POLICY; Boykin, William G, LTG, OSD-NII  
**Subject:** Comment from SEN Reed (D) RI (FOUO)

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

Had a chance meeting w/ Sen Reed of Rhode Island on Saturday. He was friendly but cautioned that SASC would be soon looking into specific reasons why there were "ghost detainees" at AG prison. Said whole incident- to include military agreements w/ CIA should be explored.

Thomas W. O'Connell  
Assistant Secretary of Defense  
Special Operations/Low Intensity Conflict

This may contain information exempt from mandatory disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

Marshall Center PTSS Daily 29 October 2007

From: VanBuren, Donald CPL. [vanburend@marshallcenter.org]

Sent: Monday, October 29, 2007 11:01 AM

To: Graduate Support Office

Subject: Marshall Center PTSS Daily - 29 October 2007

Attachments: image012.gif; image013.gif; image014.gif; image015.jpg;  
image016.jpg; image017.jpg; image018.jpg; image019.jpg; image020.jpg;  
image021.jpg

PTSS Daily

29 October 2007

The PTSS Daily is a special service provided to graduates of the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies. You may forward this e-mail provided that you forward it in its entirety.

This newsletter is produced by Ms. Leigh Ann Truly, the Marshall Center Research Library staff, and the faculty of the Program on Terrorism and Security Studies, under the direction of Professor Nick Pratt, Colonel USMC Retired. Please send comments to: [mcalumni@marshallcenter.org](mailto:mcalumni@marshallcenter.org)

NOTE: If you do not wish to receive this newsletter, please send a message to the link below.

"I do not wish to receive future versions of the PTSS Daily."  
<<mailto:mcalumni@marshallcenter.org>>

Editor's Note: Due to the large size of the secondary documents, the PTSS DAILY for today, 29 October 2007 will come in two broadcasts.

Thought for the Day:

"Europe today is witnessing the growth of a disturbing new subculture that mixes violent urban behaviors, nihilism and Islamic fundamentalism. Many young, often European-born Muslims feel a disturbingly intense sense of detachment from, if not sheer hatred for, their host societies and embrace various antagonistic messages."  
-- Lorenzo Vidino

[See lead article in General Counterterrorism News, "Current Trends in Jihadi Networks in Europe."]

Flash Points:

AFGHANISTAN: A suicide bomber killed four Afghan soldiers outside a US base in Paktika province on 27 October (Reuters).

INDIA: Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-M) cadres killed 23 people in two separate incidents on 27 October in Jharkhand state (Hindustan Times).

Page 1

USD(P) AMNESTY/CCR 19

IRAN: On 28 October Iran's minister of foreign affairs accused the US and Israel of supporting Kurdish separatists in northern Iraq, accusing them of being "behind some terrorist activities" (AP).

IRAQ: Gunmen kidnapped ten members of a tribal group fighting Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) on 28 October as they returned to their homes in Diyala from a meeting in Baghdad (Reuters).

: A suicide car bomber killed at least six people and wounded nearly 30 in an attack in Kirkuk on 28 October (Al Jazeera).

SUDAN: Abdul wahid al-Nur, the leader of the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM), said on 27 October that the peace talks in Libya would fail, and called on his followers not to attend (Guardian).

THAILAND: A Thai-Buddhist civilian was killed and twelve wounded by a 7 kg bomb in the Rangae district of Narathiwat on 27 October (Bangkok Post).

TURKEY: Three people were injured by an explosion on 28 October at a demonstration protesting against the actions of the Workers Party of Kurdistan (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan: PKK) in Izmit (Reuters)

: Turkish troops killed 20 Workers Party of Kurdistan (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan: PKK) cadres in the east of the country on 28 October (Reuters).

UNITED KINGDOM: Ahead of a state visit to the UK, Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah on 29 October accused the UK of not doing enough to fight international terrorism, which he said could take 20 to 30 years to beat (BBC).

#### Top Headlines:

Coalition: 80 Taliban Killed

Source:

Story Highlights;

- \* Battle near Musa Qala is at least the fifth major fight there since September
- \* Four bombs dropped on a trench line filled with Taliban, coalition says
- \* Musa Qala, surrounding region is front line of fighting this year

\* Four Afghan soldiers, civilian killed in suicide bomber attack on base

U.S.-led coalition forces killed about 80 Taliban fighters during a six-hour battle outside a Taliban-controlled town in southern Afghanistan Saturday, the latest in a series of increasingly bloody engagements in the region, officials said.

The battle near Musa Qala in Helmand province -- the world's largest poppy growing region -- is at least the fifth major fight in the area since September 1. The five battles have killed more than 250 Taliban fighters, a possible sign that U.S. or British forces could be trying to wrest the area back from Taliban militants.

The latest fight began when Taliban fighters attacked a combined U.S. coalition and Afghan patrol with rockets and gunfire, prompting the combined force to call in attack aircraft, which resulted in "almost seven dozen Taliban fighters killed," the U.S.-led coalition said in a statement early Sunday.

The coalition said that four bombs were dropped on a trench line filled with Taliban <[http://topics.cnn.com/topics/The\\_Taliban](http://topics.cnn.com/topics/The_Taliban)> fighters, resulting in most of the deaths.

Taliban militants overran Musa Qala in February, four months after British troops left the town following a contentious peace agreement that handed over security responsibilities to Afghan elders. Musa Qala has been in control of Taliban fighters ever since.

Situated in the north of Helmand, Musa Qala and the region around it have been the front line of the bloodiest fighting this year. It is also the heartland of Afghanistan's illicit opium poppy farms.

Violence in Afghanistan <<http://topics.cnn.com/topics/Afghanistan>> this year has been the deadliest since the 2001 U.S.-led invasion. More than 5,200 people have died this year due to the insurgency, according to an Associated Press count based on figures from Afghan and western officials

Also Saturday, suicide bomber wearing an Afghan security uniform detonated his explosives at the entrance to a combined U.S.-Afghan base in the east of the country, killing four Afghan soldiers and a civilian, officials said. The suicide bomber walked up to a security gate for Afghan soldiers outside Forward Operating Base Bermel in the eastern province of Paktika, near the border with Pakistan, NATO's International Security Assistance Force said.

Four Afghan soldiers and a civilian were killed and six Afghans were wounded, NATO's International Security Assistance Force said. No Americans were hurt.

It was not immediately clear if the bomber had been trying to gain entry to the base.

Taliban insurgents have set off more than 100 suicide blasts this year, a record pace.

Elsewhere, Taliban militants killed three Afghan police who had been trying to prevent them from carrying out a kidnapping, said Helmand provincial police Chief Mohammad Hussein Andiwai. The militants successfully kidnapped an Afghan man during the gun battle, he said.

Australia's prime minister, meanwhile, said more NATO powers must directly engage the Taliban to help ease the burden on Australia, the United States, Britain, Canada and the Netherlands, which all have troops in the dangerous southern and central parts of Afghanistan.

Germany, Italy, France and Spain have troops in the relatively safer northern

sections, a fact that is causing a rift within NATO. Australian Prime Minister John Howard said those countries need to help ease the burden on countries operating in the south. "Some of the other countries have lots of troops in Afghanistan, but they're not in some of the areas that are experiencing the heaviest fighting," he said.

The governments of the Netherlands and Canada, in particular, are coming under domestic pressure to pull out troops because of heavy casualties. I think the Dutch government has been very courageous to date," Howard said. "It's not for me to comment on Dutch politics, but I do observe that the Dutch are making a great contribution and as are of course the Canadians."

#### Justice Department 'Dismayed' Over Release Of USS Cole Bombing Leader

Source: Terry Frieden and Kelli Arena CNN, updated 8:56 p.m. EDT, Fri October 26, 2007

#### Story Highlights:

- \* Jamal al-Badawi, a leader in the USS Cole bombing, has been released
- \* Al-Badawi is one of the FBI's most wanted terrorists
- \* Rudy Giuliani calls on U.S. government to cancel \$20 million in aid to Yemen
- \* U.S. officials close to the case express outrage over the release

U.S. law enforcement officials Friday blasted Yemen's release of one of the leaders of the 2000 bombing of the USS Cole, which killed 17 U.S. soldiers.

"We are dismayed and deeply disappointed in the government of Yemen's decision not to imprison [Jamal al-Badawi]," said a Justice Department statement issued by the Department's National Security Division. We have communicated our displeasure to Yemeni officials," the statement said.

The statement pointedly referred to al-Badawi <[http://topics.cnn.com/topics/jamal\\_al\\_badawi](http://topics.cnn.com/topics/jamal_al_badawi)> as one of the FBI's most wanted terrorists and noted prosecutors in New York City want to get their hands on him. "He was convicted in Yemeni courts and has been indicted in the Southern District of New York," the Justice Department said. Officials said the decision is not consistent with cooperation between counterterrorism officials of the United States and Yemen <<http://topics.cnn.com/topics/yemen>> . Al-Badawi -- who had escaped prison last year -- was freed after turning himself in two weeks ago, renouncing terrorism and pledging allegiance to Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh, according to news reports. Witnesses said al-Badawi was "receiving well-wishers at his home" in Aden, Yemen, according to The Associated Press in Sana, Yemen.

Former New York City Mayor and presidential candidate Rudy Giuliani promptly called for the U.S. government to cancel \$20 million in aid to Yemen for releasing al-Badawi. The retired former commander of the Cole <[http://topics.cnn.com/topics/uss\\_cole/](http://topics.cnn.com/topics/uss_cole/)> called the release "disappointing." "In the war on terrorism, actions speak stronger than words, and this act by the Yemeni government is a clear demonstration that they are neither a reliable nor trustworthy partner in the war on terrorism," said Cmdr. Kirk Lippold.

U.S. law enforcement officials close to the case privately expressed outrage over the release of al-Badawi. "He's got American blood on his hands. He confessed to what he did ... and they let him go," said one official who asked not to be identified because he was not authorized to speak publicly. "This will not be the

last we hear of him," another federal official under the same restriction told CNN's Kelli Arena.

The Justice Department said U.S. officials will try to work with the Yemeni government "to ensure al-Badawi is held accountable for his past actions." Suicide bombers on a boat attacked the guided missile destroyer USS Cole on October 12, 2000, in the harbor at Aden. Seventeen U.S. sailors were killed and 39 injured. Al-Badawi, convicted in 2004 and sentenced to death, previously escaped from prison in 2003, before his trial, and was recaptured in 2004. In 2006, he escaped again with 22 others, and had been at large since then.

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(One of the main organizers of Al Qaeda's recruiting operation was arrested by Yemeni security forces along with 6 others in the city of Aden. The port city is a major hub for the exporting of suicide bombers for service in Iraq. The name of the individual arrested was not given.)

Turkey Intensifies Ops in SE But No Border Crossing Yet

PM Erdogan promised no Iraq incursion before DC visit; Ankara talks failed.

Synopsis: Turkish counter-insurgency operations along its side of the Turkey-Iraq border have intensified in recent weeks, reportedly killing at least 65 PKK rebels over the last week. Over 8,000 troops backed by helicopter gun ships and artillery assaulted PKK positions in the border region within Turkey. Meanwhile, speaking after crisis talks with Iraqi officials ended unsatisfactorily, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan said Turkey will launch a military strike against Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq when necessary, regardless of the international community's attitude. He had assured Washington early in the week that no border incursion would take place before he completed next week's DC visit and talks with President Bush. His DC talks are one component of the extensive diplomatic activity underway on the issue. Iran's President Ahmadinejad has also weighed in, calling Iraq's Prime Minister Maliki and agreeing to cooperate against PKK separatists and he received a call from Turkey's President Gul on the same subject. Also, Turkey's Foreign Minister Ali Babacan is visiting Iran this week and the PKK problem will figure prominently in those discussions. Iran is also fighting Kurdish militants sneaking from bases in Iraq. The Iraqi delegation, which left Ankara Saturday, had proposed reinforcing Iraqi military outposts at the Turkish border to prevent infiltration and reviving a tripartite panel of Turkish, Iraqi and US officers to coordinate efforts against the separatists. Turkey rejected the idea of the U.S. stationing forces along the border.

Analysis/Road Ahead: Facing intense domestic political pressure, but recognizing the potentially negative impact an incursion may have on regional stability, Prime Minister Erdogan has embarked on a two-prong strategy; 1) intensify military operations against the PKK within Turkey while building up forces to attack their bases in Iraq, and 2) build a regional consensus for action against the PKK that

Marshall Center PTSS Daily 29 October 2007

will pressure the U.S. and Baghdad into suppressing PKK activities and forces within Northern Iraq. He has two hopes in engaging Iran - using Tehran's influence in and on Iraq, and using U.S. concerns about Iranian influence to give further impetus for American officials to pressure Iraq's Kurds into taking action against the PKK. Prime Minister Erdogan doesn't want to jeopardize U.S. relations or any planned agreements, but unless he sees concrete efforts emerging against the PKK, he will launch a border incursion, although it will be limited in scope, depth and duration.

Sources: AFP, AP, BBC, Turkish Press Review, 27-29 Oct 07. Earlier media reporting

### Fighting Escalates in Pakistan's NW Tribal Area

Pakistani troops attacked militants in Swat.

Synopsis: Pakistani troops and helicopter gunships have attacked militants in the north-western district of Swat, reportedly killing 10 of them. Violence flared in the area a few days ago, after about 2,500 soldiers were deployed to the area to combat rising Islamist militancy. At least 17 troops died in an apparent bomb attack on a paramilitary vehicle on Thursday, and clashes followed. Hundreds of local people have been fleeing the violence. Pakistan is moving to confront pro-Taliban militant Maulana Fazlullah, who wants to impose Sharia law and has reportedly used radio broadcasts to call for jihad, or holy war, against the Pakistani authorities. After clashes erupted, militants captured and beheaded six security officials and killed seven civilians. Sunday's fighting took place near the town of Mingora, after militants fired at paramilitaries, the Pakistani army said. "People are leaving their homes. All shops and markets are closed," a scared resident told Reuters. Swat is one of a number of areas near the Afghan border where militants have been stepping up attacks in recent months. In a possibly related development, tribal elders in the border area of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) ordered all militants to leave the area by 04 November or face attack, following the militants' mistreatment of local villagers.

Analysis/Road Ahead: The government has taken action against Qazi Fazlullah because of his attacks on government officials, local tourist sites, and pro-government tribal elders. Although Qazi denies any connection to the Taliban, he shares their political ideology and goals and his madrassas has been used as a training facility for Talibanists and other militants. Qazi remains on the run within the district but continues his radio broadcasts from a mobile transmitter, calling on his followers to strike at all blasphemers (video stores, movie houses, westerners and Pakistani government officials). The government is using Frontier Corps personnel because of their better familiarity with the terrain backed by Army artillery and, if required helicopter gunships and motorized forces. The insurgents will continue to employ IEDs, car bombs and classic guerrilla tactics, but the extent of villager support or acquiescence will shape the government campaign's duration. However, success lies in establishing government services and sustaining its authority

Sources: AFP, BBC, Dawn, 28 Oct 07. Earlier media reporting.

### Niger Delta Militants Kidnap Six Oil Workers, Shut Down Oil Facility

The 26 October attack forced Italy's ENI to halt production.

Synopsis: Gunmen kidnapped six workers from an Italian oil production facility off the coast of Nigeria, forcing Italy's ENI to halt production of 50,000 barrels per



Marshall Center PTSS Daily 29 October 2007

day. It was the second kidnapping from an offshore oilfield in Nigeria in one week, undermining a five-month ceasefire by armed groups which had raised hopes for peace talks with the government. The gunmen overpowered an oil industry vessel shortly before dawn and used it to board the nearby Mystras oil production facility, operated by Saipem and SBM Offshore. "Attackers managed to climb aboard the FPSO Mystras and seized six workers, whose nationalities are Polish, Filipino and Nigerian." Another Nigerian worker reportedly was injured. The Mystras floating production, storage and offloading (FPSO) vessel pumps oil from the Okono Okpoho field. The Nigerian Navy dispatched a vessel to the area. Nigeria's oil production has dropped 20% since a surge in militant attacks and kidnappings in February 2006. Armed groups fighting for regional control over the oil resources of the Niger Delta had observed a ceasefire since the inauguration of President Umaru Yar'Adua in May, who promised to address the underlying causes of the conflict. However, a prominent rebel leader, Henry Okah of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), was arrested in Angola last month and Nigeria is trying to bring him home to face charges. MEND threatened to resume attacks, and claimed responsibility for last Saturday's attack on Shell's EA field, in which seven workers were taken hostage for two days. No group has yet claimed responsibility for this latest attack.

Analysis/Road Ahead: This latest attack confirms that the militants have ended their ceasefire and the seizure of a supply vessel to facilitate entry to the oil facility marks a new and potential more dangerous tactic in the Niger Delta insurgency. It will complicate oil company security efforts by forcing them to choose between placing security detachments on each vessel or forcing them to lie off the platform until a boarding party can search them. Neither is an inexpensive prospect nor a guarantee of oil platform security. The militants will resume a pace of weekly attacks by October's end and double that by early next year unless the government demonstrates progress on the region's concerns. The resumed violence contributed to the concerns that spiked oil prices above \$90 a barrel.

Sources: AP, BBC Radio, Oil and Gas News, 26 Oct 07. Earlier media reporting.

Counterterrorism News by Nation:

Afghanistan

NATO Afghan Force Is Insufficient, US General Says

Source: Reuters, Jon Hemming, 27 Oct 07

NATO is taking a risk by not sending enough troops to Afghanistan. Afghanistan has seen an increase in violence this year, with more clashes with Taliban insurgents and more suicide bombings, killing as many as 5,000 people since January. While the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) claims significant battlefield successes against the Taliban, U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates has led calls for NATO nations to send more soldiers and allow them to do more. ISAF commander General Dan McNeill said NATO countries had not even sent troops already promised. "NATO agreed last year to a force level here ... it prescribed a minimum force ... that force has not been filled yet. On that basis alone, I think, no, I don't have enough force here," he told Reuters in an interview. "We are taking a certain amount of risk by having an unfilled force," he said. Many of the 37 nations contributing troops impose tight restrictions, known as caveats, barring them from offensive operations or from deployment in the more dangerous south. German troops in the relatively safe north, for example, are not allowed to patrol at night, officials say. "The caveats impinge on my ability to use all those principles of war in both planning and prosecuting operations," McNeill said. "When countries say their forces can only operate in certain ways and in a certain geographic space that certainly impinges on my ability to mass forces."

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But the four-star U.S. general said there was no purely military solution to the conflict in Afghanistan and ISAF was simply buying time for Afghan forces to take on the Taliban. "A military dimension is part of the solution, it is not the whole solution. We have to build robust and fully capable Afghan national security forces," he said. While the Afghan army is becoming more capable of independently engaging Taliban rebels in the field, McNeill said there was still a long way to go to build up the Afghan police which is key to combating the threat of suicide attacks. More than 200 people have been killed in around 130 suicide attacks this year -- more than all of 2006 -- as Taliban insurgents switch to what the military calls asymmetrical warfare after suffering heavy defeats in pitched battles. Security has improved since a year ago though, McNeill said, when many feared the rebels would seize their former stronghold city of Kandahar and follow it with a large spring offensive. "The rhetoric from last fall has been 'we're coming, we've got an offensive coming'. Well maybe they did, but none of us has seen it," he said. Military success against the Taliban has been marred by a number of incidents in which civilians have been killed. Afghan President Hamid Karzai demanded foreign forces use fewer air strikes as they kill too many civilians, he said in an interview to be broadcast on U.S. television on Sunday. McNeill said he had issued a directive in June slightly modifying the rules of engagement for launching air strikes. "I think President Karzai's statement to me about seven or eight days ago was that, yes, he thought that that had had the desired effect," he said. "We take every precaution to minimize risk to non-combatants as well as to the property of Afghans." The general said the Taliban used civilians as human shields and attacked from houses, inviting civilian casualties, and had harmed their own cause with indiscriminate suicide attacks. Similarly, the accidental killing of civilians hurt ISAF's efforts in Afghanistan.

#### Battles Near Taliban-Held Town Intensify

Source: AP, 29 October

Days after Taliban fighters overran Musa Qala, a U.S. commander pledged that western troops would take it back. Nine months later, the town is still Taliban territory, a symbol of the west's struggles to control the poppy-growing south. But a string of recent battles around Musa Qala, won overwhelmingly by American Special Forces, signal a renewed U.S. focus on the symbolic Taliban stronghold. An Afghan army commander said Sunday that U.S. and Afghan forces have taken over the area around the town and that Afghan commanders are holding talks with Musa Qala's tribal leaders to persuade them to expel the Arab, Chechen and Uzbek foreign fighters who roam its streets alongside the Taliban militants. U.S. Special Forces soldiers accompanied by Afghan troops killed about 80 fighters during a six-hour battle outside Musa Qala on Saturday, the latest in a series of increasingly deadly engagements in Helmand province -- the world's largest poppy-growing region and the front line of Afghanistan's bloodiest fighting this year. There have been at least five major battles in the area since Sept. 1, including Saturday's fighting, and Special Forces troops have killed more than 250 militants, according to coalition statements.

"Musa Qala is part of the overall concept here, denying the Taliban the ability to control northern Helmand," said Maj. Chris Belcher, a spokesman for the U.S.-led coalition. "Our goal is to stop them from accomplishing that ... We're in Musa Qala and we're going to stay there." The vast majority of western forces in Helmand are British, though U.S. Special Forces troops are also active in the province. Taliban militants overran Musa Qala on Feb. 1, four months after British troops left the town following a contentious peace agreement that handed over security responsibilities to Afghan elders. Days after the Taliban takeover a U.S. military spokesman, Col. Tom Collins, said NATO and Afghan forces would take back the town "at a time and place that is most advantageous." Lt. Col. Richard Eaton, a spokesman for British troops in Helmand, said that "nothing in Afghanistan is ever

straightforward." "You can't do everything simultaneously. That is not how a counterinsurgency works," Eaton said. "As (the commander of NATO's forces in Afghanistan) has said, we will deal with Musa Qala at a time of our choosing." Eaton also did not rule out the possibility of future peace talks in the town, saying that the solutions to insurgencies are political.

Brig. Gen. Ghulam Muhiddin Ghorl, a top Afghan army commander in Helmand, said the foreign fighters are running training camps near Musa Qala to teach militants how to carry out suicide and roadside bomb attacks. But he said no big military operations are being launched to overtake the town itself because of a fear of civilian casualties. "Afghan and coalition forces have surrounded the Musa Qala district center. We have started negotiations with tribal leaders there to take over Musa Qala from the Taliban," Ghorl told The Associated Press. "The tribal leaders are also worried about these Taliban because the foreign fighters - Arabs, Chechens, Baluchs and Uzbeks - they are in Musa Qala." Violence in Afghanistan this year has been the deadliest since the 2001 U.S.-led invasion. More than 5,200 people have died this year due to the insurgency, according to an Associated Press count based on figures from Afghan and western officials. The latest Musa Qala battle began Saturday when Taliban insurgents attacked a combined U.S. coalition and Afghan patrol with rockets and gunfire, prompting the combined force to call in attack aircraft, resulting in "almost seven dozen Taliban fighters killed," the U.S.-led coalition said. The coalition said four bombs were dropped on a trench line filled with fighters, resulting in most of the deaths. It said there were no immediate reports of civilian casualties.

The top U.S. commander in Afghanistan, Maj. Gen. David Rodriguez, declined to talk about Musa Qala at a news conference in Kabul on Sunday. Speaking on a separate topic, he said it could take between 18 months and two years for Afghan units to be able to conduct major operations on their own. Rodriguez said Afghan forces excel at small-unit tactics and coordinating with the Afghan people but still need to improve their command structure, the use of air power, their logistics support and medical capabilities. NATO's International Security Assistance Force, meanwhile, said an investigation into allegations of civilian casualties in Wardak province on Oct. 22 found that no civilians had been killed. A provincial council member at the time said 12 civilians had been killed, but ISAF said the investigation found that the allegations were "without merit." Separately, a suicide bomber blew himself up next to a taxi-stand in Lashkar Gah, Helmand's capital, killing one civilian and wounding six others, said provincial police chief Mohammad Hussein Andiwai. The bomber was also killed in the blast. Andiwai could not say who was the target of the attack or whether the explosives on the body of the bomber went off prematurely.

#### Australia Urges Europe To Do More In Afghanistan

Source: FOCUS News Agency, 26 Oct 07

Sydney. Europe should deploy more troops to the dangerous southern regions of Afghanistan, Australia's foreign minister said Friday as the country mourned its second soldier killed there in three weeks.

Alexander Downer said Australia would welcome forces from NATO's European members joining them in southern Afghanistan, the former stronghold of the extremist Taliban regime and now the focus of insurgent attacks. "Many of the European NATO countries have their troops in the north, which is not free of Taliban activity, but it is a good deal quieter and a less threatening environment," Downer told reporters. "We would like to see some of the restrictions that European parliaments have placed on their troops lifted." His comments echo those made earlier this week by US Defense Secretary Robert Gates, who said restrictions on where European troops could be deployed and what they could do were putting NATO

soldiers at a serious disadvantage. Downer was speaking following the death of an elite Australian soldier in southern Uruzgan province who was killed by small arms fire while on patrol.(AFP)

Algeria

Algerian Forces Kill 15 Islamic Militants-Papers

Source: Reuters, 27 Oct 07

Algerian government forces stepping up attacks on al Qaeda-aligned armed groups.

Algerian government forces, stepping up attacks on al Qaeda-aligned armed groups, killed 15 militants and captured seven in the past two days near the Tunisian border, newspapers reported on Saturday. They also seized large quantities of ammunition and destroyed several hideouts in the operation in Tebessa province, 630 km (400 miles) east of the capital Algiers, the government-owned El Moudjahid said, citing a security source. One army officer was killed in the offensive, which was launched by a combined force of the army, police and municipal guards, based on information provided by a rebel who had surrendered, the independent newspaper Liberte said. The rebel group may have had links to a failed assassination attempt on President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in Batna town in September, said the independent daily El watan. The Al Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb claimed the attempt in Batna by a suicide bomber, in which 22 people were killed, as well as three other suicide bombings this year. The armed movement, previously known as the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), has switched to high-profile urban bombings. Seventy-five people were killed in political violence last month including 60 in suicide blasts, according to a Reuters account based on newspaper reports. Algeria is emerging from more than a decade of conflict that began when the military-backed government scrapped 1992 legislative elections a radical Islamic party was poised to win. Authorities had feared an Iranian-style revolution. Up to 200,000 people have been killed during the ensuing violence. The bloodshed has subsided in recent years and last year the government freed more than 2,000 former Islamist guerrillas under an amnesty designed to put an end to the conflict.

17 Islamists Killed In Algerian Army Raids

[The Jijel ambush is a different operation.]

Source: IOL, 27 Oct 07

The Algerian army killed 17 Islamist rebels during security operations in the east of the country over three days this week, security sources said Saturday.

One army officer was also killed in the raids, the sources added. Fifteen Islamists died in a major attack on their base at Djebel Al-Anoual, near Tebessa on the Tunisian frontier. The officer was killed in the attack which was backed up by helicopters, the sources said. The operation was launched after an Islamist gave himself up and offered information about an attempted attack on President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's convoy on September 6 in the south-east of the country in which 15 people died. The sources said two more Islamists were killed in an army ambush at Jijel, about 300 kilometers (180 miles) northeast of Algiers.

## Recasting Jihad in the Maghreb

Source: Andrew Black, Terrorism Monitor, Volume 5, Issue 20 (October 25, 2007)

It has been a little over one year since Ayman al-Zawahiri announced the official merger between al-Qaeda and the Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC), and since that time the jihad in the Maghreb has passed through a tumultuous and dynamic period. On the one hand, it has been characterized by an increase in bombings—particularly in public settings—the use of suicide attackers, and the targeting of foreign nationals and assets. Yet, on the other hand, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the successor to the GSPC, has more recently exhibited signs of internal fissures, largely resulting from recruitment issues and the actions of its amir, Abu Musab Abd al-wadoud (Liberte, September 18; Terrorism Monitor, September 13). Recent reports allege that al-wadoud has been replaced by Ahmad Haroun, a claim refuted on the AQIM website (<http://qmagreb.org>, October 6; El-Khabar, October 3). Despite the operational successes of the past year and al-wadoud's apparent ability to recast the regional jihad, the divisiveness within the organization has made its future somewhat precarious.

## The Changing Landscape

In late July, AQIM released a statement noting that it had succeeded in restructuring and reforming the agenda of the Algerian jihad (MEMRI, July 25). The extent of these adjustments encompasses matters from strategy, such as targeting foreigners, to tactics, such as the use of suicide operatives. At the broadest level, this reform has led the Algerian jihad to shift from a nationalist to a regionalist movement, as exhibited in January 2007 when al-wadoud announced that the GSPC would be changing its name to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, a name more reflective of the organization's expanding purview (Terrorism Monitor, February 1).

Operationally, AQIM has recently been linked with numerous activities outside of Algeria. Although the GSPC had been known to conduct operations throughout the Maghreb and into sub-Saharan Africa—notably exhibited in a June 2005 attack on the Lemgheity military barracks in northeastern Mauritania—since the merger there are signs that AQIM has placed greater emphasis on recruiting and perpetrating attacks in each of the states in the Maghreb. A prime example of this is a disrupted plot in Tunisia, which would have initially targeted the U.S. and UK embassies in Tunis around the New Year, followed by smaller attacks on tourist sites throughout the country. Significant information came to the attention of Algerian and Tunisian security officials that the plot was closely linked with the GSPC and included a Mauritanian member of the Algerian group. His involvement in the plot and more recent reports of non-Algerians operating under the AQIM banner are a testament to al-wadoud's ability to not only recruit foreigners, but also to deploy them throughout the region (Liberte, August 7; El-Khabar, August 21). Other recent examples of AQIM's regional operations include the group's links with a disrupted plot in Morocco, as well as a September report that Egyptian authorities were investigating AQIM's attempts to procure forged passports for its members traveling to Iraq (MAP, October 20; Elaph, September 4).

Beyond this, efforts in the public relations arena have grown dramatically under al-wadoud's leadership. Stretching back to the summer of 2004 when he became amir of the GSPC, al-wadoud has placed great emphasis on the organization's information operations (Terrorism Focus, May 15). In an attempt to eliminate the near information blackout his predecessors had cast on the organization—and no doubt heeding al-Zawahiri's advisement that the jihadi movement must not become isolated from the populace—al-wadoud began to engage the Algerian people and the outside world through an enhanced information campaign [1]. Though clumsily executed at first, the GSPC/AQIM media apparatus has become comparable to those found in other jihadi venues. AQIM now disseminates regular videos of attacks, such as the "Under the Shadow of the Swords" series, as well as statements from al-wadoud through a variety of affiliated forums, which is largely due to the

inconsistency of the group's website [2].

### Style of Attack

Militarily, al-wadoud has gone beyond the minimalist strategies of his predecessors and enacted a multifaceted campaign blending guerrilla attacks in eastern Algeria with publicity grabbing bombings in urban areas. Whereas the GSPC had previously relegated itself to engaging the government in rural, mainly northeastern Algeria, al-wadoud has chosen to expand the campaign to include increasing urban attacks like the April 11 dual bombings in Algiers.

Fundamental to AQIM's campaign is target selection, often an important indicator of an organization's ideological leanings and grand strategy. In the GSPC/AQIM case, this target set is diverse but has remained largely unchanged since 2004, although priorities within this set have clearly been altered. The key themes include a virulent hatred of foreigners alleged to be supporting the "apostate regimes" and pillaging North African resources. France, in particular, has featured prominently in the organization's rhetoric—famously highlighted in al-Zawahiri's quote from his September 11, 2006 speech that the GSPC be a "a bone in the throat of the American and French crusaders" (Le Monde, September 18; Libération, September 19; Terrorism Focus, August 7). Specifically, AQIM's leadership has identified France's cultural influence, which is palpable throughout Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, as being a source of corruption within the region. The previous day, AQIM injured two Frenchmen and an Italian in a bombing near Lakhdaria (Echorouk Online, September 21). Al-Zawahiri addressed the issue in a September 20 speech calling for AQIM to purge "the Islamic Maghreb of the French and the Spanish who have returned there" (MEMRI, September 20). Consistent with the jihadi narrative, AQIM has named both the United States and United Kingdom as legitimate targets, whose embassies were targets in the aforementioned Tunis plot. Finally, there are indications that AQIM is looking to target the region's tourist and energy sectors, arguably the backbone of the Maghrebi economies [3]. Although terrorism has not had a significant impact on regional economies in recent history, there is concern among regional governments that a revived terrorist threat could be a drain on their economies, particularly given the reliance on revenue from these sectors (Dar al-Hayat, April 27).

Al-wadoud's efforts to alter both the ideology and strategy of the organization have also manifested in the use of suicide bombers in Algeria, such as the April 11 attacks and the September bombings in Dellys and Batna. Although suicide attacks have previously been committed in the region and Algerians have even perpetrated martyrdom operations in other jihadi venues, this tactic has not been featured in the Algerian context despite the country's long and brutal civil war. In addition to the obvious tactical benefits that martyrdom operations bring—which are a critical component of the narrative of the Global Salafi-Jihad—they are powerful symbols of the vitality of an organization's struggle and are also an important legitimizing mechanism for its cause. As seen in the aftermath of the April 11 bombing, each suicide operative is lionized as a hero, his symbolic death effectively declaring the organization's cause to be worth giving oneself up for. In the case of AQIM—an organization attempting to congeal support while mobilizing and recruiting additional members—martyrdom is a potent addition to the attack repertoire. Although al-wadoud's decision to employ suicide operations has brought criticism from within and without his organization, the AQIM amir has received support for his decision from key figures in the global jihadi movement, most notably from Abu Yahya al-Libi (Echorouk Online, August 12; MEMRI, August 17). However, insofar as AQIM can encourage Iraqi veterans to return to the Maghreb and fight or recruit under its banner—and there are signs that this has occurred—the employment of suicide operations will likely increase (El-watan, September 12).

### The Threat to the West

Well before the merger between the GSPC and al-Qaeda, North Africans had weighed heavily on Western European security, as noted by French Interior Minister Michele Alliot-Marie (Agence France-Presse, September 23), while perpetrating