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PREPARED TESTIMONY OF STEVEN EMERSON  
BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS  
TERRORISM, SUDAN AND US COUNTER-TERRORIST POLICY MAY 15, 1997

BODY:

"Allah will spread terror in the infidel hearts, and cut their necks up, and cut every finger of them [since] they stood up against Allah and his Prophet and who stands against Allah and his Prophet must realize that Allah is a strong punisher."

Recorded conversation of Siddiq Ali, Sudanese ringleader of the plot to blow up New York tunnels, bridges and buildings in mid-1993 following the World Trade Center bombing.

Imagine the horror of multiple ear bombs--filled with a deadly mix of ammonium nitrate and fuel oil--being detonated in the middle of the day in the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels and the George Washington Bridge, the three principal transportation arteries connecting the island of Manhattan to New Jersey, where tens of thousands of commuters travel each hour. Or, consider the bloody mayhem that would have resulted in blowing up the United Nations Headquarters or Federal Building at 26 Federal Plaza in downtown Manhattan. In 1993, a group of radical Islamic fundamentalists tried to blow up the World Trade Center, killing six Americans and wounding more than one thousand. Although the conspirators failed to topple the building as planned, the resulting carnage from a successful attack of the one they intended would have killed and wounded anywhere between 30,000 to 50,000 people. Undeterred by a series of arrests, the clique of radical fundamentalists then planned an even more brutal series of attacks, this one designed to blow up tunnels and bridges leading to New York City, tourist landmarks, and a federal building. Fortunately, the attack was interdicted by successful FBI work and the courage of an Egyptian Muslim informant.

Had the attack succeeded, the resulting slaughter would have caused more deaths on American soil, as Judge Michael Mukasey noted in sentencing the defendants, than any other event since the Civil War. The fact that these terrorists would willingly plan the deaths of tens of thousands of innocent civilians for no other reason than the perceived obligation of waging a Jihad, or holy war, against the United States must give anyone pause before considering any policy that might lessen the pressure on those regimes that support, directly or indirectly, such mass murder.

Today, as this congressional panel considers the role of Sudan in the arena of world terrorism, it is important that we look at the evidence unclouded by questions of political correctness, unobscured by the deception of disingenuous moderate sounding language, and untethered to vested commercial or political

considerations that somehow always insidiously creep into the formation of counterterrorist policy. There can be no denying that Sudan plays a pivotal role in the worldwide operations of militant Islamic groups bent on imposing the Sha'aria-- the body of Islamic law--and confronting through murderous violence any regime or institution that stands in its way. Sudan, arguably the largest terrorist camp in the world, has become a central player in supporting, sponsoring and enhancing radical terrorist groups that have carried out - or at least tried to carry out - the most horrific violence that the world has witnessed in decades. A veritable "Murder Incorporated," Sudan has been directly tied to the entire spectrum of radical Islamic violence that has plagued not only the Middle East but the West as well. Unless some type of brakes are forcibly applied to the spinning vortex of terrorism emanating from the Sudan, the attacks on our friends and on ourselves will only continue. And as low-tech and low-cost weapons and agents of mass destruction, such as poison gas and bacteria, become more accessible to all terrorists worldwide, it ought not come as a surprise the day these weapons are finally used...against the United States.

Just look at Sudan's record thus far. To pick at random: Suicide bombings in Israel. The attempted assassination of the Egyptian President. A brutal military campaign of near genocidal proportions against the black non-Muslim tribal minorities in southern Sudan. Attacks on American Forces in Somalia. Sponsorship of the most ruthless terrorist financier in the world today, Osama Bin Laden, who in turn is linked to the World Trade Center conspiracy and two acts of carnage in Saudi Arabia against American forces. Sponsorship and hosting of unparalleled get-togethers of the most militant Islamic terrorist leaders in the world today, including those that have planned the murder of hundreds of Americans, not to mention Jews and Arabs deemed to be "infidels" or "enemies of Islam." Training camps for more than a dozen terrorist organizations whose raison d'etre is to kill infidels, Christians, Jews and secular and moderate Muslims. Basing privileges for the Iranian Navy. Training camps for Iranian Revolutionary Guards, who in turn have trained street militias called the Popular Defense Forces who carry out vigilante violence. Use of the Sudanese diplomatic pouch to transport explosives. Support of terrorist attacks in Ethiopia. And even direct support for, advance knowledge of and critical involvement with the second series of planned terrorist attacks in Manhattan following the World Trade Center bombing designed to kill tens of thousands of American civilians.

Although Iran is as equally culpable as the Sudan in sponsoring and orchestrating terrorist attacks internationally, what makes Sudan stand out has been the marked success of Dr. Hassan al-Turabi, the head of the ruling National Islamic Front party and defacto chief, in creating a regime solely dedicated to supporting the global Muslim Brotherhood movement and subsidiary organizations, all of which are Sunni. It would be wrong and self-deceiving to underestimate

the success and guile of Dr. Turabi in not only building up a fledgling Muslim Brotherhood movement into an actual state, but in critically forging alliances between the myriad branches and leaders of radical Islam. Dr. Turabi's Popular Arab Islamic Conferences--three have been held thus far--are unprecedented conferences featuring representation of the full panorama of the global Islamic movement, including Islamic delegations and leaders from not only throughout the Middle East but from Spain, France, Italy, Argentina, Mexico, Canada, Kenya and the United States--and even Arab and Christian left-wing nationalists. Apologists and supporters of Dr. Turabi and Sudan like to claim that Sudan is being picked on only because of its Islamic identity. For example, a militant Washington D.C. headquartered Islamic organization called the Council on American Islamic Relations (known as CAIR)-- which falsely hides as an organization dedicated to preserving Muslim "civil rights"--wrote a letter to the Atlantic Monthly magazine in response to an earlier article ("Turabi's Law" by William Langewiesche, Atlantic Monthly, August 1994) which exposed in chilling detail the totalitarian religious code of law imposed by Sudanese leader Turabi according to his extremist interpretation of Islam. In his response (Atlantic Monthly, November 1994), Mr. Hooper attacked the author of the article for making "many negative assertions about Islam, Sha'riah, Sudan and Hassan al-Turabi," denied the existence of Sudanese secret police, and criticized the article as having "merely rehashed Western cliches about 'fundamentalism' and 'Islamic radicalism [while] ignor[ing] nonIslamic causes of Sudan's turmoil."

"Non-Islamic causes of Sudan's turmoil?" This is nothing but unvarnished apologia for the terrorist regime of Sudan. Sudan's current turmoil was brought on by only one regime--the Sudanese government itself. Its support of terrorism, its authoritarian Islamic dictatorship, its war against non-Muslims and its exhortations for other militants to carry out a worldwide Jihad. To claim that these factors are fabricated by the West is in reality a blatant effort to render Sudan--and the Islamic radical movements it supports--immune from any criticism.

It is the same argument that Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, mastermind of the World Trade Center bombing conspiracy, used in decrying his conviction as tantamount to a "war on Islam." And it is the same argument used by Hamas and Islamic Jihad terrorists in justifying their murderous suicidal rampages against defenseless Israeli children and women. And it is the same argument used by the World Trade Center conspirators in justifying their original attack on the United States as a need to avenge the United States "conspiracy against Islam."

To be sure, there are also non-Muslim apologists for Sudan. In 1993, when the Sudan was placed on the State Department list of countries supporting terrorism, former President Jimmy Carter expressed his disdain for the State Department decision, "They declared that Sudan was a terrorist training center,

I think without proof...In fact, when I later asked an assistant secretary of state he said they did not have proof, but there were strong allegation ....I think there is too much of an inclination in this country to look at Muslims as inherently terrorist or inherently against the West...I don't see that when I meet with these people." (Reuters Financial Service, September 13, 1993) Well, despite what Mr. Carter is told by the urbane and British and French educated Hassan Al-Turabi--he has a doctorate from the Sorbonne and has also studied in London--Mr. Carter seems to believe that militants have to carry automatic weapons, wear scruffy beards and openly chant "Death to America" before they can qualify as terrorists. In fact, the danger represented by Dr. Turabi is that he speaks one, very soothing language to people like Mr. Carter and another more revealing language when talking to his own. The focus on the Sudan as a terrorist supporting nation has nothing to do with picking on Islam; that would be the equivalent of saying that focusing on the Klu Klux Klan as a racist and extremist movement is picking on Christianity or focusing on radical Jewish fundamentalists is picking on Judaism. Cuba and North Korea--two states that are decidedly not Islamic--were placed on the list of nations supporting terrorism precisely because of their support for international terrorism. Indeed, to suggest that Sudan is being unfairly accused of terrorism merely because of its Islamic identity is an affront to the vast majority of the Muslim population that forswears and disavows any support for terrorism or violence. The hearing today is not about Islam but about the policies of a rogue regime and how the United States should formulate and implement its counter-terrorist policies to safeguard its vital national security interests. If the intent of Congress in the 1996 anti-terrorist legislation and in earlier Congressionally-directed initiatives was to pressure countries which actively support or encourage international terrorism by denying them full access to the American market as well as to American technology, then any exemptions to this policy predicated on the notion that such trade is determined "not to have an impact on any potential act of terrorism" is a meaningless and unjustified exemption. Regimes which support terror - whether they pull the trigger or pay others to pull the trigger--cannot be compartmentalized into an "evil" government sector and a private "good" sector. While not everyone living in a terrorist-regime necessarily supports terrorism, the regime itself is the ultimate beneficiary of any increased trade and technology. When dealing with totalitarian terrorist-supporting regimes, any policy that can claim to substantively differentiate between trade that has no impact on terrorism and that which has an impact on terrorism is an illusion. While dollars may accrue to exporters in the short term by exploiting the unintended exemption, the long term injury to American interests by continuing to build up a terrorist infrastructure to be used against the West is not only incalculable, but unfathomable in the belief that policymakers at the State Department would accept it.

With regard to the Sudan, there can no doubt about the role it played in the series of planned terrorist strikes against the United States right here in the U.S. backyard. Though the principal leader of the bombing campaign, Egyptian Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman was convicted for his role in authorizing the bombing campaign as part of the radical Islamic Jihad against the West, a final accounting of the organizations and powers behind the bombing has never been concluded because of the absence of hard evidence. More than four years after the attack and foiled conspiracy, many questions still linger, such as the extent of other's involvement, both here and abroad, in the conspiracy and in the master planning of the terrorist campaign. Speculation and unconfirmed assertions have been made about possible Iraqi or Iranian sponsorship but according to both FBI, Justice Department officials and CIA officials, there has been no evidence whatsoever that either country was involved in the conspiracy. In fact, the involvement of both countries has been all but ruled out in internal FBI and CIA reports.

However, what officials have discovered, supported by evidence released at trial and other evidence still not released, including wire transfers, telephone records, bank accounts and personal papers, was that the Jihad conspiracy was the unique product of operational collaboration by an ad hoc network of radical Islamic organizations operating in the United States who joined forces in a collective terrorist campaign: The Egyptian Jamat Islamiya, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the AI-Fugra organization, Hamas and the National Islamic Salvation Front or NIF. The collaboration of these radical Islamic groups represented an unprecedented network of loosely affiliated groups that previously had never united before on such a grandiose operational scale. Interestingly, the only group in the conspiracy whose organization was directly tied to a government was the National Islamic Front or NIF, the Islamic fundamentalist party which runs the Sudan under the defacto leadership of Dr. Hassan alTurabi.

Indeed, the evidence produced at the trial and other information obtained by federal law enforcement and intelligence agents unambiguously showed that top officials of the Sudanese regime not only knew in advance of the second series of bombing plots but actively facilitated in the preparation of the plot. Two Sudanese diplomats in New York, Ahmed Yousef Mohammed and Siraj Yousef, were later declared persona non grata in 1996 and ordered out of the United States. But the evidence, contained in intelligence intercepts and other types of surveillance, suggests that the entire Sudanese Mission to the United Nations, and the Sudanese diplomats in Washington, D.C. as well, are thoroughly controlled by the National Islamic Salvation Front.

As recently as two months ago, a major Sudanese intelligence officer, who once worked in Washington D.C. sought to enter the United States under false documentation in order to expand the Sudanese terrorist network in the United States on behalf of the National Islamic Front. In Washington, a covert Sudanese

diplomatic operative, worked secretly out of the Washington offices of the America Muslim Council--a Washington group that pretends to be moderate but actively supports the Sudanese National Islamic Front, in addition to other Islamic extremist groups--at night for almost a year, in order to establish closer ties between Islamic groups in the United States and members of their Muslim Brotherhood family in the Middle East.

Because of the need to protect sources and methods, the intelligence community is frequently unable to produce the type of physical evidence that is needed in a court of law. In the trials of the World Trade Center defendants, however, actual conversations were recorded in which the role of the Sudanese government was unequivocally demonstrated. In those tapes, Siddiq Ali, a translator for the blind Sheik and considered the Sudanese ringleader of the second series of attempted bombings openly proclaimed that "our relation is very, very, very, very strong with the Sudanese government, and with the Islamic leaderships of Sudan, thanks to God that I have a direct contact with the Islamic leaders themselves. (#307-T, May 16, 1993). In the same conversation, Mr. Ali stated that his ties are so close to Sudanese officials in the U.S., that he could walk right into the office of the Sudanese Ambassador to the United Nations, the Sudanese Consul and the Vice Consul.

"When we hit the United Nations, it will teach the world, the world, not only America a lesson," Mr. Ali declared in revealing a plan to blow up the East River wing of the United Nations Headquarters in Manhattan. Mr. Ali told his fellow conspirators that he could obtain critical help from the Sudanese mission at the United Nations to get credentials, license plates and id cards to enable them to drive an explosives laden Lincoln into the parking garage adjacent to the United Nations. The Sudanese officials were aware of the plan to destroy the U.N., Ali stated. And when Siddiq Ali began to conspire to assassinate Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who was scheduled to visit New York City that spring, it was the Sudanese Mission in New York that provided Mr. Ali with acutely sensitive information about how to pierce President Mubarak's security detail and transportation route to the Waldorf Astoria, where the Egyptian President was scheduled to stay. In chilling detail, Mr. Ali--in a conversation taped by Emad Salem--told his co-conspirators the exact route of Mr. Mubarak's U.S. Secret Service detail to be used in transporting him to Manhattan, even specifying the exact car in the police motorcade in which Mubarak would be sitting. Asked by Emad Salem where he got this information, Mr. Ali responded, "I get it from the highest level...from people inside the [Sudanese] Embassy...My contact is the Ambassador, brother.

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Mr. Ali was not the only Sudanese connection to the terrorist plot. Another defendant, Mohammed Saleh, a Yonkers gasoline station operator who was to provide the fuel for the incendiary brew that was to serve as the explosive

agent, according to information obtained by federal investigators and by papers found on his possession, was a Hamas leader who was in charge of training Hamas terrorist recruits in the Sudan. Not only had Mr. Saleh traveled to the Sudan several times prior to his involvement in the plot to oversee several Hamas training exercises, but he also revealed that he had obtained various terrorist weapons in the Sudan--including guns and night-vision goggles - and ultimately smuggled them to Hamas squads in the West Bank. Mr. Saleh's home in the Bronx was used as a haven for known terrorists visiting the United States, including Jordanian militant Ahmed Noufal who has been directly involved in sponsoring and organizing Hamas terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians.

(Significantly, Mr. Saleh had organizational ties to Islamic militant front groups, including Mounazamat al-Da'waw al-Islamiya, a Sudanese headquartered Islamic religious group which used its protected religious status to promote and spread militant Islam around the world, including the United States. Mr. Saleh also participated in the radical Islamic conference in Oklahoma City in December 1992 which was sponsored by a militant group called the Muslim Arab Youth Association in concert with the Islamic Association for Palestine, another U.S. Hamas front group.)

Mr. Turabi assumed control of the Sudan after a coup d'etat in 1989. As defacto ruler of the Sudan, Mr. Turabi has transformed this nation into one of the largest militant Islamic terrorist camps in the world today, hosting, sponsoring and training nearly every radical organization and leader, including:

--Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, the militant blind Egyptian cleric convicted in the World Trade Center bombing conspiracy trial. In 1990, the Sheik succeeded in entering the United States from the Sudan, which had offered him permanent residence following the anti-Soviet Jihad victory in Afghanistan by the mujahideen. Sheik Abdul Rahman declined the honor, preferring to manipulate the strings of Jihad from the perceived safety of his residence in the heart of the Great Satan itself.

--Osama Bin Laden, the extremely wealthy Saud expatriate who, U.S. law enforcement and intelligence believe, was a financial backer of World Trade Center bomber Ramzi Yousef and his subsequent plots to bomb a series of American aircraft from the Philippines.

--Training and sanctuary for the assassins who attempted but failed in their brazen assassination effort of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on June 26, 1995 in Addis Ababa. The well-stocked killers--possessing rocket grenade launchers, anti-tank missiles, explosives and automatic weapons--failed only because of the tardiness of Mubarak's motorcade. Credit for the attempt was claimed by the Jamat Islamiya, whose members had been given training and whose extradition was blocked by Dr. Turabi. In September 1995, the Organization of African Unity condemned Sudan for its support of the attack and called upon the regime to turn over the three terrorists wanted in the attack. Ethiopian Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin openly declared that Sudan had used diplomatic cover to smuggle

the weapons and explosives to Ethiopia.

--Sponsorship of extraordinary conferences of the world's most violently anti-American Islamic fundamentalist leaders, with a smattering of residual Arab Christian leftists who share the same anti-U.S. hatred.

--Headquarters and training camp for the Palestine Islamic Jihad, a militant Palestinian group that specializes in dismembering and mutilating its victims. Mr. Turabi not only allowed gave diplomatic passports to the leaders of Islamic Jihad, such as the Fathi Shekaki (killed in Malta in October 1995) and Sheik Abdul Azziz Odeh, but funneled Iranian funds to the terrorist group and helped Islamic Jihad terrorists make their way back to Israel to carry out specific terrorist operations.

--Training camps and safe haven facilities for Hamas, Algerian Islamic Salvation Army fighters, Iranian Revolutionary Guards, Gamat Islamiya and others. At present in the Sudan, half the 3000 Iranian Revolutionary Guards sent to Khartoum came from Lebanon. Of these, more than 1000 were Lebanese Hizzbollah. Among the sites of some of these camps are:

1. the Al-Khalafiyya area, roughly 25 miles north of Khartoum where Algerian Islamic Salvation Army and Armed Islamic Group members have trained.
2. the Akhil Al-Awliya, located on the banks of the Blue Nile, south of Khartoum, where upwards--at any one time--of 500 Palestinians, Syrians and Jordanians actively train.
3. Al Mrihat, north of Um-Durman, where Egyptian members of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Jamat Islamiya and the Vanguard train.
4. Mukhayyat Al-Mazari, northwest of Khartoum, serving as an equal opportunity training center for all nationalities, including Libyans, Tunisians, Palestinians, Syrians, Saudis, Lebanese, Algerians even several Americans are known to have passed through. Although Dr. Turabi has demonstrated his generous hospitality to all types of terrorists, the most significant guest that Dr. Turabi has hosted was Osama Bin Laden, the wealthy Saudi expatriate militant who single-handedly helped fund the Arab Muslim volunteers who migrated to Afghanistan in the 1980's to carry out Jihad. Stripped of his Saudi passport in 1991 and looking to expand the Jihad against the Western infidel--following the victory against Soviet infidel--the Sudanese government warmly welcomed Mr. Bin Laden into the Sudan where Mr. Bin Laden succeeded in establishing a worldwide network of front companies, Islamic charities and non-governmental organizations, and terrorist recruitment centers to carry out attacks against American, Egyptian, Israeli, Saudi and European targets. The companies set up by Mr. Bin Laden with full Sudanese involvement and participation were critical in helping the Sudan build up its transportation infrastructure, including an airport in Port Sudan, roads and a port while at the same time building up Bin Laden's wealth--he was given monopolistic control over Sudanese agricultural exports and exclusive purchase rights over large domains of farmland--together with Mr. Turabi's NIF cronies.



At the same time, Mr. Bin Laden sponsored the movement of nearly 2000 mujahideen from Afghanistan to the Sudan where they were headquartered, under Bin Laden's largesse, in the expansion of the Jihad battlefronts to other parts of the Middle East and to the West itself. Mr. Bin Laden, who has openly called for a "worldwide Jihad to destroy the United States" was afforded the opportunity to regroup, establish a worldwide terrorist infrastructure--including cover companies and radical Islamic groups in the United States itself - during his very profitable and "productive" five year stay in the Sudan. It is suspected by FBI and State Department officials that during his stay under Sudan's protection, Mr. Bin Laden, beyond directing or funding a host of terrorist attacks in the Middle East against proWestern regimes, is connected financially to the World Trade Center bombing, in particular the training and recruitment of a key conspirator, Ramzi Yousef in the actual February 1993 bombing and the aborted attacks on American airplanes in December 1994 in the Philippines. There is mounting circumstantial evidence that Bin Laden was directly connected, if not the ultimate sponsor, of the twin attacks against U.S. Servicemen in Saudi Arabia in November 1995 and June 1996, which killed more than 2 dozen Americans and wounded scores of others. Bin Laden's departure from the Sudan in May 1996 back to Afghanistan was a direct result of the mounting economic and diplomatic pressure placed on the regime. His exit demonstrated that counter-terrorist sanctions do work.

END

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