

10:28a.m.

"THE ROOF IS GOING TO COME DOWN VERY SHORTLY."

NYPD AVIATION UNIT

11:30

"THIS IS CLEARLY A COORDINATED EFFORT. IT HASN'T BEEN ANNOUNCED THAT IT'S OVER.... ONLY ONE GROUP HAS THIS KIND OF ABILITY AND THAT IS OSAMA BIN LADEN'S."

GENERAL WESLEY CLARK,
SUPREME COMMANDER OF NATO

12:26p.m.

"MAKE NO MISTAKE, THE UNITED STATES WILL HUNT DOWN AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE COWARDLY ACTS."

PRESIDENT BUSH, BARKSDALE AIR FORCE BASE

2:49

"I DON'T THINK WE WANT TO SPECULATE ABOUT THAT - MORE THAN ANY OF US CAN BEAR."

RUDY GIULIANI, NEW YORK (WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE KILLED)

2:50

"WE NEED TO GET BACK TO WASHINGTON. WE DON'T NEED SOME TINHORN TERRORIST TO SCARE US OFF. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO KNOW WHERE THEIR PRESIDENT IS."

GEORGE W. BUSH TO HIS LEAD SECRET SERVICE AGENT BEFORE DISEMBARKING AIR FORCE ONE

4:00

"OFFICIALS SAY THERE ARE GOOD INDICATIONS THAT BIN LADEN IS INVOLVED IN THE ATTACKS, BASED ON NEW AND SPECIFIC INFORMATION DEVELOPED SINCE THE ATTACKS."

CNN NATIONAL SECURITY CORRESPONDENT,
DAVID ENSOR

6:00

"THE FRUIT OF U.S. CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY."

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT ON IRANIAN STATE TELEVISION.



WHY DID IT TAKE TEN YEARS TO KILL BIN LADEN? Firstly, we tried

to do Afghanistan on the cheap. Second, we ignored the fact that bin Laden had prepped the ground pretty well and for a long time had ingratiated himself with other tribal groups. So we ran into the simple problem that the Soviets and the British before them faced and that is Pashtun culture. Once they accepted bin Laden as a guest they were going to be adamantly opposed to turning him over. We missed a real lesson when Taliban leader Mullah Omar chose to give up his country rather than betray Osama bin Laden.

When I ran operations against bin Laden in the 1990s, I was very lucky because he was still learning about personal security. He made mistakes, he was predictable in his travels and predictable enough to kill. This was not the case after 9/11 and the U.S. president misled the American people by saying he was running from cave to cave. If that had been the case we would have killed him long ago.

Nevertheless, killing bin Laden was an important tactical victory, because any attack directed at the U.S. was under his watchful eye. But the man was a pretty smart character; he always envisioned this war to be generational and he never thought he would be around to see the end of it. Al-Qaeda today is larger, more talented, ruthless and geographically dispersed than it was ten years ago. Today it still has a slice of Afghanistan, a large slice of Pakistan and solid bases in Yemen, Iraq, Somalia and increasingly across the Maghreb. And if the Israelis are to be believed - and I think they are telling the truth on this one - in Palestine, Lebanon and in Syria.

I think what's probably going on within the organisation now is a discussion over whether to break away from what Osama bin Laden wanted - spectacular strikes - and instead hit the English-speaking countries through smaller Hamas-style attacks. My view is they will continue to plan for a big attack but also move towards lower level attacks. Part of the material that has come out in the leaks from bin Laden's home shows that he was entertaining ideas of attacks on surface transportation like trains and subways and the assassination of individuals.

So clearly change is in the air, and it's interesting that there was no mention during the highly embarrassing debate over our debt limit that we are in a war. If Al-Qaeda blows up a commuter train tomorrow we will spend millions of dollars policing our public rights of way. Our destiny is going to be affected by forces we cannot control and don't even understand.

The Arab Spring also presents an enormous advantage for Al-Qaeda and like-minded groups. The goal has always been to drive Americans out of the Middle East. And new governments are going to be less friendly towards

MICHAEL SCHEUER

"FOR ALL OF THE INSISTENCE BY THE ISRAELI LOBBY AND NEOCONSERVATIVES THAT ISLAM IS WAGING A CULTURAL WAR ON US, THE REAL TRUTH IS THAT WE ARE WAGING A CULTURAL WAR AGAINST THEM"



JIM KRANE

"THE PERCEPTION WAS THAT THE U.S. WAS BECOMING ANTI-ARAB, WHILE DUBAI WAS A PLACE MUCH CLOSER TO HOME THAT MADE INVESTORS FEEL MORE WELCOME"



9/11 HAPPENED AT A TIME when the markets in the West were down, following on the heels of the tech stock crash, so there was a lot of money searching for an alternative markets. Coincidentally Dubai had lots of new assets on offer. The property market launched in 2002 and you had the stock market and the opening of more free zones. These investment vehicles soaked up a lot of the excess cash that was floating about at that time.

This was accelerated in 2002 when oil prices started rising. Money that would normally go to the West went to Dubai. This was partly to do with asset performance, but also the perception that the U.S. was becoming anti-Arab, while here was a place much closer to home that made them feel more welcome. I wouldn't call it Arab patriotism exactly, but certainly it was something they could feel good about.

You may say this was coincidental, but it was also a function of its long held stability. Dubai has had the same ruling family since 1833 and the succession has mostly gone smoothly. That stability in an unstable region has been its key asset. Dubai has repeatedly attracted Middle Eastern investment whenever there has been regional instability, and many wealthy families from places like Pakistan or India make it their safe second home. This has been one of its hallmarks since 1900.



Jim Krane is a reporter for the Associated Press and is author of *City of Gold: Dubai and the Dream of Capitalism and Dubai: The Story of the World's Fastest City.*

the United States. Al-Qaeda always thought getting rid of the tyrants was always one way to restore Islam. Now the tyrants seem to be going – and going with the assistance of the Americans.

I've heard other people argue that Al-Qaeda hasn't featured in these revolutions. But imagine if there had been radical protestors with placards in Tahrir Square saying "Islam is the way". Mubarak would have mowed them down and Washington would have supplied the bullets. Only somebody educated at Harvard or Oxford could see a few thousand well-groomed, English-speaking Facebook users and extrapolate from this tiny sample the wish for a secular democracy. There are 85 million Egyptians, half of whom are illiterate and have no access to social media. Egypt is an extraordinarily devout country. While it may not want a theocracy, it's going to be much closer to that end of the spectrum than it is to Mrs. Clinton's view of the world.

What worries me is that we could make it worse because we don't understand what we are doing. President Obama has talked about instilling women's rights, freedom and is giving advice to anyone who is opposed to a dictatorial government in the Middle East. There is really no sense that he has any inclination that he, Bush or Clinton have really been the engines of our clash of civilisations. There's no instance that I'm aware of where bin Laden ever said we are going to come to New York and impose Sharia law. For all of the insistence by the Israeli lobby and neoconservatives that Islam is waging a cultural war on us, the real truth is that we are waging a cultural war against them. Our Western government elites have this belief in the inevitable triumph of secular democracy. They simply cannot see a world other than the one that they want, and seem unable to grasp the fact that other cultures can be different in deep and dividing ways.

There is an assumption in America that our withdrawal from Afghanistan and Iraq will remove some of the grievances of the Muslim world. To an extent that's a fair comment, but I haven't

seen much discussion in the Western media about the morale boost of Muslim forces in Afghanistan having defeated a superpower for the second time. And in Iraq we are going to leave without achieving any of our goals. We will dress it up as a success for the American people because they have the attention span of a small child. But the reality for our opponents is that it's another extraordinary victory.

There have been so many mistakes it almost seems deliberate – though I don't believe that it was. Forty years on from the oil embargo, we are still dependent on Saudi Arabia for oil and they are also a major purchaser of our debt. We are in a position where we could go to war with Iran to defend the Saudis because they can't defend themselves. To deem Iran as a national security threat to the United States is to buy into Israeli propaganda. They are not.

So I think the next decade will be far bloodier and more expensive until we come to grips with what the war is about. We've done very little to address the appeal of Islamist ideology. In fact we've reinforced its appeal by making it clear that their way of life is regarded by the West as antediluvian and that the West is going to take it upon itself to teach them how to behave well.

There's no one that hopes they are wrong more than I do. But it doesn't seem like rocket science to me. We seem to view Muslims as dumb and think they can't make distinctions. But I never encountered people who hated Americans. The hatred is for the American government and what it has done.



Osama Bin Laden.

Michael Scheuer is a former CIA intelligence officer (including chief of the Bin Laden Issue Station from 1996 to 1999) and currently a political analyst, adjunct professor at Georgetown University's Center for Peace and Security Studies. He is the author of