

THE NEW WAR

The Karachi Connection: bin Laden's Terror Engineer

Capturing fugitive Said Bahaji could foil further al Qaeda attacks. Our reporter tracks him to Pakistan. A

FORTUNE/CNN investigation.

FORTUNE

Wednesday, October 30, 2001

By Richard Behar in Pakistan



Passport photo of Said Bahaji, alleged ringleader of attacks.

"Greetings from Pakistan. May peace be upon you, and God's blessings. Praise be to Allah, I am fine. I have arrived okay. Unfortunately, I won't be phoning often because it's too expensive.. Please say hello to everyone from me to your family and my family. All is good."—e-mail sent Sept. 5 from Said Bahaji in Karachi to his wife Nese in Hamburg

Eight days after Said Bahaji flew from Germany to Pakistan, a man he shared an apartment with in Hamburg crashed an American Airlines jet into the World Trade Center, bringing down a symbol of U.S. might and killing more than 4,500 people. U.S., German, and Pakistani investigators who have been looking for Bahaji since Sept. 11, believe he may be the logistical brains, as well as a provider of funds, for the attacks in America. And they say that catching the 26-year-old Moroccan-born engineering student could prevent future attacks by Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda terror network.

Media reports have connected the terror web to more than a dozen countries, stretching from Spain to Saudi Arabia, from Belgium to Bosnia. Now, as part of a joint FORTUNE/CNN investigation, the magazine has obtained dozens of official documents that trace the trail from Hamburg, Germany, to the southern port of Karachi, and ultimately to Quetta, a small, Pakistani city populated with Afghan refugees just a two-hour drive to the porous border with Afghanistan. The documents also show that Bahaji travelled through Europe and Asia with as many as five other men, the names of three of them not publicly revealed until now.

The trail begins with Mohamed Atta, whose flight training in Florida enabled him to fly

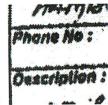
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American Airlines Flight 11 into Tower One of the World Trade Center. An examination of his cell phone and credit card records led investigators to Hamburg, which U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft last week called "a central base of operations" for the hijackers. It was in Hamburg, said Ashcroft, that Atta had extensive connections with Bahaji and other confirmed and suspected terrorists. For one thing, he shared an apartment with both Bahaji and Ramzi bin al-Shibh, a fellow fugitive who is believed to have wired funds to the U.S. to pay for Atta's flight training.



Package Receipt

The Karachi connection was uncovered by investigators after a raid on Bahaji's Hamburg apartment turned up a receipt for a package (see photo) shipped to Bahaji from Pakistan in March. FORTUNE has learned that much of the information on the receipt is false, including the name, address, and phone number of the shipper, as well as the shipper's NIC (a national identification number issued to all citizens of Pakistan). The receipt indicates that the package contained CDs of religious speeches, which may or may not have been true. But Bahaji's Hamburg phone number listed on the receipt is real, and investigators soon learned that Bahaji had flown to Karachi and on to Quetta just days before Sept. 11.

On Sept. 28, Germany's federal criminal police (BKA) wrote to police investigators in Pakistan asking for help in tracking Bahaji as a matter of "urgency." The letter, one of many obtained by FORTUNE, seeks the location of five phone numbers from which Bahaji made calls to Hamburg while in Karachi. Eventually, six numbers were run through a database at the country's International Gateway Exchange, a central clearinghouse for Pakistan's phone system. Only one of those numbers registered a hit, and it was soon traced to a World Call phone booth in Karachi. Further probing revealed that three calls had been made from the phone booth to the same Hamburg number-two of them placed several days before Bahaji arrived in Karachi. A third call was made on Sept. 4, just hours after he landed on a Turkish Airlines flight from Istanbul.



Hotel Embassy receipt

It was that sequence of calls that led Pakistani investigators to conclude that the phone booth must be close to where Bahaji and others were staying, so they swept through the hotels in the area, eventually hitting paydirt at the Embassy Hotel (see photo), where Bahaji and two of his companions checked into Room 318 for one night. "We got lucky," an investigator told FORTUNE. Hotel manager Shaukat Salim said the three men paid \$21 for the room, asked for an extra mattress, made no phone calls or requests for room service, and checked out at 4 a.m. the next morning.

Where is Bahaji today? It's a question that teams of FBI agents and investigators around the world would like to know. On Sept. 5. Bahaii flew on a Pakistani Airlines flight to Quetta, and his movements have been traced no further than a call (origin unknown) on Oct. 1 to his mother in Germany. That same day German investigators asked their counterparts in Pakistan to observe a house in the Gushan-e-labal section of Karachi "so as to determine possible movements of Bahaii in and out of the house." wrote an official from Germany's consulate general in Karachi. "Please note that by now Bahaji would be wearing Said Bahaji photo a beard." Indeed, he was, according to a subsequent photo forwarded



to Pakistan by German officials (see photo), which bore a close resemblance to the computer imagery work done by Pakistani investigators in their efforts to determine what he might look like today (see photo). But some investigators believe Bahaji long ago slipped into Afghanistan. As British Prime Minister Tony Blair said last month: "Close associates of bin Laden were warned to return to Afghanistan by Sept. 10."



How Bahaji might look today

"These acts and this type of movement clearly establishes the fact that there is a common linkage with the terrorists who operate within Pakistan," said Jameel Yusuf, the chief of the Citizens-Police Liaison Committee (CPLC), one of the country's most sophisticated police forces, in an interview in Karachi with both FORTUNE and CNN's Sheila MacVicar. "There is quite clear evidence that Bahaji was moving, and that Karachi was a transit. But it could very much be that somebody was here ahead of him, to receive him, and there might be somebody who is staying here."

Whatever Bahaji's full role, he is clearly sophisticated. He speaks four languages, served a year in Germany's military, studied computer science at Hamburg's Technical University, and operated his own Internet home page (since shut). German officials say he is highly skilled at using computers. According to his family in Hamburg, he told them he was going to Pakistan for a computer internship. Before leaving, however, he gave his power of attorney to a relative. He also left behind a 21-year-old German-born wife of Turkish ancestry and a 5-month-old son. Germany's chief federal prosecutor Kay Nehm has said that Bahaji provided cash, visas, and living quarters for the Sept. 11 hijackers, several of whom attended his 1999 wedding in Hamburg. On bank transfer forms, the guys would often write "Dar-el-Ansar" (house of supporters) in the space for ""purpose of payment." Police say that Bahaji also provided hijackers with transportation and false ID papers.

Before his Pakistan trip, Bahaji also had contacts with a Syrian businessman who owns an import-export company in/Hamburg that investigators are looking into as a possible front for terror activities. The businessman, Mamoun Darkazanli, who has been named by the U.S. as a bin Laden associate, denies any terror link and says his contacts with former bin Laden aides were strictly business. He remains under investigation in Hamburg.

Bahaji didn't travel alone to Pakistan. In their request for help from their counterparts in Karachi, German investigators named two "probable companions" (Mohammad Sarwar Juia and Patrick Joia, two Afghan nationals from Hamburg who spell their surnames differently on documents), as well as "two other possible links" (Abdellah Hosayni and Ammar Moula), who FORTUNE has learned were travelling with fake passports in those names. All four men were on the same flight with Bahaji from Istanbul.

Where the Joia brothers stayed in Karachi is not known, but they listed their Pakistani residence as Nachary Camp, a neighborhood in Quetta, where the Taliban has considerable support. Such camps have long been known as a breeding ground for the Taliban movement. A Pakistani investigator told FORTUNE that Mohammad Juia left Karachi to return to Istanbul Sept. 5, just one day after arriving. Patrick took the same trip Sept. 16, according to the investigator. On their visa applications in Germany, Mohammad (age 26) said he was a nurse, while Kabul-born Patrick (age 31) listed his job as a cook. In a recent call to their apartment in Norderstedt-Harksheide, a rural town outside of Hamburg, a man who identified himself as Patrick admitted that he had been in Pakistan recently, but refused to discuss the matter further. A prosecutor in Germany told CNN that investigators are aware of the Joias but wouldn't comment further.

As for Said, "Hosayni," and "Moula," they spent the night at Karachi's Embassy Hotel. For all of their quickness and expertise, the men did make one mistake-staying in the same room. As the CPLC's Yusuf says: "By their mistake, we have actually identified more people who could have been associated with those acts, so that evidently speaks that they are travelling in groups." Once an arrest warrant was issued for Bahaji, the other two men would naturally be linked to him.

In the case of Moula, the German police passed along a photo, relayed from the French government, but warned that "there may hardly be much resemblance to the Moula who accompanied Bahaji and Hosayni for the overnight stay in Hotel Embassy." Actually, it now appears that he had appropriated the identity of a real man in France and then had a passport manufactured. The identity of the man who flew to Pakistan is not known. As for Hosayni, it appears his identity as a 43-year-old Moroccan-born Belgian was created out of whole cloth-passport, name, and all.

Indeed, his name is even spelled differently, and appears in different handwriting, on his embarkation and disembarkation cards at points along his journey. Investigators now believe that the man who traveled as Hosayni may be at the very heart of the preparations for Sept. 11, along with Bahaji. "Police also seem to link him very clearly to al Qaeda," a Belgian counterterrorism expert told CNN.

Finally, investigators are also looking at Mohamed Belfatmi, an Algerian who flew on a Madrid-issued visa on the same flight from Istanbul to Karachi and who stayed at the same hotel, but in a separate room a floor below. He also checked out the following day and has disappeared, with no record of his having flown anywhere since.

Beyond the global hunt for those responsible for the Sept. 11 attacks, the fact that terrorists could move freely through Karachi prior to the attacks in America is no surprise to police investigators. The city is the largest breeding ground for Taliban holy warriors, according to one Western diplomat. So far this year there have been 93 killings in Karachi alone by terrorists, outpacing the past two years, but still well below the peak in 1995, when 1,742 were killed. Most of it is sectarian-based terror, but it sometimes spreads to foreigners. In 1995, two officials at the American consulate were murdered, and, in 1997, five employees

of Union Texas Petroleum were killed on a bridge. Those seven killings remain unsolved. The CPLC's Yusuf believes that the killers of the Americans are currently sitting in prison, having confessed to other murders. He also thinks that the killers are linked to the groups organizing anti-American protests on Pakistan's streets today. "They've been actively associated with the Taliban for the last few years," he said. "A lot of them [protesters] are Afghanis who have been given shelter in our cities. And today, when violence takes place, they are the first ones to come out. They are the ones who have been born and bred by us, who have been fed by us, who are supposed to be our guests, and today they are willing to even to harm the peace of the city."

Indeed, security in Karachi is extremely high today, with armed guards and police stationed everywhere, particularly outside major U.S. financial institutions (Citigroup, American Express) and fast-food chains (Kentucky Fried Chicken, Pizza Hut, McDonald's). While many residents of the city of 13 million are supportive of Pakistan's alliance with the U.S., many are clearly not. At a KFC outlet in Korangi, one of Karachi's poorest sections, young workers in full KFC uniforms expressed their full support of bin Laden to FORTUNE. One even claimed he was a member of a radical group that conducts violent protests. They eagerly posed for photos. Similarly, in nearby Zaman Town, a clerk wearing a shirt that reads "Americans" behind the counter at Instaphone, one of Pakistan's largest mobile phone companies, told FORTUNE that "Americans are very good," but that "Osama is the best."



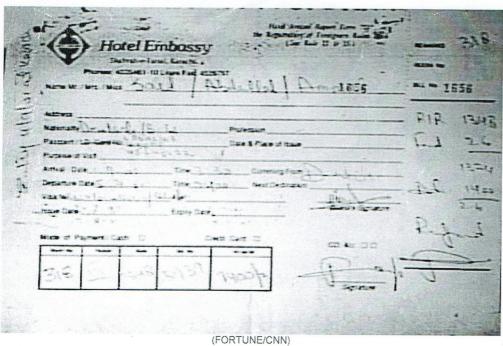
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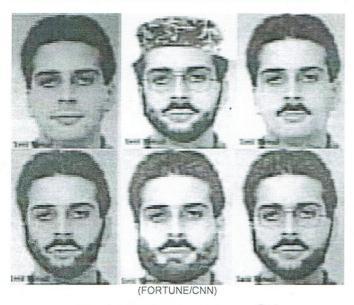


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Passport photo of Said Bahaji, alleged ringleader of attacks. (CNN)

Top Story The Karachi **Connection: New Evidence**

Read four letters that Germany's federal criminal police wrote to investigators in Pakistan asking for help in tracking terror suspect Said Bahaji. more

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November



THE NEW WAR

The Karachi Connection

Letters obtained by FORTUNE. FORTUNE

November 2, 2001

Read the article "bin Laden's Terror Engineer"

September 28, 2001

Fortune 500 FUEL LIST

FORTUNE LISTS

Letter from the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Karachi, to Pakistani investigators:

[text deleted]

URGENT & VERY CONFIDENTIAL

[text deleted]

In light of the current events and intensified search for those responsible for the terror attacks in the USA, I would like to request your support on behalf of my head office BKA in Germany.

In the preliminary investigations in Germany the names of two possible suspects has come up for whom international arrest warrants have been passed.

I am in receipt of confirmed information that one of the suspects:

Said BAHAJI

dob 15.07.75 in Germany

German National

travelled by TK 1056 from Istanbul to Karachi and possibly to a further destination within Pakistan on 03.09.01

On September 3rd or 4th BAHAJI made contacts to several numbers in Germany listed below:

0049-174-XXXXXX 0049-40-XXXXXXX 0049-40-XXXXXX 0049-162-XXXXXX 0049-179-XXXXXX

In regard to the above, I would like to ask your support in helping to find out from where the above calls could have possibly been made.

It is possible that Bahaji had stayed or is still staying in Karachi at a Hotel called "Al-Mustafa" which is presumably located near one of the KFC chain-food restaurants.

MAME **XOM** 1 Exxon Mobil WMT 2 Wal-Mart Stores 3 General Motors GM 4 Ford Motor F 5 General Electric GE C 6 Citigroup ENE 7 Enron 8 Intl. Business Machines **IBM** T **9 AT&T** 10 Verizon Communications VZ 11 Philip Morris MO **JPM** 12 J.P. Morgan Chase 13 Bank of America Corp. BAC SBC 14 SBC Communications BA 15 Boeing 16 Texaco TX 17 Duke Energy DUK KR 18 Kroger **HWP** 19 Hewlett-Packard 20 Chevron CHV 21 State Farm Insurance Cos. 22 American International Group AIG 23 Home Depot HD 24 Morgan Stanley Dean Witter MWD

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As per information he had two probable companions traveling with him to Karachinamely

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Furthermore, two other names have come up as possible links, i.e.:

Abdullah HOSAYN Ammar MOULA

Would it be possible to find out if the above mentioned persons had checked into the "Al Mustafa" Hotel. I would be grateful to you for any information that may become available to you with regards to the whereabouts of the persons-esp. Bahaji. Please note once again that Bahaji is the only one of the above mentioned for whom an international arrest warrant has been issued.

On behalf of the BKA Head Office as well as from me personally I would once again like to thank you for the cooperation and support extended by you.

[text deleted]

October 1, 2001

Letter from the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Karachi, to Pakistani investigators:

[text deleted]

URGENT FAX TRANSMISSION

[text deleted]

According to the information received by me Head Office please find mentioned below the name and address of a contact person of BAHAJI

His name has been given as:

ASLAM HAYAT c/o S. AMIN [text deleted] [text deleted] Karachi Tel: XXXXXXX

With the details on hand is it possible to confirm the above? i.e. is there a match with the subscribor [sic] of the telephone and the person mentioned and does the address correspond?

Also, do you think it would be possible to have the house observed for a period of time so as to determine possible movements of BAHAJI in and out of the house. Please note that by now Bahaji would be wearing a beard.

Considering the urgency of the situation, I would be very grateful to you for a reply at your earliest convenience.

[text deleted]

Could you please check if BAHAJI is a customer of this provider and from which tel. nr. (line holder/adress [sic]) he dialled the provider to send his message.

It is again confirmed by the Federal Criminal Police that BAHAJI-if coming acrossshould be immediately arrested on the basis of the international arrest warrant. In this case please inform me a.s.a.p.

3. Finally I request you to check the following tel nr.'s and inform me about the line holder and his address [sic].

021-XXXXXXX 0300-XXXXXXX October 4, 2001

Letter from the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Karachi, to Pakistani investigators:

[text deleted]

regarding the wanted person BAHAJI, I got the information, that one of his close friends, a

Mounir EL MOTASSADEQ
dob 03.04.74 in Marrakech/Morocco
Moroccan citizen
Passport Nr. H XXXXXX [text deleted]
PAK Visa Nr. XXXX-V/ 2000 [text deleted]
(Tourist- Visa, good for journey up to 14.08.00)

should have visited Pakistan last year.

El Motassadeq is an important witness in the case against Bahaji.

It is known, that he had

-left Hamburg on the 22.05.00 to Istanbul, supposed to have continued his trip to Karachi

He confessed, that he

-used to stay in Karachi in June/ July 2000 in the already mentioned Hotel "Al Mustafa"

Is it possible for you to check out the above information, especially when El Motassadeq arrived/left Pakistan in last year?

Finally I would request you to check if there was any phone call from Pakistan since the 04.09.01 till today to the following tel. numbers:

0049-160 XXXXXXX [text deleted] 0049-89 XXXXXXX [text deleted]

Thanking again for your outstanding support, I remain

[text deleted]

October 9, 2001

Letter from the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Karachi, to Pakistani investigators:

[text deleted]

Please find enclosed a set of photographs of the true existing person

MOULA, Ammar resident of Strasbourg in France

Even though there may hardly be much resemblence [sic] to the MOULA who accompanied Bahaji and Hosayni for the overnight stay in Hotel Embassy, do you think it would still be possible to show this set of photos for verification/identification to the Hotel staff.

0049-89 XXXXXXX [text deleted]

Thanking again for your outstanding support, I remain

[text deleted]

October 9, 2001

Letter from the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Karachi, to Pakistani investigators:

[text deleted]

Please find enclosed a set of photographs of the true existing person

MOULA, Ammar resident of Strasbourg in France

Even though there may hardly be much resemblence [sic] to the MOULA who accompanied Bahaji and Hosayni for the overnight stay in Hotel Embassy, do you think it would still be possible to show this set of photos for verification/identification to the Hotel staff.

These photos have been provided to me by my French collegue [sic] and are for your files.

Thank you very much for your support Mr. [text deleted]

Looking forward to your continued cooperation and assuring you of my support in matters of mutual interest, I remain,

[text deleted]

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Germany hunts for key suspects in terror attacks

October 31, 2001 Posted: 4:43 PM EST (2143 GMT)



Investigators released this photo of a man identified as Said Bahaji.

 By Sheila MacVicar CNN Correspondent

HAMBURG, Germany (CNN) -- As the international terrorist probe deepens, German investigators are pursuing three men they say helped organize the September 11 attacks in the United States.

One of those three men, identified as Said Bahaji, slipped out of Germany before investigators knew they should be looking for him.

Today, Bahaji is one of the world's most wanted men; he and the other two men are

accused by the German government of helping provide logistics and financing to those who flew the four hijacked planes.

German investigators say Bahaji, 26, lived in Hamburg. They say he was a computer science student, a German citizen with a Moroccan father. Agents say Bahaji had a former roommate: Mohamad Atta, accused by U.S. investigators of being one of the leaders among the September 11 hijackers.

In August, while the suspected hijackers in the United States were finishing up their plans, Said Bahaji was making his, investigators say. They say he obtained a visa for Pakistan from the embassy in Berlin. and told his family he was taking a suddenly offered internship with a computer software firm in Pakistan.

He left behind his wife and young son. On September 3, he left for Karachi, Pakistan. The last time the family heard from him was in a September 4 e-mail obtained by Fortune Magazine and CNN:

"Greetings from Pakistan. Praise be to Allah. I am fine. I won't be phoning often ... it's too expensive."

The e-mail ends: "All is good."

And then, Said Bahaji was gone.

Phone calls offer break for investigators

A week later, it was September 11. Within days, German investigators were in Bahaji's house in



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Phone calls offer break for investigators

A week later, it was September 11. Within days, German investigators were in Bahaji's house in Hamburg. They found a shipping invoice for a package of what is described as CDs of religious speeches sent from what turned out to be a false address.

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Sources: Plot conceived in UK,
Germany, UAE

EXTRA INFORMATION

Details of suspects released

"It was clear that a package came from Karachi," said Richard Behar, an investigative reporter for Fortune Magazine. "That established the Karachi connection. And that led German investigators to turn their eyes to Karachi."

With one more reason to look hard in Karachi, German police gave Pakistani investigators a list of six German telephone numbers. They asked them to see if anyone in Pakistan had been dialing those numbers, and where in Pakistan those calls came from.

"Those phone numbers were run through a master computer and, bingo, one hit, and it was a phone booth," Behar said.

Investigators located a pay phone on a street corner in Karachi that they say was used three times to call one telephone number in Hamburg, Germany. Investigators say the number called belonged to Said Bahaji's home address. The calls were made on August 31, September 2 and September 4, the day Bahaji arrived in Karachi, investigators say.

It was the phone booth in Karachi that gave investigators the next piece of the puzzle they were putting together. They reasoned that the location of the pay phone was not random -- that there was something in the neighborhood, some place where a fugitive could wait.

Two blocks away, they found the Embassy Hotel. When investigators checked the hotel's records, they found Said Bahaji's name. And he wasn't alone. The hotel records show that Said Bahaji arrived at 3:30 in the morning of September 4. He checked into room 318 with two other men, previously unknown, all sharing the same room.

"The investigators found that these men made a real mistake," Behar said. "All three of these men were staying in the same room, in the same hotel, and that essentially helps put all three of them involved in this plot."

More suspects identified

Investigators then went back to the Karachi airport. Immigration cards showed that not only had Bahaji shared a room with two others, he had flown all the way from Hamburg with them.

A passport identified one man as Abdellah Hosayni, a citizen of Belgium. The other man was identified as Ammar Moulla from France.

The more investigators looked, the more they learned. They identified Mohammed Belfatmi, an Algerian who lived in Spain, on the same flight from

Germany, who they say was staying one floor below at the same Embassy Hotel.

"We have actually identified more people who could have been associated with those acts, so that evidently speaks that they are traveling in groups ... that they are moving in groups," said Jameel Yusuf, chief of the Karachi-based Citizens Police Liaison Committee, one of the most sophisticated Pakistani police forces.

They traveled in a group only as far as Karachi. Early in the morning of September 5, investigators say, Said Bahaji flew to Quetta, Pakistan, close to the Afghan border.

All of the suspects disappeared

Bahaji's roommates, the men traveling as Abdellah Hosayni and Ammar Moulla flew to Islamabad, and then it is believed, went on to Afghanistan.

Mohammed Belfatmi simply disappeared. There is no trace of him, or anyone using that name on any flight from Pakistan, headed anywhere.

Investigators in Europe have confirmed that the man known as Moulla traveled on a false or stolen document.

"The real holder of that passport is in France and has already been interviewed," Behar said, who added that investigators still do not know who Ammar Moulla, or the person using his name, is, or his location.

Belgian law enforcement sources said the man known as Abdellah Hosayni was traveling on a forged passport. The street address does not exist; they do not know his true identity.

German investigators strongly believe that the man known as Hosayni played a major role in preparing the attacks of September 11. With Said Bahaji, they have told CNN, they believe he was at the heart of the plot.

European law enforcement and intelligence sources said German investigators are seeking information about the man known as Hosayni. There are persistent reports that Hosayni returned to Germany early in October and was arrested.

German investigators refuse to confirm or deny those reports, saying the subject was simply too sensitive.

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