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Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

Committee Study of the CIA's Detention and Interrogation Program

Executive Summary

Approved December 13, 2012

Updated for Release April 3, 2014

Declassification Revisions December 3, 2014

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acknowledge certain gaps in our planning/preparations, but this is the option the DDCI will lead with for POTUS consideration.”⁶⁹ That morning, the president approved moving forward with the plan to transfer Abu Zubaydah to Country [REDACTED].⁷⁰ During the same Presidential Daily Brief (PDB) session, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld suggested exploring the option of putting Abu Zubaydah on a ship; however, CIA records do not indicate any further input from the principals.⁷¹ That day, the CIA Station in Country [REDACTED] obtained the approval of Country [REDACTED]’s [REDACTED] officials for the CIA detention site.⁷² The U.S. deputy chief of mission in Country [REDACTED], who was notified by the CIA Station after Country [REDACTED]’s leadership, concurred in the absence of the ambassador, [REDACTED].⁷³ Shortly thereafter, Abu Zubaydah was rendered from Pakistan to Country [REDACTED] where he was held at the first CIA detention site, referred to in this summary as “DETENTION SITE GREEN.”⁷⁴ CIA records indicate that Country [REDACTED] was the last location of a CIA detention facility known to the president or the vice president, as subsequent locations were kept from the principals as a matter of White House policy to avoid inadvertent disclosures of the location of the CIA detention sites.⁷⁵

3. Tensions with Host Country Leadership and Media Attention Foreshadow Future Challenges

(TS// [REDACTED] //NF) The day after the rendition of Abu Zubaydah to DETENTION SITE GREEN, the [REDACTED], which was responsible for the security of the detention facility, linked its support for the CIA’s detention site to a request for [REDACTED] support from the CIA [REDACTED]. The CIA eventually provided the requested [REDACTED] support, [REDACTED].⁷⁶ According to CIA cables and internal documents, [REDACTED]

⁶⁹ Email from: [REDACTED]; to: [REDACTED]; subject: A-Z Interrogation Plan; date: March 29, 2002. POTUS is an abbreviation for President of the United States.

⁷⁰ Email from: [REDACTED]; to: [REDACTED]; subject: NEW INFO: A-Z Interrogation Plan; date: March 29, 2002.

⁷¹ Email from: [REDACTED]; to: [REDACTED], [REDACTED]; subject: A-Z Interrogation Plan; email from: [REDACTED] [REDACTED]; to: James Pavitt; subject: DCI Decision on [DETENTION SITE GREEN] Briefing for Armitage; date: September 26, 2002. After the PDB session, the assistant secretary of state [REDACTED] was briefed. The assistant secretary indicated that he would brief the secretary and deputy secretary of state. An internal CIA email stated that at the NSC, only National Security Advisor Rice and Deputy National Security Advisor Hadley were briefed. See DIRECTOR [REDACTED] ([REDACTED] MAR 02); email from: [REDACTED] [REDACTED]; to: James Pavitt; date: September 26, 2002.

⁷² [REDACTED] 69132 ([REDACTED] MAR 02)

⁷³ [REDACTED] 69132 ([REDACTED] MAR 02)

⁷⁴ For additional information on the rendition of Abu Zubaydah and the establishment of DETENTION SITE GREEN, see Volume I.

⁷⁵ HEADQUARTERS [REDACTED] [REDACTED]; HEADQUARTERS [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. CIA records indicate that the CIA had not informed policymakers of the presence of CIA detention facilities in Countries [REDACTED], [REDACTED], [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. It is less clear whether policymakers were aware of the detention facilities in Country [REDACTED] and at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

⁷⁶ See, for example, [REDACTED] 70240 (300614Z APR 02); [REDACTED] 70112 (250929Z APR 02); [REDACTED] 70459 (080545Z MAY 02); Congressional Notification: Intelligence Support to [REDACTED] Operation, [REDACTED], 2002 (DTS #2002-2932); and MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence; FROM: [REDACTED]; SUBJECT: Your meeting with [REDACTED], [REDACTED], 2002; cover page dated [REDACTED] 2002.

[REDACTED] prompted [REDACTED] to replace [REDACTED] individuals responsible for supporting the CIA's detention facility.⁷⁷ Those officials were replaced by different officials whom the CIA believed were not supportive of the CIA's detention site.⁷⁸ Despite considerable effort by the CIA's Station in Country [REDACTED] to retain support for DETENTION SITE GREEN from its new [REDACTED] partners, [REDACTED] called for the closing of the CIA detention facility within three weeks.⁷⁹ Continued lobbying by the chief of Station, however, eventually led Country [REDACTED] to reverse this decision, allowing DETENTION SITE GREEN to remain operational.⁸⁰

(TS// [REDACTED] //NF) On April [REDACTED], 2002, the CIA Station in Country [REDACTED] attempted to list the number of Country [REDACTED] officers who, "[t]o the best of Station's knowledge," had "knowledge of the presence of Abu Zubaydah" in a specific city in Country [REDACTED]. The list included eight individuals, references to "various" personnel [REDACTED] and the "staff" of [REDACTED], and concluded "[d]oubtless many others."⁸¹ By April [REDACTED], 2002, a media organization had learned that Abu Zubaydah was in Country [REDACTED], prompting the CIA to explain to the media organization the "security implications" of revealing the information.⁸² The CIA Station in Country [REDACTED] also expressed concern that press inquiries "would do nothing for our liaison and bilateral relations, possibly diminishing chances that [the [REDACTED] of Country [REDACTED]] will permit [Abu Zubaydah] to remain in country or that he would accept other [Abu Zubaydah]-like renderees in the future."⁸³ In November 2002, after the CIA learned that a major U.S. newspaper knew that Abu Zubaydah was in Country [REDACTED], senior CIA officials, as well as Vice President Cheney, urged the newspaper not to publish the information.⁸⁴ While the U.S. newspaper did not reveal Country [REDACTED] as the location of Abu Zubaydah, the fact that it had the information, combined with previous media interest, resulted in the decision to close DETENTION SITE GREEN.⁸⁵

4. *FBI Officers Are the First to Question Abu Zubaydah, Who States He Intends to Cooperate; Abu Zubaydah is Taken to a Hospital Where He Provides Information the CIA Later Describes as "Important" and "Vital"*

(TS// [REDACTED] //NF) After Abu Zubaydah was rendered to DETENTION SITE GREEN on March [REDACTED], 2002, he was questioned by special agents from the Federal Bureau of

⁷⁷ See, for example, [REDACTED] 74636 [REDACTED].

⁷⁸ [REDACTED] 76975 [REDACTED].

⁷⁹ [REDACTED] 77115 [REDACTED].

⁸⁰ [REDACTED] 77281 [REDACTED]. The CIA's June 2013 Response states that "[i]t was only as leaks detailing the program began to emerge that foreign partners felt compelled to alter the scope of their involvement." As described, however, the tensions with Country [REDACTED] were unrelated to public revelations about the program.

⁸¹ [REDACTED] 69626 [REDACTED].

⁸² Email from: William Harlow, Director of the CIA Office of Public Affairs; to: John McLaughlin, Buzzy Krongard, John Moseman, John Rizzo, James Pavitt, [REDACTED], Stanley Moskowitz; subject: [REDACTED] call Re: Abu Zubaydah; date: April 25, 2002, 12:06:33 PM.

⁸³ [REDACTED] 70168 [REDACTED].

⁸⁴ ALEC [REDACTED]; April 6, 2006, Interview, [REDACTED], Chief, Renditions and Detainees Group.

⁸⁵ DIRECTOR [REDACTED]

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