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Expert Witness: Synopsis of Testimony

Regina v. Mohammed Ajmal Khan, Palvinder Singh, and Frzana Khan

Exhibit EK/1

To fully understand the current “holy war” of Pakistani terrorist groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba [LeT] in Kashmir, one must first appreciate the significance of the Soviet-Afghan war of the 1980s through the eyes of Sunni Muslim extremists from around the world—including in Pakistan. At first glance, no one could have imagined the lasting significance of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Afghanistan was not an American Cold War ally; in fact, the United States had more or less consciously ignored opportunities during the 1960s and 70s to draw Afghanistan into the Western fold. With most attention focused on the importance of neighboring Pakistan, Afghanistan was largely left to its own devices. By 1978, it was already in the shadows of Soviet-inspired Marxist rule.

However, vicious internal power struggles and public discontent with the communist regime threatened to topple the political status quo that the Soviets had carefully constructed. Fearing the collapse of Marxism in Afghanistan, the Soviets invaded under the pretext of restoring order and replaced the ruling government with one more beholden to the interests of Moscow. The sporadic rebellion in the tribal hinterlands against the reformed Afghan communist regime in early 1979 was not predicted to have much of a future. In the face of thousands of arriving Soviet troops, one former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan even estimated that “the Russians would wipe out the resistance in months.”¹

But rather than achieving a quick victory, the Soviets found themselves surrounded by a relentless guerilla adversary. Countless numbers of Afghans joined the Islamic resistance, which was organized into several native mujahideen organizations with headquarters in Peshawar, Pakistan. Though these Afghan parties were theoretically structured along Islamic ideological lines, there is good reason to believe that many local guerillas that fought in the war against the Soviets had motivations outside of religion, including jealousy and greed. Mujahideen units in Afghanistan often switched party allegiances, and even entered into alliances with the supposedly “infidel” Soviets against their own indigenous Afghan Muslim rivals.

Nevertheless, the flurry of activity in Peshawar caught the imagination of the entire Islamic world, far beyond the borders of battered Afghanistan. Notions of universal Muslim “brotherhood” were awakened after years of neglect and misuse. A number of Arab and Islamic states rallied to the cause, arranging for vast amounts of money and weapons to be channeled to the mujahideen parties in Pakistan. This fundraising and mobilization drive was not restricted to official channels either; many wealthy and pious private citizens of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states donated massive amounts of money and materiel to the cause.

In certain fanatic circles, the indignity and injustice of the Soviet invasion had aroused a much more enraged response. According to these Salafist and Deobandi extremists, the jihad in Afghanistan should be treated as a critical turning point in modern world history and is considered to be a basic military blueprint for the larger struggle to ultimately “re-create” an omnipotent Muslim theocratic empire, stretching from Morocco to the Philippines. The young foreign fighters who came from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, Pakistan, and elsewhere to sacrifice their blood and souls in the battle to “save” Afghanistan from the infidel communists are revered to this day as heroes of the highest

¹ Eliot, Theodore L., Jr. Gorbachev's Afghan Gambit. Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis; Cambridge, MA. ©1988. *Page 1*.

order. Their faces and their names are legendary, even beyond the traditional Muslim world. These inexperienced but unusually persistent fighters simply referred to themselves as mujahideen, or “Islamic holy warriors.” In the Western discourse, they have become collectively known during the years since as the “Arab-Afghans.”

The Afghan cauldron provided unprecedented opportunities to disparate groups of global Islamists for unification of thought, purpose, and infrastructure. When Soviet forces were finally forced to withdraw, those who had fought alongside the Afghan mujahideen were exhilarated. In 1988, a senior Palestinian leader and recruiter of Arab mujahideen in Afghanistan explained to a jubilant audience, “the best thing is [to] continue Jihad. Nothing but Jihad... Even after liberation of Afghanistan, even after the Islamic government, [the mujahideen] will not stop. They will go up to the Muslim countries of Russia, Islamic republics. They will go down to Palestine, to [Jerusalem].” Moreover, Al-Adnani offered this chilling addendum: “[if] Anybody stops in their way, Oh my God! Smash them! Any ruler, [if] he will not let us go, we will go by force! Jihad!”² Speaking at another Islamic conference in the United States, a representative of Afghan fundamentalist warlord Gulbuddin Hekmatyar proclaimed:

“You have seen in your own life one of the biggest superpowers—Soviet Union—is gone. God is the greatest. One of the biggest superpowers—USA was afraid of the Soviet Union. Where right now is the Soviet Union? As you say, Allahu Akhbar. It means, just Allah is the superpower... this year, praise be to God, Soviet Union is gone! Soviet Union divided by 15 states. Soviet Union wanted to eliminate an Islamic country from the world—Afghanistan. Allah created five more Islamic states from the Soviet Union. God is the greatest... We don’t say that everything is finished, no. Still we have some problems. But we hope, if God wills it, finally we will not just liberate Afghanistan, God-willing, we will liberate the whole area. God is the greatest. Besides Afghanistan, in Central Asian countries... God-willing, in the very near future, we will liberate all human beings from these devils.”³

Consequently, a group of Pakistani Muslim militants decided to “take[] a leaf from the book of [the] Afghans... [and] lit the torch of Jihad movement.”⁴ This new movement—which became eventually known as Lashkar-e-Taiba (a.k.a. “The Army of the Pure”, “The Army of Madinah”)—was comprised of both intellectual and military components. Markaz al-Dawa wal Irshad (MDI), the political wing of the LeT, was established first in 1986 for the purpose of “organi[zing] the Pakistanis participating in Afghan Jihad on one platform.”⁵ Shortly thereafter, efforts were commenced by the eager supporters of Markaz al-Dawa active in Afghanistan to establish a parallel military wing. One of these men was a young Pakistani commander “fired with the zeal of Jihad” known as Abu Waleed Zaki-ur-Rahman. During the mid-1980s, Abu Waleed managed to

² Emerson, Steven. *Jihad in America*. SAE Productions (for PBS); Washington, DC. Originally aired November 21, 1994. Running time: 1 hour.

³ Videotape of 17th Annual Conference of the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA); July 17-19, 1992. Session: “Freedom and Struggle in the Ummah.” Speaker: Sair ur Rehman Halimi (Hezb-i-Islami Afghanistan). Topic: “Afghanistan: the Challenge Today.”

⁴ Taiba Bulletin (nadqpk@yahoo.com). “Subject: Eleven Years of Lashker-e-Taiba.” April 22, 2001. <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muslimworldnews>.

⁵ <http://web.archive.org/web/20000311154008/http://www.dawacenter.com/introduction/introduction.html>. March 11, 2000.

arrange a personal meeting with an unnamed senior leader of mujahideen forces in Afghanistan, and decided to join their ranks. He quickly proved himself in battle and was appointed as the commander in charge of several Pakistani mujahideen units in Afghanistan based at various camps including Markaz Makkah and Markaz Medina. According to knowledgeable sources, Abu Waleed “had [the] full co-operation of Arab Mujahideen who taught him the intricacies of Jihad and Qital [combat].”⁶ Between August 1987 and January 1990, Abu Waleed helped oversee mujahideen operations at the Kabul frontline and kept in communication with both Arab and local mujahideen units based in nearby Nurestan.⁷

However, the major turning point for the LeT came in 1990, when Abu Waleed and a group of Pakistani clerics and Islamists converged in Kunar province of Afghanistan—which had been declared an “independent Islamic Emirate” by Sheikh Jamil-ur-Rahman, a distinguished local Pashtun mujahideen commander from the anti-Soviet jihad. On February 22, 1990,

Abu Waleed, cleric Hafiz Mohammed Saeed from the Ahl-e-Hadith movement in Pakistan, and several other colleagues “laid the foundation” for the LeT military wing with the joint establishment of their Camp Tango training facility in Kunar. Soon, according to later accounts published by Lashkar-e-Taiba, the volunteers who were trained at Camp Tango under the supervision of Abu Waleed and Hafiz Mohammed Saeed “were fighting at different fronts—among them, Abdur Rauf Janbaz from Okara, Nazir Abu Bakr from Bahawalpur, Muhammad Aslam from Karachi, Khalid Saif from Lahore and Muhammad Qasim Sajid from Faisalabad embraced martyrdom.”⁸ The LeT armed wing quickly developed and, with the assistance of its sister Markaz al-Dawa, constructed a second military training camp in the Paktia province of Afghanistan south of Kabul.⁹



The Afghan provinces of Nurestan, Kunar, and Paktia along the northeast border with Pakistan

Given the distinctly “Afghan” roots of Lashkar-e-Taiba, perhaps it is consonant that at least one of its reputed founders was non-Pakistani. In fact, according to both Hafiz Mohammed Saeed and foreign recruits who joined Lashkar, one of the key individuals responsible for LeT’s formation and development was a Saudi Al-Qaida

⁶ Taiba Bulletin (nadqpk@yahoo.com). “Subject: Eleven Years of Lashker-e-Taiba.” April 22, 2001. <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muslimworldnews>.

⁷ Taiba Bulletin (nadqpk@yahoo.com). “Subject: Eleven Years of Lashker-e-Taiba.” April 22, 2001. <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muslimworldnews>.

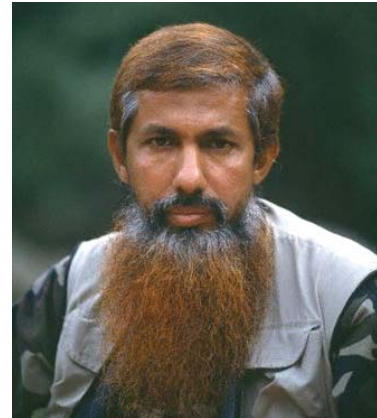
⁸ Taiba Bulletin (nadqpk@yahoo.com). “Subject: Eleven Years of Lashker-e-Taiba.” April 22, 2001. <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muslimworldnews>.

⁹ <http://web.archive.org/web/20000311154008/http://www.dawacenter.com/introduction/introduction.html>. March 11, 2000.

member known as Shaykh Abu Abdel Aziz “Barbaros” (a.k.a. Abdulrahman al-Dosari).¹⁰ Born in 1942, al-Dosari was a well-known Salafist ideologue who sported a characteristic thick reddish-orange-colored beard. “Shaykh Abu Abdel Aziz,” as he was became known, volunteered and took part in extensive jihad operations in Africa, Bosnia, Kashmir, the Philippines, and Afghanistan.¹¹ In his own words, he later explained what had happened:

“Now, concerning the beginning of Jihad in my case, I was one of those who heard about Jihad in Afghanistan when it started... One of those who came to our land [Saudi Arabia] was Sheikh Dr. Abdullah Azzam [the initial founder of Al-Qaida]—may his soul rest in peace—I heard him rallying the youth to come forth and [join him] to go to Afghanistan. This was in 1984—I think. I decided to go and check the matter for myself. This was, and all praise be to Allah, the beginning [of my journey with] Jihad. I am still following this same path.”¹²

During the first Afghan war, Shaykh Abu Abdel Aziz gained the nickname “Hown” for his particular combat proficiency with Russian-made “Hound” artillery rockets. U.S. counter-terrorism officials also believe that the tenacious “Hown” was inducted early on into the nascent Al-Qaida military alliance led by Abdullah Azzam and Usama Bin Laden. Abu Abdel Aziz never addressed the subject of Al-Qaida or Bin Laden publicly, but spoke at great length about his combat tours with them: “The Jihad in Afghanistan was a great experience. Whoever was involved in this experience had the great desire that Allah would keep them engaged in Jihad until their death and that Allah would give them their death in the battle-field of Jihad. And this is also our desire that we are killed in the way of Jihad.”¹³ In the fall of 1992, a former Al-Qaida lieutenant-turned-government informant attended secret meetings in Croatia chaired by Abu Abdel Aziz “Barbaros” and attended by Bin Laden’s cousin Abu Zubair al-Madani.¹⁴ During those meetings, Abu Abdel Aziz talked about his directives from Usama Bin Laden and indicated that Al-Qaida was seeking to use regional jihads such as those in Bosnia and Kashmir as “a base for operations... against al Qaeda’s true enemy, the United States.”¹⁵



**Saudi Al-Qaida commander
Abu Abdel Aziz “Barbaros”**

¹⁰ “Hafiz Mohammed Saeed: Pakistan’s heart of terror.” *Kashmir Herald*. Vol. 2; No. 2. July 2002. See also: Author’s interview of Randall Todd Royer.

¹¹ Post, Tom with Joel Brand. “Help from the Holy Warriors.” *Newsweek*. October 5, 1992.

¹² Tabib, Tawfig. “Interview with Sheikh al-Mujahideen Abu Abdel Aziz.” *Al-Sirat Al-Mustaqeem*. Issue No. 33; August 1994.

¹³ “The Jihad in Bosnia.” *Al-Daawah* (Islamabad). P.O. Box 3093; Islamabad, Pakistan. Publisher: Shaykh Waseem Ahmed. January 1993.

¹⁴ Shaykh Abu Abdel Aziz is identified in these documents by his alias Abdulrahman Al-Dosari.

¹⁵ “Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements.” *United States of America v. Enaam M. Arnaout*. United States District Court Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division. Case #: 02 CR 892. January 31, 2003. *Page 24-25*.

According to Kashmiri news sources, Hafiz Mohammed Saeed, the founder of Lashkar-e-Taiba, has himself indicated in interviews that Abu Abdel Aziz, “an international soldier of Islam,” deserved much of the credit for first helping to establish LeT in the late 1980s.¹⁶ Foreign recruits arriving at LeT offices in Pakistan were told that Abu Abdel Aziz and Saeed had fought together during the mid-1980s in the same Afghan jihadi unit under the lead of mujahideen commander Abdul Rasool Sayyaf.¹⁷ Allegedly, Abu Abdel Aziz “Barbaros” played several critical roles for the nascent LeT, helping to run its military training camps and serving as the critical link between wealthy and pious Saudi financiers and Pakistani Muslim fanatics bent on waging a vicious guerilla conflict in Kashmir.¹⁸ In December 1994 at an Islamic conference



**Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET) leader
Hafiz Mohammed Saeed**

held in the United States, the Saudi commander boasted, “I swear to you that during several occasions I encountered in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Kashmir and even the Philippines, there were parties who were willing to send us an entire ship filled with ammunition.”¹⁹ Abu Abdel Aziz was also clearly unrepentant about how his actions were being perceived by others. While attempting to auction off his own personal effects in the U.S. in order to help support mujahideen operations in Bosnia and Kashmir, he joked, “The Western media is more interested in this auction than the Muslim media. They are probably saying, ‘Oh, look at this great terrorist Abu Abdel Aziz selling his watch.’”²⁰

Yet, by 1991, the celebrated Afghan jihad that LeT was founded to support had devolved into chaos as communism crumbled and the power-hungry Afghan mujahideen turned on one another. The glorious days of the Afghan jihad were left behind and replaced with scenes of Muslims killing other innocent Muslims. During an interview with mujahideen recruiter Abu Hamza al-Masri in London, he tried to explain to me the mindset of Arab and Pakistani mujahideen volunteers at this time: “People are dedicated to the [religion]... They went to Afghanistan to defend their brothers and sisters. So, they find Afghanistan now, the destruction of war and Muslims fighting against each other.” As a result, in the aftermath of the disaster in Afghanistan, “they want[ed] to [struggle against] something that is indisputable, which is non-Muslims raping, killing, and maiming Muslims.”²¹ It would not be long before Pakistani “Afghans” would turn their attention to a conflict much closer to home: the fight to control the contested Kashmir region straddling Muslim Pakistan and neighboring Hindu-dominated India.

Since their independence in August 1947, Pakistan and India have fought at least two major wars over the disputed Kashmir zone; the United Nations has drawn a

¹⁶ “Hafiz Mohammed Saeed: Pakistan’s heart of terror.” *Kashmir Herald*. Vol. 2; No. 2. July 2002.

¹⁷ Author’s interview with Randall Todd Royer.

¹⁸ “Hafiz Mohammed Saeed: Pakistan’s heart of terror.” *Kashmir Herald*. Vol. 2; No. 2. July 2002. See also: Author’s interview with Randall Todd Royer.

¹⁹ Videotape of Abu Abdel Aziz “Barbaros” speaking at the 1994 national conference of the Islamic Assembly of North America (IANA).

²⁰ Videotape of Abu Abdel Aziz “Barbaros” speaking at the 1994 national conference of the Islamic Assembly of North America (IANA).

²¹ Interview with Shaykh Abu Hamza al-Masri at the Finsbury Park Mosque; June 28, 2002.

temporary dividing line of control in an attempt to reduce regional tensions (both nations are armed with nuclear weapons and have indicated a willingness to use them if necessary). Hundreds of thousands of Pakistani and Indian troops face off along the line of control and regularly trade rifle and artillery fire during small skirmishes.

In approximately 1989, a major insurgent rebellion began in the Kashmir region led primarily by Muslim militants opposed to Hindu rule. Within a very brief period of time, virtually every Pakistani mujahideen faction that had fought during the Soviet-Afghan jihad—including LeT—was mobilized for a new holy war against India. In order to service this developing conflict, LeT created four principle military training camps on Pakistani territory near Muzaffarabad: Al-Massada, Moaskar al-Aqsa, Ibn Taimiyya, and Abdullah bin Massoud. LeT also opened an official recruitment office in Lahore and made use of the sprawling Markaz al-Dawa wal Irshad-run religious university in the town of Muridke. Moreover, LeT continued to operate at least one “advanced” military training camp for its recruits inside of Afghanistan. LeT representative Abdullah Muntazir later explained the training camp system in a Taiba press release: “in our Jihad camp we impart training for 3 weeks in which newcomers are introduced to the Klashnikov up to the Missile... Following this there comes the ‘Special Tour’ comprising of 3 months in which they are trained for Guerilla war and mine blast, fighting and firing the missiles and rockets.”²² Those who displayed a high level of skill might qualify for more advanced courses “in making remote control bombs and missiles” at LeT camps both in Pakistan and Afghanistan.²³

In particular, foreign mujahideen recruits were reportedly given “a fast track” for opportunities to attend LeT’s remaining military training camps in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan.²⁴ One of the best accounts of the jihad in Kashmir is the book Army of Madinah in Kashmir written by “Esa al-Hindi”, described as a former Hindu from Great Britain who converted to Islam, joined LeT in Pakistan, and allegedly became the commander of a militant training camp in Afghanistan. By page 14, the book notes the “added help” jihad commanders in Kashmir received from “‘guest’ Mujahideen entering the state from overseas... The guest Mujahideen have indeed been instrumental to the Jihad... in



Scenes from an LeT training camp northwest of Islamabad

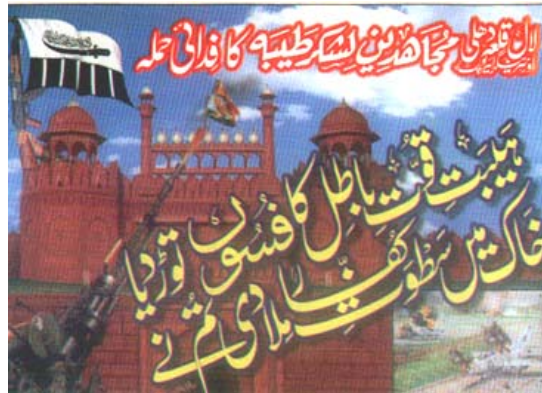
²² From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. “Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 11-07-2000.” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. July 11, 2000.

²³ From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. “Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 11-07-2000.” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. July 11, 2000.

²⁴ Author’s interview with Randall Todd Royer.

Kashmir.”²⁵ The author also reprints a four-page excerpt from the “diary of a mujahid” reportedly written by a former Canadian soldier who had converted to Islam and joined Pakistani mujahideen active in Kashmir. The ex-soldier wrote, “The group that I have been functioning with has been inside the Kashmir valley for five years... Maybe Shahadat (‘martyrdom’) awaits us... May Allah(SWT) grant us clear victory over our enemies.”²⁶ According to the former website of the LeT’s political wing Markaz al-Dawa, “[t]housands of Mujahideen were trained to fight in Afghan, Kashmir, Bosnia, Chachenya[sic], Kosovo, [t]he Philippines” and elsewhere in the Muslim world at the various military camps of Lashkar-e-Taiba.²⁷

Since the inception of its military wing in 1990, Lashkar-e-Taiba has participated in countless guerilla attacks on Indian soldiers, bombings of civilian and military targets in Jammu-Kashmir, and terrorist assaults on civilian targets in India proper, including a December 2000 attack on the Red Ford complex in Delhi, the Indian national capital. Red Fort is considered a geographic landmark, featuring a museum and hosting thousands of tourists each year. According to LeT sources, a two-man Lashkar fidayeen (“suicide commando”) unit forced its way into Red Fort, opening fire indiscriminately inside the ancient, Mughal-built structure. The fidayeen squad reportedly killed two people and seriously wounded another—the senior commander of LeT Hafiz Muhammad Saeed later declared that the Red Fort attack was “a symbolic activity” intended to force India into withdrawing from Kashmir.²⁸ In December 2001, the U.S. State Department officially named Lashkar-e-Tayyiba as a designated Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). In his public statement on the designation, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell accused Lashkar of “seek[ing] to assault democracy, undermine peace and stability in South Asia, and destroy relations between India and Pakistan.”²⁹



An LeT propaganda poster celebrates the December 2000 terrorist attack on the Red Fort complex in Delhi

Lashkar was notable for its use of the Internet to disseminate Kashmir jihad news, political propaganda, and invitations to militant conferences. Between approximately 1998 and 2001, Markaz al-Dawa and Lashkar-e-Taiba maintained a joint website located at <http://www.dawacenter.com>. Materials on the website were primarily written in English, but alternate translations were also available in Arabic and Urdu.

²⁵ Al-Hindi, `Esa. The Army of Madinah in Kashmir. Maktabah Al Ansaar Publications; Birmingham, UK. ©1999. Page 14.

²⁶ Al-Hindi, `Esa. The Army of Madinah in Kashmir. Maktabah Al Ansaar Publications; Birmingham, UK. ©1999. Pages 98-102.

²⁷ <http://web.archive.org/web/20000311154008/http://www.dawacenter.com/introduction/introduction.html>. March 11, 2000.

²⁸ From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [203.135.14.210]. “Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 23-12-2000.” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. December 24, 2000.

²⁹ U.S. Department of State, Office of the Spokesman. “Statement by Secretary of State Colin L. Powell: Designation of Foreign Terrorist Organizations.” <http://usembassy-australia.state.gov/hyper/2001/1226/epf302.htm>. December 26, 2001.

During much of this time, the main index page for dawacenter.com was, in fact, merely a series of direct links to materials produced during Lashkar-e-Taiba's Annual Mujahideen Conference in Pakistan. The conference was held, according to the militant group, in order to "acquaint our brothers and sisters of the current situation[sic] of Jihad."³⁰ The highlights of the first day of the conference, as cited on Lashkar's website, included a "40 feet long banner portray[ing] Lashker's dagger penetrating the national flags of USA, Russia, UK & India & Israel."³¹ One of the documents posted on dawacenter.com was an official invitation to the conference sent from Hafiz Mohammed Saeed. The letter explained, "[t]he international community... foists the label of terrorists on those who take up arms to defend themselves... We have to hold fast to the pristine teachings of Islam, get rid of our mutual conflicts and... of course, wage Jihad for the emancipation of our oppressed Muslim brethren."³²

Moreover, in his Friday prayer speech to conference attendees posted on dawacenter.com, Saeed lectured:

"Today, the infidels want to keep the Muslims clenched under their control and want to abolish Jihad at all costs... The Mujahideen have the solution to all of these problems in their hands... Jihad is the way that solves financial & political problems... If Jihad is abolished, the infidels would snatch on us the same way a hungry person snatches on food. The Mujahideen of Lashker-e-Taiba have continued the Jihad despite of all the negative propaganda against them... Jihad requires huge sacrifices on our behalf... the issue of Kashmir can only be resolved through Jihad."

Saeed went on to warn the Prime Minister of India that if "he didn't withdraw from Kashmir the Mujahideen would invade his office in New Delhi. Those who are not honest with Jihad don't have a place in Pakistan... The Jihad is not about Kashmir only. It encompasses all of India including Junagarh, Mavadar, and Hyderabad, etc... Today, I announce the break-up of India, insha-Allah. We will not rest until the whole India is dissolved into Pakistan... May Allah bestow martyrdom on us and enter us into the higher ranks of Paradise."³³

Other than on dawacenter.com and Lashkar's later website <http://www.markazdawa.org>, LeT news updates were also published in the widely distributed "Taiba Bulletin", sent out regularly in English, Arabic, and Urdu versions. "Taiba Bulletin" was published on several commercial Internet newsgroup sites, including Egroups.com and Yahoo.com. These bulletins were distributed by "Abu Omar", a representative from LeT's political wing, at markazdawa@hotmail.com. The following are excerpts were taken from Taiba Bulletins issued between April 2000 and September 2001:

³⁰ <http://web.archive.org/web/20000126034312/http://www.dawacenter.com/ijtimah/invitation.html>. January 26, 2000.

³¹ <http://web.archive.org/web/20000310001152/http://www.dawacenter.com/ijtimah/first-day-highlights.html>. March 10, 2000.

³² <http://web.archive.org/web/20000126034312/http://www.dawacenter.com/ijtimah/invitation.html>. January 26, 2000.

³³ <http://web.archive.org/web/20000126085445/http://www.dawacenter.com/ijtimah/khutbah-e.html>. January 26, 2000.

- **Taiba Bulletin – April 28, 2000.**
 - [In response to allegations aired on ABC News in April 2000 that Lashkar-e-Taiba was affiliated with “terrorists” such as Usama Bin Laden] “THERE IS A GRAVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN JIHAD AND TERRORISM. More than 5,000 Ulema [Muslim clerics] gathered at this convention [in Lahore] are agreed upon that jihad in Kashmir or anywhere in the world is not terrorism... We strongly deny the Western definition of terrorism.”³⁴
- **Taiba Bulletin – May 1, 2000**
 - “The Director of Foreign Affairs for Markaz Ad-Da`wah wal Irshad (of which Lashkar-e-Taiba is a component) said today that the jihad against the Indian army is not limited to Kashmir. ‘Jihad will extend to the whole of India,’ said Prof. Hafiz Abdur-Rahman Al-Makki... Al-Makki said, ‘The [Muslim] nation must keep its morale high. Individuals must be given training to fight. The more we prepare ourselves for jihad, the more demoralized and discouraged the Indian army will become, and they will retreat.’”³⁵
- **Taiba Bulletin – July 11, 2000**
 - “Lashkar-e-Taiba correspondent Abdullah Muntazir said Jihad has been raised not only in Jammun and Kashmir but also in the whole world. In a special interview he said, ‘Palestine is occupied by the Jews, Chechnia by Russian Forces, Kosova by Serbs, Kashmir by India and Philippine by Philippine army though being a Muslim majority country... Defensive Jihad is obligatory in these areas. Jihad is also obligatory upon the Muslim rulers.’”³⁶
- **Taiba Bulletin – August 8, 2000**
 - “Amir Lashkar-e-Taiba Markaz Ad-Dawa Wal-Irshad Hafiz Mohammad Saeed said Mujahideen would never stop [despite] a cease-fire for six months. Jihad groups will never accept this cease-fire like the one declared by Hizb-ul-Mujahideen... Jihad will continue even after the solution of occupied Kashmir is reached. Answering to a question, Hafiz Saeed said Pakistan should execute the Hydrogen Bomb blast. This will make USA yield before Pakistan.”³⁷
- **Taiba Bulletin – September 19, 2000**
 - “...it makes no difference to the Mujahideen fighting the war of independence in Kashmir, even if America declares them as terrorists just to please India. It is because Mujahideen have done a bargain of their lives and property with Allah Almighty and have completely forsaken the worldly things. These ideas were expressed by Amir Lashkar-e-Taiba Markaz Ad-Dawa Wal Irshad Hafiz Mohammad Saeed while addressing a gathering following the funeral prayers of 20 years young man in Tandlianwala who was martyred while fighting the Indian army in Occupied Kashmir some days ago. He said... ‘Mujahideen are not the terrorists rather they are playing the role of Mohammad Bin Qasim. Terrorists

³⁴ From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [203.128.3.29]. “Subject: JOINT DECLARATION OF PAKISTANI ULEMA: ‘JIHAD IS OBLIGATORY.’” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. April 28, 2000.

³⁵ From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [203.128.3.19]. “Subject: HEAVY FIGHTING IN KASHMIR; STATEMENT OF MUJAHIDEEN LEADER.” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. May 2, 2000.

³⁶ From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. “Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 11-07-2000.” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. July 11, 2000.

³⁷ From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. “Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 08-08-2000.” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. August 7, 2000.

are America and India in fact who are exploiting the United Nations Organization to their own end,' he added."³⁸

- **Taiba Bulletin – October 17, 2000**

- "Professor Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, Amir Lashkar-e-Taiba Markaz Ad-Dawa Wal Irshad declared the readiness and promptitude of Lashkar-e-Taiba's troops to sacrifice their lives for the cause of Allah in Palestine. Talking to the journalists, the worthy Amir said it is great obligation to relieve Al-Aqsa Mosque from the shackles of Jews. 'We are ready to perform this duty,' he said. Each Mujahid of Lashkar-e-Taiba desires to be martyred in the holy Bait Al-Maqdas... It has become incumbent upon the Muslims to raise Jihad against the Jews who are engaged in the massacre of unarmed Muslims in Kashmir and Palestine. He further emphasized the Muslim Ummah to raise a joint Jihadic venture against the non-believers who have on their part unitedly invaded the Muslims today... [In regards to the October 2000 U.S.S. Cole bombing in Yemen and the recent hijacking of a Saudi jet] 'Mujahideen Lashkar-e-Taiba does not favour to undertake these operations, as such-like activities are mostly advantageous to America. The real Jihad in fact, is to target the Jews points and to kill them in their own homes.'"³⁹

- **Taiba Bulletin - November 23, 2000.**

- "While addressing at a heavily attended seminar Jihad in Kashmir and Palestine here [in Lahore] on Monday, [commander of Lashkar-e-Taiba Hafiz Mohammad Saeed] said... that only Jihad could free Kashmir and Palestine and counter Hinduism. 'The wave of Jihad is the biggest concern for the whole world,' he said adding that the Jihad has started showing its blessing on the Islamic world... He said that Jihad began from Afghanistan and it has now spread to other like Kashmir is Palestine... Hafiz Saeed mourned the attitude of the rulers of the country saying that they try to halt Jihad ad support talks while the experience tells that these problems could never be solved with negotiations. He said that the former rulers of the country are facing the consequences of stopping the way of Jihad. Any one who betrays [faces the] wrath of the Almighty."⁴⁰

- **Taiba Bulletin – September 6, 2001**

- "Lashkar-e-Taiba chief, Prof. Hafiz Muhammad Saeed has said that Jihad had been started as a religious obligation and it would continue with Allah's help. Jihad, he said, is not dependent on the rulers; instead the rulers could earn the blessings of the world and the hereafter by lending their support to Jihad. Hafiz Saeed said that the past government too had created obstacles in the way of Jihad whereas staunch Believers had always sacrificed their blood in the way of Allah by joining Jihad. He said that collection of Jihad fund is the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) as the Holy Qur'an enjoined upon the Faithful to wage Jihad with their lives and wealth. He said no one could stop the collection of Jihad fund. He said that with increasing sacrifices by the Mujahideen, Allah had brought their goal nearer. The Lashkar-e-Taiba Ameer said the Pakistan government must realize that its support to Jihad had brought respect to the country and strengthened its economy. He said it was a historic fact that during

³⁸ From: "Abu Omar" (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. "Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 12-09-2000." Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. September 18, 2000.

³⁹ From: "Abu Omar" (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. "Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 17-10-2000." Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. October 17, 2000.

⁴⁰ From: "Abu Omar" (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. "Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN." Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. November 23, 2000.

the long period of Afghan Jihad, when Pakistan stood at the back of the Afghan Jihad, Pakistan was strong economically as well as politically.”⁴¹

- **Taiba Bulletin – September 15, 2001**

- “Chief of the Markaz Dawa wal Irshad, and the Lashkar-e-Taiba, Prof. Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, has categorically stated that the terrorist attacks in American cities were the doing of the Zionists and no Jihadic organization could be involved in such an un-Islamic activity. He said that America was planning massacre of the Afghans under the cover of bin Ladens alleged involvement in the latest terrorist activity. He however added that such an action by Americans would invite even greater divine wrath... Hafiz Muhammad Saeed said that the Zionists and the Christians were trying their best to link Jihad with terrorism through their powerful propaganda machinery. He said that undue American interference in the affairs of other countries was bound to have its repercussions. The Lashkar-e-Taiba chief counseled the American government not to take any hasty decision on the terrorist attacks on its cities as this was a highly serious matter. If America tried to react on the basis of certain assumptions, it would have grave consequences. He emphasized that the critical situation as at present called for a complete unity of the Ummah and waging Jihad against the enemy forces... He made it clear that the Pakistani people who had extended full support to the Afghans during their war against the Soviet Union, would not abandon the Afghans in the present hour of trial and would fully stand behind them... Hafiz Muhammad Saeed said that whoever indulged in injustice and terrorism, would have to pay for the same. He said that the Soviet aggression against the Afghanistan ended up in its total destruction.”⁴²

- **Taiba Bulletin – September 26, 2001**

- “LASHKAR-E-TAIBA WILL NOT LEAVE AFGHAN BRETHREN IN THE LURCH.THEY WILL SACRIFICE THEIR LIVES ALONG WITH OTHER MUSLIMS AGAINST AMERICA AND OTHER DISBELIEVERS IN CASE THEY ATTACK AFGHANISTAN (LASHKAR-E-TAIBA). LAHORE (Taiba Report) Lashkar-e-Taiba spokesman Abu Osama has set aside the report of a foreign Radio Service which stated that Lashkar-e-Taiba has stopped Taliban assistance... He added by saying that our Afghan brethren are in a difficult situation. Lashker-e-Tabia will not leave them in a lurch. They will sacrifice their lives along with other Muslims against America and other disbelievers in case they attack Afghanistan. Lashkar-e Tabia is intended to uphold the flag of Islam by jihad in the battlefield...”⁴³

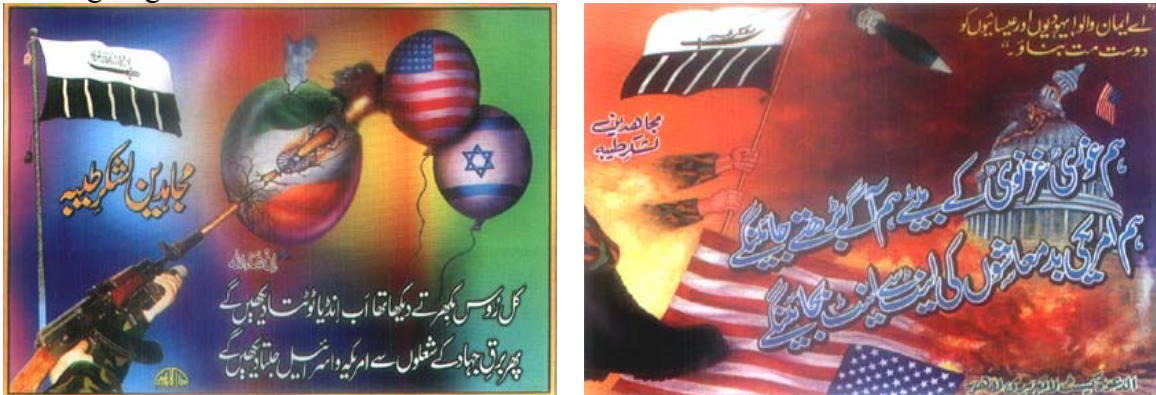
Long after 9/11, poignant examples of anti-American terrorist propaganda from Lashkar-e-Taiba continued to flow across the Internet. In June 2003, a new pro-Lashkar-e-Taiba website appeared on the web, offering information about the latest LeT membership conference in Pakistan and the address of LeT on Chamberlain Road in Lahore. The “Islamic Center” website, <http://theislamic.20m.com>, also offered a number of Lashkar-e-Taiba posters for download. In one such poster, the LeT dagger is shown

⁴¹ From: nadqpk@yahoo.com. “Subject: Lashkar-e-Taiba’s Ameer said” September 6, 2001. <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muslimworldnews>.

⁴² From: nadqpk@yahoo.com. “Subject: US attacks were the doing of the Zionists.” September 15, 2001. <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muslimworldnews>.

⁴³ From: nadqpk@yahoo.com. “Subject: Lashker-e-Tabia will sacrifice their lives with other Muslims against America.” September 26, 2001. <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muslimworldnews>.

decapitating the U.S. Capitol building while the U.S. flag burns in the foreground. A camouflaged foot (presumably that of a Lashkar-e-Taiba guerilla) tramples on the burning flag.⁴⁴



LeT propaganda posters advocate a violently anti-Western ideological perspective

The degree to which LeT has relied on the Internet in order to distribute its propaganda is indicative of the movement’s conspicuous interest in acquiring and using advanced military technology. The LeT is among an elite group of genuine terrorist groups who have allegedly launched successful cyberterrorist attacks—in 2000, an LeT representative claimed responsibility for hacking into the Indian army website in order to “work[] against the Indian forces.”⁴⁵ In Esa al-Hindi’s book, Army of Madinah in Kashmir, the author assures readers that “the Mujahideen... are waging an unrelenting Jihad and continue to endure on this path... It would not be an understatement to say that for every Mujahid who is martyred, another handful filled with enthusiasm for the Jihad replace him. The Mujahid is the one who not only desire to destroy the enemies of Allah but loves also to be slain in his way.”⁴⁶ Yet, al-Hindi also suggests the following:

“Running... straight into the enemy ranks on a well-worn battlefield is a noble and admirable action, but it needs to be complemented by all other fields of the battle arena for a successful operation... [including] Physical warfare, Drug warfare, Germ warfare, Chemical warfare, [and] Sabotage warfare.”⁴⁷

The LeT has also displayed persistent efforts aimed at obtaining remote control drone aircraft, presumably in order to gather reconnaissance on enemy positions. In July 2000, LeT representative Abdullah Muntazir boasted, “Lashkar-e-Taiba also made a remote control aeroplane that was caught in Occupied Kashmir. We are developing the modern technology. We can make modern devices. Alhamd-u-Lillah [‘Praise to God’].”⁴⁸

In order to obtain such advanced technology and to recruit Westernized operatives, LeT has relied upon a global network of militants and supporters—with

⁴⁴ <http://www.theislamic.20m.com/wallpaper.htm>. June 2003.

⁴⁵ From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. “Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 11-07-2000.” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. July 11, 2000.

⁴⁶ Al-Hindi, `Esa. The Army of Madinah in Kashmir. Maktabah Al Ansaar Publications; Birmingham, UK. ©1999. Page 25.

⁴⁷ Al-Hindi, `Esa. The Army of Madinah in Kashmir. Maktabah Al Ansaar Publications; Birmingham, UK. ©1999. Pages 139-140.

⁴⁸ From: “Abu Omar” (markazdawa@hotmail.com) [216.252.245.4]. “Subject: TAIBA BULLETIN 11-07-2000.” Newsgroup posting on taiba_bulletin@egroups.com. July 11, 2000.

primary focus on North America and the United Kingdom. In the spring of 2003 alone, a Pakistani journalist reported that LeT had successfully raised over £13 million from Pakistani Muslims in the United Kingdom “in the name of Eid sacrifice.”⁴⁹ During a 1999 interview with a U.K. journalist, LeT spokesman Abdullah Muntazir admitted that British Muslims—primarily of Kashmiri and Pakistani origin—were also joining LeT and receiving “military training” for the purposes of Jihad. Muntazir boasted, “We have Muslim volunteers from all over the world coming to join the jihad.”⁵⁰

On December 9, 1998, the U.K. Secretary of State issued a letter to U.K.-resident and Pakistani national Imam Shafiq Ur Rehman ordering his deportation from Great Britain as a result of Rehman’s “involve[ment] with an Islamic terrorist organisation Markaz Dawa al Irshad (MDI)... your continued presence in this country represents a danger to national security... [and your deportation] would be conducive to the public good in the interests of national security because of your association with Islamic terrorist groups.”⁵¹ Originally from Mian Channu, Pakistan, Rehman was able to enter the United Kingdom in February 1993 after being cleared to work as a Muslim cleric with the local branch of the Ahl-e-Hadith movement in Oldham. According to the U.K. Secretary of State, Rehman thereafter served as the “United Kingdom point of contact” for MDI—described by the secretary as an “Islamic extremist organisation whose mujahidin fighters are known as the ‘Lashkar Taiyyaba.’”⁵² Furthermore, according to British authorities, Rehman was involved in the recruitment of at least seven British Muslim volunteers “to undergo military training and in fund-raising” for LeT and was a “personal contact of [Hafiz] Mohammad Saeed, the world-wide leader of MDI and LT.”⁵³ A statement from the British government explained:

“...while Ur Rehman and his United Kingdom based followers are unlikely to carry out any acts of violence in this country, his activities directly support terrorism in the Indian subcontinent and are likely to continue unless he is deported... The Security Service is concerned that the presence of returned jihad trainees in the UK may encourage the radicalisation of the British Muslim community. [Rehman’s] activities in the United Kingdom are intended to further the cause of a terrorist organisation abroad.”⁵⁴

For his part, Imam Shafiq Ur Rehman vigorously denied supporting terrorist organizations; however, he did admit to attending and speaking at an MDI conference in

⁴⁹ Shehzad, Mohammad. “Banned LeT Collects Millions in Charity, Hides.” South Asia Tribune. March 23-29, 2003. http://www.satribune.com/archives/mar23_29_03/P1_hides.htm.

⁵⁰ Hussain, Zahid. “British Muslims join war in Kashmir.” The Times (London). May 31, 1999.

⁵¹ Appeal ruling issued by the Supreme Court of Judicature, Court of Appeal (Civil Division). Secretary of State for the Home Department v. Shafiq Ur Rehman. Royal Courts of Justice; Strand, London, WC2A 2LL. Case No: 1999/1268/C. May 23, 2000.

⁵² Appeal ruling issued by the Supreme Court of Judicature, Court of Appeal (Civil Division). Secretary of State for the Home Department v. Shafiq Ur Rehman. Royal Courts of Justice; Strand, London, WC2A 2LL. Case No: 1999/1268/C. May 23, 2000.

⁵³ Appeal ruling issued by the Supreme Court of Judicature, Court of Appeal (Civil Division). Secretary of State for the Home Department v. Shafiq Ur Rehman. Royal Courts of Justice; Strand, London, WC2A 2LL. Case No: 1999/1268/C. May 23, 2000.

⁵⁴ Appeal ruling issued by the Supreme Court of Judicature, Court of Appeal (Civil Division). Secretary of State for the Home Department v. Shafiq Ur Rehman. Royal Courts of Justice; Strand, London, WC2A 2LL. Case No: 1999/1268/C. May 23, 2000.

Pakistan and raising money for MDI-sponsored “educational and welfare projects in Pakistan.” Though a U.K. appeals court found certain irregularities in Mr. Rehman’s case, the same court nonetheless concluded that it was “undisputed” that Rehman “has provided sponsorship, information and advice to persons going to Pakistan for the forms of training which may have included militant or extremist training.”⁵⁵

Similarly, other British fundamentalist movements have stepped forward to help recruit and fundraise for Lashkar-e-Taiba and MDI. One such organization is the now-defunct Global Jihad Fund (GJF), established in London during the mid-1990s by notorious Saudi dissident Dr. Mohammed al-Massari and his assistant Mohammed Sohail. GJF maintained a relatively sophisticated fundraising network in the London metropolitan area for the purpose of aiding international Islamic “holy warriors” (including “Sheikh Mujahid Osama bin Laden”) in such places as Bosnia, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Kosovo, and Chechnya.⁵⁶ The group encouraged British Muslims outside of London to “Start a Jihad Support Network in your city... don’t be afraid of [the tyranny of the infidels].”⁵⁷ One section of the GJF Internet website, titled “Jihad Support Networks,” suggested that British Muslims should “send[] your donations directly to the Jihad Orgs in Potentially Hot Countries” and provided detailed bank account information for LeT, described as an “organization[] working in Afghanistan/Kashmir.”⁵⁸ In intercepted e-mail conversations with other British Muslims in 1999, Global Jihad Fund organizer Mohammed Sohail explained, “Currently jihad training is being done in Muzaffarabad in Pakistan. It is on[ly] for 21 days and is of beginners level. It is organised by Lashkar-e-Toiba... Then there are special courses. If anyone wants to go to Afghanistan. I can also do this by arrangement.”⁵⁹

Responding to reports of British Muslims traveling for jihad in Pakistan and Afghanistan, Azzam Publications—a prominent London-based Arab-Afghan support organization—insisted in a press release, “[w]e cannot and do not discourage any Muslim from going to render assistance to Muslims” in Pakistan and Afghanistan, but further warned potential British Islamist recruits only to join “real mujahideen.” The document concluded, “[t]here are many... [legitimate] ways to get to Afghanistan and many... groups in Pakistan, such as... Lashkar Tayyibah.”⁶⁰ Likewise, in February 2000, the U.K.-based Islamic militant organization Al Muhajiroun led by Shaykh Omar Bakri Mohammed issued a press release, resolving:

“The war of the Muslims in Israel and its neighbouring lands is our war and we will continue to fight against the enemies of Islam, we will continue to raise funds for the Jihad and we will continue to recruit for the Jihad wherever the Muslims are, whether in the UK, US, France, Germany or any other country. The Islamic Movements such as Al-Muhajiroun amongst others and the Mujahideen network... [including] Lashkar e

⁵⁵ Appeal ruling issued by the Supreme Court of Judicature, Court of Appeal (Civil Division). Secretary of State for the Home Department v. Shafiq Ur Rehman. Royal Courts of Justice; Strand, London, WC2A 2LL. Case No: 1999/1268/C. May 23, 2000.

⁵⁶ Sohail A Osman (sohail@muslimsonline.com). “Subject: Global Jihad Fund.” Newsgroup: soc.religion.islam. August 30, 1998.

⁵⁷ <http://www.ummah.net/jihad/support>. May 2001.

⁵⁸ <http://www.ummah.net/jihad/support>. May 2001.

⁵⁹ “Briton sends Email to Launch Jihad in Kashmir.” The Asian Age. November 1, 1999.

⁶⁰ Azzam Publications. “Warning Regarding British Muslims Going for Jihad in Afghanistan.” <http://www.azzam.com/afghan/html/afghanarticlebritishmuslims.htm>. November 2001.

Taiba... and many others have kept alive the struggle... We call upon the Muslim armies to fight along side the Mujahideen, fight with the army of Islam against army of [the infidels].⁶¹

⁶¹ Press Release from Al-Muhajiroun ("The Voice, The Eyes & The Ears of The Muslims." P.O. Box 349. London N9 7RR. Tel: 0181 884 0074 / 0171 474 3746. <http://www.almuhajiroun.com>. February 8, 2000.