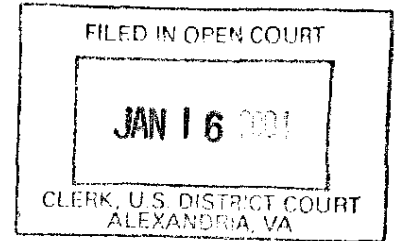


IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

Alexandria Division



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

v.

RANDALL TODD ROYER

)
)
)
)
)

CRIMINAL NO. 03-296-A

STATEMENT OF FACTS

Were this matter to go to trial, the United States of America would prove the following facts beyond a reasonable doubt:

1. In or about the fall of 2001, in the Eastern District of Virginia, RANDALL TODD ROYER aided and abetted the use and discharge of a semi-automatic pistol by Masoud Khan, Yong Kwon, Mohammad Aatique, and Khwaja Hasan in Pakistan during, in relation to, and in furtherance of a crime of violence for which the defendant may be prosecuted in a court of the United States. In specific, ROYER assisted Khan, Kwon, Aatique, and Hasan in gaining entry to a jihad camp run by the Lashkar-e-Taiba in Pakistan so that they could train in the use of various weapons; as a foreseeable part of that training, and in furtherance of the conspiracy charged in Count One of the Indictment against the defendant, Khan, Kwon, Aatique, and Hasan fired semi-automatic pistols.

2. In or about the summer of 2000, in the Eastern District of Virginia, RANDALL TODD ROYER aided and abetted the carrying of an explosive in Pakistan during the commission of a felony which may be prosecuted in a court of the United States. In specific, ROYER aided and abetted the carrying of a rocket-propelled grenade at a Lashkar-e-Taiba camp in Pakistan by Ibrahim Al-Hamdi, during the commission of a conspiracy to provide for, and

prepare a means for taking part in a military expedition and enterprise to be carried on from the United States against the territory and dominion of India, a foreign state with whom the United States was at peace, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Sections 371 and 960.

3. Lashkar-e-Taiba ("LET") is a paramilitary organization that, in December 2001, was designated by the United States as a terrorist organization. Until that time, it was based in Muzaffarabad, Pakistan, and its political and religious parent organization, Markaz Dawa Wal Irshad, was based in Muridke, near Lahore, Pakistan. While LET is primarily engaged in using ~~any means~~ ^{military means} to oust India from Kashmir, it claimed on its website at least in April 2000 that it had trained mujahideen who have fought around the world on behalf of Muslims in places such as Bosnia, Chechnya, and Afghanistan. It also claimed responsibility for attacking the Red Fort in India in 2000.

4. In November 1999, LET sponsored an international mujahideen conference. The highlights of the first day of the conference, as cited on LET's website, www.dawacenter.com, included a 40-foot-long banner portraying LET's dagger penetrating the national flags of the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, India, and Israel. According to the website, Hafiz Mohammed Saeed included the following in his speech to mujahideen from around the world gathered at the conference:

As the Prophet (Pbuh) said that Allah has placed his sustenance under the shadow of his sword. 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 . . . Today, people, more then ever, are prepared for Jihad. They are not afraid of any constraints. If India can brutally invade Kashmir then why can't the mujahideen confront her there. The Jihad is not about

Kashmir only. It encompasses all of India including Junagarh, Mavadar, and Hyderabad, etc. . . .

About 15 years ago, people might have found it ridiculous if someone had told them about the disintegration of the USSR. 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 by His mercy.

5. ROYER took a leave of absence from college in 1994 to try to help Muslims

QDK
First joined the Kateeba
endangered in Bosnia. In Bosnia in late 1994 or early 1995, he ~~engaged in about six weeks of~~
al-Mujahideen and subsequently joined the Abu Zubair group, which
~~military training. Upon completion of his training, ROYER was assigned to the Kateeba at~~
was made up of virtually all Saudi Arabians. With the Abu Zubair
Mujahideen. Subsequently, he trained and engaged in several battles with the "Abu Zubair"
group, he participated in about six weeks of military
~~Group, which was made up of virtually all Saudi Arabians.~~
training and engaged in several battles.

6. In early 1999, ROYER went to Macedonia in the Balkans with the intent of fighting for ethnic Albanian Muslims against Serb forces in Kosovo. He went to a mosque to try to make connections to get assistance to get into Kosovo, but learned that the authorities were not allowing people like him to serve as foreign volunteers. After about a month and half, Royer realized that he was not going to get into Kosovo, and returned to the United States in April 1999.

7. In or about January 2000, Royer and Al-Hamdi decided to try to go to fight to help Muslims in Chechnya. Al-Hamdi had previously attempted to get to Chechnya, but was unable to because he lacked military training. Al-Hamdi told ROYER that he could not be accepted as a fighter in Chechnya without military training, so they decided to go to the LET in Pakistan in order to get Al-Hamdi training with the hopes that they could there make contacts necessary to go to Chechnya.

8. Prior to going to LET, ROYER researched LET on the internet, including markazdawa.com, lashkartaiba.com, and dawacenter.com. On the internet, ROYER found a telephone number and address for LET in Pakistan. ROYER's favorable impression of the organization was reinforced by an article in the April 2, 2000 edition of the *Washington Post*, about LET, its leader, Hafiz Saeed, its relations with the Pakistani government, and the compound of its parent organization in Muridke outside of Lahore. ROYER determined that LET was not designated a terrorist organization by the United States, and that the mere involvement in foreign conflicts by U.S. citizens was not considered terrorism by the United States government.

9. On or about February 23, 2000, ROYER and Al-Hamdi went to the Pakistani Embassy in Washington, D.C., to obtain visas to enter Pakistan. Al-Hamdi could not obtain a visa because of his diplomatic passport, but planned to solve the problem in time to travel to LET with ROYER. Al-Hamdi and ROYER later purchased supplies that they thought would be helpful when they eventually went to Chechnya, such as gore-tex gloves, hiking boots, and a compass.

10. After realizing that Al-Hamdi would not have his own arrangements made in time to travel with ROYER, ROYER decided to travel to Pakistan by himself. Other than his general knowledge about LET, Royer did not have any specific contacts or plans for how he was going to gain entry to LET when he got to Pakistan.

11. On or about April 10, 2000, ROYER entered Pakistan, and found the LET office in Lahore. There, he said that he had previously fought in Bosnia and that he wanted to go help fight in Chechnya. The LET representatives verified Royer's story about having previously fought in Bosnia, and told him that LET could get him to Chechnya.

12. ROYER realized that he would not have time to travel to Chechnya within the time frame he had allotted himself before returning to his pregnant wife in Bosnia. As an alternative, he agreed to assist in publicizing LET by establishing a bulletin board for LET on the Internet. On or about April 20, 2000, in Lahore, ROYER set up an internet-based newsletter for LET known as the Taiba Bulletin, at http://groups.yahoo.com/group/taiba_bulletin. ROYER used the e-mail address markazdawa@hotmail.com to start the Taiba Bulletin. ROYER announced the creation of the bulletin with Taiba Bulletin #1, the opening message on the Yahoo! Group web-site for the Taiba Bulletin. ROYER wrote and published Taiba Bulletins #2 through #9.

13. On April 23, 2000, in Taiba Bulletin #4 posted on the internet, LET claimed it recently killed Indian soldiers in the Kupawara district of Indian Kashmir, including those in a bus convoy passing over a bridge under which LET mujahideen detonated a mine. The Taiba Bulletin also stated that LET mujahideen used shoulder-launched rockets to destroy an Indian government building in the Kupawara district of Kashmir.

14. On April 26, 2000, in Taiba Bulletin #5, ROYER posted a letter to ABC News that he helped write for LET, in which LET condemned violence against civilians, and asserted that it had no interest in fighting America, no ties with Usama Bin Laden, and no involvement in any activities in America or East Africa.

15. During his time at the LET offices in Lahore, in or about early May 2000, ROYER was taken up to the LET training camps including Ibn Taymiyaa, Aqsa, and Ibn Masood, and to the front line in Kashmir. At the front line, ROYER was given - - and took - - an opportunity to shoot some rounds at Indian positions in Kashmir with a machine gun. In addition, ROYER

visited a LET hospital and a graveyard for non-Pakistani mujahideen, who died fighting in Kashmir with *LET*.

16. On or about April 29, 2000, ROYER returned to the LET offices in Lahore. On or about May 3, 2000, he traveled from Karachi to rejoin his wife in Bosnia, and then reentered the United States on or about May 15, 2003.

17. After he returned to the United States, ROYER continued to assist the LET with the editing of Taiba Bulletins. ROYER also established a separate Yahoo! Group under the name "Islamic Renewal" to provide an outlet for political commentary related to the LET as opposed to the battle reports that were typically posted on the Taiba Bulletin News Group. ROYER posted a number of messages to the Islamic Renewal group, some of which he wrote with an LET leader.

18. When Royer returned to the United States, he told his friends about the LET and his experiences there. Royer encouraged others to go and train with LET and to move to Pakistan to live in the LET compound in Muridke, just outside of Lahore, Pakistan. In or about the summer of 2000, ROYER described to Hammad Abdur-Raheem, Caliph Basha, Yong Kwon, and others, his experience with the LET in Pakistan, including ROYER's firing at Indian positions.

19. ROYER first played paint-ball with Chapman, Hammad Abdur-Raheem and Caliph Basha Abdur-Raheem after he returned to Virginia in July 2000. ROYER attended additional paint-ball outings over the next year. Some of the rules associated with the paint-ball involved pushing a car or doing push-ups for being late. Chapman was typically the person who chose the ~~sanctions~~ ^{sanctions} for breaking a rule. The topic of jihad was discussed regularly at the paint-ball outings. ROYER regularly discussed his past experiences with others, including those who attended paint-ball.

20. ROYER created an e-list to which he sent news reports from the Muslim world to Kwon, Hasan, Al-Hamdi, Chapman, Hammad Abdur-Raheem, Caliph Basha, and others. Some of those news reports included wire service stories about LET activities. ROYER frequently spoke to the group about his experiences at the LET camp.

21. In or about August 2000, after Al-Hamdi had straightened out his visa problems, ROYER helped him gain entry to the LET in Pakistan so that he could obtain jihad training and possibly engage in combat in Kashmir. ROYER telephoned an LET member in Pakistan, and said that he knew of a brother who wanted to come over and train. ROYER provided the contact with Al-Hamdi's kunya or alias, Abu Harith.

22. On or about September 17, 2000, ROYER acquired an AK-47-style semi-automatic rifle from Yong Kwon. After acquiring the weapon from Kwon, ROYER replaced the wood stock and grip with a carbon fiber stock and grip, and also acquired the folding stock. ROYER used the rifle for target practice.

23. Al-Hamdi returned from Pakistan in late September 2000. Upon his return, Al-Hamdi told ROYER of his experiences at LET. Al-Hamdi said that he trained and went on a mission with LET. Al-Hamdi said that his group fired rocket-propelled grenades and automatic weapons at Indian troops in Kashmir.

24. In or about March 2001, ROYER, Kwon, Surratt, and others traveled to Saudi Arabia on Hajj. In Mecca, ROYER introduced Kwon and Surratt to a representative of the LET for the representative to provide information about LET to Kwon and Surratt. On the hajj trip, ROYER purchased a variety of videotapes featuring footage of jihad in a variety of places including Chechnya, Bosnia, Kashmir and Indonesia. Upon ROYER's return to the United States,

members of the paint-ball group, including Hammad Abdur-Raheem, Caliph Basha, Seifullah Chapman, and others watched ROYER's jihad videos at the house of another individual.

25. In or about July 2001, Aatique asked ROYER to help him go to LET while Aatique would be on a visit to Pakistan. ROYER telephoned LET regarding Aatique's desire, and provided Aatique a letter of reference and a telephone number in Pakistan for Aatique to use to contact LET upon his arrival in Pakistan in September 2001.

26. In or about August 2001, ROYER helped Chapman gain entry to the LET in Pakistan. ROYER telephoned LET and arranged for someone to meet Chapman and pick him up in Karachi, Pakistan. Upon his return to the United States in September 2001, Chapman told ROYER about his LET experiences. On one training mission, Chapman said that he was required to sneak into an LET camp undetected. Chapman said that he was successful and that he had trained but not fought.

27. By September 13, 2001, newspapers reported that the Bush administration won NATO support for a possible strike against Usama bin Laden and his supporters in Afghanistan, and was pressuring Pakistan for intelligence and logistical backing. That same day, newspapers further reported that the Taliban was bracing for an imminent attack by the United States and sent its top leader Mullah Mohammad Omar into hiding.

28. On September 15, 2001, from his Hotmail email account, ROYER distributed two news items he copied from the LET website, including a Taiba Bulletin from September 12, 2001, and a summary of a speech made by LET leader Hafiz Muhammad Saeed on September 14, 2001. The Taiba Bulletin from September 12th provided:

Islam does not allow the mass killings of innocent women, children or old people. It respects places of worship and defends them against any offense. It launches fighting to restore the human rights of the oppressed even if they are non-Muslims. Islam is the best chance the poor of the planet have for any hope of decency in their lives, for any hope for dignity in their lives. It is the one revolutionary force that cares about humanity

The summary of the September 14th speech of LET leader Saeed provided:

Ameer of Markaz-ud-Dawa Wal Irshad, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed has clarified the position of Muslim Mujahideen that whole non-Muslim world is trying to prove Muslim world as terrorists, in spite of the fact that these are only people who are fighting against repression and terrorism. Yesterday, he was addressing to the Friday prayers in Gujrat Zahoor Ilahi Stadium.

He openly clarified to the whole world that the Mujahideen are only those people who are fighting against the repression and terrorism being committed against poor and innocent Muslims. Mujahideen are fighting the war for the defence of Islam and Muslims. What is being waged against USA is all due to wrongs committed by USA and undue interventions in the interior relations of nations. USA has taken this incident [the attacks of 9/11] emotionally.

US is trying to kill innocent Afghanis. If it is done Allah will not forgive them. It is the time to gather against the non-Muslims. Whoever is going to commit terrorism would be punished. Russia committed untold miseries to Afghanis.

He said that it is not justified that India is committing state terrorism in Kashmir and none is saying any single of objection to her and in this incident everyone is mournful.

In transmitting this material from LET, ROYER characterized it with a subject line "Lashkar-e-Taiba condemns attacks on US."

29. On or about September 16, 2001, ROYER, Kwon, Khan, Hammad Abdur-Raheem, Caliph Basha and others attended a dinner at Kwon's house to obtain UC1's perspective about the situation. UC1 said that the 9/11 attacks would be used as an excuse to trigger a global war

against Islam. He said that there would soon be a backlash against Muslims and that times would become especially difficult for Muslims in the United States. He said that the time had come for them to go abroad and that the first choice should be to ~~go to~~ ^{be with GMA RR} the mujahideen, that is, those who are engaged in a physical fight in support of their religion. He said that the mujahideen represent the best of the Muslims, and thus garner honor and dignity. If Muslims did not have the ability to do so, they should go abroad to any Muslim country or, if not, stay in their homes as much as possible.

30. People at the meeting knew that ROYER had connections with LET for those who wanted to heed UC1's guidance and ~~go to~~ ^{be with GMA RR} the mujahideen. ROYER told them that if anyone wanted to go to the LET camp, he could help them gain entry to the LET.

31. ROYER met with Kwon and Hasan at a 7-11 store in Virginia. Using a long distance telephone card purchased at the 7-11 store, ROYER provided to his LET contact in Pakistan the physical descriptions of Kwon and Hasan, as individuals who wished to go to LET. ROYER provided Kwon with instructions and a phone number to call when they arrived in Pakistan.

32. On September 19, 2001, Aatique and Khan left for Pakistan to obtain jihad training from the LET. The next day, Kwon and Hasan left for the same destination for the same reasons.

33. On September 22, 2001, ROYER was found in a traffic stop in the City of Alexandria with the AK-47 style rifle that he had obtained from Kwon in September 2000, over 200 rounds of ammunition, and four ammunition magazines that held 30 rounds each. At the time of the stop, he was returning from a gun store in Alexandria where he had negotiated over the possible sale of his rifle.

34. In or about late September 2001, ROYER and Al-Hamdi encouraged Hammad Abdur-Raheem, Caliph Basha and Donald Surratt to go to LET.

35. On September 28, 2001, the FBI contacted one of ROYER's previous attorneys regarding the FBI's desire to speak with ROYER. ROYER already had planned to leave for Pakistan to go to LET, but then decided to leave the United States immediately. He did not have time to apply for a Pakistani visa in Washington D.C. prior to his departure. Instead, that same day, he purchased his ticket to Bosnia, for a departure on October 1, 2001.

36. On or about October 1, 2001, ROYER departed the United States for Bosnia as an intermediate stop on his way to Pakistan. ROYER traveled with only one of his (at the time) three children; his wife and two other children whose passports were not ready remained in the United States *but joined him in Bosnia about one week later.* Although ROYER listed his home with a real estate agent before he departed, it was not sold and eventually was foreclosed on.

37. On October 7, 2001, in Bosnia, ROYER unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a visa to enter Pakistan. ROYER wrote on his visa application that the purpose of his visit was to research a book. The visa application was denied about a week later. From mid-October to December 2001, ROYER unsuccessfully attempted to get a Pakistani visa from his LET connections. While in Bosnia, ROYER communicated with Caliph Basha, Hammad Abdur-Raheem, and others via MSN instant messenger and continued to encourage them to travel to Pakistan. Hammad Abdur-Raheem told ROYER that, after 9/11, Hammad had discarded his computer.

38. In or about early October 2001, Kwon, Hasan, and Khan traveled with a LET operative to a LET camp near Muzafabad, Pakistan. At the camp, Khan, Aatique, Hasan, and

Kwon each fired an AK-47 rifle, a 12mm antiaircraft gun, a machine gun, and a rocket-propelled grenade as training for combat against enemies of Islam.

39. On December 2, 2001, ROYER posted a message to the aljazeera@cybermsa.org list, in which he enclosed a copy of one of the first reports of the capture of John Walker-Lindh in Afghanistan. While circulating the story of Walker-Lindh's capture, ROYER provided the following commentary, which is here quoted in full:

Isn't it amazing and sad that of the purported 6 million Muslims in the US, we could only have mustered one man like this? And I mean MAN, as in, a real man. (Insha' Allah there are more somewhere, but not many).

Wasalaam
Ismail

40. On or about April 26, 2002, ROYER returned to the United States.

41. Upon execution of a search warrant at ROYER's residence in March 2003, investigators found and seized a copy of United States Department of the Army Field Manual, FM 31-21, *Guerrilla Warfare and Special Forces Operations*, as well as a contact telephone number for LET. Also found on his computer were three MPEG movie files titled "AK1", "AK2" and "KAS1". Each movie, produced by a Russian firearms manufacturer, was short (no more than one minute) and depicted usage of an AK-47 style rifle. "KAS1" depicted the use of an AK-47 style rifle with a grenade launcher. "AK2" depicted the use of such a rifle with a silencer; the user of the weapon was dressed in military style camouflage clothing and had a black ski-mask covering his face.

42. On April 8, 2003, ROYER spoke with Kwon by telephone. Among the things that were said in that call, ROYER said - - referring to the meeting on September 16, 2001:

[I]t's not like I'm trying to be a, a martyr in the, you know what I'm saying or what not . . . but I, but I just realized that it's in my best interest and the best interest of everyone else furthermore, I told [UC1] I would never tell anyone what was said at that , ah meeting. . . . Even though he didn't tell us to say anything, to do anything illegal which he did not. I still don't have any right to sit there and blabber about, you know what I'm saying. . . . something that I, I swore to Allah that I wouldn't do.

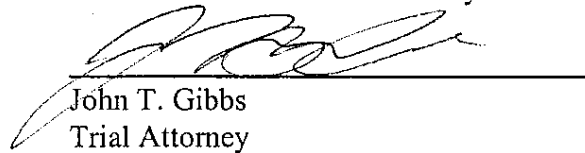
Respectfully submitted,

Paul J. McNulty
United States Attorney

By:


Gordon D. Kromberg

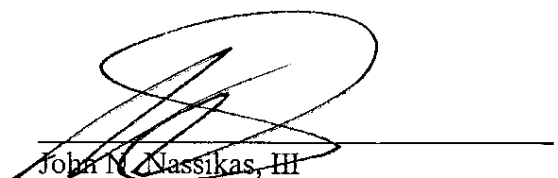
David H. Laufman
Assistant United States Attorneys

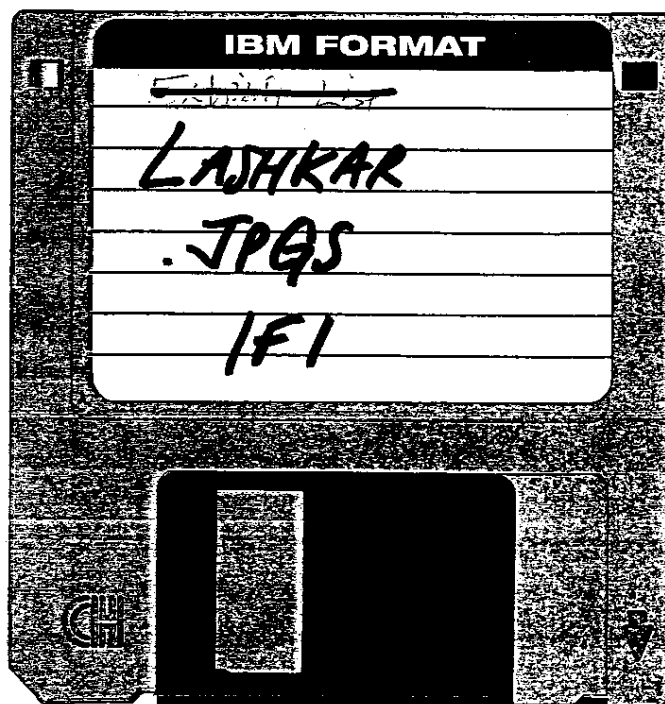

John T. Gibbs
Trial Attorney
Counterterrorism Section, Criminal Division
United States Department of Justice

After consulting with my attorney and pursuant to the plea agreement entered into this day between the defendant, RANDALL TODD ROYER and the United States, I hereby stipulate that the above Statement of Facts is true and accurate, and that had the matter proceeded to trial, the United States would have proved the same beyond a reasonable doubt.


RANDALL TODD ROYER

I am RANDALL TODD ROYER'S attorney. I have carefully reviewed the above Statement of Facts with him. To my knowledge, his decision to stipulate to these facts is an informed and voluntary one.


John M. Nassikas, III
Attorney for RANDALL TODD ROYER



GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
1F1
03-296-A

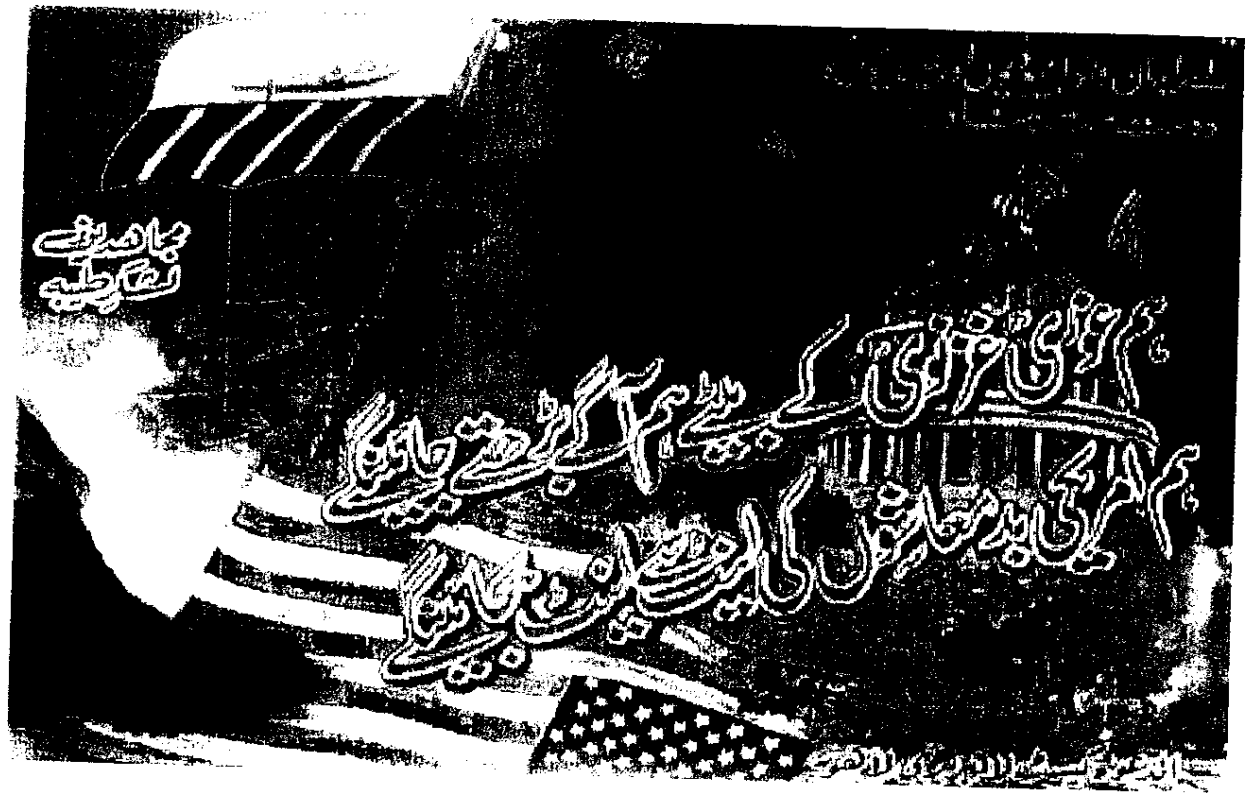
۱) نہ کمزوری دکھاؤ نہ صلاح کی پھینک مانگو۔ تم ہی غالب رہو گے۔













HARKAT UL MUJAHIDEEN

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT

2A8
03-296-A

حركة المجاهدين

Date : 13-02-93
Ref No :

تاریخ :
حوالہ نمبر :

Dear Brother Masood Khan,

Aussalam-u-Alagum.

I hope with the blessing of Allah you will be o.k. and will be busy to perform our holy achievements of "Jehad". May Allah Succeed you!

I have here two important news. which I want to keep in your knowledge. First, I married with the blessing of Allah. Secondly few days ago, we went to Kashmir. But at control-line we came accross with Indian Army and finally we ^{have to} came back. I intended to go again. As you know, we have a programme to Construct a Masque (Jamia) Near Islamabad. Thus yet for this Purpose, if you can have, send Ten Thousand Dollar to Mr. Naseem Khan. This is not, Compulsary, if you can arrange it easily, That will be a Contribution in holy object.

If you want to write any letter or other information, you can do as at Mr. Naseem Khan's Address. Now I want to close permission.

May

Wassalam.

Sultan Mahmood Karachi



Jihad in Chechnya



Jihad in Chechnya
RUSSIAN HELL

IN THE YEAR

2000

www.qoqaz.net

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT

3A8

1B43

ITEM #4



~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET - NOFORN - ORCON - X1~~
FISA Derived

X-Apparently-To: seifchapman@yahoo.com via web4401

Return-Path: <affairsofmuslims@hotmail.com>

X-Track: 1: 40

Received: from dav33.law15.hotmail.com (EHLO hotmail.com) (64.4.22.90) by mta229.mail.yahoo.com with SMTP; 19 Apr 2001 12:14:04 -0700 (PDT)

Received: from mail pickup service by hotmail.com with Microsoft SMTPSVC; Thu, 19 Apr 2001 12:14:04 -0700

X-Originating-IP: [64.36.82.26]

From: "Abu Hamza" <affairsofmuslims@hotmail.com>

To: "Affairs of Muslims" <abuhamza20@yahoogroups.com>

Subject: CHECHNYA: Very nice videos

Date: Thu, 19 Apr 2001 15:12:06 -0400

X-Priority: 3

X-MSMail-Priority: Normal

X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook Express 5.50.4133.2400

X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.50.4133.2400

Message-ID: <DAV33KLQ8aZRhQdOgl40000017e@hotmail.com>

X-OriginalArrivalTime: 19 Apr 2001 19:14:04.0371 (UTC) FILETIME=[E6174230:01C0C904]

DECLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/BAW
ON 11/13/04

STAU Comment: Plain Text version

<http://www.kavkaz.org/english/media/video.htm>

STAU Comment: HTML version

<http://www.kavkaz.org/english/media/video.htm>

STAU Comment: MIME Postfix

From nabil@gharbieh.com Tue Apr 24 11:57:37 2001

STAU Comment: End Postfix

11/13/04
CLASSIFIED BY: 60267NLS(UC)/BAW
REASON: 1.5 (1)
DECLASSIFY ON: X 1-13-2029

~~SECRET - NOFORN - ORCON - X1~~
FISA Derived

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT

4G5

03-296-A

(X)

~~SECRET~~
SECRET - NOFORN - ORCON - X1
FISA Derived

X-Apparently-To: seifchapman@yahoo.com via web4406; 26 Jun 2001 06:46:40 -0700 (PDT)

X-Track: 1: 40

Received: from dav28.law15.hotmail.com (EHLO hotmail.com) (64.4.22.85) by mta542.mail.yahoo.com with SMTP; 26 Jun 2001 06:46:40 -0700 (PDT)

Received: from mail pickup service by hotmail.com with Microsoft SMTPSVC; Tue, 26 Jun 2001 06:46:40 -0700

X-Originating-IP: [64.36.82.26]

From: "Abu Hamza" <affairsofmuslims@hotmail.com>

To: "Affairs of Muslims" <abuhamza20@yahoogroups.com>

Cc: <amir@eisa.net.au>, "Saifullah Chapman" <seifchapman@yahoo.com>, "hammad abdur-raheem" <hammad6@hotmail.com>, "saff" <saff@bih.net.ba>

Subject: On-line video of Bin Ladin training camp on Al-Jazeera

Date: Tue, 26 Jun 2001 09:43:52 -0400

X-Priority: 3

X-MSMail-Priority: Normal

X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook Express 5.50.4522.1200

X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.50.4522.1200

Message-ID: <DAV28IJF9Q0Z3FZLvGV000033a6@hotmail.com>

X-OriginalArrivalTime: 26 Jun 2001 13:46:40.0657 (UTC) FILETIME=[6D9D6010:01C0FE46]

DECLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/BAW
ON 11/13/04

STAU Comment: Plain Text version

Bin Laden Special Training Camps [Video, Arabic]

URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/mritems/streams/video/2001/6/20/1_40521_1_12.ASF

STAU Comment: HTML version

Bin Laden Special Training Camps [Video, Arabic]

URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/mritems/streams/video/2001/6/20/1_40521_1_12.ASF

STAU Comment: MIME Postfix

From affairsofmuslims@hotmail.com Wed Jun 27 16:39:06 2001

STAU Comment: End Postfix

11/13/04
DECLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/BAW
REASON: 1.5 (1)
DECLASSIFY ON: 11/13/2029

~~SECRET~~
SECRET - NOFORN - ORCON - X1
FISA Derived

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT

4G6

03-296-A

(3)



GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT

4G6a
03-296-A

Share information about yourself, create your own public profile at
<http://profiles.msn.com>.



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First-day Highlights

- Second time in its twelve years history Lashkar Taiba's annual congregation (Ijtim) 2nd November instead of 3rd November. Some of the speeches were delivered on 1st. A huge amount of people had shown up.
- Huge caravans began to pour in right from the dawn of the very 1st day of congregation.
- In spite of the free bus service for the people coming from far flung areas, most of them came to their destination (Ijtima-Muridkey) on foot.
- Lashkar's 12th congregation is being disseminated world-wide via internet.
- The media cell in Markaz Taiba Muridkey was cramped.
- A long banner was quoted, saying, your contribution worth of Rs. 10/- in Jihad-e-Kashmir will cause an end to a transgressor.
- Another 40 feet long banner portrayed Lashkar's dagger penetrating the national flag of Russia, UK & India & Israel.
- People from Afghanistan, Jordan, Sudan, Indian Occupied Kashmir & AJK also participated in the congregation on its inaugural day.
- Those linked with intelligence services were also busy reporting on the congregation - cunningly pretending to be regular reporters.

BACK

SF4

Search Results Summary

19 articles matching "((YMD_date=(01/01/2000 - 09/10/2001))) and ((lashkar AND india))" were found.

Returning 9 articles.

List of Articles

Article 11 of 19, Article ID: U00422950005

Published on September 16, 2000, The Washington Times

India human rights criticism from unreliable source?

Gurmit Singh Aulakh's letter "Indian 'democracy' ignores human rights" (Sept. 9) is yet another effort on his part to confuse the American people with half-truths and fictional statistics. Furthermore, it is high time that your readership be made aware of the dubious nature of the organization Mr. Aulakh claims to represent, the Council of Khalistan. An Indian-based organization, the Panthic Committee, created the Council of Khalistan in 1987. The Panthic Committee

[Complete Article, 433 words \(\)](#)

Article 12 of 19, Article ID: a0944reu0023

Published on August 6, 2000, The Washington Times

Secrecy surrounds Kashmir talks

SRINAGAR, India - Secrecy surrounded peace talks yesterday between Indian officials and a front-line Kashmiri separatist group following a truce aimed at paving the way for peace. The Press Trust of India quoted unnamed sources as saying the talks between Indian officials and Hizb-ul Mujahideen have been pushed back two days to tomorrow. The report could not be confirmed, and neither side would comment on the negotiations. Fazal-Haq Qureshi, who has been acting as emissary between the

[Complete Article, 616 words \(\)](#)

Article 13 of 19, Article ID: u0448ufm0038

Published on May 20, 2000, The Washington Times

Teen-age boys joining Kashmir jihad

SRINAGAR, India - Ashfaq Ahmed Shah was a good student in the 12th grade, close to his grandmother, and shy. Always a devout Muslim, lately Ahmed had been spending a lot of time at the mosque. At 11:10 a.m. on April 5, Ahmed's father got a call at work. "asalam o alaikum," his son said in greeting. "I'm leaving." And the teenager hung up. Two weeks later, the Shah family learned what he meant: Ahmed drove to the 15th Indian Army Corps Command in Srinagar in

[Complete Article, 1375 words \(\)](#)

Article 14 of 19, Article ID: A00696430038

Published on May 2, 2000, The Washington Times

Seat of terrorism shifts to South Asia

The State Department says the home base of world terrorism has shifted from the Middle East to South Asia, where Afghanistan serves as the primary safe haven for terrorists and Pakistan has supported violence in Kashmir. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright said that U.S. counter-terrorist activities had thwarted many attacks, and that as a result, U.S. terrorism deaths fell to only five in 1999. She warned that a proposed \$2 billion congressional cut in the administration's

[Complete Article, 705 words \(\)](#)

Article 15 of 19, Article ID: J00820130119

Published on April 1, 2000, The Washington Times

AFGHAN EX-GOVERNOR ESCAPES TO FREEDOM TEHRAN - An opposition leader who escaped from an Afghan prison has joined his family in Iran, an Afghan dissident and Iran's official news agency report. Ismail Khan, the former governor of Afghanistan's western Herat province, crossed into Iran on Tuesday with Hafiz Qadir - the son of Haji Abdul Qadir, a former governor of eastern Nangarhar province - said the dissident, who belongs to one of the Afghan exile groups in Iran. Iran's

[Complete Article, 523 words \(\)](#)

Article 16 of 19, Article ID: a07000018

Published on March 23, 2000, The Washington Times

Soldiers blow up Kashmir building

SRINAGAR, India - Indian soldiers blew up a building on their own base in the Kashmir capital yesterday, killing two separatist rebels who had stormed the facility in an apparent bid to draw attention during President Clinton's India visit. The rebels killed three Indian servicemen, wounded seven and held off troops for 19 hours before soldiers set off explosives on the roof. At least one guerrilla continued firing for a half-hour after the building burst into flames. The rebels had

[Complete Article, 458 words \(\)](#)

Article 17 of 19, Article ID: J00807110101

Published on March 11, 2000, The Washington Times

KUMARATUNGA, ARCHRIVAL BACK DEAL FOR TAMIL COLOMBO, Sri Lanka - The ruling party and its main rival opened landmark peace talks Thursday amid a Norwegian bid to broker an end to the island's Tamil separatist war that has killed over 55,000 people. President Chandrika Kumaratunga and her archrival, Ranil Wickremesinghe, who leads the United National Party, said in a joint statement their groundbreaking talks made satisfactory progress. "The parties agreed upon the agenda and

[Complete Article, 611 words \(\)](#)

Article 18 of 19, Article ID: U00342110107
Published on February 22, 2000, The Washington Times

Dilemma in visiting South Asia

President Clinton is facing a serious dilemma. He is planning a triumphant trip to South Asia, primarily to India and Pakistan. However, visiting both countries will not advance U.S. national interests. The administration is divided over this trip for good reason. Going to India without a stop in Pakistan will injure traditional relations with a Cold War ally. A trip to India that includes a stop in Pakistan will not endear the president to the Indian people or their government. There is

Complete Article, 948 words (.)

Article 19 of 19, Article ID: U00327880032
Published on January 11, 2000, The Washington Times

Weapons against terrorism

While a "cold peace" seems to be settling in over centuries-old animosities between Jewish and Islamic interests in the Middle East, a new front in the wars of religious intolerance seems to be taking its place across South Asia. While the suicide bombings and hijackings of the 1980s and 1990s have abated, the recent hijacking of an Indian Airlines jet across Nepal, India, Pakistan and Afghanistan harkens back to a time when such heinous acts of extremism were commonplace in the

Complete Article, 925 words (.)

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Returning 10 articles.

List of Articles

Article 1 of 19, Article ID: U00659330099

Published on August 19, 2001, The Washington Times

Make peace slowly

The rushed departure, under cover of darkness, of Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf, ending the 49th summit between an India and Pakistani leader has left the naysayers with the impression that this most recent gambit for peace was a resolute failure. It may well have been for those who hoped that more than 50 years of animosity could be washed away in a weekend. But for those whose hopes centered on the realistic notion of stabilizing an already perilous situation, the

[Complete Article, 922 words \(\)](#)

Article 2 of 19, Article ID: U00655520014

Published on August 15, 2001, The Washington Times

Musharraf sets democracy return for October 2002

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan - Pakistani President Gen. Pervez Musharraf yesterday promised national elections and a return to democracy in October 2002, the third anniversary of the bloodless coup that brought him to power. In speeches marking Pakistan's 54th anniversary of independence, the military ruler said elections for two houses of parliament and provincial assemblies would take place Oct. 1 to Oct. 11, 2002. He previously said national political parties could participate,

[Complete Article, 626 words \(\)](#)

Article 3 of 19, Article ID: U00624600008

Published on July 18, 2001, The Washington Times

New Delhi, Islamabad spin summit

NEW DELHI - India and Pakistan sought yesterday to put a positive spin on their summit, where high hopes for a peace pact were dashed by yet another stalemate over the decades-old Kashmir dispute. India said it would press on with its search for better relations with its old foe. Pakistan said that although the cliffhanger negotiations in the Indian city of Agra were inconclusive, "considerable progress" had been made. Both said the summit could not be seen as a

[Complete Article, 486 words \(\)](#)

Article 4 of 19, Article ID: U00584610076

Published on June 9, 2001, The Washington Times

Musharraf's stock rising in India

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan - The image of Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, is rapidly changing from a pariah dictator to a credible leader in the eyes of archrival India. Gen. Musharraf's acceptance of New Delhi's invitation for a summit to discuss the intractable dispute over Kashmir, marks his emergence as a leader with whom India believes it can deal. "The Indians calculated that he will be here for the long haul and they have to deal with

[Complete Article, 982 words \(\)](#)

Article 5 of 19, Article ID: D357770107

Published on April 30, 2001, The Washington Times

POLITICAL SHOWDOWN POSSIBLE IN PHILIPPINESMANILA -The powerful head of the Philippine Roman Catholic church urged people into the streets early today to defend democracy and the president, setting up a possible showdown with thousands of protesters supporting ousted President Joseph Estrada. Troops were put on alert after the call by Cardinal Jaime Sin. The country's military chief of staff held a 2 a.m. news conference to deny reports that officers were defecting to Mr.

[Complete Article, 609 words \(\)](#)

Article 6 of 19, Article ID: E00869580014

Published on January 17, 2001, The Washington Times

11 KILLED AS MILITANTS ATTACK KASHMIR AIRPORTSRINAGAR, India - Eleven persons were killed and a dozen wounded yesterday in a gunbattle that erupted after separatist militants tried to storm the high-security airport at Srinagar in Indian Kashmir, police said. Six of the dead were guerrillas who, dressed in police uniforms, carried out the attack at the outer gate of the airport compound outside the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir. The Pakistan-based militant group Lashkar-e-Taiba,

[Complete Article, 654 words \(\)](#)

Article 7 of 19, Article ID: U00472330024

Published on January 5, 2001, The Washington Times

Extremists attract students

Located in the northwestern Pakistani town of Akora Khattak is an Islamic seminary which boasts among its alumni virtually the entire leadership of the Taliban, the oppressive Islamist group that controls most of neighboring Afghanistan. The seminary, run by former Pakistani Senator Sami-ul-Haq, currently has about 3,000 young male students from Pakistan and elsewhere who are being indoctrinated with a militant version of extremist Islam that incites them to take up jihad, Islamic holy war

[Complete Article, 980 words \(\)](#)

Article 8 of 19, Article ID: a04800094

Published on December 26, 2000, The Washington Times

Eight killed, dozens injured in bombings

LAHORE, Pakistan (AP) - Bombs exploded in four Pakistani cities yesterday, including a powerful blast that ripped through a crowded market in this eastern border city, police said. Some 45 people were injured. Meanwhile, in the Indian-controlled portion of Kashmir - the Himalayan territory disputed between India and Pakistan - a car bomb went off outside army headquarters, killing eight persons and wounding 23 others. India blamed Islamic militants for the attack. A Pakistan-based rebel

[Complete Article, 434 words \(\)](#)

Article 9 of 19, Article ID: R00521350039

Published on November 21, 2000, The Washington Times

Kashmiris reject offer of cease-fire

Kashmiri separatist groups yesterday rejected an offer by India of a cease-fire in Kashmir during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan. However Pakistan, which supports the groups, said it would cautiously watch India's behavior in the coming days to see whether the offer was more than a "tactical move" aimed at dividing the Kashmiri separatists. "Past experience shows India uses these offers as a tactical move to divide the Kashmir movement," Pakistan's

[Complete Article, 631 words \(\)](#)

Article 10 of 19, Article ID: J00928820063

Published on November 4, 2000, The Washington Times

NORWEGIAN MEDIATOR SAYS LTTE WANTS TALKS COLOMBO, Sri Lanka - Separatist Tamil rebels are "serious" about starting negotiations with President Chandrika Kumaratunga's government, a Norwegian peace envoy said here Thursday. Norway's emissary, Erik Solheim, who held a rare meeting with Velupillai Prabhakaran, leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, said the guerrillas appeared serious, but he could not predict when talks will start. "It could be in weeks,

[Complete Article, 608 words \(\)](#)

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Militant Group Vows To Halt Action in India Guerrillas Urged to Return to Kashmir

Article 1 of 4 found

Rama Lakshmi Special to The Washington Post
February 5, 2002; Page A12
Section: A Section
Word Count: 578

An Islamic militant group blamed for the Dec. 13 assault on the Indian Parliament declared today that it would not carry out attacks anywhere in India except the Himalayan region of Kashmir. Jaish-i-Muhammad, a Pakistani group fighting Indian security forces in Kashmir, issued a written statement to newspapers in Kashmir that called on its members "in the rest of India to suspend their activities and return to the state of Jammu and Kashmir."

The group's

[Click for complete article](#)

Gunmen With Explosives Attack Indian Parliament

Article 2 of 4 found

Rama Lakshmi Special to The Washington Post
December 14, 2001; Page A1
Section: A
Word Count: 1047

Five armed men drove a stolen car onto the grounds of Parliament today and killed at least seven people with explosives and gunfire before security forces shot them dead.

Driving a car resembling those used by members of Parliament and wearing military-style uniforms, the attackers easily breached the Parliament complex's outer security cordon but could not penetrate the circular, colonnaded building, where at least 400 lawmakers had adjourned only minutes before.

[Click for complete article](#)

India Adopts Measures To Counter Terrorism Muslim, Rights Groups Fear Harassment

Article 3 of 4 found

Rama Lakshmi Special to The Washington Post
November 9, 2001; Page A26
Section: A
Word Count: 909

In the weeks since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, India's government has launched a verbal and legal assault on what it calls the mounting threat of terrorism in this impoverished and ethnically diverse country.

India's concerns about terrorism had focused largely on guerrilla attacks in Kashmir, a remote and turbulent region in the Himalayas that is claimed by India and its arch rival, Pakistan. But in recent weeks, the government has warned

[Click for complete article](#)

Kashmir Is Tense On Indian Holiday Heavy Security, Sparse Ceremony Mark Independence Anniversary

Article 4 of 4 found

Pamela Constable Washington Post Foreign Service
August 16, 2000; Page A26
Section: A Section
Word Count: 842

India celebrated its Independence Day with public pomp and enthusiasm today. But in Kashmir, the anniversary brought tension, unprecedented military security and a surreal official ceremony in a nearly empty stadium.

Kashmiri Muslim rebels--who demand that this Muslim-dominated

state be allowed to secede from Hindu-ruled India--conducted no attacks, as officials had feared they would. But Srinagar, a city of a half-million at the heart of the decade-old conflict, was a ghost town. Thousands

[Click for complete article](#)

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Subscription until: 02/26/2004 14:33:57

Washington Post

May 24, 2001

Edition: F

Section: A

Page: A30

India Ends Cease-Fire in Kashmir**For First Time, Pakistani Leader Invited to Discuss Peace in Contested Region**

Author: *Pamela Constable; Washington Post Foreign Service*

Dateline: NEW DELHI

Article Text:

The government of **India** today abruptly called off a six-month cease-fire in Kashmir but simultaneously invited Pakistan's military leader to visit and discuss how to bring peace to the turbulent border region.

The unexpected actions appeared to signal both **India's** frustration with continued violence by Islamic separatist guerrillas in the part of Kashmir that **India** controls, and its belated recognition that Pakistan must be directly involved in any permanent solution to the 11-year conflict.

"It was expected that various terrorist groups . . . would see reason and recognize the imperative for peace," **India's** foreign minister, Jaswant Singh, said tonight. "Regrettably, they have not. Therefore this phase is now over" and Indian security forces "will take such action against terrorism as they judge best."

At the same time, Singh said, "**India's** commitment to peace and dialogue remains unaltered." In that spirit, he said, the government has decided to invite Gen. Pervez Musharraf, the Pakistani leader, to come to **India** for talks "at his earliest convenience."

Officials in Pakistan immediately welcomed **India's** offer. In Islamabad, a foreign ministry official said that "if and when a formal invitation is received, Pakistan will respond positively." He noted that Musharraf had offered to meet with Indian leaders "any time, any place, at any level."

Both **India**, which is majority Hindu, and Pakistan, which is Muslim, claim the legal right to control Kashmir, a largely Muslim region. The disputed territory has been divided by a de facto border between the two countries since 1948. Muslim insurgents backed by Pakistan have been battling security forces inside **India's** portion of Kashmir since 1989, and tens of thousands of people have been killed in the violence.

Until now, **India** had refused to hold talks with Pakistan on Kashmir until cross-border guerrilla violence stopped.

Last November, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee of **India** announced a unilateral cease-fire in Kashmir, which was extended three times. But attacks by insurgent groups continued unabated, while civilian groups in Kashmir accused Indian security forces of abuses.

Over the past month, Indian officials have tentatively explored holding talks with Kashmiri leaders, but the initiative has foundered because of disagreements among various Kashmiri groups and their insistence that Pakistan be included.

Tonight, one Pakistan-based guerrilla group, **Lashkar-i-Taiba**, dismissed **India's** offer to Musharraf as a gimmick and warned Musharraf not to "fall into the trap of soft diplomacy." But leaders of the civilian Kashmiri opposition called the invitation a "very positive development."

"We always said there had to be meaningful dialogue between the two countries," said Abdul Majid Banday, a spokesman for the All Parties Hurriyet Conference, the umbrella group of opposition parties in Kashmir. "The cease-fire never existed on the ground. With dialogue, the question of a meaningful cease-fire will also arise now."

Some Indian defense experts criticized **India's** sudden change in policy, saying it sent confusing signals to Kashmir and Pakistan. Others said they hoped Pakistan would not misconstrue **India's** gesture as a sign of weakness.

But Farooq Abdullah, chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir state, said he was "delighted" at **India's** announcement and "very pleased" that Musharraf had been invited to **India**. During the cease-fire, he said, "civilian killings increased tremendously. The security forces at times did not know what to do. Now they have a clear direction."

Special correspondent Rama Lakshmi contributed to this report.

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Subscription until: 02/26/2004 14:33:57

Washington Post

January 20, 2001

Edition: F

Section: A

Page: A22

Tensions Dampen Kashmir Optimism

Indian Cease-Fire Expires Next Week

Author: *Pamela Constable; Washington Post Foreign Service*

Dateline: ISLAMABAD, Pakistan

Article Text:

-- Hopes for improved relations between **India** and Pakistan, raised by a unilateral Indian cease-fire in Kashmir and a proposed trip to Pakistan by separatist leaders from the part of Kashmir ruled by **India**, have plunged again following a rash of guerrilla attacks in Kashmir and **India's** testing of a nuclear-capable missile.

India's cease-fire, announced in November, unleashed a flurry of diplomatic and political maneuvers aimed at beginning a dialogue among Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiri leaders over how to end the decade-long armed conflict inside the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, Indian's portion of the disputed Kashmir territory, which has killed more than 50,000 people.

But in the past week, Kashmiri insurgents backed by Pakistan have launched two bold attacks, first a grenade attack on Farooq Abdullah, the chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir, and then an assault on the heavily guarded airport in Srinagar, the state's summer capital, that left 11 dead.

In a statement Thursday, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee said the attacks have "vitiated the atmosphere for resumption of talks" between **India** and Pakistan. He said it was "distressing" that Pakistan has done nothing to rein in the guerrillas, "even as it professes its eagerness to resume talks with **India**."

The attacks came as **India** was considering whether to issue passports to two of the five separatist leaders from Indian Kashmir who had asked to visit Pakistan this week in an effort to open talks on Kashmir. Indian officials said Wednesday they would not issue all the requested passports, which means the trip might be canceled.

Earlier in the week, **India** appeared to offer an olive branch to Pakistan when Vijay Nambiar, the Indian ambassador to Pakistan, called on Gen. Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's military ruler, in the first high-level bilateral contact since Musharraf seized power 15 months ago.

But on Wednesday, **India** unexpectedly test-fired the Agni II ballistic missile, which has a 1,500-mile range. Pakistani authorities issued a statement Thursday calling the test a "direct threat" to its security and a blow to the region's fragile stability.

Tensions between the two countries have triggered unease around the region and the world since they both established themselves as nuclear powers three years ago. **India** successfully tested five nuclear devices in May 1998, and Pakistan responded by testing several nuclear devices within weeks.

India and Pakistan have continued to develop their nuclear and missile programs amid mounting hostility over Kashmir, the mountainous border region claimed by both countries. The two countries have fought three wars over Kashmir, and tensions between them have been especially high since the spring of 1999, when Pakistan-based insurgents seized several mountain peaks inside Indian-controlled territory. Pakistan supports the guerrillas but denies providing them with arms or training.

So far **India** has not canceled the cease-fire, which is scheduled to expire next week. But the recent insurgent attacks appear to have dampened prospects for renewed dialogue on Kashmir. The two guerrilla groups that claimed responsibility, Hizb ul-Mujaheddin and **Lashkar-i-Taiba**, oppose the cease-fire and appear to be trying to sabotage it.

Confusing signals from all sides have highlighted the extreme difficulty of overcoming mutual suspicions and disparate agendas among key players in the Kashmir conflict, including ideological divisions among separatist leaders, Indian reluctance to let them take center stage and opposition by most guerrilla groups to giving up their armed crusade.

Pakistan initially welcomed the Indian cease-fire and ordered its troops to show "restraint" along the temporary border dividing Kashmir into Indian and Pakistani sections. Musharraf then proposed that he visit **India** to talk with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee about ways to solve the Kashmir conflict.

In Kashmir, the All Parties Hurriyet Conference, an umbrella group of separatist leaders, sought to turn the one-way truce into a political opening and enhance its role in the peace process, offering to travel to Pakistan to talk with officials, guerrilla groups and Kashmiri exile leaders.

But the initiative was plagued by bitter internal disputes over who would make the trip, rejection by most Pakistan-based guerrilla groups and reluctance by Indian authorities to grant passports to those Kashmiri leaders who have taken a hard-line pro-Pakistani stance in the conflict.

The trip, which was to have begun Monday, has been delayed indefinitely.

Abdul Ghani Bhat, chairman of the Hurriyet Conference, nevertheless expressed a measure of optimism. "I don't agree with the prophets of doom," Bhat said in a telephone interview from Srinagar. "There are vested interests everywhere who are against this initiative, and under these circumstances, it would not be pragmatic to expect everything to go smoothly."

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Washington Post

January 17, 2001

Edition: F

Section: A

Page: A13

WORLD

In Brief

Article Text:

THE MIDDLE EAST JERUSALEM -- Israeli and Palestinian peace negotiators resumed high-level peace talks yesterday, but they failed to resolve key disputes despite a looming weekend deadline. With the outlook bleak for concluding a peace accord, President Clinton's mediator put a scheduled trip to the region on indefinite hold.

Dennis Ross had planned to confer with Israeli and Palestinian leaders here, but administration officials confirmed that the trip was off.

Despite the lack of a breakthrough, the leader of the Palestinian negotiating team said the session was "serious and deep," and the sides agreed to keep talking.

At the start of the meeting, the Palestinians protested Israel's renewed blockade of the Gaza Strip, imposed in response to a Jewish settler's death over the weekend at the hands of Palestinians, said chief Palestinian negotiator Ahmed Qureia.

The Palestinians also complained about retaliatory attacks by Jewish settlers, who went on a rampage in Palestinian farms in Gaza on Monday and early yesterday to protest the settler's killing. Israeli police said two settlers had been detained and that there might be more arrests.

Associated Press KUWAIT CITY -- Kuwait's highest court unanimously turned aside a case that sought to give women the right to vote and run for office.

"Rights are defined by the existing law, until it is amended," Judge Abdullah Issa, president of the Constitutional Court, told reporters after reading the court's ruling.

A few such cases were filed after the legislature voted down a decree by the ruling emir granting women's rights and suffrage in 1999. In July, the highest tribunal refused to hear four of the cases on a technicality.

Associated Press ASIA SRINAGAR, **India** -- Eleven people were killed and a dozen more were wounded in a gun battle that erupted after separatist militants tried to storm the airport at Srinagar in

http://nl.newsbank.com/nl-search/we/Archives?p_action=print&p_docid=0EDCABC169E8... 1/27/2004

Indian-controlled Kashmir, police said.

Six of the dead were guerrillas who attacked the outer gate of the airport compound outside the summer capital of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Two civilians, one a teenage girl, and three airport security men also were killed, an official said.

Lashkar-e-Taiba, one of several militant groups fighting Indian rule in Kashmir, said a six-member suicide squad was responsible for the attack.

ReutersTHE AMERICAS

HAVANA -- A former finance minister and a former student leader from the Czech Republic who are being detained in Cuba for meeting dissidents will be tried for "counter-revolutionary" plotting on behalf of U.S. interests, the Cuban government said.

"Those who rudely violate our laws and conspire against the Revolution have no right to impunity, whatever their position and rank," the government said in a statement.

The ex-minister and now legislator Ivan Pilip, and the former student leader, Jan Bubenik, were arrested late last week in the central province of Ciego de Avila, drawing a protest from Prague and further souring already hostile ties between the former allies.

"The two agents at the service of the United States . . . will be placed at the disposition of the tribunals," the Cuban statement said.

The statement said Bubenik and Pilip, who arrived in Cuba Jan. 8, violated their immigration status as tourists by making "subversive contacts with members of little counter-revolutionary groups" in Ciego de Avila at the request of U.S.-based groups opposed to the regime of President Fidel Castro.

"Their visit had nothing to do with tourism, and the real aims were to contact counter-revolutionary elements, give them instructions and hand them resources," it added.

Reuters

FOR THE RECORD

Newspapers in Chile reported that tests show Gen. Augusto Pinochet suffers from a mild form of dementia -- a diagnosis that would allow the former dictator to stand trial, according to prosecutors. . . . Prosecutors in Japan arrested Takao Koyama, a member of the governing Liberal Democratic Party, on suspicion he took bribes from a small-business organization.

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Washington Post

November 21, 2000

Edition: FINAL

Section: A Section

Page: A20

Kashmir Rebels Rebuff Offer of Truce**Muslim Guerrillas Greet India's First Cease-Fire Initiative With Suspicion**

Author: *Pamela Constable; Washington Post Foreign Service*

Dateline: NEW DELHI

Article Text:

All four major Muslim guerrilla groups today rejected the Indian government's surprising offer of a one-month cease-fire in Kashmir, the Himalayan region where Indian troops have been battling separatists for 11 years.

The sweeping rebuff appeared to doom the government's first truce offer since the Kashmir conflict began in 1989, although some Kashmiri political groups embraced the proposal and Indian officials said they still hope to persuade rebels to negotiate.

Hizbul Mujaheddin--a Kashmiri guerrilla faction that proposed its own cease-fire in July, but canceled it after two weeks--joined the chorus of repudiation by other groups broadly seen as more hard-line.

"Cease-fire is a time-consuming process with no clear aim," said Hizbul Mujaheddin leader Syed Salahuddin in Pakistan's capital, Islamabad. He said any dialogue with **India** must include Pakistan, a demand that led to the collapse of the July cease-fire.

"We do not accept or believe **India**," said a spokesman for al-Badr, a group headquartered in Islamabad. "Jihad [holy war] is the only solution." The group vowed to intensify its attacks in Kashmir during the upcoming month of Ramadan, a period of fasting for Muslims.

Lashkar-i-Taiba, another Pakistan-based group that views the Kashmir conflict as a religious crusade against Hindu-led **India**, called the cease-fire proposal a sham. A spokesman for Harkat ul-Ansar said that group will "use all our energy against Indian troops during Ramadan. . . . We will not be fooled."

The leader of Jamiat-e-Islami, a major Muslim organization in Pakistan that backs the rebels, said the Kashmir jihad should continue during Ramadan, which begins Nov. 27. But Jamaat leaders in Indian-ruled Kashmir took a more conciliatory approach, calling the truce offer "a welcome step" that could "definitely help" create an atmosphere for dialogue.

Some Kashmiri opposition political groups said they would welcome **India's** offer if it leads to meaningful dialogue on Kashmir, which is claimed by both **India** and Pakistan. The dispute has provoked three wars between the two neighbors and nuclear powers.

"This is a positive step. We feel if it is coupled with some sort of initiative for starting a dialogue process, it could really bear fruit," said A.M. Bandy, a spokesman for the All Parties Hurriyet Conference, an alliance of Kashmiri opposition groups. "But if it is only a casual or symbolic gesture, then it cannot yield fruit."

Bandy said that, even though rebel groups expressed initial suspicion of **India's** offer, they might eventually accept it if **India** "shows that it is sincere" and is willing to open talks with Pakistan as well as with Kashmiri groups. He noted that Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in announcing the truce yesterday, said **India** was willing to hold talks with "all parties who are prepared for dialogue."

India's cease-fire offer was its first in the conflict, which human rights groups say has cost more than 50,000 lives. It follows several friendly gestures by the government toward Kashmiri opposition leaders, including permission for a prominent separatist politician, Abdul Ghani Lone, to travel to Pakistan for his son's wedding.

In the past three days, Kashmiri leaders from **India** and Pakistan have been meeting for the first time in many years at the wedding, which quickly evolved into a political parley. Some participants have expressed hope that the event could lead to an agreement among Kashmiri leaders on support for a cease-fire and dialogue.

But several politicians at the festivities Sunday gave fiery speeches against **India** and vowed to free Kashmir from its control. The groom's father, Lone, called the cease-fire offer "a small but good gesture," but the bride's father, Amanullah Khan, declared that Kashmir should be freed from the clutches of both **India** and Pakistan, each of which rules a portion of it.

The July cease-fire declared by the Hizbul Mujaheddin broke down over Pakistan's demand for a place in any peace negotiations and **India's** insistence that any talks be held within the framework of the Indian constitution, which declares Kashmir an integral part of **India**. But Vajpayee, in his announcement of the truce Sunday night, reiterated his earlier suggestion that any peace talks could be held in the broader "spirit of *saniyat*," a Hindi word meaning humanity.

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Washington Post

September 9, 2001

Edition: F

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In Pakistan, a Crusade Stumbles**Anti-Violence Policy Caught Up in Contradictions Over Kashmir**

Author: *Pamela Constable; Washington Post Foreign Service*

Dateline: ISLAMABAD, Pakistan

Article Text:

At first glance, it looked like a typical police roundup: a row of sullen suspects forced to pose behind a table arrayed with confiscated goods as a uniformed officer towered above them.

But the detainees in these news photographs were not common criminals, they were jihadis -- members of Pakistani Islamic groups that send armed guerrillas into **India's** portion of the disputed Kashmir region as part of a holy war. The contraband was a collection of posters and donation boxes used to promote their cause.

The arrests in Karachi last month drew praise from secular opinion-makers, but they provoked defiant outrage among Muslim groups across Pakistan. The groups are closely tied to this country's military government, which publicly espouses driving **India** out of Kashmir and covertly supports the guerrilla groups operating there.

"The government has no right to ban our activities," said Yahya Mujahid, a spokesman for **Lashkar-i-Taiba**, one of the largest Islamic groups fighting in Kashmir. "We are not involved in any illegal actions, and we are fighting for a national cause. The people of Pakistan send us their sons and give us their funds. It is impossible for the government to stop this."

The contretemps has highlighted the stubborn contradictions in the government's recently announced crusade to curb religious violence and the "gun culture" in Pakistan, a national scourge that has spilled over from conflicts in neighboring Afghanistan and led to hundreds of killings here.

Last month, President Pervez Musharraf, the army general who seized power in 1999, announced a new anti-terrorist law. It bans any group or activity that employs threats or violence, that incites the public to religious hatred or that violently promotes any religious, ethnic or sectarian cause.

Under the new law, the government banned **Lashkar-i-Jhangvi** and Sipah-e-Muhammad, two religious groups that have been embroiled in violent feuding between Sunni and Shiite Muslims, including tit-for-

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tat slayings of religious leaders in Karachi and other cities. Their bank accounts were frozen, their mosques were raided and a number of their leaders were detained.

Public reaction to the ban was extremely positive, and a number of commentators praised the government for finally following through on its repeated vow to curb religious terrorism. Musharraf has condemned such violence in the past, but until now had not taken any major steps to crack down on sectarian killing.

The ban followed a less successful government campaign this summer to round up illegal weapons, especially automatic rifles, rocket launchers and other heavy weapons that flooded Pakistan during the Afghan-Soviet conflict in the 1980s and the armed civil strife that devastated Afghanistan in the early 1990s.

Officials conceded that the number of weapons they recovered fell far short of their hopes, but said they had made progress in educating Pakistanis about the dangers of illegal weapons. In some autonomous tribal areas near the Afghan border, they said, local leaders voluntarily turned over arms because they were being used in tribal feuds and had become a serious hazard.

"Our aim is to take Pakistan back to pre-Afghan status, to have a regulated society where weapons are under government control," said Interior Secretary Tasnim Noorani, who is in charge of the campaign. "People have not turned in as much as we had hoped, but we have raised public awareness, and people are being more cautious now about displaying weapons."

The weapons-confiscation program and the banning of sectarian groups were causes that few law-abiding Pakistanis could dispute. Given Pakistan's volatile mix of crime, guns and overheated religious passions, the prevailing sentiment was that such actions were long overdue.

But when officials then set their sights on the armed Islamic groups that train and arm guerrillas fighting to end Indian control over the southern portion of Kashmir, demanding that they stop publicly raising funds and advertising for recruits, the authorities ran straight into a political problem of their own making.

Officially, Pakistan insists that the decade-old insurgency in Kashmir is an "indigenous freedom struggle" and that Pakistan provides the guerrillas with only moral and political support. While championing the Kashmir cause at home to rally domestic support, the government also seeks to avoid being accused abroad of promoting international terrorism.

But covertly, the jihadi groups have long received training and aid from Pakistani intelligence agencies, and they serve as proxies for a major thrust of Pakistan's undeclared foreign policy. Ever since Kashmir was divided between **India** and Pakistan in 1947, both countries have claimed it, and Pakistan wants to keep the insurgency boiling as a way to force **India** to resolve the long-standing dispute.

Compared with the crackdown on sectarian groups, the government's effort to rein in the jihadis was relatively mild. It ordered the groups to stop putting up public advertisements and collecting funds from the public. In Karachi, where several of the groups have large followings, police seized banners and donation boxes and arrested about 300 people.

Nevertheless, the move provoked defiant condemnation from conservative Muslim groups and reportedly drew protests from some government intelligence agencies. Islamic leaders accused the government of selling out to the West, undermining the Kashmir cause and even doing the bidding of **India**, Pakistan's archrival.

"It is obvious the government is trying to improve its image in the eyes of the United Nations and the

United States," said Mujahid, the **Lashkar-i-Taiba** spokesman, noting that Musharraf will soon attend a session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York. "But by cracking down on the jihadi groups, it has only damaged its image in the eyes of the Pakistani public."

Stung by the criticism, Pakistani officials issued a series of conflicting statements, and a military spokesman denied there was any activity by jihadi groups inside Pakistan. The arrested group members were released, and their leaders announced that they plan to continue raising funds and promoting their cause no matter what the government does.

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Analysis: Al-Qaeda's origins and links
☒ Al-Qaeda grew out of opposition to Soviet forces in Afghanistan

Al-Qaeda grew out of opposition to Soviet forces in Afghanistan

By Middle East and Islamic affairs analyst Roger Hardy

Al-Qaeda, meaning "the base", was created in 1989 as Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan and Osama Bin Laden and his colleagues began looking for new jihads.

The organisation grew out of the network of Arab volunteers who had gone to Afghanistan in the 1980s to fight under the banner of Islam against Soviet Communism.

The "Arab Afghans", as they become known, were battle-hardened and highly motivated.

In the early 1990s Al-Qaeda operated in Sudan. Since 1996 its headquarters and about a dozen training camps have been in Afghanistan, where Bin Laden forged a close relationship with the Taliban.

Lawless havens

However, the organisation is thought to operate in 40 to 50 countries, not only in the Middle East and Asia but in North America and Europe.

In western Europe there are known or suspected cells in London, Hamburg, Milan and Madrid. These are important centres for

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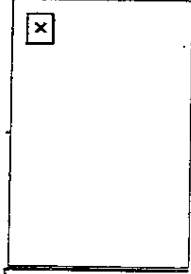
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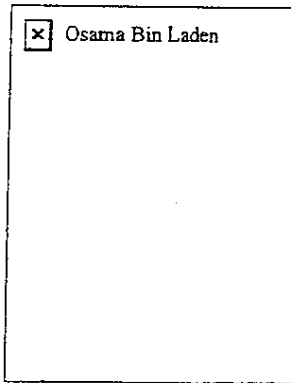
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Bin Laden has declared holy war on the US

Interlocking networks

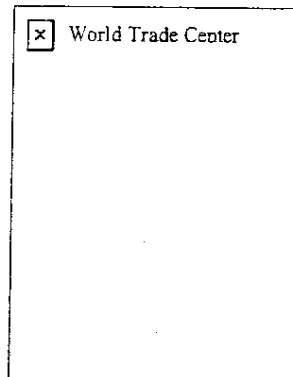
There are reports of a secret training camp on one of the islands of Indonesia.

Unlike the tightly-knit groups of the past, such as the Red Brigades in Italy or the Abu Nidal group in the Middle East, al-Qaeda is loosely knit.

It operates across continents as a chain of interlocking networks.

Individual groups or cells appear to have a high degree of autonomy, raising their own money, often through petty crime, and making contact with other groups only when necessary.

Several radical groups are affiliated with al-Qaeda. The most important is the radical wing of the Egyptian group Islamic Jihad whose members took refuge in Afghanistan and merged with al-Qaeda.



The US blames Bin Laden's Al-Qaeda for the 11 September attacks

Al-Qaeda mastermind

Its leader is Ayman al-Zawahri, a ruthless Egyptian regarded as the brains behind al-Qaeda and the mastermind of many of its most infamous operations, including the attacks on two US embassies in Africa in 1998 and the 11 September attacks against New York and Washington.

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*Presented to Roger during
9/4/03 debrief - JED*

Islamic Militants Undaunted by Clinton Rebuff on Kashmir; Insurgents Say Holy War Will Escalate

The Washington Post

April 2, 2000, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A17

BYLINE: Pamela Constable, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: MURIDKE, Pakistan

Except for the black saber painted on the entrance sign, this sprawling rural complex could be the campus of a thriving agricultural college. New brick buildings are rising among healthy wheat fields and shallow fish-breeding ponds. Students lounge on the grass, and workers toss grain into tractor carts.

But the compound, 30 miles from Lahore, is the intellectual and economic nerve center of a fast-growing Islamic movement called Markaz Al-Dawa and its armed wing, Lashkar-e-Taiba, which means "Army of the Prophet." Its centerpiece is an Islamic university with 1,000 students, whose subjects include science, English, Arabic, Koranic studies and jihad, or holy war.

"Our mission is to educate scholars who can preach Islam and spread it all over the world," said Prof. Hafiz Sayeed, 53, a soft-spoken Islamic scholar who founded the movement in 1986. To wage jihad wherever Muslims are oppressed, he added, is "our duty according to the Koran. If Allah is willing, we shall obey."

At the moment, hundreds of highly trained Lashkar fighters are waging an intense jihad in Indian Kashmir, where they regularly use suicide squads to attack military facilities and stage deadly encounters with security forces.

Kashmir, which is largely Muslim, is divided between Pakistan and India, which is predominantly Hindu, and insurgent groups including Lashkar seek to "liberate" the Indian portion by force. The two countries have fought two wars since 1947, plus a 10-week border skirmish last year, over Kashmir. In the last decade alone, more than 50,000 people have died in the Kashmiri conflict.

A week ago, President Clinton dashed Pakistan's hopes for foreign mediation in the Kashmir dispute when he visited the region and declared a new strategic alliance with India. In contrast, his message to Pakistan and its military leader, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, was a stern warning to curb violence in Kashmir or face isolation by the United States.

But if anything, Washington's rebuff seems to have reinforced the determination of Sayeed and leaders of other Pakistan-based insurgent movements. Even if Pakistan's military rulers bow to U.S. pressure, they insisted in interviews last week, the juggernaut of jihad in Kashmir cannot be reversed.

"America has always cheated Muslims and worked for its own interests. We were very grieved that Clinton came here and did not say a single word about the terrorism in

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uniform by Indian forces in Kashmir," Sayeed said. "Even if the government puts pressure on our mujaheddin [freedom fighters], they will not give up until the Indian troops leave Kashmir. Musharraf cannot stop it. It is not in his control."

Officials of Hizbul Mujaheddin, another insurgent group, accused Clinton of applying a "double standard" to Kashmir, and they said his stance would encourage India to step up repression of the local populace.

"The United States has given India a new license to kill unarmed Kashmiris," said Kalim Siddiqui, a Hizbul spokesman in Islamabad. "If Clinton wanted us to stop jihad, he should have called on India to stop its brutalities, too. Now things will only intensify."

For many Pakistanis, freeing Indian Kashmir has become a sacred, if somewhat distant, cause. The Pakistani government denies giving direct support to the insurgents, but Musharraf has made numerous speeches in support of the Kashmiri jihad movement, and posters urging support for Lashkar and other insurgent groups are displayed in mosques and markets.

While many educated, westernized Pakistanis express more concern about such issues as Pakistan's ailing economy and its inability to establish stable democratic rule, support for the insurgency is an emotional rallying cry among poor and devout Muslims.

"I hold Kashmir dearer than my own heart. As long as Kashmir is in chains, jihad will continue," said Soail Ahmed, 30, who sells vegetables in an open-air market in Rawalpindi.

At Islamic University in Islamabad, students paused during their lunch break to talk about Kashmir.

Rana Mahmood, 25, who is studying Islamic law, has never been to Kashmir, and he said its problems have no direct impact on his life. But he insisted it is Pakistan's duty to champion the plight of Kashmiri Muslims.

"Our prophet says that Muslims are like a body. If one part is hurt, the other part feels the pain," he said. "If the United States can intervene in Bosnia, and Australia can send troops to defend Christians in East Timor, shouldn't we help our own brothers fight for freedom in Kashmir?"

But economics student Aziz Hassan vigorously disagreed, saying, "We have so many economic problems here. Millions of Pakistanis don't even have water, while India is advancing in education and technology."

Many Pakistanis said they were outraged by the massacre of 36 unarmed Sikhs in a Kashmiri village just before Clinton's visit to South Asia. Authorities in New Delhi blamed the crime on Lashkar and Hizbul, but opinion here is that it was committed by

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12 Pakistan group claims responsibility for deadly New Delhi attack

December 23, 2000

Web posted at: 6:43 p.m. HKT (1043 GMT)

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan -- Pakistan-based guerrilla group Lashkar-e-Tayyaba claimed responsibility on Saturday for a deadly attack on New Delhi's historic Red Fort.

The group also said it would continue its attacks until India pulls its forces out of the restive Kashmir region. Two gunmen entered the Red Fort -- a landmark that houses both soldiers and civilians and draws thousands of tourists every day -- and attacked an army supply depot there Friday night, killing a civilian guard, police said. Two soldiers were gunned down as they left the depot.

The group's spokesman, Abu Osama, told Reuters by telephone: "This is our first operation against an Indian military installation inside India."

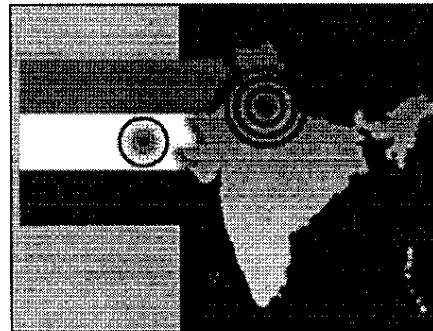
The raid was typical of attacks in India's Jammu and Kashmir state, where more than 30,000 people have died in the 11-year-old insurgency.

Karachi-based journalist Ghulan Hasnain said Lashkar-e-Tayyaba -- a Pakistan-based Islamic group fighting to separate the Himalayan province of Kashmir from Hindu-majority India -- claims to have lost 1,100 volunteers in separatist fighting.

"The group has a large following and has many volunteers who willing to die for their beliefs. It is a rigidly Islamic organization," Hasnain said.

Osama said the group's targets were non-civilians and the actual casualties were higher than the Indian government had admitted.

He also said that the guerrillas who staged the attack were safe at an undisclosed location.



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"If the Indian army does not stop its atrocities in Kashmir and does not pull out from there...We will continue to strike Indian army's headquarters, camps and other military installations," a separate Lashkar-e-Tayyaba statement said.

Indian authorities said they had sounded their highest security alert after the stunning and unprecedented raid and were still searching for a militant believed to be holed up somewhere in the fort.

Part of the fort, built by the Mughal emperor Shajahan in the 17th century, sits on the edge of the Indian capital's old town, is open to tourists during the day. The rest serves as a garrison for a battalion of the army's Rajputana Rifles.

Lashkar-e-Tayyaba has said in the past that it may broaden the area of its armed operations against the Indian troops beyond the disputed Himalayan region of Kashmir, into India.

But its first such attack came two days after Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee extended a suspension of hostilities against guerrillas in Kashmir for four more weeks beyond the Islamic holy month of Ramadan.

Militant groups have rejected the extension of India's cease-fire, but Pakistan has responded by announcing a partial pull-back of its troops from the Line of Control that divides the territory between arch-rivals India and Pakistan.

Pakistan and India have fought two of their three wars since gaining independence from Britain in 1947 on Kashmir. New Delhi controls about 45 percent of the disputed territory, Islamabad just over a third and China controls the remainder of Kashmir.

Reuters and Karachi-based journalist Ghulan Hasnain contributed to this report.



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You are in: World: **South Asia**
Saturday, 23 December, 2000, 07:03 GMT

Police hunt Red Fort raiders



The Red Fort was sealed off after the attack

Police in India are searching for a suspected Kashmiri suicide squad who staged an attack on the historic Red Fort in Delhi, killing three people.

The victims - a soldier and two civilian employees of the Indian army - died when the militants stormed the building and opened fire on Friday evening.

A hardline Kashmiri separatist group, Lashkar-e-Toiba, contacted the BBC to say there had been an attack.

They came, they opened fire and disappeared

Assistant Police Commissioner Ajay Chadha

The famous red sandstone fort not only houses a military garrison, but is also one of India's interrogation centres where hundreds of Muslim separatists have been questioned in the past.

High-profile target

The BBC South Asia correspondent, Mike Wooldridge, says there are few more high-profile targets in India than the Red Fort. Independence from Britain was proclaimed from its ramparts half a century ago.

Police say the gunmen entered the fort and killed a guard, an army barber and a soldier.

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They then headed for the museum within the fort complex and opened fire at the guards and other people there.

An army reaction team fired back, but after several hours of combing the warren-like building, the police concluded that the gunmen had probably slipped away in the darkness.

Police staged stop-and-search operations on roads leading out of the city.

'Suicide attack'

The telephone callers from Lashkar-e-Toiba said there had been a scuffle in the Red Fort and that two of their militants were inside the building.

They described it in one call as a suicide attack.

The group has admitted responsibility for a number of other such attacks in Kashmir.

The attack came the day after the Indian Government extended its current unilateral ceasefire in Kashmir by a month.

The ceasefire is being dismissed as a ploy by hardline militant groups, including Lashkar-e-Toiba.

A brief ceasefire in July brought a backlash of violence, and few were expecting that the new peace initiative would necessarily face fewer obstacles.



Our correspondent says the attack will raise questions about the future of the truce and security arrangements at the Red Fort, which is a popular tourist resort.

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October 10, 2000, Tuesday

FOREIGN DESK

Lahore Journal; A Jihad Leader Finds the U.S. Perplexingly Fickle

By BARRY BEARAK (NYT) 1145 words

LAHORE, Pakistan, Oct. 2 -- The professor uses henna to redden his long beard, and that, along with a natural smile, makes him appear somewhat jovial, an unexpected cheerfulness from someone who commands what many believe to be a group of terrorists.

Killing, of course, is a pious man's obligation, "to destroy the forces of evil and disbelief," explained the professor, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed. His rapidly growing organization, Lashkar-e-Taiba (the Army of the Pure), is duty-bound to "bring death to oppressors."

With that in mind, he sends hundreds of Pakistanis to fight in the jihad against India in Kashmir, he said. First the young men are taught to recite the Koran and to reflect on the virtues of a reverent Muslim society. Then, as with almost any other army, they are taught how to fire automatic weapons, set off explosives and slit throats.

But these days the killing by Lashkar is too often confused with killing by others, the professor said testily. He is distressed by "Indian propaganda" that falsely accuses the Army of the Pure of slaying the purely innocent, as in the massacre of 35 Sikh villagers in March on the day President Clinton arrived in India for a visit.

And this concerns him: the State Department is considering Lashkar for Washington's roster of the world's most wicked, the blacklist of "foreign terrorist organizations."

"This would be a grave injustice," said Mr. Saeed. "We do not kill civilians, only aggressors. We don't believe it right to kill even a non-Muslim unless he is an aggressor."

The interview was conducted in one of Lashkar's many offices in the historic city of Lahore. Cookies and dried fruit were brought in on silver platters. The politeness was exemplary, though in serving an American guest, the graciousness did not extend to removing a wall poster that showed the American flag in flames, along with the Indian flag.

"Destroy the nonbelievers," the placard read.

The professor's anxiety about the opinions of the State Department was a bit puzzling. Why does he care? The punitive effect of being on the blacklist would be minimal, he admitted. Lashkar has little need for American visas. It has no assets to freeze in American banks.

Mostly, he said, he is offended by the simple gall of it. "Who is America to judge us?" he said. "We don't trust America, and we certainly do not see it as a champion of justice."

He has fired off a letter of protest.

Mr. Saeed is 53, retired now as a professor of Islamic studies at an engineering college. In the 1980's he went off to fight in the jihad that chased Soviet invaders out of neighboring Afghanistan.

"America supported us with guns," he said. "If we were not terrorists then, why are we terrorists now? How can Americans stand for such double standards?"

To him, the 53-year-old custody battle for the Himalayan territory of Kashmir is an open-and-shut case, with Pakistan in the right. He likens the Indian "occupation" of the disputed territory to the imperialism of the Soviets.

Not only does he want Kashmir to become a part of Pakistan, but he also wants Pakistan to become a part of a global Islamic state. "Muslims throughout the world are one country," he said.

Mr. Saeed's vexation with America is hardly uncommon in this nation of 150 million. Uncle Sam is perceived to favor India, the emerging regional superpower and a potential market with one billion consumers. Pakistan, on the other hand, is near financial collapse.

In addition to jihad, men like Mr. Saeed provide schools to the masses, places where the poor can send their children to be both educated and fed. Those are services that Pakistan's relentless tag team of military and civilian governments has been unable to provide.

Mr. Saeed sits atop more than the Army of the Pure. In 1989 he began the Markaz Ad-daawah Wal Irshad, the Center for Preaching. It has more than 130 schools and a modern-looking university that rises out of the wheat fields near Lahore.

Lashkar is now a political force within Pakistan, just as it is a guerrilla army in Kashmir. The money behind the group, the professor said, comes entirely from private donors. He denied widely held suspicions that Lashkar is on the payroll of Pakistan's government, whose intelligence agencies have been a willing sponsor of the 11-year-old Kashmir jihad.

"People who send their sons to fight in jihad also give money for that purpose," the professor said vaguely, uncomfortable with the subject. "Do not ask me about numbers."

Mr. Saeed had selected the group's media center for the meeting. Only a single guard was stationed out front, a machine gun in his hand, an ammunition belt across his shoulder. Inside, young men were hunched over computer keyboards, writing for Lashkar's various magazines. An escort enforced a ban on photographing people. The professor said the capture of human images is forbidden by Islam.

Lashkar has proven itself a clever self-promoter. Its posters are bright and arresting. Its magazines are enticing, with articles like "Koran and Astronomy" and "Prophet's Medicine: Olive Is the Cure for 70

Diseases." The last page in the international edition of Voice of Islam "Learn how to use swords, spears, daggers and how to attack disbelief, ambush and lay siege to the camps and cantonments of the enemy, help oppressed Muslims during crackdowns and blackouts. Learn all these things.

The professor made a gift of a bound volume of back issues of the magazine, which talked about terrorism, though his interest slightly revived when the subject turned to an arsenal. He said those apocalyptic bombs were good to have, but only as a means to deter an enemy.

"To use such weapons in jihad would be un-Islamic," he said, pointing his finger. "To use them: that is terrorism. And what is the only country to use them?"

The answer left him with a triumphant smile.

"America," he said. "So who is the terrorist?"

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