11 July 2006 Mumbai train bombings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Mumbai, India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target(s)</td>
<td>Mumbai Suburban Railway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>11 July 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18:24 – 18:35 (UTC+5.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack Type</td>
<td>Bombings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatalities</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injuries</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Perpetrator(s) | Terrorist outfits—Student Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT; These are alleged perpetrators as legal proceedings have not yet taken place.)
Map showing the 'Western line' and blast locations.

The 11 July 2006 Mumbai train bombings were a series of seven bomb blasts that took place over a period of 11 minutes on the Suburban Railway in Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay), capital city of the Indian state of Maharashtra and India's financial capital. 209 people lost their lives and over 700 were injured in the attacks.

**Details**

The bombs were placed on trains plying on the western line of the suburban ("local") train network, which forms the backbone of the city's transport network. The first blast reportedly took place at 18:24 IST (12:54 UTC), and the explosions continued for approximately eleven minutes, until 18:35, during the after-work rush hour. All the bombs had been placed in the first-class "general" compartments (some compartments are reserved for women, called "ladies" compartments) of several trains running from Churchgate, the city-centre end of the western railway line, to the western suburbs of the city. They exploded at or in the near vicinity of the suburban railway stations of Matunga
Road, Mahim, Bandra, Khar Road, Jogeshwari, Bhayandar and Borivali. An additional bomb was defused at Borivali.

Home Minister Shivraj Patil told reporters that authorities had "some" information an attack was coming, "but place and time was not known".

The bomb attacks in Mumbai came hours after a series of grenade attacks in Srinagar, the largest city in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. However, Home Secretary V K Duggal said there was no link between the Srinagar and Mumbai bomb blasts.

**Injuries and fatalities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11 July 2006 Mumbai train bombings</th>
<th>Confirmed casualties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Train</strong></td>
<td><strong>Blast location</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling north from Churchgate</td>
<td>Khar Road - Santacruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling north from Churchgate</td>
<td>Bandra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling north from Churchgate</td>
<td>Jogeshwari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling north from Churchgate</td>
<td>Mahim Junction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling north from Churchgate</td>
<td>Mira Road - Bhayandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:57 fast train Churchgate-Virar</td>
<td>Matunga Road - Mahim Junction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling north from Churchgate</td>
<td>Borivali¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11 minutes</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ One bomb exploded at this location, but another one was found by police and defused.

Maharashtra Deputy Chief Minister R. R. Patil confirmed that a total of 200 people were killed and another 714 others have been injured. Additionally, various news organisations have reported that at least 200 people have died and that more than 700 others have been injured.

A week after the blasts in Mumbai the confirmed death toll rose to 207.

In September of 2006 it was confirmed that the death toll had risen to 209.

**Response**

A state of high alert was declared in India's major cities. Both the airports in Mumbai were placed on high alert. The western line of the Mumbai Suburban Railway network was at first shut down, although some trains resumed service later, and stringent security arrangements, including frisking and searching of commuters, were instituted on the other lines of the network. The city's bus service, the BEST, pressed extra buses into service to transport stranded commuters home.
The Prime Minister also held a security meeting at his residence attended by Home Minister Shivraj Patil, National Security Advisor M K Narayanan, and Home Secretary V K Duggal.

**Resumption of services and return to normality**

Western Railway services were restored on 11 July by 10.45 pm. As a show of investor confidence, the Mumbai Stock Exchange rebounded, starting the day with the BSE Sensex Index up by nearly 1% in morning trade. Foreign investors also retained confidence, with the Sensex up almost 3% at 10,930.09 at the end of the day's trade.

**Rescue and relief operations**

Initial rescue efforts were hampered by the heavy rains and the prevalent monsoon flooding, but quickly took momentum after fellow passengers and bystanders helped victims reach to waiting ambulances and/or provided first aid. Maharashtra Chief Minister Vilasrao Deshmukh announced ex-gratia payments of Rs 1,00,000 (approx. US$2,200) to the next of kin of those who died in the explosion. The injured would be given Rs 50,000 (approx. US$1,100) each. Indian Railways announced Rs 5,00,000 (approx. US$10,000) compensation and a job to the next of kin of those killed in the serial blasts in Mumbai. The announcements were made by Railways Minister Lalu Prasad Yadav after visiting those injured in the blasts at a hospital in Mumbai.

**Sources of information**

Due to the mobile phone networks being jammed, news channels such as NDTV ran tickertapes with information of injured individuals as well as SMS messages from those who wish to contact their families. Reports indicated that at around 18:00 UTC on 11 July (midnight in Mumbai), the phone networks were restoring service; telephone service was completely restored during the night.

Mumbai Help, a blog run by around thirty bloggers, was a useful source of information, especially for those outside India.

**Impact**

**Heightened Security Measures**

In wake of the blasts, the Indian government tightened security in railway stations. Under new restrictions passed by the Ministry of Railways, non-passengers would no longer be allowed on the railway platforms after July 2006. Other major security steps include installation of close circuit televisions inside the stations for round-the-clock vigil and installation of metal detectors.
Setback for the India-Pakistan peace process

Following the bomb attacks, Minister of State of External Affairs E. Ahamed announced on 14 July that India would suspend the talks with Pakistan until President Pervez Musharraf abides by his 2004 promise of ending all support to cross-border terrorism. However, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has conveyed India's willingness to be flexible with Pakistan following Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf’s statements that ending the three-year long peace process would signal a victory for the separatist terrorists.

On 16 September at the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana Cuba, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Pervez Musharraf made a joint statement announcing that the two countries would resume formal peace negotiations and set up a joint agency to tackle terrorism.

Statements in response

Statements in response to the 11 July 2006 Mumbai train bombings

Various senior political figures from India and around the world condemned the attacks. In India, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh was quick to call for calm in Mumbai, while President Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam, Railways Minister Lalu Prasad Yadav, and president of the Indian National Congress Sonia Gandhi also issued statements regarding the bombings in Mumbai. Officials from other nations offered their condolences to those affected by the bombings. Officials from Pakistan, which has long feuded with India, and the United Kingdom, which was the target of similar attacks the previous July, were among those who denounced the attacks in Mumbai as well as terrorism as a whole.

Mumbai commuters observe a moment of silence a week after the blasts.

Several terrorist groups, including Lashkar-e-Toiba and al-Qaeda, made comments — both in condemnation and condonation — about the attacks as well.

Memorial Service
A memorial service was held in Mumbai on 18 July at 6:25 pm local time — exactly one week after the blasts. President APJ Abdul Kalam, his hand raised to his forehead in salute, led the two-minute silence as people lit candles and placed wreaths at Mahim station, one of the seven places on the suburban rail network hit by bombs. Sirens sounded across Mumbai marking the memorial service. People gathered at the site of the blasts, in railway stations on the city's Western Line and millions of people stopped talking, traffic came to a halt and cinemas interrupted films as a city that never stops observed a silence for bombing victims.

**Investigation**

*Mumbai serial train blasts investigations*

Some 350 people were detained 36 hours after the incident in Maharashtra - police claim that these are people rounded up for investigations. On 14 July, Lashkar-e-Qahhar, a terrorist organisation possibly linked to Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), claimed responsibility for the bombings. In an e-mail to an Indian TV channel, the outfit says it organised the bombings using 16 people who are all "safe". According to the e-mail, the main motive seems to have been a retaliation to the situation in the Gujrat and Kashmir regions, possibly referring to the alleged oppression of Muslim minorities in certain parts of the region. It also says that the blasts were part of a series of attacks aimed at other sites such as the Mumbai international airport, Gateway of India, the Taj Mahal in Agra and the Red Fort in New Delhi. The authorities are investigating this claim and are trying to track the location of the e-mail sender. However, on 17 July, the forensic science laboratory Mumbai has confirmed the use of a mixture of the highly explosive RDX and Ammonium Nitrate for the bombings. The presence of these explosives in the post explosive debris was confirmed by modern techniques such as Liquid Chromatography with mass detector (LCMS), Gas Chromatography with mass detector (GCMS) and Ion Scan Chromatography. They have indicated a strong possibility of all explosives being
planted at the Churchgate railway station, which was the starting point for all affected trains.

Initially, religious extremists from the Lashkar-e-Toiba and the banned Students Islamic Movement of India terrorist groups, and Pakistan's intelligence agency ISI were the prime suspects. Both Lashkar and SIMI denied responsibility for the bombings. There was also evidence about the involvement of the international Islamic terrorist group Al-Qaeda following a phone call from a man claiming to be a spokesperson for the group on 13 July. The alleged al-Qaeda spokesman had said the blasts were a "consequence of Indian oppression and suppression of minorities, particularly Muslims."

On September 30, 2006 CNN reported that "The Indian government accused Pakistan's military spy agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence, of planning the July 11 Mumbai train bombings that killed 209 people".

**Arrests**

On 21 July 2006 police arrested three people suspected to be involved in the bombings. Police have detained more than 300 suspects since 18 July but these are the first arrests in the case. Two of the men were detained on Thursday in the northern state of Bihar and the third later in Mumbai. All three are said to belong to the banned SIMI organisation. On the same day, Abdul Karim Tunda was arrested in Kenya on suspicions of involvement in the train bombings. He is one of India's most wanted men and also a suspected organizer for the banned Islamic militant group Lashkar-e-Toiba.

**Allegedly forced confessions**

In late 2006, all the seven key accused in the Mumbai train blasts in July retracted their alleged confession to the police, saying they were illegally forced to sign blank papers, a Pakistani newspaper reported. The forced confessions, extracted apparently by torture, were later used by the Indian government to implicate Pakistan. These claims are widely believed to be untrue and attempts by terrorists to smear the Indian government, which is widely recognized as having an excellent human rights record.

**Investigation Updates**

The Indian National Security Advisor M K Narayanan has said that India doesn't have "clinching" evidence of the involvement of Pakistan's intelligence agency, the ISI in the Mumbai train blasts of July 11.

"I would hesitate to say we have clinching evidence but we have pretty good evidence," he was quoted as saying on CNN-IBN.

Following Narayanan's remarks, the Union Home Secretary V.K. Duggal on Monday characterised the evidence as "very good [...] it is fairly solid evidence."
The **2005 Bali bombings** were a series of explosions that occurred on October 1, 2005, in Bali, Indonesia. Bombs exploded at two sites in Jimbaran and Kuta, both in south Bali. Twenty-three people were killed, including three bombers.

### The explosions

The Indonesian national news agency, ANTARA, reported that the first two explosions occurred at 6:50 p.m. local time, near a Jimbaran food court and the third at 7:00 p.m. in Kuta Town Square. Other reports claim that the blasts occurred at around 7:15 p.m. At least 3 blasts have been reported.

One of the blasts is thought to have struck a crowded main square at central Kuta. Another two bombs exploded at warungs along the Jimbaran beach, one of which was near the Four Seasons Hotel. These areas are generally popular with Western tourists (CNA). Police claimed they found three unexploded bombs in Jimbaran.
According to Indonesia's head of counter-terrorism, Major General Ansyaad Mbai, early evidence indicates that the attacks were carried out by at least three suicide bombers in a similar fashion to the 2002 bombings. The remnants of backpacks and excessively mutilated bodies are believed to be evidence of suicide bombings. There remains also a possibility that backpacks were hidden inside the target restaurants before detonation. Australian Federal Police Commissioner Mick Keelty said that the bombs used appear to have differed from previous blasts in that most deaths and injuries had been inflicted by shrapnel, rather than chemical explosion. A medical officer's x-rays showed foreign objects described as "pellets" in many victims' bodies and a victim reported ball bearings lodged in her back.

The bombings occurred the same day that Indonesia cut its fuel subsidies resulting in gas prices rising by 125% and just two days before the start of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan and 11 days before the third anniversary of the 2002 Bali bombing. The attack came during the school holiday period in some states of Australia, when an estimated 7,500 Australians are believed to have been visiting Bali.

## Casualties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Injured</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korean</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The latest report cites 20 dead and between 101 to 129 injured. Some earlier reports put the number of fatalities as between 26 to 36 people, but those figures have since been lowered. Among those killed are 15 Indonesians, 4 Australians, and a Japanese national, not counting the 3 suicide bombers. The wounded included many Indonesians, 19 Australians, 6 South Koreans, 6 Americans, 4 Japanese, 3 Canadians and 1 Briton. As there were no records at the hospitals or morgues on the locations from where the victims arrived, it is not possible to determine the casualty figures at each blast location separately.

Most of the casualties were sent to Bali's Sanglah General Hospital, and mostly treated for injuries caused by broken glass. Others were sent to Griya Asih Hospital. As in the 2002 bombings, some of the injured, primarily foreign nationals, are being evacuated to medical facilities in Australia and Singapore. The most severely injured were evacuated to Singapore, while other casualties, among them Australians, Japanese and an Indonesian, were evacuated to treatment in Darwin, Australia aboard Royal Australian Air Force C-130 Hercules.

Following the 2002 Bali bombings, in which more Australians than any other nationals were killed and injured, and the 2004 bombing of Australia's Embassy in Jakarta, the latest attacks received extensive coverage in Australia and were denounced by some officials, such as Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley, as an attack on Australians.

**Prior warnings**

Indonesian authorities were expecting such an event, after the Indonesian President warned of more bombings within the country, and the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs had issued warnings two days before the event. However, the Australian Government has claimed that it received no specific prior warning of a terrorist attack being imminent in Bali. Minister Downer has also played down any knowledge of specific signs of the potential event, despite the DFAT warning on the last day of September. DFAT has warned Australians against non-essential travel to Indonesia since before the 2002 attacks - a warning still in effect. The Department advises travellers against congregating in areas popular with Western tourists.

In May of 2005, the US State Department issued a Travel Warning against non-essential trips to Indonesia, the travel warning was last updated November 18th, 2005.
A Philippine security official said that for months intelligence officials in Southeast Asia had received information that the al-Qaeda-linked Jemaah Islamiyah group was orchestrating a major strike, possibly in the Philippines or Indonesia, but were unable to uncover the plot's details in time to prevent it.

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation's National News Radio network reported on October 3 that several Australian tourists had heard rumours about a planned bombing, prompting Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley to urge the Australian government to form closer intelligence ties with Indonesia.

On August 31, 2005, one month before the second Bali bomb, terrorist managed to put a partially assembled bomb on the 4th floor of Kuta Paradiso hotel. The bomb passed the security check at the hotel and the security cameras on the hotel are broken. Fortunately there is no explosive on the bomb.

**Suspects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suspect</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azahari Husin</td>
<td>Royal Malaysia Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noordin Mohammed Top</td>
<td>Royal Malaysia Police</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Video footage captures one of the suspected bombers walking past diners moments before one of the blasts. (Associated Press Television News)

The attacks bear the hallmarks of the active terrorist network Jemaah Islamiah (JI), an organisation linked to Al-Qaeda, which is believed to be responsible for several bombings in Indonesia, including the 2002 Bali nightclub bombing, the 2003 Marriott Hotel bombing and the 2004 Australian Embassy bombing. Islamist terrorist groups are often noted for their repeated choice of site for bombings. Al-Qaeda struck the World...
Trade Center on 11 September 2001; they also attacked the same location in 1993. Rohan Gunaratna, head of terrorism research at Singapore's Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, told Agence France-Presse that "The only group that has the intention and capability to mount a coordinated and simultaneous attack against a western target in Indonesia is Jemaah Islamiyah."

Although a link to JI has not yet been confirmed, the bombings were quickly condemned as terrorist attacks by the authorities. Police Major General Ansyad Mbai, a top Indonesian anti-terrorism official, told the Associated Press that the bombings "were clearly the work of terrorists". Major General Mbai identified Malaysian men, already wanted in connexion to previous bombings in Indonesia, as the suspected masterminds of the attacks. The chief suspect was Azahari Husin, a member of JI who was an engineering expert and former academic with a doctorate from University of Reading (late 1980s). Husin was nicknamed the "Demolition Man" and was thought to collaborate with the second suspect: Noordin Mohammed Top, a bomb maker whose wife was sentenced to three years gaol for harbouring him. Azahari was killed in a police raid in November 2005, while Noordin remains on the run.

Motivations for the bombings remain unclear. Some, such as the Australian Prime Minister, have suggested the attacks were intended to undermine Indonesia's moderate democratic government. Moreover, media organisations have suggested that the attack was planned to correspond with massive fuel price increases in Indonesia, so as to maximise economic and political damage. On the contrary, Dr Sidney Jones, of the International Crisis Group, believes that it was not an attempt to undermine democracy "per se", but rather an example of jihadist extremism: "I think they very much see the world in a black and white way, us against them, Muslims against infidels... [They see] that the infidels led by the United States as part of a Christian-Zionist conspiracy are out to persecute and attack and eliminate Muslims around the world, and therefore, [they] have to fight back." However, in common with the Prime Minister, Dr Jones believes the attack was indiscriminate and not an attack on Australians "per se". She suggested Bali was selected as the site of the attacks because there was less chance of Indonesian Muslims being killed, and there was "a chance of getting a few foreigners".

Following the attacks Abu Bakar Bashir, who is alleged to be JI's spiritual leader, released a statement from his prison cell, condemning the attack. But he added that the bombings were a sign of God's displeasure with the Indonesian government. He said: "I suggest the government bring themselves closer to God by implementing his rules and laws because these happenings are warnings from God for all of us."

Investigation
The suspects — *After.*
From The Jakarta Post, October 3, 2005

Indonesian police believed that three suicide bombers carried out the bombings. A presidential spokesman Dino Djalal said that the police found a total of "six legs and three heads but no middle bodies, and that's the strong sign of suicide bombers." Photos of the three heads were published in The Jakarta Post on Monday, October 3, 2005. Initially, there were conflicting reports on the number of bombs; but later, the police confirmed only three bombs.

An amateur video capturing the scene at the restaurant in Kuta showed one bomber with a backpack walking inside just seconds before a huge explosion.

In the following Monday, on October 3, 2005, the police issued an appeal to the public to help identify the suspected suicide bombers whose dismembered remains were found at the scene. Photos of the dead suspects were distributed widely and a hotline was set up to receive tips.

According to Banten Police Chief Senior Commissioner Badrodin Haiti, the Indonesian police are seeking for five members of a ring led by Imam Samudra, who has been sentenced to death for his role in the 2002 Bali bombings. Three of the five men had already served jail sentences for holding explosives belonging to Samudra. They were under police surveillance but had now disappeared from their homes.

On October 9, 2005, police in Bali arrested a man, identified by the initial HS, who is allegedly a former roommate of one of the suicide bomber.

According to Indonesian police, in 2005, corrupt prison warden at Kerobokan prison smuggled laptop for Imam Samudra, the leader of terrorist group related to first Bali bomb. He use the laptop and wireless communication for chat with other terrorist suspects. Police suspect Imam Samudra was involved in the second Bali bomb.
The 7 July 2005 London bombings were a series of coordinated bomb blasts that struck London's public transport system during the morning rush hour. At 8:50 a.m. (BST, UTC+1), three bombs exploded within 50 seconds of each other on three London Underground trains. A fourth bomb exploded on a bus nearly an hour later at 9:47 a.m. in Tavistock Square. The bombings killed 52 commuters and the four suicide bombers, as well as causing a severe, day-long disruption of the city's transport and mobile telecommunications infrastructure.

The incidents
Attacks on the Underground

Locations of the bombings, overlaid onto a "real-path" map of the London Underground

08:50 — Three bombs on the London Underground exploded within fifty seconds of each other:
The first bomb exploded on an eastbound Circle Line sub-surface Underground train, number 204, travelling between Liverpool Street and Aldgate. The train had left King's...
Cross St. Pancras about eight minutes earlier. At the time of the explosion, the third carriage of the train was approximately 100 yards (90 m) down the tunnel from Liverpool Street. The parallel track of the Hammersmith and City Line from Liverpool Street to Aldgate East was also damaged.

The second bomb exploded on the second carriage of a westbound Circle Line sub-surface Underground train, number 216. The train had just left platform 4 at Edgware Road and was heading for Paddington. The train had left King's Cross St. Pancras about eight minutes earlier. There were several other trains nearby at the time of the explosion. An eastbound Circle Line train (arriving at platform 3 at Edgware Road from Paddington) was passing next to the train and was damaged, along with a wall that later collapsed. There were two other trains at Edgware Road: an unidentified train on platform 2, and an eastbound Hammersmith and City Line train that had just arrived at platform 1.

The third bomb exploded on a southbound Piccadilly Line deep-level Underground train, number 311, travelling between King's Cross St. Pancras and Russell Square. The bomb exploded about one minute after the train left King's Cross, by which time it had travelled about 500 yards (450 m). The explosion took place at the rear of the first carriage of the train, causing severe damage to the rear of that carriage, as well as the front of the second one. The surrounding tunnel also sustained damage.

It was originally thought that there had been six, rather than three, explosions on the Underground. The bus bombing brought the reported total to seven, however this error was corrected later that day. This was because the blasts occurred on trains that were between stations, causing the wounded to emerge from both stations, giving the impression that there was an incident at each station. Police also revised the timings of the tube blasts: initial reports had indicated that they occurred over a period of almost half an hour. This was due to initial confusion at London Underground, where the explosions were initially thought to be due to a power surge. One initial report, in the minutes after the explosions, involved a person under a train, while another concerned a derailment (both of which did actually occur, but only as a result of the explosions). A Code Amber Alert was declared at 09:19, and London Underground began to shut down the network, bringing trains into stations and suspending all services. The effects of the bombs are thought to have varied due to the differing characteristics of the tunnels. The Circle Line is a "cut and cover" sub-surface tunnel, about 7 m (21 ft) deep. Because the tunnel contains two parallel tracks, it is relatively wide. The two explosions on this line were probably able to vent their force into the tunnel, reducing their lethality. The Piccadilly Line is a deep tunnel, up to 30 m (100 ft) underground, with narrow (3.5 m, or 11 ft) single-track tubes and just 15 cm (6 in) clearances. This narrow space reflected the blast force, concentrating its effect.

Attack on a double-decker bus
Tavistock Square.

09:47 — An explosion occurred in Tavistock Square on a No. 30 double-decker bus operated by Stagecoach London travelling its route from Marble Arch to Hackney Wick. Earlier, the bus, 17758 registration LX03 BUF had passed through the Kings Cross area as it travelled from Hackney Wick to Marble Arch. At Marble Arch, the bus turned around and started the return route from Marble Arch to Hackney Wick. It left Marble Arch at 09:00 a.m. and arrived at Euston bus station at 09:35 a.m., where crowds of
people had been evacuated from the tube and were boarding buses. The bus then followed a diversion from its normal route because of road closures in the Kings Cross area (due to the earlier tube bombings). People who had been evacuated from the Underground were continuing to board the bus. At the time of the explosion the bus was travelling through Tavistock Square at the point where it joins Upper Woburn Place. It is not clear when or where the bomber boarded the bus, and the police have appealed for witnesses.

The explosion ripped the roof off the top deck of the vehicle and destroyed the back of the bus. Witnesses reported seeing "half a bus flying through the air".

The detonation took place close to the British Medical Association building on Upper Woburn Place, and a number of doctors in or near the building were able to provide immediate emergency medical assistance. BBC Radio 5 and The Sun newspaper later reported that two injured bus passengers said that they saw a man exploding in the bus. News reports have identified Hasib Hussain as the person with the bomb on the bus.

The bus bomb exploded towards the rear of the vehicle's top deck, totally destroying that portion of it but leaving the front of the bus intact. Most of the passengers at the front of the top deck are believed to have survived, as did those on the front of the lower deck including the driver, but those at the top and lower rear of the bus took the brunt of the explosion. The extreme physical damage caused to the victims' bodies resulted in a lengthy delay in announcing the death toll from the bombing while the police determined how many bodies were present and whether the bomber was one of them. A number of passers-by were also injured by the explosion and surrounding buildings were damaged by fragments.

Two more suspicious packages were found on underground trains and were destroyed using controlled explosions. Police later said they were not bombs.

Context

The bombings came while the UK was hosting the first full day of the 31st G8 summit, a day after London was chosen to host the 2012 Summer Olympics, two days after the beginning of the trial of fundamentalist cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri, five days after the Live 8 concert was held there, and shortly after Britain had assumed the rotating presidency of the Council of the European Union. The bombings were on the anniversary of large-scale racially motivated rioting in Bradford four years previously.

Initial reports

The first reports suggested that a power surge in the Underground power grid had caused explosions in power circuits. This was later ruled out by the National Grid, the power suppliers. Commentators suggested that the explanation had arisen because of bomb damage to power lines along the tracks; the rapid series of power failures caused by the explosions (or power being cut off by means of switches at the locations to permit evacuation) looked similar, from the point of view of a control room operator, to a cascading series of circuit breaker operations that would result from a major power surge. Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir Ian Blair stated within a couple of hours of the explosions that he believed that they were "probably a major terrorist attack". He also indicated that police had found indications of explosives at one of the blast sites, though he would not speculate on who might have carried out the attack. The investigation thus concentrated on possible terrorist suspects.
A couple hours after the bombings, the then Home Secretary Charles Clarke told the House of Commons of the incidents as terrorist attacks.

Incidents of 21st July
21 July 2005 London bombings
On 21 July 2005, a second series of four explosions took place on the London Underground and a London bus. The detonators of all four bombs exploded, but none of the main explosive charges detonated, and there were no casualties: the single injury reported at the time was later revealed to be an asthma sufferer. All suspected bombers from this failed attack escaped from the scenes but were later arrested.

Casualties
Casualties of the 7 July 2005 London bombings
This article includes a list of those killed in the bombings.

Memorial event
On 7 July 2006, the country held a two-minute silence at midday to remember those who died in the bombings a year before. Plaques were unveiled at the tube stations where the bombs exploded and memorial services were held at each scene to pay tribute to the lives lost.
There was initially a great deal of confused information from police sources as to the origin, method, and even timings of the explosions. Forensic examiners had originally determined the explosives to have been military grade plastic explosive, and as the blasts were thought to have been simultaneous, that timed detonators of equivalent sophistication were employed. This all changed as the real story emerged.

Fifty-two people were murdered in the attacks; the four perpetrators also died, and about 700 injured, of whom about 100 required overnight hospital treatment or more. The incident was the deadliest single act of terrorism in the United Kingdom since Lockerbie (the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 which killed 270), and the deadliest bombing in London since the Second World War. More people were killed in the bombings than in any single Provisional IRA attack (in Great Britain or Ireland) during the Troubles.

Police examined about 2,500 items of CCTV footage and forensic evidence from the scenes of the attacks. It is believed that each of the four bombs consisted of four and a half kilograms (10 lb) of high explosives, reportedly home-made acetone peroxide. The bombs were probably placed on the floors of the trains and bus.

Police investigators identified four men whom they alleged had in fact been suicide bombers. This would make the 7 July incident the first suicide bombings in Western Europe. French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy caused consternation at the British Home Office when he briefed the press that one of the names had been described the previous year at an Anglo-French security meeting as an asset of British Intelligence. This was denied by then Home Secretary Charles Clarke, or at any rate he described this as "not his recollection, to say the least".

Vincent Cannistraro, former head of the CIA's anti-terrorism centre, told The Guardian that "two unexploded bombs" were recovered as well as "mechanical timing devices", although this claim was explicitly rejected by the Metropolitan Police.

It has been reported that the intention was to have four explosions on the Underground forming a cross of fire with arms in the four cardinal directions, possibly centered symbolically at King's Cross. It was said that one bomber was turned away from the Underground as the explosions had already started, and took a bus instead. It is also possible that the fourth bomber meant to take the Northern Line, which was suspended that day due to technical difficulties.

The Underground bombs exploded when trains were crossing, thus affecting two trains with each explosion. This is one of the features which led rapidly to the suspicion of a terrorist attack by suicide bombers as the cause of the explosions.

Suicide bombings

The four explosions were widely reported as suicide bombings, but at the time the police would only confirm that they believed the bombers died in the bombings. However in the aftermath of the subsequent 21 July 2005 London bombings and the shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes, Sir Ian Blair publicly confirmed that they did believe they were dealing with suicide bombers.

It is not clear why the bombers carried identifying items, which led to the discovery of the bomb factory in Leeds. The bomb factory appears to have been intended for future use and a number of other explosive devices are said to have been found in the bombers' car at Luton station. In addition, the bombers bought return tickets to London from Luton, implying that they meant to return the way they had come. This has led to speculation that the bombers may have expected to survive the attacks, perhaps having
been misled about the time that they had to escape or the nature of the devices that they were carrying.
The fact that the first three bombs exploded within 50 seconds of each other implies some sort of timing device or remote activation. While it is widely believed that mobile phones were used to remotely detonate the Madrid train bombs, a method thought unworkable due to the lack of reliable mobile phone service within the London Underground, the Madrid bombs were apparently activated by the battery of a mobile phone that switched on via the alarm function. As of 19 July 2005, no forensic evidence of such a timer had been made public, making a manual detonation likely.
The suicide bombing theory has come under some dispute with the eyewitness account of Bruce Lait, of Cambridge, as reported in the Cambridge News: 'He and Crystal were helped out of the carriage. As they made their way out, a policeman pointed out where the bomb had been. It was like a huge electricity surge which knocked us out and burst our eardrums. "The policeman said 'mind that hole, that's where the bomb was'. The metal was pushed upwards as if the bomb was underneath the train. They seem to think the bomb was left in a bag, but I don't remember anybody being where the bomb was, or any bag," he said. This suggests at least one of the bombs may have been planted either on the track, or on the undercarriage.

Suspects
A police press conference on 12 July provided further details on the progress of the investigation. Investigators focused on a group of four men, three of whom were from Leeds, West Yorkshire, and were reported as being primarily cleanskins, meaning previously unknown to authorities. On 7 July 2005, all four travelled to Luton in Bedfordshire by car, then to London by train. They were recorded on CCTV arriving at King's Cross station at about 08:30 a.m. Property associated with the men was found at the site of the explosions. On 12 July the BBC reported that Deputy Assistant Commissioner Peter Clarke, Metropolitan Police counter-terrorism chief, had said that the property of one of the bombers had been found at both the Aldgate and Edgware Road blasts.

Police raided six properties in the Leeds area on 12 July: two houses in Beeston, two houses in Thornhill, one house in Holbeck and one house in 18 Alexandra Grove, Hyde Park. One man was arrested.

According to West Yorkshire police, a significant amount of explosive material was found in the raids in Leeds and a controlled explosion was carried out at one of the properties. Explosives were also found in the vehicle associated with one of the suspects at Luton railway station and subjected to controlled explosions.

The police also raided a residential property on Northern Road in the Buckinghamshire town of Aylesbury on 13 July.
The following people are believed to have carried out the attacks:
The bombers caught on CCTV at Luton railway station at 07:21 a.m. on 7 July. From left to right, Hasib Hussain, Germaine Lindsay, Mohammad Sidique Khan, and Shehzad Tanweer. (Image: Crown copyright)

The bombers:
- Mohammed Sidique Khan - Edgware Road Tube 8.50 a.m. Lived in Dewsbury with his heavily pregnant wife and young child.
- Shehzad Tanweer - Aldgate Tube 8.50 a.m. Lived in Leeds with his mother and father working in a fish and chips shop.
- Germaine Lindsay - Russell Square 8.50 a.m. Lived in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire with his pregnant wife.
- Hasib Hussain - Tavistock Square 9.47 a.m. Lived in Leeds with his brother and sister.

Luton cell
There has been speculation regarding links between the bombers and another alleged al-Qaeda cell in Luton, which was broken up in August 2004. That group was uncovered after al-Qaeda operative Muhammad Naeem Noor Khan was arrested in Lahore, Pakistan. His laptop computer was said to contain plans for tube attacks in London, as well as attacks on financial buildings in New York and Washington. The group was placed under surveillance, but on 2 August 2004 the New York Times published his name, citing Pakistani sources. The leak caused police in Britain and Canada to make arrests before their investigations were complete. The U.S. government later said they had given the name to some journalists as background, for which Tom Ridge, the U.S. homeland security secretary, apologised.

When the Luton cell was broken up, one of the London bombers, Mohammad Sidique Khan (no known relation), was briefly scrutinised by MI5 who determined that he was not a likely threat and he was not put under surveillance.

Claims of responsibility
At around 12:10 p.m. on 7 July, BBC News reported that a website known to be operated by associates of al-Qaeda had been located with a 200-word statement claiming responsibility for the attacks. The news magazine Der Spiegel in Germany and BBC Monitoring both reported that a group named "Secret Organisation — al-Qaeda in Europe" had posted an announcement claiming responsibility on the al-Qal3ah ("The Castle") Internet forum. The announcement claims the attacks are a response due to the British involvement in the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. The letter also warned other governments involved in Iraq (mentioning specifically Denmark and Italy) to withdraw troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. A Saudi commentator
in London noted that the statement was grammatically poor, and that a Qur'anic quotation was incorrect. This has been disputed.

The attacks bear similarities to the 11 March 2004 Madrid train bombings and suggest an attack in the style of al-Qaeda. Budapest-based security analyst Sebestyén Gorka told the Reuters wire service that "the first thing that's very obvious is the synchronised nature of the attacks, and that's pretty classic for Al-Qaeda or organisations related to al-Qaeda".

In the opinion of former Metropolitan Police Commissioner Lord Stevens of Kirkwhelpington, before the identity of the bombers became known, the bombers were almost certainly born or based in Britain. The attacks would have required extensive preparation and prior reconnaissance efforts, and a familiarity with bomb-making and the London transport network as well as access to significant amounts of bomb-making equipment and chemicals. The most likely suspects were said to be individuals who had been to the al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan prior to 2001. As many as 3,000 British born or based people are thought to have been trained in the camps and may since have trained others.

Some newspaper editorials in Iran, however, have blamed the bombing on British or American authorities seeking to further justify their War on Terrorism, and have claimed that the plan that included the bombings also involved increasing harassment of Muslims in Europe.

On 13 August 2005 The Independent newspaper reported, quoting police and MI5 sources, that the 7 July bombers acted independently of an al-Qaeda terror mastermind someplace abroad.

On 1 September 2005, al-Qaeda officially claimed responsibility for the attacks in a videotape aired on the Arab television network al Jazeera.

Translated statement

Ayman al-Zawahiri claims of responsibility

Within hours after the attack, someone using the name "Nur al-Iman" and identified as a "new guest", posted a statement on the Al-Qal3ah website which claimed responsibility on behalf of "The Secret Organisation Group of Al-Qaeda of Jihad Organisation in Europe". The following is a translation of the statement:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, may peace be upon the cheerful one and undaunted fighter, Prophet Muhammad, Allah's peace be upon him.

Nations of Islam and Arab nations: Rejoice, for it is time to take revenge against the British Zionist crusader government in retaliation for the massacres Britain is committing in Iraq and Afghanistan. The heroic Mujahideen [holy warriors] have carried out a blessed raid [ghazw] in London. Britain is now burning with fear, terror and panic in its northern, southern, eastern, and western quarters.
We have repeatedly warned the British government and people. We have fulfilled our promise and carried out our blessed military raid in Britain after our Mujahideen exerted strenuous efforts over a long period of time to ensure the success of the raid.

We continue to warn the governments of Denmark and Italy and all the crusader governments that they will be punished in the same way if they do not withdraw their troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. He who warns is excused.

Allah says: "If ye will aid (the cause of) Allah, He will aid you, and plant your feet firmly"

The quotation at the end of the statement is from the Qur'an, in Sura 47:7(). The translation of the quotation given here is by Abdullah Yusuf Ali.

The term ghazw, here translated as "raid", has historically often been used in Islamic contexts with the connotations of an attack on the enemies of an Islamic state seen as a meritorious act; those who carry out such attacks (ghazwāt) are called ghāzīs.

This anonymous post has come under dispute as MSNBC TV translator Jacob Keryakes noted that the claim of responsibility contained an error in one of the Quranic verses it cited. That suggests that the claim may be phony, he said. "This is not something al-Qaida would do," he said.

Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigade

A second claim of responsibility was posted on the Internet on 9 July, claiming the attacks for another Al Qaeda-linked group, Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigade. The group has previously falsely claimed responsibility for events that were the result of technical problems, such as the 2003 London blackout and 2003 North America blackout. They have also claimed authorship of the 2004 Madrid train bombings.

Tape of Mohammad Sidique Khan

On 1 September 2005, Al Jazeera aired a tape featuring Mohammad Sidique Khan, one of the bombers, in which he said:

I and thousands like me are forsaking everything for what we believe. Our drive and motivation doesn't come from tangible commodities that this world has to offer. Our religion is Islam, obedience to the one true God and following the footsteps of the final prophet messenger.

Your democratically elected governments continuously perpetuate atrocities against my people all over the world. And your support of them makes you directly responsible, just as I am directly responsible for protecting and avenging my Muslim brothers and sisters.

Until we feel security you will be our targets and until you stop the bombing, gassing, imprisonment and torture of my people we will not stop this fight. We are at war and I am a soldier. Now you too will taste the reality of this situation.

The tape had been edited and also featured Al Qaeda number two, Ayman al-Zawahiri, in a way intended to suggest a direct link between Khan and Al Qaeda. There has been no report that Khan said anything linking the bombing to Al Qaeda.

Tape of Shehzad Tanweer

On the eve of the first anniversary of the attacks (6 July 2006), Al Jazeera aired another taped message from one of the bombers - Shehzad Tanweer. He said:

For the non-Muslims in Britain, you may wonder what you have done to deserve this. You are those who have voted in your government who in turn have and still continue to this day continue to oppress our mothers and children, brothers and sisters from the east
to the west in Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq and Chechnya. Your government has openly
supported the genocide of more than 150,000 innocent Muslims in Fallujah.
We are 100 per cent committed to the cause of Islam. We love death the way you love
life. I tell all you British citizens to stop your support to your lying British government
and to the so-called war on terror. And ask yourselves: why would thousands of men be
ready to give their lives for the cause of Muslims?
What you have witnessed now is only the beginning of a series of attacks which will
intensify and continue to until you pull all your troops out of Afghanistan and Iraq. Until
you stop all financial and military support to the US and Israel and until you release all
Muslim prisoners from Belmarsh and your other concentration camps. And know that if
you fail to comply with this then know that this war will never stop and that we are
willing to give our lives 100 times over for the cause of Islam. You will never experience
peace until our children in Palestine, our mothers and sisters in Kashmir, and our brothers
in Afghanistan and Iraq feel peace.
The film again featured commentary from the al-Qaeda deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri. He
says Tanweer's beliefs explain why he was drawn into al-Qaeda, and why he and
Mohammad Sidique Khan "wished that they could carry out a martyrdom operation". Al-
Zawahiri adds that Shehzad Tanweer and Mohammad Sidique Khan attended an al-
Qaeda camp. It was known that the two had visited Pakistan, and visited madrassas, but
the claim that they been trained at an al-Qaeda camp is new.

Warnings and conspiracy theories
Further information: Rumours and conspiracy theories about the July 2005 London
bombings
Effects
Security alerts
Although there were security alerts at many locations, no other terrorist incidents
occurred outside central London. Suspicious packages were destroyed in controlled
explosions in Edinburgh, Brighton, Coventry, and Darlington. Security across the UK
was raised to the highest alert level.
Many other countries raised their own terror alert status (for example: Canada, United
States, France, and Germany), especially for public transport. For a time US commanders
ordered troops based in the UK to avoid London.
Police sniper units were reported to be following as many as a dozen Al Qaeda suspects
in Britain. The covert armed teams were under orders to shoot to kill if surveillance
suggested that a terror suspect was carrying a bomb and he refused to surrender if
challenged.
It was initially rumoured, incorrectly, that a man was found in Canary Wharf (London),
armed with a bomb but he was shot down by a sniper before he could carry out any
attack.
Transport and telecoms disruption
Sign on M25 ring road reads:

AVOID LONDON
AREA CLOSED
TURN ON RADIO

Vodafone reported that its mobile phone network reached capacity at about 10:00 a.m. on the day of the incident, and it was forced to initiate emergency procedures to prioritise emergency calls (ACCOLC, the "access overload control scheme"). Other mobile phone networks also reported failures. The BBC speculated that the phone system was closed by the security services to prevent the possibility of mobile phones being used to trigger bombs. Although this option was considered, it later became clear that the intermittent unavailability of both mobile and landline phone systems were due to excessive usage. For most of the day, central London's public transport system was effectively crippled because of the complete closure of the underground system, the closure of the Zone 1 bus networks, and the evacuation of Russell Square. Bus services restarted at 4 p.m. the same day, and most mainline train stations reopened shortly after. Tourist river vessels were pressed into service to provide a free alternative to the overcrowded trains and buses. Thousands of people chose to walk home or make their way to the nearest Zone 2 bus or train station. Most of the Underground aside from the affected stations restarted the next morning, though some commuters chose to stay at home.

Much of King's Cross station was also closed, with the ticket hall and waiting area being used as a makeshift hospital to treat casualties on the spot. Although the station reopened later in the day, only suburban rail services were able to use it, with Intercity trains terminating at Peterborough (the service was fully restored the following Saturday). King's Cross St. Pancras tube station remained open only to Metropolitan Line services in order to facilitate the ongoing recovery and investigation effort for a week, though Victoria Line services were restored on 15 July and Northern Line services on 18 July. St. Pancras Station, located next to King's Cross, was shut on Thursday afternoon with all Midland Mainline trains terminating in Leicester disrupting services to Sheffield, Nottingham and Derby.

By 25 July there were still disruptions to the Piccadilly Line (which was not running between Arnos Grove and Hyde Park Corner in either direction), the Hammersmith & City Line (which was only running a shuttle service between Hammersmith and Paddington) and the Circle Line (which was suspended in its entirety). The Metropolitan
line resumed services to between Moorgate and Aldgate on 25 July. The Hammersmith and City was also operating a peak hours service between Whitechapel and Baker Street. Most of the tube network was however running normally.

On 2 August the Hammersmith & City Line resumed normal service; the Circle Line service was still suspended, though all Circle Line stations are also served by other lines. The Piccadilly Line service resumed on 4 August.

Economic impact

There were limited immediate reactions to the attack in the world economy as measured by financial market and exchange rate activity. The pound fell 0.89 cents to a 19-month low against the U.S. dollar. However, stock markets fell less than some had feared. The FTSE 100 Index fell by about 200 points in the two hours after the first attack. This was its biggest fall since the start of the war in Iraq, and it triggered the stock market's special measures, restricting panic selling and aimed at ensuring market stability. However, by the time the market closed it had recovered to only 71.3 points (1.36%) down on the previous day's three-year closing high. Markets in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain also closed about 1% down on the day.

US market indexes rose slightly, in part because the dollar index rose sharply against the pound and the euro. The Dow Jones Industrial Average gained 31.61 to 10,302.29. The Nasdaq Composite Index rose 7.01 to 2075.66. The S&P 500 rose 2.93 points to 1197.87 after declining up to 1%. Every benchmark gained 0.3%.

The markets picked up again on 8 July as it became clear that the damage caused by the bombings was not as great as initially thought. By close of trading the market had fully recovered to above its level at start of trading on 7 July. Insurers in the UK tend to reinsure their terrorist liabilities in excess of the first £75,000,000 with Pool Re, a mutual insurer set up by the government with leading insurers. Pool Re has substantial reserves and newspaper reports indicated that claims would easily be covered.

On 9 July, the Bank of England, HM Treasury and the Financial Services Authority revealed that they had instigated contingency plans immediately after the attacks to ensure that the UK financial markets could keep trading. This involved the activation of a "secret chatroom" on the British Government's Financial Sector Continuity website, which allowed the institutions to communicate with the country's banks and market dealers.

Response
Response to the 2005 London bombings

Media response

Rolling news coverage of the attacks was broadcast throughout 7 July, by both BBC One and ITV1 uninterrupted until 7pm. Sky News did not carry any advertisements for 24 hours. ITN later confirmed that its coverage on ITV1 was its longest uninterrupted on-air broadcast in its 50 year history. Television coverage was notable for the use of mobile phone video sent in from members of the public and live shots from traffic CCTV cameras. Local and national radio also generally either suspended regular programming for news reports, or provided regular updates as part of scheduled shows. Many films and drama broadcasts were cancelled or postponed on grounds of taste. For example, BBC Radio 4 pulled its scheduled Classic Serial without explanation; it was to have been John Buchan's Greenmantle, about the revolt of Muslims against British interests abroad. ITV replaced the movies The X Files, in which a building is partly destroyed by a bomb, with Stakeout, and The Siege, where a bomb destroys a bus full of passengers, with Gone in 60 Seconds. Even the BBC flagship soap EastEnders was forced to re-edit that night's episode, which contained a sequence involving a house explosion, ambulances and survivors choking from smoke inhalation. Sky One broadcast an episode of Star Trek: The Next Generation in place of Terror Attacks: Could You Survive ...?. Also Viacom-owned music channels MTV, VH1, TMF and all their sub-channels broadcasted a 'sombre' music playlist for the rest of the day, and into some of the next (the MTV studios were situated in Camden Town, close to some of the bomb sites).

The bbc.co.uk website recorded an all time bandwidth peak of 11 Gb/s at 12:00 on 7 July. BBC News received some 1 billion total hits on the day of the event (including all images, text and HTML), serving some 5.5 terabytes of data. At peak times during the day there were 40,000 page requests per second for the BBC News website. The previous day's announcement of the 2012 Olympics being awarded to London caused a peak of around 5 Gb/s. The previous all time high at bbc.co.uk was caused by the announcement of the Michael Jackson verdict, which used 7.2 Gb/s.

On Tuesday 12 July it was reported that the far-right political party, the British National Party, released leaflets showing images of the "Number 30 Bus" after it was blown up.
The slogan "Maybe now it's time to start listening to the BNP" was printed beside the photo. The BNP were accused of using the leaflet to incite racial hatred. The leaflet can be found on the BNP website.

In several countries outside the United Kingdom, governments and media outlets perceived that the UK was lenient towards radical Islamist militants (as long as they were involved in activities outside of the UK), as well as the UK's refusal to extradite or prosecute suspects of terror acts committed outside of the UK, led to London being sometimes called Londonistan, and have called these purported policies into question (New York Times, Le Figaro). Such policies were believed to be a cynical attempt of quid pro quo: the UK allegedly exchanged an absence of attacks on its soil against toleration.

Official report
The official report into the bombings was released on 11 May 2006. The BBC have published a narrative using information from the report and elsewhere. The report is not final: some material has been withheld temporarily or permanently, and more remains to be discovered.

Leaked report in The Observer
On 9 April 2006 The Observer newspaper published leaked details of the first draft of a forthcoming Home Office report on the bombings, compiled for the then Home secretary Charles Clarke by a senior civil servant. This section includes only information about a forthcoming report gleaned from a newspaper article, and should be read as such rather than as verified fact.

The article reports that the attack was planned probably with a budget of only a few hundred pounds by four men using information from the internet. While they had visited Pakistan, there was no direct support or planning by al-Qaeda; meetings in Pakistan were ideological, rather than practical. All four bombers died in the suicide bombings. While there was a search for a fifth suspect after police found an unused rucksack of explosives in the bombers' abandoned car at Luton station, there was no fifth bomber. While the videotape of Mohammed Sidique Khan released after the attacks had footage of Osama bin Laden's deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, the Home Office believes the tape was edited after the suicide attacks and dismisses it as evidence of al-Qaeda's involvement in the attacks.

Khan was the ringleader. Links to other suspected terrorists are not discussed for legal reasons. The bombers-to-be followed an extreme interpretation of Islam, and they, in particular Jermaine Lindsay, were happy to enjoy a Western lifestyle. The attacks were largely motivated by concerns over British foreign policy, seen as deliberately anti-Muslim, and the promise of immortality.

The report does not say why no action was taken against the suspect bombers beforehand, although Mohammed Sidique Khan was identified by intelligence officers months before the attack. A separate report into the attacks by the Commons intelligence and security committee will ask why MI5 did not maintain surveillance of Khan.

Criticism of the leaked Observer report
Conservative spokesman Patrick Mercer said 'A series of reports such as this narrative simply does not answer questions such as the reduced terror alert before the attack, the apparent involvement of al-Qaeda and links to earlier or later terrorist plots.'

Historical comparisons
The bombings were the deadliest attack in London since a V2 rocket killed 131 people in Stepney on 27 March 1945, near the end of World War II. They were the deadliest post-World War II incident in the capital since the Harrow & Wealdstone station rail crash of 1952 left 112 dead.

They were the second-deadliest terrorist attack in the UK, after the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland (270 dead). Other terrorist bombings in recent history include the 1998 Omagh bombing (29 dead) and the 1974 Birmingham pub bombing (21 dead). The 2005 attacks are the first coordinated suicide bombings perpetrated by Islamic Extremists in the history of London. The three train bombings, with a total of 39 dead, constitute one of the deadliest incidents in the peacetime history of the London Underground, with more casualties than the King's Cross fire of November 1987 (31 dead), but less than the Moorgate tube crash of February 1975 (43 dead) and the wartime bombings of Balham station (14 October 1940) - 65 dead, and Bank station (11 January 1941) - 56 dead, or the panic crush during an air raid at Bethnal Green station on 3 March 1943 when 173 people lost their lives.

London Underground terrorism

The London Underground had been targeted by bombers before. In January 1885 a bomb exploded on a Metropolitan Line train at Gower Street (now Euston Square) station, and in February 1913 a crude bomb - probably the work of Suffragettes - was discovered at Westbourne Park station. Bombs planted by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) exploded at Tottenham Court Road and Leicester Square station on 3 February 1939. In August and December 1973 the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) left several explosive devices in the tube network, and again in February and March 1976. On 4 March 1976, eight people were injured by a bomb in Cannon Street; 11 days later, nine people were injured by an premature explosion at West Ham tube station. Seconds after that incident, Julius Stephen, the driver of the train, was shot dead when he attempted to pursue the fleeing bomber. On the same day, a further device found at Oxford Circus station was defused, while another bomb exploded on an empty train at Wood Green station as it was preparing to enter the reversing siding there. Had it exploded later, the train would have been packed with football supporters leaving after the Arsenal match that evening.

The 2005 attack featured the most explosions in a single terrorist incident in a UK city since Bloody Friday in Belfast in July 1972 (22 bombs planted). They were the world's deadliest attack on a public transport system since the Madrid train bombings of 11 March 2004 (191 dead), although the March 1995 Sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway injured far more people.

There has only been one other bomb explosion on a London bus in recent times: on 18 February 1996 at Wellington Street near Aldwych, in which the only fatality was the IRA member transporting the device. This was thought to have been the result of the accidental detonation of a bomb that he intended to plant elsewhere, rather than a suicide attack.

The 2005 attacks were the first terrorist (i.e. politically motivated) killings in London since 30 April 1999, when the neo-Nazi David Copeland nailbombed the Admiral Duncan pub in Soho in a homophobic attack, killing three people. They were also the first suicide bombings ever carried out anywhere in Western Europe.

In 1995, the GIA Islamist militant group staged a series of attacks against the French public, targeting public transportation. These attacks killed 8 and injured more than 100.
The attacks were apparently designed to be a broadening of the civil war in Algeria, a former French colony.
# 2002 Bali bombing

**Location**: Bali, Indonesia  
**Target(s)**: Two nightclubs, US Consular office  
**Date**: 12 October 2002  
23:05 (UTC+8)  
**Attack Type**: Suicide bombing, car bomb, and other bombing  
**Fatalities**: 202  
**Injuries**: 209  
**Perpetrator(s)**: Jemaah Islamiyah members

## Nationality

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The 2002 Bali bombing occurred on October 12, 2002 in the tourist district of Kuta on the Indonesian island of Bali. The attack was the deadliest act of terrorism in the history of Indonesia, killing 202 people, 164 of whom were foreign nationals (including 89 Australians), and 38 Indonesian citizens. A further 209 were injured.

The attack involved the detonation of three bombs: a backpack-mounted device carried by a suicide bomber; a large car bomb, both of which were detonated in or near popular nightclubs in Kuta; and a third much smaller device detonated outside the United States consulate in Denpasar, causing only minor damage.

Various members of Jemaah Islamiyah, a violent Islamist group, were convicted in relation to the bombings, including three individuals who were sentenced to death. Abu Bakar Bashir, the alleged spiritual leader of Jemaah Islamiyah, was found guilty of conspiracy, and sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment. Riduan Isamuddin, generally known as Hambali and the suspected former operational leader of Jemaah Islamiyah, is in U.S. custody in an undisclosed location, and has not been charged in relation to the bombing or any other crime.

**The attack**

At 23:05 (15:05 UTC) on 12 October 2002, a suicide bomber inside the nightclub Paddy's Bar detonated a bomb in his backpack, causing many patrons, with or without injuries, to immediately flee into the street. Fifteen seconds later, a second and much more powerful
car bomb hidden inside a white Mitsubishi van, was detonated by remote control outside the Sari Club, located opposite Paddy's Bar. Damage to the densely populated residential and commercial district was immense, destroying neighbouring buildings and shattering windows several blocks away. The car bomb explosion left a one meter deep crater.

The local Sanglah hospital was ill-equipped to deal with the scale of the disaster and was overwhelmed with the number of injured, particularly burn victims. Many of the injured were flown to the relatively close proximity of Darwin and Perth for specialist burns treatment.

The comparatively small bomb detonated outside the U.S. consulate in Denpasar, which is thought to have exploded shortly before the two Kuta bombs, caused minor injuries to one person and property damage was minimal. It was reportedly packed with human excrement.

The final death toll was 202, mainly comprising Western tourists and holiday-makers in their 20s and 30s who were in or near Paddy's Bar or the Sari Club, but also including many Balinese Indonesians working or living nearby, or simply passing by. Hundreds more people suffered horrific burns and other injuries. The largest group among those killed were holidayers from Australia with 88 fatalities.

There were many acts of individual heroism. Kossy Halemai, a hotel manager, was singled out for praise with the award of Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM) in 2005.

Three bodies were never identified and were cremated at Bali in September 2003.

The car bomb was initially thought to have consisted of C4, a military grade plastic explosive which is difficult to obtain. However, on 21 October investigators at the scene disclosed that the main portion of the bomb consisted of ammonium nitrate, a fertilizer agent readily available in Indonesia.

**Suspects**
The organisation immediately suspected of responsibility for the bombing was Jemaah Islamiyah, an Islamist group allegedly lead by radical cleric Abu Bakar Bashir that has been linked in many news reports to the al-Qaeda network. The Indonesian chief of police, General Da'i Bachtiar said that the bombing was the "worst act of terror in Indonesia's history". Other Indonesian ministers stated their belief that the blasts were related to al-Qaeda.

Abu Bakar Bashir, though officially wanted in Singapore and Malaysia, held a news conference on 12 October to deny any involvement. In a number of statements he denied that the bombing had been perpetrated by Indonesians, and blamed the United States for exploding the bomb, claiming that it wasn't possible for Indonesians to construct such a sophisticated device.

Aris Munandar (aka Sheik Aris) is a Jemaah Islamiyah associate linked to Bashir. He is believed to have assisted the Bali bomber Amrozi in acquiring some of the explosives used in the Bali bombings. Philippine intelligence considers Munandar to be associated with Mohammad Abdullah Sughaier, a Saudi national suspected of financing the al-Qaeda affiliated Abu Sayyaf Group in southern Philippines. Munandar is still at large.

Indonesian authorities also believe more suspects remain at large. In 2005, Indonesian police arrested 24 additional people suspected of involvement in the Bali attacks and a 2003 bombing of the Marriott Hotel in Jakarta. Some were believed to have been making preparations to leave for the Philippines.

An October 12, 2005 story in Australian broadcaster SBS's documentary series Dateline, called "Inside Indonesia's War on Terrorism", argued that the Indonesian military or police may have been involved in executing the attack.

**Legal proceedings**

![Sari Club](image)

**Initial charges and trials**
In April 2003 Indonesian authorities charged Abu Bakar Bashir (also rendered "Ba'asyir") with treason. It was alleged that he tried to overthrow the government and set up an Islamic state. The specific charges against Bashir related to a series of church bombings on Christmas Eve in 2000, and to a plot to bomb United States and other Western interests in Singapore. He was initially not charged over the Bali attack, although he was frequently accused of being the instigator or inspirer of the attack. On 2 September Bashir was acquitted of treason but convicted of lesser charges and sentenced to a prison term of four years. He said he would appeal. On October 15, 2004, he was arrested by the Indonesian authorities and charged with involvement in another bomb attack, which killed 14 people at the J. W. Marriott hotel in Jakarta on August 5, 2003. Secondary charges in this indictment accused him of involvement in the Bali bombing, the first time he faced charges in relation to this attack. On March 3, 2005, Bashir was found not guilty of the charges surrounding the 2003 bombing, but guilty of conspiracy over the 2002 attacks in Bali. He was sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment. The Australian, US, and many governments expressed its disappointment that the sentence was too short; in the outcome, Bashir was freed 14 June 2006 having served less than 26 months for his conspiracy

On 30 April 2003, the first charges related to the Bali bombings were made against Amrozi bin Haji Nurhasyim, known as Amrozi, for allegedly buying the explosives and the van used in the bombings. On 8 August he was found guilty and sentenced to death. Another participant in the bombing, Imam Samudra, was sentenced to death on 10 September. Amrozi's brother, Ali Imron, who had expressed remorse for his part in the bombing, was sentenced to life imprisonment on 18 September. A fourth accused, Mukhlas, was sentenced to death on 1 October. All those convicted have said they will appeal, and none of the death sentences have yet been carried out. The Australian, US, and many other foreign governments expressed satisfaction with the speed and efficiency with which the Indonesian police and courts dealt with the bombing's primary suspects, despite what they characterized as light sentences. All Australian jurisdictions abolished the death penalty more than 30 years ago, but a poll showed that 55% of Australians approved of the death sentences in the Bali cases. The Australian government said it would not ask Indonesia to refrain from using the death penalty.

Hambali, head of Jemaah Islamiyah and leading suspect of Mariott Hotel bombing in Jakarta, is also considered a suspect in the Bali bombing.
On 15 August Riduan Isamuddin, generally known as Hambali, described as the operational chief of Jemaah Islamiyah and as al-Qaeda's point man in Southeast Asia, was arrested in Ayutthaya, the old capital one hour's drive north of Bangkok. He is in American custody in an undisclosed location, and has not been charged in relation to the Bali bombing or any other crime. It was reported that the United States is reluctant to hand Hambali over to Indonesian authorities in light of the lenient sentence given to Abu Bakar Bashir.

**Constitutional appeals**

On July 23, 2004, one of the convicted bombers, Maskur Abdul Kadir, successfully appealed his conviction. He had been tried under retrospective laws which were introduced after the bombing and which were employed to aid the prosecution of those involved in the attack. These laws were used by the prosecution instead of existing criminal laws as they allowed the death penalty to be imposed and lowered certain evidentiary restrictions.

The highest court in Indonesia, the Constitutional Court, found by a margin of five to four that trying the terrorist suspects under these retrospective laws violated Article 28I(1) of the constitution. The minority judges argued that international human rights documents such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights allowed an exception to not applying retrospective legislation in the prosecution of crimes against humanity. The majority found that this argument was inconsistent with the text of Article 28I(1) which states that the rights listed there "cannot be limited under any circumstances."

Following this decision, charges related to the bombings against Idris, who had confessed to participating in the attacks to the police and court, were dismissed.

Both the chief of the Constitutional Court, in extra-judicial comments, and the Justice Minister, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, stated that the decision has no effect on the status of the thirty-two other convictions reached before the Constitutional Court's ruling. The legal status of Kadir, Idris and others who might have their convictions quashed following the ruling on the retrospective law is unclear.

The decision by the Constitutional Court has been seen as an important demonstration of its independence from the government. It is a relatively new body, created after the fall of Soeharto, and this decision was one of the first to overrule the constitutionality of the government's application of a law.
The **Moscow theater hostage crisis** was the seizure on October 23, 2002 of a crowded Moscow theatre by armed Chechen men and women who claimed allegiance to the separatist movement in Chechnya. They took 850 hostages and demanded the withdrawal of Russian forces from Chechnya. After a siege of two and a half days, Russian Spetsnaz ("special forces") raided the building with the assistance of an unidentified "knockout gas". All of the 42 terrorists were killed, along with 129 of the hostages, with no Spetsnaz casualties.

### Hostage-taking
The attack took place at the House of Culture of the State Ball-Bearing Plant Number 1, a Moscow theatre, in the Dubrovka area, named after its former owner. During Act II of a sold out performance of Nord-Ost, 42 heavily armed men and women entered the theatre and took everyone present hostage, both audience and performers. The gunmen — led by Movsar Barayev, nephew of a slain Chechen military leader — threatened to kill the hostages unless Russian forces immediately and unconditionally withdrew from Chechnya.

Some performers who had been resting backstage escaped through an open window and called the police. The escapers reported that approximately half of the terrorists were women, which was highly unusual. Cellphone conversations with hostages trapped in the building revealed that the hostage-takers had grenades and other explosives strapped to their bodies, and had deployed more explosives throughout the theatre, One in the center of the Theatre, and one in the Balcony. A videotaped statement was acquired by the media, in which the gunmen declared their willingness to die for their cause.

Over the course of the first day or so, Muslim members of the audience, as well as some children, and a man with a heart condition were released. However, all requests to release non-Russian nationals were refused. Several hostages did manage to escape through rear or side windows of the building, while others were shot at as they attempted to do so. On day two (October 24), an unidentified civilian woman managed to make her way through the Russians' blockade and enter the theater. She confronted the hostages to stand up to the terrorists. She was seen to be pushed through a side door and presumably executed when three shots were heard, but 5 were actually shot.

The next day another civilian also managed to gain entry to the theater. It is said that he told the gunmen that he was there to fetch his son, but when his son did not seem to be present, he too was shot outside.

**Statement**

The videotaped statement contained the following text:

> Every nation has the right to their fate. Russia has taken away this right from the Chechens and today we want to reclaim these rights, which Allah has given us, in the same way he has given it to other nations. Allah has given us the right of freedom and the right to choose our destiny. And the Russian occupiers have flooded our land with our children's blood. And we have longed for a just solution. People are unaware of the innocent who are dying in Chechnya: the sheikhs, the women, the children and the weak ones. And therefore, we have chosen this approach. This approach is for the freedom of the Chechen people and there is no difference in where we die, and therefore we have decided to die here, in Moscow. And we will take with us the lives of hundreds of sinners. If we die, others will come and follow us—our brothers and sisters who are willing to sacrifice
their lives, in Allah's way, to liberate their nation. Our nationalists have died but people have said that they, the nationalists, are terrorists and criminals. But the truth is Russia is the true criminal.

Raid

Early Saturday morning, October 26, forces from Russia's OSNAZ (or "special forces") from the Federal Security Service (FSB) surrounded and stormed the building from the roof and from all entrances.

In the absence of any subsequent public enquiry, the chain of events is unclear as it relies upon ultimately divergent reporting and witness testimony.

The raid was preceded by the sound of sporadic gunfire and explosions from within the theater. There had been reports earlier that the gunmen had announced that hostage executions would commence on the Saturday unless demands were met, but these were later delayed when the Russians lied to the terrorists and told them a General involved in the Chechen Conflict was on the way to negotiate.

It is settled that the security services pumped an aerosol anesthetic into the theater. This was done by means of the air conditioning system. After thirty minutes, when the gas had taken effect, the physical assault commenced from the roof and all entrances and, it is said, including through the sewers.

Within the theater, it became apparent to gunmen and hostages alike that a gas had been emitted into the building. Hostages reported that some people in the audience fell asleep, and the gunmen put on respirators. The men took up positions, readying for the assault, while the women waited inside to detonate the explosives. Ultimately, there was a gunfight between the Chechens and the Russian security forces within the auditorium, with the hostages caught in between. The fight spread throughout the building as the special forces systematically searched and fired upon persons that they identified as terrorists.

The special forces quickly secured the building, killing all male terrorists who had been guarding the doors. They then placed a bottle in the hand of the dead Movsar Barayev, as a sign of victory and entered the theater. The special forces immediately executed all female terrorists (left inside the theater and now incapacitated due to the gas) with a single shot into the head. All the terrorists lay dead, and not a single hostage had been killed by the terrorists.

Aftermath

At least 42 terrorists and 120 hostages (official figures – 33 and 128 respectively, Moscow News figures: 129 hostages) died in the raid or in the following days. Doctor
Andrei Seltsovsky, Moscow's health committee chairman, announced that all but one of the hostages that were killed in the raid had died of the effects of the unknown gas, rather than from gunshot wounds.

Russian President Vladimir Putin defended the raid in a televised address later that morning, stating that the government had "achieved the near impossible, saving hundreds, hundreds of people," asked forgiveness for not being able to save more of the hostages, and declared Monday a national day of mourning for those who died.

The security forces further justified using the anesthetic because the gunmen and women, armed with explosives, were dispersed throughout the large building, and there was a likelihood that either the heavy explosives planted inside the building would be detonated or hostages killed if it was realized that they were under attack. During the raid, many of the Chechens were shot in the head at point-blank range after already losing consciousness from the gas. One Russian Alpha Group commando told the media, "I understand that this is cruel, but when there are two kilograms of plastic explosives hanging on a person, we see no other way of rendering them safe."

Armed guards were posted at the hospitals the victims were taken to, and doctors were ordered not to release any of the theater patients in case terrorists had somehow hidden themselves among the hostages. Family members of hostages panicked as the government refused to release any information about which hospitals their loved ones had been taken to, or even whether their relatives were among the dead.

The attack itself was condemned by industrialised nations as an act of terrorism, although within Chechnya it is seen as part of a continuing armed and political campaign for independence from the Russian Federation.

**Identifying the gas**

It was reported that efforts to treat victims were complicated because the Russian government refused to inform doctors what type of gas had been used. At the time, the gas was surmised to be some sort of surgical anesthetic or chemical weapon. Foreign embassies in Moscow issued official requests for more information on the gas to aid in treatment, but were publicly ignored.

While still refusing to identify the gas, on October 28 the Russian government informed the US Embassy of some of the gas' effects. Based on this information and examinations of victims, doctors concluded the gas was a morphine derivative.

On Wednesday, October 30, Russia responded to increasing domestic and international pressure with a statement on the unknown gas by Health Minister Yuri Shevchenko. He identified it as a fentanyl derivative (possibly the large animal immobilant carfentanil), a powerful opioid. Boris Grebenyuk, the All-Russia Disaster Relief Service chief, said the services used Trimethyl Phentanylum. New Scientist pointed out that trimethyl fentanyl is not a gas but an aerosol.
A German toxicology professor who examined several German hostages said that their blood and urine contained halothane, a surgical anesthetic not commonly used in the West, and that it was likely the gas had additional components. However, halothane has a strong odor (although often defined as "pleasant" by comparison with other anesthetic gases). Thus, by the time the whole theatre area would be filled with halothane to a concentration compatible with loss of consciousness (0.5% - 3%), it is likely that terrorists inside would have realized they were being attacked. Additionally, recovery of consciousness is rapid after the flow of gas is interrupted, unlike with high-dose fentanyl administration. Therefore, although halothane might have been a component in the aerosol, it was probably not a major component.

The gas is now generally agreed to have been the top-secret fentanyl derivative Kolokol-1 developed by the KGB in the 1970's. Russian doctors, who helped hostages in first minutes after the siege, used a usual fentanyl's antidote, naloxone, for injections. But fentanyl derivative's application caused chronic diseases grow acute for hostages, who stayed in the closed space without the water and food for several days. Another factor was the dose of fentanyl's derivative. It was calculated on terrorists - to effectively neutralize them for several minutes. According to Russian experts' conclusion, all hostages, who died, died not from the gas itself, but from complications, caused by its application in non-standard circumstances.

**Long-term effects**

While the siege was underway, the Russian government closed one television station, censored the coverage of another television station and a radio station, and publicly rebuked a newspaper for its coverage. On November 1, the lower house of the Duma approved broad new restrictions on press coverage of terrorism-related incidents, widely expected to meet with swift approval by the upper house and then Putin. The Duma refused to consider a proposal by the liberal Union of Right Forces party to form an investigative commission charged with probing the government's actions in the theatre siege. These new policies prompted renewed fears in Russia that Putin is systematically taking control of all Russian media.

Rebel military commander Shamil Basayev posted a statement on his website claiming responsibility for the incident, resigning all official positions within the Chechen government, and apologizing to Chechen President Aslan Maskhadov for not informing him of the planned raid. The Russian government claims that wiretapped phone conversations prove that Maskhadov knew of the plans in advance, which he denied.

The attacks prompted Putin to tighten Russia's grip on Chechnya. The Russian government's media agency reported that 30 rebel fighters were killed in a battle outside Grozny on October 28, and Putin announced that unspecified "measures adequate to the threat" would henceforth be taken in response to terrorist activity. The Chechens have responded in kind to the increased frequency of Russian raids following the siege. President Maskhadov's unconditional offer for talks with Russia was dismissed, as the Russians believed he exerted little influence in Chechnya.
Russia also accused Akhmed Zakayev (also Zakajev or Zakaev), a Chechen envoy and associate of Aslan Maskhadov of involvement. When he visited Denmark for a congress in October 2002, the Russians demanded his arrest and extradition. In Denmark he was held for over a month, but released when the Danish authorities were not convinced that sufficient evidence had been provided. On December 7, Zakajev claimed asylum in London. The British authorities arrested him but he was released on bail, paid by Vanessa Redgrave among others. His extradition proceedings then collapsed and he was given political asylum in Britain.

The Human Rights Watch reported Chechens in Moscow were objected to increased harassment after the hostage crisis.

A similar hostage-taking by Chechen nationalists occurred in the Beslan school hostage crisis in September 2004.

The 2004 radio play Checklist for an Armed Robber, by Vanessa Bates, was inspired by the events that occurred in both this incident and an armed holdup in Australia.
Passover massacre

The Passover massacre (also known as the Netanya bombing) was a Palestinian suicide bombing in the Park Hotel at Netanya on March 27, 2002. The attack killed 30 Israeli civilians and triggered Operation Defensive Shield.

The attack occurred on the night of March 27, when the traditional Jewish holiday of Passover was celebrated. The Park Hotel in Netanya held a big Passover dinner for its 250 guests, especially elderly Jews who didn't have family and relatives, in the ground-floor dining room. A Palestinian suicide bomber passed a security guard at the hotel's entrance, walked through the lobby passing the reception desk and entered the hotel's dining room where he detonated an explosive device he carried in a suitcase. Twenty-eight people were immediately killed, and about 140 were injured, of whom 20 were seriously injured. Two of the injured later died from their wounds. Many of the victims were Holocaust survivors.

Hamas claims responsibility

Hamas claimed responsibility for the attack. The bomber was identified as Abdel-Basset Odeh, a 25-year-old from the nearby West Bank city of Tulkarem. Odeh claimed that the attack was in response to a series of Israeli incursions into Palestinian refugee camps earlier in the month that resulted in several Palestinian civilian deaths. Hamas would later claim that the attacks were specifically designed to derail momentum from a recently announced peace offer from the Saudi government at the Beirut Summit.

Palestinian Authority's reaction

While in English language media, the Palestinian Authority condemned the attack saying "The leadership strongly denounces Netanya operation against Israeli civilians and decides to prosecute those involved or responsible," in Arabic it glorified the "shahid": on January 21, 2003, the official PA daily newspaper Al-Hayat Al-Jadida published a report saying "the Tulkarm Shahids Memorial Soccer Championship tournament of the Shahid Abd Al-Baset Odeh began with the participation of seven top teams, named after Shahids who gave their lives to redeem the homeland. Isam, the brother of the Shahid, will distribute the trophies."

Israel's reaction
In his response to the Saudi initiative adopted at the Beirut Summit, Foreign Affairs Minister of Israel Shimon Peres noted that "... the details of every peace plan must be discussed directly between Israel and the Palestinians, and to make this possible, the Palestinian Authority must put an end to terror, the horrifying expression of which we witnessed just last night in Netanya."

In the wake of the attack, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and his cabinet ordered the immediate recruitment of 20,000 reservists in an emergency call-up and the following day launched Operation Defensive Shield. (: Battle of Jenin 2002.)

Keis Adwan, the head of the suicide bombing network in northern Samaria responsible for the massacre was killed on April 17, 2002 during Operation Defensive Shield after the IDF and the Yamam caught up with him in Tubas. In May 2002, Israeli forces arrested the mastermind behind the attack, Abbas al-Sayed. On September 22, 2005, al-Sayed was convicted of the Passover attack and also of ordering the May 2001 bombing of a Netanya mall. He received 35 life sentences for each murder victim and additional time for those who were wounded.

In July 2005 Netanya was hit by a bomber again, this time one dispatched by Islamic Jihad. Five were killed and dozens wounded.

**Victims**

Most of the victims were senior citizens (70+). Many of them were Holocaust survivors. The oldest victim was 90 and the youngest was 20 years old. A number of married couples were murdered as well as a father together with his daughter. One of the victims was a Jewish tourist from Sweden that visited Israel for the passover.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shula Abramovitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Anichovitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avraham Beckerman (Sgt.-Maj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimon Ben-Aroya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frieda and Alter Britvich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idit and Andre Fried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriam Gutenzgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiram Hamami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perla Hermele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvora and Michael Karim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yehudit and Eliezer Korman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marianne Myriam Lehmann Zaoui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lola Levkovitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Levy-Hoffman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furuk Na'imi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliahu Nakash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanah Rogan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irit Rashel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clara Rosenberger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulia Talmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivan (St.-Sgt.) and Ze'ev Vider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva and Ernest Weiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna and George Yakobovitch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2001 Indian Parliament attack

The 2001 Indian Parliament attack was a high-profile attack by Pakistan based Kashmiri terrorists against the building housing the Parliament of India in New Delhi. The attack lead to the killing of a dozen people and led to increased tensions between India and Pakistan and the 2001-2002 India-Pakistan standoff.

The attack

On December 13, 2001, five gunmen infiltrated the Parliament House in a car with Home Ministry and Parliament labels. While both the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha had been adjourned forty minutes prior to the incident, many Members of Parliament (MPs) and government officials such as Home Minister LK Advani and Minister of State (Defence) Harin Pathak were believed to have still been in the building at the time of the attack. (Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Opposition Leader Sonia Gandhi had already left). The gunmen slammed their vehicle into the car of Indian Vice President Krishan Kant (who was in the building at the time), got out, and began firing their weapons. The Vice President's guards and security personnel including shot back at the terrorists and then started closing the gates of the compound. The lady constable Kamlesh Kumari was first to spot the terrorist squad. One gunman, wearing a suicide vest, was shot dead, the vest exploding. The other four gunmen were also killed. Five policemen, a Parliament security guard, and a gardener were killed, and 18 others were injured. No members of the government were hurt.

Response

World leaders and leaders in India's immediate neighbourhood condemned the attack on the Parliament. On December 14, the ruling National Democratic Alliance (NDA) blamed Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed for the attack. Home Minister LK Advani claimed, "[w]e have received some clues about yesterday's incident, which shows that a neighbouring country, and some terrorist organisations active there behind it", in an indirect reference to Pakistan and Pakistan-based terrorist groups. The same day, in a demarche to Pakistani High Commissioner to India Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, India demanded that Pakistan stop the activities of LeT and JeM, that Pakistan apprehend the organisations' leaders and that Pakistan curb the financial assets and the groups access to these assets. In response to the Indian government's statements, Pakistani forces were put on high alert the same day. Pakistan military spokesman Major-General Rashid Qureshi claimed that the Parliament attack was a "drama staged by Indian intelligence agencies to defame the freedom struggle in occupied Kashmir" and further warned that India would pay "heavily if they engage in any misadventure". On December 20, India mobilised and deployed its troops to Kashmir and Punjab in what was India's largest
military mobilization since the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War amid calls from the United States and the United Nations (UN) on India to exercise restraint.

India arrested scores of people following the attack, and in December 2002 convicted four Jaish-e-Mohammed members for roles in the attack, charging they had planned to seize the Parliament House. In 2003, India said its forces had killed the mastermind of the attack in Kashmir.

Mohammad Afzal who is accused of being part of conspiracy is now sentenced to death by Indian court. He is to be hanged on October 20th. His family is currently camping in New Delhi to meet the President Dr. A.P.J Abdul Kalam to accept the mercy petition. Also the family of Kamlesh Kumari, a CRPF Jawan who died in the attack has said that they will return the Ashok Chakra awarded to her, if the president accepts the petition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>New York, New York (first two), Arlington, Virginia (3rd) Washington, D.C., Shanksville, Pennsylvania (4th); all USA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target(s)</td>
<td>World Trade Center and The Pentagon (fourth hijacking was probably aimed for the White House or the U.S. Capitol).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>11 September 2001 8:46 am – 10:28 am (UTC-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack Type</td>
<td>Suicide attack, Hijacking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatalities</td>
<td>2,992 (including 19 suicide hijackers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injuries</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrator(s)</td>
<td>Osama bin Laden, Responsibility and Organizers on the right hand column</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sites of destruction
- World Trade Center
- The Pentagon
- Shanksville, Pennsylvania

### Effects and aftermath
- World political effects
- World economic effects
- Detentions

### Hijacked airliners
- American Airlines Flight 11
- United Airlines Flight 175
- American Airlines Flight 77
- United Airlines Flight 93
A sequential look at United Flight 175 crashing into the south tower of the World Trade Center

The September 11, 2001 attacks (often referred to as 9/11—pronounced "nine eleven") consisted of a series of coordinated terrorist suicide attacks upon the United States, predominantly targeting civilians, carried out on Tuesday, September 11, 2001.

On the morning of September 11, 2001, nineteen terrorists affiliated with al-Qaeda hijacked four commercial passenger jet airliners. Each team of hijackers included a trained pilot. The hijackers crashed two of the airliners (United Airlines Flight 175 and American Airlines Flight 11) into the World Trade Center in New York City, one plane into each tower (1 WTC and 2 WTC). A third airliner (American Airlines Flight 77) was crashed into the Pentagon in Arlington County, Virginia. Passengers and members of the flight crew on the fourth aircraft (United Airlines Flight 93) attempted to retake control of their plane from the hijackers; that plane crashed into a field near the town of Shanksville in rural Somerset County, Pennsylvania. In addition to the 19 hijackers, 2,973 people died; another 24 are missing and presumed dead.

**The attacks**

*September 11, 2001 timeline for the day of the attacks*

Four commercial airliners were hijacked en route to California from Logan International, Dulles International, and Newark airports. Each of the airliners had a jet fuel capacity of nearly 24,000 U.S. gallons (91,000 liters) or 144,000 pounds (65,455 kilograms). Two of
the airliners were flown into the World Trade Center, one each into the North and South towers, one was flown into the Pentagon, and the fourth crashed near Shanksville, Pennsylvania.

American Airlines Flight 11, a Boeing 767-223 wide-body aircraft, crashed into the north side of the North Tower of the World Trade Center (WTC) at 8:46:30 a.m. local time (Eastern Daylight Time, 12:46:30 UTC).

United Airlines Flight 175, a Boeing 767-222, crashed into the South Tower at 9:02:59 a.m. local time (13:02:59 UTC), an event covered live by television broadcasters and amateur filmers from around the world who had their cameras trained on the buildings after the earlier crash.

American Airlines Flight 77, a Boeing 757-223, crashed into the Pentagon at 9:37:46 a.m. local time (13:37:46 UTC).

United Airlines Flight 93, a Boeing 757-222, crashed in a field in southwest Pennsylvania just outside of Shanksville, about 150 miles (240 km) northwest of Washington, D.C., at 10:03:11 a.m. local time (14:03:11 UTC), with parts and debris found up to eight miles away. The crash in Pennsylvania resulted from the passengers of the airliner attempting to regain control from the hijackers.

During the hijacking some passengers and crew members were able to make phone calls using the cabin GTE airphone service. They reported that several hijackers were aboard each plane.

The hijackers reportedly took control of the aircraft by using knives and box-cutter knives to kill flight attendants and at least one pilot or passenger. There were a number of reports from callers aboard the hijacked aircraft that suggest the hijackers killed several people aboard the planes before impact including the captain of Flight 11, John Ogonowski.

Some form of noxious chemical spray, such as tear gas or pepper spray, was reported to have been used on American 11 and United 175 to keep passengers out of the first-class cabin. Bomb threats were made on three of the aircraft, but not on American 77. According to the Commission Report the bombs were probably fake. The 9/11 Commission established that two of the hijackers had recently purchased Leatherman multi-function hand tools.

On United Airlines Flight 93, black box recordings revealed that crew and passengers attempted to seize control of the plane from the hijackers after learning through phone calls that similarly hijacked planes had been crashed into buildings that morning. According to the transcript of Flight 93’s recorder one of the hijackers gave the order to roll the plane once it became evident that they would lose control of the plane to the passengers. Soon afterward, the aircraft crashed into a field near Shanksville in Stonycreek Township, Somerset County, Pennsylvania, at 10:03:11 a.m. local time (14:03:11 UTC). The 9/11 Panel reported that captured al-Qaeda leader Khalid Shaikh
Mohammed said that Flight 93's target was the United States Capitol, which was given the code name "the Faculty of Law."

The attacks created widespread confusion across the United States. Unconfirmed and often contradictory reports were aired and published throughout the day. One of the most prevalent of these reported that a car bomb had been detonated at the U.S. State Department's headquarters, the Truman Building in Foggy Bottom, Washington, D.C. This erroneous report, picked up by the wire services, was reported on CNN and in a number of newspapers published that day. Soon after reporting for the first time on the Pentagon crash, CNN and other media also briefly reported that a fire had broken out on the Washington Mall. Another report went out on the AP wire, claiming that a Delta 767–Flight 1989–had been hijacked. This report, too, turned out to be in error; the plane was briefly thought to represent a hijack risk, but it responded to controllers and landed safely in Cleveland, Ohio.

**Fatalities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Victim</th>
<th>Casualties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>World Trade Center</strong></td>
<td>American 11</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United 175</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pentagon</strong></td>
<td>American 77</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shanksville</strong></td>
<td>United 93</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,973 died and another 24 remain listed as missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There were 2,973 fatalities: 246 on the four planes (no one on board any of the hijacked aircraft survived), 2,602 in New York City in the towers and on the ground, and 125 at the Pentagon. Among the fatalities were 343 New York City Fire Department firefighters, 23 New York City Police Department officers, and 37 Port Authority police officers. An additional 24 people remain listed as missing.

**World Trade Center** - 1366 people died who were at or above the floors of impact in the North Tower (1 WTC); according to the Commission Report, hundreds were killed instantly by the impact while the rest were trapped and died later.

As many as 600 people were killed instantly or trapped at or above the floors of impact in the South Tower (2 WTC). Only about 18 managed to escape in time from above the impact zone and out of the South Tower before it collapsed.

An estimated 200 people jumped to their deaths from the burning towers (as depicted in the photograph "The Falling Man"), landing on the streets and rooftops of adjacent buildings hundreds of feet below. To witnesses watching, a few of the people falling from the towers seemed to have stumbled out of broken windows. Some of the occupants of each tower above its point of impact made their way upward toward the roof in hope of helicopter rescue, however; no rescue plan existed for such an eventuality, the roof access doors were locked and thick smoke and intense heat would have prevented rescue helicopters from landing.

Collection of photographs of those killed (except for 92 victims) during the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Prosecution exhibit from the trial of Zacarias Moussaoui.

Cantor Fitzgerald L.P., an investment bank on the 101st-105th floors of One World Trade Center, lost 658 employees, considerably more than any other employer. Marsh Inc., located immediately below Cantor Fitzgerald on floors 93-101 (the location of Flight 11's impact), lost 295 employees, including one on Flight 175. Additionally, Marsh lost 38 consultants. Approximately 400 rescue workers, most of them of the FDNY, died when the towers collapsed.
According to the Associated Press, the city identified over 1,600 bodies but was unable to identify the rest (about 1,100 people). They report that the city has "about 10,000 unidentified bone and tissue fragments that cannot be matched to the list of the dead." Bone fragments were still being found in 2006 as workers prepared the damaged Deutsche Bank Building for demolition. The average age of all the dead in New York City was 40.

The fatalities included 8 children: 5 on American 77 ranging in age from 3 to 11, 3 on United 175 ages 2, 3, and 4. The youngest victim was a 2 year-old child on Flight 175, the oldest an 82 year-old passenger on Flight 11. In the buildings, the youngest victim was 17 and the oldest was 79.

As the suburbs around New York City learned of the destruction so close to home, many schools closed for the day, evacuated, or were locked down. Other school districts shielded students from watching television because many of their parents held jobs in the World Trade Center towers. In New Jersey and Connecticut, private schools were evacuated. Many children in schools of Maryland, those nearest to DC, were sent home. Scarsdale, New York schools closed for the day. In Greenwich, Connecticut, about 20 miles north of the city, hundreds of school children had direct ties to victims of the attacks. Greenwich and nearby New Canaan, two of the wealthiest towns in the area along with neighboring Darien, had more residents killed, as a percentage of total population, than any other Connecticut towns. After New York, New Jersey was the hardest hit state, with the town of Hoboken sustaining the most fatalities. Almost all the fatalities were civilians, except some of the 125 victims in the Pentagon.

There were also a number of reports, some contradictory, from callers aboard the hijacked aircraft that suggest the hijackers killed several people aboard the planes before impact.

**Damage**

In addition to the 110-floor Twin Towers of the World Trade Center itself, five other buildings at the World Trade Center site, including 7 World Trade Center and the Marriott Hotel, two New York City Subway stations, and St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church were destroyed or badly damaged. In total, in Manhattan, 25 buildings were damaged and all seven buildings of the World Trade Center Complex had to be razed. Two additional buildings were later condemned: the Deutsche Bank Building across Liberty Street from the World Trade Center complex, due to the uninhabitable, toxic conditions inside the office tower and Borough of Manhattan Community College's Fiterman Hall at 30 West Broadway due to extensive damage in the attacks. These buildings are both (as of September 2006) slated for deconstruction.

Communications equipment such as broadcast radio, television and two-way radio antenna towers were damaged beyond repair. In Arlington County, a portion of the Pentagon was severely damaged by fire and one section of the building collapsed.
Survivors

According to the 9/11 Commission, approximately 16,000 people were below the impact zones in the World Trade Center complex at the time of the attacks. The vast majority of those below the impact areas survived, evacuating before the towers collapsed.

The hijackers

Nineteen Arab men boarded the four planes, five each on American Airlines Flight 11, United Airlines Flight 175 and American Airlines Flight 77, four on United Airlines Flight 93. Fifteen of the attackers were from Saudi Arabia, two from the United Arab Emirates, one from Egypt, and one from Lebanon.

The group consisted of six core organizers, which included the four pilots, and thirteen others. Unlike many stereotypes of hijackers or terrorists, most of the attackers were educated and came from well-to-do backgrounds.

Other potential hijackers

27 members of al-Qaeda attempted to enter the United States to take part in the September 11 attacks, only 19 participated. Other would-be hijackers are often referred to as the 20th hijacker:

Ramzi Binalshibh allegedly meant to take part in the attacks, but he was repeatedly denied a visa for entry into the U.S. Mohamed al-Kahtani, a Saudi Arabian citizen, may also have been planning to join the hijackers but U.S. Immigration authorities at Orlando International Airport refused his entry into the U.S. in August, 2001. He was later captured in Afghanistan and imprisoned at the U.S. military prison known as Camp X-Ray at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Zacarias Moussaoui was reportedly considered as a replacement for Ziad Jarrah, who at one point threatened to withdraw from the scheme because of tensions amongst the plotters. Plans to include Moussaoui were never completed because the al-Qaeda hierarchy allegedly had doubts about his reliability. He was arrested on August 16, 2001, about four weeks before the attacks, ostensibly for an immigration violation, but FBI agents suspected he had violent intentions after receiving flight training earlier that year. In April 2005, Moussaoui pleaded guilty to conspiring to hijack planes, and to involvement with al-Qaeda, but he denies foreknowledge of the 9-11 attacks. Moussaoui, at his sentencing hearing in March 2006, claimed that, upon the personal directive of Osama bin Laden, he and Richard Reid were due to hijack a fifth plane and fly it into the White House.
His defense lawyers dismissed this as fantasy on the part of Moussaoui, saying that he was not an operative in al Qaeda, but only a "hanger-on." In a video tape released in May 2006, Osama bin Laden claimed that Moussaoui had "no connection whatsoever with the events of September 11" and that he knows this because "I was responsible for entrusting the 19 brothers" who carried out the attacks. On May 3, 2006, a federal jury rejected the death penalty and sentenced Moussaoui to 6 life terms in prison without parole.

At Moussaoui's sentencing trial, FBI agent Greg Jones testified that prior to the attacks, he urged his supervisor, Michael Maltbie, "to prevent Zacarias Moussaoui from flying a plane into the World Trade Center." Maltbie had refused to act on 70 requests from another agent, Harry Samit, to obtain a warrant to search Moussaoui's computer.

Buildings surrounding the World Trade Center were heavily damaged by the debris and massive force of the falling twin towers

Other al-Qaeda members who may have attempted, but were unable, to take part in the attacks include Saeed al-Ghamdi (not to be confused with the successful hijacker of the same name), Mushabib al-Hamlan, Zakariyah Essabar, Ali Abdul Aziz Ali, and Tawfiq bin Attash. According to the 9/11 Commission Report, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the attack's mastermind, wanted to remove at least one member — Khalid al-Mihdhar—from the operation, but he was overruled by Osama bin Laden.

Responsibility and motives

Responsibility

Responsibility for the September 11, 2001 attacks

The Federal Bureau of Investigation working together with the United States Department of Justice identified all but one of the 19 hijackers the same morning. Few had made any attempt to disguise their names on flight and credit card records, and they were some of the few people of Arabic descent on the flights. Within hours the FBI was able to
determine their names and in many cases details such as dates of birth, known and/or possible residences, visa status, and specific identity of the suspected pilots. On September 27, 2001, the FBI released photos of the 19 hijackers, along with information about the possible nationalities and aliases of many. The FBI investigation into the September 11, 2001 attacks, code named operation PENTTBOM, was the largest and most complex investigation in the history of the FBI, involving over 7,000 special agents. The United States government determined that al-Qaeda, headed by Osama bin Laden, bore responsibility for the attacks, with the FBI stating that evidence linking Al-Qaeda and bin Laden to the attacks of September 11 is clear and irrefutable. The Government of the United Kingdom reached the same conclusion, regarding Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden's culpability for the September 11, 2001 attacks.

Osama bin Laden's declaration of a holy war against the United States, and a Fatwa signed by bin Laden and others calling for the killing of American civilians in 1998, are seen by many as evidence of his motivation to commit such acts.

Bin Laden initially denied, but later admitted involvement in the incidents. On September 16, 2001, bin Laden denied any involvement with the attacks by reading a statement which was broadcast by Qatar's Al Jazeera satellite channel: "I stress that I have not carried out this act, which appears to have been carried out by individuals with their own motivation." This denial was broadcast on U.S. news networks and worldwide.

In November 2001, U.S. forces recovered a videotape from a destroyed house in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, in which Osama bin Laden is talking to Khaled al-Harbi. In the tape bin Laden admits foreknowledge of the attacks. The tape was broadcast on various news networks from December 13, 2001.

On December 27, 2001, a second bin Laden video was released. In the video he stated "Terrorism against America deserves to be praised because it was a response to injustice, aimed at forcing America to stop its support for Israel, which kills our people," but he stopped short of admitting responsibility for the attacks.

Shortly before the U.S. presidential election in 2004 in a taped statement, bin Laden publicly acknowledged al-Qaeda's involvement in the attacks on the U.S. and admitted his direct link to the attacks. He said that the attacks were carried out because, "We are a free people who do not accept injustice, and we want to regain the freedom of our nation."

In an videotape aired on Al Jazeera on October 30, 2004, bin Laden said he had personally directed the 19 hijackers. Another video obtained by Al Jazeera in September 2006 shows Osama bin Laden with Ramzi Binalshibh, as well as two hijackers, Hamza al-Ghamdi and Wail al-Shehri, as they make preparations for the attacks.
The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States was formed by the United States government and was commonly called the 9/11 Commission. It released its report on July 22, 2004, concluding that the attacks were conceived and implemented by members of al-Qaeda. The Commission stated that, "9/11 plotters eventually spent somewhere between $400,000 and $500,000 to plan and conduct their attack, but that the specific origin of the funds used to execute the attacks remained unknown. To date, only peripheral figures have been tried or convicted in connection with the attacks.

In "Substitution for Testimony of Khalid Sheik Mohammed" from the trial of Zacarias Moussaoui, five people are identified as having been completely aware of the operations details. They are: Osama bin Laden, Khalid Sheik Mohammed, Ramzi Binalshibh, Abu Turab Al-Urduni and Mohammed Atef.

On September 26th of 2005, the Spain's high court directed by judge Baltazar Garzon sentenced Abu Dahdah to 27 years of imprisonment for conspiracy on the 9/11 attacks and as part of the terrorist organization Al Qaeda. At the same time, another 17 Al Qaeda members were sentenced to penalties of between 6 and 12 years. On February 16th 2006, the Spanish Supreme Court reduced the Abu Dahdah penalty to 12 years because it considered that his participation in the conspiracy was not proven.

**Motive**

According to official U.S. government sources, the September 11th attacks were consistent with the mission statement of al-Qaeda. The overarching motivation for the present al-Qaeda campaign was set out in a 1998 fatwa issued by Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Abu-Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, Shaykh Mir Hamzah, and Fazlur Rahman (Amir of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh, Fazlur Rahman).

The fatwa lists three "crimes and sins" committed by the Americans:
The fatwa states that the United States:

- Plunders the resources of the Arabian Peninsula.
- Dictates policy to the rulers of those countries.
- Supports abusive regimes and monarchies in the Middle East, thereby oppressing their people.
- Has military bases and installations upon the Arabian Peninsula, which violates the Muslim holy land, in order to threaten neighboring Muslim countries.
- Intends thereby to create disunion between Muslim states, thus weakening them as a political force.
- Supports Israel, and wishes to divert international attention from (and tacitly maintain) the occupation of Palestine.

The Persian Gulf War, the ensuing sanctions against Iraq and the bombing of Iraq by the United States were cited in 1998 as further proof of these allegations. To the disapproval
of moderate and liberal Muslims, the fatwa uses Islamic texts to exhort violent action against American military and citizenry until the alleged grievances are reversed: Stating "ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries."

Aerial photo taken April 27, 2004 of the area of the crash of United Airlines Flight 93 in Shanksville, PA (USGS)

Statements of al-Qaeda recorded after 9/11 add weight to the U.S account of who was responsible for the attacks. In a 2004 video, apparently acknowledging responsibility for the attacks, bin Laden states that he was motivated by the 1982 Lebanon War, for which he held the U.S. partially responsible. In the video, bin Laden also claims that he wants to, "restore freedom to our nation," to "punish the aggressor in kind," and to inflict economic damage on America. He declared that a continuing objective of his holy war was to, "[bleed] America to the point of bankruptcy." Bin Laden said, "We swore that America wouldn't live in security until we live it truly in Palestine. This showed the reality of America, which puts Israel's interest above its own people's interest. America won't get out of this crisis until it gets out of the Arabian Peninsula, and until it stops its support of Israel."
The 9/11 Commission Report determined that the animosity towards the United States felt by Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the "principal architect" of the 9/11 attacks, stemmed "not from his experiences there as a student, but rather from his violent disagreement with U.S. foreign policy favoring Israel." The same motivation has been imputed to the two pilots who flew into the WTC: Mohamed Atta was described by Ralph Bodenstein—who traveled, worked and talked with him—as "most imbued actually about... U.S. protection of these Israeli politics in the region." Marwan al-Shehhi is said to have explained his humorless demeanor with the words: "How can you laugh when people are dying in Palestine?"

By contrast, the Bush administration says that Al-Qaeda was motivated by hatred of the freedom and democracy exemplified by the United States.

According to counter-terrorism expert Richard A. Clarke, internal political conflicts within the Muslim world are the primary causal factors for the attacks of 9/11. Specifically, bin Laden and other residents of Saudi Arabia and Egypt, among other countries of the Middle East, believe that the vast majority of governments in the Middle East are apostate governments. That is, these governments' collective religiosity does not meet bin Laden's standard of Muslim piety. The primary reason that bin Laden gives for this assertion is that none of these governments is a caliphate. Inspired by the Egyptian theologian and writer Sayyid Qutb, bin Laden believes that it is his duty as a Muslim to establish a caliphate in the Middle East.

Arising directly from these beliefs, bin Laden designed a strategy of attacking the United States in order to establish this caliphate. Terming the United States as the "Far Enemy," bin Laden designed the attacks of 9/11 to cause the U.S. to increase its military and cultural presence in the Middle East. Bin Laden believes that once Muslim citizens of the Middle East confront the evils of a non-Muslim government, one that is not a caliphate, a popular social and political movement will catalyze around the desire for very conservative and zealous Muslim governments in the Middle East.

According to Michale Doran, this goal is further demonstrated by bin Laden's use of the term "spectacular" as a noun when talking about the attacks of 9/11. For example, "This spectacular will greatly anger America." He hoped these attacks would provoke a visceral emotional response from the government and citizens of the United States. In so doing, he was attempting to ensure that Muslim citizens in the Middle East would react as violently as possible to an increase in U.S. involvement in their region.

**Other potential attacks**

Mohammed Afroze was convicted in India in 2005 after confessing to being involved in planning an attack on the Palace of Westminster in London and Tower Bridge. The attack was aborted at the last minute when the would-be hijackers, waiting to board the planes they were to hijack, saw the damage in the U.S., panicked, and fled. His lawyer claimed that the confession was obtained through torture.
In February 2006, President George W. Bush stated that al-Qaeda had initially planned to crash a plane into the tallest building in the western United States, the Library Tower in Los Angeles, on the same day. However, this attack was postponed by bin Laden, and subsequently foiled.

The U.S. government initially claimed that the White House and Air Force One were also targeted, although the source and nature of these threats was not disclosed. President Bush flew on Air Force One to Barksdale Air Force Base in Louisiana, and then flew to Offutt Air Force Base in Nebraska, before returning to Washington. After criticism that Bush did not return immediately to Washington, the White House claimed the next day that a terrorist threat, "using code words," had been phoned in against Air Force One. White House Spokesman Ari Fleischer quoted the caller as saying, "Air Force One is a target." The White House later backed away from this claim after no evidence of the phone call was found.

Reactions

Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks

International reaction

A solitary fire fighter stands amidst the rubble and smoke in New York City. Days after the Sept. 11 attack, fires still burned at the site of the World Trade Center.

The attacks had major global political ramifications. They were denounced by mainstream media and governments worldwide, with the headline of France's Le Monde newspaper summing up the international mood of sympathy: "We Are All Americans" (Nous sommes tous Américains). The German reaction was profound and remains so, five years later, in 2006. The most publicized exception was that some Palestinians celebrated jubilantly upon hearing about 9/11. Less publicized are the public demonstrations of enthusiasm for the attacks conducted by Chinese students in mainland China during the night after the attacks.
Approximately one month after the attacks, the United States led a broad coalition of international forces in the removal of the oppressive Taliban regime for harboring the al-Qaeda organization. The Pakistani authorities moved decisively to align themselves with the United States in a war against the Taliban and al-Qaeda. Pakistan provided the U.S. a number of military airports and bases for its attack on the Taliban regime, and arrested over 600 supposed al-Qaeda members, whom it handed over to the U.S.

Numerous countries, including the UK, India, Australia, France, Germany, Indonesia, China, Canada, Russia, Pakistan, Jordan, Mauritius, Uganda and Zimbabwe introduced "anti-terrorism" legislation and froze the bank accounts of businesses and individuals they suspected of having al-Qaeda ties.

Law enforcement and intelligence agencies in a number of countries, including Italy, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines arrested people they labeled terrorist suspects for the stated purpose of breaking up militant cells around the world. In the U.S., this aroused some controversy, as critics such as the Bill of Rights Defense Committee argued that traditional restrictions on federal surveillance (e.g. COINTELPRO's monitoring of public meetings) were "dismantled" by the USA PATRIOT Act; civil liberty organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union and Liberty argued that certain civil rights protections were also being circumvented.

The United States set up a detention center at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, to hold what they termed "illegal enemy combatants". The legitimacy of these detentions has been questioned by, among others, member states of the European Union, the Organization of American States, and Amnesty International.

Further information: Guantanamo Bay detention camp

In the United Kingdom outrage swelled in the media over a Civil Servant's attempt to capitalize on the tragedy. Jo Moore, then serving Minister Stephen Byers, sent an email to staff suggesting that it would be a good time to publish anything that may prove unpopular in the hope that it would be overshadowed by events in the U.S. This political storm became known as the Bury Bad News Scandal.

Public response
The 9/11 attacks had immediate and overwhelming effects upon the United States population. Gratitude toward uniformed public-safety workers (dubbed "first responders"), and especially toward firefighters, was widely expressed in light of both the drama of the risks taken on the scene and the high death toll among the workers. Many police officers and rescue workers elsewhere in the country took leaves of absence to travel to New York City to assist in the grim process of recovering bodies from the twisted remnants of the Twin Towers. Blood donations also saw a surge in the weeks after 9/11.

There were some incidents of harassment and hate crimes against Middle Easterners and other, "Middle Eastern-looking" people, particularly Sikhs, due to the fact that Sikh
males usually wear turbans, which are stereotypically associated with Muslims in the United States. At least nine people were murdered within the United States as a result. Balbir Singh Sodhi, one of the first victims of this phenomenon, was fatally shot on September 15. He, like others, was a Sikh who was mistaken for a Muslim.

Following the September 11, 2001 attacks, George W. Bush's job approval rating soared to 86%. On September 20, 2001, the president spoke before the nation and a joint session of the United States Congress, regarding the events of that day, the intervening nine days of rescue and recovery efforts, and his intent in response to those events. In addition, the highly visible role played by New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani won him high praise nationally and in New York.

Conspiracy theories

Various conspiracy theories have emerged that question the mainstream account of the attacks. Conspiracy theorists have claimed that the collapse of the World Trade Center (especially 7 WTC) was caused by explosives. Some also contend that a commercial airliner did not crash into the Pentagon, and that United Airlines Flight 93 was shot down. Another one of these theories is that individuals in the government of the United States knew of the impending attacks or actually planned the attack. Still other conspiracy theories about Jewish or Israeli involvement are "a core part of the belief system of anti-Semites and millions of others around the world," according to the Anti-Defamation League.

U.S. Government response

Rescue, recovery, and compensation

Within hours of the attack, a massive search and rescue (SAR) operation was launched, which included over 350 search and rescue dogs. Initially, only a handful of wounded
people were found at the site, and in the weeks that followed it became evident that there were no survivors to be found.

Rescue and recovery efforts took months to complete. It took several weeks to simply put out the fires burning in the rubble of the buildings, and the clean-up was not completed until May, 2002. Temporary wooden "viewing platforms" were set up for tourists to view construction crews clearing out the gaping holes where the towers once stood. All of these platforms were closed on May 30, 2002.

Many relief funds were immediately set up to assist victims of the attacks, with the task of providing financial assistance to the survivors and the families of victims. At the deadline for victim's compensation, September 11, 2003, 2,833 applications were received from the families of those killed.

**The War on Terrorism**

In the aftermath of the attacks, many U.S. citizens held the view that the attacks had "changed the world forever." The Bush administration declared a war on terrorism, with the stated goals of bringing Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda to justice and preventing the emergence of other terrorist networks. These goals would be accomplished by means including economic and military sanctions against states perceived as harboring terrorists and increasing global surveillance and intelligence sharing. The second-biggest operation outside of the United States was the overthrow of the oppressive Taliban rule from Afghanistan, by a U.S.-led coalition. The U.S. was not the only nation to increase its military readiness, with other notable examples being the Philippines and Indonesia, countries that have their own internal conflicts with Islamic extremist terrorism.

Because the attacks on the United States were judged to be within the parameters of its charter, NATO declared that Article 5 of the NATO agreement was satisfied on September 12, 2001, making the US war on terror the first time since its inception that NATO would actually participate in a "hot" war.

**Domestic response**

![The American flag hangs in Grand Central Terminal after September 11, 2001](image-url)

Within the United States, President Bush created the Department of Homeland Security, representing the largest restructuring of the U.S. government in contemporary history. Congress passed the USA PATRIOT Act, stating that it would help detect and prosecute
terrorism and other crimes. Civil liberties groups have criticized the PATRIOT Act, saying that it allows law enforcement to invade the privacy of citizens and eliminates judicial oversight of law-enforcement and domestic intelligence gathering. The Bush Administration also invoked 9/11 as the reason to initiate a secret National Security Agency operation, "to eavesdrop on telephone and e-mail communications between the United States and people overseas without a warrant."

Following the attacks, 80,000 Arab and Muslim immigrants were fingerprinted and registered under the Alien Registration Act of 1940. 8,000 Arab and Muslim men were interviewed, and 5,000 foreign nationals were detained under Joint Congressional Resolution 107-40 authorizing the use of military force "to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States."

**Investigations**

**Collapse of the World Trade Center**

An illustration of the World Trade Center 9-11 attacks with a vertical view of the impact locations. Many architects and structural engineers have analyzed the collapse of the Twin Towers.

September 13, 2001: A New York City firefighter looks up at what remains of the South Tower.

**9/11 Report**

*Collapse of the World Trade Center*

Three buildings in the World Trade Center Complex collapsed due to structural failure on the day of the attack. The south tower (2 WTC) fell at approximately 9:59 a.m., after
burning for 58 minutes in a fire caused by the impact of United Airlines Flight 175 at 9:03 a.m. The north tower (1 WTC) fell at 10:28 a.m., after burning approximately 103 minutes in a fire caused by the impact of American Airlines Flight 11 at 8:45 a.m. A third building, 7 World Trade Center (7 WTC) collapsed at 5:20 p.m., after being heavily damaged by debris from the Twin Towers when they fell and subsequent fires. Numerous adjacent buildings to the complex also had substantial damage and fires and had to be demolished. The Deutsche Bank Building is the only remaining large structure that suffered damage and fires at ground zero that has yet to be fully demolished, though this is expected to be completed by mid 2007.

A federal technical building and fire safety investigation of the collapses of the Twin Towers and 7 WTC has been conducted by the United States Department of Commerce's National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST). The goals of this investigation, completed on April 6, 2005, were to investigate the building construction, the materials used, and the technical conditions that contributed to the outcome of the WTC disaster. The investigation was to serve as the basis for:

- Improvements in the way in which buildings are designed, constructed, maintained, and used
- Improved tools and guidance for industry and safety officials
- Revisions to building and fire codes, standards, and practices
- Improved public safety

The report concludes that the fireproofing on the Twin Towers' steel infrastructures was blown off by the initial impact of the planes and that, if this had not occurred, the towers would likely have remained standing. The fires weakened the trusses supporting the floors, making the floors sag. The sagging floors pulled on the exterior steel columns to the point where exterior columns bowed inward. With the damage to the core columns, the buckling exterior columns could no longer support the buildings, causing them to collapse. In addition, the report asserts that the towers' stairwells were not adequately reinforced to provide emergency escape for people above the impact zones. NIST stated that the final report on the collapse of 7 WTC will appear in a separate report.

9/11 Commission Report
The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (9/11 Commission), chaired by former New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean, was formed in late 2002 to prepare a full and complete account of the circumstances surrounding the attacks, including preparedness for, and the immediate response to, the attacks. On July 22, 2004, the report was released. The commission has been subject to criticism.

**Civilian aircraft grounding**

For the first time in history, all nonemergency civilian aircraft in the United States and several other countries including Canada were immediately grounded, stranding tens of thousands of passengers across the world.

**Invocation of the continuity of government**

Contingency plans for the continuity of government and the evacuation of leaders were implemented almost immediately after the attacks. Congress, however, was not told that the US was under a continuity of government status until February 2002.

**Long-term effects**

**Economic aftermath**

*World economic effects arising from the September 11, 2001 attacks*

![View of the WTC and the Statue of Liberty](image)

The attacks had a significant economic impact on the United States and world markets. The Federal Reserve temporarily had reduced contact with banks because of outages of switching equipment in the lower NY financial district. Contact and control over the money supply, including immediate liquidity for banks, was restored within hours. The New York Stock Exchange (NYSE), the American Stock Exchange and NASDAQ did not open on September 11 and remained closed until September 17. NYSE facilities and remote data processing sites were not damaged by the attack, but member firms, customers and markets were unable to communicate due to major damage to the telephone exchange facility near the World Trade Center. When the stock markets reopened on September 17, 2001, after the longest closure since the Great Depression in
1929, the Dow Jones Industrial Average (“DJIA”) stock market index fell 684 points, or 7.1%, to 8920, its biggest-ever one-day point decline. By the end of the week, the DJIA had fallen 1369.7 points (14.3%), its largest one-week point drop in history. U.S. stocks lost $1.2 trillion in value for the week. As of 2005 Wall and Broad Streets near the New York Stock Exchange remained barricaded and guarded to prevent a physical attack upon the building.

![September 11 from space: Manhattan spreads a large smoke plume](image)

The economy of Lower Manhattan, which by itself is the third-largest business district in the United States (after Midtown Manhattan and the Chicago Loop) was devastated in the immediate aftermath. Thirty percent (28.7 million sq ft, 2.7 million m²) of Lower Manhattan office space was either damaged or destroyed. The 41-story Deutsche Bank Building, neighboring the World Trade Center, was subsequently closed because extensive damage made it unfit for habitation and beyond repair; it was scheduled for demolition. Power, telephone, and gas were cut off in much of Lower Manhattan. People were not permitted to enter the SoHo and Lower Manhattan area without extensive inspection. Much of what was destroyed was valuable Class-A space. The pre-2001 trend of moving jobs out of Lower Manhattan to Midtown and New Jersey was accelerated. Many questioned whether these lost jobs would ever be restored, and whether the damaged tax base could ever recover. The rebuilding has been inhibited by a lack of agreement on priorities. For example, Mayor Bloomberg had made New York's bid for the 2012 Summer Olympics the core of his capital development plan from 2002 until mid-2005, and Governor Pataki largely delegated his role to the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation which has been widely criticized for doing little with the
enormous funding directed to the rebuilding efforts. On the sites of the totally destroyed buildings, one, 7 World Trade Center, has a new office tower which was completed in 2006. The Freedom Tower is currently under construction at the site and at 1,776 ft (541 m) upon completion in 2010, will become the tallest building in North America and one of the tallest in the world. Three more towers are expected to be built between 2007 and 2012 on the site, and will be located one block east of where the original towers stood. North American air space was closed for several days after the attacks and air travel decreased significantly upon its reopening. The attacks led to nearly a 20% cutback in air travel capacity, and severely exacerbated financial problems in the struggling U.S. airline industry.
Smoke plume coming from the WTC site, seen on Doppler radar

Smoke plume coming from the Pentagon site, seen on Doppler radar

**Potential health effects**

*Health effects of September 11, 2001 attacks*

The thousands of tons of toxic debris resulting from the collapse of the Twin Towers consisted of more than 2,500 contaminants, more specifically: 50% nonfibrous material and construction debris; 40% glass and other fibers; 9.2% cellulose; and 0.8% asbestos, lead, and mercury. There were also unprecedented levels of dioxin and PAHs from the fires which burned for three months. Some of the dispersed substances (crystalline silica, lead, cadmium, polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons) are carcinogenic; other substances can trigger kidney, heart, liver and nervous system deterioration.

This has led to debilitating illnesses among rescue and recovery workers, and the death of NYPD officer James Zadroga. Health effects also extended to some residents, students, and office workers of Lower Manhattan and nearby Chinatown.[100]

There is scientific speculation that exposure to various toxic products and the pollutants in the air surrounding the Towers after the WTC collapse may have negative effects on fetal development. Due to this potential hazard, a notable children's environmental health center is currently analyzing the children whose mothers were pregnant during the WTC collapse, and were living or working near the World Trade Center towers. The staff of this study assesses the children using psychological testing every year and interviews the mothers every six months. The purpose of the study is to determine whether there is significant difference in development and health progression of children whose mothers were exposed, versus those who were not exposed after the WTC collapse.

Government officials have been faulted for urging the public to return to lower Manhattan in the weeks shortly following the attacks. President Bush has been faulted for interfering with the EPA interpretations and pronouncements regarding air quality.
Mayor Giuliani has been faulted for urging financial industry personnel to return to the greater Wall Street area.

See article on EPA head Christine Todd Whitman for her position on the air quality issue.

On October 17, 2006 federal judge Alvin K. Hellerstein rejected New York city's refusal to pay for health costs for rescue workers.

Memorials

Manhattan from Jersey City on the memorial of the attacks in 2004

World Trade Center site as of December 2005
Memorials to the victims and heroes of the attacks of September 11 have been planned. An eternal flame was lit by the Mayor on the first anniversary of the disaster. An outdoor public memorial at the Pentagon is scheduled for completion in Fall 2006. Within the Pentagon itself, the *America's Heroes Memorial* was added in September, 2002 when the building repairs were completed. However, public access to this memorial is restricted to group tours.

The proposed design for Flight 93 National Memorial is called, "Crescent of Embrace," which has created some controversy due to its large red crescent that also points toward Mecca. Recently, due to the amount of public pressure, it has been announced that the memorial will be redesigned so as to avoid any confusion with the sign of Islam.

Construction of the World Trade Center Memorial began in March 2006. The winning design of the World Trade Center Site Memorial Competition was *Reflecting Absence* created by Michael Arad. It is expected to open in 2009.

Many permanent memorials are being constructed around the world and a list is being updated as new ones are completed. In addition to physical monuments, a number of September 11th family members and friends have set up memorial funds, scholarships, and charities in honor of lost loved ones.
The **Russian apartment bombings** were a series of bombings in Russia that killed nearly 300 people and led the country into the Second Chechen War. They happened over a span of two months in 1999.

### The bombings

The first bombing, not of an apartment, occurred in Moscow, the Russian capital, on August 31, 1999. A bomb exploded in a mall, killing one person and wounded 40 others. A note was left saying the bombing was a result of increasing Russian consumerism.

On September 4, 1999, a car bomb detonated outside an apartment building housing Russian soldiers in the city of Buinaksk, in the province of Dagestan. 64 people were killed and dozens of others were wounded. Russia blamed Chechen separatists, who would days later invade the province from neighboring Chechnya.

On September 8, 1999, 300 kg to 400 kg of explosives detonated on the ground floor of an apartment building in southeast Moscow. The nine-story building was destroyed, killing 94 people inside and wounded 150 others. 108 apartments were destroyed. A caller to a Russian news agency said the blast was a response to recent Russian bombing of Chechen and Dagestan villages in response to the invasion of Dagestan.

September 13, 1999, was supposed to be a day of mourning for the victims of the previous bomb attacks. But on that day, a large bomb exploded at an apartment on Kashirskoye Highway in southern Moscow. The eight-storey building was flattened, littering the street with debris and throwing some concrete hundreds of yards away. In all, 118 people died and 200 were wounded.

It was at this time when Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin declared a war against the "illegal military units" in Chechnya. Though there was not much evidence pointing to Chechens, preparations were made by the Russian military forces to re-enter the province and to strip the Chechen government of its powers.

The motive for the forceful solution was quenched when a truck bomb exploded September 16, 1999, outside a nine-storey apartment complex in the southern Russian city of Volgodonsk, killing 17 people.

In response, Russia launched air strikes on Chechen rebel positions, oil refineries, and other buildings inside that province. By the end of September it was clear another war over Chechnya was underway, and by October Russian troops had entered the province. The attacks would not be the last in Russia or Chechnya.

### Ryazan Incident
On the evening of September 22, 1999, an alert resident of an apartment building in the town of Ryazan noticed strangers moving heavy sugar sacks into the basement from a car. Militia (the local police) were called to the site and all residents were evacuated. The first test of the powder from the sacks showed the presence of an explosive. All roads from the town were brought under heavy surveillance but no leads were found. A telephone service employee tapped into long-distance phone conversations managed to detect a conversation in which an out-of-town person suggested to take care and to watch for patrols. That person's number was found to belong to an FSB office in Moscow.

Federalnaya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti declared that the incident was a training exercise forty-eight hours later. The original chemical test was declared inaccurate due to contamination of the analysis apparatus from a previous test. The public inquiry committee could not come to a complete conclusion on this and other incidents due to incoherent answers from federal bodies. The General Prosecutor's office has closed the criminal investigation of the Ryazan incident in April 2000.

**Official investigation**

According to the official investigation, the apartment bombings were planned and organized by Arab terrorists fighting in Chechnya on the side of Chechen insurgents, Amir Khattab and Abu Umar (both of them were later killed in Chechnya). The planning was carried out in Khattab's terrorist camps in Chechnya, "Caucasus" in Shatoy and "Taliban" in Avtury.

This particular operation was led by an ethnic Karachay Achemez Gochiyayev. The explosives were prepared in Urus-Martan, Chechnya at the fertilizer factory by mixing hexogen, TNT, aluminium powder and nitre with sugar. From there they have been sent to a food storage facility in Kislovodsk which was managed by an uncle of one of the terrorists, Yusuf Krymshakhalov. Another conspirator, Ruslan Magayayev, has leased a KamAZ truck, and the sacks were stored in it for two months. After everything has been planned, terrorists got organized into several groups which transported explosives to different cities. Most of the people participating weren't ethnic Chechens.

The following people were participants by either delivering explosives or storing them or harboring other suspects:

**Moscow bombings**
- Achemez Gochiyayev (has not been arrested, wanted page on the FSB site)
- Denis Saitakov (killed in Chechnya)
- Khakim Abayev (killed by FSB special forces in May 2004 in Ingushetia)
- Ravil Akhmyarov (killed in Chechnya)
- Yusuf Krymshakhalov (arrested in Georgia, extradited to Russia and sentenced to life imprisonment in January 2004)

**Volgodonsk bombing**
- Timur Batchayev (killed in Georgia in the clash with cops during which Krymshakhalov was arrested)
Zaur Batchayev (killed in Chechnya)
Adam Dekkushev (arrested in Georgia, threw a grenade at the cops during the arrest, extradited to Russia and sentenced to life imprisonment in January 2004)
Buinansk bombing
Isa Zainutdinov (sentenced to life imprisonment in March 2001)
Alisultan Salikhov (sentenced to life imprisonment in March 2001)
Magomed Salikhov (arrested in Azerbaijan in November 2004, extradited to Russia, found not guilty on the charge of terrorism by the jury on January 24, 2006; found guilty on other related charges such as participating in an illegal armed force and illegal crossing of the national border)
Ziyavutdin Ziyavutdinov (arrested in Kazakhstan, extradited to Russia, sentenced to 24 years in April 2002)
Abdulkadyr Abdulkadyrov (sentenced to 9 years in March 2001)
Magomed Magomedov (sentenced to 9 years in March 2001)
Zainutdin Zainutdinov (sentenced to 3 years in March 2001 and immediately released under amnesty)
Makhach Abdulsamedov (sentenced to 3 years in March 2001 and immediately released under amnesty).

Somebody who claimed to be Gochiyayev has sent a letter to several Russian newspapers in which he said that he was just an unknowing participant in a plot organized by an undercover FSB agent, Ramazan Dyshekov. It is completely unclear how credible those claims are.

**Attempts of independent investigation**

The Russian Duma rejected two motions for parliamentary investigation of the Ryazan incident. An independent public commission to investigate the bombings chaired by Duma deputy Sergei Kovalev was rendered ineffective because of government refusal to respond to its inquiries. Two key members of the Kovalev Commission, Sergei Yushenkov and Yuri Schekochikhin, both Duma members, have since died in apparent assassinations in April 2003 and July 2003 respectively. The Commission's lawyer Mikhail Trepashkin has been arrested in October 2003 to become one of the better-known political prisoners in Russia. Another member of the commission, Otto Lacis, was brutally beaten in November 2003.

**FSB involvement**

The Ryazan incident on September 22, 1999 prompted the initial speculation in the Western press that the Moscow bombings were organized by the FSB, the Russian domestic intelligence service. In Russia, the nickname "Mr. Hexogen" has come to be applied to President Vladimir Putin, the former head of the FSB.

The FSB was caught by local police and citizens in the city of Ryazan planting a bomb with a detonator in the basement of an apartment building at the address of 14/16
Novosyelov on the night of September 22, 1999. Explosives experts arriving at the scene found that the bomb tested positive for hexogen (i.e., RDX). On September 24, 1999, Nikolai Patrushev, the head of the FSB, said that the bomb in the basement of the apartment had been a dummy and that the FSB had been conducting a test. The FSB claimed that the gas analyzer that detected hexogen had malfunctioned, and that the substance in the dummy bomb was sugar.

Yet, Yuri Tkachenko, the explosives expert who defused the bomb insisted that it was real. Tkachenko said that the explosives, including a timer, power source, and detonator were genuine military equipment and obviously prepared by a professional. He also said that the gas analyzer that tested the vapors coming from the sacks unmistakably indicated the presence of hexogen. Tkachenko said that it was out of the question that the analyzer could have malfunctioned, as the gas analyzer was of world class quality, costing $20,000 and was maintained by a specialist who worked according to a strict schedule, checking the analyzer after each use and making frequent prophylactic checks. Tkachenko pointed out that meticulous care in the handling of the gas analyzer was a necessity because the lives of the bomb squad's experts depended on the reliability of their equipment. The police officers who answered the original call and discovered the bomb also insisted that the incident was not an exercise and that it was obvious from its appearance that the substance in the bomb was not sugar.

Russian oligarch Boris Berezovsky supported a 2002 documentary film "FSB blows up Russia" ("An assault on Russia"?), financing 25% of the costs. The film accused Russian special services of organising the explosions in Volgodonsk and Moscow. According to research carried out by two French journalists, Jean-Charles Deniau and Charles Gazelle, the explosions were carried out by FSB to provide justification for the continuance of the Chechen War, which in turn helped Putin beat the communists in the presidential election of 2000. There is some doubt concerning Berezovsky's impartiality in this case, as he allegedly had extensive business dealings with Chechen rebels. However, nearly 40% of the Russians gave credence to Berezovsky's accusations at the time.

In April 2002 on a visit to Washington, Duma member Sergei Yushenkov pointed to a mysterious remark by the Duma speaker Gennady Seleznev, from which it appeared that Seleznev had known about one of the explosions three days before the fact.

An independent documentary 'Nedoverie" (Disbelief , (Google Video) about the bombing controversy by Russian director Andrei Nekrasov was premiered at the 2004 Sundance Film Festival. The film chronicles the story of Tatyana and Alyona Morozova, the two Russian-American sisters, who had lost their mother in the attack, and decided to find out who did it.

A May 20, 2004 LA Times article describes the conviction on an unrelated state secret charge of Mikhail Trepashkin, appointed by a public committee, set up by four members of the Russian parliament, to investigate the bombings. Trepashkin was arrested shortly before he was to make his findings public. The article states that FSB agent Vladimir Romanovich was identified by several witnesses as the man who rented the basement of
one of the bombed buildings; Romanovich subsequently died in a car crash in Cyprus. Trepashkin's wife declared that his conviction was punishment for publicizing uncomfortable truths about the bombing.

Among Western scholars, the theory of FSB involvement in the bombings has been championed by David Satter, the former Financial Times correspondent in Moscow, in his book *Darkness at Dawn: the Rise of the Russian Criminal State*, published by the Yale University Press.
The Omagh bombing was a car bomb attack carried out by the Real IRA on August 15, 1998, in Omagh, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland. The Real IRA are a small splinter group of former Provisional Irish Republican Army members opposed to the peace process marked by the Good Friday Agreement. Twenty-nine people were killed in the attack, including one woman who was pregnant with twins. Roughly 220 people were injured.

The bomb is notable for having claimed the most lives in a single incident since the beginning of the Troubles. The victims included people of both Catholic and Protestant denominations, and also included Spanish tourists and others on a day trip from County Donegal in the Republic of Ireland.

**Chronology**

- The Vauxhall Cavalier carrying the bomb.

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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack Type</td>
<td>Car bomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatalities</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injuries</td>
<td>approximately 220</td>
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A bomb, was parked outside a clothes shop on Omagh's Market Street at 2.00pm. It had been stolen from Carrickmacross, County Monaghan the week before, and had its Republic of Ireland number plates replaced with Northern Ireland ones. The driver and another occupant left the car and walked down Campsie Road.

- At 2.30pm the first warning was received by an employee of UTV in Belfast. After passing the information to the RUC, the employee received another warning three minutes later. At the same time another warning was given to the Coleraine office of the Samaritans.
- At 3:10pm the bomb detonated.

**Controversy**

On the day of the bombing, three warnings were recorded and reported:

Received by Ulster Television at 14:30

"There's a bomb, courthouse, Omagh, main street, 500 pounds, explosion 30 minutes."

Received by the Coleraine office of the 'Samaritans' charity at 14:32
"Am I through to Omagh? This is a bomb warning. It's going to go off in 30 minutes." (followed possibly by further pieces of information not recorded, including that the location of the bomb was 200 yards from the courthouse).

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"Bomb, Omagh town, 15 minutes."

There has been considerable debate about the subject of these warnings, the tapes of some warnings have not been released to the public, and some information about the location of the bomb may have been recorded incorrectly or ignored. Several warnings mentioned that the bomb was 200 yards away from the courthouse, the actual bombing was between 300-400 yards from the courthouse.

The Police Ombudsman, Nuala O'Loan, strongly criticised the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) over their handling of the investigation. She stated that RUC officers had ignored previous warnings about a bomb and had failed to act on crucial intelligence. She went on to say that officers had been uncooperative and defensive during her inquiry into the investigation. RUC officers had been seen moving people towards the bomb, which they claimed was because the warnings had been for the courthouse. However, there were several warnings that the bombing would be 200 yards away from the courthouse; this was ignored by the RUC, who never properly looked at the more reliable later warnings. On 24 February 2006, it was alleged that an agent paid by MI5 and the FBI, knew of the plan to bomb Omagh, but that MI5 never passed this information to police.

However Chief Constable Ronnie Flanagan stated that the multiple warnings were given to cause confusion and ultimately a greater loss of life. As with the majority of bombings in Northern Ireland, no warning was given directly to the RUC.

The BBC's Panorama programme, Who Bombed Omagh?, shown in 2000, gave the names of the prime suspects as Séamus McKenna, Michael McKevitt, Liam Campbell, Colm Murphy, and Seamus Daly. It is believed that the bombing of BBC Television Centre in London was a revenge attack for the broadcast. Builder and publican Murphy, from County Louth, was charged and convicted in 2001 by the Republic's Special Criminal Court for "conspiracy to cause an explosion likely to endanger life or cause injury". He was sentenced to fourteen years. In January 2005, Murphy's conviction was quashed and a retrial ordered by the Court of Criminal Appeal, on the grounds that two gardaí had falsified interview notes, and that Murphy's previous convictions were improperly taken into account by the trial judges.

After the attack the Real IRA claimed "minimal responsibility" for bombing the courthouse at Omagh, and later released a statement saying that after a long investigation they believed 2 MI5 agents (that were believed to be genuine Republicans at the time) to be largely responsible for the planning and implementation of the Omagh bombing.
Many of the others were later sued in a civil action by the relatives of people killed in the bombing, including the families of James Barker, 12, Samantha McFarland, 17, Lorraine Wilson, 15, and 20-month-old Breda Devine.

**Armagh man charged with 1998 bombing murders**

On September 6, 2006 Sean Hoey, an electrician from Jonesborough, County Armagh went on trial accused of 29 counts of murder, as well as terrorism and explosives charges.

**Memorials**

The bombing inspired the song "Paper Sun", by rock group Def Leppard, as noted in the commentary of their album *Rock of Ages: The Definitive Collection*.

Another song inspired by the bombings was "Peace on Earth", by rock group U2, and includes the line "They're reading names out over the radio. All the folks the rest of us won't get to know. Sean and Julia, Gareth, Ann, and Breda." The 5 names mentioned are five of the victims from this attack. Another Line, "She never got to say goodbye, To see the colour in his eyes, now he's in the dirt", was about how James Barker, a victim, was remembered by his mother Donna Maria Barker in an article in the *Irish Times* after the bombing in Omagh.

Omagh maintains a memorial garden in the town centre.
The **Centennial Olympic Park bombing** was a terrorist bombing on July 27, 1996 in Atlanta, Georgia during the 1996 Summer Olympics, the first of four committed by right-wing extremist Eric Robert Rudolph. Two people died, and 111 were injured.

**Bombing**

Centennial Olympic Park was designed as the "town square" of the Olympics, and thousands of spectators had gathered for a late concert by the band Jack Mack and the Heart Attack. Sometime after midnight, Rudolph planted a green military ALICE pack (knapsack) containing three pipe bombs surrounded by nails underneath a bench near the base of a concert sound tower. He then left the area. The pack had a directed charge and could have done more damage but it was tipped over at some point.

Security guard Richard Jewell discovered the bag and alerted Georgia Bureau of Investigation officers; 9 minutes later, Rudolph called 911 to deliver a warning. Jewell and other security guards began clearing the immediate area so that a bomb squad could investigate the suspicious package. At 1:20am, the bomb exploded.
A Georgia woman, Alice Hawthorne, was killed by shrapnel that struck her in the head. (Less than a week later, thieves who had heard of her death burglarized her home.) The blast wounded 111 others and indirectly led to the death of Turkish cameraman, Melih Uzunyol, from a heart attack he suffered while running to cover the blast.

**Reaction**

President Bill Clinton denounced the explosion as an "evil act of terror" and vowed to do everything possible to track down and punish those responsible. At the White House, Clinton said, "We will spare no effort to find out who was responsible for this murderous act. We will track them down. We will bring them to justice."

Despite the tragedy, officials and athletes agreed that the "Olympic spirit" should prevail and that the games should continue as planned. The crash of TWA Flight 800 off Long Island, which had occurred just 10 days earlier on July 17, 1996, was likewise not considered a reason to postpone the games.

**Richard Jewell falsely implicated**

*Richard Jewell*

Though Richard Jewell was hailed as a hero for his role in discovering the bomb and moving spectators to safety, four days after the bombing, news organizations reported that Jewell was considered a potential suspect in the bombing. Rudolph, at the time, was unknown to authorities, and a lone bomber profile made sense to FBI investigators. Though he was never arrested or named as more than a "person of interest", Jewell's home, where he lived with his mother, was searched and his background exhaustively investigated, all amid a media storm that had cameras following him to the grocery store.

Jewell was cleared of suspicion by the United States Department of Justice in October of 1996, and Attorney General Janet Reno publicly apologized later, but he claimed that the negative media attention had ruined his reputation. He eventually settled libel lawsuits against a former employer, Piedmont College in Northern Georgia, as well as CNN, ABC, and NBC. A lawsuit is still pending against the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, which was the first news organization to report that he had been labeled a suspect.

Jewell currently works as a police officer in Pendergrass, Georgia.

**Eric Robert Rudolph**
After Jewell was cleared, the FBI admitted it had no other suspects, and the investigation made little progress until early 1997, when two more bombings took place at an abortion clinic and a lesbian nightclub, both in the Atlanta area. Similarities in the bomb design forced investigators to concede that a terrorist was on the loose. Letters sent to newspapers claiming responsibility in the name of the Army of God focused attention on the problem of right-wing extremism. One more bombing of an abortion clinic, this time in Birmingham, Alabama, which killed a policeman working as a security guard and seriously injured nurse Emily Lyons, gave the FBI crucial clues including a partial license plate.

The plate and other clues led the FBI to identify Eric Robert Rudolph as a suspect. Rudolph eluded capture and became a fugitive; officials believed he had disappeared into the rugged southern Appalachian Mountains, familiar from his youth. On May 5, 1998, the FBI named him as one of its ten most wanted fugitives and offered a $1,000,000 reward for information leading directly to his arrest. On October 14, 1998, the Department of Justice formally named Rudolph as its suspect in all four bombings.

By 1999, on the third anniversary of the bombing, Rudolph had not been seen for over a year, and authorities sometimes voiced a belief or hope that Rudolph had succumbed to the elements. After more than five years on the run, Rudolph was arrested on May 31, 2003, in Murphy, North Carolina. On April 8, 2005, the government announced Rudolph would plead guilty to all four bombings, including the Centennial Olympic Park attack, in a deal to avoid the death penalty.

Rudolph's justification for the bombings according to his April 13, 2005 statement, was political:

*In the summer of 1996, the world converged upon Atlanta for the Olympic Games. Under the protection and auspices of the regime in Washington millions of people came to celebrate the ideals of global socialism. Multinational corporations spent billions of dollars, and Washington organized an army of security to protect these best of all games. Even though the conception and purpose of the so-called Olympic movement is to promote the values of global socialism, as perfectly expressed in the song Imagine by John Lennon, which was the theme of the 1996*
Games even though the purpose of the Olympics is to promote these despicable ideals, the purpose of the attack on July 27 was to confound, anger and embarrass the Washington government in the eyes of the world for its abominable sanctioning of abortion on demand.

The plan was to force the cancellation of the Games, or at least create a state of insecurity to empty the streets around the venues and thereby eat into the vast amounts of money invested.

On August 22, 2005, Rudolph, who had previously received a life sentence for the Alabama bombing, was sentenced to three concurrent terms of life imprisonment without parole for the Georgia incidents. Rudolph read a statement at his sentencing in which he apologized to the victims and families only of the Centennial Park bombing, reiterating that he was angry at the government and hoped the Olympics would be cancelled. At his sentencing, fourteen other victims or relatives gave statements, including the widower of Alice Hawthorne.

Rudolph is currently incarcerated in the supermax federal prison in Florence, Colorado, ADX Florence, which also houses Ted Kaczynski (the Unabomber), Terry Nichols (of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing), Ramzi Yousef (of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing), and Zacarias Moussaoui (professed al-Qaeda member convicted of conspiracy to commit murder for the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon).

**Omagh bombing**

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The red Vauxhall Cavalier carrying the bomb. This photo was taken by a tourist shortly before the explosion, the camera being found in the rubble afterwards.
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Omagh maintains a memorial garden in the town centre.
The **Oklahoma City bombing** was a terrorist attack on April 19, 1995, in which the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, a U.S. government office complex in downtown Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, was destroyed, killing 168 people. It is the deadliest domestic terrorist attack in the history of the United States and was the deadliest act of terrorism...
within U.S. borders until September 11, 2001. Two men later convicted of the bombing, Timothy McVeigh and his friend Terry Nichols, had sympathies with the anti-government militia movement. McVeigh later claimed that his aim was to avenge the Waco Siege. Not everyone accepts the mainstream account; a variety of conspiracy theories exist.

**The bombing**

At 9:02 a.m. CST on Wednesday, April 19, 1995, in the street in front (the north side) of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, a rented Ryder truck containing about 5,000 pounds (2,300 kg) of explosive material exploded. The truck bomb was composed of ammonium nitrate, an agricultural fertilizer, and nitromethane, a highly volatile motor-racing fuel—a mixture also known as Kinepak and similar to ANFO. The effects of the blast could even be felt in Bridge Creek, which is about 30 miles away from the Murrah Building. The official name of the FBI investigation into the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building is OKBOMB.

Timothy McVeigh's court-appointed attorney, Steven Jones, summarized the initial rush to blame the Oklahoma City Bombing on Muslim terrorists while arguing for a motion to review CIA investigations following the blast:

> The Chicago Tribune reported that the CIA spokesman had acknowledged on the record that the agency is involved in the search. There is a description that the car bombs that were used at the Murrah building are favored by Islamic fundamentalists. It discusses in Exhibit B that Oklahoma City has an Islamic Center and the state is home to about 5,000 Muslims. It goes on to say that a television documentary linked Oklahoma City to an Islamic fundamentalist network operating out of New Jersey, Chicago and Texas. Mr. Steven Emerson, a terrorism expert and executive producer of “Jihad in America” said -- and I don't think there is any question Mr. Emerson is an expert on terrorism -- that Oklahoma City has been the venue for several Islamic conventions, including one in 1992 where 6,000 people cheered calls for killing of Jews and infidels. This meeting, incidentally, took place four blocks from the Murrah building.

> The Daily Telegraph, a London newspaper of record, says the Federal Bureau of Investigation has called on the Central Intelligence Agency to search its international sources for possible leads among foreign terrorist groups. The agencies' counter-terrorism center has issued a directive to all CIA stations to help in this case. Mr. Emerson, who has been investigating extremists committed to Jihad, holy war, since the Trade Center bombing says elaborate support and recruiting center networks have been set up with branches in at least 38 states.
Within 90 minutes of the explosion Timothy McVeigh, a Gulf War veteran, was arrested, travelling north out of Oklahoma City on Interstate 35 near Perry in Noble County, after being pulled over for driving without a license plate by an Oklahoma State Trooper. At McVeigh's trial, the United States Government asserted that the motivation for the attack was to avenge the Waco Siege and Ruby Ridge. McVeigh called the casualties in the bombing "collateral damage" and compared the bombing to actions he had taken during the Gulf War. The attack was staged on the second anniversary of the Waco incident. McVeigh is thought to have modeled the bombing on a similar event described in The Turner Diaries, a white supremacist novel that was found with McVeigh when he was arrested. Some have suggested that the date was purposely chosen in these instances as it coincides with the beginning of the American Revolutionary War and the final attack on the Branch Davidians at Waco.

The effect of the bombing on the city was immense. Beyond the death toll - 168 confirmed dead including 19 children and one rescue worker, plus an unidentified leg indicating a possible 169th victim - the bomb injured over 800 people and destroyed or damaged more than 300 buildings in the surrounding area, leaving several hundred people homeless and shutting down offices in downtown Oklahoma City.

Over 12,000 people participated in relief and rescue operations in the days following the blast, many of whom developed post-traumatic stress disorder as a result. Although all area hospitals received victims of the blast, the majority were taken to St. Anthony Hospital, closest to the blast area. The national and worldwide humanitarian response was immediate and overwhelming, as was the media response. FEMA activated 11 of its Urban Search and Rescue Task Forces to assist in rescue and recovery operations. The area was flooded with rescue workers from around the nation and aid agencies coming to assist the survivors, as well as hundreds of news trucks coming to cover the story. Many immediate news stories hypothesized that the attack had been undertaken by Middle Eastern terrorists.

The national focus climaxed on April 23, when President Bill Clinton spoke in Oklahoma City. In the weeks following the bombing, rescue efforts ceased, the building was imploded, and media interest shifted to the trials of Timothy McVeigh and one of his accomplices, Terry Nichols, and a continuing search for an additional suspect named John Doe 2, who was seen with McVeigh but did not look like Terry Nichols ("John Doe
Presidential response

Shortly after the incident, President Clinton criticized the "loud and angry voices" of some radio talk show hosts. "They spread hate. They leave the impression that, by their very words, violence is acceptable." Clinton did not mention anyone by name, but later singled out the radio host G. Gordon Liddy (who had told his listeners to shoot federal ATF officers in the head rather than the chest because they wear bullet proof vests).

Federal Government response

Unlike the 9/11 attacks there were no major federal financial assistance provided to the survivors of the bombing. Many of the 9/11 victim's families received hundreds of thousands of dollars or more of federal assistance. A small committee chaired by Daniel J Kurtenbach provided small financial assistance to the survivors, but was very small when compared to the 15 billion dollars 9/11 survivors fund.

Effects on children

Schools across the country were dismissed early and ordered closed in the wake of the bombing. The fact that 19 of the victims had been children, most of them in the building's day care center, was seized upon by the national media. A photograph of firefighter Chris Fields removing infant Baylee Almon (who later died in a nearby hospital) from the rubble was reprinted worldwide and soon became a symbol of the tragedy. The photo, taken by utility company employee Charles H. Porter IV, earned the 1996 Pulitzer Prize for Spot News Photography.

In addition to the children with a direct connection to the bombing, others became distressed after hearing media reports and later research established that many showed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.

In the first two days after the bombing, President Clinton and his wife, Hillary, were very concerned about how children were reacting to the bombing. They asked aides to talk to child care experts about what to tell them about the bombing. On the Saturday after the bombing, April 22, the Clintons gathered children of employees of federal agencies that had offices in the Murrah Building in the Oval Office and answered their questions.

Trial and aftermath
Security photo from nearby building showing Ryder truck approaching the Federal building.

The remains of the half-destroyed Federal building were demolished in May 1995. Some legislation was also introduced in response to the attack, notably the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996. Until the September 11, 2001 attacks, the Oklahoma City bombing was the worst act of terrorism within U.S. borders, but not the worst against the United States (the worst act of terrorism against the U.S. before September 11, 2001 was Pan Am Flight 103). The site became part of the National Park Service. On April 19, 2000 an Oklahoma City bombing museum was dedicated at the Oklahoma City National Memorial Center.

"In the largest criminal case in U.S. history, FBI agents conducted 28,000 interviews and collected 3.5 tons of evidence and almost 1 billion pieces of information in the Oklahoma City bombing case."

Michael Fortier, an accomplice and key informant, was sentenced to 12 years in prison and fined $200,000 on May 27, 1998 for failing to warn authorities about the attack. He was released for good behavior on January 20, 2006.

Timothy McVeigh was sentenced to death for the bombing after being convicted of, among other things, murdering federal law enforcement officials. He was executed by lethal injection at a U.S. penitentiary in Terre Haute, Indiana, on June 11, 2001. An accomplice, Terry Nichols, was sentenced to life in prison after being convicted of manslaughter in a federal court trial. Nichols stood trial in McAlester, Oklahoma, on state murder charges starting on March 1, 2004 and was convicted of 160 counts of first-degree murder plus other felony charges on May 26. The penalty phase of the state trial, in which he could have been given the death penalty, ended in a jury deadlock. He was sentenced to 160 consecutive life-without-parole sentences by the Presiding Judge Steven W. Taylor.

In many ways the Oklahoma City bombing spelled the end of the anti-government militia movement to which McVeigh was linked. In the years following the bombing most such groups either disbanded or were pushed farther to the fringes of American politics. Additionally, by being the first major American city to suffer a mass-casualty terrorist attack, Oklahoma City's response to the bombing was carefully scrutinized by security experts and law enforcement in the years following the bombing, and then again following the September 11, 2001 attacks.
In the weeks immediately after the Oklahoma City bombing the federal government surrounded federal buildings in all major cities with prefabricated Jersey barriers to ward off similar attacks. Most of these temporary barriers have since been replaced with permanent security barriers which look more attractive and are driven deep into the ground (so that they are more sturdy). All new federal buildings must furthermore be constructed with truck-resistant barriers and with deep setbacks from surrounding streets to minimize their vulnerability to truck bombs.

In February, 2004 the federal government reopened their investigation into the bombing after FBI agents investigating the MidWest Bank Robbers (a white supremacist gang McVeigh had associated with prior to the bombing) discovered blasting caps of the same type used in the Oklahoma City bombing. Later in 2004, at the Terry Nichols state bombing trial, Judge Taylor found there to be no credible, relevant, or legally admissible evidence of any persons other than McVeigh and Nichols having directly participated in the bombing of the Murrah federal building.

In 2004, a new federal campus (designed with a special focus on security) opened in Oklahoma City, a block from the site of the bombing.

According to Mark Potok, the director of Intelligence Project at the Southern Poverty Law Center, law enforcement officials authorities have foiled 60 domestic terror plots since the Oklahoma City bombing. They were prevented due to measures established by the local and federal government to increase security of high-priority targets and following up on hate groups located within the United States.

In 2006, congressman Dana Rohrabacher said that the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the U.S. House Committee on International Relations, which he chairs, would investigate whether the Oklahoma City bombers had assistance from foreign sources.

**The Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum**
The site of the Murrah building is occupied today by a large memorial. This memorial, designed by Oklahoma City architects Hans and Torrey Butzer and Sven Berg, includes a reflecting pool flanked by two large 'doorways', one inscribed with the time 9:01, the opposite with 9:03, the pool between representing the moment of the blast. On the south end of the memorial is a field full of symbolic bronze and stone chairs—one for each person lost, arranged based on what floor they were on. The chairs represent the empty chairs at the dinner tables of the victim's family. The seats of the children killed are smaller than those of the adults lost. On the opposite side is the 'survivor tree', part of the building's original landscaping that somehow survived the blast and the fires that followed it. The memorial left part of the foundation of the building intact, so that visitors can see the scale of the destruction. Around the western edge of the memorial is a portion of the chain link fence erected after the blast on which thousands of people spontaneously left flowers, ribbons, teddy bears, and other mementos in the weeks following the bombing.

In front of the memorial is the statue of Jesus weeping for the victims who died in the bombing

On a corner adjacent to the memorial is a sculpture titled "And Jesus Wept" erected by St. Joseph's Catholic Church. St. Joseph's, one of the first brick and mortar churches in the city, was almost completely destroyed by the blast. The statue is not part of the memorial itself but is popular with visitors nonetheless. North of the memorial is the Journal Record Building which now houses the Oklahoma City National Memorial Museum, an affiliate of the National Park Service. Also in the building is the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, a non partisan think tank.
Tenth anniversary

From April 17 to 24, 2005, to mark the tenth anniversary of the bombing in Oklahoma City, the Oklahoma City National Memorial held a weeklong series of events known as the "National Week of Hope."[citations needed]

On April 19, 2005, the tenth anniversary of the bombing, as in the past years, the observances began with a service at 09:02 CST, marking the moment the bomb went off, with the traditional 168 seconds of silence - one second for each person who was killed as a result of the blast. The service also included the traditional reading of the names. As on the 9th anniversary children read the names of those killed because they symbolized the future of Oklahoma City.

Vice President Dick Cheney, former president Clinton, Oklahoma Governor Brad Henry, former Oklahoma governor Frank Keating, and other political dignitaries attended the service and gave speeches in which they emphasized that "goodness overcame evil" on April 19, 1995, and has done so since. The relatives of the victims and the survivors of the blast also made note of it during the service at First United Methodist Church in Oklahoma City.

President George W. Bush made note of the anniversary in a written statement, part of which echoes his remarks on the execution of Timothy McVeigh in 2001: "For the survivors of the crime and for the families of the dead the pain goes on." Bush was invited but did not attend the service because he was en route to Springfield, Illinois to dedicate the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum. Vice President Cheney presided over the service in his place.
1993 Mumbai bombings

The 1993 Mumbai bombings were a series of 15 bomb explosions that took place in Mumbai (Bombay), India on March 12, 1993. The attacks were the most destructive and coordinated bomb explosions in the country's history. The attacks are widely believed to be the retaliation by the Muslim underworld and militant Islamic groups for the Babri Mosque demolition in December, 1992.

Background

In December 1992 and January 1993 there was widespread rioting in Mumbai following the destruction of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya by Hindu groups. Although there was no loss of life in the incident, between January 1 and 5, Mumbai witnessed a series of riots in which 1,788 (official figures) people lost their lives.

The bombings

At 1:30 p.m. a powerful car bomb exploded in the basement of the Bombay Stock Exchange building. The 28-story office building housing the exchange was severely damaged, and many nearby office buildings also suffered some damage. About 50 were killed by this explosion. About 30 minutes later, another car bomb exploded elsewhere in the city, and from 1:30 p.m. to 3:40 p.m. a total of 13 bombs exploded throughout Bombay. Most of the bombs were car bombs, but some were in scooters.

Three hotels, the Hotel Sea Rock, Hotel Juhu Centaur, and Hotel Airport Centaur, were targeted by suitcase bombs left in rooms booked by the perpetrators. Banks, the regional passport office, hotels, an airline office (the Air India Building), and a major shopping complex were also hit. Bombs exploded at Zaveri Bazar, Century Bazar, Katha Bazar, Shiv Sena Bhawan, and Plaza Theatre. A jeep-bomb at the Century Bazar exploded early, thwarting another attack. Grenades were also thrown at Sahar International Airport and at Fishermen's Colony, apparently targeting Hindus at the latter. A double decker bus was very badly damaged in one of the explosions and that single incident accounted for the greatest loss of life - perhaps up to ninety people were killed. Almost all those killed were Hindus.

Aftermath

The official number of dead was 257 dead with 1,400 others injured (some news sources say 317 people died; this is due to a bomb which killed 60 in Calcutta on March 17). Several days later, unexploded car bombs were discovered at a railway station. Islamic terrorist groups based in Pakistan were suspected to be responsible for these bombings, and evidence uncovered pointed to the involvement of underworld don Dawood Ibrahim. Many hundreds of people have been arrested and detained in Indian courts and are
undergoing or awaiting trial. So far, no convictions have resulted twelve years after the blasts.

More than ten years later, on August 25, 2003, two large and destructive bombs left in taxis exploded in south Mumbai - the Gateway of India and Zaveri Bazaar in the busy Kalbadevi area - killing 52 people, again entirely Hindus and wounding more than a hundred others. Two Islamic militant groups, Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Toiba, were found to be responsible for the attacks. Along with the July 2006 train bombings in Mumbai, these attacks are believed to be in retaliation for the 2002 Gujarat riots in which more than a thousand persons, mostly Muslims were killed, though the Gujarat Government denies such a connection.

On August 11, 2006, the former Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Sharad Pawar, admitted, on record, that he had “deliberately misled” people following the 1993 Mumbai blasts by saying there were "12 and not 11" explosions, adding the name of a Muslim-dominated locality to show that people from both communities had been affected. He tried to justify this deception by claiming that it was a move to prevent communal riots by falsely portraying that both Hindu and Muslim communities in the city had been affected adversely. He also admits to lying about evidence recovered and misleading people into believing that some of it pointed to the Tamil Tigers as possible suspects.

**Arrests, Convictions and Verdict**

The special TADA court hearing the long-drawn 1993 Mumbai blasts case on September 12, 2006 convicted four members of the Memon family - Yakub, Essa, Rubina and Yusuf.

Three other members of the Memon family - Suleiman, Hanifa and Rahil - have, however, been acquitted with the judge giving them the benefit of doubt. The four Memons have been held guilty on charges of conspiring and abetting acts of terror. They face jail terms ranging from a minimum of five years to life imprisonment. On Wednesday, 13Sep, TADA court announced that it would start pronouncing verdict beginning Thursday on 31 accused charged with transporting and planting bombs to effect the 1993 serial blasts. These include Mohammed Shoaib Ghansar, accused of planting a bomb in Zaveri Bazaar. All these accused are presently lodged in jail.

Yakub Memon, the brother of prime accused Tiger Memon, has been charged for possession of unauthorised arms. The complete verdict in the case will be delivered in batches in a staggered manner over a period of four weeks.

Yakub Memon is younger brother of prime accused and conspirator Tiger Memon. After the blasts, the family members of Tiger, including Yakub, had escaped to Dubai and from Mumbai to Pakistan. Correspondents say Tiger Memon owned a restaurant in Mumbai and was allegedly closely associated with Dawood Ibrahim, the chief suspect.
Except Tiger and his brother Ayub, the entire family returned to India and arrested by CBI in 1994. Since then Yakub has been in custody and is undergoing treatment as he suffers from depression, according to his lawyer Subhash Kanse. The Menon family was tried and found guilty. The defense lawyers have asked for leniency in the sentencing and have caused delays in the process.

Dawood Ibrahim, believed to have masterminded the terrorist attacks, was formerly the Don of the Mumbai organized crime syndicate D-Company, largely consisting of Muslims. He is suspected of having connections to several Islamic terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden, as well as Lashkar-e-Toiba and was declared a terrorist by the Governments of India and the United States in 2003. He is also wanted by Interpol. He has absconded since the blasts and is believed to be hiding in Pakistan, which the Pakistani Government denies. The Bush administration in the United States imposed sanctions on Ibrahim in 2006.
World Trade Center bombing

For the second attack on the World Trade Center in 2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>New York City, New York</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target(s)</td>
<td>World Trade Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>February 26, 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:17pm (UTC-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack Type</td>
<td>car bombing; attempted release of sodium cyanide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatalities</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injuries</td>
<td>1,042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrator(s)</td>
<td>Islamist terrorists, notably Ramzi Yousef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motive</td>
<td>allegedly, American aid to Israel and involvement in the Middle East</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the World Trade Center bombing (February 26, 1993) a car bomb was detonated by Arab Islamist terrorists in the underground parking garage below Tower One of the World Trade Center in New York City. The 1,500-lb urea nitrate-fuel oil device killed six and injured 1,042 people. It was intended to devastate the foundation of the North Tower, causing it to collapse onto its twin.

The attack was planned by a group of conspirators including Ramzi Yousef, Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, El Sayyid Nosair, Mahmud Abouhalima, Mohammad Salameh, Nidal Ayyad, Ahmad Ajaj, and Abdul Rahman Yasin. They received financing from al-Qaeda member Khaled Shaikh Mohammed, Yousef's uncle.

The bomb exploded in the underground garage at 12:17 P.M., generating a pressure estimated over one GPa and opening a 30-meter-wide hole through four sublevels of concrete. The detonation velocity of this bomb was about 15,000 ft/s (4.5 km/s). The cyanide gas generated is assumed to have burned in the explosion.
In October 1995, the militant Islamist and blind cleric Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, was sentenced to life imprisonment for masterminding the bombing. In 1998, Ramzi Yousef was convicted of "seditious conspiracy" to bomb the towers. In all, ten militant Islamist conspirators were convicted for their part in the bombing, each receiving prison sentences of a maximum of 240 years.

**Planning and organization**

Ramzi Yousef, born in Kuwait, began in 1991 to plan a bombing attack within the United States. Yousef's uncle Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, who later was considered "the principal architect of the 9/11 attacks," gave him advice and tips over the phone, and funded him with a US$660 wire transfer.

Yousef entered the United States with a false Iraqi passport in 1992. Police found instructions on making a bomb in Yousef's partner's luggage. The name Abu Barra, an alias of Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, appeared in the manuals. Yousef's partner was arrested on the spot for his false passport and his bombmaking instructions. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) holding cells were overcrowded, and Yousef, claiming political asylum, was given a hearing date.

Yousef set up residence on Nicole Pickett Avenue in Jersey City, New Jersey, traveled around New York and New Jersey and called Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, a controversial Muslim cleric, via cell phone. After being introduced to his co-conspirators by Abdel-Rahman at the latter's Al-Farooq Mosque in Brooklyn, Yousef began assembling the 1,500-lb urea nitrate-fuel oil device for delivery to WTC. He ordered chemicals from his hospital room when injured in a car crash - one of three accidents caused by Salameh in late 1992 and early in 1993.

El Sayyid Nosair, one of the Blind Sheikh's men who would later be convicted for the bombing, was arrested in 1991 for the murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane. According to prosecutors, "the Red" Mahmud Abouhalima, also convicted in the bombing, told Wadih el Hage to buy the .38 caliber revolver used by Nosair in the Kahane shooting. Nosair was acquitted of murder but convicted of gun charges. Dozens of Arabic bomb-making manuals and documents related to terrorist plots were found in Nosair's New Jersey apartment, with manuals from Army Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, secret memos linked to Joint Chiefs of Staff, and 1440 rounds of ammunition. (Lance 2004 26)

**Bomb characteristics**

Yousef was assisted by Iraqi bomb maker Abdul Rahman Yasin. Yasin's complex 1310 lb (600 kg) bomb was made of urea pellets, nitroglycerin, sulfuric acid, aluminum azide, magnesium azide, and bottled hydrogen. He added sodium cyanide to the mix as the vapors could go through the ventilation shafts and elevators of the towers.
The Ryder van used in the bombing had 295 ft³ (8.3 m³) of space, which would hold up to a ton (907 kg) of explosives. However, the van was not filled to capacity. Yousef used four 20 ft (6 m) long fuses, all covered in surgical tubing. Yasin calculated that the fuse would trigger the bomb in twelve minutes after he had used a cigarette lighter to light the fuse.

Yousef wanted the smoke to remain in the tower, therefore catching the public eye by smothering people inside, killing them slowly. He anticipated Tower One collapsing onto Tower Two after the blast. The materials to build the bomb cost approximately US$129.

**Yousef's view of the attack**

According to the journalist Steve Coll, Yousef mailed letters to various New York newspapers just before the attack, in which he claimed he belonged to the 'Liberation Army, Fifth Battalion'. These letters made three demands: an end to all US aid to Israel, an end to US diplomatic relations with Israel, and a demand for a pledge by the United States to end interference "with any of the Middle East countries (sic) interior affairs." He stated that the attack on the World Trade Center would be merely the first of such attacks if his demands were not met. In his letters Yousef admitted that the World Trade Center bombing was an act of terrorism, but that this was justified because 'the terrorism that Israel practices (which America supports) must be faced with a similar one.'

**The attack**

The bomb exploded in the underground garage at 12:17 P.M., generating a pressure estimated over one GPa and opening a 30-meter-wide hole through four sublevels of concrete. The detonation velocity of this bomb was about 15,000 ft/s (4.5 km/s). The cyanide gas generated is assumed to have burned in the explosion.

Six people were killed. At least 1,040 others were injured. However, the towers were not destroyed as Yousef intended. Yousef escaped to Pakistan several hours later.

The bomb cut off the center's main electrical power line and cut off telephone service for much of lower Manhattan. The bomb caused smoke to rise up to the 93rd floor of both towers, and cut off the towers' four stairwells and emergency lighting system. Also as a result of the loss of electricity most of New York City's radio and television stations lost their over-the-air broadcast signal for almost a week, with television stations only being able to broadcast via cable and satellite via a microwave hookup between the stations and three of the New York area's largest cable companies, Cablevision, Comcast, and Time Warner Cable.

**List of deaths**

- John DiGiovanni, 45, Valley Stream, New
York; Dental equipment salesman
• Robert Kirkpatrick, 61, Suffern, New York; Port Authority Senior Maintenance Supervisor
• Steve Knapp, 48, Manhattan, New York City; Port Authority Mechanical Supervisor
• Monica Rodriguez Smith, 34, Seaford, New York; Port Authority Office Assistant
• William Macko, 57, Bayonne, New Jersey; Port Authority Mechanical Supervisor
• Wilfredo Mercado, 37, Brooklyn, New York; Purchasing Agent for Windows on the World

**Aftermath and arrests**

Agents and bomb technicians of the U. S. Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) responded to the scene of the blast. An ATF bomb technician subsequently found the axle in the bomb crater with the VIN number of the Ryder truck that was used to contain the explosives. Further investigation by ATF found that the vehicle had been rented by a Palestinian named Mohammad Salameh. Yousef's friends reported the van was stolen in an attempt to slow investigators down.

On March 4, 1993 authorities announced the capture of Salameh. In May 1994, Salameh, Nidal Ayyad, Mahmud Abouhalima and Ahmad Ajaj were each convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for the World Trade Center bombing.

In a sweep the same day, Salameh's arrest led to the apartment of Abdul Rahman Yasin in Jersey City, New Jersey, which Yasin was sharing with his mother, in the same building as Ramzi Yousef's apartment. Yasin was taken to FBI headquarters in Newark, New
Jersey, and was then released. The next day, he flew back to Iraq, via Amman, Jordan. Yasin was later indicted for the attack, and eventually in 2001 he was placed on the initial list of the FBI Most Wanted Terrorists, on which he remains a fugitive today. He disappeared prior to 2003’s U.S. coalition invasion in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

The capture of Salameh and Yasin led authorities to Ramzi Yousef’s apartment, where they found bomb-making materials and a business card from Mohammed Jamal Khalifa. Khalifa was arrested in relation to the crime on December 14, 1994, and was deported to Jordan by the INS on May 5, 1995. He was acquitted by a Jordanian court and now lives as a free man in Saudi Arabia.

Impact and prosecutions

Despite its relatively low death toll, the bombing shocked the American public. According to testimony in the bomb trial, only once before the 1993 attack had the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) recorded a bomb that used urea nitrate. The FBI has recorded a total of about 73,000 explosions.

In October 1995, the militant Islamist and blind cleric Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who preached at mosques in Brooklyn and Jersey City, was sentenced to life imprisonment for masterminding the bombing. Rahman, whose Islamic Group organization is believed to have had links to Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaeda network, was later convicted with a number of others of conspiracy charges to bomb several New York City landmarks (see New York City landmark bomb plot). In 1998, Ramzi Yousef, said by some to have been the real mastermind, was convicted of "seditious conspiracy" to bomb the towers. When Ramzi Yousef was brought back to America, he was flown over the still intact twin towers, making a statement to the FBI that he regretted not having enough explosives to bring down the WTC towers and adding that his fellow terrorists would try again to destroy them. One of the other men tried alongside Yousef for the bombing was Eyad Ismail. In all, ten militant Islamist conspirators – including Ramzi Yousef – were convicted for their part in the bombing and were given prison sentences of a maximum of 240 years each.

Memorial

A granite memorial fountain honoring the six victims of the bombing was designed by Elyn Zimmerman and dedicated in 1995 on Austin J. Tobin Plaza, directly above the site of the explosion. It contained the names of the six people who perished in the attack as well as an inscription that read:

"On February 26, 1993, a bomb set by terrorists exploded below this site. This horrible act of violence killed innocent people, injured thousands, and made victims of us all."

The fountain was destroyed during the September 11, 2001 attacks. A recovered fragment from the 1993 bombing memorial with the word "John" is being used as the centerpiece of a new memorial honoring the victims of the 2001 attack.
Allegations of FBI foreknowledge

In the course of the trial it was revealed that the FBI had an informant, a former Egyptian army officer named Emad A. Salem. Salem claims to have informed the FBI of the plot to bomb the towers as early as February 6, 1992. Salem's role as informant allowed the FBI to quickly pinpoint the conspirators out of the hundreds of possible suspects.

Salem, initially believing that this was to be a sting operation, claimed that the FBI's original plan was for Salem to supply the conspirators with a harmless powder instead of actual explosive to build their bomb, but that the FBI chose to use him for other purposes instead. He secretly recorded hundreds of hours of telephone conversations with his FBI handlers; reported by Ralph Blumenthal in the New York Times, Oct. 28, 1993, secton A, Page 1.

In December 1993, James M. Fox, the head of the FBI's New York Office, denied that the FBI had any foreknowledge of the attacks. The 1993 WTC sting operation was depicted as a false flag operation and was a plot device for the 1996 movie *The Long Kiss Goodnight* with Geena Davis.
Pan Am Flight 103 was Pan American World Airways' third daily scheduled transatlantic flight from London's Heathrow International Airport to New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport. On December 21, 1988, the aircraft flying this route, a Boeing 747-121 registered N739PA and named "Clipper Maid of the Seas", was destroyed as it flew over Lockerbie, Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland. In the subsequent investigation into the crash, forensic experts determined that 12 to 16 oz (340 to 450 g) of plastic explosive had been detonated in the forward cargo hold, triggering a sequence of events that led to the rapid destruction of the aircraft. Winds of 100 knots (190 km/h) scattered victims and debris along a 130 km (81 mile) corridor over an area of 845 square miles (2189 sq km). The death toll was 270 people from 21 countries, including 11 people in the town of Lockerbie.

Known as the Lockerbie bombing and the Lockerbie air disaster in the UK, it became the subject of Britain's largest criminal inquiry, led by its smallest police force, Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary. It was widely regarded as an assault on a symbol of the
United States, and with 189 of the victims being Americans, it stood as the deadliest attack on American civilians until the September 11, 2001 attacks.

The aircraft nose, containing the flight crew and first-class section, landed in a farmer's field near a tiny church in Tundergarth, Scotland.

After a three year joint investigation by the Scottish Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary and the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, during which 15,000 witness statements were taken, indictments for murder were issued on November 13, 1991, against Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed Al Megrahi, a Libyan intelligence officer and the head of security for Libyan Arab Airlines (LAA), and Al Amin Khalifa Fhimah, the LAA station manager in Luqa Airport, Malta. United Nations sanctions against Libya and protracted negotiations with the Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafì secured the handover of the accused on April 5, 1999 to Scottish police in the Netherlands, chosen as a neutral venue. On January 31, 2001, Megrahi was convicted of murder by a panel of three Scottish judges, and sentenced to 27 years in prison. Fhimah was acquitted. Megrahi's appeal against his conviction was refused on March 14, 2002, and his application to the European Court of Human Rights was declared inadmissible in July 2003. On September 23, 2003 Megrahi applied to the Scottish Criminal Cases Review Commission (SCCRC) for his conviction to be reviewed, and for his case to be referred back to the High Court for a fresh appeal. He is serving his sentence in Greenock prison near Glasgow, where he continues to profess his innocence.
Passengers

PA103 had started as PA103A at Frankfurt International Airport in Frankfurt, West Germany, operated by a Boeing 727 for the leg to Heathrow Airport in London, England. Forty-seven of the 89 passengers on PA103A changed aircraft there to a Boeing 747 which would continue the flight, thereafter called PA103, on its journey to JFK in New York.

The 747 had arrived at noon from San Francisco and had been parked at stand K-14, Terminal 3, and guarded for two hours by Pan Am's security company, Alert Security, but otherwise not watched.
There were 243 passengers and 16 crew members on board, led by the pilot, Captain James MacQuarrie, First Officer Raymond Wagner, and Flight Engineer Jerry Avritt. Thirty-five students from Syracuse University and two from the State University of New York at Oswego were on board, flying home from an overseas study program in London. Ten of the victims were residents of Long Island – including father and son, John and Sean Mulroy – and were returning home for seasonal celebrations with families and friends, as reported by Newsday of December 27, 1988.

Five members of the Dixit family, including 3-year-old Suruchi Rattan, were flying to Detroit from New Delhi. They were supposed to be on Flight 67, which had left Frankfurt earlier in the day, but one of the children had fallen ill with breathing difficulties, and the pilot had taken the unusual step of bringing the plane back to the gate to allow the family to disembark. The boy soon recovered, and the family was transferred to PA103 instead. Suruchi was wearing a bright red kurta and salwar for her journey — a knee length tunic and matching pants — and she became associated with a note left with flowers outside Lockerbie town hall:

To the little girl in the red dress who lies here who made my flight from Frankfurt such fun. You didn't deserve this. God Bless, Chas.

There were at least four U.S. intelligence officers on the passenger list, with rumors, never confirmed, of a fifth. The presence of these men on the flight later gave rise to a number of conspiracy theories, in which one or more of them were said to have been the bombers' targets. Matthew Gannon, the CIA’s deputy station chief in Beirut, Lebanon, was sitting in Clipper Class, seat 14J. Major Chuck "Tiny" McKee, a senior army officer on secondment to the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) in Beirut, sat behind Gannon in the center aisle in seat 15F. Two CIA officers, believed to be acting as bodyguards to Gannon and McKee, were sitting in economy: Ronald Lariviere, a security officer from the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, was in 20H, and Daniel O'Connor, a security officer from the U.S. Embassy in Nicosia, Cyprus, sat five rows behind Lariviere in 25H, both men seated over the right wing.

The four men had flown together out of Cyprus that morning. Major McKee is believed to have been in Beirut trying to locate the American hostages held at that time by Hezbollah. After the bombing, sources close to the investigation told journalists that a map had been found in Lockerbie showing the suspected locations of the hostages, as marked by McKee, though this discovery was not confirmed in court.

Also on board, in seat 53K at the back of the plane, was 20-year-old Khalid Nazir Jaafar, who had moved from Lebanon to Detroit with his family, where his father ran a successful auto-repair business. Because of his Lebanese background, and because he was returning from having visited relatives there, Jaafar's name later figured prominently in the investigation into the bombing, as well as in a number of conspiracy theories that developed.

**Helsinki warning**
EAST COMMISSION: AN 1529: Analysis of Claims.

We have received no forensic evidence to confirm the cause of all of Pan American airlines flight 103 yesterday, we do not rule out the possibility that a bomb was behind the crash.

Several groups have claimed responsibility for the incident in the United States and Europe.

—A male caller claimed that a group called the Godfathers of the National Union had destroyed the plane in retaliation for the US shooting down Iranian airliner last July.

—A caller claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad Organization, based in Lebanon, said that the group had planted the bomb in retaliation for Israeli military strikes.

—A caller claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad Organization, based in Lebanon, said that the group had planted the bomb in retaliation for Israeli military strikes.

—Another anonymous caller claimed the plane had been down by the Israeli intelligence service.

We consider the claim from the Guardians of the Islamic Jihad most credible as we received no further previous attacks. Claims by this group in the past have been rejected.

—Persons using this code have been credited for the hijacking of Pan Am flight from Frankfurt, West Germany in 1980. It is believed anonymous called granted that Pan Am flights were hijacked by former Libyan leader, Moammar Gaddafi in 1980. It had been claimed for the assassination attempts as well.

—The Guardians of the Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility for the assassination attempt against a former Egyptian president, Anwar Sadat, in 1981.
A declassified CIA document referring to the Helsinki warning

On December 5, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) issued a security bulletin saying that, on December 5, a man with an Arabic accent had telephoned the U.S. Embassy in Helsinki, Finland, and had told them that a Pan Am flight from Frankfurt to the United States would be blown up within the next two weeks by someone associated with the Abu Nidal Organization. He said a Finnish woman would carry the bomb on board as an unwitting courier. The caller was off by only two days.

The warning was taken seriously at the time by the U.S. government. The State Department cabled the bulletin to dozens of embassies. The FAA sent it to all U.S. carriers, including Pan Am, which had charged each of the passengers a five-dollar security surcharge, promising a "program that will screen passengers, employees, airport facilities, baggage and aircraft with unrelenting thoroughness" (The Independent, March 29, 1990); however, the security team in Frankfurt had found the warning hidden under a pile of papers on someone's desk the day after the bombing (Cox and Foster 1992). One of the Frankfurt security screeners, whose job it was to spot explosive devices under X-ray, told ABC News that she had first learned what Semtex was during ABC's interview of her 11 months after the bombing (Prime Time Live, November 1989).

On December 13, the warning was posted on bulletin boards in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, and eventually distributed to the entire American community there, including journalists and businessmen, as a result of which a number of people allegedly booked on carriers other than Pan Am, leaving seats empty on PA103 that were later sold cheaply in so-called "bucket shops". PA103 investigators subsequently said the telephone warning had been a hoax and a chilling coincidence.
People who missed the flight

A number of stories emerged after the bombing of people with reservations on PA103 who missed the flight. American musical quartet The Four Tops were returning to the States for Christmas, but were late getting out of a recording session. Angry at being too late to catch the flight, they were arguing about it when they heard it had exploded (ABC News Prime Time Live, November 30, 1989).

Former Sex Pistols band member John Lydon and his wife, Nora, also had a narrow escape. "Nora and I should have been dead," he told the Scottish Sunday Mirror. "We only missed the flight because Nora hadn't packed in time. The minute we realised what happened, we just looked at each other and almost collapsed."

Jaswant Basuta got drunk in the passenger lounge after checking in, and sprinted to the gate to find the aircraft's doors had just been closed. He pleaded for the doors to be reopened, but Pan Am duty manager Christopher Price refused. Just over an hour later, two police officers arrived in the passenger lounge to tell Basuta the flight was down and that he was a suspect, because his suitcase had been on the plane, but he had not — a breach by the airline of Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) rules, which insist that the checked baggage of any passenger who failed to board be removed from the aircraft's
hold. While he was being questioned, his wife, Surinder — who believed he was on the flight — made a promise to the image of a Sikh prophet on the clock in the kitchen at home that she would hire priests to perform a special 48-hour prayer session if her husband survived. On a Friday morning two months later, she and her husband, Jaswant went to a Sikh temple in New York, and with the priests she had invited, prayed from 10:00 a.m. on Friday until 10:00 a.m. on Sunday. "On one side of the door was death," Surinder told authors Matthew Cox and Tom Foster, "on the other, life. It's like someone pulled him back" (Cox and Foster 1992).

Others known or rumoured to have cancelled reservations on PA103 include former South African foreign minister Pik Botha, who was travelling to a United Nations ceremony in New York to sign an accord granting independence to Namibia (Bernt Carlsson, the UN Commissioner for Namibia, who was travelling to the same ceremony, died on board the flight ); John McCarthy, then U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon; Chris Revell, the son of Oliver "Buck" Revell, then executive assistant director of the FBI; and Steven Greene, assistant administrator in the Office of Intelligence of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration. The alleged cancellation of tickets by high-profile passengers later fuelled rumours that intelligence agencies had advance warning of the bombing.

**Last contact**

The flight was scheduled to depart at 18:00, and pushed back from the gate at 18:04, but because of a 25-minute delay, not unusual during rush hour at Heathrow Airport, it took off from runway 27L at 18:25 instead, flying northwest out of Heathrow, a so-called Daventry departure. Once clear of Heathrow, the pilot steered due north toward Scotland. At 18:56, as the aircraft approached the border, it reached its cruising altitude of 31,000 ft (9400 m), and MacQuarrie throttled the engines back to cruising power.

At 19:00, PA103 was picked up by the Scottish Area Control Centre at Prestwick, Scotland, where it needed clearance to begin its flight across the Atlantic Ocean. Alan Topp, an air traffic controller, made contact with the clipper as it entered Scottish airspace.

Captain James MacQuarrie replied: "Good evening Scottish, Clipper one zero three. We are at level three one zero." Then First Officer Wagner spoke: "Clipper 103 requesting oceanic clearance." Those were the last words heard from the aircraft.

**Explosion**

At 19:01, Topp watched Flight 103 approach the corner of the Solway Firth, and at 19:02, it crossed its northern coast. The aircraft appeared as a small green square with a cross at its centre showing its transponder code or "squawk" — 0357 310 68546.9. The code gave Topp information about the time and height of the plane: the last code he saw for the Clipper told him it was flying at 31,000 ft (9400 m) on a heading of 316 degrees
magnetic, and at a speed of 313 knots (580 km/h) calibrated air speed. It was 46.9 seconds past 19:02. Subsequent analysis of the radar returns by RSRE concluded that the aircraft was tracking 321° (grid) and travelling at a ground speed of 434 knots (804 km/h).

At that moment, the plane's code and the cross in the middle of the square disappeared. Topp tried to make contact with Captain McQuarrie, and asked a nearby KLM flight to do the same, but there was no reply. At first, Topp believed he was watching the flight enter a so-called zone of silence: dead space where objects are invisible to radar. Where there should have been one green square on his screen, there were four, and as the seconds passed, the squares began to fan out (Cox and Foster 1992). Comparison of the cockpit voice recorder with the radar returns showed that 8 seconds after the explosion, wreckage had a 1-nautical-mile (2 km) spread.

A minute later, the wing section containing 200,000 lb (91,000 kg) of fuel hit the ground at Sherwood Crescent, Lockerbie. The British Geological Survey at Eskdalemuir, just outside Lockerbie, registered a seismic event measuring 1.6 on the Richter scale as all trace of two families, several houses, and the 196 ft (60 m) wing of the aircraft disappeared. A British Airways pilot, Captain Robin Chamberlain, flying the Glasgow–London shuttle near Carlisle called Scottish to report that he could see a massive fire on the ground. The destruction of PA103 continued on Topp's screen, by now full of bright squares moving eastwards with the wind.

**Aircraft break up**

The explosion punched a 20-inch-wide (0.5 m) hole, almost directly under the P in Pan Am, on the left side of the fuselage. The disintegration of the aircraft was rapid. Investigators from the Air Accidents Investigation Branch (AAIB) of the British Department of Transport concluded that the nose of the aircraft separated from the main section within three seconds of the explosion.

The flight data recorder, a bright orange-coloured recording device located in the tail section of the aircraft, was found in a field by police searchers within 24 hours of the bombing. There was no evidence of a distress call: a 180-millisecond hissing noise could be heard as the explosion destroyed the aircraft's communications centre.

After being lowered into the cockpit in Lockerbie before it was moved, and while the bodies of the flight crew were still inside it, investigators from the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) concluded that no emergency procedures had been started. The pressure control and fuel switches were both set for cruise, and the crew had not used their oxygen masks, which would have descended within five seconds of a rapid depressurisation of the aircraft (Cox and Foster 1992).
The nerve centre of a 747, from which all the navigation and communication systems are controlled, sits two floors below the cockpit, separated from the forward cargo hold only by a bulkhead wall. Investigators concluded that the force of the explosion broke through this wall and shook the flight-control cables, causing the front section of the fuselage to begin to roll, pitch, and yaw.

These violent movements snapped the reinforcing belt that secured the front section to the row of windows on the left side and it began to break away. At the same time, shock waves from the blast ricocheted back from the fuselage skin in the direction of the bomb, meeting pulses still coming from the initial explosion. This produced Mach stem shock waves, calculated to be 25 percent faster than, and double the power of, the waves from the explosion itself (Cox and Foster, 1992). These shock waves rebounded from one side of the aircraft to the other, running down the length of the fuselage through the air-conditioning ducts and splitting the fuselage open. A section of the 747's roof...
several feet above the point of detonation peeled away. The Mach stem waves pulsing through the ductwork bounced off overhead luggage racks and other hard surfaces, jolting the passengers.

The power of the explosion was enhanced by the difference in air pressure between the inside of the aircraft, where it was kept at breathable levels, and outside, where it was about a quarter of what it is at sea level. The nose of the aircraft, containing the crew and the first class section, broke away, striking the No. 3 Pratt & Whitney engine as it snapped off.

Investigators believe that within three seconds of the explosion, the cockpit, fuselage, and No. 3 engine were falling separately. The fuselage continued moving forward and down until it reached 19,000 ft (6,000 m), at which point its dive became almost vertical.

As it descended, the fuselage broke into smaller pieces, with the section attached to the wings landing first in Sherwood Crescent, where the aviation fuel inside the wings ignited, causing a fireball that destroyed several houses, and which was so intense that nothing remained of the left wing of the aircraft. Investigators were able to determine that both wings had landed in the crater only after counting the number of large, steel flapjack screws that were found there (Cox and Foster 1992).

**Victims**

**Passengers and crew**

All 243 passengers and 16 crew members were killed. A Scottish Fatal Accident Inquiry, which opened on October 1, 1990, heard that, when the cockpit broke off, tornado-force winds would have torn through the fuselage, tearing clothes off passengers and turning objects like drink carts into lethal pieces of shrapnel.

Because of the sudden change in air pressure, the gases inside the passengers' bodies would have expanded to four times their normal volume, causing their lungs to swell and...
then collapse. People and objects not fixed down would have been blown out of the aircraft at an air temperature of minus 50°F (-46°C), their 6-mile (9 km) fall lasting about two minutes (Cox and Foster 1992). Some passengers remained attached to the fuselage by their seat belts, landing in Lockerbie strapped to their seats.

Although they would have lost consciousness because of the lack of oxygen, forensic examiners believe some of the passengers regained consciousness as they fell toward the oxygen-rich lower altitudes. Forensic pathologist Dr. William G. Eckert, director of the Milton H. Helpern International Center of Forensic Sciences at Wichita State University, who examined the autopsy evidence, told Scottish police he believed the flight crew, some of the flight attendants, and 147 other passengers survived the bomb blast and depressurization of the aircraft, and may have been alive on impact. None of these passengers showed signs of injury from the explosion itself, or from the decompression and disintegration of the aircraft. The inquest heard that a mother was found holding her baby; two friends were holding hands; and a number of passengers were found clutching crucifixes. Dr. Eckert told Scottish police that distinctive marks on the pilot's thumb suggested he had been hanging onto the yoke of the plane as he descended, and may have been alive when the plane crashed.

Captain MacQuarrie, the first officer, the flight engineer, a flight attendant, and a number of first-class passengers were found still strapped to their seats inside the nose section, where it landed in a field by a tiny church in the village of Tundergarth. The inquest heard that the flight attendant was alive when found by a farmer's wife, but died before her rescuer could summon help. A male passenger was also found alive, and medical authorities believe he might have survived had he been found earlier (Cox and Foster 1992).

**Lockerbie residents**

![Sherwood Crescent, Lockerbie](image)
On the ground, 11 Lockerbie residents were killed when the wings, still attached by a piece of fuselage, hit 13 Sherwood Crescent at more than 500 mph and exploded, creating a crater 47 metres (155 ft) long and with a volume of 560 m³ (730 yd³), vaporising several houses and their foundations, and damaging 21 others so badly they had to be demolished. Four members of one family, Jack and Rosalind Somerville and their children, Paul and Lynsey, died when their house at 15 Sherwood Crescent exploded. A fireball rose above the houses and moved toward the nearby Glasgow–Carlisle motorway (A74(M)), scorching cars in the southbound lanes, leading motorists and local residents to believe that there had been a meltdown at the nearby Chapelcross nuclear power plant. The only house left standing intact in the area belonged to Father Patrick Keegans, Lockerbie's Roman Catholic priest.

For many days, Lockerbie residents lived with the sight of bodies in their gardens and in the streets, as forensic workers photographed and tagged the location of each body to help determine the exact position and force of the onboard explosion, by coordinating information about each passenger's assigned seat, type of injury, and where they had landed.

Local resident Bunty Galloway told authors Geraldine Sheridan and Thomas Kenning (1993):

A boy was lying at the bottom of the steps on to the road. A young laddie with brown socks and blue trousers on. Later that evening my son-in-law asked for a blanket to cover him. I didn't know he was dead. I gave him a lamb's wool travelling rug thinking I'd keep him warm. Two more girls were lying dead across the road, one of them bent over garden railings. It was just as though they were sleeping. The boy lay at the bottom of my stairs for days. Every time I came back to my house for clothes he was still there. "My boy is still there," I used to tell the waiting policeman. Eventually on Saturday I couldn't take it no more. "You got to get my boy lifted," I told the policeman. That night he was moved.

Despite being advised by their governments not to travel to Lockerbie, many of the passengers' relatives, most of them from the U.S., arrived there within days to identify their loved ones. Volunteers from Lockerbie set up and manned canteens, which stayed open 24 hours a day, where relatives, soldiers, police officers, and social workers could find free sandwiches, hot meals, coffee, and someone to talk to. The women of the town washed, dried, and ironed every piece of clothing that was found, so that as many items as possible could be returned to the relatives once the police had determined they were of no forensic value. The BBC's Scottish correspondent, Andrew Cassel, reported on the tenth anniversary of the bombing that the townspeople had "opened their homes and hearts" to the relatives, bearing their own losses "stoically and with enormous dignity," and that the bonds forged then continue to this day.

Claims of responsibility

According to a CIA analysis dated December 22, 1988, several groups were quick to claim responsibility in telephone calls in the United States and Europe:
A male caller claimed that a group called the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution had destroyed the plane in retaliation for the U.S. shootdown of an Iranian airliner last July. A caller claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad organization told ABC News in New York that the group had planted the bomb to commemorate Christmas. The Ulster Defense League allegedly issued a telephonic claim. Another anonymous caller claimed the plane had been downed by Mossad, the Israeli Intelligence service.

After finishing this list, the author then stated: *We consider the claims from the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution as the most credible one received so far.* The analysis concluded: *We cannot assign responsibility for this tragedy to any terrorist group at this time. We anticipate that, as often happens, many groups will seek to claim credit.*

**Motives**

There were three motives for the attack on PA103. Two were obvious:

**April 1986 bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi**

On 15 April–16 April 1986, U.S. warplanes launched a series of military strikes from British bases called Operation El Dorado Canyon — the first U.S. military strikes from Britain since World War II — against Tripoli and Benghazi, Libya, in retaliation for the bombing 10 days earlier of a West Berlin nightclub used by U.S. soldiers, which had killed three and injured 230. (Gaddafi had, in turn, ordered the West Berlin bombing in revenge for the sinking of two Libyan boats by the United States in the Gulf of Sirte at the end of March.) Among dozens of others, the airstrikes killed Hanna Gaddafi, a baby girl Gaddafi claimed to have adopted.

**July 1988 downing of Iran Air 655**

The second obvious motive was the July 3, 1988, downing over the Persian Gulf of Iran Air Flight 655, a passenger jet incorrectly identified by an American warship, the USS Vincennes, as a hostile military aircraft. Two hundred and ninety passengers from six countries died, including 66 children, when the plane was shot down over the Persian Gulf. The Iranian government and people were shocked when America continued with its Fourth of July Independence Day celebrations, which suggested to Tehran that the U.S. did not regret, and may even have intended, the deaths. Many observers believe this would have given Iran reason to order a revenge attack on an American flight six months later. Tehran Radio reported on November 14, 1988, five weeks before PA103, that President-elect Bush had called the downing of Flight 655 an "act of self-defense," and that the U.S. government had "refused to apologize." The broadcast ended with: "[T]he Islamic revolution considers the United States to be its staunchest enemy."

**South-West Africa (Namibia)**
The third motive has so far been under-reported and, perhaps, not even investigated by the American or British authorities. On December 22, 1988, the day after PA103 was sabotaged, apartheid South Africa was scheduled to sign an agreement handing over control of South-West Africa (Namibia) to the United Nations, a territory that it had been illegally occupying for decades, in defiance of the UN Security Council. If the apartheid regime could prevent the UN Commissioner for Namibia, Bernt Carlsson, from assuming control of Namibia upon signature of the agreement then an important South African political objective would have been achieved (see History of Namibia). Carlsson was due to attend the signing ceremony in New York but his travel plans were changed at short notice and, as a result, he became one of PA103’s 270 victims. South Africa's appointee, Louis Pienaar, then took charge of Namibia in the run-up to the country's first universal franchise elections.

**Investigation**

*Further information: Investigation into the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103*

The initial investigation into the crash site by Dumfries and Galloway police involved military and civilian helicopter surveys, satellite imaging, and a fingertip search of the area by police and soldiers. More than 10,000 pieces of debris were retrieved, tagged and entered into a computer tracking system.

The fuselage of the aircraft was reconstructed by air accident investigators, revealing a 20-inch hole consistent with an explosion in the forward cargo hold. Examination of the baggage containers revealed that the container nearest the hole had blackening, pitting, and severe damage indicating a "high-energy event" had taken place inside it. A series of test explosions were carried out to confirm the precise location and quantity of explosive used.

It was this photograph of Megrahi, taken in the '80s, that Tony Gauci identified as the man who had bought the clothes.

Fragments of a Samsonite suitcase believed to have contained the bomb were recovered, together with parts and pieces of circuit board identified as part of a Toshiba Bombeat radio cassette player, similar to that used to conceal a Semtex bomb seized by West German police from a Palestinian terror group two months earlier. Items of baby clothing
were also traced to the same suitcase, which were subsequently proven to have been made in Malta.

The clothes were traced to a Maltese merchant, Tony Gauci, who became a key prosecution witness, testifying that he sold the clothes to a man of Libyan appearance, whom he later identified as Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed Al Megrahi.

A circuit board fragment, found embedded in a piece of charred material, was identified as part of an electronic timer similar to that found on a Libyan intelligence agent who had been arrested 10 months previously, carrying materials for a Semtex bomb. The timer was traced through its Swiss manufacturer, Mebo, to the Libyan military.

Investigators also discovered that an unaccompanied bag had been routed onto PA103, via the interline baggage system, from Luqa airport on Air Malta flight KM180 to Frankfurt, and then by feeder flight PA103A to Heathrow. This unaccompanied bag was shown at the trial to have been the bomb suitcase.

**Trial and appeal**

*Pan Am Flight 103 bombing trial*

On May 3, 2000 the trial of the two Libyans, Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed Al Megrahi and Lamin Khalifah Fhimah, accused of the 1988 PA103 bombing, began. Megrahi was convicted of murder on January 31, 2001, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. His co-accused, Fhimah, was acquitted.

Megrahi's appeal against conviction was rejected on March 14, 2002. He subsequently appealed against his 27-year minimum prison sentence. His case has been under review for the past three years by the Scottish Criminal Cases Review Commission (SCCRC) which is expected to conclude that Megrahi's case should be referred back to the High Court for a fresh appeal against conviction.

In two reports issued in February 2001 and March 2002 respectively, Professor Hans Köchler, an international observer of the trial appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, criticized the decisions of the trial and appeal courts as a "spectacular miscarriage of justice." In a statement issued in August 2003, Köchler called for an independent international inquiry into the case.

In November 2005 legal academic, Professor Robert Black, who devised the special arrangements for the non-jury Scots law trial at Camp Zeist, Netherlands, gave his opinion:

"The SCCRC will proceed with its investigation and with its likely reference of the case back for a fresh appeal against conviction, even if Megrahi is repatriated and (as part of any deal between the UK and Libyan governments) asks that any further proceedings be terminated. UK Lockerbie relatives have already made
representations to this effect to the SCCRC, which is statutorily obliged to take such representations into account in reaching its decision."

On May 4, 2006, the Scottish Executive announced that a panel of five judges sitting in Edinburgh would hear Megrahi's appeal against his 27-year minimum jail sentence on July 11, 2006. However, defence lawyers and others, including PA103 relatives, expressed concern about the timing of this appeal against sentence and about a possible appeal against conviction (that the SCCRC might decide upon) which, they maintain, should be heard at the same time. Addressing these concerns, a court spokesman said:

"There might be a referral from the commission [SCCRC], but there might not be."

Lawyers for Megrahi later insisted that both appeals (against sentence and conviction) ought to take place at the special Scottish court at Camp Zeist, Netherlands – where his trial and first appeal against conviction were held – rather than in Edinburgh. The Crown disputed the move on security and cost grounds, but on June 8, 2006, the Scottish Court of Criminal Appeal decided to postpone the July appeal against sentence until October 2006. On November 1, 2006 Megrahi was reported to have dropped his demand for the new appeal to be held at Camp Zeist.

**Compensation from Libya**

New York lawyer, Jim Kreindler

On May 29, 2002, Libya offered up to $2.7 billion to settle claims by the families of the 270 killed in the Lockerbie bombing, representing US$10 million per family. The Libyan offer meant that:

- 40% of the money would be released when United Nations
sanctions – suspended in 1999 – were cancelled; another 40% when U.S. trade sanctions were lifted; and, the final 20% when the U.S. State Department removed Libya from its list of states sponsoring terrorism.

Jim Kreindler of New York law firm, Kreindler & Kreindler, which orchestrated the settlement, said:

"These are uncharted waters. It is the first time that any of the states designated as sponsors of terrorism have offered compensation to families of terror victims."

The U.S. State Department maintained that it was not directly involved:

"Some families want cash, others say it is blood money," said a State Department official.

Compensation for the families of the PA103 victims was among the steps set by the UN for lifting its sanctions against Libya. Other requirements included a formal denunciation of terrorism—which Libya said it had already made—and accepting responsibility for the actions of its intelligence agents.

Over 18 months later, on December 5, 2003, Jim Kreindler revealed that his Park Avenue law firm would receive an initial contingency fee of around US$1 million from each of the 128 American families Kreindler represents. The firm's fees could exceed US$300 million eventually. But Kreindler argued:

"Over the past seven years we have had a dedicated team working tirelessly on this and we deserve the contingency fee we have worked so hard for, and I think we have provided the relatives with value for money."

Another top legal firm in the U.S., Speiser Krause, which represented 60 relatives, of whom half were UK families, were understood to have concluded contingency deals securing their fees of between 28 and 35 percent of individual settlements. Frank Greneda of Speiser Krause commented:

"Sure the rewards in the U.S. are more substantial than anywhere else in the world but nobody has questioned the fee whilst the work has been going on, it is only now as we approach a resolution when the criticism comes your way."
On August 15, 2003 Libya's UN ambassador, Ahmed Own, submitted a letter to the UN Security Council formally accepting "responsibility for the actions of its officials" in relation to the Lockerbie bombing. The Libyan government then proceeded to pay compensation to each family of US$8 million (from which legal fees of about US$2.5 million were deducted) and, as a result, the UN cancelled the sanctions that had been suspended four years earlier and U.S. trade sanctions were lifted. A further US$2 million would have gone to each family had the U.S. State Department removed Libya from its list of states regarded as supporting international terrorism, but as this did not happen by the deadline set by Libya, the Libyan Central Bank withdrew the remaining US$540 million in April 2005 from the escrow account in Switzerland through which the earlier US$2.16 billion compensation for the victims' families had been paid. With the announcement on May 15, 2006, that the United States is to renew full diplomatic relations with Libya after deciding to remove it from its list of countries that support terrorism, the inevitable question arises: will Libya now pay the remaining compensation of US$2 million per family (US$540 million in total) that was previously on offer?

Some observers believe that Libya's acceptance of responsibility amounted to a business deal aimed at having the sanctions overturned, rather than an admission of guilt. On February 24, 2004, Libyan Prime Minister Shukri Ghanem stated in a BBC Radio 4 interview that his country had paid the compensation as the "price for peace" and to secure the lifting of sanctions. Asked if Libya did not accept guilt, he said, "I agree with that." He also said there was no evidence to link Libya with the April 1984 shooting of police officer Yvonne Fletcher outside the Libyan Embassy in London. Gaddafi later retracted Ghanem's comments, under pressure from Washington and London.

A civil action against Libya continues on behalf of Pan Am, which went bankrupt partly as a result of the attack. The airline is seeking $4.5 billion for the loss of the aircraft and the effect on the airline's business.

In October 2005, it was reported that the British, American and Libyan governments were negotiating the transfer of Megrahi to a prison in his home country on condition that he drops any further appeal against his conviction. It was a proviso of his conviction that he should serve his full jail term in Scotland. That such a deal could even be contemplated strongly suggests the British and American governments would prefer the case not to be reopened, since a successful appeal could easily sour their new détente with Libya.

**Alternative theories**

*Further information: Alternative theories into the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103*

Two controversial PA103 topics appear in this sub-article:

- Reopening the case
- The framing of Libya
and seven alternative theories, which dispute the guilt of Megrahi and/or the responsibility of Libya for the PA103 bombing, are examined in some detail:

- CIA in Lockerbie
- Iran, the PFLP-GC, and operation Autumn Leaves
- Iran and the London angle
- Libya and Abu Nidal
- CIA-protected suitcase theory
- Radio detonation
- South-West Africa (Namibia)

## Epilogue from the president's commission

On September 29, 1989, President Bush appointed Ann McLaughlin Korologos, former Secretary of Labor, as chairman of the President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism (PCAST) to review and report on aviation security policy in the light of the sabotage of flight PA103. Mrs Korologos and the PCAST team (Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Senator Frank Lautenberg, Representative John Paul Hammerschmidt, Representative James Oberstar, General Thomas Richards, deputy commander of U.S. forces in Germany, and Edward Hidalgo, former Secretary of the U.S. Navy) submitted their report, with its 64 recommendations, on May 15, 1990. The PCAST chairman also handed a sealed envelope to the President which was widely believed to apportion blame for the PA103 bombing. Extensively covered in *The Guardian* the next day, the PCAST report concluded: "National will and the moral courage to exercise it are the ultimate means of defeating terrorism. The Commission recommends a more vigorous policy that not only pursues and punishes terrorists, but also makes state sponsors of terrorism pay a price for their actions."

Before submitting their report, the PCAST members met with a group of British PA103 relatives at the U.S. embassy in London on February 12, 1990. Twelve years later, on July 11, 2002, Scottish M.P. Tam Dalyell reminded the House of Commons of a controversial statement made at that 1990 embassy meeting by a PCAST member to one of the British relatives, Martin Cadman:

"**Your government and ours know exactly what happened. But they're never going to tell.**"

The statement first came to public attention in the 1994 documentary film *The Maltese Double Cross – Lockerbie* and was published in both *The Guardian* of July 29, 1995 and the special report from Private Eye magazine entitled *Lockerbie, the flight from justice* May/June 2001. Dalyell asserted in Parliament that the statement had never been refuted.
Memorials

Dark Elegy by Susan Lowenstein

Syracuse University's memorial

There are a number of private and public memorials to the PA103 victims. Dark Elegy is the work of sculptor Susan Lowenstein of Long Island, whose son Alexander, then 21, was a passenger on the flight. The work consists of 43 statues of the naked wives and mothers who lost a husband or a child. Inside each sculpture there is a personal memento of the victim.

U.S. President Bill Clinton dedicated a Memorial Cairn to the victims at Arlington National Cemetery on November 3, 1995, and there are similar memorials at Syracuse University; Dryfesdale Cemetery, near Lockerbie; and in Sherwood Crescent, Lockerbie.

Syracuse University holds a memorial week every year called "Remembrance Week" to commemorate its 35 lost students. Every December 21, a service is held in the university's chapel at 14:03 (19:03 UTC), marking the moment the aircraft exploded. The university also awards university tuition fees to two students from Lockerbie Academy each year, in the form of its Lockerbie scholarship.

There are memorials in Lockerbie & Moffat Roman Catholic churches, where plaques list the names of all 270 victims of the tragedy. In Lockerbie Town Hall Council Chambers, there is a stained-glass window depicting flags of the 21 different countries whose citizens lost their lives in the disaster. There is a book of remembrance at Lockerbie public library and another at Tundergarth Church.
**Depictions in media**

A 1990 HBO made-for-TV movie, *The Tragedy of Flight 103: The Inside Story*, depicts the events leading up to the bombing.

Aftermath depicted in the stage play *The Women of Lockerbie* by Deborah Brevoort was awarded the silver medal in the Onassis International Playwriting Competition in 2001.
### Air India Flight 182

#### Summary

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#### Aircraft

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**Air India Flight 182** was a Boeing 747 that exploded on June 23, 1985 while at an altitude of 31,000 feet (9500 m) above the Atlantic Ocean, south of Ireland; all 329 on board were killed, of whom 82 were children and 280 were Canadian citizens.

Up until September 11, 2001, the Air India bombing was the single deadliest terrorist attack involving aircraft. It is also the largest mass murder in Canadian history. It occurred within an hour of the Narita Airport Bombing.


The BC government's trial of those accused of the bombing, Ripudaman Singh Malik and Ajaib Singh Bagri, is known as the **Air India Trial**. The investigation and prosecution took almost twenty years and was the costliest in Canadian history at nearly CAD $130 million. On March 16, 2005, the accused were found not guilty by Justice Ian Josephson in British Columbia and were released. The person convicted of involvement in the bombing was Inderjit Singh Reyat. On February 10, 2003 Reyat pled guilty to manslaughter in constructing the bomb used on Flight 182 and received a five-year sentence.

The length and cost of the trial, and subsequent verdict have been a source of great controversy in Canada.

### Incident timeline
On June 20, 1985, at 0100 GMT, a man calling himself Mr. Singh made reservations for two flights on June 22: one for "Jaswand Singh" to fly from Vancouver, British Columbia, to Montreal on Canadian Pacific Air Lines (CP) 086, and one for "Mohinderbel Singh" to fly from Vancouver to Tokyo on CP 003, and to there connect with Air India flight 301 to Bangkok.

At 0220 GMT on the same day, another call was made, changing the reservation in the name of "Jaswand Singh" from CP 086 to CP 060 (flying from Vancouver to Toronto, Ontario). The caller also requested to be wait-listed on Air India 181 from Toronto to Montreal and AI 182 from Montreal to Delhi.

At 1910 GMT, a man paid for the two tickets with $3,005 in cash at a CP ticket office in Vancouver. The names on the reservations were changed; "Jaswand Singh" became "M. Singh" and "Mohinderbel Singh" became "L. Singh."

On June 22, 1985, at 1330 GMT, a man calling himself Manjit Singh called to confirm his reservations on Air India flight 181/182. He was told he was still wait-listed, and was offered alternate arrangements, which he declined.

**The Air India 182 bomb**

At 15:50 GMT on June 22, "Mr. Singh" checked in at Vancouver Airport for CP Air Flight 60 to Toronto. He was assigned seat 10B. Singh requested that his suitcase, a dark brown, hard-sided Samsonite suitcase, be transferred to Flight 181 and then 182. CP Agent Jeanne Bakermans initially refused his request to inter-line the baggage, since his seat from Toronto to Montreal and Montreal to Delhi was unconfirmed, but later relented.

At 16:18 GMT, the CP Air flight to Lester B. Pearson International Airport in Toronto departed without Mr. Singh.

At 20:22 GMT, CP Air Flight 60 arrived in Toronto twelve minutes late. Some of the passengers and baggage, including the bag Mr. Singh checked in, were transferred to the Air India flight. Other passengers and baggage from Air Canada Flight 136, which also came from Vancouver, were handled as well.

At 00:15 GMT (now June 23), Flight 181 departed Toronto for Montreal-Mirabel 1 hour and 40 minutes late. The aircraft was late as a "5th pod," a spare engine, was installed below the left wing. The defective engine was being flown to India for repairs. It arrived at Mirabel at 01:00 GMT. In Montreal, the Air India flight became Flight 182.

At 07:15 GMT, Air India Flight 182, which had departed Mirabel bound for London, disappeared. Air traffic controllers at the Shanwick Oceanic Control Center near Shannon International Airport, in Shannon, Ireland heard a crackling sound on the radio before the plane vanished. The plane was due to arrive at 08:15 GMT.
A Commemorative plaque, presented to the citizens of Bantry, Ireland by the Canadian Government for their kindness and compassion to the victims of Air India Flight 182.

A bomb located in the forward cargo hold had exploded while the plane was in mid-flight at 31,000 ft. The bomb caused rapid decompression, and consequent in-flight breakup. The wreckage settled in 2,000 m deep water off the south-west Irish coast 180 miles (290 km) offshore of County Cork.

The bombing killed 22 flight crew and 307 passengers, including 82 minors and numerous Sikhs. Post-accident medical reports graphically illustrated the horror inflicted by this act on the passengers and crew. Of the 329 persons on board, only 131 bodies were recovered. 198 bodies were lost forever to the depths of the Atlantic Ocean. The bodies recovered included 30 children. Eight bodies exhibited "flail pattern" injuries, indicating that those 8 victims exited the aircraft in the air prior to it hitting the water. This, in turn, was a sign that the airplane had broken up in mid-air rather than crashing into the water intact. 26 bodies showed signs of hypoxia (lack of oxygen), including 12 children. 25 bodies, mostly of victims who were seated near windows, showed signs of explosive "decompression", including 7 children. 23 bodies had signs of "injuries from a vertical force". 21 passengers were found with little or no clothing.

One official quoted in the report stated, "All victims have been stated in the PM reports to have died of multiple injuries. However two of the dead, one infant and one child, are reported to have died of Asphyxia. There is no doubt about the asphyxial death of the infant. In the case of the other child (Body No. 93) there could be doubt because the findings could also be caused due to the child undergoing tumbling or spinning with the anchor point at the ankles. Three other victims undoubtedly died of drowning."

But for the one hour and forty minute delay in leaving Toronto, Air India 182 would have been at London's Heathrow airport at the time of the explosion; with an outcome similar to that of the Narita bomb which had exploded fifty five minutes earlier.

**The Narita Airport bomb**

*Air India Flight 301*

**The suspects**
The main suspects in the bombing were the members of a Sikh separtists group called the Babbar Khalsa. The Babbar Khalsa was devoted to creating a Sikh state called Khalistan in the Punjab.


Talwinder Singh Parmar was a naturalized Canadian citizen living in British Columbia and was wanted for extradition to India for his role in activities in the Punjab including the murder of two Police officers. At this time, the Indian police and Khalistan supporters were engaged in a bloody war in which many innocent people were caught by excesses on both sides. On March 5, 1985, three months before the bombing, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) had obtained permission to tape Parmar’s phone on the basis that he was the leader of the terrorist organization, the Babbar Khalsa.

Inderjit Singh Reyat was living in Duncan, Vancouver Island, British Columbia, and working as an auto mechanic and electrician.

Surjan Singh Gill was living in Vancouver as the self-proclaimed consul-general of Khalistan. He later fled Canada and is believed to be in hiding in London, England.

Ripudaman Singh Malik is a Vancouver businessman who helped found a credit union and several Khalsa Schools.

Ajaib Singh Bagri was a mill worker living in Kamloops, British Columbia. Part of the evidence in the trial was a tape of Bagri giving a speech to Sikhs at Madison Square Garden on July 1984. Excerpts from the speech mentioned in the verdict include the need to murder Hindus and makes the request to murder the families of those in the Sikh community who would "betray us".

"They say Hindus are our brothers. Oh, I say denounce such Sikhism that calls Hindus our brothers. . . If any speaker from this stage ever mentions Hindus as our brothers he will be denounced as a traitor of the Sikh nation. . . They say Hindus are our brothers, many have said that, but I give you my most solemn assurance until we kill 50,000 Hindus, we will not rest! . . . Now I make a request: if anybody tries to betray us now, if anybody tries to get our nation annihilated, all of his family and children will be crushed in crushers and reduced to pulp."

Hardial Singh Johal and Manmohan Singh were both followers of Parmar and active in the Sikh temples where he preached. On November 15, 2002 Hardial Singh Johal, died of natural causes at 55. He had allegedly stored the suitcases with bombs in the basement of a Vancouver school but was never charged in the case.

Daljit Sandhu is later named by a Crown witness as the man who picked up the tickets for the bombing. During the trial the Crown played a video from January, 1989, in which
Daljit Sandhu congratulated the families of Indira Gandhi’s assassins and stated that “she deserved that and she invited that and that’s why she got it”. Mr. Sandhu was cleared by Judge Josephson in his March 16 judgement.

**Key Timelines**

The bombing of Air India Flight 182 and the Narita airport launched several investigations, inquiries and trials. The trial of Malik and Bagri is known as the Air India Trial; Event relating to the incident are listed below in chronological order.

June 1, 1984 – Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi orders storming of the Golden Temple complex, in Amritsar, Punjab, India in order to remove armed militants that had occupied the temple for months. The attack is called Operation Blue Star and is reported to have killed around 800 militants and 200 Indian government troops. The attack on the temple included damage to the complex as well as the destruction of sacred artifacts contained inside.

October 31, 1984 – Two of Indira Gandhi's Sikh bodyguards, Beant Singh and Satwant Singh assassinate the Prime Minister in the garden of her home.

November 3, 1984 – Following Gandhi's murder, Anti Sikh Riots escalate through northern India over next two weeks. Religious mobs attack Sikh businesses, temples, and government buildings. The ensuing violence claims the lives of around 3,000, mostly Sikh, victims. Over 35,000 Sikhs flee to refugee camps that are set up north of Delhi. Many others are left homeless. Commissions set up after the incident have found evidence that members of the Indian government were involved in inciting the riots.


November 8, 1985 – The RCMP charge Talwinder Singh Parmar and Inderjit Singh Reyat with weapons, explosives and conspiracy offences after a raid on their homes. Reyat is convicted of the weapons offence and receives a fine of two thousand dollars. Due to lack of evidence the charges against Parmar are dropped and no link to Air India is established.

January 22, 1986 – The Canadian Aviation Safety Board determines that a bomb was responsible for bringing down Air India 182.

February 4, 1986 – The Indian Government's Kirpal Commission of Inquiry reaches the same conclusion as the Canadian Aviation Safety Board.

February 1988 – Inderjit Singh Reyat is arrested by British police in Coventry, England.

December 8, 1989 – Following a lengthy court battle the British government agrees to extradite Reyat to Canada.
May 10, 1991 – Inderjit Singh Reyat receives a ten year sentence after being convicted of two counts of manslaughter and four explosives charges relating to the Narita Airport bombing.

October 15, 1992 – Talwinder Singh Parmar is killed by Indian Police during a gun battle in Bombay.

October 27, 2000 – Ripudaman Singh Malik and Ajaib Singh Bagri are arrested by the RCMP. They are charged with 329 counts of first-degree murder in the deaths of the people on board Air India Flight 182, the conspiracy to murder, the attempted murder of passengers and crew on the Canadian Pacific flight at Japan's New Tokyo International Airport (now Narita International Airport), and charged with two counts of murder of the baggage handlers at New Tokyo International Airport.

June 4, 2001 – The British government gives Canada permission to charge Inderjit Singh Reyat in connection with the bombings.

June 6, 2001 – Inderjit Singh Reyat is arrested by the RCMP facing charges of murder, attempted murder, and conspiracy in the Air India bombing.

February 10, 2003 – Reyat pleads guilty to one count of manslaughter and a charge of aiding in the construction of a bomb. He was sentenced to five years in jail. At the time he was expected to provide testimony in the trial of Malik and Bagri but later claimed he couldn't remember.

April 2003 – The trial of Malik and Bagri begins after being delayed by pre-trial motions and problems with defense counsel.

May 18, 2004 – The crown rests its case in the trial of Malik and Bagri after calling 80 witnesses.

May 31, 2004 – Malik and Bagri's defense begins.

October 19, 2004 – Closing arguments begin.

December 4, 2004 – The judge presiding over the Air India Trial, Justice Ian Josephson says the verdict will be delivered on March 16, 2005.

March 16, 2005 – Justice Ian Josephson delivers the verdict for Ripudaman Singh Malik and Ajaib Singh Bagri: Not guilty on all counts.

I began by describing the horrific nature of these cruel acts of terrorism, acts which cry out for justice. Justice is not achieved, however, if persons are convicted on anything less than the requisite standard of proof beyond a reasonable doubt. Despite what appear to have been the best and most earnest of efforts by the police and the Crown, the evidence has fallen markedly short of that standard.
January 6, 2006 – Inderjit Singh Reyat, the only man convicted in the 1985 Air India bombing will be up for a parole hearing in March. Instead Mr. Reyat was charged with perjury on his testimony on the Air India Trial. He was denied parole and brought back to British Columbia to face the new charges. He has indicated he will plead not guilty.

**Recent events**

Twenty years after the downing of Air India Flight 182, families gathered in Ahakista, Ireland to grieve. Canada's former Prime Minister Paul Martin declared the anniversary a national day of mourning. During the anniversary observances, he said that the bombing was a Canadian problem, not a foreign problem, saying: "Make no mistake: The flight may have been Air India's, it may have taken place off the coast of Ireland, but this is a Canadian tragedy." He also ordered that every June 23, flags across Canada be flown at half-staff to mark the anniversary of the Air India bombing. Many families say they are still searching for answers and justice, and demand a public inquiry.

Former Ontario premier Bob Rae was selected to determine if a public inquiry is needed and was asked to determine whether or not the response by Canadian agencies was sufficiently co-ordinated, and if not, to find out if those problems had been fixed.

Ripudaman Singh Malik has demanded compensation from Canadian government for his arrest for wrongful persecution in a letter he submitted to the Attorney General of British Columbia. Malik owes the government $6.4 million and Bagri owes $9.7 million in legal fees.

In February Inderjit Singh Reyat was charged with perjury with regards to his testimony in the trial. The indictment was filed in the Supreme Court of British Columbia and lists 27 instances where he allegedly misled the court during his testimony. Reyat had pleaded guilty to constructing the bomb but denied under oath that he knew anything about the conspiracy.

In the verdict Justice Ian Josephson said "I find him to be an unmitigated liar under oath,"

"Even the most sympathetic of listeners could only conclude, as do I, that his evidence was patently and pathetically fabricated in an attempt to minimize his involvement in his crime to an extreme degree, while refusing to reveal relevant information he clearly possesses."

Reyat has a hearing with the National Parole Board on March 3rd. If found guilty of perjury he could sentenced with up to 14 years in prison.

September 25, 2006, saw the opening of the Royal Commission into the Air India bombing and subsequent investigation, beginning with a testimony from a man who lost his wife in the crash.
What did the Canadian government know?

The Canadian government had been warned by the Indian government about the possibility of terrorist bombs aboard Air India flights in Canada. And over two weeks before the crash CSIS reported to the RCMP that the potential threat to Air India as well as Indian missions in Canada, was high.

Destroyed evidence

In his verdict Justice Ian Josephson cited "unacceptable negligence" by CSIS when hundreds of wiretaps of the suspects were destroyed. Of the 210 wiretaps that were recorded during the months before and after the bombing, 156 were erased. These tapes continued to be erased even after the terrorists had become the primary suspects in the bombing.

CSIS claims the wiretaps contained no relevant information but a memo from the RCMP states that "There is a strong likelihood that had CSIS retained the tapes between March and August 1985, that a successful prosecution of at least some of principals in both bombings could have been undertaken."

On June 4, 1985, CSIS agents Larry Lowe and Lynn McAdams trailed Talwinder Singh Parmar and Inderjit Singh Reyat to Vancouver Island. The agents reported to the RCMP that they had heard a noise like a "loud gunshot" in the woods. Later that month Flight 182 was bombed. After the bombing the RCMP went to the site and found remains of an electrical blasting cap.

The suspects in the bombing were apparently aware that they were under surveillance, because they used pay phones and talked in code. Translator's notes of the wiretaps records this exchange between Talwinder Parmar and a follower named Hardial Singh Johal on the same day the tickets were purchased on June 20, 1985.

Parmar: Did he write the story?
Johal: No he didn't.
Parmar: Do that work first.

After this call a man called the CP Air and booked the tickets and left Johal's number. Shortly afterwards, Johal called Parmar and asked him if he "can come over and read the story he asked for". Parmar said he would be there shortly.

This conversation appears to be an order from Parmar to book the tickets used to bomb the planes. Because the original wiretaps were erased by CSIS they were inadmissible as evidence in court.

Murdered witness

Tara Singh Hayer, the publisher of the Indo-Canadian Times and a member of the Order of British Columbia, had provided an affidavit to the RCMP in 1995 claiming that he was
present during a conversation in which Bagri admitted his involvement in the bombings. While at the London offices of fellow Sikh newspaper publisher Tarsem Singh Purewal, Hayer claims he overheard a meeting between Purewal and Bagri. In that meeting Hayer claims that Bagri stated that "if everything had gone as planned the plane would have blown up at Heathrow airport with no passengers on it. But because the plane was a half hour to three quarters of an hour late, it blew up over the ocean." On November 18, 1998, Hayer was shot to death while under police protection in Surrey, British Columbia. Hayer had previously survived an earlier attempt made on his life in 1988 but was paralyzed and confined to a wheelchair. Because of his assassination the affidavit was inadmissible in court.

**CSIS connection**

During an interview with Bagri on October 28, 2000, RCMP agents describe Surjan Singh Gill as an agent for CSIS saying the reason that he resigned from the Babbar Khalsa was because his CSIS handlers told him to pull out.

After the subsequent failure of CSIS to stop the bombing of Flight 182, the head of CSIS was replaced by Reid Morden. In an interview to the CBC's news program The National, Morden claims that CSIS "dropped the ball" in its handling of the case. A Security Intelligence Review Committee cleared CSIS of any wrongdoing. However, that report remains secret to this day. The Canadian government continues to insist that there was no mole involved.
Brighton hotel bombing

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Night View of the Grand Hotel, Brighton, 2006

The **Brighton hotel bombing** was the bombing by the Provisional IRA of the Grand Hotel in the English resort city of Brighton in the early morning of October 12, 1984. The Irish republican organisation detonated two large bombs in the hotel where many politicians, including Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, were staying for the British Conservative Party conference.

The bombs failed to kill Thatcher or any of her government ministers; they did, however, kill five people, including Conservative MP Sir Anthony Berry, and John Wakeham's first wife Roberta. Several others, including Margaret Tebbit — the wife of Norman Tebbit, who was then President of the Board of Trade — were left permanently disabled.
The bomb went off at 2.54 am. Thatcher was still awake at the time, said to be working on her conference speech. It shredded through her bathroom barely two minutes after she had left it; but she and her husband Denis escaped injury. Thatcher changed her clothes then was escorted by the security guards to Brighton police station. She and Denis were then taken to Lewes Police College, where they stayed for the rest of the night. As she left the hotel she gave an impromptu interview to the BBC's John Cole. Alistair McAlpine persuaded Marks and Spencers to open early so those who had lost their clothes in the bombing could get new ones. Mrs Thatcher went from the conference to visit the injured at the Royal Sussex County Hospital.

The IRA claimed responsibility the next day, and said that they would try again. Their statement famously included the words:

*Today we were unlucky, but remember we only have to be lucky once. You will have to be lucky always.*

Thatcher began the next session of the conference at 9.30 am the following morning as scheduled, despite the number of dead and wounded still being unknown at that time. She omitted most of the planned attacks on the Labour Party from her speech and claimed the bombing was 'an attempt to cripple Her Majesty's democratically elected Government':

*That is the scale of the outrage in which we have all shared, and the fact that we are gathered here now — shocked, but composed and determined — is a sign not only that this attack has failed, but that all attempts to destroy democracy by terrorism will fail.*

In September 1986, Patrick Magee, then aged 35, was found guilty of planting the bomb, exploding it, and of five counts of murder. Magee had stayed in the hotel under the false name of Roy Walsh three weeks prior to the conference and planted the bomb, with a long-delay timer, in his room, number 629. Sir Donald Maclean was staying in the room with his wife, Muriel, when the bomb exploded. She was killed in the explosion and Sir Donald seriously injured. The other victims killed by the blast were Eric Taylor and Jeanne Shattock. Thirty-four people were hospitalised but recovered from their injuries. Magee received eight life sentences: seven for offences relating to the Brighton bombing, and the eighth for a separate bombing conspiracy. The judge recommended he serve a minimum term of 35 years. Later Home Secretary Michael Howard increased this minimum to "whole life". However, he was released from prison in 1999, having served only 14 years in prison (including the time before his sentencing), under the terms of the Good Friday agreement. A Downing Street spokesperson said that his release "was hard to stomach" and an appeal by then Home Secretary Jack Straw to prevent it was turned down by the Northern Ireland High Court.

Following his release Magee was reported to have said "I stand by what I did," inflaming the anger of survivors and the bereaved towards him. Whilst he admitted partial responsibility for planning the attack, he maintains that the fingerprint evidence found on
a registration card recovered from the hotel was faked — "If that was my fingerprint I did not put it there," he said in a newspaper interview after his release.
Munich massacre

One of the Black September terrorists on the balcony of the Israeli team quarters at the Olympic village

The Munich massacre occurred during the 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich, West Germany, when members of the Israeli Olympic team were taken hostage by the Palestinian organization Black September, a militant group with ties to Yasser Arafat’s Fatah organization. By the end of the ordeal the hostage-takers had killed eleven Israeli athletes and one German police officer. Five of the eight hostage-takers were killed by police during an abortive rescue attempt. The three surviving captured hostage-takers were later released by Germany, following the hijacking of a Lufthansa airliner. The massacre was followed by Israeli air strikes and a series of Israeli revenge assassinations of the principal planners.

Simon Reeve writes that the attack was one of the most significant terrorist incidents of recent times, one that “thrust the Palestinian crimes into the world spotlight, set the tone for decades of conflict in the Middle East, and launched a new era of international terrorism”.

Countdown to Catastrophe

The 1972 Munich Olympic Games were, by this point, well into their second week, and by all accounts had been a joyous time for the athletes involved. The West German Olympic Organizing Committee, in a deliberate attempt to erase the militaristic image of pre-World War II Germany (and particularly the 1936 Berlin Olympics, which had been
misused by Adolf Hitler for propaganda purposes), had encouraged an open and friendly atmosphere in the Olympic Village. Security was kept deliberately relaxed, and it was not uncommon for athletes to come and go from the Village without presenting proper ID. Many would simply bypass security checkpoints and climb over the chain-link fence surrounding the Village. There were no armed security guards anywhere, which had worried Israeli delegation head Shmuel Lalkin even prior to his team's arrival in Munich. In interviews with journalists Serge Groussard and Aaron Klein (for books later written by them about the massacre), Lalkin said that he had also expressed concern about his team's being placed in a relatively isolated part of the Olympic Village, in a small building close to a gate, which he felt made his team particularly vulnerable to an outside assault. The German authorities assured Lalkin that extra security would look after the Israeli team, but Lalkin said later that he doubts that this ever occurred. He certainly didn't see any extra security prior to September 5th.

The significance of a team from Israel participating in an Olympic Games held in Germany was not lost on anyone - it was only 27 years after the end of World War II, and the horrors of the Holocaust were still fresh in many peoples' minds. Many of the members of the Israeli team had lost relatives in the Holocaust, but those who were interviewed looked to the Games as a way to make a statement of defiance to the murderers of the past and to show the resilience of the Jewish people. The Olympic facilities were less than 10 miles from the site of the Dachau concentration camp, which was visited by the Israeli team just prior to the opening of the Games. In a dark irony, fencing coach Andre Spitzer was chosen to lay a wreath at the concentration camp.

The hostage-taking

According to news sources, the Israeli athletes had enjoyed a night out on September 4, 1972, watching a performance of Fiddler on the Roof before returning to the Olympic Village. In an ironic twist, Lalkin denied his 13-year-old son permission to spend the night in the weightlifters' apartment; this seemingly innocuous act undoubtedly saved the boy's life. At 4:30 AM (local time) on September 5, as the athletes slept, eight tracksuit-clad members of Black September carrying duffel bags loaded with guns and grenades scaled a two-metre chain-link fence with the assistance of unsuspecting American athletes who were also sneaking into the Olympic Village. Once inside, the terrorists used stolen keys to enter two apartments being used by the Israeli team at 31 Connollystraße.

Yossef Gutfreund, a wrestling referee, heard a faint scratching noise at the door of the first apartment. When he investigated, he saw the door begin to open and masked men with guns on the other side. He shouted a warning to his sleeping roommates and threw his nearly 300 lb (135 kg) weight against the door to try to stop the Palestinians from forcing their way inside. Gutfreund's actions gave his roommate, weightlifting coach Tuvia Sokolovsky, enough time to smash a window and escape. Wrestling coach Moshe Weinberg fought back against the intruders, who shot him in the face, then forced the wounded man to help them find more hostages. Weinberg, in a calculated move, likely saved the lives of the residents of Apartment 2 by lying to the terrorists, telling them that the residents of Apartment 2 were not Israelis. Instead, he led them to Apartment 3,
where the terrorists corralled six wrestlers and weightlifters as additional hostages. Weinberg had probably thought that the larger and stronger men of Apartment 3 would have a better chance of overpowering the intruders.

As the athletes from Apartment 3 were being marched back to the coaches’ apartment, Weinberg again attacked the kidnappers, allowing one of his wrestlers, Gad Tsobari, to escape via the underground parking garage. The burly Weinberg knocked one of the intruders unconscious and slashed another with a fruit knife before being shot to death. Weightlifter and father of three Yossef Romano also attacked and wounded one of the intruders before being shot and killed.

Members of the 1972 Israeli Olympic team, photographed just before their departure for Munich. The 11 team members taken hostage and subsequently murdered were: 1) wrestling referee Yossef Gutfreund (inset), age 40; 2) wrestling coach Moshe Weinberg, 33; 3) weightlifter Yossef Romano, 31; 4) weightlifter David Berger, 28; 5) weightlifter Ze'ev Friedman, 28; 6) wrestler Eliezer Halfin, 24; 7) track coach Amitzur Shapira, 40; 8) shooting coach Kehat Shorr, 53; 9) wrestler Mark Slavin, 18; 10) fencing coach Andre Spitzer, 27; and 11) weightlifting judge Yakov Springer, 51.

The terrorists were left with nine living hostages (see above photograph). Gutfreund, physically the largest of the hostages, was bound to a chair (Groussard describes him as
being tied up like a mummy); the rest were lined up four apiece on the two beds in
Spitzer and Shorr’s room and tied at the wrists and ankles, then to each other. The bullet-
riddled corpse of Romano was left at the feet of his tied-up comrades as a warning.

Of the other members of Israel's team, race-walker Dr. Shaul Ladany (in Apartment 2)
had been jolted awake by Gutfreund’s screams and had already escaped by jumping off a
balcony and running through the rear garden of the building. The other four residents of
Apartment 2 (marksmen Henry Hershkowitz and Zelig Stroch and fencers Dan Alon and
Moshe Yehuda Weinstain), plus Lalkin and the two team doctors, managed to hide and
later fled the besieged building. Two Israeli sailors were in Kiel, 500 miles away from
Munich. The two female members of Israel's Olympic team, sprinter/hurdler Esther
Shachamarov and swimmer Shlomit Nir, were housed in a separate part of the Olympic
Village inaccessible to the terrorists.

Black September and their demands

The terrorists were subsequently reported to be members of the Palestinian fedayeen who
were from refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. They were identified as Luttif
Aff (“Issa”), the leader (three of Issa’s brothers were also reportedly members of Black
September, two of them in Israeli jails), his deputy Yusuf Nazzal (“Tony”), and junior
members Aff Ahmed Hamid (“Paolo”), Khalid Jawad (“Salah”), Ahmed Chic Thaa
(“Abu Halla”), Mohammed Safady (“Badran”), Adnan Al-Gashey (“Denawi”), and his
cousin Jamal Al-Gashey (“Samir”). According to Simon Reeve, Aff, Nazzal and one of
their confederates had all worked in various capacities in the Olympic Village, and had
spent a couple of weeks scouting out their potential target. A member of the Urugayan
Olympic delegation, which shared housing with the Israelis, claims that he found Nazzal
actually inside 31 Connollystraße less than 24 hours before the attack, but since he was
recognized as a worker in the Village, nothing was thought of it at the time. The other
members of the hostage-taking group entered Munich via train and plane in the days
before the attack. All of the members of the Uruguay and Hong Kong Olympic teams,
which also shared the building with the Israelis, were released unharmed during the
crisis.

The terrorists demanded the release and safe passage to Egypt of 234 Palestinians and
non-Arabs jailed in Israel, along with two German prisoners, Andreas Baader and Ulrike
Meinhof, who were founders of the German Red Army Faction. The hostage-takers threw
the body of Weinberg out the front door of the residence to demonstrate their resolve.
Israel's response was immediate and absolute: there would be no negotiation. Some claim
that the German authorities, under the leadership of Chancellor Willy Brandt and
Minister for the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher rejected Israel’s offer to send an Israeli
special forces unit to Germany. The Bavarian interior minister Bruno Merk, who headed
the crisis centre jointly with Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Munich's police president
Schreiber, denies that such an Israeli offer ever existed. However, the German police who
took part in the attempted rescue operation had no special training in hostage crisis
operations.
According to journalist John K. Cooley, the hostage situation presented an extremely difficult political situation for the Germans because the hostages were Jewish. Cooley reported that the Germans offered the Palestinians an unlimited amount of money for the release of the athletes, as well as the substitution of high-ranking Germans. However, the terrorists refused both offers.

Munich police chief Manfred Schreiber and Ahmed Touni, head of the Egyptian Olympic team, negotiated directly with the kidnappers, repeating the offer of an unlimited amount of money. According to Cooley, the reply was that “money means nothing to us; our lives mean nothing to us.” The Tunisian and Libyan ambassadors to Germany also helped try to win concessions from the kidnappers, but to no avail. However, the negotiators apparently were able to convince the kidnappers that their demands were being considered, as Issa granted a total of five extensions to their deadlines. Elsewhere in the village athletes carried on as normal, seemingly oblivious to the events unfolding nearby. The Games continued until mounting pressure on the International Olympic Committee forced a suspension nearly 12 hours after the first athlete had been murdered.

A small squad of German police was dispatched to the Olympic village. Dressed in Olympic sweatsuits and carrying machine guns, these were members of the German border-police, untrained in counter-terrorist response, and without specific operational plans in place for the rescue. The police took up positions awaiting orders which never came.

In the meantime, camera crews filmed the actions of the police from German apartments, and broadcast the images live to television. The terrorists were therefore able to watch the police as they prepared to attack. Footage shows the terrorists leaning over to look at the police who were in hiding on the roof. In the end, after Issa threatened to kill two of the hostages, the police left the premises.

At one point during the crisis, the negotiators demanded direct contact with the hostages in order to satisfy themselves that the Israelis were still alive. Fencing coach Andre Spitzer, who spoke fluent German, and shooting coach Kehat Shorr, the senior member
of the Israeli delegation, had a brief conversation with Schreiber and Genscher while standing at the second-floor window of the besieged building, with two kidnappers holding guns on them. When Spitzer attempted to answer a question regarding the number of hostages and terrorists, the coach was pistol-whipped in full view of international television cameras and pulled away from the window. A few minutes later, Genscher and Walter Tröger, the mayor of the Olympic Village, were briefly allowed into the apartments and spoke with the hostages. Tröger spoke of being very moved by the dignity with which the Israelis held themselves, and that they seemed resigned to their fate. He also noticed that several of the hostages, especially Gutfreund, showed signs of having suffered physical abuse at the hands of the kidnappers, and that David Berger had sustained a gunshot wound to his shoulder.

Failed rescue

After more than half a day of intense negotiations, the terrorists demanded transportation to Cairo. The authorities feigned agreement, and at 10:10 p.m. a bus carried the terrorists and their hostages from 31 Connollystraße to two military helicopters, which transported them to nearby Fürstenfeldbruck airbase, where a Boeing 727 aircraft was waiting. Initially, the terrorists had wanted to go to Riem, the international airport near Munich, but the negotiators convinced them that Fürstenfeldbruck would be more practical. The authorities, who preceded the Black Septembrists and hostages in a third helicopter, had an ulterior motive: they planned an armed assault on the terrorists at the airport. A rude surprise awaited the crisis team - during the transfer from the bus to the helicopters, they discovered that despite their firmly-held belief that there were no more than four or five terrorists holding the Israelis (according to what Genscher and Tröger had seen inside 31 Connollystraße), there were actually eight.

Five German snipers had been chosen to ambush the kidnappers. All had been chosen simply because they shot competitively on weekends. During a subsequent German investigation, an officer identified as “Sniper No. 2” stated: “I am of the opinion that I am not a sharpshooter.” The five snipers were deployed around the airport - three on the roof of the control tower, one hidden behind a service truck and one behind a small signal tower at ground level - but none of them had any special training. The members of the crisis team - Schreiber, Genscher, Merk and Schreiber's deputy Georg Wolf - supervised and observed the attempted rescue from the airport control tower. Cooley, Reeve and Groussard all place Mossad chief Zvi Zamir and Victor Cohen, one of Zamir's senior assistants, at the scene as well, but as observers only. Zamir has stated repeatedly in interviews over the years that he was never consulted by the Germans at any time during the rescue attempt, and that he actually thought that his presence made the Germans uncomfortable.

A Boeing 727 jet was positioned on the tarmac, with five or six selected armed German police inside, dressed as flight crew. They were to overpower the terrorists who would inspect the plane, and give the German snipers a chance to kill the terrorists remaining at the helicopters. At the last minute, as the helicopters were arriving on the tarmac, the German police aboard the airplane voted to abandon their mission, without consulting the
central command. This left only five sharpshooters to try to overpower a larger and more heavily armed group of terrorists. At that point, General Ulrich Wegener, Genscher's senior aide and later the founder of the elite German counter-terrorist unit GSG 9, said “I’m sure this will blow the whole affair!”

The helicopters landed just after 10:30 p.m., and the four pilots and six of the kidnappers emerged. While four of the Black September members held the pilots at gunpoint (breaking an agreement they had made that they would not take any Germans hostage), Issa and Tony walked over to inspect the jet, only to find it empty. Knowing they had been duped, Issa and Tony sprinted back toward the helicopters, and at approximately 11:00 pm, the German authorities gave the order to the police snipers positioned nearby to open fire.

According to Simon Reeve, the German rescue operation was a fiasco:

There was instant chaos. The four German members of the chopper crews began sprinting for safety in all directions. Issa and Tony began running back towards the helicopters, as the third sniper near Wolf opened fire on them. His first shot missed, ploughing into the tarmac near Issa, who steadied himself and then began sprinting in a zigzag towards the helicopters. The sniper fired again, hitting Tony in the leg. He collapsed onto the tarmac.

In the ensuing chaos, two of the kidnappers holding the chopper pilots (Ahmed Chic Thaa and Afif Ahmed Hamid) were killed, and the remaining terrorists scrambled to safety, returning fire and shooting out as many airport lights as they could from behind the helicopters, out of the snipers’ line of sight. A German policeman in the control tower, Anton Fliegerbauer, was killed by the gunfire. The helicopter pilots fled, but the hostages, who were tied up inside the craft, could not. A stalemate developed. During the gun battle, wrote Groussard, the hostages secretly worked on loosening their bonds. Teeth marks were found on some of the ropes after the gunfire had ended.

Frustrated at the Germans’ seeming indifference to the gravity of the situation, Zamir and Cohen went up on the roof of the control tower with a megaphone and tried to talk the kidnappers into surrendering. The terrorists’ reply — they fired upon the two Israelis — made it clear that the time for negotiation had long since passed.

The Germans had not arranged for armored personnel carriers ahead of time, and only then were they called in to break the deadlock. Since the roads to the airport had not been cleared, the carriers became stuck in traffic and only arrived around midnight. At four minutes past midnight of September 6, according to Cooley, one of the terrorists, likely Issa, turned on the hostages in the eastern helicopter and fired at them from point-blank range, killing Springer, Halfin, and Friedman and wounding Berger in the leg. He then pulled the pin on a hand grenade and tossed it into the helicopter, causing a tremendous explosion which destroyed the helicopter and incinerated the tied-up Israelis inside.

Issa and another terrorist then dashed across the tarmac and began firing at the police, who killed the pair with return fire. What happened to the remaining hostages is still a matter of dispute. A German police investigation indicated that one of their snipers and a
few of the hostages may have been shot inadvertently by the police. However, a *Time Magazine* reconstruction of the long-suppressed Bavarian prosecutor’s report indicates that a third kidnapper (Reeve identifies Adnan Al-Gashey) stood at the door of the helicopter and raked the remaining five hostages with fatal gunfire; Gutfreund, Shorr, Slavin, Spitzer and Shapira were shot an average of four times each. Berger would ultimately be the last hostage to die, succumbing to smoke inhalation. In some cases, the exact cause of death for the hostages in the eastern helicopter could not be established because the corpses were burned almost beyond recognition in the explosion and subsequent fire. Only Ze’ev Friedman’s body was relatively intact; he had been blown clear of the helicopter by the explosion.

Three of the remaining terrorists lay on the ground, two of them feigning death, and were captured by police. Jamal Al-Gashey had been shot through his right wrist, and Mohammed Safady had sustained a flesh wound to his leg. Adnan Al-Gashey had escaped injury completely. Tony, the final terrorist, escaped the scene, but was tracked down with dogs 40 minutes later to an airbase parking lot. Cornered and bombarded with tear gas, he was shot dead after a brief gunfight. By around 1:30 a.m., the battle was over.

Initial news reports, published all over the world, indicated that all the hostages were alive, and that all the terrorists had been killed. Only later did a representative for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) suggest that "initial reports were overly optimistic."

Jim McKay, who was covering the Olympics that year for ABC, had taken on the job of reporting the events as Roone Arledge fed them into his earpiece. After the botched rescue attempt, he came on the air with this statement:

"Our worst fears have been realized tonight. They’ve now said that there were eleven hostages; two were killed in their rooms yesterday morning, nine were killed at the airport tonight. They’re all gone."

**Could the disaster have been prevented?**

The shootout with the well-trained and suicidal Black September members showed an egregious lack of preparation on the part of the German authorities. It is clear that they were not prepared to deal with this sort of terror situation, which led directly to the founding, less than two months later, of GSG 9. The mistakes made were mind-boggling, and included the following:

- Because of complications in the laws that existed at the time, the Federal army of West Germany could not participate in the attempted rescue. The responsibility was entirely in the hands of the Munich police and the Bavarian authorities.
- It was known a full half-hour before the terrorists and hostages had even arrived at Fürstenfeldbruck that the number of terrorists was larger than first believed. Despite this new information, Schreiber stubbornly decided to continue with the rescue operation. It is a basic tenet of sniping operations that enough snipers (at least two for each known terrorist, or in this case a minimum of ten) should have been deployed to neutralize all of
the terrorists with the first volley of shots. It was this most basic failure of intelligence that led to the subsequent disaster.
The helicopters were supposed to have been landed sideways to the control tower, which would have allowed the snipers clear shots into them. Instead, the helicopters were landed facing the control tower, which not only cost the snipers shooting opportunities, but gave the terrorists a place to hide after it became clear that the Germans were attempting to rescue the hostages.
The five German snipers did not have radio contact with one another (or with the German authorities leading the rescue operation) and were unable to coordinate their fire. The only contact the snipers had with the operational leadership was with Georg Wolf, who was lying next to the three snipers on the control tower and gave orders directly to them. The two snipers at ground level had been given vague instructions to shoot when the other snipers began shooting, and were basically left to fend for themselves. None of the snipers were equipped with steel helmets or bullet-proof vests. The Heckler & Koch G3 battle rifles being used were considered by several experts to be inadequate for the distance at which the snipers were trying to shoot the terrorists. The G3, the standard service rifle of the Bundeswehr at that time, had a 20-inch barrel; at the distances the snipers were required to shoot, a 27-inch barrel would have ensured far greater accuracy. Additionally, none of the rifles were equipped with telescopic or infrared sights.
Incredibly, the shooter known only as "Sniper 2" (the one stationed behind the signal tower) was positioned directly in the line of friendly fire, without any protective gear and without any other police being aware of his location except the other sniper who was with him at ground level. "Sniper 2" didn't fire a single shot until late in the gunfight, when hostage-taker Khalid Jawad attempted to escape on foot and ran right at the exposed sniper. "Sniper 2" killed the fleeing terrorist but was in turn wounded by one of his fellow policemen, who was unaware that he was shooting at one of his own men. One of the helicopter pilots, Ganner Ebel, was also wounded by what turned out to be “friendly fire.” (Both Ebel and the sniper recovered from their injuries)
No tanks or armored personnel carriers were at the scene at Fürstenfeldbruck, and were only called in after the gunfight was well underway.

It should also be pointed out that none of the fake crew on the 727 was prosecuted or even reprimanded for what amounted to dereliction of duty and insubordination in abandoning their posts. It is indicative of the depth of the cover-up by the German authorities that many of the police officers and border guards who were approached for interviews by the One Day in September production team were threatened with the loss of their pensions if they talked. Many of the most telling errors made by the Germans during the "rescue attempt" were detailed by Heinz Hohensinn, who had participated in the operation, but had taken early retirement and had no pension to lose.

**Effect on the Games**

The Olympic competition was suspended on September 5 for one full day; this had never happened before. The next day, a memorial service attended by 80,000 spectators and 3,000 athletes was held in the Olympic Stadium. IOC President Avery Brundage made no
reference to the murdered athletes during a speech praising the strength of the Olympic
movement, which outraged many listeners. The victims' families were represented by
Andre Spitzer's widow Ankie, Moshe Weinberg's mother, and a cousin of Weinberg's,
Carmel Eliash. During the memorial service, Eliash collapsed and died of a heart attack.

Many of the 80,000 people who filled the Olympic Stadium for West Germany’s soccer
match with Hungary carried noisemakers and waved flags, but when several spectators
unfurled a banner reading “17 dead, already forgotten?” security officers removed the
sign and expelled the offenders from the grounds.

During the memorial service, the Olympic Flag was flown at half-staff, along with the
flags of most of the other competing nations, at the order of Willy Brandt. Ten Arab
nations attending the Games demanded their flags remain at full-staff, which Brandt
accepted.

Willi Daume, president of the Munich organizing committee, initially sought to cancel
the remainder of the Games, but in the afternoon Brundage and others who wished to
continue the Games prevailed, stating that they could not let terrorism halt the games.
Brundage stated “the Games must go on”, a decision endorsed by the Israeli government
and Olympic team’s chief.

On September 6, the Israeli team announced it would leave Munich. All Jewish
sportsmen were placed under guard. Mark Spitz, the American swimming star who had
already completed his competitions, was removed from Munich during the crisis for fear
that, as a prominent Jew, he might be a kidnapping target. The Egyptian team left the
Games on September 7, stating they feared reprisals. The Philipppine and Algerian teams
also left the Games, as did some members of the Dutch and Norwegian teams. American
marathon runner Kenny Moore, who wrote about the incident for Sports Illustrated,
quoted Dutch distance runner Jos Hermans as saying, “You give a party, and someone is
killed at the party, you don’t continue the party, you go home. That’s what I’m doing.”

The families of some victims have asked the IOC to establish a permanent memorial to
the athletes, but the IOC has declined, saying that to introduce a specific reference to the
victims could “alienate other members of the Olympic community,” according to the
BBC. Alex Gilady, an Israeli IOC official, told the BBC: “We must consider what this
could do to other members of the delegations that are hostile to Israel.”

There is, however, a memorial outside the Olympic stadium in Munich, in the form of a
stone tablet at the bridge linking the stadium to the former Olympic village. There is also
a memorial tablet to the slain Israelis outside the front door of their former lodging at 31
Connollystraße. On 15 October 1999 (almost a year before the Sydney 2000 Games) a
memorial plaque was unveiled in one of the large light towers (Tower 14) outside the
Sydney Olympic Stadium, and remains there today.

Aftermath
On September 5, Golda Meir, then Prime Minister of Israel, appealed to other countries to “save our citizens and condemn the unspeakable criminal acts committed.” The attack was widely condemned around the world, with King Hussein of Jordan calling it a “savage crime against civilization… perpetrated by sick minds.” Hussein was the only leader of an Arab country to publicly denounce the Olympic attack.

The bodies of the five Palestinians — Afif, Nazzal, Chic Thaa, Hamid and Jawad — killed during the Fürstenfeldbruck gun battle were delivered to Libya, where they received heroes’ funerals and were buried with full military honors.

The German authorities imprisoned the three surviving terrorists, and soon formed the counter-terrorism unit GSG 9 to provide a more substantial hostage rescue response to future incidents.

On September 9, Israeli planes bombed Palestinian targets in Syria and Lebanon.

On October 29, hijackers of a German Lufthansa passenger jet demanded the release of the three surviving terrorists who were being held for trial. Safady and the Al-Gasheys were immediately released by Germany, receiving a tumultuous welcome when they touched down in Libya and giving their own firsthand account of their operation at a press conference broadcast worldwide. In both ESPN/ABC’s documentary *The Tragedy of the Munich Games* and in Kevin Macdonald’s Academy Award-winning documentary *One Day in September*, it is claimed that the whole hijacking episode was a sham, concocted by the West Germans and Black September so that the Germans could be rid of the three Munich perpetrators. The view is that the Germans were fearful that their mishandling of the rescue attempt would be exposed to the world if the three Fürstenfeldbruck survivors had ever stood trial.

**Operation Wrath of God and Operation Spring of Youth**

*Operation Wrath of God
Operation Spring of Youth*

Golda Meir and the Israeli Defense Committee secretly authorized the Mossad to track down and eliminate those responsible for the Munich massacre, a claim which was disputed by Zvi Zamir, which describes this as “putting an end to the type of terror that was perpetrated” (in Europe).

To this end the Mossad set up a number of special teams to locate and eliminate these terrorists, aided by the agency’s stations in Europe.
In February 2006, former Mossad chief in an interview Zvi Zamir is answering a direct question:

Was there no element of vengeance in the decision to take action against the terrorists?

No. We were not engaged in vengeance. We are accused of having been guided by a desire for vengeance. That is nonsense. What we did was to concretely prevent terrorism in the future. We acted against those who thought that they would continue to perpetrate acts of terror. I am not saying that those who were involved in Munich were not marked for death. They definitely deserved to die. But we were not dealing with the past; we concentrated on the future.

Did you not receive a directive from Golda Meir along the lines of “take revenge on those responsible for Munich”?

Golda abhorred the necessity that was imposed on us to carry out the operations. Golda never told me to ‘take revenge on those who were responsible for Munich.’ No one told me that.

The Israeli mission later became known as Operation Wrath of God or Mivtza Elohim. Reeve quotes General Aharon Yariv — who, he writes, was the general overseer of the operation — as stating that after Munich the Israeli government felt it had no alternative but to exact justice.

We had no choice. We had to make them stop, and there was no other way… we are not very proud about it. But it was a question of sheer necessity. We went back to the old biblical rule of an eye for an eye… I approach these problems not from a moral point of view, but, hard as it may sound, from a cost-benefit point of view. If I’m very hard-headed, I can say, what is the political benefit in killing this person? Will it bring us nearer to peace? Will it bring us nearer to an understanding with the Palestinians or not? In most cases I don’t think it will. But in the case of Black September we had no other choice and it worked. Is it morally acceptable? One can debate that question. Is it politically vital? It was.

Benny Morris writes that a target list was created using information from “turned” PLO personnel and friendly European intelligence services. Once complete, a wave of assassinations of suspected Black September operatives began across Europe.

On April 9, 1973, Israel launched Operation Spring of Youth, a joint Mossad-IDF operation in Beirut. The targets were Mohammad Yusuf al-Najjar (Abu Yusuf), head of Fatah’s intelligence arm, which ran Black September, according to Morris; Kamal Adwan, who headed the PLO's so-called Western Sector, which controlled PLO action inside Israel; and Kamal Nassir, the PLO spokesman. A group of Sayeret commandos were taken in nine missile boats and a small fleet of patrol boats to a deserted Lebanese beach, before driving in two cars to downtown Beirut, where they killed Najjar, Adwan and Nassir. Two further detachments of commandos blew up the PFLP’s headquarters in Beirut and a Fatah explosives plant. The leader of the commando team that conducted the operations was Ehud Barak.

On July 21, 1973, in the so-called Lillehammer affair, a team of Mossad agents killed Ahmed Bouchiki, a Moroccan man unrelated to the Munich attack, in Lillehammer,
Norway, after an informant mistakenly said Bouchiki was Ali Hassan Salameh, the head of Force 17 and a Black September operative. Five Mossad agents, including two women, were captured by the Norwegian authorities, while others managed to slip away. The five were convicted of the killing and imprisoned, but were released and returned to Israel in 1975. The Mossad later found Ali Hassan Salameh in Beirut and killed him on January 22, 1979 with a remote-controlled car bomb.

Simon Reeve writes that the Israeli revenge operations continued for more than 20 years. He details the assassination in Paris in 1992 of the PLO’s head of intelligence, and says that an Israeli general confirmed there was a link back to Munich. Reeve also writes that while Israeli officials have stated Operation Wrath of God was intended to exact vengeance for the families of the athletes killed in Munich, “few relatives wanted such a violent reckoning with the Palestinians”. Reeve states the families were instead desperate to know the truth of the events surrounding the Munich massacre. Reeve outlines what he sees as a lengthy cover-up by German authorities to hide the truth. After 20 years of fighting the German government, the families acquired official documentation proving the depth of the cover-up. After a lengthy court fight, in 2003 the families of the Munich victims reached a financial settlement with the German government.

In a 2005 book reviewed by Time magazine, author Aaron J. Klein (who based his book in large part on rare interviews with key Mossad officers involved in the reprisal missions) contends that the Mossad got only one man directly connected to the massacre, Atef Bseiso, who was shot in Paris as late as 1992. The rest of the targets were unconnected or junior operatives. The operation functioned not just to punish the perpetrators of Munich but also to disrupt and deter future terrorist acts, writes Klein. “For the second goal, one dead PLO operative was as good as another.” Klein quotes a senior intelligence source: “Our blood was boiling. When there was information implicating someone, we didn’t inspect it with a magnifying glass.”

**Surviving hostage-takers**

After many years, the fate of the three Fürstenfeldbruck survivors is in dispute. It has long been claimed that both Mohammed Safady and Adnan Al-Gashey were killed by the Mossad as part of Operation Wrath of God. According to the Klein book, Adnan Al-Gashey actually died of heart failure in the 1970s, not as a result of an attack by the Israeli hit squads. Additionally, in the summer of 2004, PLO veteran Tawfiq Tirawi told Klein that his friend Mohammed Safady was "as alive as you are." He did not go beyond that rather cryptic comment. No additional evidence has come to light regarding Safady's survival.

The prevailing belief is that Jamal Al-Gashey is the sole remaining hostage-taker alive today (November 2006), living underground, claiming to still fear retribution from Israeli authorities. He is the only one of the surviving terrorists to consent to interviews since 1972, having granted an interview in 1992 to a Palestinian newspaper, and having briefly emerged from hiding in 1999 to participate in an interview for the film One Day in September, during which he was disguised and his face shown only in blurry shadow.
Abu Daoud

Of those believed to have planned the Munich massacre, only Abu Daoud, the man who claims that the attack was his idea, is known to be alive, and is believed to be in hiding somewhere in the Middle East or in Africa. On July 27, 1981 he was shot thirteen times from a distance of around two meters in a Warsaw Victoria (now Sofitel) hotel coffee shop, but surprisingly survived the attack. It is even said that he chased his would-be assassin down to the front entrance of the hotel before collapsing.

Abu Daoud was allowed safe passage through Israel in 1996 so he could attend a PLO meeting convened in the Gaza Strip for the purpose of rescinding an article in its charter that called for Israel’s eradication.

In his autobiography, From Jerusalem to Munich, first published in France in 1999, and later in a written interview with Sports Illustrated, Abu Daoud, now in his seventies, writes that funds for Munich were provided by Mahmoud Abbas, Chairman of the PLO since November 11, 2004 and President of the Palestinian National Authority since January 15, 2005.

Though he claims he didn’t know what the money was being spent for, longtime Fatah official Mahmoud Abbas, aka Abu Mazen, was responsible for the financing of the Munich attack.

Abu Daoud, who lives with his wife on a pension provided by the Palestinian Authority, has said that “the [Munich] operation had the endorsement of Arafat,” although Arafat was not involved in conceiving or implementing the attack. In his autobiography, Daoud writes that Arafat saw the team off on the mission with the words “Allah protect you.” Arafat rejected this claim.

On December 27, 2005, Mohammed Odeh (Abu Daoud) said that he had no regrets about his involvement in the Munich attack, and that Steven Spielberg's film about the incident would not deliver reconciliation. Ankie Spitzer, widow of fencing coach Andre, has refused several offers of meetings with Abu Daoud, saying that the only place she wants to meet him is in a courtroom. According to Spitzer, “He [Abu Daoud] didn’t pay the price for what he did

Brighton hotel bombing
Night View of the Grand Hotel, Brighton, 2006

The **Brighton hotel bombing** was the bombing by the Provisional IRA of the Grand Hotel in the English resort city of Brighton in the early morning of October 12, 1984. The Irish republican organisation detonated two large bombs in the hotel where many politicians, including Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, were staying for the British Conservative Party conference.

The bombs failed to kill Thatcher or any of her government ministers; they did, however, kill five people, including Conservative MP Sir Anthony Berry, and John Wakeham's first wife Roberta. Several others, including Margaret Tebbit — the wife of Norman Tebbit, who was then President of the Board of Trade — were left permanently disabled.

The bomb went off at 2.54 am. Thatcher was still awake at the time, said to be working on her conference speech. It shredded through her bathroom barely two minutes after she had left it; but she and her husband Denis escaped injury. Thatcher changed her clothes
then was escorted by the security guards to Brighton police station. She and Denis were then taken to Lewes Police College, where they stayed for the rest of the night. As she left the hotel she gave an impromptu interview to the BBC's John Cole. Alistair McAlpine persuaded Marks and Spencers to open early so those who had lost their clothes in the bombing could get new ones. Mrs Thatcher went from the conference to visit the injured at the Royal Sussex County Hospital.

The IRA claimed responsibility the next day, and said that they would try again. Their statement famously included the words:

> Today we were unlucky, but remember we only have to be lucky once. You will have to be lucky always.

Thatcher began the next session of the conference at 9.30 am the following morning as scheduled, despite the number of dead and wounded still being unknown at that time. She omitted most of the planned attacks on the Labour Party from her speech and claimed the bombing was 'an attempt to cripple Her Majesty's democratically elected Government':

> That is the scale of the outrage in which we have all shared, and the fact that we are gathered here now — shocked, but composed and determined — is a sign not only that this attack has failed, but that all attempts to destroy democracy by terrorism will fail.

In September 1986, Patrick Magee, then aged 35, was found guilty of planting the bomb, exploding it, and of five counts of murder. Magee had stayed in the hotel under the false name of Roy Walsh three weeks prior to the conference and planted the bomb, with a long-delay timer, in his room, number 629. Sir Donald Maclean was staying in the room with his wife, Muriel, when the bomb exploded. She was killed in the explosion and Sir Donald seriously injured. The other victims killed by the blast were Eric Taylor and Jeanne Shattock. Thirty-four people were hospitalised but recovered from their injuries. Magee received eight life sentences: seven for offences relating to the Brighton bombing, and the eighth for a separate bombing conspiracy. The judge recommended he serve a minimum term of 35 years. Later Home Secretary Michael Howard increased this minimum to "whole life". However, he was released from prison in 1999, having served only 14 years in prison (including the time before his sentencing), under the terms of the Good Friday agreement. A Downing Street spokesperson said that his release "was hard to stomach" and an appeal by then Home Secretary Jack Straw to prevent it was turned down by the Northern Ireland High Court.

Following his release Magee was reported to have said "I stand by what I did," inflaming the anger of survivors and the bereaved towards him. Whilst he admitted partial responsibility for planning the attack, he maintains that the fingerprint evidence found on a registration card recovered from the hotel was faked — "If that was my fingerprint I did not put it there," he said in a newspaper interview after his release.
The **Khalistan Commando Force** (KCF) was a major Sikh militant organization whose goal was the eventual formation of the Sikh state of Khalistan, which would encompass Punjab, India, as well as some districts of neighbouring states. The KCF, along with the Babbar Khalsa, the Khalistan Liberation Force, and the Bhindranwale Tiger Force of Khalistan, clashed repeatedly with Punjab's Hindu minority, with Sikhs who opposed them, and with Indian Army forces during the 1980s and early 1990s. The group was described as a terrorist group by the Government of India, and as freedom fighters by its supporters.
The Khalistan Commando Force was formed by a former police officer, Sukhdev Singh alias Sukha Sipahi, who later changed his name to Labh Singh. The Khalistan Commando Force had a fluid hierarchy, enabling it to accommodate any potential setbacks: the undisputed head of the Khalistan Commando Force, until his death, was Shaheed General Labh Singh. He appointed half a dozen Lieutenant Generals, each independent of each other, with each of them having Area Commanders. As such, the death of a Lieutenant General for example would result in the promotion of an Area Commander.

The organization primarily battled Indian military forces, especially in revenge for Operation Blue Star, the government's 1984 invasion of the Harimandir Sahib (Golden Temple) in Amritsar. It attacked Hindus in Punjab in what the government described as an attempt to drive the Hindu minority out of the region, and sometimes attacked sellers of alcohol, cigarettes, and other items prohibited by conservative Sikhism.

The death of General Labh Singh on July 12, 1988 in an encounter with police dealt a knockout blow to the organisation, causing its eventual splintering. Whereas before Shaheed General Labh Singh had been a charismatic chief whose leadership was unquestioned, many of his Lieutenant Generals emerged after his death, vying with each other for control. The eventual result was the break-up of the Khalistan Commando Force into several factions, most notably those led by Wassan Singh Zaffarwal (KCF-Zaffarwal), Paramjit Singh Panjwar (KCF-Panjwar) and Gurjant Singh Rajasthani (KCF-Rajasthani). To make matters worse, each of these chose to be under different Panthic Committees (umbrella groups that directed aims and actions), thereby diversifying and weakening the focus of the Sikh freedom fighters.

Another setback to the Sikh rebellion was the cessation in co-operation between the Khalistan Commando Force and the Babbar Khalsa. The rapprochement that had been fostering between Shaheed General Labh Singh and Shaheed Sukhdev Singh Babbar was put on ice and eventually disintegrated altogether, leading to the overall weakening of the Sikh struggle.

The eventual capture and killing of several of the Khalistan Commando Force's Lieutenant Generals and Area Commanders eventually took its toll and many of the factions were eliminated by the Punjab Police and the Indian security forces.

After the major defeats of the KCF in the late 1980s, the group continued its struggle into the 1990s, sometimes working together with other Sikh militant groups. A June 1991 attack on a passenger train in northwestern Punjab killed about fifty, mostly Hindu, passengers. A September 1993 bombing in New Delhi targeting Indian Youth Congress president Maninder Singh Bitta that killed eight people.

As of 2006, the only operating remnant of the KCF is the Panjwar faction, which is based largely in Pakistan. In June 2006 a member of the Panjwar faction of the KCF, Kulbir Singh Barapind was extradited from USA to India. He was deported to India for belonging to a terrorist organization and for entering the United States with a false
passport. He was wanted in India for thirty-two cases, but was arrested for three murders in the early 1990s. After his arrest he stated that he would renew the Khalistan movement through peaceful means.

**Khalistan Liberation Force**

The **Khalistan Liberation Force** is an armed militia, which sought to create an independent, Sikh-majority homeland within Punjab during the 1980s and early 1990s. Its aim was the formation of Khalistan (Land of the Pure), encompassing the state of Punjab, and adjoining districts in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan.

The KLF, along with the Babbar Khalsa, the Khalistan Commando Force and the Bhindranwale Tiger Force of Khalistan made up the four largest and most prominent armed Sikh groups throughout the period of militancy in Punjab.

The KLF was founded by Shaheed Aroor Singh in 1986. His death led to the ascension to power of Shaheed Avtar Singh Brahma, Born in 1951, Brahma Sahib became an amritdhari at the tender age of 15, having witnessed a gatka demonstration at his village. The attack on holy Sri Darbar Sahib by the Indian Army, under the orders incidentally of a Sikh, polarised the opinions and mindsets of many Sikhs. Brahma Sahib was no exception and he formulated a plan to strike back at the heart of the enemy: his first step, the inception of the Khalistan Liberation Force.

Throughout the years of the freedom struggle, the KLF played a pivotal role in the liberation of the Sikh homeland. This advancement of Sikh rights however, took a massive setback, when Brahma Sahib was cornered by Punjab Police on the Punjab-Rajasthan border. Punjab Police analogues show that Brahma Sahib kept the police at bay for hours, fighting by himself, but never forgetting who his father was, our eternal guru and guide, Shri Guru Gobind Singh. He held proud to the beliefs of the Khalsa Panth that he had sworn to protect. Shaheed Avtar Singh Brahma attained martyrdom on 21st May 1988.

There are ample examples of the bravery of this great modern day Khalsa general. One classic example was an encounter between Brahma Sahib and a handful of his fellow Singh’s, and the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), who were under orders to help Punjab Police cope with the freedom struggle.

In order to locate and kill Brahma Sahib, the CRPF had station an entire platoon in his village, to terrorise and intimidate the local population. Hearing of the police excesses, Brahma Sahib decided to do something about it the Khalsa Panth way. On the night of December 27th 1986, Brahma Sahib and his fellow Singh’s entered Brahmputra (his village) around midnight. He went to the gurdwara and after offering his respects, he commandeered the loudspeaker. He proceeded to challenge the CRPF (the following extract can be seen in CRPF archives):
“Residents of Brahmpura, I am your Avtar Singh speaking. I know that the CRPF is harassing you because of me and asking you to tell them my whereabouts. I challenge the CRPF: if you have the courage, come and get Avtar Singh Brahma.

There’s no bravery in bothering the innocent villagers here. Let’s have a contest of bravery today and satisfy ourselves. You have weapons and so do we. Let’s have a real encounter tonight and in the morning you can count how many of your men the Singh’s have mowed down. Come on CRPF-valio!

You are proud of the strength of Delhi and its army and we are proud of our Guru. We are Guru Gobind Singh’s sons and we can fight 125,000 alone.”

There was no reply, so Brahma Sahib once again challenged the best men Delhi could muster:

“CRPF-valio! Come out of your quarters! Brahma, a Sikh of the Guru is waiting for you. The Brahma you couldn’t find in the Mand is now waiting for you! I don’t believe in spilling the blood of innocents and I don’t attack those without weapons. I’m here to meet you now.

CRPF-valio, you can meet me any way and any time. Give up your bothering of innocents and come in front of Brahma and satisfy your desire to prove your bravery! Bole So Nihaal! Sat Sri Akal!!! Waheguru Ji Ka Khalsa, Waheguru Ji Ki Fateh!

According to the CRPF archive from which this report was obtained, Brahma sahib attempted for a full 25mintues to coax the CRPF to fight: the challenge was never accepted. Not a single person cam forward. Not a single son from the famed CRPF came forward to exchange swords with the son of Guru Gobind Singh Ji. Having shamed the CRPF, Brahma sahib and his fellow Singh’s left, shouting Jaikaraas into the open sky.

The CRPF, shamed, now ran amok in the village, shooting randomly and raping 5 women. The subsequent shame made international news and even pressed Julieo Ribeiro, the former director general of Punjab Police into action. As he notes in his biography, “KPS Gill was then Inspector General of the CRPF. He was not willing to take any action against his men. He approached the home ministry in Delhi to ensure that sanction was not accorded for criminal prosecution. Finally, the Government of India did not sanction the prosecution.”

The myth of Avtar Singh Brahma and the Khalistan Liberation Force had begun. However, following his untimely death, the KLF was headed by Shaheed Bhai Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala. Bhai Sahib had become a member of the KLF under the wing of its founder, Shaheed Aroor Singh, and swiftly progressed through its ranks with his daring exploits. Following the martyrdom of Avtar Singh Brahma, he was deemed to be the natural successor.
The family of Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala paid a heavy price for his involvement in the freedom struggle: both his uncle and his cousin were martyred in a fake encounter. The Punjab Police didn’t stop here. A police commander by the name of Mith Singh was appointed to the head of the police force near to Bhai Sahib’s home village. It has been well documented that he dragged Bhai Sahib’s father by the hair to the police station. It is alleged that he openly taunted him in front of the passing public:

“Go get your tiger of a son to come face me, face to face”

Having learned of this development, according to Punjab Police reports, Bhai Sahib, along with 3 associates, Lakhvinder Singh Lakha, Ajmer Singh Lodhivaal and Darshan Singh Tarkhanbad, walked into the police station and liquated the commanding police officer, Mith Singh. The other police officers locked themselves up within the police station, and none returned fire. Just like Avtar Singh Brahma, the legend of Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala was beginning to glow.

According to Punjab Police, he was personally held responsible for the deaths of several police officers, including many district and local commanding officers, including: 1. Senior Superintendent of Police (S.S.P) Gobind Ram 2. S.S.P A.S.Brar of Patiala 3. S.S.P R.S.Gill 4. Superintendent of Police Detective R.S.Tiwana 5. Detective Superintendent of Police Tara Chand Jagroan

Other police officers were seriously injured, including: 1. S.S.P Semedh Saini 2. S.P Kehar Singh 3. D.G.P Mangat

He was also responsible for killing Congress officials, most notably: 1. Punjab Congress Vice President Lala Bagvan Daas (killed in Jaito) 2. Ex-treasurer Balwant Singh (killed in Chandigarh)

He also kidnapped the Romanian diplomat L. Radu, thereby bringing the Sikh injustices to global attention. In doing so, he avenged the deaths of many Shaheeds. However, his leadership was brought to a close by his martyrdom, on 31st July 1992, at the tender age of 28. The Khalsa Panth and the Sikh people would never forget the ultimate sacrifice that he made.

Following the slaying of Shaheed Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala, leadership of the KLF passed to Shaheed Kuldip Singh Keepa Shekhupura. His leadership saw the decline of the Khalistan Liberation Force, with the Punjab Police, the CRPF, the Border Security Force and the large contingent of the Indian Army based in Punjab all using excessive force in dealing with the freedoms struggle. The martyrdom of Shaheed Kuldip Singh Keepa Shekhupura, led to the rise of Shaheed Navneet Singh Khadian.

Like his predecessor, his reign as Chief of the KLF was short. Despite holding his own and being instrumental in many of the KLF’s successes, the overall sapping of the Sikh
freedom struggle was taking its toll. Bhai Sahib attained martyrdom on the night of the 25th February 1994. He was aged just 24.

The Khalistan Liberation Force at the present time is a shell of its former self. The days of Avtar Singh Brahma and Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala are long gone. However, the KLF is still active and enjoys considerable support in the rural areas of Punjab, albeit on a much more covert scale than before. The popularity of its leaders, particularly Shaheeds Brahma and Budhsinghwala, ensure it’s longetivity amongst the Sikh community.

Although its numbers have shrunk, its intent and will to wage war on the Indian state that has attempted to mutilate the Sikh faith so vehemently cannot be denied. Its underground followers still possess considerable firepower, and like the rest of the freedom fighting organisations, its activity is only being held in check by the general uneasy peace that has been conveyed on Punjab in recent years.

Nevertheless, the grievances of the Sikhs still remain, and coupled with the large undercurrent of support for the freedom struggle, especially abroad, the revival of the Khalistan Liberation Force is a not too distant thought. Should the grievances of the Sikhs not be addressed fully and properly, and should a charismatic leader arise, the resurrection and resurgence of the Khalistan Liberation Force as a phoenix like organisation could very well be a likely outcome.

Khalistan Zindabad Force
The **Khalistan Zindabad Force** is a Sikh militant outfit comprised mainly of Jammu based Sikhs that advocates the creation of an independent Sikh majority state called Khalistan by achieving the independence of the Punjab state in India and adjoining Punjabi-speaking areas of neighbouring Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan via an armed struggle.

The Khalistan Zindabad Force is headed by Ranjit Singh Neeta. Ranjit Singh is among India's 20 most wanted persons and is believed to be currently hiding out in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab province of Pakistan.

Ranjit Singh is a native of Jammu & Kashmir and the Khalistan Zindabad Force draws the majority of its support base from Sikhs living in Jammu.

Since the early 1990's the Khalistan Zindabad Force has been largely inactive but has occasionally made its presence felt in India by carrying out terrorist activity and attempting to carry out strikes on Indian targets, mainly in Punjab, Jammu and New Delhi.

The strength and striking capabilities of the Khalistan Zindabad Force in currently unknown but it is believed that over recent years attempts have been made for the Khalistan Zindabad Force and terrorist groups of Kashmir to co-ordinate their efforts.

In December 2005 the European Union classified the Khalistan Zindabad Force as a terrorist organisation, freezing its monetary assets throughout its 25 member countries.

"Besides Kashmiri terrorists, Sikh extremist groups funded by the ISI have also been operating from Nepal.

In 1998, Lakhbir Singh, associated with the outlawed separatist Khalistan Zindabad Force was arrested from a hotel in Teku area with about 20 kg of RDX.
During interrogation, Singh confessed he had received the explosives from three Pakistani Embassy officials, later identified as counsellor Ejaz Hussain Minhas, first secretary (consular) Mohammed Arshad Cheema and Asam Saboor.

Both Saboor and Cheema were expelled by the Nepal government.

Cheema, deported in 2001 after being caught red-handed with 16.5 kg of RDX, is also said to be involved in the hijacking of an Indian Airlines flight from Kathmandu to Kandahar in 1999.”

Examples of major incidents
The **Babbar Khalsa** (Punjabi: ਬੱਬਰ ਖ਼ਾਲਸਾ, *babbar khālsā*) is a militant group considered to be among the oldest and most prominent of Sikh organisations calling for the formation of an independent Sikh state. The envisioned state, called Khalistan (meaning *Land of the Pure*) by its proponents, would comprise Indian territory in the Punjab, and Punjabi-speaking areas of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan. Like other Sikh separatist organisations, the Babbar Khalsa was most active in the 1970s and 1980s, although sporadic acts of violence are still attributed to it. It is sponsored largely by expatriate Sikhs, particularly in the United Kingdom and Canada. The Babbar Khalsa is listed as a terrorist organisation by the United Kingdom, the EU, Canada, India, and the United States. The United States has designated the Babbar Khalsa responsible for the bombing of Air India Flight 182; although the alleged members deemed responsible were all acquitted in a Canadian trial in 2005.
Origins of the Babbar Khalsa

The Babbar Khalsa traces its origin to the Babbar Akali Movement of 1920, which agitated against British colonial rule in India. The conception of Babbar Khalsa in its modern day form is widely believed to have been brought about as a result of the Nirankari-Akhand Kirtani Jatha clash on Vaisakhi in 1978, where thirteen Sikhs and three Nirankaris died. The Nirankaris were a sect who claimed to be Sikhs yet, in the opinion of some others, broke many fundamental laws of Sikhism. On 24 April 1980, Gurbachan Singh, the "Baba" of the Nirankaris, was killed. Responsibility for this killing was claimed by the Babbar Khalsa.

Sukhdev Singh Babbar and Talwinder Singh Parmar were the most prominent founding members of this organisation, with Talwinder Singh Parmar founding the Babbar Khalsa International in 1981 and Sukhdev Singh Babbar handling matters within India. Talwinder Singh Parmar later split off forming his own faction (Babbar Khalsa Parmar) when he fell out with the BKI leadership.

The split

The schism greatly weakened the Babbar Khalsa, ultimately leading to the death of Sukhdev Singh Babbar (9 August 1992) and Talwinder Singh Parmar (15 October 1992). Parmar's death remains controversial, and today he is accepted to have been shot in a gun battle with Indian police, with Canada's CBC network reporting that Parmar had been in police custody for some time prior to his death.

According to Punjab Police, the last words uttered by Sukhdev Singh Babbar were: "The Sukhdev Singh you have come to get has left, this body is an empty vessel, you may do with this as you wish." The death of Sukhdev Singh, described by India Today as “the most prominent militant leader since 1978” who had “an aura of invincibility”, severely weakened the Babbar Khalsa.

Recent events

Despite the setbacks incurred in the early Nineties, Babbar Khalsa is still active, although not to the extent it once was. The organisation at present is predominantly active in the USA, Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Belgium, Norway, Switzerland and Pakistan. The Parmar faction has a presence in the UK, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. Current leadership resides with Wadhawa Singh Babbar.

On 31 August 1995, Dilawar Singh Babbar assassinated Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh in a human bomb attack at the civil secretariat in Chandigarh. Dilawar claimed allegiance to the Babbar Khalsa and four other members of the Babbar Khalsa were named responsible for the killing.
On 31 May 2005 two alleged members of the Babbar Khalsa, Balvinder Singh and Jaganath Yadav were arrested and charged with the bombings of cinemas showing Jo Bole So Nihal in New Delhi on 22 May 2005. On 1 June 2005 the Delhi Police seized arms and ammunition from the house of Jaspal Singh. The seized items included 1 kg of RDX, a timer, detonator, a .303 rifle, 20 rounds of ammunitions, the uniform of a head constable of the Punjab Police along with several fake driving licences.

One week later the Delhi police arrested Babbar Khalsa's India operations chief Jagtar Singh Hawara. Hawara had escaped from jail in Chandigarh last year through a long tunnel dug by inmates. He is one those accused of having involvement in Beant Singh's assassination. Among the items recoverd in the arrest were 10.35 kg of RDX, four pistols, 207 live cartridges, remote control devices, and a hand grenade.

As of 21 March 2006, three Babbar Khalsa members had been arrested. Among the ones arrested was Paramjit Singh Bheora; the current head of Babbar Khalsa International (India branch). Bheora assumed the position of the Babbar Khalsa International (India branch) after Jagtar Singh Hawara's arrest. Bheora was arrested with his 2 accomplices Jasbir Singh and Bhupinder Singh.

According to Delhi Police along with the arrest of 3 Babbar Khalsa members they arrested they have also seized "4 kilograms of RDX, 3 detonators, 1 remote control device with a wireless set, 1 timer, 3 Star make pistols, 39 cartridges and a stolen car. Bheora was involved with Jagtar Singh Hawara and Jagtar Singh Tara in digging a 100 foot tunnel to escape from the Burail jail.

Ripudaman Singh Malik, the once accused of the Air India bombing now acquitted has admitted that he had donated money to the Babbar Khalsa. Malik said that he had donated 100 Canadian dollars to the Babbar Khalsa before they were registered as a terrorist organization in Canada this was in 1985.

Paramjit Singh Bheora told the Punjab police that after he escaped from prison he had recruited 24 people into the Babbar Khalsa. Bheora wanted to send 6 of them to Pakistan for training and to purchase some weapons.

The Punjab Police arrested 4 more people associated with Babbar Khalsa International (India branch) chief Paramjit Singh Bheora.

Punjab Police apprended Amanpreet Kaur, wife of Paramjit Singh Bheora along with 4 other suspected terrorists. The police recovered some weapons from them.

Police arrested an aide to Jagtar Singh Hawara, known as Gurinder Singh in a town of Jagraon. Gurinder Singh charged by the Indian Police for planning to assassinate a retired army general who played a vital part in Operation Bluestar and for providing shelter to Hawara when he escaped from Burail prison.
The Indian Police arrested Harpal Singh Cheema in New Delhi at the Indira Gandhi Airport. According to the Indian Police, Cheema has links to some Sikh extremist groups such as Babbar Khalsa International.

The Indian Police wants to prosecute people involved in the Cinema bomb blast, which occurred in New Delhi. The bombing was against the movie Jo Bole So Nihal which some Sikhs felt that it degraded the Sikh religion. The Indian Police is in process of laying charges against Jagtar Singh Hawara; who apparently was the mastermind in the Cinema blast and others who played a vital role in the bombing of two theaters in New Delhi.

The Canadian government decided to deport a Babbar Khalsa militant Bachan Singh Sogi on charges of planning to assassinate former Chief Minister of Punjab Prakash Singh Badal along with his son Sukhbir Singh Badal, and former Punjab Police Chief KPS Gill.

The Indian Police will continue to hold the Babbar Khalsa militant Bachan Singh Sogi in their custody till July 13, 2006. Bachan Singh Sogi, who is considered number three in Babbar Khalsa International after Wadhwa Singh and Paramjit Singh Panjwar (both of the alleged militants are in Pakistan).

The Indian Police are investigating the case of Dimpy's murder case, which the police believes is related with the Babbar Khalsa International terrorist group. Dimpy was murdered during 8 and 9 p.m. on July 7, 2006 outside Lake Club. To prosecute the criminals behind Dimpy's murder cops are checking all the phone calls made to Dimpy. As per the police that Dimpy's records revealed that his character was of that of a criminal gangster.

The Indian Supreme Court has allowed the members of Babbar Khalsa International; Jagtar Singh Hawara and Paramjit Singh Bheora to be kept in a special solitary confinement. "The special court has dismissed the plea of Lawyers for Human Rights International in this regard, filed by AS Chahhal, an office bearer of LHRI, demanding end to solitary confinement of Hawara and Bheora.

Chahhal had demanded some other facilities for the two terrorists, who escaped from the jail after digging a 104-ft-long tunnel along with other inmates.

In fact, jail authorities are trying to almost fortify the cells of the two alleged killers of then Punjab chief minister Beant Singh. The duo, along with others, had been facing trial for the last ten years.

A special barrack with walls of steel, concrete and bricks is being made by Burail jail authorities for Hawara, chief of Babbar Khalsa International, sources said.

The special court, which is being held in the jail premises these days, had sought a reply from the jail authorities explaining their views on the matter. In their reply, the jail authorities had reportedly detailed the previous record of the two accused.
Jail authorities have also dispatched a copy of jail manual with the reply, while contending that solitary confinement is correct in such cases.

Both Hawara and Bheora are not allowed to accept any outside food, fruit, clothing or money unless permitted by the authorities, sources said. They used to get sacks full of dry fruits, vegetables and other fruits earlier, they said."
Kach and Kahane Chai

The factual accuracy of part of this article is disputed. The dispute is about The US State Department, Israeli Government, and European Union all consider these groups as terrorist organizations. This article deals with all of these groups. Please see the relevant discussion on the talk page.

The logo of the Kach party.

Kach (כ"ח - kakh, acronym of קהנה לכנסת "Kahana LaKneset" "Kahane to the Knesset", alluding to the Irgun motto rak kakh: "only thus") was a far-right political party in Israel founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane. After his assassination in 1990, it split into two movements, Kach and Kahane Chai (Kahana Hai: "Kahane Lives"). The US State Department, Israeli Government, and European Union all consider these groups as terrorist organizations. This article deals with all of these groups.

Kach

Today in Israel being a member of Kach is against the law. Kahane's Kach maintained two central, political planks in their platform. The first was the proposed forced transfer of Arabs from the borders of Israel, including Israeli Arabs who did not accept the conditions of Ger toshav. The second was the establishment of a theocracy in Israel,
namely a state in the borders of Eretz Yisrael (the biblical land of Israel) ruled by traditional Jewish law (Halakha).

Kach candidates ran for seats in the Knesset in 1973, only two years after Kahane's arrival to Israel. It failed to attract the minimum number of votes (at the time, one percent). It continued to fail to win the minimum number of votes in the elections of 1977 and 1981. The party finally gained a Knesset seat in 1984 with Kahane as its only representative.

This caused significant alarm in Israel. In 1985, Basic Law: The Knesset (one of the Basic Laws of Israel) was amended to add section 7a, "Prevention of Participation of Candidates List." This provision ensured that:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{A candidates' list shall not participate in elections to the Knesset if its objects or actions, expressly or by implication, include one of the following:} \\
&\quad (1) \text{negation of the existence of the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish people;} \\
&\quad (2) \text{negation of the democratic character of the State;} \\
&\quad (3) \text{incitement to racism.}
\end{align*}\]

The first clause was specifically targeted at the Progressive List for Peace, and the third clause at Kach. Both parties had been elected for the first time to the Knesset.

Before the 1988 elections, the Central Elections Committee disqualified both parties. Both appealed to the Supreme Court of Israel. The court upheld the disqualification of Kach, finding that its principles constituted "incitement to racism," but reversed the disqualification of the Progressive List for Peace. This effectively ended Kach's existence as a political party.

### Split of Kach

Following Kahane's assassination in 1990 by El Sayyid Nosair, the movement split into two groups with similar ideologies and somewhat overlapping membership: Kach and Kahane Chai. Kach was originally led by Rabbi Avraham Toledano and later by Baruch Marzel out of Hebron. Kahane Chai was led by Meir's son Binyamin Ze'ev Kahane out of Kfar Tapuach until he and his wife were murdered in a random ambush by Palestinians in 2000. Both groups were outlawed by Israel in 1994 under anti-terrorism laws following statements in support of Baruch Goldstein's (himself a Kach member) massacre of 29 Palestinians at the Cave of the Patriarchs. Many of their leaders spent time in Israeli jail under administrative detention, particularly Noam Federman, who spent more than 6 months in lockup without being indicted. Presumably, most of Kach's electorate moved to other parties such as Rehavam Zeevi's Moledet.

Following the stopping of Kach and Kahane Chai the movements officially disbanded. The leadership of the former Kahane Chai formed an advocacy group known as The Kahane Movement. The group's activities consist mainly of maintaining the "Official
The Kahane Movement is listed on the United States' list of terrorist organizations as an alias for "Kach" though the group denies this.

The **New Kach Movement** existed during the period 2001 – 2003. It maintained websites posting Kahanist political commentary and held meetings with informal members. The organization was headed by Israeli-born student Efraim Hershkovits, who lived in Montreal, Canada. It had chapters worldwide as well as a youth movement, *Noar Meir*. Upon returning to live in Israel in 2003, Hershkovits disbanded the movement to avoid harassment by the Israeli government, advising its former members to support the Kahane Movement. After the organization had disbanded, its name was added to the United States' list of terrorist organizations as an alias for "Kach". Hershkovits was arrested on August 7, 2005 and placed in administrative detention for three months by Israeli authorities.

**Kach's Effect Today**

The United States Department of State designates the group as a terrorist organization and says that it has:

- Organized protests against the Israeli Government.
- Organized protests against Palestinians in Hebron.
- Vowed revenge for the murder of Binyamin Ze'ev Kahane and his wife.

The State Department also says that the group is suspected of involvement in a number of low-level attacks since the start of the Second Intifada in 2000. But several individuals in the US are challenging the terrorist designation in court, claiming that the Kahane parties have never participated in or taken credit for a single terrorist incident.

**Names Listed as active with Kach/Kahane Chai in the Department of State Administrative Record:**

*Note: in most but not all cases, the citation is simply to the first mention of a given name within the record. In a few instances, citations are provided to names already mentioned due to the significance of the mention(s).*

Rabbi Meir Kahane (founder of Kach)

Binyamin Kahane (founder of Kach offshoot Kahane Chai)

Dr. Baruch Goldstein (affiliated with Kach, carried out February 1994 attack on the al-Ibrahimi Mosque)

KAH03-2 – “Terrorism/Kahane Chai (Kach)” Center for Defense Information, October 1, 2002

Yigal Amir (assassin of Prime Minister Yitshak Rabin in 1995, member of Eyal a.k.a. the Jewish Fighting Organization, linked to Kach and Kahane Chai)

Baruch Marzel (head of Kach after the 1990 assassination of Meir Kahane)

Uri Amir (leader of kahanist youth group Noar Meir) convicted by Israeli court for sedition after distributing flyers endorsing the murder of Arabs, praising Rabin’s assassination, and encouraging people to donate to the “Baruch Goldstein Fund.”


Lenny Goldberg, editorial director of “Darka Shel Torah” and HaMeir publications, touring the US

David Ha’ivri, contact for Lenny Goldberg

F. Sidman, weekly columnist


Michael Guzofsky, billing contact for kahane.org

Efraim Hershkovits, administrative contact for newkach.org, and sponsor of the Montreal chapter of the New Kach – Jewish Defense Force.

KAH03-9 – “Kach leader Federman, along with son of Hebron settlement founder arrested as Jewish terror suspects,” an unclassified cable from U.S. Consulate Jerusalem, May 15, 2002.
Menashe Levinger, a Gush Etzion resident and son of Moshe, founder of the Gush Emunim Movement, arrested along with

Noam Federman, a leader of Kach and resident of Hebron in connection with the attempted bombing of a girls’ school in East Jerusalem


Shlomo Dvir (Zelliger) and Yarden Morag, both from the settlement of Bat Ayin, confess to planting “powerful” bomb between Mokassed Hospital and an elementary school in the Mount of Olives.


Tzuriel Amiur, resident of the settlement of Givat Adei-Ad, indicted in the Mokassed Hospital bombing attempt


Itamar Ben-Gvir, Kach member, attended meeting deciding to hoist placards stating “Sharon is a Traitor” and hand out pictures of Sharon clad in a keffiyeh.

Ben Levin, Kfar Tapuach settlement resident, stated “Sharon is a traitor.”


Baruch Marzel, “Marzel had acquired a police record of some 40 files before he was 30: his record includes disturbances in the Cave of the Patriarchs, assault (which earned him a 12-month suspended prison sentence), staging a riot in Al-Duhayshah (a three-month suspended sentence and a NIS 400 fine), vandalizing Arab vehicles in Hebron, assaulting an Israeli TV crew (six months in jail, three months suspended, NIS 3,000 fine), assaulting an Arab (four months suspended imprisonment and a fine), assaulting a police officer, assaulting [political activist] Uri Avneri, causing damage to the municipality building in Ashqelon after the town square had been renamed in memory of Muhammad V, and more… It was, and still is, claimed that Marzel is at the head of the Kakh terror organization according to people in the State Attorney’s office…”

KAH03-35 Copy of letters sent by the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism to Kahane Chai counsels etc.
In the 2003 elections former Kach leader Baruch Marzel ran as number two on the Herut party list. The party narrowly missed obtaining a seat. In 2004 he founded the Chayil Party a.k.a. "National Jewish Front" (תידוהי תימואל תיזח). The party run in the 2006 elections and gained 24824 votes - about 0.7% of the populace, and about 40% of the minimal number of votes required for entry.

**Terrorist Attacks Associated with Kahanists**

Kahanist graffiti seen in Hebron, sprayed on a Palestinian home. The words to the top right say "Kahane Chai". The fist inside the Star of David is the party logo. Below is the acronym for "Kahana Chai" which is also the Hebrew word for strength.

According to Council on Foreign Relations Kach and Kahane Chai have been associated with a number of terrorist acts:

- In August 2005 Eden Natan-Zada, a Kach member, opened fire on a bus in Shfar'am killing four people and wounding 22.
- In February 1994 Baruch Goldstein, another Kach member, opened fire
on Palestinian worshippers inside the Abraham Mosque in Hebron, killing twenty-nine people and wounding many others.

- In the 1980s The Makhteret, a resistance group with links to Kach, allegedly staged several attacks against Palestinian officials who were believed to have spearheaded various terrorist attacks against Israelis.

- Israeli authorities have foiled Makhteret's plans to blow up the al-Aqsa Mosque.

Jewish Defense League

The Jewish Defense League (JDL) is a militant Jewish organization whose purported goal is to protect Jewish people and property from anti-Semitism. The FBI considers the organization to be a "right-wing terrorist group." Mainstream Jewish groups oppose the JDL in some form, and do not associate.

Founding

The JDL was founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane. Its goal was to protect Jews, initially in New York City, and to protest local manifestations of anti-Semitism.
History

JDL Chairmen

1968-71- Rabbi Meir Kahane.

1971-73- David Fisch, a religious Columbia University student, who later wrote articles for Jewish magazines, and who wrote at least one book, "Jews for Nothing."

1973-74- No Chairman. There was infighting and chaos until Rabbi Kahane returned in August 1974 to straighten things out.

1974-76- Russell Kellner, originally from Philadelphia. He moved to New York to run the national office as chairman.

1976-78- Bonnie Pechter.

September 1978- December 1978- Chaim Ben Pesach, then known by his his English name Victor Vancier. He had to step down when he went to jail for bombing Egyptian targets in a failed effort to stop Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula.

1979-81- Brett Becker, originally from South Florida. He came to New York to become Chairman.

1981-83- Meir Jolowitz, originally from Arizona. He also came to New York.

1983-84- Fern Sidman.

1984-1987- Chaim Ben Pesach. Starting in 1985, Irv Rubin also claimed to be Chairman but none of the JDL chapters outside of Los Angeles supported him.

After Chaim went to prison, and Rabbi Kahane was assassinated, Irv Rubin took full control of the Jewish Defense League until his death in 2002.

Imprisonment and deaths of Irv Rubin and Earl Krugel

On December 12, 2001, Irv Rubin, JDL International Chairman, and Earl Krugel, a member of the organization, were charged with conspiracy to commit acts of terrorism. Authorities claimed that the two planned attacks on Arab-American Congressman Darrell Issa's office, and on the King Fahd Mosque in Culver City, California.

Rubin maintained that he was innocent, and was reportedly eager to wage a vigorous court battle in his defense. On November 4, 2002, at the federal Metropolitan Detention Center in Los Angeles, California, Rubin fell 18 feet to the concrete floor below. He was in a coma for 10 days before dying on November 13. Ther prison's official report was that
he slashed his own neck before throwing himself over the railing, which would seem an odd suicide attempt to say the least. The incident has been ruled a suicide, though some of Rubin's supporters have alleged murder.

On February 4, 2003, Earl Krugel pled guilty to conspiracy and weapons charges stemming from the terrorist plot, and was expected to serve up to 20 years in prison. He was murdered by another inmate while at the Federal Correctional Institution in north Phoenix, Arizona on November 4, 2005.

**Schism, and its immediate aftermath**

The Jewish Defense League became mired in a state of modest upheaval a couple of years after Rubin's death. After Rubin's death, Bill Maniaci became Chairman. When Maniaci retired, Matt Finberg took his place. After Finberg resigned, Ian Sigel took his place.

In October 2004, the JDL split into two separate factions, each vying for legal control of the associated "intellectual property". During that period the sides operated as separate organizations with the same name, while a lengthy legal battle ensued.

In April 2005 the original domain name of the organization, jdl.org, was suspended by Network Solutions due to allegation of infringement; the organization went back online soon thereafter at domain name jewishdefenseleague.org.

In April 2006 news of a settlement was announced in which signatories agreed to not object to "Shelley Rubin's titles of permanent chairman and CEO of JDL." The agreement also confirmed that "the name 'Jewish Defense League,' the acronym 'JDL,' and the 'Fist and Star]' logo are the exclusive intellectual property of JDL." Opponents of both groups claim that these symbols are Kahanist symbols and not the exclusive property of JDL. The agreement also states: "Domain names registered on behalf of JDL, including but not limited to jdl.org and jewishdefenseleague.org, are owned and operated by JDL."

Meanwhile, the opposing group has formed B'nai Elim. Most members of the former JDL under Irv Rubin now support B'nai Elim.

In France there exists an a organization, *Ligue de Défense Juive* (LDJ), that is similar to the original JDL.

**JDL activities**

**Anti-Soviet activities**

The Jewish Defense League during the early seventies campaigned to allow the emigration of Soviet Jews from the Soviet Union. The organization was linked with a 1970 bomb explosion outside of Aeroflot's New York City office, and a 1971 detonation outside of Soviet cultural offices in Washington, D.C. Also in 1971, a JDL member allegedly fired a rifle into the Soviet Union's mission office at the United Nations. In
1972 two JDL members were arrested and charged with bomb possession and burglary in a conspiracy to blow up the Long Island residence of the Soviet Mission to the UN. The two JDL members pleaded guilty and were sentenced to serve 3 years in prison for one, and a year and a day for the other.

In 1975, JDL leader Meir Kahane was accused of conspiring to kidnap a Soviet diplomat, to bomb the Iraqi Embassy in Washington, and to ship arms abroad from Israel. A hearing was held to revoke Kahane's probation for a 1971 firebomb-making incident. He was found guilty of violating probation and served a one year prison sentence. JDL activities were condemned by Moscow refuseniks who felt that the group's actions were making it less likely that the Soviet Union would relax restrictions on Jewish emigration. On April 6, 1976, six prominent refuseniks, Vladimir Slepak, Alexander Lerner, Anatoly Shcharansky, and Iosif Begun condemned the JDL's activities as "terrorist acts," stating "Such actions constitute a danger for Soviet Jews... as they might be used by the authorities as a pretext for new repressions and for instigating anti-Semitic hostilities."

During the 1980s, the then JDL Chairman and current Jewish Task Force Chairman Chaim Ben Pesach led a campaign of bombing Soviet targets which he credits as the reason for the complete removal of the ban of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union and as well as the reason for the fall of the Soviet Union. He has said that the bombings brought strains in US-Soviet relations which he says helped the cause.

**Controversies**

**Terrorism**

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has described the Jewish Defense League in Congressional testimony as a "violent" and "extremist" group. In a sidebar in its "Terrorism 2000/2001" report, the Bureau said, "The Jewish Defense League has been deemed a right-wing terrorist group." It identified the group in a 1999 terrorism report as the perpetrator of several bombing and arson incidents that took place between 1980 and 1989. Mary Doran, an FBI street agent, described the JDL in 2004 Congressional testimony as "a proscribed terrorist group," though Doran also acknowledged that she is not involved in "policy and administrative decision-making processes." In 2001 JDL leaders Irv Rubin and Earl Krugel were charged with planning a terror attack against the office of Arab-American Congressman Darrell Issa.

The Jewish Defense League denies that it is a terrorist organization or a sponsor of terror. Its website states: "The Jewish Defense League unconditionally condemns terrorism of all forms. Terrorism is never a legitimate means to the furtherance of political goals."

Nevertheless, on a number of occasions the JDL has expressed support for acts of vengeance in reprisal to Arab terrorist attacks on Jews. On October 26, 1981 after two firebombs damaged the Egyptian Tourist Office at Rockefeller Center, JDL Chairman Meir Kahane said at a press conference: "I'm not going to say that the JDL bombed that office. There are laws against that in this country. But I'm not going to say I mourn for it"
either." The next day, an anonymous caller claimed responsibility on behalf of the JDL. A JDL spokesman later denied his group's involvement, but said "We support the act."

**Hebron massacre**

On 25 February 1994, a JDL member opened fire on Palestinian Muslims kneeling in prayer at mosque in the West Bank city of Hebron, killing 29. The incident is sometimes referred to as the Cave of the Patriarchs massacre. A statement on the official website of the JDL glorifies the terrorist Baruch Goldstein and his crime, claiming him as one of their own:

"Dr. Goldstein was a brilliant surgeon, a mild-mannered Yeshiva-educated man who was promoted to the rank of major in the IDF. He was warned by his superiors in the military to prepare an open field hospital in anticipation of another murderous attack by the hostile Arab population of Hevron during the Jewish festival of Purim. Many of these Arabs were standing outside Goldstein's synagogue in the Cave of the Patriarchs and yelling "Slaughter the Jew." Goldstein had lost 30 close friends in the last few years; they were murdered by Arabs in the Hevron-Kiryat Arba area. One of those was the son of his best friend, Mordechai Lapid; as Goldstein rushed to give the young man medical aid, he was held back by the Arabs on the scene and the young man died. Additionally, as there is proof that the Arabs were hoarding food and supplies in response to a Muslim call for a massacre on the Jewish holiday of Purim, we feel that Goldstein took a preventative measure against yet another Arab attack on Jews. We understand his motivation, his grief and his actions. And we are not ashamed to say that Goldstein was a charter member of the Jewish Defense League."

Goldstein is revered as a saint by extremist Zionists and his tomb was converted into a shrine by his supporters until its dismantlement by the Israeli authorities in 1999.

**Reactions to the JDL**

The JDL has been criticized by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) for presenting a "gross distortion" of the real situation of American Jews. The ADL also states that JDL's founder, Meir Kahane, "preached a radical form of Jewish nationalism which reflected racism, violence and political extremism" and that those attitudes "were replicated" by Irv Rubin, the successor to Kahane.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has added the JDL to its list of watched "hate groups"
The **Babbar Khalsa** (Punjabi: ਬੱਬਰ ਖ਼ਾਲਸਾ, babbar Ḵẖālsā) is a militant group considered to be among the oldest and most prominent of Sikh organisations calling for the formation of an independent Sikh state. The envisioned state, called Khalistan (meaning *Land of the Pure*) by its proponents, would comprise Indian territory in the Punjab, and Punjabi-speaking areas of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan. Like other Sikh separatist organisations, the Babbar Khalsa was most active in the 1970s and 1980s, although sporadic acts of violence are still attributed to it. It is sponsored largely by expatriate Sikhs, particularly in the United Kingdom and Canada. The Babbar Khalsa is listed as a terrorist organisation by the United Kingdom, the EU, Canada, India, and the United States. The United States has designated the Babbar Khalsa responsible for the
bombing of Air India Flight 182; although the alleged members deemed responsible were all acquitted in a Canadian trial in 2005.

**Origins of the Babbar Khalsa**

The Babbar Khalsa traces its origin to the Babbar Akali Movement of 1920, which agitated against British colonial rule in India. The conception of Babbar Khalsa in its modern day form is widely believed to have been brought about as a result of the Nirankari-Akhand Kirtani Jatha clash on Vaisakhi in 1978, where thirteen Sikhs and three Nirankaris died. The Nirankaris were a sect who claimed to be Sikhs yet, in the opinion of some others, broke many fundamental laws of Sikhism. On 24 April 1980, Gurbachan Singh, the "Baba" of the Nirankaris, was killed. Responsibility for this killing was claimed by the Babbar Khalsa.

Sukhdev Singh Babbar and Talwinder Singh Parmar were the most prominent founding members of this organisation, with Talwinder Singh Parmar founding the Babbar Khalsa International in 1981 and Sukhdev Singh Babbar handling matters within India. Talwinder Singh Parmar later split off forming his own faction (Babbar Khalsa Parmar) when he fell out with the BKI leadership.

**The split**

The schism greatly weakened the Babbar Khalsa, ultimately leading to the death of Sukhdev Singh Babbar (9 August 1992) and Talwinder Singh Parmar (15 October 1992). Parmar's death remains controversial, and today he is accepted to have been shot in a gun battle with Indian police, with Canada's CBC network reporting that Parmar had been in police custody for some time prior to his death.

According to Punjab Police, the last words uttered by Sukhdev Singh Babbar were: "The Sukhdev Singh you have come to get has left, this body is an empty vessel, you may do with this as you wish." The death of Sukhdev Singh, described by India Today as “the most prominent militant leader since 1978” who had “an aura of invincibility”, severely weakened the Babbar Khalsa.

**Recent events**

Despite the setbacks incurred in the early Nineties, Babbar Khalsa is still active, although not to the extent it once was. The organisation at present is predominantly active in the USA, Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Belgium, Norway, Switzerland and Pakistan. The Parmar faction has a presence in the UK, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. Current leadership resides with Wadhawa Singh Babbar.

On 31 August 1995, Dilawar Singh Babbar assassinated Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh in a human bomb attack at the civil secretariat in Chandigarh. Dilawar claimed
allegiance to the Babbar Khalsa and four other members of the Babbar Khalsa were named responsible for the killing.

On 31 May 2005 two alleged members of the Babbar Khalsa, Balvinder Singh and Jaganath Yadav were arrested and charged with the bombings of cinemas showing Jo Bole So Nihal in New Delhi on 22 May 2005. On 1 June 2005 the Delhi Police seized arms and ammunition from the house of Jaspal Singh. The seized items included 1 kg of RDX, a timer, detonator, a .303 rifle, 20 rounds of ammunitions, the uniform of a head constable of the Punjab Police along with several fake driving licences.

One week later the Delhi police arrested Babbar Khalsa's India operations chief Jagtar Singh Hawara. Hawara had escaped from jail in Chandigarh last year through a long tunnel dug by inmates. He is one those accused of having involvement in Beant Singh's assassination. Among the items recoverd in the arrest were 10.35 kg of RDX, four pistols, 207 live cartridges, remote control devices, and a hand grenade.

As of 21 March 2006, three Babbar Khalsa members had been arrested. Among the ones arrested was Paramjit Singh Bheora; the current head of Babbar Khalsa International (India branch). Bheora assumed the position of the Babbar Khalsa International (India branch) after Jagtar Singh Hawara's arrest. Bheora was arrested with his 2 accomplices Jasbir Singh and Bhopinder Singh.

According to Delhi Police along with the arrest of 3 Babbar Khalsa members they arrested they have also seized "4 kilograms of RDX, 3 detonators, 1 remote control device with a wireless set, 1 timer, 3 Star make pistols, 39 cartridges and a stolen car. Bheora was involved with Jagtar Singh Hawara and Jagtar Singh Tara in digging a 100 foot tunnel to escape from the Burail jail.

Ripudaman Singh Malik, the once accused of the Air India bombing now acquitted has admitted that he had donated money to the Babbar Khalsa. Malik said that he had donated 100 Canadian dollars to the Babbar Khalsa before they were registered as a terrorist organization in Canada this was in 1985.

Paramjit Singh Bheora told the Punjab police that after he escaped from prison he had recruited 24 people into the Babbar Khalsa. Bheora wanted to send 6 of them to Pakistan for training and to purchase some weapons.

The Punjab Police arrested 4 more people associated with Babbar Khalsa International (India branch) chief Paramjit Singh Bheora.

Punjab Police apprehended Amanpreet Kaur, wife of Paramjit Singh Bheora along with 4 other suspected terrorists. The police recovered some weapons from them.

Police arrested an aide to Jagtar Singh Hawara, known as Gurinder Singh in a town of Jagraon. Gurinder Singh charged by the Indian Police for planning to assassinate a retired
army general who played a vital part in Operation Bluestar and for providing shelter to Hawara when he escaped from Burail prison.

The Indian Police arrested Harpal Singh Cheema in New Delhi at the Indira Gandhi Airport. According to the Indian Police, Cheema has links to some Sikh extremist groups such as Babbar Khalsa International.

The Indian Police wants to prosecute people involved in the Cinema bomb blast, which occurred in New Delhi. The bombing was against the movie Jo Bole So Nihal which some Sikhs felt that it degraded the Sikh religion. The Indian Police is in process of laying charges against Jagtar Singh Hawara; who apparently was the mastermind in the Cinema blast and others who played a vital role in the bombing of two theaters in New Delhi.

The Canadian government decided to deport a Babbar Khalsa militant Bachan Singh Sogi on charges of planning to assassinate former Chief Minister of Punjab Prakash Singh Badal along with his son Sukhbir Singh Badal, and former Punjab Police Chief KPS Gill.

The Indian Police will continue to hold the Babbar Khalsa militant Bachan Singh Sogi in their custody till July 13, 2006. Bachan Singh Sogi, who is considered number three in Babbar Khalsa International after Wadhwa Singh and Paramjit Singh Panjwar (both of the alleged militants are in Pakistan).

The Indian Police are investigating the case of Dimpy's murder case, which the police believes is related with the Babbar Khalsa International terrorist group. Dimpy was murdered during 8 and 9 p.m. on July 7, 2006 outside Lake Club. To prosecute the criminals behind Dimpy's murder cops are checking all the phone calls made to Dimpy. As per the police that Dimpy's records revealed that his character was of that of a criminal gangster.

The Indian Supreme Court has allowed the members of Babbar Khalsa International; Jagtar Singh Hawara and Paramjit Singh Bheora to be kept in a special solitary confinement. "The special court has dismissed the plea of Lawyers for Human Rights International in this regard, filed by AS Chahhal, an office bearer of LHRI, demanding end to solitary confinement of Hawara and Bheora.

Chahhal had demanded some other facilities for the two terrorists, who escaped from the jail after digging a 104-ft-long tunnel along with other inmates.

In fact, jail authorities are trying to almost fortify the cells of the two alleged killers of then Punjab chief minister Beant Singh. The duo, along with others, had been facing trial for the last ten years.

A special barrack with walls of steel, concrete and bricks is being made by Burail jail authorities for Hawara, chief of Babbar Khalsa International, sources said.
The special court, which is being held in the jail premises these days, had sought a reply from the jail authorities explaining their views on the matter. In their reply, the jail authorities had reportedly detailed the previous record of the two accused.

Jail authorities have also dispatched a copy of jail manual with the reply, while contending that solitary confinement is correct in such cases.

Both Hawara and Bheora are not allowed to accept any outside food, fruit, clothing or money unless permitted by the authorities, sources said. They used to get sacks full of dry fruits, vegetables and other fruits earlier, they said."

Khalistan Commando Force
The Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) was a major Sikh militant organization whose goal was the eventual formation of the Sikh state of Khalistan, which would encompass Punjab, India, as well as some districts of neighbouring states. The KCF, along with the Babbar Khalsa, the Khalistan Liberation Force, and the Bhindranwale Tiger Force of Khalistan, clashed repeatedly with Punjab's Hindu minority, with Sikhs who opposed them, and with Indian Army forces during the 1980s and early 1990s. The group was described as a terrorist group by the Government of India, and as freedom fighters by its supporters.

The Khalistan Commando Force was formed by a former police officer, Sukhdev Singh alias Sukha Sipahi, who later changed his name to Labh Singh. The Khalistan Commando Force had a fluid hierarchy, enabling it to accommodate any potential setbacks: the undisputed head of the Khalistan Commando Force, until his death, was Shaheed General Labh Singh. He appointed half a dozen Lieutenant Generals, each independent of each other, with each of them having Area Commanders. As such, the death of a Lieutenant General for example would result in the promotion of an Area Commander.

The organization primarily battled Indian military forces, especially in revenge for Operation Blue Star, the government's 1984 invasion of the Harimandir Sahib (Golden Temple) in Amritsar. It attacked Hindus in Punjab in what the government described as an attempt to drive the Hindu minority out of the region, and sometimes attacked sellers of alcohol, cigarettes, and other items prohibited by conservative Sikhism.

The death of General Labh Singh on July 12, 1988 in an encounter with police dealt a knockout blow to the organisation, causing its eventual splintering. Whereas before Shaheed General Labh Singh had been a charismatic chief whose leadership was unquestioned, many of his Lieutenant Generals emerged after his death, vying with each other for control. The eventual result was the break-up of the Khalistan Commando Force into several factions, most notably those led by Wassan Singh Zaffarwal (KCF-Zaffarwal), Paramjit Singh Panjwar (KCF-Panjwar) and Gurjant Singh Rajasthani (KCF-Rajasthani). To make matters worse, each of these chose to be under different Panthic Committees (umbrella groups that directed aims and actions), thereby diversifying and weakening the focus of the Sikh freedom fighters.

Another setback to the Sikh rebellion was the cessation in co-operation between the Khalistan Commando Force and the Babbar Khalsa. The rapprochement that had been fostering between Shaheed General Labh Singh and Shaheed Sukhdev Singh Babbar was
put on ice and eventually disintegrated altogether, leading to the overall weakening of the Sikh struggle.

The eventual capture and killing of several of the Khalistan Commando Force's Lieutenant Generals and Area Commanders eventually took its toll and many of the factions were eliminated by the Punjab Police and the Indian security forces.

After the major defeats of the KCF in the late 1980s, the group continued its struggle into the 1990s, sometimes working together with other Sikh militant groups. A June 1991 attack on a passenger train in northwestern Punjab killed about fifty, mostly Hindu, passengers. A September 1993 bombing in New Delhi targeting Indian Youth Congress president Maninder Singh Bitta that killed eight people.

As of 2006, the only operating remnant of the KCF is the Panjwar faction, which is based largely in Pakistan. In June 2006 a member of the Panjwar faction of the KCF, Kulbir Singh Barapind was extradited from USA to India. He was deported to India for belonging to a terrorist organization and for entering the United States with a false passport. He was wanted in India for thirty-two cases, but was arrested for three murders in the early 1990s. After his arrest he stated that he would renew the Khalistan movement through peaceful means.
**Al Wafa al Igatha al Islamia**

There is another organization named Al Wafa (Israel), a charity, in Israel, devoted to women, which is not suspected of ties to terrorism.

There is another organization Jamaiat Al-Wafa LiRayat Al-Musenin which is proscribed by the Israeli government.

**Al Wafa** is an Islamic charity listed in Executive Order 13224 as an entity that supports terrorism. United States intelligence officials state that it was founded in Afghanistan by Adil Zamil Abdull Mohssin Al Zamil, Abdul Aziz al-Matrafi and Samar Khand.

According to Saad Madai Saad al-Azmi's Combatant Status Review Tribunal Al Wafa is located in the Wazir Akhbar Khan area of Afghanistan.

**Individuals alleged to have affiliation with Al Wafa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuals alleged to have affiliation with Al Wafa</th>
<th>Guantanamo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abd Al Aziz Sayer Uwain Al Shammeri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdallah Saleh Ali Al Ajmi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdul Aziz al-Matrafi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdul Hakim Abdul Rahman Abdulaziz Al Mousa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdullah Ali Al Utaybi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- One of the charges in Al Shammeri's Kuwaiti trial was that he helped fund Al Wafa.
- Al Shammeri was acquitted.
- One of the charges in Al Ajmi's Kuwaiti trial was that he helped fund Al Wafa.
- Al Ajmi was acquitted.
- Adil Zamil Abdull Mohssin Al Zamil's CSRT alleges al-Matrafi is one of the founders of Al Wafa.
- Al Mousa's ARB factors state: "Information strongly suggests that the detainee may be identifiable with senior personnel of al Wafa."
- Bessam Muhammed Saleh Al Dubaikey's Combatant Status Review Tribunal alleges a traveling companion, named Abdullah Ali Al Utaybi, was a director of Al Wafa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adil Zamil Abdull Mohssin Al Zamil</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Alleged founder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed Abdul Qader</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Once met with al-Matrafi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allah Nasir</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Alleged to have worked for Al Wafa in Herat.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bessam Muhammed Saleh Al Dubaikey</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Detained largely because he spent four days with a traveling companion, named Abdullah Ali Al Utaybi, who American intelligence analysts suspect was a director of Al Wafa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faiz Mohammed Ahmed Al Kandari</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Al Kandari’s ARB factors state: &quot;The detainee was associated with the Al Wafa organization.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fouad Mahoued Hasan Al Rabia</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Alleged that he -likely- transferred money on behalf of Al Wafa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Muhammed Ibrahim Al Nasir</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Al Nasir's CSRT allegations state: &quot;The detainee visited the Al Wafa director in Kabul, Afghanistan in 2001.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamal Muhammad Alawi Mar'i</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Mari'i's CSRT alleges he visited Al Wafa's Kabul office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalid Bin Abdullah Mishal Thamer Al Hameydani</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Alleged to have worked for Al Wafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed Ahmed Said Haidel</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Haidel's CSRT allegations state: &quot;The detainee provided general information about an al Wafa office in Kabul.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustafa Ahmed Hamlily</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Alleged to have worked for Al Wafa in Jalalabad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa ad Ibrahim Sa ad Al Bidna</td>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>• Al Bidna's ARB factors state that a Saudi al Qaida facilitator facilitated his illegal entry into Pakistan.</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Allegations</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saad Madai Saad al-Azmi</td>
<td>detained in Guantanamo</td>
<td>Alleged to have worked for Al Wafa for three months in Kabul.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Said Boujaadia</td>
<td>detained in Guantanamo</td>
<td>Boujaadia's CSRT allegations state: &quot;The detainee is associated with the al Wafa organization.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samar Khand</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Alleged founder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified Guantanamo</td>
<td>detained in Guantanamo</td>
<td>&quot;Detainee observed that the leader of the Al-Wafa office in Kabul, Afghanistan, known as ###### carried a Kalishnikov rifle, as did several of other Al-Wafa workers located there.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Islamist Fronts

Al-Barakat

Al-Barakat or al-Barakaat (which means "The Blessed" in Arabic) is a wire transfer network (or rather an informal value transfer system). It originated in Somalia and is involved in the remittance trade. By 2001 it operated in 40 countries and was the country’s largest private employer. Al-Barakat handled about US$140 million a year from the diaspora, and offered phone and Internet services.

The effects of anti-terrorist financing measures of the US government and other participating countries were disastrous for Al-Barakat – and for Somalia, a country with no recognized government and functioning state apparatus, one that has not had a formal system of banking in the past 13 years. After many foreign communities largely washed its hands of the country following the disastrous peacekeeping foray in 1994, remittances had become the lifeline of some of its inhabitants. With no officially recognized private banking system, the remittance trade was dominated by a single firm, Al-Barakat. In 2001, the United States shut down Al-Barakat Bank’s overseas money remittance channel, labeling the bank “the quartermasters of terror.” (By early 2003, though, only four criminal prosecutions had been filed, and none involved charges of aiding terrorists.)

With remittances representing 25 percent to 40 percent of Somalia’s total gross national product, closure of Al-Barakat has a big effect for the Somali economy. Although other money transfer agencies soon filled the gap created in the market, the humanitarian impact of money frozen in transit was considerable.


**Fees**

For a two percent fee they offer to transfer money almost anywhere in the world.

**Availability**

For a long time, Al-Barakat was one of the wire transfer services to offer transfer to Somalia. Al-Barakat is a modern form of hawala.
How it works: a web of trust

To transfer money simply go into an Al-Barakat office anywhere in the world and deposit money to be transferred with the location and contact details of the recipient. Upon deposit, the nearest Al-Barakat office will inform the recipient.

Transfer system not used in US 911 attacks

After the September 11, 2001 attacks the Al-Barakat network came under attack since it was suspected that hawala brokers may have helped terrorist organizations transfer money to fund terrorist activities.

The 9/11 Commission Report has since confirmed that the bulk of the funds used to finance the assault on the twin towers were not sent through the hawala system, but rather by inter-bank wire transfer to the SunTrust Bank in Florida. Nevertheless, the Al-Barakat network suffered anyway due to anti-terror activities.
**Lashkar-e-Toiba** (Urdu: لشکر طیبہ, literally The Army of Pure, also transliterated as Lashkar-i-Tayyaba, Lashkar-e-Tayyaba or Lashkar-i-Toiba) is one of the largest and most active Islamic terrorist outfits in South Asia. It was founded by Hafiz Mohd Saeed (Hafiz Muhammad Saeed) in the Kunar province of Afghanistan and is currently based in Pakistan-administered Kashmir. Ever since its formation in 1990, Lashkar-e-Toiba has carried out a series of major terrorist attacks against the Republic of India. The organization is considered as a terrorist organization by several countries like India, United States, United Kingdom, Russia and Australia.

The Lashkar-e-Toiba's primary objective is not only to end Indian rule in Jammu and Kashmir but also to establish Islamic rule all over India.

**History**

Formed in 1990 in the Kunar province of Afghanistan, the Lashkar-e-Toiba is the military wing of the Markaz-ud-Dawa-wal-Irshad (MDI), an Islamic fundamentalist organisation of the Ahle-Hadith sect in Pakistan. The MDI is based in Muridke near Lahore, Pakistan and is headed by Prof. Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, who is also the Amir of the LeT. He now heads an Islamist charity, Jamaat ud Dawa (JUD, or Party of the Calling), which is a front for the armed group. Its first presence in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) was recorded in 1993 when 12 Pakistani and Afghan mercenaries infiltrated across the Line of Control (LoC) in tandem with the Islami Inquilabi Mahaz, another Islamic military organization then active in the Poonch district of J&K.

Following the U.S. notification of the outfit as a foreign terrorist organisation, which put pressure on the Pakistani government to curb overt activities of the organization, the top leadership of MDI initiated a reshuffle of the parent outfit. Presently, the MDI claims that it has been reorganized into two independent wings- one exclusively devoted to preaching of Islam with Prof. Hafiz Muhammad Saeed as its chief and the other to carry on its violent campaign in Kashmir under the leadership of Kashmiri scholar Maulana Abdul Wahid Kashmiri.

Unlike other terrorist groups in Pakistan, it was not responsible for the sectarian violence in Pakistan until it was officially banned by the Government of Pakistan. Though the group was banned in 2002 by the Pakistani government, clandestine support by army and intelligence officers is often mentioned in local media reports. The party JUD is legal in
Pakistan, although it was banned by the United States in April 2006. The head was arrested by Pakistan, possibly under pressure from the United States.

The declaration of LeT as a terrorist organization by the United States Secretary of State in 2003 preserves the U.S. Government’s ability to take action against them in accordance with the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, making it illegal for persons in the United States or subject to U.S. jurisdiction to provide material support to this terrorist groups. It requires U.S. financial institutions to block assets held by them; and it enables them to deny visas to representatives of this group.

**Objective**

The Lashkar-e-Toiba was first involved in the Mujahideen militance against Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s and early 1990s. Subsequently, it began operations in the Indian administered Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) and has been involved in the fight against Indian presence there.

The LeT’s professed ideology goes beyond merely challenging India's sovereignty over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Lashkar's agenda, as outlined in a pamphlet titled "Why are we waging jihad", includes the restoration of Islamic rule over all parts of South Asia, Russia and even China. Further, the outfit is based on a sort of Islamist fundamentalism preached by its mentor, the JuD. It seeks to bring about a union of all Muslim majority regions in countries that surround Pakistan.

LeT is active in J&K, Chechnya and other parts of Central Asia. The outfit had claimed that it had assisted the Taliban militia and Osama bin Laden’s Al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan during November and December 2002 in their fight against the US-aided Northern Alliance.

**Leadership and Command Structure**

The outfit’s headquarters was located in the MDI’s complex at Muridke near Lahore until late 2001 when they had to shift its headquarters from Muridke to Muzaffarabad; this was undertaken mainly for political reasons (including detachment from Jama'at-ud-Da'awa and pressure from the Pakistan government), although the MDI has claimed that the LeT has shifted all its facilities and offices to because the outfit needed more space and since it formed a new General Council.

The new Council comprises Maulana Abdul Wahid Kashmiri (the Supreme Leader), with Mr. Zaki ur Rehman Lakhwi as the 'Supreme Commander' within Jammu & Kashmir. Other members of the General Council are - Mr. Abdullah of Anantnag (Islamabad) - Mr. Haji Mohammad Azam of Poonch - Mr. Muzammil Butt of Doda - Mr. Mohammad Umair of Baramullah - Mr. Chaudhri Abdullah Khalid Chauhan of Bagh - Mr. Rafiq Akhtar of Muzaffarabad - Mr. Aftab Hussain of Kotli - Mr. Faisal Dar of Srinagar - Mr.
Chaudhri Yusuf of Mirpur - Mr. Maulana Mohammad Sharif Balghari of Baltistan - Mr. Raja Mohammad Irshad Advocate - Mr. Masood Lone Advocate.

Until these new organisational changes, the organisational level of the Lashkar-e-Toiba was led by its Amir, Prof. Hafiz Muhammad Saeed and the operational chief of the outfit was reported to be ‘commander’ Saifullah. Organisation's field structure in Jammu & Kashmir is organised at district levels with ‘district commanders’ in charge. Within Pakistan, the outfit has a network of training camps and branch offices, which undertake recruitment and fundraising.

**Funding**

Until 2002 the group collected funds through public fundraising events, usually using charity boxes in shops and mosques. With development of humanitarian work of Jama'at-ud-Da'wah, it is alleged that a part of the funds collected for humanitarian work in fact supports LeT's operations.

A large amount of funds collected for charities within Europe, mostly by misleading Pakistani-Muslim community in Britain are funneled for terrorist activities of Lashkar-e-Toiba. There have been countless investigations indicating the aid given for earth quake victims was directly involved to expand Lashkar-e-Toiba's terrorist activities within India. Lashkar-e-Toiba operatives have been apprehended in India, where they have been obtaining funds from sections of the Muslim Community.

**Activities**

The group is active in carrying out attacks on Indian armed forces in Jammu and Kashmir and still operates in the jungles on Pakistan. It is considered a well-trained terrorist group. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell in a notification on December 26, 2001 designated Lashkar-e-Toiba as a foreign terrorist organisation. The Lashkar-e-Toiba group has repeatedly claimed through its journals and websites that its main aim is to destroy the Indian republic and to annihilate Hinduism and Judaism. LeT has declared Hindus and Jews to be the "enemies of Islam", as well as India and Israel to be the "enemies of Pakistan". This group is believed to have scores of supporters inside India, who are mostly poor and illiterate Muslims indoctrinated by radical mullahs.

Apart from conducting terrorism, it is also known to conduct training camps. These camps were tolerated by the Pakistan's powerful Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency has long tolerated because of their usefulness against India and in Afghanistan still exist, though they have been told not to mount any operations for now. Lashkar-e-Toiba had links to Jama'at-ud-Da'wah, however Jama'at-ud-Da'wah publicly retracted any association with them after the United States Department of State declared Lashkar-e-Toiba to be a terrorist organisation.
Lashkar-e-Toiba was banned in Pakistan in 2002 and is banned in the UK following its banning by the United States in the end of 2001.

Several American Muslims, including members of the so-called “Virginia Jihad Network,” were convicted of training at LET camps in Kashmir and Pakistan.

**Operational Strategies**

Compared to other groups in J&K, the LeT has commanded significant attention primarily due to two reasons. First, for its well planned and executed attacks on security force (SF) targets in the State and second, for the dramatic massacres of non-Muslim civilians. After the Kargil War of May-July 1999, (when Pakistani troops and mercenaries, including those of the Lashkar, were forced to withdraw from peaks on the Indian side of the Line of Control - LoC), the outfit launched its 'suicide attacks' strategy whereby small groups (2-5 members) of fidayeen (suicide squads) would storm a security force camp or base. In another frequently used strategy, groups of Lashkar mercenaries, dressed in SF fatigues, would arrive at remote hill villages, round up Hindu or Sikh civilians, and massacre them. These two strategies have been designed to achieve maximum publicity and extract public allegiance, mainly out of fear. On December 8, 2001, two LeT fidayeen managed to penetrate inside a security force convoy and opened fire killing one personnel. They were able to generate adequate confusion to escape from the convoy after the attack but were later killed in an encounter with another SF unit.

In some fidayeen attacks launched by the LeT, the terrorists entrenched themselves inside the camp, killing as many SF personnel as they could, before they were themselves killed. In one such instance, two Lashkar fidayeen stormed a SF base at Wazir Bagh in Srinagar, on March 26, 2001, and shot dead four personnel before being killed. In certain incidents, members of the squad are reported to have successfully fled after the initial attack. Such was the case at Mendhar in Rajouri district, on December 16, 2000 as also at Mahore, Udhampur district, on November 5, 2000.

The Lashkar-e-Toiba, according to a news report of December 17, 2001, was responsible for 35 of the 42 such suicide attacks carried out since 1999. More than the number of casualties of the security forces, it is the psychological impact of these attacks that has led to the Lashkar gaining widespread attention.

LeT cadres, unlike other terrorists, are known to prefer death in an encounter with the security forces rather than be arrested. For instance, in 1997, the largest group of terrorists killed in clashes with the security forces belonged to the Lashkar-e-Toiba. Majority of the massacres of unarmed Hindus and Sikhs between March 1997 and October 2001 have reportedly been carried out by the LeT. One instance is the cold-blooded murder of 23 persons in Wandhama on January 23, 1988. A second instance is the June 19, 1998, massacre in which 25 members of a wedding party in Doda, Jammu were killed. The extreme level of cold-blooded brutality, which sets Lashkar-e-Toiba apart from other rebel outfits that operate/d in Kashmir before, is evident in the
Wandhama massacre, where children as young as one year old were murdered along with women and defenseless men.

Role in India-Pakistan relations

Pakistan denies giving orders to Lashkar-e-Toiba's activities, though there have been several instances of top Pakistani government officials visiting the headquarters of this group.

A large number of very high resolution satellite imagery has proven existence of LeT camps within Pakistan and Pakistan occupied Kashmir. There are also photographs of Pakistan army vehicles and support aeroplanes visiting such terrorist camps. Some of these photographs were recently used as evidence in courtrooms during the prosecution of many jihadi terrorists within U.S.

Area of Operation

While the primary area of operations of the Lashkar-e-Toiba's terrorist activities is the Kashmir valley, the outfit is also active in the Jammu region besides having undertaken isolated attacks in other parts of India. The Lashkar is reported to have conducted several of its major operations in tandem with the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen. The Kashmiri cadre of the HM provide vital knowledge of the ground conditions in the target zone, while the highly trained and motivated LeT mercenaries undertake the attack.

The LeT was also reported to have been directed by the ISI to widen its network in the Jammu region where a considerable section of the populace comprised Punjabis. The LeT that has a large number of activists who hail from Pakistani Punjab can thus effectively penetrate into Jammu society.

News reports, citing security forces, said that the latter suspect that in the December 13, 2001 attack on India's Parliament in New Delhi, a joint group from the LeT and the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) were involved. The LeT was also held responsible by the government for the December 23, 2000 attack in Red Fort, New Delhi. LeT confirmed its participation in the Red Fort attack and its involvement in the Parliament attack.

LeT cadres have also been arrested from different cities of India. On May 27, a LeT terrorist was arrested from Hajipur in Gujarat. On August 15, 2001, a LeT terrorist was arrested from Bhatinda in Punjab. The LeT has also built contacts with other Islamist extremist and terrorist outfits active in India. An arrested activist of the proscribed Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), is reported to have confessed during interrogation on August 21, 2001, that two LeT terrorists had held discussions with SIMI’s Malegaon unit in Mumbai on August 6, 2001 to carry out subversive activities in the State of Maharashtra.

External Linkages
The Lashkar-e-Toiba was created to participate in the Mujahideen conflict against the Najibullah regime in Afghanistan. In the process, the outfit developed deep linkages with Afghanistan and has several Afghan nationals in its cadre. The outfit had also cultivated links with the former Taliban regime in Afghanistan and also with Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network. Even while refraining from openly displaying these links, the LeT office in Muridke was reportedly used as a transit camp for third country recruits heading for Afghanistan. A news report in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks in the U.S. has indicated that the outfit provides terrorists for the outer circle of bin Laden’s personal security.

The outfit collects donations from the Pakistani community in the Persian Gulf and United Kingdom, Islamic Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and Pakistani and Kashmiri businessmen. The LeT maintains ties to various religious/military groups around the world, ranging from the Philippines to the Middle East and Chechnya primarily through the MDI fraternal network.

Reports also indicate that the LeT receives considerable financial, material and other forms of assistance from the Pakistan government, routed primarily through the ISI. Pakistan’s security agencies are reported to be providing training to the outfit. A December 13, 2001 news report cited a LeT spokesperson as saying that the outfit wanted to avoid a clash with the Pakistani Government. He claimed, even though the government has been an ardent supporter of all Muslim freedom movements, particularly that of Kashmir, in the present conditions a clash was possible because of the sudden wedge that appeared between the interests of the government and those of terrorist outfits active in J&K.

The Pakistan Army, particularly in the borders with India (the International Border and the Line of Control - LoC) also aids members of the outfit in their infiltration, exfiltration and clashes with Indian security forces near the borders by providing covering fire.

The LeT has also been part of the Bosnian campaign against the Serbs.

The Markaz campus at Muridke in Lahore, its headquarters, was used as a hide-out for Ramzi Yousef and Mir Aimal Kansi, who was convicted and sentenced to death for killing two Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officers outside the CIA’s headquarters in Washington in January 1993.

**Role in Afghanistan**

Guantanamo detainee Khalid Bin Abdullah Mishal Thamer Al Hameydan's Combatant Status Review Tribunal said that he had received training at Lashkar e-Taiba.

The Combatant Status Review Tribunals of Taj Mohammed and Rafiq Bin Bashir Bin Jalud Al Hami, and the Administrative Review Board hearing of Abdullah Mujahid and Zia Ul Shah allege that they too were members or former members of Lashkar-e-Toiba.
Also, the Lashkar is claimed to have operated a military camp in post-9/11 Afghanistan, and extending support to the ousted Taliban regime.

**Recent Focus on Lashkar-e-Toiba**

2. 2005 Delhi bombings: During Divali, Lashkar-e-Toiba bombed crowded festive Delhi markets killing 60 civilians and maiming 527.
3. 2006 Varanasi bombings: Lashkar-e-Toiba was involved in serial blasts in Hindu city in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Thirty seven people died and 89 were seriously injured.
4. 2006 Mumbai train bombings: The investigation launched by Indian forces and US officials have pointed to the involvement of Lashkar-e-Toiba in Mumbai serial blasts on 11 July 2006. The Mumbai serial blasts on 11th July claimed 211 lives and maimed about 407 people and seriously injured another 768.
5. 2006 blasts at Malegaon: The investigation, presently in its early
stages, point to the Lashkar-e-Toiba as suspects. They have had connections with Malegaon's radical Islamist organisations. Alternate theories involving the Bajrang Dal as the perpetrators are also being considered, however, no evidence points to the involvement of Bajrang Dal, and the modus operandi of the attacks are more consistent with Islamist terror outfits such as the Lashkar-e-Toiba.

6. On September 12, 2006 the propaganda arm of the Lashkar-e-Toiba issued a fatwa against the Christian Pope Benedict XVI demanding that Muslims assassinate him for his controversial statements about Mohamed (for details see Pope Benedict XVI Islam controversy).

7. On September 16, 2006, a top Lashkar-e-Toiba militant, Abu Saad, was killed by the troops of 9-Rashtriya Rifles in Nandi Marg forest in Kulgam. Saad
belongs to Lahore in Pakistan and also oversaw LeT operations for the past three years in Gul Gulabghash as the outfit's area commander. Apart from a large quantity of arms and ammunition, high denomination Indian and Pakistani currencies were also recovered from the slain militant.

Maktab al-Khadamat
The Maktab al-Khadamāt, also Maktab Khadamāt al-Mujāhidīn al-'Arab (Arabic: مكتب خدمة المجاهدين العرب, MAK), also known as the Afghan Services Bureau, is reliably believed to have been founded in 1984 by Dr. Abdullah Azzam and Osama bin Laden to raise funds and recruit foreign mujahidin for the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan. MAK became the forerunner to al-Qaeda and was instrumental in creating the fundraising and recruitment network that benefited al-Qaeda during the 1990s.

During the Soviet-Afghanistan war, MAK played a critical role, training over 100 mujahidin for the war and dispersing approximately $2 million in donations sourced via a network of global offices in Western countries, including approximately thirty in the United States. MAK maintained a close liaison with Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency via which the CIA also funneled money into the mujahidin campaign.

As the war ended, a difference in opinion emerged between Azzam and Bin Laden over the future direction of MAK. Azzam wanted to use the wealth it had generated, and the network it created to help install a pure Islamic government in post-war Afghanistan. Bin Laden, who was heavily influenced by Egyptian members of the Muslim Brotherhood, wanted to use MAK’s assets to fund a global jihad. The conflict culminated in 1989 when Azzam was killed by a car bomb. Following Azzam's death, bin Laden assumed control of MAK and the organization became absorbed into al-Qaeda.

MAK Connections in the United States

MAK established recruitment and fundraising offices in many Western countries. The first offices in the United States were established within the Alkifah Refugee Centre in Brooklyn, and at the Islamic Centre in Tucson, Arizona. The Alkifah Centre was originally operated by Mustafa Shalabi, a close associate of MAK’s co-founder Abdullah Azzam. In February 1991, Shalabi was found murdered inside his New York apartment.

It is believed that like Azzam, Shalabi had become embroiled in a power struggle with supporters of Bin Laden, namely Omar Abdel-Rahman (the Blind Sheikh) and his followers from the Al Farooq Mosque. In 1995 Abdel-Rahman was convicted for his part in a plot, known as the ‘Day of Terror Plot’, to bomb various New York City landmarks. It is also alleged that Rahman had intimate knowledge of the original World Trade Center bombing in 1993.

While the subsequent investigations by the FBI into the Al-Farooq Mosque and Alkifah Refugee Centre effectively dismantled the New York office of MAK, many centers in the United States continued to operate, raising funds for al-Qaeda and in some cases harbouring the terrorists that struck on 9/11
Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group

The Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (Groupe Islamique Combattant Marocain, or GICM) is an extremist Islamic fundamentalist group operating in North Africa and suspected of having links with al-Qaida. Its goals reportedly include establishing an Islamic state in Morocco. The group emerged in the late 1990s, apparently drawing on Moroccan jihadists who had fought or trained in Afghanistan. It was named as a terrorist organisation by the United States Department of State in December 2002.

The GICM has been associated with major militant attacks. In 2003, an attack in Casablanca killed 30 people. In 2004, an attack on the public transportation system in Madrid killed 191 and wounded more than 1900. Salafia Jihadia, an offshoot of the GICM, is blamed for both. It was named by Spanish interior minister Angel Acebes as the "priority" for investigations into the 11 March 2004 Madrid attacks, although he insisted that the possible involvement of other militant organisations had not been ruled out.

On October 10, 2005, Britain's Home Office banned GICM and 14 other groups from operating in the United Kingdom. Under Britain's Terrorism Act 2000, being a member of a GICM is punished by a 10-year prison term.

The fourteen banned militant groups were:

- Libyan Islamic Fighting Group
- Groupe Islamique Combattant Marocain
- Ansar al-Islam
- Al Ittihadia Al Islamia
- Islamic Jihad Union
- Ansar al-Sunna
- Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin
In a show of force during peace negotiations with the Philippine government, members of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front parade during a press conference June 4, 2005, on the island of Mindanao.

The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) is a Muslim separatist rebel group located in Southern Philippines. The area where the group is active is called Bangsamoro by the MILF and it covers the southern portion of Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, Palawan, Basilan and the neighbouring islands. There are approximately 4.5 million Muslims in the Philippines and the majority live within this area.

The MILF was founded by Salamat Hashim, who advocated a conservative, Wahhabist-influenced brand of Islam developed during his time as a student in Saudi Arabia and Cairo. Salamat, like many in the MILF, adapted the words of Qutb to call for "jihad in the Moroland" against "the colonial Philippine occupation armies" who he accused of crimes
against Muslims in the region. Salamat died in July 2003, and was replaced as Chairman of the MILF by Al Haj Murad Ebrahim.

The exact size of the MILF is unclear, though its military wing, the Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces, is known to consist of a guerilla army of 12,500 people. The group claimed a peak strength of almost 90,000 "well-armed" men in 1998.

**History**

Resistance to the Philippine government was first centred around the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), formed in the late 1960s following the Jabidah Massacre. The group demanded the formation of an independent Moro Islamic state and took part in terrorist attacks and assassinations to promote their ideas. The central government rejected this demand and sent troops into Moroland to maintain order. The MILF was formed in 1981 when Salamat Hashim and his followers split from the MNLF, due to the MNLF's reluctance to launch an insurgency against the Philippine government forces and movements towards a peace agreement.

In January 1987, the MNLF accepted the government's offer of semi-autonomy. The MILF refused to accept the offer. The MILF became the largest separatist group in the Philippines. A general cessation of hostilities was signed in July 1997 but this agreement was broken in 2000 by the government of Joseph Estrada. The MILF initially declared a jihad but became more receptive, especially following claims it is linked to the Abu Sayyaf and al Qaeda. A cease-fire accord was signed with President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

Despite peace negotiations that had appeared to be fruitful and a two year cease-fire, in January 2005 MILF operatives attacked government troops in Maguindanao resulting in at least twenty-three deaths. Led by Andul Rahman Binago, one hundred MILF rebels surrounded the soldiers and were believed to have executed several wounded. The combined troops of MILF, Abu Sofia and Abu Sayyaf were involved in days of fighting which necessitated government troops using 105mm howitzers to attack the rebel forces. Thousands of civilians in Maguindanao were forced to leave their homes to avoid danger.

The MILF denied authorizing the attack, and said they were trying to communicate with Binago. A spokesman explained that a relative of Binago had recently been killed by government troops and speculated this might have motivated his activities. The incident, along with a 2003 bombing at Davao airport which the Philippine government blamed on rogue MILF elements, raised speculation that the peace negotiations might be ineffectual in bringing peace to Mindanao if the MILF is unable to control its operatives. The MILF denies ties with terrorist group Jemaah Islamiyah, although Jemaah Islamiyah is believed to have provided them with training facilities in areas they control. The MILF also continues to deny connections with Al-Qaeda, though it has admitted to sending around 600 volunteers to Al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan, and that Osama Bin Laden sent money to the Moro region, though the group denies directly receiving any of the money.
A new round of fighting occurred from June 28-July 6, 2006, between the MILF and armed civilian volunteers ("CVOs") under Maguindanao Province Governor Andal Ampatuan who were backed by Philippine Army troops. The fighting began after Governor Ampatuan blamed the MILF for a June 23 bomb attack on his motorcade, which killed five in his entourage. The MILF denied responsibility, but Ampatuan sent police and CVOs to arrest MILF personnel allegedly connected to the attack. Four thousand families were reported displaced by the fighting that followed, which was ended by a cease-fire agreement signed July 10-11.

**Palestinian Islamic Jihad Movement**

(Redirected from Palestinian Islamic Jihad)

The emblem of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad shows a map of the land they claim as Palestine (roughly, present-day Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) superimposed on the images of the Dome of the Rock, two fists and two rifles.

**Palestinian Islamic Jihad Movement (PIJ, Arabic: حركة الجهاد الإسلامي, Harakat al-Jihād al-Islāmi al-Filastīni) is a militant Palestinian group that is designated as a terrorist group by the United States, the European Union, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and Israel. Their goal is the liberation of all Palestine, destruction of the State of Israel and its replacement with a state for Palestinians.**

This group defines jihad as acts of war against Israeli Jews. Palestinian Islamic Jihad also opposes many other Arab governments, whom they see as being insufficiently Islamic and too western. The PIJ's armed wing, the Al-Quds brigades, has claimed responsibility for numerous militant attacks in Israel, including suicide bombings.

Islamic Jihad is significantly smaller than Hamas, and lacks the wide social network that Hamas has. The Palestinian Islamic Jihad was formed in the Gaza Strip during the 1970s by Fathi Shaqaqi as a branch of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad. It receives some funding from the Hezbollah, and some say it has virtually become a local branch of the movement.
**Background and history**

The group is based in the Syrian capital, Damascus, and its financial backing is believed to come from there and Iran. The group operates primarily in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but has also carried out attacks in Jordan and Lebanon. Its main strongholds in the West Bank are the cities of Hebron and Jenin.

Fathi Shaqaqi led the organization for two decades. He was killed in Malta in October 1995 by an unknown party. Some people believe the party to be Israel, while others say other Palestinian groups killed him. The Palestinian Islamic Jihad often attempts to carry out attacks against Israeli targets on the anniversary of his death, although the identity of the assassins was never determined.

During the Al-Aqsa Intifada, beginning in September 2000, the PIJ committed many suicide bombing attacks against Israelis. Many of the attacks in 2001 and 2002 came from the PIJ in Jenin, headed by Mahmoud Tawallbe, Ali Sefoori and Tabeth Mardawi. The headquarters of the PIJ in Jenin and the West Bank was seriously damaged during Operation Defensive Shield: Tawalle was killed by an IDF Caterpillar D9 armored bulldozer while Sefoori and Mardawi were arrested by Israel security forces.

On February 20, 2003, University of South Florida computer engineering professor Dr. Sami Al-Arian was arrested after being indicted on 50 terrorism related charges. US Attorney General John Ashcroft alleged at a press conference that Dr. Al-Arian is the North American head of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. On March 2, 2006, Al-Arian entered a guilty plea to a charge of conspiracy to make or receive contributions of funds, goods or services to or for the benefit of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Sentencing for this crime is set for May 1, 2006. Al-Arian will also be deported based upon his criminal conviction.

Islamic Jihad is alleged to have used women and teens as suicide bombers. On March 29, 2004, 16-year-old Tamer Khuweir in Rifidia, an Arab suburb of Nablus was apprehended by Israeli security forces as he prepared to carry out a suicide attack. His older brother claimed he was brainwashed to do it by an Islamic Jihad cleric, and demanded the Palestinian Authority investigate the incident and arrest those responsible for it.

After Shaqaqi's death, Palestinian Islamic Jihad has been led since 1995 by fellow founder Sheikh Abdullah Ramadan Shallah, aka Ramadan Abdullah Mohammad Shallah, who was then listed as a "Specially Designated Terrorist" under United States law on November 27, 1995, and subsequently was indicted on RICO charges, and consequently became one of the FBI Most Wanted Terrorists on February 24, 2006.

**Militant activities**

Islamic Jihad has claimed responsibility for many militant activities over the years. The organization is responsible for endless attacks including more than 30 "successful"
suicide bomber attacks. Most recently a suicide bombing attack on a Tel Aviv falafel stand on April 17, 2006, which left 11 civilians dead, along with dozens injured.

Islamic Jihad has also launched deployed its' own rocket similar to the Qassam rocket used by Hamas called the Al Quds rocket.

Palestinian Weapons Industry

**Notable members**

- Sheikh Abdullah Ramadan Shallah - founder, and current Secretary-General, lives in Damascus
- Fathi Shaqaqi - founder, assassinated
- Mahmoud Tawallbe - senior leader of Jihad in Jenin, killed during Operation Defensive Shield by IDF Caterpillar D9
- Mahmoud Seader - leader in Hebron
- Hanadi Jaradat - female suicide bomber, committed Maxim restaurant suicide bombing
- Tamer Khuweir - a 15-year-old, lured by Islamic Jihad cleric to be a child suicide bomber
- Mohammed Dadouh - senior commander in Gaza, assassinated by Israeli missile, 21 May 2006
- Mahmoud al-Majzoub - member of the Shura Council, killed by car bomb, May 26, 2006
Lashkar i Jhangvi

Lashkar i Jhangvi (LJ) is an Islamic terrorist group located in Pakistan. "Lashkar i Jhangvi" means "army of Jhang," a region in Pakistan. Lashkar i Jhangvi appears to have first emerged in 1997. Being a Sunni Muslim organisation, LJ initially directed most of its attacks against the Pakistani Shia Muslim community. It also claimed responsibility for the 1997 killing of four U.S. oil workers in Karachi. Lashkar i Jhangvi also attempted to assassinate then-Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in 1999.

According to the U.S. government, Lashkar i Jhangvi was responsible for the January 2002 kidnapping and killing of U.S. journalist Daniel Pearl, and was also responsible for a March 2002 bus bombing that killed 15 people, including 11 French technicians.

Reports have attributed the March 2002 Islamabad Protestant church bombing, in which two U.S. citizens were killed, to LJ. In July 2002, Pakistani police arrested four Lashkar i Jhangvi members for the church attack. The LJ members confessed to the killings and said the attack was in retaliation for the U.S. attack on Afghanistan.

Lashkar i Jhangvi also has ties to al-Qaeda and the Taliban. In addition to receiving sanctuary from the Taliban in Afghanistan for their activity in Pakistan, LJ members also fought alongside Taliban fighters. Pakistani government investigations in 2002 revealed that al Qa’ida has been involved with training of LJ, and that LJ fighters also fought alongside the Taliban against the Afghan Northern Alliance. The Pakistan Interior Minister, speaking of LJ members, stated that “They have been sleeping and eating together, receiving training together, and fighting against the Northern Alliance together in Afghanistan.”

The Government of Pakistan has designated the Lashkar i Jhangvi a terrorist organization, and it is classified as a Foreign Terrorist Organization under U.S. law. As a result, its finances are blocked worldwide by the U.S government.
Jaish Ansar al-Sunna

Jamaat Ansar al-Sunna or Group of the Protectors of the Sunna (faith) (Arabic: جماعة راصِم، (formerly Jaish Ansar al-Sunna) is an Islamist militant group in Iraq that fought the US-led occupation and US-backed interim government of Iyad Allawi, and continues to fight the new ruling government of Nouri al-Maliki. The group is based in northern and central Iraq, and includes both Iraqi Kurdish and Sunni Arab religious radicals and possibly some foreign fighters. The group maintains close ties with the remnants of Ansar al-Islam, a Kurdish Islamist organization formerly based in the mountains near Halabja in northeastern Iraq before the U.S-led invasion. U.S. officials believe that the group was founded in September of 2003 as an umbrella organization for Islamist guerrillas, with former members of Ansar al-Islam at its core. This date coincides with the first released message from the group stating their existence, on September 20. They claim to seek to expel U.S.-led occupation forces from Iraq and to subsequently establish an Islamic state. The group's leader has been identified Abu Abdullah al-Hassan bin Mahmoud, who is believed to be the brother of a major Ansar al-Islam fighter, although his background is unclear.

Ansar al-Sunna is thought to have links with other Islamist organizations operating in Iraq including, the formerly Abu Musab al-Zarqawi backed, Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (al-Qaeda in Iraq). In October 2004 Ansar al-Sunna released a video beheading of a Turkish truck driver on its website. The kidnappers on the video identified themselves as members of al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (Source: MERIA). The United States and Iraqi Interim governments have reportedly linked Ansar al-Sunna to al-Qaeda.

Following the twin Sunni and Shiite uprisings of the spring and summer of 2004, and the subsequent decrease in U.S patrols and the creation of "no-go" areas in the Sunni Triangle, Ansar al-Sunna was believed to be part of a loose coalition of insurgent groups (also including guerrillas from Mohammad's Army and al-Tawhid wal-Jihad) controlling the Sunni cities of Fallujah, Ramadi, Samarra, and Baquba (U.S. offensives later largely wrested control from Baquba, Fallujah, and Samarra, although underground guerrilla forces still have a strong presence in those cities).

On October 10, 2005, Britain's Home Office banned Ansar al-Sunna and fourteen other militant groups from operating in the United Kingdom. Under Britain's Terrorism Act 2000, being a member of a Ansar al-Sunna is punished by a 10-year prison term. On 23 August 2006 its leader was captured.

Suicide Bombings

Jaish Ansar al-Sunna has taken credit for several suicide bombings in Iraq, including the devastating attacks on the offices of two Kurdish political parties in Irbil on February 1, 2004, that killed at least 109 people. The strikes marked one of the bloodiest attacks launched by insurgents since the start of the war. It has produced tapes and CDs that mark the "last testaments" of six bombers from previous attacks, three of whom appear
non-Iraqi. Its name also appeared with eleven other insurgent groups on leaflets passed out in the Sunni Triangle cities of Ramadi and Fallujah from January 31, 2004 to February 1, 2004. The leaflets detail the insurgency's plan for seizing Iraqi cities following the departure of coalition forces.

It also has a strong presence in Mosul and northern Iraq. It claimed responsibility for a major suicide bombing at the dining hall of a US base near Mosul on December 21, 2004 that killed 14 US soldiers, 4 US citizen Halliburton employees and 4 Iraqi soldiers. The attacker was reportedly a suicide bomber wearing an explosive vest under the uniform of an Iraqi security officer. The suicide bomber's name was Abu Omar al-Museli.

**Militant Actions**

Ansar al-Sunna was one of three groups responsible for the kidnapping of foreigners in Iraq in 2004 and the subsequent broadcasting of their beheading murders via the Internet. In several of the videos one of the members referred to as "The Emir" is heard warning Iraqis not to deal with US forces. The voice threatens to kill and send to Hell all who disobey. To date, the speaker has not been identified.

These are some of the attacks which they have claimed to have carried out:

**2003**

**October**

- 14th - A Car bomb outside the Turkish embassy in Baghdad which killed one bystander.

**November**

- 20th - A car bomb attack on the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan headquarters in Kirkuk which killed six.
- 29th - An Ambush against two vehicles, killing 7 Spanish Intelligence officers. The militants directly credit the
Hamzah Sariyah Squadron of the al-Mansurah brigade, and say they retrieved 3 automatic weapons and a videocamera from the wreckage of the vehicles.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>December</th>
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<td>12th - A car bombing outside a US Military installation in Ramadi which killed 1 American Soldier</td>
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<th>2004</th>
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<tr>
<td>January</td>
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<td>31st - The bombing of the al-Taqafield police center in Mosul, killing nine.</td>
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<td>23rd - Bombing the Rahimawa police station in Kirkuk, killing 13.</td>
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<td>9th - Launched Katyusha rockets at the Kirkuk airport.</td>
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<td>28th - Claimed to have killed 8 Intelligence officers from Britain and Canada, though neither country</td>
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recognises this claim as valid. Al-Sunna then later showed the identity cards of the victims on a videorecording, which was met by silence from both countries.

### August

- 11th - Released a videotape of the killing of an alleged CIA agent
- 25th - Released a videotape of the killing of a second alleged CIA agent
- 31st - Released a videotape of the killing of 12 hostages from Nepal who had come to work for contractors in Iraq after the war; one was beheaded, the remaining eleven were shot in the back of the head.

### September

- 16th - Claimed to have killed three Iraqis

### October

- 2nd - Released a videotape of the killing of an Iraqi named Barie Nafi’a Daoud Ibrahim, accused of
collaboration with the enemy.

- 22nd - Released a videotape of the killing of an Iraqi named Seif Adnan Kanaan, accused of collaboration with the enemy.
- 23rd - Released a videotape of the killing of a captured Iraqi civilian, Yassar Musil, accused of collaboration with the enemy.
- 28th - Released a videotape of the killing of 11 captured members of the Iraqi National Guard; one was beheaded, the remaining eleven were shot in the back of the head.

**November**

- 4th - Released a videotape of the killing of a captured officer of the new Iraqi Army working in tandem with the US Army, Hussein Shunun. Shunun had been captured by the group in Mosul a few days earlier.
9th - They announced the kidnapping of a Japanese man, Akihiko Saito, who was working for British Security Contractor Hart GMSSCO. The militants reported that he had been injured in a fierce gunbattle near the Iraq-Syrian Border, but did not initially offer photos or video of him until doubts surfaced, then released a video of him in captivity.

August

5th - They claim to have killed eight US Marines in a shoot-out in Haditha, though the US claims the number is only six.

2006

June

18th - Ansar al-Sunna said it has kidnapped an Iraqi woman translator Salma Jassem Hammadi whom it accuses of working as a spy for the US army.
Hizbul Mujahideen

The **Hizbul Mujahideen** (جادل البدر) (created 1989) is a group of 'Freedom Fighters' active in Indian Occupied Kashmir. It is headquartered at Muzaffarabad, Pakistan-administered Kashmir. It is believed the group al-Badr, derived from Hizbul Mujahideen in early 1998 when encouraged by the Pakistani Directorate of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). The current leader of the group is a Kashmiri known under the nickname Sayeed Salahudeen. On 30th November 2005 Hizbul Mujahideen is named on the European Union's terrorism list influenced with America's War on Terror. EU member states are obliged to impose restrictive measures such as freezing of funds and assets of persons and groups named in the list. Hizbul Mujahideen is currently the biggest jihadi group operating in Kashmir, and are widely considered by sources on both sides of the Kashmiri conflict to be the most indigenous and widely-supported militant group active in Kashmir. The group has claimed responsibility of carrying out several attacks against occupying Indian Army units held illegally there since its mass invasions of the foreign territory which it continues to claim its own since 1947 is baseless.

Hofstad Network

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**Tactics**

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<td>Nuclear terrorism</td>
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The Hofstad Network (in Dutch: Hofstadnetwerk or Hofstadgroep) is an Islamist militant organization of mostly young Dutch Muslims of mainly North African ancestry. The name "Hofstad" was originally the codename the Dutch secret service AIVD used for the network and leaked to the media. The name likely refers to the nickname of the Dutch city of The Hague, where some of the terrorists live, though the AIVD denies this.

The network is said to have links to networks in Spain and Belgium. Among their contacts is Abdeladim Akoudad, also known as Naoufel, one of the suspects of the Casablanca Attacks. The group is influenced by the ideology of Takfir wal-Hijra. Redouan al-Issar, also known as "The Syrian" is the suspected spiritual leader of the group. Most media attention is attracted by Mohammed Bouyeri, sentenced to life imprisonment for murdering Dutch film director Theo van Gogh and by Samir Azzouz, suspected of planning militant attacks on the Dutch parliament and several strategic targets such as the national airport and a nuclear reactor. The group is also suspected of planning to kill several members of government and parliament.

**History**

The Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service AIVD dubbed the group Hofstad Network for internal purposes in the fall of 2002.

On October 14, 2003, Samir Azzouz, Ismail Akhnikh, Jason Walters and Redouan al-Issar were put under arrest for planning a terrorist attack in the Netherlands, but were released soon after. Azzouz was eventually tried in this case, but acquitted for lack of evidence in 2005: he did possess what he thought to be a home-made bomb, but having used the wrong type of fertilizer the device would never have exploded.

Shortly after the murder of Theo van Gogh by Mohammed Bouyeri in November 2004 the organization gained attention from national media when an attempt to arrest suspected members Jason Walters and Ismail Akhnikh led to a 14 hour siege of a house in The Hague. During these events, the name Hofstad Network became public and the media has continued to use this moniker to refer to the organization. In the months after the siege, a number of other suspected members of the organization were arrested. On December 5, 2005, the Hofstad court case against 14 suspected members started.

On March 10, the court convicted nine of the 14 suspects of being member of a criminal terrorist organisation. The other five suspected member were acquitted of this charge.

In the meantime, Samir Azzouz, Jermaine Walters – suspected but not incarcerated – and another 5 members were arrested on suspicion of preparing an attack against (yet unnamed) national politicians and the building of the General Intelligence and Security Agency AIVD on October 14, 2005. In this separate case Nouredine el Fahhtni is also a suspect.
Trial

On March 10, 2006, the Dutch court of Rotterdam, dependency The Hague, meeting in a protected courtroom in Amsterdam-Osdorp put forth the following verdicts:

- Jason Walters - 15 years incarceration
- Ismail Akhnikh - 13 years incarceration
- Nouredine el Fahtni - 5 years incarceration

Jermaine Walters was exonerated from making a threat against former Dutch Parliamentarian Hirsi Ali.

Members

- Mohammed Bouyeri
  Born 1978; suspected leader of the group; convicted to a life sentence for the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh.

- Redouan al-Issar, aka "The Syrian", aka sheik Abu Khaled
  Born sometime between 1955 and 1965; suspected spiritual leader of the group; currently wanted by Dutch authorities for his role in the network; possibly incarcerated in Syria.

- Samir Azzouz
  Born 1986; tried and acquitted of planning terrorist attacks in 2004; currently also a suspect in a second case of terrorist activity, together with Nouredine el Fahtni.

- Jason Walters, aka Abu Mujahied Amriki
  Born 1985; threw a hand grenade when police attempted to arrest him and Ismaël Akhnikh, causing a 14 hour siege of their house in The Hague in November 2004; brother of Jermaine.

- Ismaël Akhnikh, aka Suhaib
Born 1983; arrested after a 14 hour police siege in The Hague.

- Mohammed Fahmi Boughabe, aka Abu Mussab
- Nouredine el Fahtni

Carried a loaded machine gun at the time of his arrest, possibly on his way to kill politicians Geert Wilders and/or Ayaan Hirsi Ali; arrested in the summer of 2004 on suspicion of plotting an attack on then prime minister Barroso; currently also a suspect in a second case of terrorist activity, together with Samir Azzouz.

- Jermaine Walters

Born 1986; brother of Jason.

- Yousef Ettoumi, nicknamed "Semi" and "Bommetje" (little bomb)
- Ahmed Hamdi
- Zine Labidine Aourghe
- Mohamed el Morabit
- Nadir Adarraf
- Zakaria Taybi
- Rashid Boussana
- Mohamed el Bousklaoui
- Racid Belkacem
- Mohamed Boughaba

Varia

- On May 18, 2006, a group of four young men delivered flowers to the Dutch public broadcaster VARA. The flowers included a note, "greetings, the Hofstadgroup," which was a 'thank you' for the VARA Zembla documentary
Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain

The Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain was an Iranian based Shia resistance group that advocated Islamic revolution in Bahrain against the Sunni ruling Al Khalifa family in the 1970s and 1980s. It came to international prominence as the front organisation for the 1981 failed coup in Bahrain, which attempted to install Iraqi Ayatollah Hadi al-Modarresi as the spiritual leader of a theocratic state. Al Modarresi had been given asylum in Bahrain in the late 1970s after members of his family were killed.
by Saddam Hussein in Iraq, but shortly after his arrival he established the terror group and then fled to Iran.

The organisation carried out a series of actions in Bahrain in the 1990s. On 1 November 1996, the group claimed responsibility for the bombing of the Diplomat Hotel, with the group telling the Associated Press "We put a bomb in the Diplomat hotel 20 minutes ago...after the feast...tell the government that we will destroy everyplace."

Although banned in the 1990s when its leaders worked out of Iran, King Hamad's reforms allowed them to return to Bahrain to work within the political process, and most today are active in the Islamic Action Party and the related Bahrain Centre for Human Rights.

**Islamic Movement of Central Asia**

The **Islamic Movement of Central Asia (IMCA)** is a guerrilla organization of Kyrgyz, Tajik, Uzbek, Chechen, and Uyghur Xinjiang militants. Its objective is to create a pan-Central Asian Islamist theocracy.

The movement is allegedly headed by Tohir Yo'ldoshev, who is also the leader of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, now an arm of the IMCA. The IMCA was formed when other militant groups merged with Yuldashev's. The IMCA plans to first establish a theocracy in Uzbekistan, before spilling into Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The group then plans to cover the rest of the region, including the northwest section of the People's Republic of China.

Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada has linked the IMCA to al-Qaeda.

**Islamic Movement of Turkestan**

The **Islamic Movement of Turkestan**, commonly known as Jamaot and previously known as the **Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)**, is a subset terrorist organization within the Islamic Movement of Central Asia, whose goal is to overthrow the Government of Uzbekistan and replace it with an Islamic theocracy. The IMU allegedly changed its name in 2001.

According to Uzbek security services, Tohir Toldashev, who heads the organization, is hiding in western Pakistan.

Juma Namangani headed the IMU until U.S.-led forces killed him in in Afghanistan.
After September 11, 2001, the United States froze all IMU assets classifying it as an Islamist terrorist organization.

The Government of Russia banned the movement under the name "Islamic Party of Turkestan" in 2006.

On 7 August 2006 Kyrgyz special forces killed Rafik Kamalov, an alleged leader of the movement, in the Kyrgyz border town of Kara-Suu.

Mahmadsaid Juraqulov, head of the anti-organized crime department in the Interior Ministry of Tajikistan, told reporters in Dushanbe on 16 October 2006 that the "Islamic Movement of Turkmenistan" is the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan," and that Uzbek secret services manufactured the change in name. Juraqulov also said that the IMT is not a major security threat to Tajikistan or Kyrgyzstan. "Everyone knows that it is in Uzbekistan that [the IMU] wants to create problems. For them, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are just regrouping bases they're trying to reach."

23 suspected IMU members are currently wanted by authorities in Tajikistan. The Tajik Government claims the IMU attacked supporters of Tajik President Imomali Rakhmonov on 28 September, wounding two people.

**Jaish-e-Mohammed**

Jaish-e-Mohammed (Arabic: جَيْشُ الْمُحَمْد‎, literally The Army of Muhammad, transliterated as Jaish-e-Muhammed, Jaish-e-Mohammad or Jaish-e-Muhammad, often abbreviated as JEM) is a major Islamic militant organization in South Asia. Jaish-e-Mohammed was formed in 1994 and is based in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The group's primary motive is to end India's rule in Kashmir and has carried out a series of terrorist attacks all over India.

The group was formed after the supporters of Maulana Masood Azhar split from another Islamic militant organization, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen. It is believed that the group is funded by Pakistani expatriates in the United Kingdom. The group is regarded as a terrorist organization by several countries including India, United States and United Kingdom.

**Formation**
The Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) is a relatively new terrorist outfit, compared to other major outfits active in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). Like the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), the JeM too is an outfit formed, controlled and manned by Pakistanis. The outfit was launched on January 31, 2000, by Maulana Masood Azhar in Karachi after he was released from an Indian jail during the terrorists for hostage swap of December 31, 1999, following the hijacking of the Indian Airlines Flight IC 814.


The outfit’s creation can be linked to the popularity surrounding Masood Azhar after his release from India. Maulana Masood Azhar was the general secretary of the newly established Harkat-ul-Ansar (HuA) in 1994 and was on a 'mission' in J&K when he was arrested on February 11. When he was released, the HuA had been included in the US list of Foreign Terrorist Organisations which had compelled the outfit to rename itself as the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM). However, Masood Azhar decided to float the new outfit JeM rather than rejoin his old outfit. He was also reported to have received assistance in setting up the JeM from Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the then Taliban regime in Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden and several Sunni sectarian outfits of Pakistan.

**Objectives**

The Jaish-e-Mohammed is part of the Islamist terror network with its base in Pakistan and active in the terrorist violence in J&K. The outfit, like other terrorist outfits in J&K, claims to using violence to force a withdrawal of Indian security forces from J&K. The outfit claims that each of its offices in Pakistan would serve as schools of jihad. Delivering speeches at various cities and towns in Pakistan after his release, Masood Azhar threatened that the outfit would eliminate Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee who he termed as 'Abu Jahl' (Father of Ignorance). In its fight against India, he added that the outfit would not only "liberate" Kashmir, but also would take control of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, Amritsar and Delhi.

**Leadership and Command Structure**

Masood Azhar, the Amir (chief) of the outfit was arrested by Pakistani security forces on December 29, 2001, after pressure from India and other foreign countries following the December 13, 2001 attack on India’s parliament. However, a three-member Review Board of Lahore High Court ordered on December 14, 2002, that Azhar be released.

There are no reports of any formal governing bodies or councils within the outfit. Unconfirmed reports indicate that the prominent office bearers of the organisation include:
Operational Strategies

Most Jaish-e-Mohammed attacks have been described as fidayeen (suicide terrorist) attacks. In this mode, terrorists of the outfit storm a high security target, including security forces' bases, camps and convoys. After storming, they either fortify themselves within the target, killing as many security force personnel and civilians as possible before they are killed by retaliatory action. In other cases, they kill and injure as many as possible before attempting to escape.

Area of Operation
The Jaish-e-Mohammed has largely confined its operations within J&K. The only recorded instance of its operations outside J&K has been the December 13, 2001, Parliament attack in New Delhi. However, several of its cadre have, on occasions been arrested or killed by security forces in states other than J&K. Attack on Ayodhya and blast in Sankat mochan temple was also organised by Jaish-e-Mohammed.
Hezbollah

This article is becoming very long. Please consider transferring content to subtopic articles where appropriate. See :Long article layout and :Longpages for more information.

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Hezbollah (Arabic: حزب الله, meaning "party of God") is a Shi'a Islamist militant and political organization based in Lebanon. It follows a distinct version of Islamic Shia ideology developed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, leader of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

Hezbollah began to take shape during the 1982 Lebanon War; on February 16, 1985 Sheik Ibrahim al-Amin publicly declared the group's manifesto, which included three goals: the eradication of Western imperialism in Lebanon, the transformation of Lebanon's multi-confessional state into an Islamic state, and the complete destruction of the state of Israel. Nowadays although Hezbollah believes in an Islamic republic like Iran, it finds it an inaccessible goal in Lebanon. Nasrallah is trying to tone down the stark Shiite identity of his movement and replace it with Lebaneseness. Hezbollah remains committed to the destruction of Israel. Hezbollah receives arms, training, and financial support from Iran, and from many other Arab sympathizers and has "operated with Syria's blessing." Hezbollah, which started only with a militia, has grown to an organization which has seats in the Lebanese government, a radio and a satellite television station, and programs for social development.

Since 1992 the organization has been headed by Sheikh Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, its Secretary-General.

Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, the Netherlands and Israel consider Hezbollah, or its external security arm, a terrorist organization. All other countries do not list it as a terrorist organization and most in the Arab world considers it a legitimate resistance organization. The European Union does not list it as a terrorist organization. The terrorist label is controversial and highly political; as many Arab and Muslim states support Hezbollah's goals and consider it a legitimate political organization. Russia does not consider Hezbollah to be a threat to its nation's security, and therefore does not list it as a terrorist organization. Hezbollah's supporters justify its violence against Israeli civilians as reciprocal to Israeli war crimes and in retaliation of bombing of Lebanese civilians and occupation of Lebanese territory.
Introduction and background

Hezbollah is one of two main political parties representing the Shiites; Lebanon's largest religious bloc. It participates in government. In the elections for Parliament, it won over 10% of the seats (14 out of 128) and the bloc it forms with others, the Resistance and Development Bloc, 27.3% (see Lebanese general election, 2005). Hezbollah organises an extensive social development programme. Hezbollah also runs hospitals, news services, and educational facilities. Its Reconstruction Campaign ('Jihad al-Bina') is responsible for numerous economic and infrastructure development projects in Lebanon.

Hezbollah had its origins in the early 1980s in a milieu which included the recent Iranian Islamic Revolution, political and secular conflict in Lebanon, and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Ending Israel's occupation of Southern Lebanon was the main focus of Hezbollah's early activities. Israel had become militarily involved in Lebanon in combat with the Palestine Liberation Organization who moved into Southern Lebanon after being ousted from Jordan. The PLO was attacking Israel from Southern Lebanon in the lead up to the 1982 Lebanon War, and Israel had invaded and occupied Lebanon to protect its Northern border.

According to the MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base and the BBC, "[f]or many years, Hezbollah was synonymous with terror, suicide bombings and kidnappings. Hezbollah is reputed to have been among the first Islamic resistance groups to use tactical suicide bombing against foreign soldiers in the Middle East. Hezbollah's acts have included multiple kidnappings, murders, hijackings, and bombings. Hezbollah has been subject to assassination and abduction by Israel as well. Hezbollah's violent acts are characterized by some countries as terrorist attacks; while others regard them as legitimate resistance and some others regard them as Jihad.

Supporters of Hezbollah justify Hezbollah's attacks against Israel for several reasons. Firstly, Hezbollah supporters cite the occupation of Lebanese land. Many of these attacks took place while Israel occupied the southern part of Lebanon and held it as a security zone in spite of United Nations Security Council Resolution 425. Although Israel withdrew from Lebanon in 2000, and their complete withdrawal was verified by the United Nations, Lebanon now considers the Shebaa farms, captured by Israel from Syria in the 1967 war and considered by the UN to be disputed territory between Syria and Israel, to be Lebanese territory. Additionally, Israel holds between 2 and dozens of Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails for crimes committed against Israel. Finally, Hezbollah and some of the Muslim world consider Israel an illegitimate state. For these reasons, many in the Arab world consider acts performed by Hezbollah against Israel to be justified as acts of Jihad. Although some Arab states (Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia) have condemned Hezbollah's actions saying "that the Arabs and Muslims can't afford to allow an irresponsible and adventurous organization like Hizbullah to drag the region to war"; calling it "dangerous adventurism". "[T]hroughout most of the Arab and Muslim worlds..."
Hezbollah is regarded as a legitimate resistance movement" with an emphasis on "calls for the destruction of Israel." Even 74 percent of Lebanese Christians viewed Hezbollah at the height of the war as a resistance organization.

In contrast, the United States, Israel and four other countries consider Hezbollah wholly or partly a terrorist organization. The European Union does not list Hezbollah as a "terrorist organization", but does list Imad Mugniyah, a senior member and founder of Hezbollah as a terrorist.

**Flag**

*Flag of Hezbollah*

The red lettering at the top of the flag of Hezbollah is a verse from the Quran from which its name is derivated, reading "It is only the party of God who wins." The large green lettering is the name of the group — with the first letter of "Allah" reaching up to grasp a Soviet AK-47. The red lettering at the bottom reads, "The Islamic Resistance in Lebanon." Besides the AK-47, additional symbols on the flag include a globe, a book, a leaf, and a sword.

The picture on the flag closely resembles the flag of the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps.

**Ideology**

*Hezbollah Ideology*

Hezbollah declared its existence on February 16, 1985 in "The Hizballah Program". This document was read by spokesman Sheikh Ibrahim al-Amin at the al-Ouzai Mosque in west Beirut and simultaneously published in al-Safir as "The Hizballah Program, an open letter to all the Oppressed in Lebanon and the World," and a separate pamphlet. Later, a slightly shortened version was published in the Jerusalem Quarterly. The document laid out the goals and ideology as follows:
• The solution to Lebanon's problems is the establishment of an Islamic republic as only this type of regime can secure justice and equality for all of Lebanon's citizens.

• The Hizbullah organization views as an important goal the fight against 'western imperialism' and its eradication from Lebanon. Hezbollah strives for complete American and French withdrawal from Lebanon, including all their institutions.

• The conflict with Israel is viewed as a central concern. This is not only limited to the IDF presence in Lebanon. Rather, the complete destruction of the State of Israel and the establishment of Islamic rule over Jerusalem is an expressed goal.

In the early 1990s, Hezbollah underwent what a number of observers have called a process of "Lebanonization," which is reflected in acceptance of a multiconfessional Lebanon, rapprochement with a variety of non-Islamist forces, participation in electoral politics, and an emphasis on providing for the social welfare of its Shi'a Lebanese constituency. These tendency was expressed in religious as well as strategic terms:
Christians and Jews differ with Muslims concerning the interpretation of the unity of God and the personality of God. Despite that, the Qur'an commands: Turn to the principle of unity—the unity of God and the unity of mankind. We interpret this to mean that we can meet with Marxists on the common ground of standing up to the forces of international arrogance; we can meet nationalists, even secular nationalists, on the common ground of Arab causes, which are also Islamic causes. Islam recognizes the Other. … So Islam does not negate the Other; it invites the Other to dialogue.

**Shi'a Islamism**

Hezbollah's original 1985 manifesto reads:

We are the sons of the ummah (Muslim community) - the party of God (Hizb Allah) the vanguard of which was made victorious by God in Iran. There the vanguard succeeded to lay down the bases of a Muslim state which plays a central role in the world. We obey the orders of one leader, wise and just, that of our tutor and faqih (jurist) who fulfills all the necessary conditions: Ruhollah Musawi Khomeini.... We are an umma linked to the Muslims of the whole world by the solid doctrinal and religious connection of Islam, whose message God wanted to be fulfilled by the Seal of the Prophets, i.e., Muhammad. Our behavior is dictated to us by legal principles laid down by the light of an overall political conception defined by the leading jurist.... As for our culture, it is based on the Holy Koran, the Sunna and the legal rulings of the faqih who is our source of imitation.

Hezbollah was largely formed with the aid of the Ayatollah Khomeini's followers in the early eighties in order to spread Islamic revolution and follows a distinct version of Islamic Shi'a ideology (“Willayat Al-Faqih”) developed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, leader of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Iranian Expediency Council Secretary and former commander of the Revolutionary Guards Mohsen Rezai said in August 2006, "Iran is a model and example for Hizbullah. The Iranian faith, tactics and experience are being put to practice in Lebanon... Hizbullah looks to Iran for tactics and moral [support], and we are proud that our experience [serves] other Muslim countries." Although Hezbollah originally aimed to transform Lebanon into an Islamic republic, that this goal has been abandoned according to Hezbollah's spiritual guide Sayyed Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah and some political analysts. Doubts, however, remain. Nasrallah has been quoted as saying, "We believe the requirement for an Islamic state is to have an overwhelming popular desire, and we're not talking about fifty percent plus one, but a large majority. And this is not available in Lebanon and probably never will be." Although Hezbollah believes in one-person-one-vote system and disagree with the multi-confessional quotas under the Ta'if Accord, it does not intend to force a one-person-one-vote system onto the country’s Christians.

**Position on Israel**

From the inception of Hezbollah to the present the elimination of the state of Israel has been Hezbollah's primary goal. Secretary-General Nasrallah’s has stated that "Israel is an illegal usurper entity, which is based on falsehood, massacres, and illusions," and considers that the elimination of Israel will bring peace in the middle east: "There is no solution to the conflict in this region except with the disappearance of Israel." In an
interview with the *Washington Post*, Nasrallah said "I am against any reconciliation with Israel. I do not even recognize the presence of a state that is called 'Israel.' I consider its presence both unjust and unlawful. That is why if Lebanon concludes a peace agreement with Israel and brings that accord to the Parliament our deputies will reject it; Hezbollah refuses any conciliation with Israel in principle."

In a 1999 interview, Nasrallah outlined the group’s three "minimal demand[s]: an [Israeli] withdrawal from South Lebanon and the Western Bqa’ Valley, a withdrawal from the Golan, and the return of the Palestinian refugees.” An additional objective is the freeing of prisoners held in Israeli jails, some of whom have been imprisoned for eighteen years. Hezbollah's desire for Israeli prisoners that could be exchanged with Israel led to its abduction of Israeli soldiers which triggered the 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict.

Israel's occupation of the Shebaa Farms, along with the presence of Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails, is often used as a pretext and stated as justification for the Hezbollah's continued hostilities against Israel even after Israel's verified withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000. Hezbollah's spokesperson Hassan Ezzedin, however, had this to said that "the Hezbollah campaign to rid Shebaa of Israeli troops is a pretext for something larger. 'If they go from Shebaa, we will not stop fighting them,'" he told [the New Yorker]. 'Our goal is to liberate the 1948 borders of Palestine, ... The Jews who survive this war of liberation can go back to Germany or wherever they came from.' He added, however, that the Jews who lived in Palestine before 1948 will be 'allowed to live as a minority and they will be cared for by the Muslim majority.'"

In 2002, according to the BBC, Hezbollah, "said publicly that it is ready to open a second front against Israel in support of the intifada." In a 2003 interview, Nasrallah has answered questions concerning the establishment of a Palestinian state established alongside an Israeli state stating "that he would not sabotage what is finally a 'Palestinian matter.' But until such a settlement is reached, he will, he said, continue to encourage Palestinian suicide bombers." In the same interview, Nasrallah stated that "at the end of the road no one can go to war on behalf of the Palestinians, even if that one is not in agreement with what the Palestinians agreed on," adding, "Of course, it would bother us that Jerusalem goes to Israel ... [but] let it happen. I would not say O.K. I would say nothing." Similarly, in 2004, when asked whether he was prepared to live with a two-state settlement between Israel and Palestine, Nasrallah said he would not sabotage what is a Palestinian matter. He also said that outside of Lebanon, Hezbollah will act only in a defensive manner towards Israeli forces, and that Hezbollah's missiles were acquired to deter attacks on Lebanon.

Of course, in July 2006, Hezbollah captured two Israeli soliders sparking the 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict.

**Position on Jews and Judaism**
Hassan Nasrallah has allegedly made the anti-Jewish statement, "if they [Jews] all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide"). The managing editor of the Beirut Daily Star, which published the quotation, has however since called into question the accuracy of the quotation as well as the honesty of the reporter. A search of the Daily Star's online archive shows that between August 2002 and November 2003, the newspaper published 170 reports by the journalist in question.

Hezbollah's official web site marks a distinction between "Zionist ideology" and Judaism. It sees the rejection of Zionism as an attitude held across "races, religions, and nationalities." It likens Zionism to "the concept of creating 'Israel' by the use of force and violence, by stealing the Arabs’ lands and killing Palestinians."

Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, a Shiite scholar and assistant professor at the Lebanese American University, however, argues that Hezbollah is not Anti-Zionist, but actually Anti-Jewish. She quotes Hassan Nasrallah as saying, "If we searched the entire world for a person more cowardly, despicable, weak and feeble in psyche, mind, ideology and religion, we would not find anyone like the Jew. Notice, I do not say the Israeli". Regarding the official public stance of Hezbollah as a whole, she argues that while Hezbollah, "tries to mask its anti-Judaism for public-relations reasons...a study of its language, spoken and written, reveals an underlying truth." In her book, *Hezbollah: Politics & Religion*, she dissects the anti-Jewish roots of Hezbollah ideology, arguing that Hezbollah "believes that Jews, by the nature of Judaism, possess fatal character flaws." Saad-Ghorayeb also argues that "Hezbollah's Koranic reading of Jewish history has led its leaders to believe that Jewish theology is evil."

In 2004 the Hezbollah-owned television station Al-Manar was banned in France on the grounds that it was inciting racial hatred. The court cited a 23 November broadcast in which a speaker accused Israel of deliberately disseminating AIDS in Arab nations. No other European country has followed France's lead.

**Position on use of armed strength to achieve aims**

Hezbollah's 1985 founding Manifesto reads:

No one can imagine the importance of our military potential as our military apparatus is not separate from our overall social fabric. Each of us is a fighting soldier. And when it becomes necessary to carry out the Holy War, each of us takes up his assignment in the fight in accordance with the injunctions of the Law, and that in the framework of the mission carried out under the tutelage of the Commanding Jurist. ...This is why whatever touches or strikes the Muslims in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Philippines and elsewhere reverberates throughout the whole Muslim umma of which we are an integral part.

According to Islamic law, all Muslims should defend Islamic lands through Defensive Jihad and fight non-Muslims to withdraw from them. Both Sunnis and Shiites accept this principle.
The Qur’an states, "Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not do aggression, for Allah loves not the aggressors. Fight in the way of Allah against those who fight against you, but begin not hostilities. Lo! Allah loveth not aggressors. And slay them wherever ye find them, and drive them out of the places whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter. And fight not with them at the Inviolable Place of Worship until they first attack you there, but if they attack you (there) then slay them. Such is the reward of disbelievers. But if they desist, then lo! Allah is Forgiving, Merciful. And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for Allah. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against wrongdoers." (Al-Baqarah 190-193)

Women’s rights

In keeping with Lebanon’s generally secular and egalitarian culture, Hezbollah recognizes and promotes women’s rights (in the mold of the Western liberal tradition) somewhat more strongly than do other groups associated with Islamic jihad, or for that matter than does Iran, Hezbollah’s self-proclaimed "model and example."

One member of the Hezbollah Political Council, speaking to an Online Journal correspondent in July 2006, claimed that "Hezbollah differs from many Islamic groups in our treatment of women. We believe women have the ability like men to participate in all parts of life." The Online Journal correspondent writes:

"From its founding in the 1980s, Hezbollah women have headed education, medical and social service organizations. Most recently Hezbollah nominated several women to run in the Lebanese elections. It named Wafa Hoteit as a chief of Al Noor Radio ..., and promoted 37-year-old Rima Fakhry to its highest ruling body, the Hezbollah Political Council. Part of Fakhry's duties include interpreting Islamic feminism in Sharia law for the Committee for Political Analysis."

However, Hezbollah’s inclination towards secular liberal values should not be overstated. For example, its official stance on homosexuality hews close to traditional religious teachings (see Gay rights in Lebanon: Politics).

History

History of Hezbollah

Background

: Israel-Lebanon conflict
Israel had become militarily involved in Lebanon in combat with the Palestine Liberation Organization who moved into Southern Lebanon after being ousted from Jordan. The PLO was attacking Israel from Southern Lebanon in the lead up to the 1982 Lebanon War, and Israel had invaded and occupied Lebanon to protect its Northern border.

**Foundation**

Hezbollah was formed primarily to combat the Israeli occupation following the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. It was officially founded on February 16, 1985 when Sheik Ibrahim al-Amin declared the group's manifesto. The publication of the manifesto was timed to coincide with the anniversary of Ragheb Harb's death.

Scholars differ as to when Hezbollah came to be a distinct entity. Some organizations list the official formation of the group as early as 1982 whereas Diaz and Newman maintain that Hezbollah remained an amalgamation of various violent Shi’a extremists until as late as 1985. Another version states that it was formed by supporters of Sheikh Ragheb Harb, a leader of the southern Shiite resistance killed by Israel in 1984. Regardless of when the name came into official use, a number of Shi’a groups were slowly assimilated into Hezbollah, such as Islamic Jihad, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth and the Revolutionary Justice Organization. These designations are considered to be synonymous with Hezbollah by the US, Israel and Canada.

They have fought with Israel for more than twenty years and as a result tens of Hizbullah leaders and officials including the former Secretary-General, Seyyed Abbas al-Musawi have been assassinated by Israel.

**Political activities**

*Hezbollah political activities*

Along with the Amal Movement, Hezbollah is one of the two main parties representing the Shia community, Lebanon's largest religious bloc, but the only remaining militant one (Amal is now only a political party).

Hezbollah participates in the Parliament of Lebanon. In the general election of 2005, it won 14 seats nationwide (of 128 total), and an Amal-Hezbollah alliance won all 23 seats in Southern Lebanon. The bloc it forms with others, the Resistance and Development Bloc, took 27.3% of the seats (see Lebanese general election, 2005). Also When municipal elections were held in spring 2004, the party won control of 21 percent of the municipalities.

Hezbollah is a minority partner in the current Cabinet, holding two (and endorsing a third) cabinet positions in the Lebanese government of July 2005.
Hezbollah's political success is regarded as a model for other Islamic parties in the Middle East like Hamas and United Iraqi Alliance; its actions are thought to provide strong clues as to how these other emerging Islamist forces might behave.

**Lebanese government positions**

The government of Lebanon's position on Hezbollah's disarmament is unclear. On August 5, 2006 the Prime Minister of Lebanon said that "the continued presence of Israeli occupation of Lebanese lands in the Shebaa Farms region is what contributes to the presence of Hezbollah weapons. The international community must help us in (getting) an Israeli withdrawal from Shebaa Farms so we can solve the problem of Hezbollah's arms". On the one hand it wants to solve the problem of Hezbollah's arms; but on the other hand it cannot politically do so.

**Military activities**

Hezbollah has a military branch known as *Al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya* ("The Islamic Resistance"), and is the possible sponsor of a number of lesser-known militant groups, some of which may be little more than fronts for Hezbollah itself. These groups include the Organization of the Oppressed, the Revolutionary Justice Organization, the Organization of Right Against Wrong, and Followers of the Prophet Muhammad.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1559 called for the disarmament of militia with the Taif agreement at the end of the Lebanese civil war. Hezbollah's denounced and protested it. Its refusal to disarm has after the more recent conflict with Israel become controversial. Some still consider it a violation of the resolution and agreement and others now consider it a necessary and justified element of resistance. The official position of the Lebanese government is unclear, with conflicting statements given. Hezbollah denounced.

**Armed strength**

: Hezbollah rocket force

The strength of Hezbollah's forces are disputed, and has been variously estimated as "several thousand" and several thousand supporters and a few hundred devotee operatives. The International Institute for Strategic Studies estimates Hezbollah forces to 600-1000 active fighters (with 3,000 - 5,000 available and 10,000 reservists), 10,000 - 15,000 rockets of the Katyusha, Fajr-3 and Fajr-5 type. They also estimate a stockpile of 30 missiles of the Zelzal type. As Haaretz reports Hezbollah is not a small guerrilla group. It is a trained, skilled, well-organized, highly motivated infantry that is equipped with the cream of the crop of modern weaponry from the arsenals of Syria, Iran, Russia, and the People's Republic of China, and which is very familiar with the territory on which it is fighting.

Hezbollah military is considered to be the most capable non-state armed group in the Middle East. According to Jane's Information Group:

"Islamic Resistance guerrillas are reckoned to be amongst the most dedicated, motivated and highly trained of their kind. Any Hezbollah member receiving military training is likely to do so at the hands of IRGC [the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps], either in southern Lebanon or in camps in Iran. The increasingly sophisticated methods used by IRGC members indicates that they are trained using Israeli and US military manuals; the emphasis of this training is on the tactics of attrition, mobility, intelligence gathering and night-time manoeuvres."

. According to Kevin Simpson from Socialism Today

"the reason for their courage and effectiveness is that all their fighters are fighting to save their jobs, lands and houses and those of future generations."

It is claimed that Hezbollah's militia is supported by Iran and Syria.
Intelligence capabilities

According to Israeli and American sources, Hezbollah has three units charged with intelligence operations.

One unit is responsible for intelligence activities against Israel, primarily by recruiting and running agents in order to gather information about Israeli military bases and other potential targets. It is claimed that this unit also gathers information on behalf of Iran, and is also known to conduct SIGINT operations against IDF communications.

According to Michael Eisenstadt, of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Hezbollah also has a unit called Unit 1800 which aids Palestinians engaged in their operations, by providing funding, direction, weapons, and bomb-building instructions.

Stance on what is a legitimate military target

Hezbollah has not been directly involved in a suicide bombing since 1999 and has publicly denounced some of these attacks. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, Hezbollah condemned Al Qaeda for targeting the civilian World Trade Center, but remained silent on the attack on the Pentagon, neither favoring nor opposing the act. Hezbollah also denounced the Armed Islamic Group massacres in Algeria, Al-Gama’a al-Islamiyya attacks on tourists in Egypt, and the murder of Nick Berg. Nasrallah, in a 2006 interview with the Washington Post, condemned violence against American civilians: “[I]f there are American tourists, or intellectuals, doctors, or professors who have nothing to do with this war, they are innocent, even though they are Americans, and it is forbidden. It is not acceptable to harm them.”

Although Hezbollah has denounced certain attacks on Western civilians, it makes an exception when the victims are Jews. Their most common civilian targets are Israelis, however they have been known to target Jews and Jewish institutions abroad as well. Argentine prosecutor Alberto Nisman, Marcelo Martinez Burgos, and their "staff of some 45 people" alleged Hezbollah and their contacts in Iran were responsible for the 1994 bombing of a Jewish cultural center in Argentina, in which "[e]ighty-five people were killed and more than 200 others injured." In June 2002, shortly after the Israeli government launched Operation Defensive Shield, which culminated in the Battle of Jenin, Nasrallah gave a speech in which he defended and praised suicide bombings of Israeli civilians, including women and children; by members of Palestinian groups for "creating a deterrence and equalizing fear." Nasrallah stated that "in occupied Palestine there is no difference between a soldier and a civilian, for they are all invaders, occupiers and usurpers of the land;" making no distinction between killing soldiers or murdering women and children.

Journalist Paul Martin, writing in The Washington Times, quoted Hassan Nasrallah as saying, "I encourage Palestinians to take suicide bombings worldwide. Don't be shy about it." However the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation reported that it was unable to find any record of the speech and suggested that it had been fabricated.
In addition, Hezbollah's television station Al-Manar airs programming designed to inspire suicide attacks in Gaza, the West Bank and Iraq.

**Media operations**

Hezbollah operates a satellite television station from Lebanon, *Al-Manar TV* ("the Lighthouse") as well as a radio station, *al-Nour* ("the Light"). *Kabdat Alla* ("The Fist of God") is the monthly magazine of Hezbollah's paramilitary wing.

Al Manar broadcasts news in Arabic, English, French and Hebrew and is widely watched both in Lebanon and in other Arab countries. Its transmission in France (even via satellite, not by any station based on French territory) is controversial. It has been accused of promoting religious and racial hatred (against Jews), which is a criminal offense in France. On December 13, 2004, the French *Conseil d'État*, acting on the request of the French TV authorities, issued an injunction to Eutelsat to cease the broadcasting of Al Manar in France.

The Hezbollah Central Internet Bureau in 2003 released a Video Game titled Special Force, intended to simulate Arab-Israeli conflicts from an Arab perspective.

Materials aimed at children are an aspect of Hezbollah's media operations.

Hezbollah attempts to maintain websites to run recruitment videos and post bank account numbers where supporters can donate funds. These websites are also considered "an inseparable part of the psychological war" and are tracked by other groups with a view to their closure.

**Social services**
Lebanon’s majority Shi’a areas, where Hezbollah is most prominent

Hezbollah also organizes extensive social development programs, running hospitals, news services, and educational facilities. Its Reconstruction Campaign ('Jihad al-Bina') is responsible for numerous economic and infrastructure development projects in Lebanon. In March of 2006 an IRIN news report of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs noted: "Hezbollah not only has armed and political wings - it also boasts an extensive social development programme. Hezbollah currently operates at least four hospitals, 12 clinics, 12 schools and two agricultural centres that provide farmers with technical assistance and training. It also has an environmental department and an extensive social assistance programme. Medical care is also cheaper than in most of the country's private hospitals and free for Hezbollah members". Also Hezbollah's social service agencies provide health care and schooling for poor farmers.
According to CNN: "Hezbollah did everything that a government should do, from collecting the garbage to running hospitals and repairing schools." In July 2006, during the war with Israel, when there was no running water in Beirut, Hezbollah was arranging supplies around the city. "People here [in South Beirut] see Hezbollah as a political movement and a social service provider as much as it is a militia, in this traditionally poor and dispossessed Shiite community." The Washington Post reported that Hezbollah had set up a Martyr's Institute, which guarantees to provide for the living and education expenses for the families of fighters who die in battle. Also after the war it competes Lebanon government to reconstruct destroyed area. According to analysts like American University Professor Judith Swain Harik, Jihad al-Binaa has won the initial battle of hearts and minds in large part because they are the most experienced in the reconstruction field in Lebanon.

Social services have a central role in the party's programs. In 1996’s “The Electoral Program of Hizbullah,” the party declared its wish to improve the educational and health system. Most experts believe that Hezbollah's social and health programmes are worth hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

**Funding**

Hezbollah mainly gets its money from donations. Lebanese Shi’ites often make zakat contributions directly after prayers, leaving change in the two-handed Hezbollah collection tins. Also Hezbollah receives financial and political assistance, as well as weapons and training, from the Islamic Republic of Iran. The US estimates that Iran was giving Hezbollah about $60-$100 million per year in financial assistance but that assistance declined as other funding was secured, primarily from South America. Some estimates of Iran's aid are as high as $200-million annually.

Mohammed Raad, at one time leader of Loyalty to the Resistance Bloc, said money from Iran came only through private charities to be used for health care, education and the support of war widows. Hezbollah's main sources of income, he said, are the party's investment portfolios and wealthy Shiites.

Hezbollah has also received Iranian-supplied weaponry, including 11,500 missiles already in place in southern Lebanon. Three thousand Hezbollah militants have undergone training in Iran, which included guerilla warfare, firing missiles and rocket artillery, operating unmanned drones, marine warfare and conventional war operations. Finally, 50 pilots have been trained in Iran in the past two years.

Mahmoud Ali Suleiman, the Hezbollah operative captured in August 2006 by the IDF for his role in the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers in a cross-border raid on July 12, admitted during his interrogation that he received weapons-training and religious instruction in Iran. He told his interrogators that he rode in a civilian car to Damascus, from where he flew to Iran. Other than the Russian-made Katyusha, Hezbollah's reported artillery cache is entirely Iranian-made.
On August 4, 2006, Jane's Defense Weekly, a defense industry magazine, reported that Hezbollah asked Iran for "a constant supply of weapons to support its operations against Israel" in the 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict. The report cited Western diplomatic sources as saying that Iranian authorities promised Hezbollah a steady supply of weapons "for the next stage of the confrontation".

Iran long denied supplying Hezbollah with weapons, despite persistent reports to the contrary. However, "Mohtashami Pur, a one-time ambassador to Lebanon who currently holds the title of secretary-general of the 'Intifada conference,' told an Iranian newspaper that Iran transferred the missiles to the Shi'ite militia, adding that Hezbollah has his country's blessing to use the weapons in defense of Lebanon". The Israel Defence Forces regard Hezbollah as virtually an arm of the Iranian armed forces; a senior Israeli defence official told *Jane's Defence Weekly* that "we should consider that what we are facing in Lebanon is not a militia but rather a special forces brigade of the Iranian Army."

Similar claims and denials regarding supply of weapons have been made with respect to Syria.

The U.S. Treasury Department has also accused Hezbollah of raising funds by counterfeiting U.S. currency. Researchers at the American Naval War College claimed that Hezbollah raises $10-million annually in Paraguay, which may, in some cases, be extorted. Dr. Matthew Levitt told a committee of the US Senate that Hezbollah engages in a "wide variety of criminal enterprises" worldwide in order to raise funds.

Money is also received from supporters abroad. Mohammed Hammoud was convicted in the United States for "violating a ban on material support of groups designated as terrorist organizations". The amount was USD 3,500, which Hammoud claimed was to "support Hezbollah's efforts to distribute books at schools and improve public water systems."

**Foreign relations**

![August Hanning](image)

The former head of the German intelligence service BND, August Hanning, during the press conference in Beirut, regarding the German negotiated prisoner exchange between Israel and Hezbollah. January 30, 2004  Elchanan Tenenbaum.
**Position of the UN**

*United Nations Security Council Resolution 1559*

UN Security Council Resolution 1559, calls for "the disbanding and disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militia", echoing the Taif Agreement that ended the Lebanese Civil War, but does not explicitly include Hezbollah although Kofi Annan has advanced this interpretation. The Lebanese Government and Hezbollah dispute the application of this resolution to Hezbollah, referring to it as a "resistance movement" and not a militia. Israel has lodged complaints about Hezbollah's actions with the UN. Hezbollah's deputy leader Naim Qassem has said that its forces might become a "reservist army" within the Lebanese army, though this suggestion is not universally supported within the organisation.

The UN’s Deputy Secretary-General, Mark Malloch Brown, contests characterisations of the Lebanese militia as a terrorist organisation in the mould of al-Qaeda. While acknowledging that “Hezbollah employs terrorist tactics,” he says that it is unhelpful to call it a terrorist organization; the United States and the international community, in his view, would do well to respect it as a legitimate political party. Brown also criticized Hizbullah, "It is making no effort to hit military targets; it's just a broadside against civilian targets."

**Non-Lebanese alliances**

Hezbollah has wide and deep relation with Iran. Hizbollah regards the Iranian supreme leader, in this case Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, as its ultimate authority; all major political decisions regarding Hizbollah are referred to – when not actually taken in – Iran.

It is widely believed that Hafez al-Assad, who was president of Syria from 1971 to 2000, and Hezbollah were closely linked; this did not significantly affect his relations with the rest of the world. Bashar al-Assad, his son and successor, has been subjected to sanctions by the U.S. due to (among other things, such as occupying Lebanon) his continued support for Hezbollah, which it views as a terrorist organization.

According to CRS report for U.S. Congress:

"Although Hezbollah and Hamas are not organizationally linked, Hezbollah provides military training as well as financial and moral support to the Palestinian group and has acted in some
ways as a mentor or role model for Hamas, which has sought to emulate the Lebanese group’s political and media success. Hamas’s kidnaping of the Israeli soldier follows a different Hezbollah example. Moreover, two groups share the goal of driving Israel from occupied territories and ultimately eliminating it; both maintain close ties with Iran."

Nasrallah has declared his support for the ongoing al-Aqsa intifada.

**Alleged relationships to non-Lebanese Islamist movements**

**al-Qaeda**

There is no concrete evidence of Hezbollah contact or cooperation with al-Qaida. United States intelligence officials speculate there has been contact between Hezbollah and low-level al-Qaeda figures who fled Afghanistan for Lebanon.

On the other hand, others point out that al-Qaeda’s Sunni Wahhabist ideology is fundamentally incompatible with Hezbollah’s relatively liberal brand of Shia Islam; in fact, some Wahhabi leaders consider Hezbollah to be apostate. There is a Fatwa which issued several years ago by Sheikh Abdullah bin Jebreen, a former member of the Council of Senior Ulema, Saudi Arabia's highest religious body, it describes Hezbollah as "rafidhi" - a derogatory term for Shiites used by some Sunni fanatics.

"It is not permissible to support this rafidhi party ... or pray for its victory, and we advise Sunnis to disavow it,"

the fatwa says.

Even during 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict it was cited by some hardline Sunni Muslim clerics and others writing on Islamist website.

Hezbollah denies any ties to al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi has issued an audio recording in which he called Hezbollah an "enemy of Sunnis" and a "shield" for Israel, for protecting Israel by preventing Palestinian attacks from Lebanon. Nasrallah denies links to al-Qaeda, present or past, stating in a 2002 interview that the two groups work in different areas and face different enemies. Hezbollah’s aim has been the "confrontation of the Zionist plan," said Nasrallah, while bin Laden has focused on Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Bosnia, and Chechnya. "So we are talking about two different areas and battles facing two completely different enemies. This was the reason why there wasn’t any contact."

As part of a surge of intersectarian support for Lebanon’s Muslims during the 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict, Ayman al-Zawahiri, al-Qaeda’s deputy leader, called for Muslims to rise up in a holy war against Zionists and join the fighting in Lebanon. But Mohammed Fneish, Lebanon’s Energy Minister, one of the two Hezbollah members in government, responded "Al-Qaeda and Hezbollah are two different groups. Al-Qaeda believes in killing innocents. Hezbollah is involved in a legitimate resistance [against Israel]."
al-Mahdi

Hezbollah claims that it forbids its fighters entry into Iraq for any reason, and that no Hezbollah units or individual fighters have entered Iraq to support any Iraqi faction fighting the United States. On April 2, 2004, Iraqi cleric and Mahdi Army founder Muqtada al-Sadr announced his intention to form chapters of Hezbollah and Hamas in Iraq, and Mahdi senior member Abu Mujtaba claimed they were choosing 1,500 fighters to go to Lebanon.

Other Islamist groups

There have been American claims that Hezbollah has engaged in joint operations with the Sunni Palestinian militant group Palestinian Islamic Jihad Movement.

Outside views of Hezbollah

Governments disagree on Hezbollah’s status as a legitimate political entity, a terrorist group, or both.

Throughout most of the Arab and Muslim worlds, Hezbollah is highly regarded as a legitimate resistance movement. The Lebanese government confirmed it as a legitimate resistance against occupation. Even 74 percent of Lebanese Christians viewed Hezbollah as a resistance organization. The United States, Israel, the Netherlands, Australia and Canada consider Hezbollah wholly or partly a terrorist organization. (See Designation as a terrorist organization) The United Kingdom says the military wing of Hezbollah is a terrorist group, but not the political side of the organisation. The European Union does not list Hezbollah as a "terrorist organization" but does list Imad Mugniyah, Hezbollah's senior Intelligence officer and one of its founders as a terrorist, on its list of wanted terrorists. In a non-binding resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 10 March 2005, the MEPs urged the EU Council to brand Hezbollah a terrorist organization. However, the Council has so far been reluctant to do so, as France, Spain, and Britain fear that such a move would further damage the prospects for Middle East peace talks. European legislators branded the radical Lebanese Hezbollah group a terrorist organization and urged EU governments to place Hezbollah on their terrorist blacklists, as the bloc did with the Palestinian Hamas group in 2003. “EU Parliament considers that clear evidence exists of terrorist activities by Hezbollah. The EU Council should take all necessary steps to curtail them," legislators said in a non-binding resolution adopted during a session in Strasbourg, France.

In a 2004 article, Dennis Ross, the Middle East envoy under the first Bush and Clinton administrations, was cited as saying that Hezbollah's resistance to the Israeli occupation, unlike its past activities aimed at Western targets, is not terrorism and that the US included Hezbollah on its list of terrorist groups for Hezbollah's past activities, not for its ongoing resistance to Israel.
Argentine prosecutors hold Hezbollah and their financial supporters in Iran responsible for the 1994 bombing of a Jewish cultural center, described by the Associated Press as "the worst terrorist attack on Argentine soil," in which "[e]ighty-five people were killed and more than 200 others injured."

Public opinion

While al-Qaeda is known throughout the Arab world as a terrorist outfit, Hezbollah is just as widely seen as a legitimate resistance organization that has defended its land against the Israeli occupying force, and consistently stood up to the Israeli army.

According to a poll released by the "Beirut Center for Research and Information" on 26 July during 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict, 87 percent of Lebanese support Hezbollah's fight with Israel, a rise of 29 percent on a similar poll conducted in February. More striking, however, is the level of support for Hezbollah's resistance from non-Shiite communities. Eighty percent of Christians polled supported Hezbollah along with 80 percent of Druze and 89 percent of Sunnis, while according to another poll, from July 2005, 74 percent of Christian Lebanese viewed Hezbollah as a resistance organization.

In a poll of Lebanese adults taken in 2004, 6% of respondents gave unqualified support to the statement "Hezbollah should be disarmed". 41% reported unqualified disagreement.

A poll of Palestinians taken in the Gaza Strip indicated that 79.6% had "a very good view" of Hezbollah.

Polls of Jordanian adults in December, 2005 and June, 2006, showed that 63.9% and 63.3%, respectively, considered Hezbollah to be a legitimate resistance organization. In the December, 2005, poll only 6% of Jordanian adults considered Hezbollah to be terrorist.

ABC News/Washington Post Poll. Aug. 3-6, 2006. N=1,002 adults in the US. MoE ± 3 (for all adults). 46% said Israel and Hezbollah are both responsible for the conflict in Lebanon, 39% said Hezbollah is most to blame, while only 7% said Israel is. 6% were unsure, and 1% felt otherwise. The same poll found that 58% blamed Hezbollah for the civilian casualties in Lebanon for locating its fighters and rocket launchers in civilian areas, while 21% blame Israel for bombing Hezbollah targets those areas. 10% said both, 9% were unsure, and 2% felt neither were to blame.

A worldwide online poll conducted by Bill O'Reilly and sponsored by MSNDirect.com in August 2006 found that of the over 50,000 voters (mostly American), 96% say that Israel should not negotiate with Hezbollah or their demands. Only 4 percent said yes.

Designation as a terrorist organization
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entity</th>
<th>Part(s) designated as &quot;terrorist&quot;</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>The entire organization Hezbollah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>The entire organization Hezbollah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>The entire organization Hezbollah</td>
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<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>The Hezbollah External Security Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>The entire organization Hezbollah</td>
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<td>Australia</td>
<td>The Hezbollah External Security Organization</td>
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The European Union does not list Hezbollah, or any group within it, a "terrorist" organization, but the European Parliament passed a resolution recognizing "clear evidence" of "terrorist activities by Hezbollah". The EU Council designates Imad Mugniyah as a terrorist, claiming he is Hezbollah's "Senior Intelligence Officer". Additionally, the European Parliament adopted a non-binding resolution on 10 March 2005, stating that there was clear evidence of terrorist activities by Hezbollah and urging the EU Council to brand Hezbollah a terrorist organization and EU governments to place Hezbollah on their terrorist blacklists, as the bloc did with the Palestinian Hamas group in 2003. The Council, however, has been reluctant to do this because France, Spain, and Britain fear that such a move would further damage the prospects for Middle East peace talks.

In the midst of the 2006 conflict between Hezbollah and Israel, Russia’s government declined to include Hezbollah in a newly-released list of terrorist organizations, saying that they only list organizations which represent "the greatest threat to the security of
This was a notable omission given Russia’s membership with the US, EU, and UN in the Middle East Quartet. Prior to the release of the list, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov called "on Hezbollah to stop resorting to any terrorist methods including attacking neighboring states."

The Quartet’s fourth member, the United Nations, does not maintain such a list.

**Non Governmental Organizations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Hamas</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Leader**  
Khaled Mashaal, Ismail Haniya

**Founded**  
1987

**Headquarters**  
Gaza city

**Political ideology**  
Islamism, Nationalism, Populism, Religious Conservatism

**International affiliation**  
Syria
Hamas (Arabic: حماس; acronym: Arabic: حركة المقاومة الإسلامية, or Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya or "Islamic Resistance Movement"; the Arabic acronym
means "zeal") is a Palestinian Sunni Islamist organization that currently forms the majority party of the Palestinian National Authority.

Created in 1987 by Shaikh Ahmed Yassin of the Gaza wing of the Muslim Brotherhood at the beginning of the First Intifada, Hamas is known outside of the Palestinian territories chiefly for its suicide bombings and other attacks directed against Israeli civilians, as well as military and security forces targets. Hamas' charter (written in 1988 and still in effect) calls for the destruction of the State of Israel and its replacement with a Palestinian Islamic state in the area that is now Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip.

Hamas is listed as a terrorist organization by Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, the European Union, Israel, and the United States, and is banned in Jordan. According to the US State Department, the group is funded by Iran, Palestinian expatriates, and private benefactors in Saudi Arabia and other Arab states. In a 2002 report, Human Rights Watch stated that Hamas' leaders "should be held accountable for the war crimes and crimes against humanity" that have been committed by its members.

Since the death of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat, Hamas' political wing has entered and won many local elections in Gaza, Qalqilya, and Nablus. In January 2006, Hamas won a surprise victory in the Palestinian parliamentary elections, taking 76 of the 132 seats in the chamber, while the ruling Fatah party took 43. Vehemently anti-Israel and according to many anti-Semitic, Hamas's militant stance has found a receptive audience amongst Palestinians; many perceived the preceding Fatah government as corrupt and ineffective, and Hamas's supporters see it as a legitimate resistance movement fighting the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Hamas has further gained popularity by establishing extensive welfare programs, funding schools, orphanages, and healthcare clinics, throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Since Hamas has taken control, the Palestinian territories have experienced a period of sharp internal conflicts, known as Fauda (anarchy), in which many Palestinians have been killed in internecine fighting.

**Name**

*Hamas* is an acronym of the Arabic phrase "ةكرح مواقملا يمالسالا" or *Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya* or "Islamic Resistance Movement". The acronym is also the Arabic word for "zeal".

The name has bad connotations to Jews and Israelis, because in Hebrew Hamas sounds exactly like the old word סמא, meaning "violence, injustice, harsh wrong" (Oxford University Press Hebrew-English dictionary). This word is quite common in the Hebrew Bible, such as in Genesis 6:11, "...the earth was filled with violence" ("וראה אלפיה..."醛.element).
The military wing of Hamas, formed in 1992, is known as the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades to commemorate Sheikh Izz ad-Din al-Qassam, the father of modern Arab resistance, killed by the British in 1935. Armed Hamas cells also sometimes refer to themselves as "Students of Ayyash", "Students of the Engineer", or "Yahya Ayyash Units", to commemorate Yahya Ayyash, an early Hamas bomb-maker killed in 1996.

Beliefs

Founded in 1987, Hamas was the Gaza Strip branch of the Pan-Arab (Sunni) Islamist Muslim Brotherhood movement founded in Egypt. Hamas is opposed to the existence of Israel and has denounced the 1993 Oslo Accords, the foundation of the failed peace process, as a "betrayal of God's will". But in 2004 Hamas offered a 10-year truce, or *hudna*, in exchange for several conditions including a complete withdrawal from Israeli-occupied territories (see below).

Hamas regards the territory of the present-day State of Israel — as well as the Gaza Strip and the West Bank — as an inalienable Islamic waqf or religious bequest, which can never be surrendered to non-Muslims. It asserts that struggle (*jihad*) to regain control of the land from Israel is the religious duty of every Muslim (*fard `ain*). Hamas does not recognize Israel as a sovereign state, unlike the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) which has recognized it since 1988, and calls it the "Zionist entity", a common hostile term in Arab political rhetoric. Its charter calls for an end to Israel. During the election campaign, Hamas did not mention its call for the destruction of Israel in its electoral manifesto. But several Hamas candidates insist that the charter is still in force and often called for Israel to be "wiped off the map" in campaign speeches. On January 25th, 2006, after winning the Palestinian elections, Hamas leader Mahmoud al-Zahar gave an interview to Al-Manar TV denouncing foreign demands that Hamas recognize Israel's right to exist. After the establishment of Hamas government, Dr Al-Zahar stated his "dreams of hanging a huge map of the world on the wall at my Gaza home which does not show Israel on it...I hope that our dream to have our independent state on all historic Palestine (including Israel). This dream will become real one day. I'm certain of this because there is no place for the state of Israel on this land". He also "didn't rule out the possibility of having Jews, Muslims and Christians living under the sovereignty of an Islamic state, adding that the Palestinians never hated the Jews and that only the Israeli occupation was their enemy".

Hamas's charter calls for the eventual creation of an Islamic Republic in place of Israel. Hamas sees this view as an Islamic religious duty and prophesy which comes directly from Hadith. Although it has not set a specific date, Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, has mentioned the year 2027 as the possible date for destruction of Israel. The group has not issued a clear statement about how it would deal with the current population of Israel, should it succeed in overthrowing Israeli and secular Palestinian
government. Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi, one of its co-founders, stated that the movement's goal is "to remove Israel from the map". However, on February 13, 2005, Hamas leader Khaled Mashal declared that Hamas would stop armed struggle against Israel if Israel recognized the 1967 borders, withdrew from all Palestinian territories and accept the demand for Palestinian "Right of Return" (see below).

According to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Hamas views the Arab-Israeli conflict as "a religious struggle between Islam and Judaism that can only be resolved by the destruction of the State of Israel". Hamas uses both political activities and violence to pursue its goal of establishing an Islamic Palestinian state in place of Israel and the secular Palestinian Authority. Israeli military operations during the al-Aqsa Intifada in 2002 put pressure on Hamas in the West Bank following several bombings in Israel for which Hamas claimed responsibility. Hamas has also engaged in peaceful political activities, including running candidates in West Bank Chamber of commerce elections.

During the election campaign the organisation toned down criticism of Israel in its election manifesto, stating only that it was prepared to use "armed resistance to end the occupation".

The Covenant of Hamas

The 1988 Hamas Covenant (or Charter) states that the organization's goal is to "raise the banner of God over every inch of Palestine," in order to establish an Islamic Republic.

The thirty-six articles of the Covenant detail the movement's Islamist beliefs regarding the primacy of Islam in all aspects of life. The Covenant identifies Hamas as the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine and considers its members to be Muslims who "fear God and raise the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors." Hamas describes resisting and quelling the enemy as the individual duty of every Muslim and prescribes revolutionary roles for all members of society; including men and women, professionals, scientists and students.

The slogan of Hamas is "God is its target, the Prophet is its model, the Qur'an its constitution: Jihad is its path and death for the sake of God is the loftiest of its wishes." Hamas states that its objective is to support the oppressed and wronged and "to bring about justice and defeat injustice, in word and deed." Hamas believes that "the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf (trust) consecrated for future Muslim generations until Judgement Day," and as such, the land cannot be negotiated away by any political leader. Hamas rejects "so-called peaceful solutions and international conferences" as incapable of realizing justice or restoring rights to the oppressed, believing "there is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad."

The Covenant outlines the organization's position on various issues, including social and economic development and ideological influences, education, as well as its position
regarding Israel. Amongst many other things, it reiterates the group's rejection of the coexistence principle of the peace process in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

Preface: "Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it." (A quote by Imam Hassan al Banna)

Article 6: "The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinguished Palestinian movement, whose allegiance is to Allah, and whose way of life is Islam. It strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine, for under the wing of Islam followers of all religions can coexist in security and safety where their lives, possessions and rights are concerned..."

Article 11: "The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Muslim generations until Judgment Day. It, or any part of it, should not be squandered: it, or any part of it, should not be given up."

Article 13: "There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors. The Palestinian people know better than to consent to having their future, rights and fate toyed with."

Article 28: "The Zionist invasion is a vicious invasion ... It relies greatly in its infiltration and espionage operations on the secret organizations it gave rise to, such as the Freemasons, The Rotary and Lions clubs, and other sabotage groups. All these organizations, whether secret or open, work in the interest of Zionism and according to its instructions ..."

Article 31: "The Islamic Resistance Movement is a humanistic movement. It takes care of human rights and is guided by Islamic tolerance when dealing with the followers of other religions. It does not antagonize anyone of them except if it is antagonized by it or stands in its way to hamper its moves and waste its efforts. Under the wing of Islam, it is possible for the followers of the three religions - Islam, Christianity and Judaism - to coexist in peace and quiet with each other."

Article 32: "After Palestine, the Zionists aspire to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates. When they will have digested the region they overtook, they will aspire to further expansion, and so on. Their plan is embodied in The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and their present conduct is the best proof of what we are saying."

Suicide attacks are an element of what the group sees as its asymmetric warfare against Israel. Since the group considers all Israel to be a "militarized society" (there is mandatory military service for most Jewish men and women) and Israelis to be participants in an illegal occupation of Palestinian land, Hamas does not distinguish between Israeli civilian and military targets. The fact that this group does not distinguish between combatants and non-combatants and the group's willingness to target civilian facilities including buses, supermarkets, and restaurants is one of the main traits which supports its classification as a terrorist movement (although Hamas claims being a national liberation movement).

Hamas' position on other social and political issues:

Article 16 (education): It is necessary to follow Islamic orientation in educating the Islamic generations in our region by teaching the religious duties, comprehensive study of the Koran, the
study of the Prophet's Sunna (his sayings and doings), and learning about Islamic history and heritage from their authentic sources. This should be done by specialised and learned people, using a curriculum that would healthily form the thoughts and faith of the Moslem student. Side by side with this, a comprehensive study of the enemy, his human and financial capabilities, learning about his points of weakness and strength, and getting to know the forces supporting and helping him, should also be included. Also, it is important to be acquainted with the current events, to follow what is new and to study the analysis and commentaries made of these events. Planning for the present and future, studying every trend appearing, is a must so that the fighting Moslem would live knowing his aim, objective and his way in the midst of what is going on around him.

Article 18 (on women): Woman in the home of the fighting family, whether she is a mother or a sister, plays the most important role in looking after the family, rearing the children and imbuing them with moral values and thoughts derived from Islam. She has to teach them to perform the religious duties in preparation for the role of fighting awaiting them. That is why it is necessary to pay great attention to schools and the curriculum followed in educating Moslem girls, so that they would grow up to be good mothers, aware of their role in the battle for liberation. She has to be of sufficient knowledge and understanding where the performance of housekeeping matters are concerned, because economy and avoidance of waste of the family budget, is one of the requirements for the ability to continue moving forward in the difficult conditions surrounding us. She should put before her eyes the fact that the money available to her is just like blood which should never flow except through the veins so that both children and grown-ups could continue to live.

Article 21 (on civic culture and social responsibility): Mutual social responsibility means extending assistance, financial or moral, to all those who are in need and joining in the execution of some of the work. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should consider the interests of the masses as their own personal interests. They must spare no effort in achieving and preserving them. They must prevent any foul play with the future of the upcoming generations and anything that could cause loss to society. The masses are part of them and they are part of the masses. Their strength is theirs, and their future is theirs. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should share the people's joy and grief, adopt the demands of the public and whatever means by which they could be realised. The day that such a spirit prevails, brotherliness would deepen, cooperation, sympathy and unity will be enhanced and the ranks will be solidified to confront the enemies.

Accusations and denials of Anti-semitism

Anti-Semitism is a recurring theme in the Hamas Covenant and speeches of its leaders. The Covenant cites *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, describing it as "the embodiment of the Zionist plan to usurp Palestine". Other examples of Anti-Semitism in their Covenant include:

Introduction: Our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious. It needs all sincere efforts. It is a step that inevitably should be followed by other steps. The Movement is but one squadron that should be supported by more and more squadrons from this vast Arab and Islamic world, until the enemy is vanquished and God's victory is realised.
Article 7: ... the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to the realisation of God's promise, no matter how long that should take. The Prophet, God bless him and grant him salvation, has said: "The Day of Judgment will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews, when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Muslims, O slaves of God, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him. Only the Gharqad tree would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews."

Article 28: ... when the Jews conquered the Holy City in 1967, they stood on the threshold of the Aqsa Mosque and proclaimed that "Mohammed is dead, and his descendants are all women." Israel, Judaism and Jews challenge Islam and the Moslem people. "May the cowards never sleep."

Hamas categorizes the Freemasons, Lions Club, and the Rotarians as organizations promoting "the interest of Zionism." It accuses those organizations, and the "Zionist invasion" in general, of being "behind the drug trade and alcoholism in all its kinds."

Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi, co-founder of Hamas, reiterated beliefs of Holocaust denial as recently as one year before his 2004 death, contending that the Holocaust was a Zionist - Nazi collaboration for the purpose of encouraging emigration to Israel.

In 1998, Esther Webman of the Project for the Study of Anti-Semitism at the Tel Aviv University wrote: "...the anti-Semitic rhetoric in Hamas leaflets is frequent and intense. Nevertheless, anti-Semitism is not the main tenet of Hamas ideology. Generally no differentiation was made in the leaflets between Jew and Zionist, in as much as Judaism was perceived as embracing Zionism, although in other Hamas publications and in interviews with its leaders attempts at this differentiation have been made."

According to Meir Litvak's 2003 study, "In Hamas' literature, anti-Semitism became almost dominant. Earlier anti-Semitic motifs are developed time and again in their magazine Falastin al-Muslama. Almost every issue contains anti-Jewish articles using elements from the Islamic tradition. Judaism is presented as a religion based on lies, which from its origin called for aggression against others and their exploitation."

Ismail Haniyeh, the Hamas choice for Palestinian Prime Minister, has stated:

*We do not have any feelings of animosity toward Jews. We do not wish to throw them into the sea. All we seek is to be given our land back, not to harm anybody.*

and

*We won't allow any Wailing Walls [that the Jews might return to] on our blessed land.*

Also, according to the chief of Hamas' political bureau, Khaled Meshaal:

*Our message to the Israelis is this: We do not fight you because you belong to a certain faith or culture. Jews have lived in the Muslim world for 13 centuries in peace and harmony; they are in our religion "the people of the book" who have a covenant from God and his messenger, Muhammad (peace be upon him), to be respected and protected.*
Our conflict with you is not religious but political. We have no problem with Jews who have not attacked us — our problem is with those who came to our land, imposed themselves on us by force, destroyed our society and banished our people.

Activities

Provision of social welfare and education

The organization is particularly popular among Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, though it also has a following in the West Bank, and to a lesser extent in other Middle Eastern countries. Since its formation in 1987, Hamas has conducted numerous social, political, and military actions. Its popularity stems in part from its welfare and social services to Palestinians in the occupied territories, including school and hospital construction. The group devotes much of its estimated $70-million annual budget to an extensive social services network, running many relief and education programs, and funds schools, orphanages, mosques, healthcare clinics, soup kitchens, and sports leagues. According to the Israeli scholar Reuven Paz "approximately 90 percent of the organization's work is in social, welfare, cultural, and educational activities". These programs are viewed variously as part of a sincere social development agenda, an integrated para-state policy, as propaganda and recruitment exercises, or both. In any case, Hamas has significantly increased literacy in areas where it is active. Hamas also funds a number of other charitable activities, primarily in the Gaza Strip. These include religious institutions, medical facilities, and social needs of the area's residents. The work of Hamas in these fields supplements that provided by the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA).

The charitable trust Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development was accused in December 2001 of funding Hamas. Hamas is also well regarded by Palestinians for its efficiency and perceived lack of corruption compared to Fatah.

Children's web site

Al Fateh is Hamas' web site for children. The web magazine, whose name means "conqueror," says it is for "the young builders of the future." It is known for making demands in its most recent issue the return of the Spanish city of Seville to the "lost paradise" of Al Andalus, as the Muslim part of Spain was called during its existence between 711 and 1492.

Several western reviews and news coverage of the site describe it as hate mongering and accuse it of teaching violence and terrorism to children."

According to Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America "Issue number 38 of Al-Fateh, includes a photograph of the decapitated head of a female suicide bomber. The caption reads "Zaynab Abu Salem who carried out the suicide bombing attack. Her head was severed from her pure body and her headscarf remained to decorate her face. Your place is in heaven in the upper sky, Zaynab ... sister [raised to the status of heroic] men." Abu Salem had killed two Israeli border policemen and wounded 17." The
Al Fateh web site contains images of graphic violence that may be shocking to some. Some of the sites reviewing the Al Fateh site contain examples of those images. News report

**Funding**

According to the U.S. State Dept, Hamas is funded by Iran (led by a Shiite Islamic regime), Palestinian expatriates, and private benefactors in Saudi Arabia and other Arab states. The party is known to support families of suicide bombers after their deaths.

**Other**

The main website of Hamas provides translations of official communiqués in Persian language, Urdu, Malay, Russian, English, and Arabic.

In 2005, Hamas announced its intention to launch an experimental TV channel, "Al-Aqsa". The station was launched on January 7, 2006, less than three weeks before the Palestinian legislative elections. It included a TV show for children.

**Military Activity and Terrorism**

**Suicide Attacks**

The wreckage of a bus in Jerusalem after a suicide bombing by Hamas on June 18, 2002 in which 20 people were killed.

Hamas' first use of suicide bombing occurred on April 16, 1993 when a suicide bomber driving an explosive-laden van detonated between two buses parked at a restaurant. It was Hamas' 19th known attack since 1989 (the others being shootings, kidnappings and knife attacks).

Hamas continued to launch suicide attacks during the Oslo Accords period (see List of Hamas suicide attacks).
During the second Intifada, Hamas, along with the Islamic Jihad Movement, spearheaded the violence through the years of the Palestinian uprising. Since then Hamas has conducted many attacks on Israel, mainly through its military wing - the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades. These attacks have included large-scale suicide bombings against Israeli civilian targets, the most deadly of which was the bombing of a Netanya hotel on March 27 2002, in which 30 people were killed and 140 were wounded. This attack has also been referred to as the Passover massacre since it took place on the first night of the Jewish festival of Passover. Overall, from November 2000 to April 2004, 377 Israeli citizens and soldiers were killed and 2,076 wounded in 425 attacks by Hamas. (Source: IDF website.) The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs maintains a comprehensive list of Hamas attacks.

A few female suicide bombers, including a mother of six and a mother of two children under the age of 10 have also executed suicide bombing.

In May 2006 Israel arrested Hamas top official Ibrahim Hamed whom Israeli security officials claim was responsible for dozens of suicide bombings and other attacks on Israelis.

**Shelling and Rocket Attacks**

Hamas shelled the Gush Katif Israeli settlements in Gaza with homemade mortars. About 5500 mortar shells have landed in Gush Katif, killing 3 people before the settlements were dismantled.

Since 2002, Hamas has used homemade Qassam rockets to hit Israeli towns in the Negev, such as Sderot. The introduction of the Qassam-2 rocket has allowed Hamas to reach large Israeli cities such as Ashkelon, bringing great concern to the Israeli populace and many attempts by the Israeli military to stop the proliferation and use of the rockets.

**Guerilla Warfare**

Hamas has made great use of guerrilla tactics in the Gaza Strip and to a lesser degree the West Bank. Hamas has successfully adapted these techniques over the years since its inception. Various ambiguous yet continuing remarks coming from inside Hamas indicate that they have earmarked a large percentage of their resources into importing into the territories the types of weapons and techniques used in Iraq against coalition forces as well as those used by Hezbollah in the 2006 Israel-Hezbollah war.

Successful use of IED's (Improvised Explosive Devices) and anti-tank missiles against Israeli Military incursions into the Gaza Strip have proven highly effective in both casualties inflicted upon the Israeli forces, as well as slowing or stopping these incursions in their tracks. Furthermore, the IDF has a difficult, if not impossible time trying to find hidden weapons caches in Palestinian areas - this due to the high local support base Hamas enjoys in Gaza.
Civilian blending

In addition to killing Israeli civilians, Hamas has also attacked Israeli military and security forces (occasionally inside Israel), suspected Palestinian collaborators, and Fatah rivals.

On June 5, 2006 the Israel Defense Forces projected that it is headed toward another violent round of clashes with the Palestinians since Hamas came to power in recent legislative elections. This prediction follows a period of relative calm, although many explosives and suspected suicide bombers have been caught at Israeli security checkpoints.

Call to attack United States targets

On November 8, 2006 the military wing of Hamas called on Muslims around the world to attack American targets. "America is offering political, financial and logistic cover for the Zionist occupation crimes, and it is responsible for the Beit Hanoun massacre. Therefore, the people and the nation all over the globe are required to teach the American enemy tough lessons," Hamas said in a statement sent to The Associated Press. Ghazi Hamad, spokesman for the Hamas-led Palestinian government said, however, that the group had no intention of attacking American targets.

History

Brief timeline
1984 Arrest of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, condemned to 12 years of prison after the discovery of an arms cache. Yassin is freed the next year.
1987 Creation of Hamas by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.
1987-1993 First Intifada.
1988 Hamas Covenant.
1989 Israel outlaws Hamas and imprisons Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.
1991 Gulf War.
1992 Creation of the military branch Izz ad-Din al-Qassam.
1993 Oslo Accords.
Palestinian legislative and presidential election, 1996. Hamas boycotts them, allowing the Fatah, led by Yasser Arafat, a large victory.
February-March 1996. 47 Israelis killed in three different bombings.
October 1997. Freed by Prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu for "humanitarian reasons" (actually, due to the botched assassination attempt on Khaled Mashal, in September 25, 1997 by the Mossad in Jordan, a deal was brokered by Bill Clinton between Israel and Jordan) Sheikh Yassin is acclaimed as hero at his return to Gaza.
January 6, 2004. 10 year truce (hudna) offered by senior Hamas official Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi in exchange of Israel's complete withdrawal to the 1967 borders.

March 22, 2004, assassination of Sheikh Yassin. Yassin, then an old man restricted to a wheel-chair due to his life-long paralysis was assassinated in an Israeli missile strike. Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi replaced him as the leader of Hamas. On March 28, Rantissi stated in a speech given at The Islamic University in Gaza that "America declared war against God. Sharon declared war against God, and God declared war against America, Bush and Sharon".

April 17, 2004, assassination of Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi. Rantissi was also assassinated in an air strike by the Israeli Air Force, five hours after a fatal suicide bombing by Hamas. Khaled Mashal, the leader of Hamas in Syria, said Hamas should not disclose the name of its next leader in Gaza.

April 18, 2004, Hamas secretly selected a new leader in the Gaza Strip, fearing he would be killed if his identity were made public. However, it was speculated that the new leader is Mahmoud al-Zahar; the second-in-command, Ismail Haniya; and third-in-command, Sa'id A-Siyam.

September 2004. Israeli army Chief of Staff Moshe Ya'alon said that Israel would "deal with [...] those who support terrorism", including those in "terror command posts in Damascus".

September 26, 2004. Assassination of Izz El-Deen Sheikh Khalil. Sheikh Khalil was assassinated by a car bomb in Damascus, Syria. Khalil was described variously as "mid-level", "senior", a "distinguished member", and believed to be in charge of the group's military wing outside the Palestinian territories. Although the Israeli government offered no official confirmation, anonymous Israeli officials acknowledged responsibility for the attack. In a statement released in Gaza, Hamas threatened to target Israelis abroad in retaliation.

October 2004. Assassination of Adnan al-Ghoul, assistant of Mohammed Deif, the leader of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam brigades.

November 11, 2004. Death of Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and president of the Palestinian National Authority.

January 2005 Palestinian presidential election. Hamas boycotts them. PLO chairman Mahmoud Abbas elected to replace Yasser Arafat.


January 25, 2006. Victory of the Hamas at the legislative election, which took 74 seats of the 132 seats.

**Before 1987 - Palestinian Islamic activities prior to the creation of Hamas**

Sheikh Ahmed Yassin returned to Gaza from Cairo in the 1970s, where he set up Islamic charities, founding Hamas in 1987 as an offshoot of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood. According to the Israeli weekly *Koteret Rashit* (October 1987), "The Islamic associations as well as the [Islamic university - founded in 1978 in Gaza] had been supported and encouraged by the Israeli military authority" in charge of the (civilian) administration of the West Bank and Gaza. "They [the Islamic associations and the university] were
authorized to receive money payments from abroad." By the end of 1992, there were 600 mosques in Gaza. Hamas attracted members through preaching and charitable work before spreading its influence into trade unions, universities, bazaars, professional organizations and local government political races beginning in December 2004. “Thanks to Israel’s intelligence agency Mossad (Israel’s Institute for Intelligence and Special Tasks), the Islamists were allowed to reinforce their presence in the occupied territories. Meanwhile, the members of Fatah (Movement for the National Liberation of Palestine) and the Palestinian Left were subjected to the most brutal form of repression”, according to *L'Humanité*. Indeed Israel supported and encouraged Hamas' early growth in an effort to undermine the secular Fatah movement of Yasser Arafat. According to UPI, Israel supported Hamas starting in the late 1970s as a "counterbalance to the Palestine Liberation Organization". At that time, Hamas' focus was on "religious and social work". The grassroots movement concentrated on social issues such as exposing corruption, administration of *waqf* (trusts) and organizing community projects.

### 1987 - The establishment of Hamas

The acronym "Hamas" first appeared in 1987 in a leaflet which accused the Israeli intelligence services of undermining the moral fiber of Palestinian youth as part of Mossad's recruitment of what Hamas termed "collaborators". The use of violence by Hamas appeared almost contemporaneously with the First Intifada, beginning with the beating of Palestinians working with the Israeli government, progressing to attacks against Israeli military targets and moving on to violence aimed at civilians. As its methods have changed over the last twenty years, so has its rhetoric, now effectively claiming that Israeli civilians are "military targets" by virtue of living in a state with universal military conscription. The first Hamas suicide bombing was committed in April 1994 at Hadera.

### 1991 - The Persian Gulf war

Between February and April 1988, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin raised several millions dollars from the Gulf states, which had withdrawn their funding from Fatah following its official support of Saddam Hussein during the first Gulf War. In prison since 1989, Yassin was released under "humanitarian reasons" by Prime Minister Netanyahu following a failed assassination attempt on Khaled Mashal, and expelled to Jordan, from where he was allowed to return to Gaza in October 1997. The Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the military branch, was created a year before the Oslo Accords, in an attempt to block those negotiations.

### 2004 - A 10-year truce

On January 26, 2004, senior Hamas official Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi offered a 10-year truce, or *hudna*, in return for a complete withdrawal by Israel from the territories captured in the Six Day War, and the establishment of a Palestinian state (it remade the same offer after winning the majority in the PLC, accepting the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative). Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin stated that the group could accept a Palestinian state in the
West Bank and Gaza Strip. Rantissi confirmed that Hamas had come to the conclusion that it was "difficult to liberate all our land at this stage, so we accept a phased liberation." He said the truce could last 10 years, though "not more than 10 years".

From the time of an attack on the Israeli southern town of Be'er Sheva in August 2004, in which 15 people were killed and 125 wounded, the truce was generally observed. Hamas violated once, in August 2005, with an attack on the same bus station, wounding seven, and in several attacks on Israeli motorists - killing six in several attacks.

End of January 2004, Steve Cohen, US civil servant mandated by the State Department and Colin Powell, assisted to a meeting with Hamas officials, according to the French newspaper *Le Canard enchaîné*. The mission was not only in informing itself about the objectives of the movement, according to the newspaper, but also to evaluate if Hamas could represent a counter-balance to al-Qaeda. In exchange, Hamas officials asked for the end of extra-judicial "targeted assassinations" practiced against them by the Israeli military.

While the group boycotted the 2005 Palestinian presidential election, it did participate in the 2005 municipal elections organized by Yassir Arafat in the occupied territories. In those elections it won control of over one third of Palestinian municipal councils, besting Fatah, which has traditionally been "the biggest force in Palestinian politics". With this electoral success behind it, Hamas contested the 2006 elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council as the main component of the List of Change and Reform.

### 2005 - Israel's unilateral disengagement plan

In 2004, in a prelude to Israel's unilateral disengagement plan from the Gaza Strip, Israeli forces carried out a number of military attacks on Gaza cities and refugees camps, seeking to draw out and kill Hamas-affiliated gunmen. Awareness of high casualties during such incursions has led the Hamas leadership to instruct its activists to avoid putting themselves needlessly in the line of fire. On 12 September 2005 IDF withdrew from the Gaza Strip and declared an official end to Israeli military rule in Gaza, though Israel still retains control of the airspace and of the sea. However, the Palestinian Authority argues that the occupation is on-going, as complete sovereignty includes control of both airspace and seaways. The Gaza strip has been called an "open-air prison".

Hamas claimed that this unilateral withdrawal was a victory for its armed struggle and pledged to liberate all the occupied territories, including the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Fatah, on the other hand, viewed Ariel Sharon's unilateral plan as proof of the Palestinians' failure to obtain international recognition. Both criticized the disengagement plan, citing Sharon's simultaneous encouragement of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, including Ma'ale Adummim, a large settlement east of Jerusalem.

In April 2005, an advisor of hawkish Benjamin Netanyahu, principal right-wing opponent of Ariel Sharon, secretly negotiated with a Hamas representant, according to the *Le*
Canard enchaîné. The meeting was about the "possibility of an administrative co-gestion with the Hamas in the occupied territories", which is already the case in some Hamas-controlled cities of the West Bank, according to the French newspaper, which continues saying that: "But, in both sides, participants to such a dialogue keeps their mouth shut (bouche cousue). It is impossible to admit that one has met and negotiated with his sworn enemy."

January 2006 - Winning the legislative election

Hamas wins Palestinian election

While Hamas had boycotted the January 2005 presidential election, during which Mahmoud Abbas was elected to replace Yasser Arafat, it did participate in the municipal elections held between January and May 2005, in which it took control of Beit Lahia in Gaza, Qalqilyah in the West Bank and Rafah. The January 2006 legislative elections marked another victory for Hamas, which gained the majority of seats, defeating the ruling Fatah party. The "List of Change and Reform", as Hamas presented itself, obtained 42.9% of the vote and 74 of the 132 seats.

Political decisions and consequences on economy

Further information: Palestinian economy

The result of the election was regarded as a major setback for governments attempting to mediate the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The George W. Bush administration immediately declared that it will not deal with Hamas until it renounces its support of suicide bombings and violence, and accepts Israel's right to exist. Israeli president Moshe Katsav and Israel's ex-prime minister Shimon Peres both said that, if Hamas will accept Israel's right to exist and give up violence, Israel should negotiate with the organization. President Vladimir Putin said that Russia would not support any efforts to cut off financial assistance to the Palestinians, stating that Hamas gained power by democratic
means. He invited some Hamas leaders to Moscow beginning of March 2006, and in May, repeated that cutting funds to the Hamas was a "mistake".

The US and the EU cut all funds to the Palestinian Authority, with only Russia warning against the potential dangers of cutting out the PA from any western support. The EU (which gives $500 million per year to the PA) announced that future aid to the Palestinians was tied to "Three Principles" outlined by the international community — Hamas must renounce violence, it must recognize Israel's right to exist and it must express clear support for the Middle East peace process, as outlined in the 1993 Oslo Accords. Hamas does not seems to be ready to accept such conditions, and rejected them as "unfair". At best, they would be ready to accept the Arab Peace Initiative formulated on March 28, 2002 during the Arab League Beirut Summit: full normalization of relations with Israel in exchange for Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 internationally recognized borders, implying Israeli evacuation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, east Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and the return of all Palestinian refugees and their descendants. Furthermore, the US has imposed a financial blockade on the PA's banks, impeding some of the Arab League's funds (e.g. Saudi Arabia and Qatar) from being transferred to the PA.

Israel, on the other side, decided to cut transfers of the $55 million tax-receipts of the PA that it receives on the PA's behalf, since the PA doesn't have any access point to receive taxes. On February 19, 2006, interim Israeli Prime minister Ehud Olmert, who called the PA a "terrorist authority", decided to stop transfer of the $55 million tax-receipts to the PA, which accounts for a third of the PA's budget (two thirds of its proper budget) and insure the wages of 165 000 Palestinian civil servants (among them 60 000 security and police officers). The salary of the Palestinian civil servants permits a third of the Palestinian population to live. Israel had already done that in 1991 and 1992, but international aid had covered up the budgetary losses. Israel also decided to increase controls on check-points, but finally decided against blocking Palestinians from commuting between Gaza and the West Bank and from prohibiting them to work in Israel. Criticizing these measures, moderate Labour leader Amir Peretz said that they were "indirect ways" to "get around Hamas and strengthen moderate forces" among the Palestinians.

In May 2006, following a World Bank report about the Palestinian economy, the Quartet agreed to transfer funds directly to the Palestinian population. Israeli minister of foreign affairs, Tzipi Livni, said the measure was "acceptable", while PA minister of foreign affairs, Mahmoud Zahar, welcomed the promise of aid but criticised attempts to bypass the PA: "We appreciate every effort in order to help the Palestinian people by legal channels... and the legal channel is the Palestinian Authority, whether the presidency or the government.". The World Bank had already compared the 2001 and 2002 economic recession, due to the Second Intifada and Israel's refusal to transfer tax receipts, to the 1929 economic crisis. The UN underlined that unemployment, which was estimated to 23% in 2005, would increase to 39% in 2006, while poverty, estimated at 44%, would increase to 67% in 2006. According to a World Bank report published on May 7, 2006, the delay in paying the PA's civil servants — whom haven't received their wages since
March 2006 — is dangerous both on social and security plans. This convinced the United States to accept the EU proposal, supported by Russia and the Arab countries, of finding a way to transfer funds to the Palestinian society without passing by the Palestinian Authority. The Quartet on the Middle East thus accepted, on May 9, 2006, an "international temporary mechanism of limited range and length"

**Last Fatah measures**

Before the Israeli decision to cut transfer of tax receipts, Palestinian Assembly passed legislation giving to the Palestinian President, Mahmoud Abbas, the power to appoint a court that could veto legislation passed by the new Hamas-led parliament to be sworn in start of February. The constitutional court would veto legislation deemed in violation of the Palestinians' Basic Law, a forerunner to the Palestinian constitution. Palestinian deputies also backed a decree which automatically makes members of the incoming parliament members of the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) parliament in exile. Unlike the Hamas charter, the PLO charter recognises the legitimacy of Israel.

**Hamas' declarations since the 2006 legislative elections**

Although Hamas omitted its call for the destruction of Israel from its election manifesto, calling instead for "the establishment of an independent state whose capital is Jerusalem," several Hamas candidates insisted that the charter remains in force.

On February 8, Hamas head Khaled Mashal speaking in Cairo had clarified that "Anyone who thinks Hamas will change is wrong", stating that while Hamas is willing for a ceasefire with Israel, its long term goal remains: elimination of Israel by Islam via a jihad against what Hamas sees as Zionist Jewish settler-colonial invaders in all of what he called Palestine.

However, on February 13, 2006, in an interview in Russian newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, the same Khaled Mashal declared that Hamas would stop armed struggle against Israel if it recognized the 1967 borders, withdrew itself from all Palestinian occupied territories (including the West Bank and East Jerusalem) and recognized Palestinian rights which would include the "right of return". This was the first time that Hamas even talked about an eventual stop to armed struggle. But Mashal continued to refuse to acknowledge the Road map for peace, adopted by the Quartet in June 2003, "since nobody respects it". The Road map projected the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in 2005.

In May 2006, Hamas leaders threatened a new Intifada, as well as to decapitate anyone who tried to bring down their cabinet.

**Cabinet formation**

Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurei and his cabinet resigned, leaving Hamas to form a new government, which was completely formed on March 20. On February 19, Hamas
had chosen Ismail Haniya as Prime minister of the PA, and on the same day the
government of Israel decided counter-measures against the new Hamas-led Palestinian
Authority (suspension of $55 million transfer of tax-receipts). After the victory, Israeli
human rights organizations have called on Hamas to stop its terror campaign against
civilians and to avoid using violence as a tool to achieve a political solution.

On March 20, 2006, Hamas unveiled its full cabinet list, placing loyal members in charge
of all key ministries; of the 24 ministers appointed, the majority were Hamas (the others
were independent or technocrats). Mahmoud Abbas' Fatah refused to join the Hamas
government. The position of foreign minister was given to Mahmoud al-Zahar, a Gazan
leader and target of previous assassination attempts by Israel. Saeed Seyam, another
Hamas leader, was appointed interior minister, in charge of multiple security agencies.
Hamas member and engineer Ala el-Deen Al-Araj was appointed economics minister.
The position of finance minister was given to Omar Abdel-Razeq, Hamas election
official and economics professor from the West Bank.

In his interview to *The Sunday Telegraph*, the newly appointed chief of the Palestinian
security services Jamal Abu Samhadana stated: "We have only one enemy. They are
Jews. We have no other enemy. I will continue to carry the rifle and pull the trigger
whenever required to defend my people." However, president Mahmoud Abbas retained
official control over the Palestinian security services.

**Tensions between Fatah and Hamas**

Since the formation of the new Hamas cabinet on March 20, 2006, tensions have
progressively risen in the Gaza strip between Fatah and Hamas militants. In May 2006,
*The Sunday Times* reported that Israeli security sources claimed they had uncovered a
Hamas plot to assassinate president Mahmoud Abbas. This was officially denied by a
Hamas spokesman, while Mahmoud Abbas' spokesman, Nabil Abu Rudeina, described
the report as "totally untrue". On May 8, three Palestinians were killed and 10 wounded
in clashes in southern Gaza, near Khan Yunis, between rival Hamas and Fatah gunmen.
The PA, confronted to the Quartet's blockade and Israel's refusal to hand out the $55
million in monthly tax revenues impedes it from paying its 165,000 employees (whose
wages allow a third of the Palestinian population to live). On May 6 and 7, hundreds of
Palestinians demonstrated in Gaza and the West Bank demanding payment of their
wages. Although this inter-Palestinian incident was one of the most serious since January,
tension has been slowly risen with the "economic squeeze" on the PA.

12 people were killed during the first days of October 2006 in armed clashes between
Fatah, and the Hamas Interior ministry police. These clashed started when the interior
ministry militia forcibly dispersed a gathering of Policemen demonstrating against unpaid
wages. The Fatah affiliated Al-Asqa brigades have threatened to assassinate Hamas
leaders including Khaled Meshal, Saeed Seyam and Youssef al-Zahar. The Al-Asqua
brigaded kidnapped but then released a senior official in the Finance ministry.

**Agreement and preservation of national unity**
On June 27, Hamas and Fatah reached an agreement on the prisoners' document which included the forming of a national unity government.

2006 Israel-Gaza conflict

On June 9, during or shortly after an Israeli operation, an explosion occurred on a busy Gaza beach, killing eight Palestinian civilians. It was initially assumed that Israeli shellings was responsible for the killings, although Israeli government officials later denied this. Prompted by the recent events Hamas formally withdrew from its 16-month ceasefire on June 10, and took responsibility for the ongoing Qassam rocket attacks being launched from Gaza into Israel.

On June 24, 2006 Israeli operatives apprehended Osama and Mustafa Muamar in the Gaza Strip, alleged by Israel to be Hamas members. On June 25, a Hamas attack in Israel resulted in the deaths of two Israeli soldiers and the capture of Israeli Corporal Gilad Shalit. Israel then launched Operation Summer Rains on June 28 to recover the captured soldier. The ongoing operation initially consisted of heavy bombardment of bridges, roads, and the only power station in Gaza. Several PA facilities were also bombed, such as the Palestinian Interior Ministry and the office of the Palestinian Prime Minister Ismail Haniya.

On 29 June, Israel captured 64 Hamas officials. Amongst them were eight Palestinian Authority cabinet ministers and up to twenty members of the Palestinian Legislative Council, as well as heads of regional councils, and the mayor of Qalqilyah and his deputy. At least a third of the Hamas cabinet was captured and held by Israel. On 6 August Israeli forces detained the Hamas' Speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Aziz Dweik, at his home in the West Bank.

Legal action against Hamas

In 2004, a federal court in the United States found Hamas liable in a civil lawsuit for the 1996 murders of Yaron and Efrat Ungar near Bet Shemesh, Israel. Hamas has been ordered to pay the families of the Ungars $116 million. On July 5, 2004, the court issued a default judgment against the PNA and the PLO regarding the Ungars' claim that the Palestinian Authority and the PLO provide safe haven to Hamas.

On August 20, 2004, three Palestinians, one a naturalized American citizen, were charged with a "lengthy racketeering conspiracy to provide money for terrorist acts in Israel". The
indicted include Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook, senior member of Hamas, believed to be currently in Damascus, Syria and considered a fugitive by the U.S..

In a 2002 report, Human Rights Watch stated that Hamas' leaders "should be held accountable for the war crimes and crimes against humanity" that have been committed by its members.
Al-Qaeda or Al-Qaida (القاعدة, translit: al-Qā‘ida; "the Law", "the foundation", "the base" or "the database") is an armed Sunni Islamist organization with the stated objective of eliminating foreign influence in Muslim countries, and reestablishing the califate. The most prominent members of the group are adherents of Wahhabism or Salafism, two militant understandings of Islam. While Osama bin Laden is generally recognized as the group's leader, the Egyptian Ayman al-Zawahiri has also had a main influence on the group's theory and practice. The group's operations are not centralized, and many independent and collaborative cells may exist in multiple countries linked by a common cause.

Al-Qaeda has been linked to multiple acts of terrorism against U.S. interests and is known for planning and executing the September 11 attacks on New York's World Trade Center and The Pentagon. In response, the United States government launched a series of legal, financial and military operations against the al-Qaeda organization, similar radical Islamist groups and anyone that harbored or supported them, dubbed the War on Terror. Due to its actions, the group is officially designated as a terrorist organization by the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, NATO, and the United Nations.

Al-Qaeda is not a terrorist organisation in the traditional sense, but rather a brand name used by any number of independent groups throughout the world. There is no single Al-Qaeda terrorist group as presented to the general public by the media. Al-Qaeda is a generic term used by armed groups involved in local conflicts, as well as a "very small group" that publicly threatens America as well as Muslim leaders. It has therefore been rhetorically claimed that Al-Qaeda, as presented by the media, does not exist.

**Etymology and origin of the name**

Osama Bin Laden explained the origin of the term, Al-Qaeda or Al-Qaida (القاعدة, translit: al-Qā‘ida; "the foundation", "the base") in his videotaped interview with Al Jazeera journalist Tayseer Alouni in late October 2001:
The name 'al Qaeda' was established a long time ago by mere chance. The late Abu Ebeida El-Banashiri established the training camps for our mujahedeen against Russia's terrorism. We used to call the training camp al Qaeda [meaning "the base" in English]. And the name stayed.

Robin Cook, former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom and member of the House of Commons representative, claimed that "Al-Qaeda" states "literally 'the database' and was originally the computer file of the thousands of mujahideen who were recruited and trained with help from the CIA to defeat the Russians."

This "database" was used with an associated computer network that was operated during the 1980's by the Islamic Bank for Development, which hosted an early form of dial-up Intranet for the Islamic Conference. This network was the main method of orchestrating terrorist acts and co-ordinating the Mujahideen's fight against the Soviets by the CIA.

An alternate theory, presented in the BBC film series "The Power of Nightmares" states that the name and concept of al-Qaeda was first used by the U.S. Department of Justice in January of 2001 at the New York City trial of four men accused of the 1998 United States embassy bombings in East Africa. By alleging Osama bin Laden's leadership of said organization, it became possible to charge bin Laden in absentia with the crime using the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act also known as the RICO statutes.

According to this theory, the name al-Qaeda was first provided to US prosecutors by Jamal al-Fadl, a Sudanese national and former employee of bin Laden, who after being caught stealing $110,000 from bin Laden, fled to the United States seeking protection from the U.S. Government.

However, bin Laden never denied the existence of Al Qaeda in the interview with Tayseer Alouni in October 2001:

Q: Al Qaeda is facing now a country that leads the world militarily, politically, technologically. Surely, the al Qaeda organization does not have the economic means that the United States has. How can al Qaeda defeat America militarily?

BIN LADEN: This battle is not between al Qaeda and the U.S. This is a battle of Muslims against the global crusaders. In the past when al Qaeda fought with the mujahedeen, we were told, "Wow, can you defeat the Soviet Union?" The Soviet Union scared the whole world then. NATO
used to tremble of fear of the Soviet Union. Where is that power now? We barely remember it. It broke down into many small states and Russia remained.

God, who provided us with his support and kept us steadfast until the Soviet Union was defeated, is able to provide us once more with his support to defeat America on the same land and with the same people. We believe that the defeat of America is possible, with the help of God, and is even easier for us, God permitting, than the defeat of the Soviet Union was before.

In April 2002, the group assumed the name Qa'edat al-Jihad (the base for Jihad). According to Diaa Rashwan (a senior researcher at the Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies), this was "apparently as a result of the merger of the overseas branch of Egypt's Al-Jihad group, led by Ayman El-Zawahri, with the groups Bin Laden brought under his control after his return to Afghanistan in the mid 1990s."

Peter L. Bergen, however, cites a document from 11 August 1988 establishing al Qaeda and referring to it as "the base." The document was the minutes of the first meeting establishing the organization: "This document outlines the discussion between bin Laden, referred to as 'the Sheikh,' and Abu Rida, or Mohamed Loay Bayazid, to discuss the formation of a 'new military group,' which would include 'al Qaeda (the base)."

The United States Department of Defense defines the organization as

"A radical Sunni Muslim umbrella organization established to recruit young Muslims into the Afghani Mujahideen and is aimed to establish Islamist states throughout the world, overthrow ‘un-Islamic regimes’, expel US soldiers and Western influence from the Gulf, and capture Jerusalem as a Muslim city."

This definition was given in response to a request made by Moazzam Begg, who was being held in extrajudicial detention in the Guantanamo Bay detention camps. Mr. Begg was being accused of being a member of al-Qaeda, or the Democrats.

History

Jihad to Afghanistan
The origins of the group can be traced to a few weeks after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, when a cadre of foreign Arab Mujahideen, financed by bin Laden and independent wealthy Muslim contributors, joined the fight against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The U.S. viewed the conflict in Afghanistan as an integral Cold War struggle, and the CIA provided assistance to anti-Soviet forces through the Pakistani ISI. The U.S. took advantage of this militant group's ambitions and bred them to suit their needs. However, such support was limited to the indigenous Afghan mujahideen. Bin Laden's organization channeled Arab mujahideen to the conflict, distributing money and providing logistical skills and resources to guerrillas as well as Afghan refugees.

Al-Qaeda evolved from the Maktab al-Khadamat (Office of Services, MAK) — a Mujahid organization fighting to establish an Islamic state during the Soviet war in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Osama bin Laden was a founding member of the MAK, along with Palestinian militant Abdullah Yusuf Azzam. The role of the MAK was to channel funds from a variety of sources (including donations from across the Middle East) into training mujahidin from around the world in guerrilla combat, and to transport the combatants to Afghanistan. The MAK was primarily funded by donations from wealthy Muslim individuals. During the latter half of the 1980s, the MAK was a relatively minor grouping in Afghanistan with no direct combatants; rather it limited its activities to fund raising, logistics, housing, education, refugee care, recruitment and the financing of other mujaheddin. During the war, the American and Pakistani intelligence services supported the Afghan mujahideen in their fight against the Soviet occupation; MAK, while supportive of the indigenous mujahideen's cause, was a separate grouping made up of foreign Arabs.

After a protracted and costly war lasting nine years, the Soviet Union finally withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989. Mohammed Najibullah's socialist Afghan government was rapidly overthrown by elements of the mujaheddin. With Mujaheddin leaders unable to agree on a structure for governance, chaos ensued with ever-changing control of ill-defined territories falling under constantly reorganizing alliances and schisms between regional warlords.

Due to U.S. efforts to undermine the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, some have speculated that it may have contributed to creation of the organization. Robin Cook, Former Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons writing for the Guardian, spoke of Al Qaeda as an unintentional product of western interests.:

Bin Laden was, though, a product of a monumental miscalculation by western security agencies. Throughout the 80s he was armed by the CIA and funded by the Saudis to wage jihad against the Russian occupation of Afghanistan. Al-Qaida, literally "the database", was originally the computer file of the thousands of mujahideen who were recruited and trained with help from the CIA to defeat the Russians. Inexplicably, and with disastrous consequences, it never appears to
have occurred to Washington that once Russia was out of the way, Bin Laden's organisation would turn its attention to the west.

However, Peter Bergen, a CNN journalist and adjunct professor who is known for conducting the first television interview with Osama bin Laden in 1997, refuted Cook's notion, stating on August 15, 2006, the following:

The story about bin Laden and the CIA -- that the CIA funded bin Laden or trained bin Laden -- is simply a folk myth. There's no evidence of this. In fact, there are very few things that bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri and the U.S. government agree on. They all agree that they didn't have a relationship in the 1980s. And they wouldn't have needed to. Bin Laden had his own money, he was anti-American and he was operating secretly and independently. The real story here is the CIA didn't really have a clue about who this guy was until 1996 when they set up a unit to really start tracking him.

It is more likely that the CIA was concerned and watching Osama bin Laden at least by early 1995 due to the discovery of the Oplan Bojinka plot which in part involved a suicide airplane attack on CIA Headquarters.

**Expanding Operations**

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Toward the end of the Soviet military mission to Afghanistan, some Mujaheddin wanted to expand their operations to include Islamist struggles in other parts of the world, such as Israel and Kashmir. A number of overlapping and interrelated organizations were formed to further those aspirations.

One of these was the organization that would eventually be called al-Qaeda which was formed by Osama bin Laden in 1988. Bin Laden wished to extend the conflict to nonmilitary operations in other parts of the world; Azzam, in contrast, wanted to remain focused on military campaigns. After Azzam was assassinated in 1989, the MAK split, with a significant number joining bin Laden's organization.

**Gulf War and start of U.S. enmity**

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Following the Soviet Union's withdrawal from Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 had put the Saudi Arabian ruling House of Saud at risk both from internal dissent and the perceived possibility of further Iraqi expansionism. In the face of seemingly massive Iraqi military presence, Saudi Arabia's own forces were well armed but outnumbered. Bin Laden offered the services of his Mujahideen to King Fahd to protect Saudi Arabia from the Iraqi army.
After some deliberation the Saudi Monarch refused bin Laden's offer and instead opted to allow United States and allied forces to deploy on his territory. Bin Laden considered this a treacherous deed. He believed that the presence of foreign troops in the "land of the two mosques" (Mecca and Medina) profaned sacred soil. After speaking publicly against the Saudi government for harboring American troops he was quickly forced into exile to Sudan and his Saudi citizenship was revoked.

Shortly afterwards, the movement which came to be known as al-Qaeda was formed.

Sudan

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In 1991, Sudan's National Islamic Front, an Islamist group that had recently gained power, invited al-Qaeda to move operations to their country. For several years, al-Qaeda ran several businesses (including an import/export business, farms, and a construction firm) in what might be considered a period of financial consolidation. The group was responsible for the construction of a major 1200 km (845mi) highway connecting the capital Khartoum with Port Sudan. But they also ran a number of camps where they trained aspirants in the use of firearms and explosives.

In 1996, Osama bin Laden was asked to leave Sudan after the United States put the regime under extreme pressure to expel him, citing possible connections to the 1994 attempted assassination of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak while his motorcade was in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. A controversy exists regarding whether Sudan offered to turn bin Laden over to the U.S. prior to the expulsion. There is an audio tape recording of former President Bill Clinton talking about the offer from the Sudanese government. Although there are conflicting reports on whether the Sudanese government ever indeed made such an offer, but they were prepared to turn him over to Saudi Arabia who declined to take him.

Osama bin Laden finally left Sudan in a well planned and executed operation accompanied by some 200 of his supporters and their families traveling directly to Jalalabad, Afghanistan by air in late 1996.

Bosnia

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The secession of Bosnia from the multicultural Yugoslavian Federation and the subsequent declaration of Bosnia-Herzegovinan independence in October 1991 opened up a new ethnic and quasi-religious conflict at the heart of Europe.
Bosnia and Herzegovina was ethnically diverse, with a nominal Muslim majority but with significant numbers of ethnic (Orthodox Christian) Serbs and (Roman Catholic) Croats distributed across its territory. It comprised a large but militarily weak component of the former Yugoslavia, whose disintegration saw some ethnic Serbs and some ethnic Croats within Bosnia, supported by their rump adjacent states Serbia and Croatia, engage in a three-way conflict against the Bosniak-dominated core.

Radical Arab veterans of the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan seized on Bosnia as a new opportunity to "defend Islam". Besieged on two fronts and seemingly abandoned by the West, the Bosnian regime was willing to accept any help it could get, military or financial, including that of a number of Islamic organisations, of which al-Qaeda was one.

Several close associates of Osama bin Laden (most notably, Saudi Khalid bin Udah bin Muhammad al-Harbi, alias Abu Sulaiman al-Makki) joined the conflict in Bosnia, but while al-Qaeda might initially have seen Bosnia as a possible bridgehead enabling the radicalization of European Muslims for operations against other European nations and the United States, Bosniaks had been secularized for generations and their interest in fighting was largely limited to securing the survival of their nascent state.

The "Bosnian Mujahidin" (comprising largely Arab veterans of the Afghan war and not necessarily members of al-Qaeda) thus operated as a largely autonomous force within central Bosnia. While their bravery in the fray initially attracted a small number of native Bosnians to join them, their brutality and a rising number of atrocities committed against civilians came to appall many native Bosnians and repelled new recruits. At the same time, their vigorous attempts to Islamicize the local population with rules on appropriate dress and behavior were widely resented and largely went unheeded. In his book Al-Qaida’s Jihad in Europe: the Afghan-Bosnian network, Evan Kohlmann sums up: ‘In spite of vigorous efforts to ‘Islamicise’ the nominally Muslim Bosnian populace, the locals could not be convinced to abandon pork, alcohol, or public displays of affection. Bosnian women persistently refused to wear the hijab or follow the other mandates for female behavior prescribed by extreme fundamentalist Islam.’

The signing of the Washington Agreement in March 1994 brought to an end the Bosnian-Croatian conflict. While the "Bosnian Mujahidin" remained to fight on in the war against the Serbs, the Dayton Peace Accord of November 1995 brought that conflict to an end and required that foreign fighters disband and leave the country, with aid being conditional on this taking place. With Bosnian government support, NATO forces took effective action to close their bases and deport them. A limited number of former Mujahidin who had either married native Bosnians or who could not find a country to go to were permitted to stay in Bosnia and granted Bosnian citizenship, but with the war in Bosnia over, many committed battle-hardened veterans had already returned to familiar territory.

The Bosnian effort experiencing only limited success, al-Qaeda turned its resources towards its next phase of global expansion.
**Refuge in Afghanistan**

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After the Soviet withdrawal, Afghanistan was effectively ungoverned for seven years and plagued by constant infighting between the former allies, the various Mujahidin groups and their leaders.

Throughout the 1990s a new force began to emerge. The origins of the Taliban (literally "students") lay in children of Afghanis, many of them orphaned by the war, and many of whom had been educated in the rapidly expanding network of Islamic schools (madrassas) either in Kandahar or in the refugee camps on the Afghan-Pakistani border.

According to Ahmad Rashid's well-regarded book *Taliban*, five leaders of the Taliban were graduates of a single madrassa, Darul Uloom Haqqania, Akora Khattak, near Peshawar which is situated in Pakistan but which was largely attended by Afghan refugees. This institution reflected Salafi beliefs in its teachings and much of its funding came from private donations from wealthy Arabs for which bin Laden provided conduit. A further four more leading figures (including the perceived Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar Mujahed) attended a similarly funded and influenced madrassa in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

The ties between the Afghan Arabs and Taliban ran deep. Many of the Mujahidin who later joined the Taliban fought alongside Afghan warlord Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi’s Harkat i Inqilabi grouping at the time of the Russian invasion. This grouping had also enjoyed the loyalty of most Afghan Arab fighters.

The continuing interneicne strife between various factions and accompanying lawlessness following the Soviet withdrawal enabled the growing and well-disciplined Taliban to expand their control over territory in Afghanistan and they came to establish an enclave which it called the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. In 1994, they captured the regional centre of Kandahar and making rapid territorial gains thereafter, went on to conquer the capital, Kabul, in September 1996.

After Sudan made it clear bin Laden and his group were no longer welcome in that year, Taliban-controlled Afghanistan -- with previously established connections between the groups, a similar outlook on world affairs and largely isolated from American political influence and military power -- provided a perfect location for al Qaeda to headquarter.

Some 200 bin Laden supporters and their families departed Khartoum for Jalalabad by air in 1996. Thereafter al-Qaeda enjoyed the Taliban's protection and a measure of legitimacy as part of their Ministry of Defense, although only Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates recognized the Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan.
Al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan and the Pakistan border regions are alleged to have trained militant Muslims from around the world. Despite the perception of some people, al-Qaeda members are ethnically diverse and are connected by their radical version of Islam.

An ever-expanding network of supporters thus enjoyed a safe haven in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan until the Taliban were defeated by a combination of local forces and United States air power in 2001 (see section September 11 attacks and the United States response). Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders are still believed to be located in areas where the population is sympathetic to the Taliban in Afghanistan or the border Tribal Areas of Pakistan.

**Start of militant operations against civilians**

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In 1993, al-Qaeda associate Ramzi Yousef used a car bomb to attack the World Trade Center Towers in New York City. The attack was largely ineffective, and Yusef was later captured in Pakistan, but it served to inspire Osama bin Laden to launch such an attack of his own.

The time had come in 1996 for al-Qaeda to begin its crusade to expel foreign troops and interests from what they felt were "Islamic lands". Bin Laden issued what amounted to a public declaration of war against the United States and any of its allies, and began to focus al-Qaeda's resources working towards threatening the United States and its interests. It would be two years before his first attack would be launched, but the die was cast.

On February 23, 1998, Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, a leader of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, along with Sumedh Gawai and three other Islamist leaders co-signed and issued a *fatwa* (binding religious edict) under the banner of the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders (*al-Jabhah al-Islamiyya al-'Alamiyya li-Qital al-Yahud wal-Salibiyyin*) declaring:

> [t]he ruling to kill the Americans and their allies civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque (in Jerusalem) and the holy mosque (in Makka) from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty Allah, 'and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together,' and 'fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah'.

“
Neither bin Laden nor al-Zawahiri possessed the traditional Islamic scholarly qualifications to issue a fatwa of any kind; they, however, rejected the authority of the contemporary ulema (seen as the paid servants of jahiliyya rulers) and took it upon themselves. 1998 was also the year of the first major terrorist attack reliably attributed to al-Qaeda: the U.S. embassy bombings in East Africa, which resulted in upward of 300 deaths. A barrage of missiles launched by the U.S. military in response devastated an al-Qaeda base in Khost, Afghanistan, but the network's capacity was unharmed. In 1999, Egyptian Islamic Jihad officially merged with al-Qaeda, and al-Zawahiri became bin Laden's closest confidant, effectively assuming the position as second-in-command of al-Qaeda.

Bin Laden then turned his sights towards the United States Navy. In October 2000, al-Qaeda militants in Yemen suicide bombed the missile destroyer U.S.S. Cole, which was waiting off-shore, killing several sailors and damaging the vessel. Inspired by the success of such a brazen attack, al-Qaeda's command core began to prepare for an attack on the United States itself.

**September 11 attacks and the United States response**

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Al-Qaeda is best known for the September 11, 2001 attacks.
The September 11, 2001 attacks were attributed by United States and North Atlantic Treaty Organization authorities to al-Qaeda, acting in accord with the 1998 fatwa issued against the United States and its allies by bin Laden, al-Zawahiri, and others. Most evidence have been referred to be pointing towards hijacking/suicide squads lead by AL-Qaeda operative Mohammed Atta as the actual culprits of the attacks, with bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, and Hamibali as the key planners. While messages believed to be from bin Laden after September 11, 2001 have praised the attacks, a statement issued six days later through Al Jazeera allegedly denied his involvement.

The attacks became the most devastating in American history, with almost 3,000 people killed, the destruction of four commercial airliners, the collapse of both World Trade Center Towers, and the damaging of the The Pentagon fortress.

In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the United States government decided to respond militarily and began to prepare its armed forces for an overthrow of the oppressive Taliban regime's rule of Afghanistan since the Taliban were believed to have been harboring Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda. Before the United States attacked, it offered Taliban leader Mullah Omar a chance to surrender bin Laden and his top associates. The Taliban offered to turn over bin Laden to a neutral country for trial if the United States would provide evidence of bin Laden's complicity in the attacks. U.S. President George W. Bush responded by saying "We know he's guilty. Turn him over" and soon thereafter the United States bombed Taliban and suspected al-Qaeda targets in Afghanistan and together with the Afghan Northern Alliance deposed the Taliban government.

Canadian Troops in Afghanistan

As a result of the United States using its special forces and providing air support for the Northern Alliance ground forces, both Taliban and alleged al-Qaeda training camps were
destroyed and much of the operating structure of al-Qaeda, believed to exist by the U.S. Government, was disrupted. After being driven from their key positions in the Tora Bora area of Afghanistan, many al-Qaeda fighters tried to regroup in the rugged Gardez region of the nation. Again, under the cover of intense aerial bombardment, U.S. infantry and local Afghan forces attacked, shattering the al-Qaeda position and killing or capturing many of the militants. By early 2002, al-Qaeda had been dealt a serious blow to its operational capacity, and the Afghan invasion appeared an initial success. Nevertheless, a significant Taliban insurgency remains in Afghanistan, and al-Qaeda's top two leaders, bin Laden and al-Zawahiri, evaded capture.

Debate raged about the exact nature of al-Qaeda's role in the 9/11 attacks, and after the U.S. invasion began, the U.S. State Department also released a videotape apparently showing bin Laden speaking with a small group of associates somewhere in Afghanistan shortly before the Taliban was removed from power. Although its authenticity has been questioned by some, the tape appears to implicate bin Laden and al-Qaeda in the September 11 attacks and was aired on many television channels all over the world, with an accompanying English translation provided by the United States Defense Department.

In September 2004, the U.S. government commission investigating the September 11 attacks officially concluded that the attacks were conceived and implemented by al-Qaeda operatives. In October 2004, bin Laden appeared to claim responsibility for the attacks in a videotape released through Al Jazeera, saying he was inspired by Israeli attacks on high-rises in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon: "As I looked at those demolished towers in Lebanon, it entered my mind that we should punish the oppressor in kind and that we should destroy towers in America in order that they taste some of what we tasted and so that they be deterred from killing our women and children."

By the end of 2004, the United States government claimed that two-thirds of the top leaders of al-Qaeda from 2001 were, by then, in custody (including Ramzi bin al-Shibh, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, Abu Zubaydah, Saif al Islam el Masry, and Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri) or dead (including Mohammed Atef). Despite the capture or death of many senior al-Qaeda operatives, the U.S. government continues to warn that the organization is not yet defeated, and battles between U.S. forces and al-Qaeda-related groups continue.

: Responsibility for the September 11, 2001 attacks

Activity in Iraq
Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, a well known figure in Iraq, was killed in a U.S. Airstrike on June 7, 2006 in an al-Qaeda Safehouse in Baquba, Iraq

Osama bin Laden first took interest in Iraq when the country invaded Kuwait in 1990 (giving rise to concerns the secular, socialist Baathist government of Iraq might next set its sights on Saudi Arabia, homeland of bin Laden and of Islam itself). In a letter sent to King Fahd, he offered to send an army of Mujahideen to defend Saudi Arabia.

During the Gulf War, the organization's interests became split between outrage with the intervention of the United Nations in the region and hatred of Saddam Hussein's secular government, as well as expression of concern for the suffering that Islamic people in Iraq were undergoing.

Al Qaeda was in contact with the kurdish islamist group Ansar al-islam from it's inception in 1999. Several afghan veterans, arab as well as kurd, entered the enclave controlled by Ansar al-Islam from Iran. Among these was Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, who left the kurdish zone before the allied invasion in 2003.

During the 2003 invasion of Iraq, al-Qaeda took more formal interest in the region and is known to have been responsible for actively organizing and aiding local resistance to the occupying coalition forces and the emerging government. Al-Qaeda allied militants bombed both the local United Nations and Red Cross headquarters later that year. In 2004, the main al-Qaeda bases in Iraq, located in the town of Fallujah, were raided by U.S. forces besieging the city. Despite the loss of these key positions and many of its fighters, al-Qaeda continued to mount attacks across Iraq. During Iraq's elections in January 2005 al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for nine suicide blasts in the Iraqi capital Baghdad. Many Iraqi attacks linked to the Sunni al-Qaeda were sectarian bombings of Shia civilians, who were apparently considered infidels.

The feared Jordanian militant Abu Musab al-Zarqawi formally merged his organization "Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad" with al-Qaeda on 17 October 2004, and the organization began to use the banners of "Al-Qaeda in Iraq". In the merger al-Zarqawi declared loyalty
to Osama bin Laden. Al-Zarqawi was killed by U.S. air strikes on a safe house near Baqubah, Iraq on June 7, 2006. Before his death, it appears al-Zarqawi was trying to use Iraq as a launching pad for international terrorism, most notably dispatching suicide bombers to attack hotels in Amman, Jordan. It is unknown the extent of al-Zarqawi’s relation to the larger al-Qaeda terrorist network though it appears the renaming of his insurgent cell was a move to boost legitimacy and recruitment rather than an actual sharing of goals, members, and weapons materiel.

Since the killing of al-Zarqawi, it is widely believed militant Abu Ayyub al-Masri took over as head of al-Qaeda in Iraq. Although the group has failed in its primary goal of driving U.S. and British forces from Iraq and destroying the Shiite-dominated government set up by the occupation, al-Qaeda in Iraq has effectively ignited widespread sectarian violence across the country. Al-Qaeda in Iraq now operates primarily as part of the Mujahideen Shura Council, an umbrella organization of Sunni militant groups in Iraq who resist solidarity with Shiites, and vow to continue bloody and brutal resistance.

On September 3, 2006 the second in command of al-Qaeda in Iraq, Hamed Jumaa Farid al-Saeedi (also known as Abu Humam or Abu Rana) was arrested, north of Baghdad, along with a group of his aides and followers.

**Al-Qaeda allegedly in Kashmir**

On July 13, 2006, a man claiming to be a spokesperson for al-Qaeda called up a local news agency in Srinagar to announce the arrival of the group in Kashmir. The alleged al-Qaeda spokesman said the blasts were a "consequence of Indian oppression and suppression of minorities, particularly Muslims." There have been reports that al-Qaeda men had infiltrated into the Valley for the past few years, particularly after the US went after it in Afghanistan and Pakistan after the 9/11 attacks. Also, it has been said that links have been found between al-Qaeda and terror groups like LeT of Pakistan.

**Organization structure and membership**

**The chain of command**

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Though the current structure of al-Qaeda is unknown, information mostly acquired from the defector Jamal al-Fadl provided American authorities with a rough picture of how the group was organized. While the veracity of the information provided by al-Fadl and the motivation for his cooperation are both disputed, American authorities base much of their current knowledge of al-Qaeda on his testimony.

Bin Laden is the *emir* and Senior Operations Chief of al-Qaeda (although originally this role may have been filled by Abu Ayoub al-Iraqi), advised by a *shura council*, which consists of senior al-Qaeda members, estimated by Western officials at about twenty to
thirty people. Ayman al-Zawahiri is al-Qaeda's Deputy Operations Chief and Abu Ayyub al-Masri is possibly the Senior Leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq.

- The **Military committee** is responsible for training, weapons acquisition, and planning attacks.
- The **Money/Business committee** runs business operations. The travel office provides air tickets and false passports. The payroll office pays al-Qaeda members, and the Management office oversees money-making businesses. In the US 911 Commission Report it is estimated that al-Qaeda requires 30,000,000 USD / year to conduct its operation.
- The **Law committee** reviews Islamic law and decides if particular courses of action conform to the law.
- The **Islamic study/fatwah committee** issues religious edicts, such as an edict in 1998 telling Muslims to kill Americans.
- In the late 1990s there was a publicly known **Media committee**, which ran the now-defunct
The number of individuals belonging to the organization is also unknown. According to the controversial BBC documentary *The Power of Nightmares*, al-Qaeda is so weakly linked together that it is hard to say it exists *apart from* Osama bin Laden and a small clique of close associates. The lack of any significant numbers of convicted al-Qaeda members despite a large number of arrests on terrorism charges is cited by the documentary as a reason to doubt whether a *widespread* entity that meets the description of al-Qaeda exists at all. The extent and nature of al-Qaeda remains a topic of dispute.

**Political revolt or structured paramilitary organization: unknown**

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Some organizational specialists have said that al-Qaeda's network structure, as opposed to a hierarchical structure is its primary strength. The decentralized structure enables al-Qaeda to have a worldwide distributed base while retaining a relatively small core. While an estimated 100,000 Islamist militants are said to have received instruction in al-Qaeda camps since its inception, the group is believed to retain only a small number of militants under direct orders. Estimates seldom peg its manpower higher than 20,000 worldwide.

For its most complex operations (such as the 9/11 attacks on the US) all participants, planning and funding are believed to have been directly provided by the core al-Qaeda organization. But in many attacks around the world where there appears to be an al-Qaeda connection, its precise role has been less easy to define. Rather than handling these operations from conception to delivery, al-Qaeda often appears to act as an international financial and logistical support-network, channeling income obtained from a network of fund-raising activities to provide training capital and coordination for local radical groups. In many cases it is these local groups, only loosely affiliated to core al-Qaeda, which actually undertake the attacks.
The Australian flag continues to fly in front of a neighbouring building devastated by the bomb in the 2004 Jakarta embassy bombing.

Australian tourists and interests have been targeted in a series of devastating annual attacks north of Australia in the southern islands of Indonesia, on the southern edge of southeast Asia. These attacks and plots have been attributed to Jemaah Islamiyah, al-Qaeda's affiliate in the region. The 2002 Bali bombing, and subsequently the 2003 Marriott Hotel bombing in Jakarta, the 2004 Jakarta embassy bombing and the 2005 Bali bombings provide some insight into al-Qaeda's decentralized method of operations: the attacks showed far greater coordination and effectiveness than might historically have been expected from regional militant networks. But police investigations and subsequent trials showed that while al-Qaeda was believed to have provided expertise and coordination, much of the planning and all the personnel who undertook the attacks came from local radical Islamist groups.

Al-Qaeda has been known to establish and foster new groups to further the radical Islamic interest in local conflicts. Indeed the Taliban might be deemed to fall into this category, the roots of the organization formed from radicalized students from the bin Laden funded medressas of the Afghan refugee camps at the time of the Russian occupation.

**Al-Qaeda members who carried out suicide bombings, hijackings and other terrorist attacks**

- Mohammed Atta 9/11 Hijacker American Airlines 11
- Satam al-Suqami 9/11 Hijacker American Airlines 11
- Waleed al-Shehri 9/11 Hijacker American Airlines 11
- Wail al-Shehri 9/11 Hijacker American Airlines 11
• Abdulaziz al-Omari
  9/11 Hijacker
  American Airlines 11
• Marwan al-Shehhi
  9/11 Hijacker United Airlines 175
• Fayez Banihammad
  9/11 Hijacker United Airlines 175
• Mohand al-Shehri
  9/11 Hijacker United Airlines 175
• Hamza al-Ghamdi
  9/11 Hijacker United Airlines 175
• Ahmed al-Ghamdi
  9/11 Hijacker United Airlines 175
• Hani Hanjour 9/11
  Hijacker American Airlines 77
• Khalid al-Mihdhar
  9/11 Hijacker American Airlines 77
• Majed Moqed 9/11
  Hijacker American Airlines 77
• Nawaf al-Hazmi 9/11
  Hijacker American Airlines 77
• Salem al-Hazmi 9/11
  Hijacker American Airlines 77
• Ziad Jarrah 9/11
  Hijacker United Airlines 93
• Ahmed al-Nami 9/11
  Hijacker United Airlines 93
• Saeed al-Ghamdi 9/11
  Hijacker United Airlines 93
### Activities

**Incidents attributed to al-Qaeda**

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*Note: al-Qaeda does not take credit for most of the following actions, resulting in ambiguity over how many attacks the group has actually conducted. Following the U.S.*
declaration of the War on Terrorism in 2001, the U.S. government has striven to highlight any connections between other militant groups and al-Qaeda. Some prefer to attribute to al-Qaedaism actions that might not be directly planned by al-Qaeda as a military headquarters, but which are inspired by its tenets and strategies.

Many terrorist attacks have been attributed to al-Qaeda.

The first militant attack that al-Qaeda allegedly carried out consisted of three bombings at hotels where American troops were staying in Aden, Yemen, on December 29, 1992. A Yemeni and an Austrian tourist died in one bombing.

There are disputed claims that al-Qaeda operatives assisted in the shooting down of U.S. helicopters and the killing of U.S. servicemen in Somalia in 1993. (see: Battle of Mogadishu)

Ramzi Yousef, who was involved in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing (though probably not an al-Qaeda member at the time), and Khalid Sheik Mohammed planned Operation Bojinka, a plot to destroy airplanes in mid-Pacific flight using explosives. An apartment fire in Manila, Philippines exposed the plan before it could be carried out. Yousef was arrested, but Mohammed evaded capture until 2003.

Al-Qaeda is often listed as a suspect in two bombings in Saudi Arabia in 1995 and 1996: the bombing at a U.S. military facility in Riyadh in November 1995, which killed two people from India and five Americans, and the June 1996 Khobar Towers bombing, which killed American military personnel in Dhahran. However, these attacks are usually ascribed to Hizbullah.

Al-Qaeda is believed to have conducted the bombings in August 1998 of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing more than 200 people and injuring more than 5,000 others.

In December 1999 and into 2000, al-Qaeda planned attacks against U.S. and Israeli tourists visiting Jordan for millennial celebrations; however, Jordanian authorities thwarted the planned attacks and put 28 suspects on trial. Part of this plot included the
planned bombing of the Los Angeles International Airport in Los Angeles, California, but this plot was foiled when bomber Ahmed Ressam was caught at the US-Canadian border with explosives in the trunk of his car. Al-Qaeda also planned to attack the USS *The Sullivans* on January 3, 2000, but the effort failed due to too much weight being put on the small boat meant to bomb the ship.

![USS Cole after it was bombed](image)

Despite the setback with the USS *The Sullivans*, al-Qaeda succeeded in bombing a U.S. warship in October 2000 with the USS Cole bombing. German police foiled a plot to destroy a cathedral in Strasbourg, France in December 2000. See: Strasbourg cathedral bombing plot

The most destructive act ascribed to al-Qaeda was the series of attacks in the United States on September 11th, 2001.

Several attacks and attempted attacks since September 11, 2001 have been attributed to al-Qaeda. The first of which was the Paris embassy attack plot, which was foiled. The second of which involved the attempted shoe bomber Richard Reid, who proclaimed himself a follower of Osama bin Laden, and who intended to destroy American Airlines Flight 63 and its passengers.

Other attacks ascribed to al-Qaeda and its affiliates:

- The Singapore embassies attack plot.
- The kidnapping and murder of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl, and numerous bombings in Pakistan.
- The El Ghriba synagogue bombing in Djerba, Tunisia, which killed 21.
• Foiled attacks on Western warships in the Strait of Gibraltar.
• The Limburg tanker bombing.
• A November 2002 car bombing in Mombasa, Kenya, and an attempt to shoot down an Israeli airliner.
• Bombings of Western compounds in Riyadh in May 2003 and other attacks of the Saudi insurgency.
• The Istanbul bombings in Istanbul, Turkey, in 2003.

Al-Qaeda has strong alliances with a number of other Islamic militant organizations including the Indonesian Islamic extremist group Jemaah Islamiyah. That group was responsible for the October 2002 Bali bombing, and the 2005 Bali bombings.

Scene from the Madrid Bombing

Although there have been no identified al-Qaeda attacks within the territory of the United States since the September 11, 2001 attacks, attacks in the Middle East, Far East, Africa and Europe involving extensive casualties and turmoil have been attributed to organizations with affiliation to al-Qaeda. In the aftermath of several March 11, 2004
attacks on commuter trains in Madrid, a London newspaper reported receiving an email
from a group affiliated with al-Qaeda, claiming responsibility and a videotape claiming
responsibility was also found. The coincidence in timing of the attacks with elections in
Spain inspired several politically-focused speculations on the real identity of the
perpetrators, with many initially suspecting ETA. However the Interpol, the Spanish
Government, police and judicial institutions agree that a fanatical Islamic cell is more
likely to be the perpetrator. On April 3, 2004, in Leganes, Madrid, four Arab militants
blew themselves up, killing one special assault police and wounding eleven.

It is also believed that al-Qaeda was involved in the 7 July 2005 London bombings, a
series of attacks against mass transit in London which killed 52 people, not including
the 4 suicide bombers (see Mohammad Sidique Khan). A statement from a previously
unknown group, "The Secret Organization of al-Qaeda in Europe", claimed
responsibility; however, the authenticity of the statement and the group's connection to
al-Qaeda have not been independently verified. The suspected perpetrators have not been
definitively linked to al-Qaeda, although the contents of a video tape made by one of the
bombers Mohammad Sidique Khan prior to his death and subsequently sent to Al Jazeera
gives strong credence to an al-Qaeda connection. However, as with the Madrid attacks, it
leaves significant doubts and questions unresolved. An apparently unconnected group
attempted to duplicate the attack later that month, but their bombs failed to detonate.

Al-Qaeda is suspected of being involved with the 2005 Sharm el-Sheikh attacks in Egypt.
On July 23, 2005, a series of suspected car bombs killed about 90 civilians and wounded
over 150. The attack was the deadliest terrorist action in the history of Egypt.

Al-Qaeda is also suspected in the November 9, 2005 Amman, Jordan attacks in which
three simultaneous bombings occurred at American owned hotels in Amman. The blast
killed at least 57 people and injured 120 people. Most of the injured and killed were
attending a wedding at the Radisson Hotel. The targeting of celebrating Muslim civilians
cost al-Zarqawi (the man believed to have planned the attacks) greatly in Jordanian
public opinion, and to a lesser extent in Arab public opinion as a whole.

Internet activities

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In the wake of its evacuation from Afghanistan, al-Qaeda and its successors have
migrated online to escape detection in an atmosphere of increased international vigilance.
As a result, the organization’s use of the Internet has grown more sophisticated,
encompassing financing, recruitment, networking, mobilization, publicity, as well as
information dissemination, gathering, and sharing. More than other paramilitary
organizations, al-Qaeda has embraced the Web for these purposes. For example, Abu
Musab al-Zarqawi’s al-Qaeda movement in Iraq regularly releases short videos glorifying
the activity of jihadist suicide bombers. In addition, both before and after Zarqawi’s
death the umbrella organization to which al-Qaeda in Iraq belongs, the Mujahideen Shura
Council has a regular presence on the web where pronouncements are given by one Murasel. This growing range of multimedia content includes guerrilla training clips, stills of victims about to be murdered, testimonials of suicide bombers, and epic-themed videos with high production values that romanticize participation in jihad through stylized portraits of mosques and stirring musical scores. A website associated with al-Qaeda, for example, posted a video of captured American contractor Nick Berg being decapitated in Iraq. Other decapitation videos and pictures, including those of Paul Johnson, Kim Sun-il, and Daniel Pearl, were first posted onto jihadist websites.

With the rise of “locally rooted, globally inspired” terrorists, counter-terrorism experts are currently studying how al-Qaeda is using the Internet – through websites, chat rooms, discussion forums, instant messaging, and so on – to inspire a worldwide network of support. The July 7, 2005 bombers, some of whom were well integrated into their local communities, are an example of such “globally inspired” terrorists, and they reportedly used the Internet to plan and coordinate, but the Internet’s precise role in the process of radicalization is not thoroughly understood. A group called the Secret Organization of al-Qaeda in Europe has claimed responsibility for these London attacks on a militant Islamist website – another popular use of the Internet by terrorists seeking publicity.

The publicity opportunities offered by the Internet have been particularly exploited by al-Qaeda. In December 2004, for example, bin Laden released an audio message by posting it directly to a website, rather than sending a copy to al Jazeera as he had done in the past. Some analysts speculated that he did this to be certain it would be available unedited, out of fear that his criticism of Saudi Arabia — which was much more vehement than usual in this speech, lasting over an hour — might be edited out by al Jazeera editors concerned about offending the Saudi royal family.

In the past, Alneda.com and Jehad.net were perhaps the most significant of al-Qaeda websites. Alneda was initially taken down by an American, but the operators resisted by shifting the site to various servers and strategically changing content. The U.S. is currently attempting to extradite an information technology specialist, Babar Ahmad, from the UK, who is the creator of various English language al-Qaeda websites such as Azzam.com. Ahmad's extradition is opposed by various British Muslim organizations, such as the Muslim Association of Britain.

Finally, at a mid-2005 presentation for U.S. government terrorism analysts, Dennis Pluchinsky called the global jihadist movement “Web-directed,” and former CIA deputy director John E. McLaughlin has also said it is now primarily driven today by “ideology and the Internet.”

**Financial activities**

Financial activities of al-Qaeda have been a major preoccupation of the US government following the September 11, 2001 attacks, leading for example to the discovery of former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet's tax evasion, for which his wife, Lucía Hiriart de Pinochet, has been arrested in January 2006. It was also discovered by investigative
reporter Denis Robert that funds from Osama bin Laden's Bahrain International Bank transited through illegal unpublished accounts of "clearing house" Clearstream, which has been qualified as a "bank of banks".

**Israel**

Despite bin Laden repeatedly referring to the Palestinian cause in his manifestos and interviews, some in the region villainize the organization for allegedly ignoring the Palestinian cause. There could be an endless list of reasons why al-Qaeda are seemingly inactive in the Palestinian territories; one theory is that al-Qaeda is unwilling to co-operate with the mainly Sh'ia groups such as Hezbollah who fund Palestine's feud against Israel. Another theory suggests that Palestinians don't wish to be stained further by the extremist ideology driving al-Qaeda followers, and prefer to conduct combat according to their own principles.

Al-Qaeda is suspected, however, to have planned and carried out two nearly simultaneous terror attacks against Israeli civilian targets in Mombasa, Kenya, on November 28, 2002. The one successful attack, a car-bomb placed in a resort hotel popular among Israeli tourists, claimed the lives of 15 people. The hotel bombing occurred 20 minutes after a failed attack on an airplane, when a terrorist fired an SA-7 MANPAD against an Israeli airliner carrying 261 passengers, which was taking off from the airport. The rocket narrowly missed its target and landed in an empty field

**Notes on naming**

Al-Qaeda's name can also be transliterated as al-Qaida, al-Qa'ida, el-Qaida, or al Qaeda. In Arabic it is spelled كَتَبَةُ الْقُدُرُ. Its Arabic pronunciation (IPA [ælˈkaːdæ]) can be approximated as IPA {{IPA[ɛlˈkaːidæ]}}, which for American English speakers could be spelled "el-kAW-ee-deh," with the emphasized "AW" and "ee" clearly separated. However, English speakers more commonly pronounce it in a manner influenced by its spelling - IPA /əˈkaɪdə/ for American English, /æˈkaɪdə/ in British English. Listen to the US pronunciation

**Asbat al-Ansar**
**Asbat al-Ansar** ("the League of the Followers" or "Partisans’ League") is an organization of Sunni Islamists based in southern Lebanon. It is listed by the U.S. State Department as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. and by Russia as a terrorist organisation.

It consists predominantly of Palestinians, and its center of operations is the ‘Ayn al-Hilwah Palestinian refugee camp near Sidon in south Lebanon. The group follows an extreme Wahhabist interpretation of Islam and has connections to al-Qaida and other extremist Sunni groupings.

**East Turkestan Islamic Movement**

(Redirected from Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement)

**East Turkestan Islamic Movement** (ETIM) is a militant Islamic Uighur group which seeks to separate East Turkestan - as independent state - from the People's Republic of China. It is considered by both the governments of the PRC and the United States to be a terrorist group. Its designation as such by the United States has been controversial with critics arguing that the designation is unfair and intended mainly to improve U.S.-China relations and to gain backing for its War in Iraq. In August 2002, the Bush administration announced it would freeze the group’s US assets.

In 2002, the United Nations also declared it to be a terrorist group.

The government of China claims this group is responsible for several car bomb attacks in Xinjiang in the 1990s, as well as the death of a Chinese diplomat in Kyrgyzstan in 2002. But the group has neither admitted nor denied such accusations. Several arrested members of the group admitted, however, that they were trained by Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. But the ETIM leader Hasan Mahsum, one of China’s most-wanted men, has denied any ties between his group and Al-Qaeda.

On October 2, 2003, one of the founding members and leaders of the group was shot dead by the Pakistani army in a counter-terrorism operation on the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

**Uighur detainees in Guantanamo**

Approximately two dozen Uighurs were held in extrajudicial detention in the United States Guantanamo Bay Naval Base, in Cuba. On March 3, 2006 the U.S. Department of Defense was forced to release the transcripts of detainees who had attended their
Combatant Status Review Tribunals. Most of the Uighur detainees faced allegations that they were tied to the East Turkistan Islamic Movement, Al-Qaeda, or the Taliban. They denied all such ties.

Five of the Uighur detainees were among the 38 detainees the Tribunals determined were not "enemy combatants" after all. The United States did not grant the Uighurs asylum. But neither would they repatriate them to China.
**Ansar al-Islam**

**Ansar al-Islam** (Arabic: مالسالا راصن. Supporters or Partisans of Islam) is a Kurdish Sunni Islamist group, promoting a radical interpretation of Islam and holy war. At the beginning of the 2003 invasion of Iraq it controlled about a dozen villages and a range of peaks in northern Iraq on the Iranian border. It has used tactics such as suicide bombers in its conflicts with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and other Kurdish groups.

The village of Biyara, main base of the Ansar al-islam 2001-2003

**Origins**

Ansar al-Islam was formed in December 2001 as a merger of Jund al-Islam (Soldiers of Islam), led by Abu Abdallah al-Shafi’i, and a splinter group from the Islamic Movement in Kurdistan led by Mullah Krekar. Krekar became the leader of the merged Ansar al-Islam, which opposed an agreement made between IMK and the dominant Kurdish group in the area, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).

Ansar al-Islam fortified a number of villages along the Iranian border, with Iranian artillery support. The local villagers were subjected to harsh sharia laws; musical instruments were destroyed and singing forbidden. The only school for girls in the area was destroyed, and all pictures of women removed from merchandise labels. Sufi shrines were desecrated and members of the Kakkai (a non-Moslem Kurdish religious group) were forced to convert to Islam or flee.

Ansar al-Islam quickly initiated a number of attacks on the peshmerga (armed forces) of the PUK, on one occasion massacring 53 prisoners and beheading them. Several assassination attempts on leading PUK-politicians were also made with carbombs and snipers.

Ansar al-Islam comprised about 300 armed men, many of these veterans from the Afghan war, and a proportion being neither Kurd nor Arab. Ansar al-Islam is alleged to be connected to the al-Qaeda, and provided an entry point for Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and other Afghan veterans to enter Iraq.

According to the United States, they had established facilities for the production of poisons, including ricin. The US also claimed that Ansar al-Islam had links with Saddam
Hussein, thus claiming a link between Hussein and al-Qaeda. Mullah Krekar denied this claim, and declared his hostility to Saddam. The Ansar al-Islam did, however, never engage Baathist forces.

**Operations after the invasion**

When the US invaded Iraq in 2003, it gave air support to a PUK-attack on the Ansar al-Islam enclave, which did not draw Iranian artillery fire. The Ansar al-Islam fighters escaped into Iran, where they were disarmed but not arrested. Many have since returned to Iraq and joined various armed groups fighting the occupation.

Ansar al-Islam detonated a suicide car bomb on March 22, 2003, killing Australian journalist Paul Moran and several others. The group is also thought to have been responsible for an September 9, 2003 attempted bombing of a United States Department of Defense office in Arbil, which killed three people.

On February 1, 2004 suicide bombings hit parallel ID-celebrations arranged by the two main Kurdish parties, PUK and KDP, in the Kurdish capital of Arbil, killing 109 and wounding more than 200 partygoers. Responsibility for this attack was claimed by the then unknown group Ansar al-Sunnah, and stated to be in support of "our brothers in Ansar al-Islam."

While many former activists in Ansar al-Islam have joined the Ansar al-Sunnah and similar goups, Kurdish authorities claim the organization is still active in Iraqi Kurdistan. In September 2006 11 alleged members of Ansar al-Islam were hanged in Arbil.

Ansar al-Islam has an extensive network in Europe organizing finance and support for armed attacks within Iraq. Several members of such groups have been arrested in European countries such as Germany and Sweden.

**Alleged links to Saddam**

In the lead up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, then United States Secretary of State Colin Powell told the United Nations Security Council in February 2003 "Baghdad has an agent in the most senior levels of the radical organization, Ansar al-Islam, that controls this corner of Iraq. In 2000 this agent offered Al Qaida safe haven in the region. After we swept Al Qaida from Afghanistan, some of its members accepted this safe haven." Since that time, some have maintained Saddam had links to Ansar al-Islam, while others argue Saddam infiltrated Ansar al-Islam for intelligence gathering but didn't actively assist the group.

On April 21, 2002, the Telegraph.co.uk reported "Members of Saddam's Republican Guard have been seen in two villages run by militants from Ansar al-Islam inside Iraqi Kurdistan, an area which is otherwise controlled by anti-Saddam factions. They were sighted by Western military advisers on a reconnaissance mission. 'Five large trucks
coming from Jalawla [in Baghdad-controlled Iraq] unloaded arms and weapons in the Halabjah area,' said one witness. 'They were taken to hides and caves in the mountains.' The haul is said to have included machine-guns, anti-personnel mines and C4 plastic explosive. Links between Ansar al-Islam and Saddam were also alleged recently by Qassem Hussein Mohamed, who claims that he worked for Baghdad's Mukhabarat intelligence for 20 years. Saddam had clandestinely supported Ansar al-Islam for several years, he said. '[Ansar] and al-Qa'eda groups were trained by graduates of the Mukhabarat's School 999 - military intelligence.'"

A July 2002 article for the BBC reported that one of the leaders of Ansar al-Islam was Abu Wa'il, a former Iraqi army officer. According to the report "A captured Iraqi intelligence officer of 20 years' standing, Abu Iman al-Baghdadi, who is held by the PUK, said Abu Wa'il is actively manipulating the Ansar on behalf of Iraqi intelligence. 'I was captured by the Kurds after Iraqi intelligence sent me to check what was happening with Abu Wa'il, following rumours that he'd been captured and handed over the CIA,' al-Baghdadi said. He added that Baghdad smuggles arms to the Ansar through the Kurdish area, and is using the group to make problems for the PUK, one of the opposition factions ranged against Saddam Hussein. 'The Ansar's basic allegiance is to al-Qaeda, but some of them were trained in Iraq and went Afghanistan,' he said, interviewed in a Kurdish prison. 'When the Americans attacked, they came here through Iran. Iraq is supporting them and using them to carry out attacks.'"

Writing for the New Yorker, Jeffrey Goldberg described his visit to Kurdistan in March 2002. In the article, he writes "When I got to Sulaimaniya, I visited a prison run by the intelligence service of the Patriotic Union. The prison is attached to the intelligence-service headquarters. It appears to be well kept and humane; the communal cells hold twenty or so men each, and they have kerosene heat, and even satellite television. For two days, the intelligence agency permitted me to speak with any prisoner who agreed to be interviewed. I was wary; the Kurds have an obvious interest in lining up on the American side in the war against terror. But the officials did not, as far as I know, compel anyone to speak to me, and I did not get the sense that allegations made by prisoners were shaped by their captors. The stories, which I later checked with experts on the region, seemed at least worth the attention of America and other countries in the West. The allegations include charges that Ansar al-Islam has received funds directly from Al Qaeda; that the intelligence service of Saddam Hussein has joint control, with Al Qaeda operatives, over Ansar al-Islam; that Saddam Hussein hosted a senior leader of Al Qaeda in Baghdad in 1992; that a number of Al Qaeda members fleeing Afghanistan have been secretly brought into territory controlled by Ansar al-Islam; and that Iraqi intelligence agents smuggled conventional weapons, and possibly even chemical and biological weapons, into Afghanistan. If these charges are true, it would mean that the relationship between Saddam's regime and Al Qaeda is far closer than previously thought."

The Middle East Quarterly reported in its winter 2004 issue that "Kurdish explosives experts also claimed that TNT seized from Ansar al-Islam was produced by Baghdad's military and that arms arrived from areas controlled by Saddam."
According to *IraqiNews.com* "There are also reports stating that Ansar al-Islam received $35,000 from the Mukhabarat branch of Iraqi Intelligence Service, in addition to a considerable quantity of arms."

Reporter Jonathan Miller spent two days with Ansar's leader, Mullah Krekar. In an interview with *Insight News Television*, "Krekar denies links with al-Qaeda and says he is Saddam's his sworn enemy. He scoffs at the idea that his trusted friend, the Iraqi Arab Abu Wa'il, is a spy. He denies any links with international terrorism and said he'd never met al-Zarqawi." Miller also reports "We have also acquired video footage filmed inside Ansar territory, showing the Islamists training. Child soldiers feature prominently; Krekar is seen standing beside the man Powell thinks is an Iraqi agent; sharia punishments are administered."

In an interview with al-Hayat, former Iraqi prime minister Iyad Allawi stated "Iraqi secret agents helped terrorists enter the country and directed them to the Ansar al-Islam camps in the Halbija area." Allawi told *al-Hayat* he based this claim on information discovered by the Iraqi secret service in the archives of the Saddam Hussein regime.

Writing for the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, Sunil Ram states "At best, [the links between Ansar al-Islam and Saddam] are tenuous...According to the British Broadcasting Corporation, a top captured Iraqi intelligence officer, Abu Iman al-Baghdadi, has indicated that one of the senior Ansar leaders, Abu Wail, is an Iraqi intelligence officer. If this is true then Saddam and his security services have some influence on Ansar. Al-Baghdadi’s claims are reinforced when one considers the radio chatter between Ansar forces and Iraqi army units heard by the Kurdish military. Furthermore, the leader of the PUK, Barhim Salih, claims that a group affiliated with Ansar is operating from Mosul, a city under Iraqi control at the time of writing."

A "former high-ranking military intelligence officer" told Stephen F. Hayes "There is no question about the fact that Ansar al-Islam had reach into Baghdad. There was an intelligence connection between that group and the regime, a financial connection between that group and the regime, and there was an equipment connection. It may have been the case that the IIS [Iraqi Intelligence Service] support for AI was meant to operate against the [anti-Saddam] Kurds. But there is no question IIS was supporting AI."

In report published by the Center for Policing Terrorism, it states "In August 2002, Dr. Rohan Gunaratna, who has described Ansar as a 'very important' group within the larger framework of bin Laden's World Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders stated, '[Ansar] has received limited support from Iraq, and I stress limited.' According to Dr. Gunaratna, Ansar received support from Iraqi agents with the specific intention of infiltrating the anti-PUK group and not to strengthen the Islamist group; Ansar remains an anti-Saddam and an anti-Western group. It should be noted that some commentators would draw a different conclusion with respect to the nature of Ansar's relationship with Saddam, especially in the period immediately prior to Operation Iraqi Freedom."

**9/11 Commission Report**
The 9/11 Commission Report states the following regarding Ansar al-Islam:

To protect his own ties with Iraq, [Sudan's Islamist leader] Turabi reportedly brokered an agreement that bin Ladin would stop supporting activities against Saddam. Bin Laden apparently honored this pledge, at least for a time, although he continued to aid a group of Islamist extremists operating in a part of Iraq (Kurdistan) outside of Baghdad's control. In the late 1990s, these extremist groups suffered major defeats by Kurdish forces. In 2001, with Bin Ladin's help they re-formed into an organization called Ansar al Islam. There are indications that by then the Iraqi regime tolerated and may even have helped Ansar al Islam against the common Kurdish enemy.

United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

On September 8, 2006, "Phase II" of the Senate Report of Pre-war Intelligence on Iraq was released.

According to the report, the CIA assessed in a June 2002 paper titled *Iraq and al-Qa'ida: Interpreting a Murky Relationship* that "Reporting shows that unknown numbers of al-Qa'ida associates fleeing Afghanistan since December have used Iraq—including the Kurdish areas of northern Iraq, Baghdad, and other regions—as a safehaven and transit area. We lack positive indications that Baghdad is complicit in this activity, but the persistence of an al-Qa'ida presence and the operatives' silence about any harassment from Iraqi authorities may indicate that Baghdad is acquiescent or finds their presence useful." (page 86)

In the January 2003 CIA paper *Iraq Support for Terrorism*, the CIA assessed "Abu Musab al-Zarqawi appears to be overseeing the operations of al-Qa'ida members in Kurdish-controlled Iraq, which includes poisons production, terrorist training, an operational support for terrorist attacks abroad...the al-Qa'ida presence in northeastern Iraq—we estimate about 100 to 200 members and associates in the area—began to increase late last year after the US military campaign began in Afghanistan(page 86)...An influx of al-Qa'ida assistance, operatives, and associates has made Kurdish-controlled northeastern Iraq—a mountainous no-man's land Baghdad has not controlled since 1991—an increasingly important operational hub for al-Qa'ida.(page 88)"

According to the report "Regarding al-Zarqawi's operations in northeastern Iraq, CIA judged that Baghdad probably had a window into al-Qa'ida activities in Kurdish-controlled Iraq via an individual named Abu Wa'il. Wa'il was identified as an IIS associate by three detainees held by the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. The CIA noted that it lacked reporting that would help determine whether Wa'il was 'informing Baghdad of al-Qa'ida associated activities; acting as a liaison between Baghdad, Ansar al-Islam and al-Qa'ida, or is Baghdad's point of contact for assisting Ansar al-Islam or al-Qa'ida.'" (page 89)
The report states "The Committee concluded in 2004 that the CIA reasonably assessed that al-Qa'ida or associated operatives were present in 2002 in Baghdad, and in the Kurdish-controlled northeastern Iraq." (page 89)

Beginning on page 92 of the report, it states:

According to the CIA, a May 2002 IIS document found by U.S. forces in Iraq indicates that the regime, and the IIS, were concerned that the U.S. would use the presence of Ansar al-Islam in northern Iraq to support claims of links between the regime and al-Qa'ida. This document was authenticated. The IIS Director said that these claims showed the U.S. would continue to fabricate information to prove links between Iraq and Ansar al-Islam, al-Qa'ida and the Taliban. He attached a *Christian Science Monitor* article from April 2, 2002, about Ansar al-Islam to support his concern. In addition, "detainees that originally reported on AI-IIS links have recanted, and another detainee, in September 2003, was deemed to have insufficient access and level of detail to substantiate his claims."

According to the CIA, detainee information and captured document exploitation indicate that the regime [of Saddam Hussein] was aware of Ansar al-Islam and al-Qa'ida presence in northeastern Iraq, but the groups' presence was considered a threat to the regime and the Iraqi government attempted intelligence collection operations against them. The CIA stated that information from senior Ansar al-Islam detainees revealed that the group viewed Saddam's regime as apostate, and denied any relationship with it.

The Intelligence Community did not uncover information suggesting Iraqi regime involvement in the production of poisons or toxins in Kurdish-controlled Iraq prior to the war. Little information has emerged since the war to clarify the extent of the CBW programs conducted by Ansar al-Islam in Kurdish-controlled Iraq.

The CIA reported that the exploitation of the Sargat site revealed the presence of cyanide salts, which seems to confirm suspicions of work on cyanide-based poisons. CIA analysts noted that the findings were not surprising, given Ansar al-Islam's continued efforts to develop chemical weapons capabilities.

The report concluded that "Postwar information reveals that Baghdad viewed Ansar al-Islam as a threat to the regime and that the IIS attempted to collect intelligence on the group."

**Reactions to report**
On September 13, 2006, the Kurdish deputy prime minister of Iraq Barham Salih gave a speech at the Brookings Institution. In the speech, he stated "The alliance between the Baathists and jihadists which sustains Al Qaeda in Iraq is not new, contrary to what you may have been told...I know this at first hand. Some of my friends were murdered by jihadists, by Al Qaeda-affiliated operatives who had been sheltered and assisted by Saddam's regime."
The **al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades** (Arabic: بئاتكءادﻩشىصقألا) are a Palestinian militant group closely linked to the Fatah political party and one of the most active forces in the al-Aqsa Intifada. The group targets civilians and is thus a designated terrorist organization according to Israel, the U.S and the European Union. Named after the al-Aqsa Mosque, an Islamic holy site, the group's membership is primarily drawn from the ranks of Tanzim, a militant youth group within al-Fatah. Following the death of Yasser Arafat on November 11, 2004, the group announced that they will sign their attacks in the name **Brigades of Shahid Yasser Arafat**.

The group initially vowed to target only Israeli soldiers and settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to carry out guerrilla warfare against the Israeli military, though from early 2002 it began a series of attacks against civilians in Israeli cities. In March 2002, after a al-Aqsa Brigade suicide bombing in Jerusalem, the group was designated as a foreign terrorist organization by the United States Department of State although they haven't carried out attacks on American soil.

At that time, many Palestinian sources stated that the group was not officially backed by Arafat and Fatah, though brigade members tend also to be members of Fatah, Arafat's political faction, and Maslama Thabet, one of the group's leaders, told *USA Today* that "We receive our instructions from Fatah. Our commander is Yasser Arafat himself." In June 2004, Palestinian National Authority Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas openly stated that the Brigades were part of Fatah. Israel charges that neither Fatah nor the Palestinian National Authority have made any attempt to prevent their attacks. On December 18, 2003, Fatah decided to ask the leaders of the al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigades to join the Fatah Council, recognizing it officially as part of the organization. Israel has published documents found in Arafat's compound to support their claim that Arafat knowingly sponsored al-Aqsa attacks.

In October 2005, when Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was falsely quoted as urging Arabs to "wipe Israel off the map," the Brigades issued a statement saying that they "hold identification with and overall support of the position and declaration of the Iranian president, who called with all honesty to wipe Israel off the map of the world".
Relationship with Arafat and Fatah

The group's relationship with Arafat was subject to conflicting information from leaders within the group. Maslama Thabet, one of the group’s leaders in the West Bank town of Tulkarm, told USA Today in March 2002: "We receive our instructions from Fatah. Our commander is Yasser Arafat himself." While another leader Naser Badawi, told the New York Times days later that while "we respect our leader," the decision "to carry out attacks remains with the Aqsa Brigades leadership." Badawi added that Arafat had, at that point, never approached the group to ask it to stop its suicide bombings, which Arafat publicly condemned.

In November 2003 BBC journalists uncovered a payment by Fatah of $50,000 a month to Al-Aqsa. This investigation, combined with the documents found by the IDF, led Israel to draw the conclusion that the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades have always been directly funded by Arafat. In June 2004 the current Palestinian Prime Minister openly stated this: "We have clearly declared that the Aksa Martyrs Brigades are part of Fatah. We are committed to them and Fatah bears full responsibility for the group."

Israel arrested Marwan Barghouti, a leader of the group in April 2002, and in August charged him with multiple counts of murder, conspiracy to murder and membership in a terrorist organization. In addition to his "shadow job" with the group, Barghouti had also served as the general secretary of Fatah in the West Bank.

In July 2004, Ahmed Qurei, Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority explicitly stated the relationship between Fatah and the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades: "The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, military wing of the Fatah movement will not be dissolved and Fatah will never relinquish its military wing."

Female Suicide Bombers

On 10 July 2006, Reuters reported on the female suicide unit that has been rearranged within the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade in the Gaza Strip. Between 2000 and 2006, the unit has succeeded in nearly seven bombings that have killed 37 and injured 250 people. The women identify themselves as members of the Fatah party; they march with machine guns and have their faces almost entirely (except the eyes) covered with the checkered black and white scarves or entirely black scarves.

Activities

The al-Aqsa brigades are responsible for dozens of suicide bombings and many more shooting attacks against Israeli vehicles in the West Bank. For a complete list of the suicide bombings carried out by the organization see: List of Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades suicide attacks.

Some notable suicide bombings committed by the group were:
March 2, 2002: Beit Yisrael, Jerusalem - 11 killed.
January 5, 2003: Southern Tel Aviv central bus station - 22 killed.
March 14, 2004: Port of Ashdod - 10 killed (together with Hamas).

On October 16, 2005, the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility for a shooting attack at the Gush Etzion junction, killing three Israelis and wounding three others.

On March 24, 2004, a Palestinian teenager named Hussam Abdo was caught in an IDF checkpoint carrying an explosive belt. Following his arrest, an al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade teenagers' militant cell was exposed and arrested in Nablus. On September 23, 2004 a 15-year-old suicide bomber was arrested by Israeli security forces.

The Brigades, like many militia groups, is noted for the use of promotional posters in the main cities of Palestine. The Brigades have attacked Palestinians as well as Israelis. In November and December, 2003 they killed the brother of Ghassan Shakaa (the mayor of Nablus). On February 2004 Shakaa filed his resignation from office in protest of the Palestinian Authority's lack of action against the armed militias "rampaging" the city. Through the first three months of 2004, a number of attacks on journalists in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been blamed on the Brigades as well, including the attack on the Arab television station Al-Arabiya's West Bank offices by masked men self-identifying as members of the Brigades. Palestinian journalists in Gaza called a general strike on February 9, 2004 to protest this rising violence against journalists.

The Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades have carried out several joint attacks with the Islamist group Hamas. These attacks were committed mainly in the Gaza Strip. PLO and Hamas.
The Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades have also carried out joint attack with other militant groups such as Palestinian Islamic Jihad, The Popular Resistance Committees and in the West Bank, even with Hizbullah.

The firing of Qassam rockets from the Gaza Strip by Hamas and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades into Israel is strongly opposed by those living closest to the firing location due to frequent Israeli military responses to Qassam rocket launches. On July 23, 2004, a 15 year old Arab boy was shot and killed by Palestinian militants after he and his family physically opposed their attempt to set up a Qassam rocket launcher outside the family's house. Five other individuals were wounded in the incident.

The European Union's Gaza offices were raided by 15 masked gunmen from al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades on 30th January 2006. They demanded apologies from Denmark and Norway regarding the Jyllands-Posten Muhammad cartoons and left 30 minutes later without shots fired or injuries.

Internet reporter Aaron Klein regularly interviews senior brigades leaders.

**List of al-Aqsa Brigade members**

Notable members of the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade (ordered lexicographically according to the last name) includes active militants and militants that were killed or arrested by the Israeli security forces.

- **Naif Abu-Sharah**: local commander in Nablus (killed by IDF forces).
- **Marwan Barghouti**: high commander (arrested by the IDF and sentenced for life in prison for killing Israeli civilians).
- **Fadi Kafisha**: former head of the Tanzim in Nablus.
- **Sirhan Sirhan**: (Not to be confused with the Sirhan Sirhan responsible for killing Robert Kennedy.) Responsible for killing 5 people,
including a mother and her 2 children in Kibbutz Metzer. Killed in an Israeli house demolition.

- Zakaria Zubeidi: local commander in Jenin, known for his relationship with Israeli far left activist Tali Fahima.
Aden-Abyan Islamic Army

The Aden-Abyan Islamic Army is a terrorist group based in southern Yemen. The group was responsible for kidnapping of 16 foreign tourists in the December 1998 in Abyan. Yemeni government forces attacked place where the hostages were being held resulting in four of the hostages being killed while the remainder were freed. The Aden-Abyan Islamic Army was also believed to have been involved in the 2000 USS Cole bombing in Aden.

Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya

Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Arabic: حمامة الإسلام في مصر) (Arabic for "the Islamic Group"; also transliterated Gamaat Islamiya, Jamaat al Islamiya, al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah etc.) is a militant Egyptian Islamist movement that is considered a terrorist organization by the United States, European Union and Egyptian governments. The group is dedicated to the overthrow of the Egyptian government and replacing it with an Islamic state.

The blind cleric Omar Abdel-Rahman is the spiritual leader of the movement. He was accused of conspiring to bomb the World Trade Center in 1993 but was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for his espousal of a subsequent conspiracy to bomb New York landmarks, including the United Nations and FBI offices. The Islamic Group has publicly threatened to retaliate against the United States unless Rahman is released from prison.

History

Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya began as an umbrella organization for militant student groups, formed, like the Islamic Jihad, after the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood renounced violence in the 1970s.

In its early days, the group was primarily active on university campuses, and was mainly composed of university students. In addition, Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya recruited some inmates of Egyptian jails. Its membership has since become poorer, younger, and less well educated; its main base of recruiting and support has moved away from universities to poor neighborhoods of cities, and to rural areas.

The 1990s saw Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya engage in an extended campaign of violence, from the murders and attempted murders of prominent writers and intellectuals, to the repeated targeting of tourists and foreigners, who are an important part of the Egyptian economy, and thus of the livelihoods of the people on whom the group depends upon for support. The group may have been indirectly implicated in a failed attempt on president Hosni Mubarak.
The 1991 murder of the group's leader, Ala Mohieddin, presumably by security forces, led Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya to murder Egypt's speaker of parliament in retaliation. That, in turn, caused a major government crackdown, and the further radicalization of the group.

Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya militants carried out the November 17, 1997 attack at the Temple of Hatshepsut (Deir el-Bahri) in Luxor, in which a band of six men machine-gunned and hacked to death with knives 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians. Altogether 71 people were killed. The attack stunned Egyptian society, ruined the tourist industry for a number of years, and consequently sapped a large segment of popular support for violent Islamism in Egypt.

Al-Jamaa Islamiya renounced bloodshed in 1998 after a wave of violence that claimed about 1,300 lives.

In September 2003 Egypt freed more than 1,000 members of the group because of the group's stated "commitment to rejecting violence," Interior Minister Habib el-Adli told Al-Jazeera.

Harsh repressive measures by the Egyptian government and the unpopularity of the killing of foreign tourists have reduced the group's profile in recent years but the movement retains popular support among Egyptian Islamists who disapprove of the secular nature of Egypt's society and peace treaty with Israel.

In April of 2006 the Egyptian government released 900 members of the militant group from prison. Its founder Najeh Ibrahim was among those freed.

In an Al Qaeda videotaped message from 5th of August 2006, Ayman al-Zawahiri announced that they had joined forces with Al-Jamaa Islamiya. It was said in the message that the two groups will form "one line, facing its enemies."

"May God give us victory with his help," the Egyptian-born al-Zawahiri said on the tape. It aired on the Arabic-language network Al-Jazeera.

Assassination of president Anwar Sadat in 1981

Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya may have been indirectly involved in the assassination of president Anwar Sadat in 1981. Karam Zuhdi, group leader of Al-Jamaa Islamiya, expressed regret for conspiring with Egyptian Islamic Jihad in the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, according to the Council on Foreign Relations. He was among those 900 militants, who were set free in April 2006 by the Egyptian government.

Attacks

Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya was responsible for:
It was also responsible for a spate of tourist shootings (trains and cruise ships sprayed with bullets) in middle and upper Egypt during the early 1990s. As a result of those attacks, cruise ships ceased sailing between Cairo and Luxor for several years, although they have long since resumed.

**Controversy over an alliance with Al-Qaeda**

Deputy Leader of Al-Qaeda Zawahiri announced in a publicly released video on August 4, 2006 a new alliance with Al Gam'a al-Islamiyya. He said "We bring good tidings to the Muslim nation about a big faction of the knights of the Gamaa Islamiyya uniting with Al-Qaeda,". He said the move aimed to help "rally the Muslim nation's capabilities in a unified rank in the face of the most severe crusader campaign against Islam in its history." A Gamaa leader, Mohammad Hakaima, appeared in a portion of the video and confirmed the unity move.

However, the group denied claims that it has joined forces with the international Al-Qa’ida network. Sheikh Abdel Akher Hammad, a former Gamaa leader, told Aljazeera:
"If [some] brothers ... have joined, then this is their personal view and I don't think that most Gamaa Islamiya members share that same opinion."

**Armed Islamic Group**

The **Armed Islamic Group** (GIA, from French *Groupe Islamique Armé*; Arabic *al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah al-Musallah*) is a militant Islamist group with the declared aim of overthrowing the Algerian government and replacing it with an Islamic state. The GIA adopted violent tactics in 1992 after the military government voided the victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), the largest Islamic opposition party, in the first round of legislative elections held in December 1991.

Between 1992 and 1998 the GIA conducted a violent campaign of civilian massacres, sometimes wiping out entire villages in its area of operation (see List of Algerian massacres of the 1990s; notably the Bentala massacre and Rais massacre, among others.) Since announcing its campaign against foreigners living in Algeria in 1993, the GIA has killed more than 100 expatriate men and women in the country. The group uses assassinations and bombings, including car bombs, and it is known to favor kidnapping victims and slitting their throats. The GIA is considered a terrorist organization by the governments of Algeria, France and the United States. Outside of Algeria, the GIA established a presence in France, Belgium, Britain, Italy and the United States.

**History**

Early in 1992, Mansour Meliani, with many "Afghans", broke with his former friend Abdelkader Chebouti and left the MIA (Islamic Armed Movement), founding the first Armed Islamic Group (GIA) around July 1992. This group dispersed after his arrest that month, but the idea was revived in January 1993 by Abdelhak Layada, who declared his group independent of Chebouti and not obedient to his orders. This group became particularly prominent around Algiers and its suburbs, in urban environments. It adopted the radical Omar El-Eulmi as a spiritual guide, affirming that "political pluralism is equivalent to sedition". It was far less selective than the MIA, which insisted on ideological training; as a result, it was regularly infiltrated by the security forces, resulting in a rapid leadership turnover as successive heads were killed. It explicitly affirmed that it "did not represent the armed wing of the FIS", and issued death threats against several FIS and MIA members, including MIA's Chebouti and FIS's Kebir and Redjam.

From its inception on, the GIA called for and implemented the killing of anyone collaborating with or supporting the authorities, including government employees such as teachers and civil servants. It named and assassinated specific journalists and intellectuals (such as Tahar Djaout), saying that "The journalists who fight against Islamism through
the pen will perish by the sword.". It soon broadened its attacks to civilians who refused to live by their prohibitions, and in later 1993 began killing foreigners, declaring that "anyone who exceeds that period [a one month deadline] will be responsible for his own sudden death."

Under Cherif Gousmi (its leader since March), the GIA became the most high-profile guerrilla army in 1994. In May, FIS suffered an apparent blow as Abderrezak Redjam, Mohammed Said, the exiled Anwar Haddam, and the MEI's Said Makhloufi joined the GIA; since the GIA had been issuing death threats against them since November 1993, this came as a surprise to many observers, who interpreted it either as the result of intra-FIS competition or as an attempt to change the GIA's course from within. On August 26, it declared a "Caliphate", or Islamic government for Algeria, with Gousmi as Commander of the Faithful, Mohammed Said as head of government, the US-based Haddam as foreign minister, and Makhloufi as provisional interior minister. However, the very next day Said Makhloufi announced his withdrawal from the GIA, claiming that the GIA had deviated from Islam and that this "Caliphate" was an effort by Mohammed Said to take over the GIA, and Haddam soon afterwards denied ever having joined it, asserting that this Caliphate was an invention of the security services. The GIA continued attacking its usual targets, notably assassinating artists, such as Cheb Hasni, and in late August added a new one to its list, threatening schools which allowed mixed classes, music, gym for girls, or not wearing hijab with arson.

Cherif Gousmi was eventually succeeded by Djamel Zitouni as GIA head. Zitouni extended the GIA's attacks on civilians to French soil, beginning with the hijacking of Air France Flight 8969 at the end of December 1994 and continuing with several bombings and attempted bombings throughout 1995. In Algeria itself, he continued likewise, with car bombs, assassinations of musicians, sportsmen, and unveiled women as well as the usual victims. Even at this stage, the seemingly counterproductive nature of many of its attacks led to speculation (encouraged by FIS members abroad) that the group had been infiltrated by Algerian secret services. The region south of Algiers, in particular, came to be virtually dominated by the GIA; they called it the "liberated zone". Later it would be known as the "triangle of death". During this period, judging from its London-based magazine *Al-Ansar*, it worked out ever broader ideological justifications for killing civilians, with the help of fatwas from such figures as Abu Qatada al-Falastini.

Reports of battles between the AIS and GIA increased (resulting in an estimated 60 deaths in March 1995 alone), and the GIA reiterated its death threats against FIS and AIS leaders, claiming to be the "sole prosecutor of jihad" and angered by their negotiation attempts. On July 11, they assassinated a co-founder of FIS, Abdelbaki Sahraoui, in Paris (although some question the authenticity of their statement claiming credit for this.)

During the 1995 election, the GIA threatened to kill anyone who voted (using the slogan "one vote, one bullet"). Soon afterwards, the GIA was shaken by internal dissension: shortly after the election, its leadership killed the FIS leaders who had joined the GIA - Mohammed Said, Abderrezak Redjam, and their supporters, accusing them of attempting a takeover. Other Islamists suggested that they had objected to the GIA's indiscriminate
violence. This purge accelerated the disintegration of the GIA, leading to suspicion of Zitouni's leadership: Mustapha Kartali, Ali Benhadjar, and Hassan Hattab's factions all refused to recognize Zitouni's leadership starting around late 1995, although they would not formally break away until somewhat later. The GIA killed the AIS leader for central Algeria, Azzedine Baa, in December, and in January pledged to fight the AIS as an enemy; particularly in the west, full-scale battles between them became common.

In July 1996, GIA leader Djamel Zitouni was killed by one of the breakaway factions - Ali Benhadjar's Medea brigade, later to become the AIS-aligned Islamic League for Da'wa and Jihad - and was succeeded by Antar Zouabri. Djamel Zitouni had earned notoriety for such acts as the killing of the seven monks of Tibhirine in March, but his successor would prove to be far bloodier. Under the leadership of Antar Zouabri, its longest serving "emir" (1996-2002), the GIA became a "takfiri" group, considering Algerian society to be in violation of Islamic precepts, therefore justifying the killing of members of that society as a form of purification of heretical elements. Like some of his predecessors, Zouabri was himself killed in a gun battle with security forces, in February 2002. The group's leadership next passed on to Rachid Abou Tourab, who was allegedly killed by close aides in July 2004. Next, Boulenour Oukil was designated leader of the group. On April 7, the GIA killed 14 civilians at a fake road block. On April 29, Oukil was arrested. Nourredine Boudiafi is currently the last known "emir" of the GIA. He was arrested sometime in November of 2005 and the Algerian government announced his arrest on January 3, 2006. According to the Algerian government, "almost all" of the GIA is now "broken up."

In Algeria, however, the group's repeated massacres of civilians had drained popular support (although rumors persist that security forces were involved in some of the massacres, or even controlled the group). Meanwhile, a 1999 amnesty law that was officially rejected by the GIA was accepted by many rank-and-file Islamist fighters; an estimated 85 percent surrendered their arms and returned to civilian life.

The Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) splinter faction appears to have eclipsed the GIA since approximately 1998 and is currently assessed by the CIA to be the most effective armed group remaining inside Algeria. Both the GIA and GSPC leadership continue to proclaim their rejection of President Bouteflika's amnesty, but in contrast to the GIA, the GSPC has stated that it avoids attacks on civilians.

**GIA in France**

The Algerian state pursued a number of strategies against the GIA. One was to encourage France to take an active part in the fight against the networks of the GIA in France, and thus to cut off its principal means of support abroad.

In an unsuccessful attempt to keep France out of the struggle, the GIA hijacked Air France Flight 8969, which was en route from Algiers to Paris in December 1994. The GIGN stormed the plane, preventing it from being crashed into the Eiffel Tower, reportedly its intended target.
In 1995-96, the GIA conducted a series of bombings in France. Analysis of a bomb with a failed trigger mechanism made it possible to identify a conspirator, Khaled Kelkal, who was shot and killed by French gendarmes on September 29, 1995. In late 1999, several GIA members were convicted by a French court for the 1995 bombing campaign.

In 1998, prior to the World Cup in France, in collaboration with the other European countries, launched a vast preventive operation against the GIA. About 100 alleged members of the group were arrested throughout Europe. In Belgium, security forces seized weapons, detonators and forged identity papers. On June 11, 1999, the GIA announced a jihad on French territory in a threatening letter addressed to the media.
Abu Sayyaf

The Abu Sayyaf Group (Arabic: ﺍبُو سُجَيْف; ASG), also known as al-Harakat al-Islamiyya is a terrorist Islamist separatist group based in and around the southern islands of the Philippines, in Jolo, Basilan, and Mindanao. The name of the group is derived from the Arabic ﺍبُو وأَسْوَفْ, abu ("father of") and sayaf ("the Sword").

Since its inception in the early 1990s, the group has carried out bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, and extortion in their fight for an independent Islamic state in western Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago with a claimed goal of creating a pan-Islamic superstate across southeast Asia, spanning from east to west, the island of Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, the island of Borneo (Malaysia, Indonesia), the South China Sea, and the Malay Peninsula (Peninsular Malaysia, Thailand and Myanmar). Even planning in a genocide against the Roman Catholic majority in the Philippines.

The U.S. Department of State has branded the group a terrorist entity by adding it to the list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations.

The Philippines. Mindanao is the large island in the South East. Indonesia is off the map to the South East, while the Malay Peninsula on the west end of the map extends further South.

Location and overview
The founder and the current leader of Abu Sayyaf, respectively the elder and younger two Janjalani brothers, originate from Isabela City, currently one of the smallest and poorest, or 5th class, cities of the Philippines. Located on the north of the island of Basilan, Isabela is also the capital of Basilan province, across the Basilan Strait from Zamboanga City. But Isabela City is administrated under the Zamboanga Peninsula political region north of the island of Basilan, while the rest of the island province of Basilan is now (since 1996) governed as part of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) to the east.
Consequently, being on the social or political division line, Isabela City and Basilan island have seen some of the fiercest fightings between government troops and the Muslim separatist group Abu Sayyaf through the early 2000s.

The ASG primarily operates in the southern Philippines with members occasionally traveling to Manila. It is reported that ASG has begun expanding into neighbouring Malaysia and Indonesia by the early 2000s.

The ASG is the one of the smallest but strongest of the Islamic separatist groups in Mindanao. Some ASG members have allegedly studied or worked in Saudi Arabia and developed ties to mujahadeen while fighting and training in the war against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Abu Sayyaf is estimated to have a core membership of 200 with an extended membership of over 2000. The ASG's low numbers indicate a lack of support among the local population.

The group was originally not thought to receive funding from any government, but intelligence reports from the United States, Indonesia, and Australia have found intermittent ties to the Indonesian Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist group. The Philippine government considers ASG to be allied with Jemaah Islamiyah and notes that initial funding came from al-Qaeda through the brother-in-law of Osama bin Laden, Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, through Islamic charities in the region. Continuing ties to Islamist groups in the Middle East indicate that al-Qaeda may be continuing support.

Khadaffy Janjalani is named as the current nominal leader of the group by the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

**History**

In the early 1970s, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was the main Muslim rebel group fighting in the Basilan and Mindanao region of the southern Philippines.

After the late 1970s, Abdurajik Abubakar Janjalani, Khadaffy Janjalani's older brother, became a teacher from Basilan, who studied theology and Arabic in Libya, Syria and Saudi Arabia during the 1980s. Abdurajik then became a veteran of the war against the Soviet Union during the Soviet war in Afghanistan. During that time, he allegedly met Osama Bin Laden, and was given $6 million to establish his own offshoot group in the southern Philippines, out of members of the extant MNLF.

By then, as a political solution in the southern Philippines, ARMM had been created, in 1989.

**Abu Sayyaf Group under Abdurajik Janjalani**
Abdurajik then returned home to Basilan island in 1990, where he gathered radical members of the old MNLF, to found the **Abu Sayyaf Group**. It was named after his own alias, which was *Abu Sayyaf*. MNLF had moderated into an established political party, which eventually became the ruling party of the ARMM, by the time of its full institutionalization in 1996 on the southern Philippines island of Mindanao.

Meanwhile, Abu Sayyaf Group had started out on their own by 1991 under the leadership of the elder Janjalani brother, Abdurajik. By 1995 Abu Sayyaf had been active in large scale bombings and attacks in the Philippines, and also had become associated with Ramzi Yousef (of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the 1994 Philippine Airlines Flight 434 bombing, and the foiled 1995 Operation Bojinka), and also with Jemaah Islamiyah (al-Qaeda's southeast Asia associated branch led by Hambali).

Ramzi Yousef and Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, both of whom were involved with Operation Bojinka, allegedly took scuba trips to Puerto Galera. The trips may have been a cover for the training of Abu Sayyaf terrorists. After Ramzi Yousef bombed Philippine Airlines Flight 434, killing a Japanese passenger, a man stated in a telephone call, "We are [the] Abu Sayyaf Group. We explode[d] one plane from Cebu." The bombing was perpetrated as a test run for Operation Bojinka, which was discovered by Manila police on January 6, 1995.

At some point in the early 1990s, the younger brother Khadaffy Janjalani had also joined Abu Sayyaf, as a teenager, and was eventually imprisoned by the Philippines government.

Abu Sayyaf's first large-scale action was the beachhead assault on the town of Ipil in Mindanao in April 1995. This year also marked the escape of 20 year-old Khadaffy Janjalani from Camp Crame in Manila along with another member named Jovenal Bruno.

On December 18, 1998 the founding older brother Abdurajik Janjalani was killed in a firefight with the Philippine National Police on Basilan Island. He is thought to have been about age 39 at the time of his death. The death of Abdurajik Abubakar Janjalani marked a turning point in ASG operations, shifting from its ideological focus to more general kidnappings, murders and robberies, as the younger brother Khadaffy Janjalani then rose to succeed Abdurajik.

**Abu Sayyaf Group under Khadaffy Janjalani**
Khadafi Abubakar Janjalani

The 23 year-old Khadaffy Janjalani then took power of one of Abu Sayyaf's factions in an internecine struggle. He then worked to consolidate his power within Abu Sayyaf, causing the group to appear inactive for a period. After Janjalani's supremacy was secured, Abu Sayyaf began a new tactic, as they proceeded to take hostages.

The group's motive for kidnapping became more financial and less religious during the period of Khadaffy's leadership, according to locals in the areas associated with Abu Sayyaf. The hostage money is probably the method of financing of the group. The group expanded its operations to Malaysia in 2000 when it abducted foreigners from two different resorts. It is responsible for the kidnapping and murder of more than 30 foreigners and Christian clerics and lay-workers, including Martin and Gracia Burnham.

A commander named Abu Sabaya was killed in 2002 while trying to evade forces.

Galib Andang, aka Commander Robot, was captured in Sulu in December 2003.

A blast at a military base on Jolo island on February 18, 2006 was blamed on Abu Sayyaf by Brig. General Alexander Aleo, an Army officer.

Khadaffy Janjalani was indicted in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for his alleged involvement in terrorist acts, including hostage taking by Abu Sayyaf and murder, against United States nationals and other foreign nationals in and around the Republic of the Philippines.

Consequently on February 24, 2006, Janjalani was among six fugitives in the second and most recent group of indicted fugitives to be added to the FBI Most Wanted Terrorists list along with two fellow members of Abu Sayyaf, Isnilon Totoni Hapilon and Jainal Antel Sali, Jr
The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), formed in 1987, is a rebel paramilitary group operating mainly in northern Uganda. The group is engaged in an armed rebellion against the Ugandan government in what is now one of Africa's longest-running conflicts. It is led by Joseph Kony, who proclaims himself a spirit medium, and apparently wishes to establish a state based on his unique interpretation of the Acholi religious syncretism and Biblical millenarianism. The LRA have been accused of widespread human rights violations, including mutilation, torture, rape, the abduction of civilians, the use of child soldiers and a number of massacres.

The conflict forces many civilians to live in internally displaced person (IDP) camps. The Labuje IDP camp (pictured) is near Kitgum Town.

Background

The January 1986 overthrow of President Tito Okello, an ethnic Acholi, by the National Resistance Army (NRA) of southwest Ugandan Yoweri Museveni marked a period of intense turmoil. The Acholi feared the loss of their traditional dominance of the national military; they were also deeply concerned that the NRA would seek retribution for the brutal counterinsurgency, particularly the actions of the army in the Luwero triangle. By August of that year, a full-blown popular insurgency had developed in northern regions that were occupied by government forces.
Early history of the LRA (1987 to 1994)

In January 1987 Joseph Kony made his first appearance as a spirit medium, one of many who emerged after the initial success of the Holy Spirit Movement of Alice Auma. Former Uganda People's Democratic Army commander Odong Latek convinced Kony to adopt conventional guerrilla tactics, primarily surprise attacks on civilian targets, such as villages. The LRA also occasionally carried out large-scale attacks to underline the inability of the government to protect the populace. Until 1991 the LRA raided the populace for supplies, which were carried away by villagers who were abducted for short periods. The fact that some NRA units were known for their brutal actions ensured that the LRA were given at least passive support by segments of the Acholi population.
March 1991 saw the start of "Operation North", which combined efforts to destroy the LRA while cutting away its roots of support among the population through heavy-handed tactics. As part of Operation North, Acholi Betty Oyella Bigombe, the Minister charged with ending the insurgency, created "Arrow Groups" mostly armed with bows and arrows, as a form of local defence. As the LRA was armed with modern weaponry, the bow-and-arrow groups were overpowered. Nevertheless, the creation of the Arrow Groups angered Kony, who began to feel that he no longer had the support of the population. In response the LRA mutilated numerous Acholi who they believed to be government supporters. While the government efforts were a failure, the LRA reaction caused many Acholi to finally turn against the insurgency. However, this was tempered by the deep-seated antagonism towards the occupying government forces.

After the failure of Operation North, Minister Bigombe initiated the first face-to-face meeting between representatives of the LRA and government. The LRA asked for a general amnesty for their combatants and stated that they would not surrender, but were willing to "return home." However, the government stance was hampered by disagreement over the credibility of the LRA negotiators and political infighting. In particular, the military had learned that Kony was negotiating with the Sudanese government for support while talking to Bigombe, and felt that Kony was simply trying to buy time. At a second meeting on 10 January 1994, Kony asked for six months to regroup his troops. By early February the tone of the negotiations was growing increasingly acrimonious, and following a meeting on 2 February, the LRA broke off negotiations stating that they felt that the NRA was trying to entrap them. Four days later, President Yoweri Museveni announced a seven-day deadline for the LRA to surrender. This ultimatum ended the Bigombe initiative.

**An international conflict (1994 to 2002)**

*Lord's Resistance Army (1994-2002)*

Two women whose lips have been cut off by LRA rebels socialize in Gulu District

Two weeks after Museveni delivered his ultimatum of 6 February 1994, LRA fighters were reported to have crossed the northern border and established bases in southern Sudan with the approval of the Khartoum government. Sudanese aid was a response to
Ugandan support for the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) fighting in the civil war in the south of the country. Also, having become convinced that the Acholi were now collaborating with the Museveni government, Kony began to target the civilians using his increased military strength. Mutilations became commonplace, and 1994 saw the first mass forced abduction of children and young people. The most famous of these was the Aboke abductions of 139 female students in October 1996. As most of the LRA combatants are abducted children, a military solution is widely seen by the Acholi as a massacre of victims. Government attempts to destroy the rebels are thus viewed as another cause for grievance by the Acholi. The moral ambiguity of this situation, in which abducted young rebels are both the victims and perpetrators of brutal acts, is vital in understanding the current conflict.

The creation of government "protected villages" beginning in 1996 further deepened the antagonistic attitude that many Acholi have toward the government, especially as the population continues to be attacked by the LRA even within the "protected camps." The camps are also crowded, unsanitary, and miserable places to live. Meanwhile, in 1997 the Sudanese government of the National Islamic Front had begun to back away from its previous hard-line stance. Following the September 11, 2001 attacks in the U.S., the relationship between Sudan and Uganda abruptly changed. Cross-border tensions eased as support to proxy forces fell. Some of the hundreds of thousands of civilians displaced by the war began to return to their homes. The number of people displaced by the conflict declined to about half a million, and people began to talk openly of the day when the "protected camps" would be disbanded.

**The insurgency flares (March 2002 to September 2005)**

The LRA is led by Joseph Kony. The group has never made a clear statement of its political aims.

In March 2002, the UPDF launched a massive military offensive, named "Operation Iron Fist", against the LRA bases in southern Sudan with agreement from the National Islamic
Front. This agreement, coupled with the return of Ugandan forces that had been deployed in the Democratic Republic of Congo upon the official end of the Second Congo War, created what the Ugandan government felt was an ideal situation in which to end a conflict that had become both an embarrassment and political liability. After several months of uncertainty, LRA forces began crossing back into Uganda and carrying out attacks on a scale and of a brutality not seen since 1995 to 1996, resulting in widespread displacement and suffering in regions that had never previously been touched by the insurgency.

A series of diplomatic initiatives during these years failed, especially as the exact negotiating position of Kony remained uncertain, but the conflict gained unprecedented international coverage. During a November 2003 field visit to Uganda, United Nations Undersecretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator Jan Egeland stated, "I cannot find any other part of the world that is having an emergency on the scale of Uganda, that is getting such little international attention." In December 2003, Ugandan President Museveni referred the LRA to the International Criminal Court (ICC) to determine if the LRA is guilty of international war crimes.

From the middle of 2004 on, rebel activity dropped markedly under intense military pressure. The government was also the target of increasingly pointed criticism from the international community for its failure to end the conflict. International aid agencies have questioned the Ugandan government's reliance on military force and its commitment to a peaceful resolution. The army also admitted that it had recruited child soldiers who had escaped the LRA into the military.

In mid-September 2005, a band of LRA fighters, led by Vincent Otti, crossed into the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) for the first time. President Museveni declared that, if Congolese authorities did not disarm the LRA combatants, the UPDF would be sent across the border in pursuit. This sparked a diplomatic row between the governments of the DRC and Uganda, with both militaries making a show of force along their border, while the Congolese ambassador to the United Nations sent a letter to the UN Secretary-General demanding that an economic embargo be placed on Uganda in retaliation.

**Effects**
The insurgency has been historically contained to the region known as Acholiland, consisting of the districts of Kitgum, Gulu, and Pader, though since 2002 violence has overflowed into other Ugandan districts. The LRA has also operated across the porous border region with Southern Sudan and most recently into the northeastern Ituri Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The plight of the affected peoples has received little media coverage in the developed world. Not until April 2004 did the UN Security Council issue a formal condemnation. A 2005 poll of humanitarian professionals, media personalities, academics and activists identified the conflict in the north of Uganda as the second worst "forgotten" humanitarian emergency in the world, after the conflicts of the neighboring DRC.

The U.S. government estimates that up to 12,000 people have been killed in the violence, with many more dying from disease and malnutrition as a direct result of the conflict. Nearly two million civilians have been forced to flee their homes, living in internally displaced person (IDP) camps and within the safety of larger settlements, sleeping on street corners and in other public spaces.

While many abductees are taken to carry items looted from raided villages, some are also used as soldiers and sex slaves. The group performs abductions primarily from the Acholi people, who have borne the brunt of the 18 year LRA campaign. The United Nations estimated in the mid-2000s that around 25,000 children have been kidnapped by the LRA since 1987. A 2006 survey of 750 youth in Kitgum and Pader concluded that the UN estimate was a significant underestimate. According to the survey, at least 66,000 youth between the ages of 13 and 30 have been abducted. One-third of all boys and one-sixth of all girls had been taken for at least one day. Of these, 66% of males were

<table>
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<tr>
<th>War violence experienced by abductees</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Witnessed a killing</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tied or locked up</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received a severe beating</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to steal or destroy property</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to abuse dead bodies</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to attack a stranger</td>
<td>22%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forced to kill a stranger</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to kill an opposing soldier in battle</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to attack a family member or friend</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to kill a family member or friend</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
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taken for longer than two weeks, while the equivalent number for females was 46%. If a female was gone for more than two weeks, there was a one in four chance that she had not returned. Males were again found to be taken for longer periods of time on average, with two in five males that were abducted for more than two weeks not having returned. The number of abductions was greatest in 2002 and 2003, perhaps in retaliation for Operation Iron Fist. However, the average age of abductees has risen from about 13 in 1994 to nearly 18 in 2004, coinciding with the rise in number, and fall in length, of abductions.

While the LRA now appears to consist of less than two thousand combatants that are under intense pressure from the Ugandan military, the government has been unable to end the insurgency so far. Ongoing peace negotiations have been complicated by an investigation by the International Criminal Court. The conflict continues to retard Uganda's development efforts, costing the poor country's economy a cumulative total of at least $1.33 billion, which is equivalent to 3% of GDP, or $100 million annually.

Room of child "night commuters"

**Night Commuters**

Each night, children between the ages of 3 and 17, referred to as "Night Commuters" or "Night Dwellers" walk up to 20 kilometres (12 miles) from IDP camps to larger towns, especially Gulu, in search of safety.

Initiatives to raise international awareness for these children include the "Gulu Walks" and the work of the Uganda Conflict Action Network. Night commuters are also the subject of documentaries such as *Stolen Children*, *Wardance*, and *Invisible Children*.

The *Invisible Children* documentary sponsors the Global Night Commute, an event similar to Gulu Walks. Another program, The Name Campaign, asks people to wear nameplate necklaces imprinted with the first name of one of the thousands of abducted children as a means of raising public awareness. Danny Glover and Don Cheadle have both been vocal advocates on behalf of the children of Northern Uganda.
Latest developments

ICC arrest warrants

The International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants on 8 July and 27 September 2005 against Joseph Kony, his deputy Vincent Otti, and LRA commanders Raska Lukwiya, Okot Odiambo and Dominic Ongwen. The five LRA leaders are charged with crimes against humanity and war crimes, including murder, rape, sexual slavery, and enlisting of children as combatants. The warrants were filed under seal; public redacted versions were released on 13 October 2005. These were the first warrants issued by the ICC since it was established in 2002. Details of the warrants had been sent to the three countries where the LRA is active: Uganda, Sudan and Congo (DRC). The LRA leadership had long stated that they would never surrender unless they were granted immunity from prosecution,
and the ICC order to arrest them seemed to guarantee that the insurgency would not have a negotiated end.

A group of LRA soldiers ambushed a team of humanitarian deminers from the Swiss Foundation for Mine Action (FSD) between Juba and Yei on 31 October 2005. Two deminers were killed, one Iraqi and one Sudanese. This follows a previous abduction of a FSD survey team on 13 September (in which the LRA did not kill anyone). OLS and UN Security gave a travel warning to all UN and non-UN agencies on 1 November 2005. The LRA then declared that it was deliberately targeting NGOs, and especially international staff members.

On 30 November 2005 LRA deputy commander, Vincent Otti, contacted the BBC announcing a renewed desire among the LRA leadership to hold peace talks with the Ugandan government. The government expressed skepticism regarding the overture but stated their openness to peaceful resolution of the conflict.

On 2 June 2006, Interpol issued five wanted person red notices to 184 countries on behalf of the ICC, which has no police of its own. Kony had been previously reported to have met Vice President of Southern Sudan Riek Machar. The next day, Human Rights Watch reported that the regional Government of Southern Sudan had ignored previous ICC warrants for the arrest of four of LRA's top leaders, and instead supplied the LRA with cash and food as an incentive to stop them from attacking southern Sudanese citizens.

**Juba peace talks**

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<th>Lord's Resistance Army</th>
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<td>HSM - Alice Auma</td>
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<td>Joseph Kony</td>
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<td>ICC - Juba talks</td>
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A series of ongoing meetings have been held in Juba since July 2006 between the government of Uganda and the LRA. The talks are mediated by Riek Machar, the Vice President of Southern Sudan, and by the Community of Sant'Egidio. The talks, which had resulted in a ceasefire by September 2006, have been either described as the best chance for a negotiated settlement ever or since the peace initiative of Betty Bigombe in 1994.
These talks were agreed to after Joseph Kony released a video in May in which he denied committing atrocities and seemed to call for an end to hostilities, in response to an announcement by Museveni that he would guarantee the safety of Kony if peace was agreed to by July. In late June 2006, the Government of Southern Sudan formally invited Uganda to attend peace talks, and on July 14, 2006 talks began in Juba. On 4 August 2006, Vincent Otti declared a unilateral ceasefire and asked the Ugandan government to reciprocate. ICC indictee Raska Lukwiya was killed in battle on 12 August 2006. Regardless, the government and LRA signed a truce on 26 August 2006. Under the terms of the agreement, LRA forces will leave Uganda and gather in two assembly areas, where the Ugandan government would not attack and the government of Southern Sudan guaranteed their safety. LRA rebels had begun gathering in the assembly areas by mid-September. Talks continued to be hindered by demands and counter-demands. Meanwhile, the government began a process of creating "satellite camps" to decongest the main IDP camps.

In broader context, the government of Southern Sudan views the talks as a means of ridding itself of a foreign army that is complicating their delicate relationship with the Khartoum government. The request by the Ugandan Government for ICC to suspend war crimes indictments against leaders of the LRA, condemned by international human rights groups but largely supported by leaders and civilians within northern Uganda, led some political analysts to see Ugandan Government's request as a ploy to gain local support
Terrorism

Terrorism is a term used to describe violence or other harmful acts committed (or threatened) against civilians by groups or persons for political, nationalist, or religious goals. As a type of unconventional warfare, terrorism means to weaken or supplant existing political landscapes through capitulation, acquiescence, or radicalization, as opposed to subversion or direct military action.

"Terrorist attacks" usually are characterized as "indiscriminate", the "targeting of civilians", or as executed "with disregard for human life". The term "terrorism" often is used to assert that the enemy's political violence is immoral, wanton, and unjustified. Per the most common definition of terrorism— typically used by states, academics, counter-terrorism experts, and civil, non-governmental organizations, "terrorists" are actors who do not belong to any recognized armed forces or who don't abide the laws of war, and who, therefore, are regarded "rogue actors".

Those labeled "terrorists" rarely identify themselves so and, instead, typically use terms referring to their ideological or ethnic struggle, such as: separatist, freedom fighter, liberator, revolutionary, vigilante, militant, paramilitary, guerrilla, rebel, jihadi or mujaheddin, or fedayeen, or any similar-meaning word in other languages.

Terrorism has been used by a broad array of political organizations in furthering their objectives; both right-wing and left-wing political parties, nationalistic, and religious groups, revolutionaries and ruling governments.

Some persons and governments believe that the term "Terrorism", as defined in dictionaries, now has a negative connotation, under the theory that a person who attacks the civilian population is, instead, a militant, regardless of the status of the victims of terrorism.

Definition

One 1988 study by the US Army found that more than one hundred (100) definitions of the word "terrorism" exist and have been used.

Some news sources refuse to use the term "terrorism"; others use the term in context. For example, the BBC and CNN has described the Northern Irish IRA as "terrorists", but describes Palestinian armed groups who employ the same methods against Israeli citizens as "militants".

Terrorism is a crime in all countries where such acts occur, and is defined by statute—see the article definition of terrorism for particular definitions. Common principles among legal definitions of terrorism provide an emerging consensus as to meaning and also
foster cooperation between law enforcement personnel in different countries. Among these definitions there are several that do not recognize the possibility of legitimate use of violence by civilians against an invader in an occupied country and would, thus, label all resistance movements as terrorist groups. Others make a distinction between lawful and unlawful use of violence. Ultimately, the distinction is a political judgment.

In November 2004, a UN panel described terrorism as any act: "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act."

**Key criteria**

Official definitions determine counter-terrorism policy and are often developed to serve it. Most official definitions outline the following key criteria: target, objective, motive, perpetrator, and legitimacy or legality of the act. Terrorism is also often recognizable by a following statement from the perpetrators.

**Violence** – According to Walter Laqueur of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, "the only general characteristic [of terrorism] generally agreed upon is that terrorism involves violence and the threat of violence". However, the criterion of violence alone does not produce a useful definition, as it includes many acts not usually considered terrorism: war, riot, organized crime, or even a simple assault. Property destruction, that does not endanger life, is not usually considered a violent crime, but some have described property destruction by the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front as terrorism.

**Psychological impact and fear** – The attack was carried out in such a way as to maximize the severity and length of the psychological impact. Each act of terrorism is a “performance,” a product of internal logic, devised to have an impact on many large audiences. Terrorists also attack national symbols to show their power and to shake the foundation of the country or society they are opposed to. This may negatively affect a government's legitimacy, while increasing the legitimacy of the given terrorist organization and/or ideology behind a terrorist act. The September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon are examples of this. Attacking the World Trade Center symbolizes that the terrorists can threaten the economic foundation of America and its capitalist ideals, and attacking the Pentagon symbolizes that America's great and prided military strength is yet vulnerable at its very core to the terrorists power.

**Perpetrated for a Political Goal** – Something all terrorist attacks have in common is their perpetration for a political purpose. This is often the key difference between an act of terrorism and a hate crime or lone-wolf "madman" attack. Terrorism is a political tactic, not unlike letter writing or protesting, that is used by activists when they believe no other means will effect the kind of change they desire. The change is desired so badly that failure is seen as a worse outcome than the deaths of civilians. This is often where the interrelationship between terrorism and religion occurs. When a political struggle is
integrated into the framework of a religious or "cosmic" struggle, such as over the control of an ancestral homeland or holy site such as Israel and Jerusalem, failing in the political goal (nationalism) becomes equated with spiritual failure, which, for the highly committed, is worse than their own death or the deaths of innocent civilians.

**Deliberate targeting of non-combatants** – It is commonly held that the distinctive nature of terrorism lies in its intentional and specific selection of civilians as direct targets. Much of the time, the victims of terrorism are targeted not because they are threats, but because they are specific "symbols, tools, animals or corrupt beings" that tie into a specific view of the world that the terrorist possess. Their suffering accomplishes the terrorists' goals of instilling fear, getting a message out to an audience, or otherwise accomplishing their political end.

**Unlawfulness or illegitimacy** – Some definitions of terrorism give weight to a distinction between the actions of a legitimate government and those of non-state actors, including individuals and small groups. In this view, government actions that might be violent, operate through fear, aim at political ends, and target civilians would not be terrorism if they are being pursued by agents who are accountable to legitimate governmental authority. Governmental accountability, presumably, would operate to limit and restrain the violence, both in volume and tactics. Furthermore, taking this approach to the definition of terrorism would help prevent some of the analytic problems associated with characterizing some military tactics (such as firebombing of cities) which are designed to affect civilian support for the enemy war effort. However, governments which repeatedly resort to these kinds of tactics tend to lose legitimacy, whether philosophically or politically. Loss of legitimacy erodes the distinction between governmental and non-governmental violence where there is a consistent practice of targeting civilians.

**Pejorative use**

In his book *Inside Terrorism* Bruce Hoffman wrote in Chapter One: Defining Terrorism that

On one point, at least, everyone agrees: terrorism is a pejorative term. It is a word with intrinsically negative connotations that is generally applied to one's enemies and opponents, or to those with whom one disagrees and would otherwise prefer to ignore. 'What is called terrorism', Brian Jenkins has written, 'thus seems to depend on one's point of view. Use of the term implies a moral judgment; and if one party can successfully attach the label terrorist to its opponent, then it has indirectly persuaded others to adopt its moral viewpoint.' Hence the decision to call someone or label some organization 'terrorist' becomes almost unavoidably subjective, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/cause concerned. If one identifies with the victim of the violence, for example, then the act is terrorism. If, however, one identifies with the perpetrator, the violent act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or, at the worst, an ambivalent) light; and it is not terrorism.
Groups called "terrorist" often prefer terms that reflect ideological or ethnic struggle. Examples include: separatist, freedom fighter, liberator, revolutionary, vigilante, militant, paramilitary, guerrilla (Spanish for "small war"), rebel, jihadi or mujaheddin ("one engaged in holy war"), or fedayeen ("prepared for martyrdom").

The difference between the words "terrorist" or "terrorism" and the terms above can be summed up by the subjective aphorism, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." This is exemplified when a group that uses irregular military methods is an ally of a State against a mutual enemy, but later falls out with the State and starts to use the same methods against its former ally. During World War II the Malayan People’s Anti-Japanese Army was allied with the British, but during the Malayan Emergency, members of its successor, the Malayan Races Liberation Army, were branded terrorists by the British. More recently, President Reagan and others in the American administration frequently called the Afghan Mujahideen freedom fighters during their war against the Soviet Union, yet twenty years later when a new generation of Afghan men are fighting against what they perceive to be a regime installed by foreign powers, their attacks are labeled terrorism by President Bush.

Some groups, when involved in a "liberation" struggle, have been called terrorst by the Western governments or media. Later, these same persons, as leaders of the liberated nations, are called statesmen by similar organizations. Two examples are Nobel Peace Prize laureates Menachem Begin and Nelson Mandela.

Sometimes states that are close allies, for reasons of history, culture and politics, can disagree over whether members of a certain organization are terrorists. For example for many years some branches of the United States government refused to label members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) as terrorists, while it was using methods against one of United States closest allies, that, that ally (Britain), branded as terrorist attacks. This was highlighted by the Quinn v. Robinson case

For these and other reasons, media outlets wishing to preserve a reputation for impartiality are extremely careful in their use of the term.

Democracy

The relationship between terrorism and democracy is complex. Research shows that terrorism is most common in nations with intermediate political freedom and that the nations with the least terrorism are the most democratic nations. However, one study suggests that suicide terrorism may be an exception to this general rule. Evidence regarding this particular method of terrorism reveals that every modern suicide campaign has targeted a democracy- a state with a considerable degree of political freedom. The study suggests that concessions awarded to terrorists during the 80s and 90s for suicide attacks increased their frequency.
Some examples of "terrorism" in non-democracies to include ETA under Francisco Franco, the Shining Path under Alberto Fujimori, and the Kurdistan Workers Party when Turkey was ruled by military leaders.

While a nation espousing democratic ideology may claim a sense of legitimacy or higher moral ground than regimes that promote terrorism, any act of terrorism within the former creates a dilemma for the democratic state. On one hand, a state that prides itself in its tolerance of peaceful demonstration may choose to approach the problem of terrorism in ways outlined by its constitution; this may render that state ineffective in dealing with the problem, which could reflect upon its citizens a sense of impotency in a time of crisis. On the other hand, should that same terrorized state go outside its constitution to deal with the problem, the very notion of democracy itself pales in meaning. This, some social theorists would conclude, may very well play into the initial plans of the acting terrorist(s); namely, to delegitimize democracy.

**Perpetrators**

Acts of terrorism can be carried out by individuals, groups, or states. According to some definitions, clandestine or semi-clandestine state actors may also carry out terrorist acts outside the framework of a state of war. The most common image of terrorism is that it is carried out by small and secretive cells, highly motivated to serve a particular cause. However, many of the most successful operations in recent time, such as 9/11, the London underground bombing, and the 2002 Bali bombing were planned and carried out by a close clique, comprised of close friends, family members and other strong social networks. These groups benefited from the free flow of information, and were able overcome the obstacles they encountered where others failed due to lack of information and communication. Over the years, many people have attempted to come up with a terrorist profile to attempt to explain these individuals' actions through their psychology and social circumstances. Others, like Roderick Hindery, have sought to discern profiles in the propaganda tactics used by terrorists.

**Terrorist groups**

**State sponsors**

- State-sponsored terrorism
  - State terrorism
  - False flag

A state can sponsor terrorism by funding a terrorist organization, harboring terrorism, and also using state resources, such as the military, to directly perform acts of terrorism. State-sponsored terrorism is widely denounced by the international community. When states do provide funding for groups considered by some to be terrorist, they rarely acknowledge them as such.
Tactics

Methods of attack

Terrorists seek to demoralize and paralyze their enemy with fear, and also to pressure governments into conceding to the terrorist's agenda.

While they act according to different motivations and goals, all terrorist groups have one tactic in common: to achieve maximum publicity in order to intimidate and generate a message as a means to attain its objectives. Terrorism uses violence on one part of society to instill fear in the larger part of society to make a change. Terrorism employs propaganda as a tactic to ensure the attention of the public through the attention from the media. The term Propaganda of the Deed, coined by Malatesta, Cafiero, and Covelli, states that the message is most strongly conveyed through violence.

Often damage is done with an improvised explosive device although chemical weapons have been used on occasion. A source of concern is also a possible use of a nuclear weapon or biological weapons. In the September 11, 2001 attacks, planes were used as guided incendiary devices.

Terrorist groups may arrange for secondary devices to detonate at a slightly later time in order to kill emergency-response personnel attempting to attend to the dead and wounded. Repeated or suspected use of secondary devices can also delay emergency response out of concern that such devices may exist. Examples include a (failed) device that was meant to release cyanide-gas during the February 26, 1993 World Trade Center bombing; and a second car bomb that detonated 20 minutes after the December 1, 2001 Ben Yehuda Street Bombing by Hamas in Jerusalem.

Training

There are and have been training camps for terrorists. For the September 11, 2001 attacks, the pilots also took flying courses. The range of training depends greatly on the level of support the terrorist organization receives from various organizations and states. In nearly every case the training incorporates the philosophy and agenda of the groups leadership as justification for the training as well as the potential acts of terrorism which may be committed. State sanctioned training is by far the most extensive and thorough, often employing professional soldiers and covert operatives of the supporting state. The training generally includes physical fitness, combat or martial arts, firearms, explosives, intelligence/counterintelligence, and field craft. More specialized training may include mission specific subjects such as, language, cultural familiarization, communications, and surveillance techniques. In every instance the quality of training is extremely high and well organized.

Preparation
Preparation of a major attack such as the September 11, 2001 attacks may take years, whereas a simpler attack, depending on the availability of arms, may be almost spontaneous.

Cover

Where terrorism occurs in the context of open warfare or insurgency, its perpetrators may shelter behind a section of the local population. Examples include the Intifada on Israeli-occupied territory, and insurgency in Iraq. This population, which may be ethnically distinct from the counter-terrorist forces, is either sympathetic to their cause, indifferent, or acts under duress.

Terrorists preparing for the September 11, 2001 attacks changed their appearance to avoid looking radical.

Funding

Terrorist Financing

Terrorist organizations do not usually have only one means of funding, but many. Funding can be raised in both legal and illegal ways. Some of the most common ways to raise funds are through charities, well funded organizations, or a non violent organization with similar ideologies. In the absence of state funding, terrorists may rely on organized crime to fund their activities. This has included kidnapping, drug trafficking, or robbery. Additionally, terrorists have also found many more sources of revenue. Osama bin Laden, for example, invested millions in terrorism that his family made in the construction industry building luxury mansions for Saudi Arabia's oil billionaires.

Communication

The revolution in communication technology over the past 10-15 years has dramatically changed how terrorist organizations communicate. E-mails, fax transmissions, websites, cell phones, and satellite telephones have made it possible for organizations to contemplate a global strategy. However, too great a reliance on this new technology leaves organizations vulnerable to sophisticated monitoring of communication and triangulation of its source. When the media published the information that the U.S. government was tracking Osama bin Laden by monitoring his phone calls, he ceased using this method to communicate.

Responses to terrorism

Responses to terrorism
Responses to terrorism are broad in scope. They can include re-alignments of the political spectrum and reassessments of fundamental values. The term counter-terrorism has a narrower connotation, implying that it is directed at terrorist actors.

Specific types of responses include:

- Targeted laws, criminal procedures, deportations, and enhanced police powers
- Target hardening, such as locking doors or adding traffic barriers
- Preemptive or reactive military action
- Increased intelligence and surveillance activities
- Preemptive humanitarian activities
- More permissive interrogation and detention policies

History

History of terrorism

Terrorist tactics were used in the 1st century by Zealots in a fierce and unrelenting terror campaign against the Roman Empire. The modern English term "terrorism" dates back to 1795 when it was used to describe the actions of the Jacobin Club in their rule of post-Revolutionary France, the so-called "Reign of Terror".

19th century terrorist groups included the anarchists in Europe and the United States (including Narodniks in Tsarist Russia), militant members of the turn-of-the-century Zionist movement, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and groups seeking independence for Armenia and Macedonia.

Some of the Most successful terrorist groups, were the vast arrange of guerilla, partisan, and resistance movements that were organised and supplied by the allies. Perhaps the most successful terrorist group of the war and of all time would the British Special Operations Executive, which conducted operations in every theatre of the war, and provide an invaluable contribution to allied victory.

Militant

The word militant has come to refer to any individual or party engaged in aggressive physical or verbal combat, normally for a cause. Journalists often use militant as a neutral term for soldiers who do not belong to an established military. Typically, a militant engages in violence as part of a claimed struggle for achievement of a political goal.

Popular usage sometimes sees "militants" as synonymous with terrorists, though perhaps characterised with a slightly less loaded term. The term "militant state" colloquially refers to a state which holds an aggressive posture in support of an ideology or cause. In French
the term "militant" retains a more moderate meaning of "activist" which it formerly had in English.

### Characteristics of militancy

Persons described as *militants* -- either individuals or groups (composed of citizens) -- have usually enrolled and trained for service in a particular cause. Militants may fill their ranks either by enlistment or by conscription. The term usually implies aggressive and vigorous support of a cause, as in the phrases *militant protest* or *Church militant*. Some militant views have an inherent implication of intolerance. The work and support of militants commonly occurs within the limits of international law, humanity, and civil disobedience.

The term *militant* can describe those who aggressively and violently promote a political philosophy in the name of a movement (and sometimes have an extreme solution for their goal). Sample goals of modern militants may include establishing dictatorships or establishing a single world government. The various movements that seek to apply militancy as a solution, or who use militancy to rationalize their solutions for issues in the modern world seldom share common tactics. Traits shared by many militants include:

1. employing force or violence directly, either in offence or in defense
2. justifying the use of force using the ideological rhetoric of their particular group

A *militant view* sometimes constitutes an extremist's position. A person or group in a psychologically *militant state* expresses a physically aggressive posture while in support of an ideology or of a cause.

### Potential legal restrictions

One could argue that those resisting a foreign military occupation do not merit the label *terrorists* because their acts of political violence against the military targets of a foreign occupier do not violate international law. Protocol 1 of the Geneva Conventions gives lawful combatant status to those engaging in armed conflicts against alien (or foreign) occupation, colonial domination and racist régimes. Non-uniformed guerrillas also gain combatant status if they carry arms openly during military operations. Protocol 1 does not legitimise attacks on civilians by militants who fall into these categories, however.

The concept is spelled out in the major UN General Assembly Resolution on terrorism (42/159, December 7, 1987), which condemns international terrorism and outlines
measures to combat the crime, with one proviso: "that nothing in the present resolution could in any way prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as derived from the Charter of the United Nations, of peoples forcibly deprived of that right..., particularly peoples under colonial and racist regimes and foreign occupation or other forms of colonial domination, nor...the right of these peoples to struggle to this end and to seek and receive support [in accordance with the Charter and other principles of international law]." The Resolution passed 153-2, US and Israel opposed, Honduras alone abstaining.

**Etymology of the word**

The word *militant* comes from the 15th Century Latin "militare" meaning "to serve as a soldier". The related modern concept of the militia as a defensive organization against invaders grew out of the Anglo-Saxon "fyrd". In times of crisis, the militiaman left his civilian duties and became a soldier until the emergency was over, when he returned to his civilian status.

**Mass media usage of the word**

The mass media often uses the term "militant" in the context of terrorism. Journalists often apply the term *militant* to movements using terrorism as a tactic. The mass media also has repeatedly called terrorist organizations *militant groups* or *radical militants*. The terms often serve to avoid placing the label *terrorism* on individuals or groups who have not actually committed violent acts.

Newspapers, magazines, and other information sources may deem *militant* a neutral term, whereas *terrorist* conventionally indicates disapproval of the behavior of the individual or organization so labelled, regardless of the motivations for such behavior. *Militant*, other times, can refer to any individual engaged in warfare, a fight, combat, or generally serving as a soldier.

**Examples**

Militants occur across the political spectrum, including white supremacists, separatists, abortion opponents, and environmentalists. Examples of left-wing, right-wing, and special interest militants include militant reformers, militant feminists, militant animal rights advocates, and anarchists. Fundamentalist Christian militants engage in constant warfare against the Christian church's enemies (though fundamentalism itself does not, by definition, class as militant). The phrase *militant Islam* can suggest (excessively) violent and aggressive political activity by Islamic individuals, groups, movements, or governments.
The label *militant* often becomes attached to Palestinians who express the intention of committing or supporting violent actions. Such actions may include attacks on Israeli soldiers and Israeli civilians on behalf of Palestinian nationalism and of Palestinian statehood; or in attempts to annihilate Israel. Also, there is militant activity to protest the presence of Israeli forces or Israel in general. The term *guerrilla* may serve a similar purpose. In the opinion of many Israelis, some media groups use the term *militant* (in the context of Israel) to describe people whom those same groups would call *terrorists* in the context of any other country. Such Israelis may hold the opinion that those media groups do this out of bias, to downplay the severity of attacks on Israelis.
List of terrorist organisations

Most organisations that are accused of being a "terrorist organization" will deny using terrorism as a military tactic to achieve their goals, and there is no international consensus on the bureaucratic definition of terrorism. Therefore, this list is of organisations that are, or have been in the past, proscribed as "terrorist organizations" by other organizations, including the United Nations and national governments, where the proscription has a significant impact on the group's activities.

This listing does not include states or governmental organisations which are considered under State terrorism.

**Religious Terrorists**

Religious terrorism is a form of religious violence. As with other forms of terrorism, there is no real consensus as to its definition. Groups are frequently classified as practitioners of religious terrorism for any one of the following reasons:
• Religion plays some part in defining or determining the objectives or methods of the group.
• The ultimate objective of the group is religiously defined.

Controversy concerning classification is often found because:

• Religion and ethnicity frequently coincide. Ethnic conflict may thus appear as religious, or religious conflict may appear as ethnic.
• Religious groups, like other groups, frequently pursue political goals. In such cases it is often not clear which is uppermost, the political goal or the religious motivation.

Groups which have used principal religious motives for their terrorist acts and were deemed as such by supranational organizations and governments are listed here in alphabetical order by religion.