

US House of Representatives

**Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism
and Intelligence**

**Hearing on “Protecting the Homeland Against Mumbai-Style Attacks and the
Threat from Lashkar-e-Taiba”**

June 12, 2013

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Introduction

Thank you for the privilege of sharing my assessment of the risks that groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba pose to the American homeland. In doing so, I will present a brief update on the organization and its likely evolving intentions and capabilities. However, I will also encourage you to consider other Pakistan-based terrorist organizations as well as the activities of Pakistan's intelligence agency, the ISI, here in the United States.

While Islamist groups continue to pose an undeniable threat, it is also important to acknowledge the reality that groups of other ideologies and religious commitments also seek to commit violence in this country and have done so.ⁱ Unfortunately, any terrorist organization can easily avail of the permissive environment to obtain any range of guns and munitions. In fact, it is surprising that terrorist organizations have not perpetrated a Mumbai-like attack given that the United States routinely experiences mass-killings by loan shooters.

Returning to Pakistan, as 2014 nears and as the United States becomes less dependent upon Pakistan for operations in Afghanistan, I hope that the U.S. government will seriously consider its options with respect to Pakistan. The policy of appeasement through financial allurements and conventional military sales has not made Pakistan more likely to give up its reliance upon Islamist militants under its ever-expanding nuclear umbrella. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Pakistan's intelligence agency is responsible for many deaths of Americans and our allies in Afghanistan, despite the massive assistance the Pakistanis have received ostensibly to support the U.S.-led war on terrorism in Afghanistan and beyond. The realities of the past decade should be a wakeup call that a new policy is required to contend with the threats that Pakistan poses and will pose.

Lashkar-e-Taiba : A Brief Update

Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), which generally now operates under the name Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD), is the most organized and coherent terrorist organization operating from Pakistan. (For an extensive background on the organization and its history of high-profile attacks, see author's previous prepared testimony.ⁱⁱ) LeT has never attacked any targets within the state of Pakistan and has consistently been an ideological weapon of Pakistan's government against the largely Deobandi groups (a rival Islamist interpretive tradition to that of LeT) that have been terrorizing the state and its citizens.ⁱⁱⁱ Pakistan's media has recently reported that LeT, along with another pro-state militant group "Ansarul Islam," is about to begin confronting the Pakistani Taliban (Tehreek-e-Taliban-Pakistan, or TTP) with violence, The LeT disputes this claim, however.^{iv} What is not in dispute is that the LeT denounces violence committed against the Pakistani state or its citizens and criticizes the Deobandi organizations for doing just that.^v

To facilitate LeT's pro-state message countering that of the various Deobandi organizations operating in Pakistan and against Pakistanis (e.g. Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and the Pakistani Taliban), Pakistan's Ministry of Information and the armed force's Interservices Public Relations appear to direct Pakistani and international media to cover the ostensible relief efforts of JuD and its other alias, Falah Insaniat Foundation (e.g. during Pakistan's 2005 earthquake and the 2010 monsoon-related flood). The media

coverage of this humanitarian work seemed far in excess of the actual relief activities conducted. Subsequent research has shown that the organization did not provide the relief that the various media proclaimed.^{vi} In essence, this media coverage handed the organization a public relations boon they did not deserve.

In survey work that my colleagues and I have conducted in Pakistan, we have found that the various state and non-state efforts to rebrand LeT as JuD in Pakistan have been successful. During survey pretesting in Pakistan in 2011, we found that Pakistani respondents viewed the two organizations as being quite distinct and engaging in different activities with the latter being seen more often as providing public services.

As I argued in 2011, this strategy is important. By fostering public support for the organization at home, the Pakistani state can resist pressure from the United States and others to work against the organization.^{vii} Under these varied guises, LeT/JuD can continue to recruit, raise funds and support its message of jihad against the “external kuffar” such as the Indians, Americans, Israelis and so forth.^{viii} The continued official investment in the organization and expanding public presence suggests that the Pakistani state is ever more dependent upon this proxy for both domestic and foreign policy requirements.

It is important to understand that whereas in some countries terrorist organizations arise for a myriad of largely exogenous reasons, in Pakistan militant organizations have long been organized with the active assistance of the state. In fact, this phenomenon began in the earliest days of Pakistan’s independence when various parts of the provincial and federal governments supported tribal militias in their invasion of India in order to seize Kashmir with support from the Pakistan army.^{ix} Pakistan continues to rely upon Islamist terrorism under the security of expanding nuclear umbrella to prosecute its foreign policies with increasing impunity. Equally disconcerting for U.S. interests, Pakistan is busily expanding its nuclear arsenal with a renewed focus upon tactical — battlefield — nuclear weapons.^x

While media accounts characterize LeT activists as being poor and poorly educated, the data do not support this claim. In an April 2013 report which I co-authored under the auspices of the Combatting Terrorism Center (CTC) at West Point, my colleagues and I found that LeT activists tend to be very well educated relative to Pakistani males in general.^{xi} Most of the LeT terrorists in our database came from Pakistan’s Punjab province with about ten districts accounting for most of the recruitment. As shown in Figure 1 below, not only do most of the LeT activists come from the Punjab, many of the highest-producing districts for militants are also the highest-producing districts for the Pakistan army. This likely reflects that the two organizations have similar human capital requirements and thus have similar “target markets” for recruitment.

That LeT militants and the army officers come from similar districts is an important point. Whereas Pakistan routinely claims that it cannot manage the various terrorist problems it confronts, it should be noted that much of the LeT is based in the Punjab which is also where the vast majority of the Pakistan army’s infrastructure is located: I Corps is in Mangla; II Corps is in Multan; IV Corps is in Lahore; XXX Corps is in Gujranwala; XXXI Corps is in Bahawalpur; and X Corps is in Rawalpindi. Only three Corps are

located outside of the Punjab: V Corps in Karachi; XI Corps in Peshawar and XII Corps in Quetta. Equally, it should be noted that in the past, the Punjab government provided financial support to the organization.^{xii} Taken together, Pakistan's claims that it is doing all that it can to counter these myriad threats are risible at best if not outright deception.

In addition, LeT/JuD organization operates overtly: it holds rallies and anti-U.S. demonstrations, collects funds and its leader (Hafez Saeed) frequently gives interviews to local and international media outlets. To give some sense of how openly it operates, in Figure 2, I provide photographs that I took in the hill station town of Murree, about 1.5 hours from Islamabad by road, in May of 2013. I happened to be in Murree as a part of an election observation mission and noticed this while driving by. You will note that this advertisement for JuD is festooned across a set of buildings immediately in front of a military police station.

The Pakistan government insists that JuD is a philanthropic organization and thus U.S. claims that it is a terrorist organization are false. However, this claim is patently absurd. The afore-noted CTC report is based upon a collection and subsequent analysis of over 900 biographies of slain terrorists. We obtained these biographies from magazines and books published by Jamaat-ud-Dawa's publishing arm, Dara-ul-Andalus at the LeT's headquarters in Lahore, Char Burji (Figure 3). In addition, in Figure 4, I provide a scanned image of JuD's volume *Hum Kyon Jihad Kar Rahen Hain* (Why We Wage Jihad?). A perusal of the volume will demonstrate that this is indeed about waging militarized jihad and dedicates no space whatsoever to "philanthropic activities."^{xiii} These publications are readily available throughout Pakistan. In addition, the organization has signage on public spaces (walls, bridges, rickshaws etc.) advertising for events and campaigns.

Lashkar-e-Taiba : Expanded Goals?

So far, we find continuing evidence that LeT's leadership exercises considerable control over the organization's operations and operatives. Our CTC effort revealed that LeT's leadership has often been intimately involved in selecting persons for training and for actual missions.^{xiv} What does this tell us, if anything, about LeT's desire to attack the homeland and if so, how could it do so?

As I argued in 2011, the LeT's primary utility to the Pakistani state is that it services its external goals in India and Afghanistan while remaining restrained and pro-state at home. This does not mean that all LeT activists have towed the party line: indeed, it seems as if there is personnel movement between various militant groups. Thus some LeT personnel may defect and join other groups but this does not mean that the group is no longer loyal to the state. But it does raise definitional problems about who is a LeT member and what degree of sanction from the organization is necessary to define any given strike as a "LeT attack." This raises further questions about how tightly Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies control all or even most of the organization's operations. Indeed, the Pakistani state has long benefited from plausible deniability and seems to even actively cultivate this. For example, Indian and American analysts alike believe that the Pakistani intelligence agencies have cultivated the Indian Mujahideen for years to add an additional layer of plausible deniability about the degree to which the Pakistani state is involved in any given attack in India.

However, though the organization serves the state's domestic goals by mobilizing against groups that perpetrate anti-Pakistan violence, and serves the external goals of the state abroad, LeT walks a fine line between being a loyal agent of the state and being able to project itself as an organization with global jihadist goals against a presumed threat beyond South Asia. It—like other jihad organizations—has come under increasing pressure from its constituents to take the jihad to other infidels (kuffar in their language) beyond the confines of South Asia. How can the organization continue to satisfy its Pakistani state backers while also continue to compete for personnel, resources and popular support without satisfying some demand to operate beyond South Asia?

As a rational organization, I do not believe that the LeT would undertake a catastrophic attack outside of India or Afghanistan without ISI acquiescence. After all, the most important asset that the LeT enjoys is unfettered access to Pakistan's geography and people. This does suggest that some theatres of action for the LeT may be more palatable than others for international jihad. Both the United States and United Kingdom are of high value for the Pakistani state. An LeT attack in the United States could be devastating for Pakistan and thus the organization. However, other theatres such as European countries, may satisfy the organization's need to strike outside of the region while not being so provocative as to jeopardize the perquisites it enjoys in Pakistan. This does not preclude individuals with some degree of training from LeT from attempting such an attack however without explicit top-level organizational approval much less that of the ISI.

Thinking Beyond LeT: Threats to the Homeland

Irrespective of whether the threat comes from LeT or other organizations, there are a number of important risks that require political courage and preparedness to manage. We should recognize what made the Mumbai attack of 2008 as devastating as it was. As I have argued previously in congressional testimony, there was little in that attack that was new. In addition, the U.S. government provided India as much advanced warning as possible.^{xv} While the Indian government responded as best as it could, the overwhelming evidence suggests that their state and federal efforts fell far short of what was needed.^{xvi} The National Security Guards took nine hours to reach Mumbai and then had to travel by bus to the sites of the conflict.^{xvii} The security forces had antiquated weapons and personal protective equipment and the law enforcement personnel abjectly failed to secure the perimeter of the crime scene, among numerous other catastrophic failures detailed elsewhere.^{xviii} It is unlikely that American first responders would be so hindered and shambolic in their response, based upon recent management of disasters and terrorist attacks, most recently in Boston.

However, other challenges to American security no doubt persist. It is a sad fact that most of the 9/11 hijackers either should never have been granted a U.S. visa or should have been picked up by an array of U.S. authorities for various other reasons once here. But, as is well known, they all fell through inter-agency data sieves that allowed them to enter and remain in the United States despite being identified as threats for various reasons. (Questions still linger about the degree of information provided to the United States by the Russians about Tamerlan Tsarnaev, the older of the two Boston bombers who was killed in a police shootout.) While the United States has made progress in this regard, there are still important loopholes that concern me.

It is unlikely that LeT can recruit, train and dispatch a terrorist directly to the United States; it is more likely that individuals from various diasporas in the United States, United Kingdom, Europe and elsewhere may radicalize and seek training from the LeT or other numerous militant groups operating in Pakistan. American citizens or permanent residents are a particular risk. During fieldwork in 2006, I met two American children at a Karachi madrassah being held against their will. When I returned to the United States I was dismayed to learn that no U.S. agency had any responsibility for such Americans in such predicaments. Had those individuals been recruited by a militant organization, the only point at which they could have been intercepted was at the point of entry when they returned to the United States. (After the media broke their story, these two Atlanta-based Pakistani Americans finally returned home.) Needless to say, persons from countries that can obtain American visas easily pose a similar concern.

In the context of an Islamist militant attack, the communities of concern are diaspora Muslim communities who radicalize at home and seek training in places like Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia or elsewhere. It is important that U.S. authorities be able to recognize that certain communities pose more risk than others but it also important that they do so in ways that do not alienate the most important allies in this struggle: those members of the same community who outnumber those who seek to do violence and who remain important sources of warning about potential terrorist activity. The diverse American Muslim community is replete with such examples of patriotic Muslim Americans who have cooperated with law enforcement to undermine terrorist plots.

Local sources of information have been found to be critical in preventing terrorist events in the United States. Erik J. Dahl studied 176 failed terrorist plots in the United States. He concluded that “precise intelligence needed to prevent attacks is not usually developed through the use of strategic-level tactics that get much of the public’s attention....More typically, plots are disrupted as a result of tips from the public, informants inside home-grown cells, and long-term surveillance of suspects.”^{xix} This suggests that the most important thing that U.S. agencies can do is “focus on local and domestic intelligence, and to figure out how to gather the necessary intelligence while still maintaining the proper balance between civil liberties and national security.”^{xx}

While much concern has been given to the threat that Pakistan’s militant training infrastructure poses, research has shown that simply being trained by a terrorist organization in places like Pakistan does not necessarily confirm competence to the actors. A recent study of Islamist terrorists in the United Kingdom and Spain found that they lacked tradecraft and that the training they received did not translate well to the target countries. While terrorists in Pakistan can practice their craft, once in these environs (e.g. Britain, Spain, etc.) they were unable to continue “learning by doing.” Often their ideological zeal motivated them to focus upon more sophisticated attacks (e.g. suicide attacks) and thus fail to seize the opportunity for lower-sophistication/higher-impact attacks.^{xxi} This again underscores the importance of cultivating local information while not alienating much less criminalizing the entire communities in which these terrorists may insert themselves.

It should be stated forthrightly that Pakistan-based militants are not the only organizations that pose harm to Americans at home and abroad. Pakistan’s intelligence, the ISI, has the ability to influence

events here in the United States. My colleagues, peers and journalist acquaintances suggest that this takes place through various means. First, the ISI wields influence by supporting individuals and organizations directly and indirectly in taking positions that are supportive of that of the Pakistan government.^{xxii}

Second, the ISI wields influence by threatening U.S. citizens here in the United States. In fact, in May 2011, after I testified on LeT before a Senate subcommittee, I received an email that likely was sent at the behest of a Pakistani intelligence agency. After receiving this note, I reached out to Ambassador Husain Haqqani because I had planned to avail of a grant I had received to work on my book in Pakistan during the summer of 2011. When at last he could contact me about this, he told me forthrightly that I should cancel my trip because “the crew cuts are after” me. In addition, I learned that the then defense attaché and ISI liaison (Brigadier Butt) sent a letter about me to personnel at the Pakistan embassy barring them from meeting with me. This gives some sense of the punitive approaches that this organization takes when it does not approve of one’s scholarship on it and/or its proxies.

I have heard disconcerting reports among expatriate Pakistanis that they or Pakistani-Americans have been intimidated. A few weeks back I heard a harrowing story about a New York journalist who was reportedly approached by such a man while on the subway platform. Reportedly, he told her in Urdu that he could easily push her. Obviously, I have no way to confirm or disconfirm this episode. However, I want to bring to your attention that very real possibility that individuals are being threatened and coerced here on American soil.

This is in addition to the intrusive role that the ISI plays in granting U.S. citizens visas to Pakistan. U.S. scholars receiving Fulbright awards cannot get visas, reportedly due to ISI intrusions. (I also experienced this ISI interference before and even during my recent trip to Pakistan in May 2013. The previous Ambassador communicated to me that “they have an objection” due my co-authored report for the CTC and because of my public commentary about drones.) Of course, it is not unusual to oust foreign journalists from Pakistan –not because they have conducted themselves illegally—but because they report the truth, which is often unflattering and contributes to evolving public perception in the United States and elsewhere that Pakistan is at best a perfidious ally if not outright foe.^{xxiii}

While these threats from Islamist terrorist and perfidious allies like Pakistan warrant your focus, it is critically important that the U.S. government recognize the changing times our country’s polity confronts. There a range of *other* religious and ideological movements which harbor a desire to inflict harm upon the United States and its citizens. It is important to balance what appears to be the perceived current threat with evolving near-term threats. Indeed, white supremacist, anti-Muslim, those who oppose even the most commonsensical of gun control and other bigoted organizations also threaten our society and have engaged in violence in recent years. The focus upon Islamist terrorist should not be at the expense of these other threats.

In fact, given that individuals frequently perpetrate mass killings with easily-obtained guns and ammunition, it is a surprising fact that terrorist organizations of any ideological and religious moorings have not exploited this weakness in our domestic security. Just as it is important that the U.S.

government forthrightly name the groups that threaten us, it must also work to limit the harm that these groups can do. It is only a matter of time before a terrorist organization—of any ideological or religious background—understands that it can easily terrorize Americans by perpetrating mass killings at soft targets using munitions that are easily and readily available. It is unfortunate that various gun lobbies have worked assiduously to undermine common sense approaches to circumscribing this threat and have successfully frustrated any congressional activity to limit certain types of weapons and munitions in the service of protecting our collective security.

Conclusions

In short, while you consider the specific threat that LeT poses to the United States and its interests, I encourage you to expand the aperture of your query to look not only at this group but other Islamist militant groups based in Pakistan. While they may not be well situated to recruit and train a Pakistani to operate here, the diaspora seems a ready source of potential persons who are so situated. I also encourage you to look pro-actively at the activities of the ISI and its henchpersons here in the United States to intimidate Americans and others to acquiesce to their insidious demands and to cultivate information that is favorable to the Pakistani state.

While most persons recognize that working with Pakistan is necessary due to its importance in wrapping up military operations in Afghanistan, I sincerely hope that after 2014 the United States will look very closely at Pakistan and evaluate that state's contribution to the degradation of U.S. security interests in South Asia and beyond. I hope that there will be a serious inquiry about the numbers of Americans and American allies in Afghanistan whose deaths and injuries can be attributed to the ISI's ongoing support to the Taliban and their allies, despite continuing to benefit from U.S. financial assistance and military sales. In this regard, I was dismayed to learn that the State Department quietly issued a range of waivers that permitted all forms of security cooperation and military sales to proceed as if Pakistan has been a faithful, cooperative ally deserving of such emoluments.^{xxiv} Oddly no American news outlet covered this quiet relaxation of U.S. laws and requirements for a country that so brazenly undermines U.S. interests.

Finally, while considering the threat that specific religious, ideological and expatriate communities pose to Americans' safety, I strongly urge you to examine the structural features of our society that makes violence relatively easy to perpetrate on a large scale, including the ready availability of weaponry as well as continued problems in the inter-agency data puzzle that allow some persons with ill-intent to slip into the country without detection until they do something deadly.

ⁱ Peter Bergen and Jennifer Rowland, "Right Wing Extremist Terrorism As Deadly a Threat as Al Qaeda?" *CNN.com*, August 8, 2012. <http://www.cnn.com/2012/08/07/opinion/bergen-terrorism-wisconsin>.

ⁱⁱ Please see previous author testimony for a detailed description of the organization and the Mumbai 2008 attack. C. Christine Fair, "Lashkar-e-Taiba beyond Bin Laden: Enduring Challenges for the Region and the International Community." Testimony prepared for the U.S. Senate, Foreign Relations Committee Hearing on Al Qaeda, the Taliban, and Other Extremist Groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan, May 24, 2011. http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Fair_Testimony.pdf; C. Christine Fair, "Antecedents and Implications of the November 2008 Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) Attack Upon Several Targets in the Indian Mega-City of

Mumbai," Testimony prepared for the U.S. House of Representatives, Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Transportation Security and Infrastructure Protection on Mar 11, 2009. http://home.comcast.net/~christine_fair/pubs/CT-320_Christine_Fair.pdf.

ⁱⁱⁱ C. Christine Fair, "Lashkar-e-Tayiba and the Pakistani State," *Survival*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (August 2011), pp. 1-23.

^{iv} Tahir Khan, "Cracks appear: TTP braces against militant offensive in Mohmand," *Pakistan Express Tribune*, June 8, 2013. tribune.com.pk/story/560674/cracks-appear-ttp-braces-against-militant-offensive-in-mohmand/.

^v Fair, "Lashkar-e-Tayiba and the Pakistani State."

^{vi} C. Christine Fair, "Not at the Forefront of Flood Relief," *ForeignPolicy.com*, September 20, 2010. http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/09/20/not_at_the_forefront_of_flood_relief.

^{vii} Fair, "Lashkar-e-Tayiba and the Pakistani State."

^{viii} Fair, "Lashkar-e-Tayiba and the Pakistani State."

^{ix} See Shuja Nawaz, "Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within" (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), especially 42–92; Shuja Nawaz, "The First Kashmir War Revisited," *India Review* 7, no. 2 (April 2008): 115–54; Praveen Swami, *India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir, 1947–2004* (London: Routledge, 2007), 49–75.

^x David O. Smith, "The US Experience with Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Lessons for South Asia," *The Stimson Center*, March 2013. <http://www.stimson.org/summaries/smith-on-tactical-nuclear-weapons-in-south-asia/>.

^{xi} Don Rassler, Christine Fair, Anirban Ghosh, Arif Jamal, Nadia Shoeb, "The Fighters of Lashkar-e-Taiba: Recruitment, Training, Deployment and Death," *Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, Occasional Paper Series*, Apr 04, 2013. http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Fighters-of-LeT_Final.pdf

^{xii} Human Imtiaz, "Illusions in Punjabi," *ForeignPolicy.com Af-Pak Channel*, June 19, 2010. http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/06/19/illusions_in_punjab. http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/06/19/illusions_in_punjab.

^{xiii} See exposition in Fair, "Lashkar-e-Tayiba and the Pakistani State."

^{xiv} Rassler, Fair, Ghosh, Jamal, and Shoeb, "The Fighters of Lashkar-e-Taiba."

^{xv} Fair, "Lashkar-e-Taiba beyond Bin Laden;" Fair, "Antecedents and Implications of the November 2008 Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) Attack."

^{xvi} C. Christine Fair, "Prospects for Effective Internal Security Reforms in India," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (April 2012), pp. 145-170; Pradhan Committee. *Report of the High Level Enquiry Committee (HLEC) on 26/11, 2009*. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/23474630/Pradhan-Committee-Reportabout-26-11> (accessed 19 January 2012).

^{xvii} "Why did NSG take 9 hrs to get there?" *Times of India*, November 30, 2008. http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Why_did_NSG_take_9_hrs_to_get_there/articleshow/3775003.cms.

^{xviii} C. Christine Fair, "Prospects for Effective Internal Security Reforms in India," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (April 2012), pp. 145-170; Pradhan Committee. *Report of the High Level Enquiry Committee (HLEC) on 26/11, 2009*. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/23474630/Pradhan-Committee-Reportabout-26-11> (accessed 19 January 2012).

^{xix} Erik J. Dahl, "The Plots that Failed: Intelligence Lessons Learned from Unsuccessful Terrorist Attacks Against the United States," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 34, No. 8 (2011): p. 635.

^{xx} Erik J. Dahl, "The Plots that Failed: Intelligence Lessons Learned from Unsuccessful Terrorist Attacks Against the United States," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 34, No. 8 (2011): p. 635.

^{xxi} Michael Kenney, "'Dumb' Yet Deadly: Local Knowledge and Poor Tradecraft Among Islamist Militants in Britain and Spain," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 33, No. 10 (2010): pp 911-932.

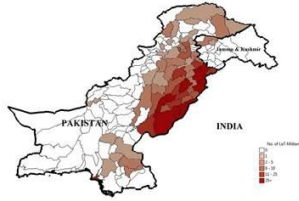
^{xxii} For example, see the case of accused ISI operative Gulab Nabi Fai. U.S. Department of Justice, "Virginia Man Pleads Guilty in Scheme to Conceal Pakistan Government Funding for His U.S. Lobbying Efforts," December 07, 2011. <http://www.fbi.gov/washingtondc/press-releases/2011/virginia-man-pleads-guilty-in-scheme-to-conceal-pakistan-government-funding-for-his-u.s.-lobbying-efforts>,

^{xxiii} Expelled by Pakistan, *The New York Times*, May 10, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/11/opinion/times-reporter-expelled-by-pakistan.html>.

^{xxiv} “US issues fresh waiver for sale of major defence equipment to Pakistan,” *Times of India*, April 5, 2013.
http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-04-05/us/38306243_1_defence-equipment-foreign-military-financing-pakistan.

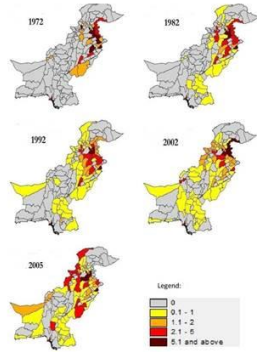
Figure 1. District-Wise Production of LeT Militants and Pakistan Army Officers

District-Wise Production of Slain LeT Militants: 1994-2007



Source: Fair with Ghosh, forthcoming *Journal of Strategic Studies*

District Wise Pakistan Army Officer Recruitment: 1972-2005



Source: Fair and Ghosh, forthcoming *Security Studies*

Figure 2. Jamaat-ud-Dawa Advertisement Across from Murree Military Police Station

Military Police Station (Murree)



Source: Author photograph, May 2013
See video at:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WrPXcD3g1AI>

LeT Banner at Facility Across from Military Police (Murree)

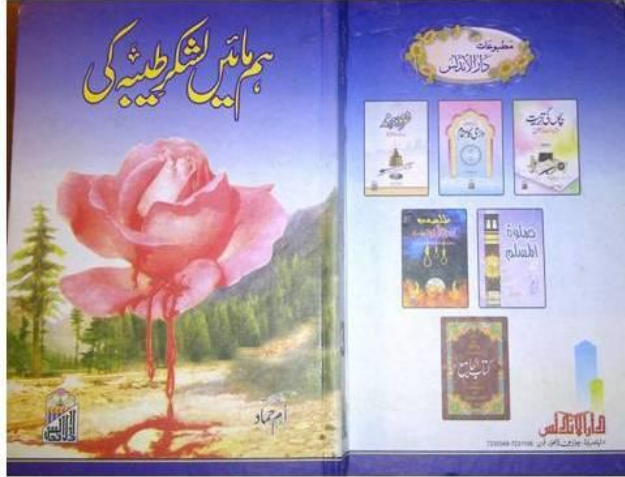


Distance between Islamabad and Murree: 40 km

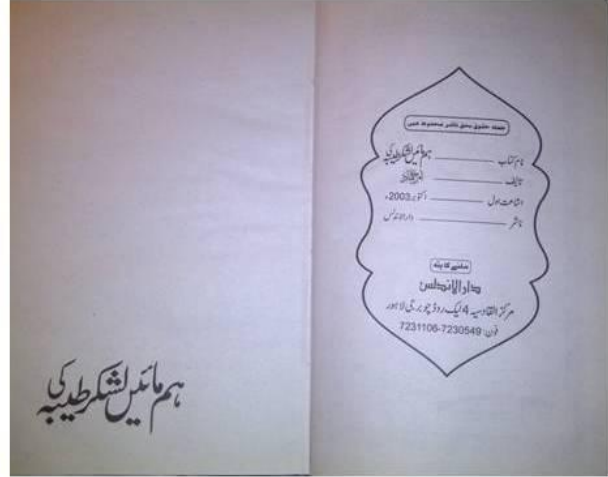


Figure 3. JuD/LeT's "We The Mothers of the Lashkar-e-Taiba- Vol. 3"

We the Mothers Front and Back Cover



We the Mothers "Copyright Page"



Source: Author' personal collection of LeT's various publications.

