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**Tenth Part of Serialized Book on Al-Zarqawi, Al-Qa'ida Published****Part 10 of serialized book by Fu'ad Husayn, Jordanian writer and journalist: "Al-Zarqawi...the Second Generation of Al-Qaida"***AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI**Sunday, July 3, 2005 T12:15:23Z***Journal Code:** 1430 **Language:** ENGLISH **Record Type:** FULLTEXT**Document Type:** FBIS Translated Text**Word Count:** 4,451

Shaykh Usama did not abide by the travel ban that was imposed on him after he delivered a lecture in which he warned against the covetous ambitions of Saddam Husayn. He went on with giving lectures and holding a large number of meetings with scholars and pro-da'wah activists. The authorities did not tolerate that. They summoned him more than once and sent him strong-worded warnings to curb his activity and intimidate him. A detachment of the National Guard stormed his farm on the outskirts of Jeddah and carried out an unexpected search operation. Shaykh Usama was not there when the farm was stormed. The National Guard arrested some laborers at the farm, who were later released. The guards wrote down minutes and videotaped the farm, the storage areas, and other quarters. When Shaykh Usama learned about the incident, he wrote a letter of protest to (Crown) Prince Abdallah (Bin-Abd-al-Aziz). He was surprised when he received a reply from Prince Abdallah denying any knowledge of the incident and promising to punish those responsible.

The Saudi Government's crackdown on Usama Bin Ladin and the overall circumstances in the country prompted Shaykh Usama to think seriously about leaving Saudi Arabia. However, this was not possible under the travel ban and the government's close watch on his movements. Shaykh Usama, however, could not tolerate the presence of US forces in the Arabian Peninsula. He felt that he was contradicting himself when he initiated jihad against atheists in Afghanistan for occupying a Muslim country while infidels were right at home in the Arabian Peninsula, a more sacred place. Shaykh Usama was bitterly frustrated during Operation Desert Storm. He felt that he could never be honest with himself if he stayed in Saudi Arabia. His departure, however, was not easy since he was a well-known person and his home was under surveillance around the clock. Shaykh Usama, therefore, planned for a normal way to leave.

One of his brothers was a close friend of Deputy Interior Minister Prince Ahmad Bin-Abd-al-Aziz. Shaykh Usama told this brother that he had many financial obligations in Pakistan and elsewhere. He explained to him that he owed people some funds and some people owed him money that he should get. He told him that an agent would not be able to solve these problems since his relationships there were built on personal trust. His brother was convinced and promised to clarify the issue to Prince Ahmad. (Interior Minister) Prince Nayif (Bin-Abd-al-Aziz) was about to take a holiday then. Shaykh Usama's brother waited until Prince Nayif went on the holiday and spoke to Prince Ahmad. He was able to convince him to give Shaykh Usama back his passport and allow him to travel. Prince Ahmad agreed and gave Usama Bin Ladin permission for one trip. He ordered the security services to watch him. Therefore, Shaykh Usama was able to leave the country normally without running away or hiding.

The first thing that Shaykh Usama did when he arrived in Pakistan was to send an apology letter to his brother in which he told him that he would not return to Saudi Arabia. He admitted that his brother might be embarrassed before Prince Nayif but he apologized and said that it was worth the dear price. While he was in Afghanistan, Saudi intelligence under Prince Turki (al-Faysal) worked together with the Pakistani intelligence to kill or kidnap Shaykh Usama. However, all attempts failed since sympathizers within the Pakistani security services and other Pakistani departments used to leak information to him promptly to enable him to take precautions.

Bin Ladin stayed in Afghanistan for several months. He continued to exert efforts to solve the dispute there but he reached a stalemate. He felt that his presence in Afghanistan was pointless particularly that there were so many adversaries who would try to abduct or assassinate him. After he examined the situation with a number of his close aides, he decided to look for a place other than Afghanistan where he could promote Islam.

Shaykh Usama thought of Sudan not only because it could be a new foundation for a fresh plan but because he heard so much about the enthusiasm of Islamists there in support of Islam and Muslims and their endeavors to implement an Islamic project. Shaykh Usama thought that he could give something to this country by means of employing his business relations in the kingdom (Saudi Arabia) and other Gulf countries. Sudan, he believed, would be a safe haven for him.

At the end of 1991, Shaykh Usama flew to Sudan secretly on a private plane. He took a number of aides with him. Other people joined him via different routes. In Sudan, the government welcomed him, but at this stage he was not in need of financial support since he was in control of his assets. He was capable of transferring some of his assets and equipment from the kingdom to Sudan. Shaykh Usama did not participate in any military act in Sudan but he strongly contributed to building roads, farms, and other projects. Most famous of these projects was the Al-Tahaddi (Challenge) Road linking Khartoum to Port Sudan.

Although he left the kingdom in the aforementioned way and although there were attempts by Saudi Government services to kidnap or kill him in Afghanistan, Usama Bin Ladin did not announce his hostility to the regime. Rather, he kept it all to himself since he wanted to stay in touch with pro-da'wah activists, businessmen, and some influential people in the kingdom. This was actually an effective policy. Shaykh Usama succeeded in convincing a large number of his contacts to support Sudan and embark on investments in the African country. During that time, he received offers and assurances to return to his country but he did not welcome the idea at all.

Toward the end of 1992, interest in Usama Bin Ladin grew when a decision was made to freeze his assets. The issue became a priority on the agenda of US intelligence and a major topic of discussion between US and Saudi authorities. Pressure mounted on Shaykh Usama to return to his country. The authorities tried to embarrass him by exercising pressure on his family to blackmail him but to no avail. When the Saudi Government gave up hope of bringing him back to the country, King Fahd issued an order to withdraw his citizenship as of 1994.

In the aftermath of the Somalia events and the Riyadh bombing, his presence in Sudan became very embarrassing for the Sudanese Government. The United States and Arab countries exercised severe pressure on the Sudanese Government to expel or extradite him. Sudan endured the pressure but it became obvious that it was not prepared to stand it for a long time. Therefore, it began to press Arab Afghans to leave Sudan. Shaykh Usama was aware of the pressure on Sudan since the Sudanese Government used to inform him of the situation. It told him straightforwardly that he should think

about leaving Sudan in view of the escalating US and Saudi pressure. On 3 August 1995, he wrote a letter to King Fahd urging him to carry out genuine reforms.

When Shaykh Usama felt that the Sudanese could not stand his presence any more and was embarrassed to tell him frankly to leave, he began to arrange for his departure from Sudan. He secured a location in Jalalabad and prepared to leave Sudan in utmost secrecy. He arranged for a private plane to transport him with a number of his supporters to Afghanistan where two shaykhs -- Yunis Khalis and (Jalaluddin) Haqqani -- welcomed him. Following his arrival, he sent a letter to Afghan factions telling them that he stood by his word to stay away from their disputes. This was before the Taliban took control of Jalalabad and Kabul. Soon after his arrival in Afghanistan, dramatic events occurred once again including the Al-Khubar explosion, the Taliban's takeover of Jalalabad, an attempt to kidnap him, and anti-US jihad statements that he issued in November 1996.

In June 1996, a huge explosion rocked the city of Al-Khubar claiming the lives of 20 US forces and wounding hundreds of others. Soon afterward, the Al-Khubar bombing took place and Shaykh Usama issued his first statement, "Declaration of Jihad To Expel Atheists From the Arabian Peninsula." At that time, the Saudi ambassador in Islamabad tried to exercise pressure on Yunis Khalis and Haqqani to extradite Shaykh Usama. The ambassador made certain offers to gain their support. Yunis Khalis, however, replied: "We will protect a goat or any other animal if it comes to us to take shelter. How then when it comes to someone who sacrifices his soul and wealth in the cause of God and jihad in Afghanistan?"

Soon afterward, the Taliban launched an incursion in the area where Shaykh Usama was residing. Although Shaykh Usama learned about the Taliban from Yunis Khalis and Haqqani, who both joined the Taliban Army, he was not sure about his situation after the Taliban took control of the region. He did not wait long until Taliban leader Mullah Omar sent a delegation to meet with him and assure him that he was their predecessors' guest and their guest too. Mullah Omar pledged to protect Bin Ladin but he begged him to stop his media activity after his interviews with CNN and the British Channel Four television station.

Another incident occurred that prompted Shaykh Usama to move to Kandahar. He learned that an attempt to abduct him was aborted. Tribal mercenaries on the Pakistan-Afghan border were paid to carry out a lightning attack on his area to kidnap or kill him. Pakistan and other countries masterminded the operation. Shaykh Usama moved immediately to Kandahar where he thought it would be a safer place for him under the Taliban.

When Shaykh Usama was in Jalalabad, the Taliban entered Kabul almost without fighting. Consequently, the Taliban became the major power in Afghanistan despite little recognition of their government. Shaykh Usama, meanwhile, was planning to move to Kandahar and escape the abduction attempt that we mentioned before. The attempt facilitated the move of Shaykh Usama to Kandahar via Kabul. He took a car to Kabul and then flew to Kandahar by plane, where he met with Amir of Taliban Mullah Omar for the first time. The two men never met before although they had exchanged several letters. During that meeting, Mullah Omar discussed the grave challenges facing the Taliban after they entered Kabul particularly from (Abd-al-Rashid) Dustum's forces. He told Shaykh Usama that it would be preferable to tone down his media campaign. He told him that it was a mere request, and not an order or an obligation. Shaykh Usama replied that he had decided to soften or freeze his media activity for some time even before the mullah asked him to do so. Mullah Omar was pleased to hear that.

In the meantime, the Saudi Government recognized the Taliban Government in an attempt to embarrass Taliban to cooperate with it. The Saudi Government took one further step when it invited all the members of the Taliban Government, including Mullah Omar, to perform the pilgrimage or the umrah (minor pilgrimage). It offered to receive them as official guests. In fact, one of the key officials in the Taliban Government -- Prime Minister Mohammad Rabbani -- visited the kingdom to perform the pilgrimage. However, the generosity of the Saudi Government did not change his position or the position of his government vis-a-vis Shaykh Usama. The Taliban turned down diplomatically requests of several delegations that the Saudi Government sent including diplomats, businessmen, relatives of Shaykh Usama, and intelligence officials.

Another development took place that bolstered Shaykh Usama's popularity with the Taliban. Shaykh Usama changed his previous neutral position regarding intra-factional disputes in Afghanistan. He decided to support the Taliban against Dustum and issued orders to his men to fight alongside the Taliban. When (Ahmed) Shah Massoud became a rival party in the war, Shaykh Usama asked scholars accompanying him to issue a fatwa saying that fighting Massoud was a lawful jihad. Shaykh Usama's decision played an important role in favor of Taliban since the latter were not all set for war. Their previous victories took place almost without fighting due to the fact that people supported them and field commanders conceded defeat to them. Meanwhile, the forces of Dustum and Massoud allied after they convinced their followers that the war was ethnic and not religious. Their solidarity increased when Dustum counted on Uzbeks and Massoud on Tajiks. Both Massoud and Dustum convinced their followers that the Taliban were Pashtuns who wanted to rule them. Furthermore, the Western world did not feel the threat of the Taliban until after the fall of Kabul and the Taliban's protection of Shaykh Usama. All these factors won Massoud and Dustum enormous support from Russia, the United States, Turkey, Iran, and other parties. The Taliban nearly collapsed when they confronted these organized and backed forces. Twice, at least, the brigades affiliated with Shaykh Usama defended Kabul and the Taliban never forgot Shaykh Usama's favor.

The other factor that raised Shaykh Usama's stakes with the Taliban was the help that his men offered to the Taliban in various fields including planning, administration, and development of the new state. Despite the modest experience of Shaykh Usama's men, the Taliban viewed them as a team of professionals.

The United States and its allies did not give up hope on capturing Shaykh Usama. When it became clear that the Taliban would not extradite him, the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia began to think of a plan to abduct Shaykh Usama by means of an operation from the Pakistani territories by elite commandos. Training for the operation began toward the end of spring 1997. The top secret operation was scheduled for the beginning of summer. However, since Pakistan was a party, it was impossible to keep the secret in view of the fact that Pakistani military intelligence sympathized with Shaykh Usama to a great extent. Shaykh Usama and other Arab parties learned about the news and began to leak it to the press. The US plan was revealed and eventually cancelled. The United States did not admit the story at first but later did and decided to cancel the idea for fear of casualties among US forces.

Toward the end of 1997 and in the beginning of 1998, Shaykh Usama decided to revive his activity. First, he began with Taliban and Pakistani scholars. He succeeded in obtaining fatwas from about 40 Afghan and Pakistani scholars in support of his statement to expel infidel forces from the Arabian Peninsula.

The establishment of the global Islamic front coincided with the gathering of a number of leaders of

Islamic groups -- particularly the Egyptian Islamic Group and the Egyptian Islamic Jihad -- in Afghanistan. A large number of delegations from Pakistan and Kashmir visited Shaykh Usama. Ayman al-Zawahiri, meanwhile, convinced him to expand the war with the United States everywhere. Thus, the war against the United States began to mean killing every American and every Israeli of fighting age everywhere and at anytime. Shaykh Usama was convinced when two justifications for the idea were provided, a legal and a political justification.

The legal justification was that the Americans were occupying the country of the Two Mosques and therefore every American was viewed as a supporter of the occupation of the Arabian Peninsula. Consequently, it was legitimate to kill the Americans everywhere and all the time since the Americans and the Israelis were fighting Muslims and shedding the blood of Muslim civilians everywhere and all the time. The political justification was that the United States lay in wait for Muslims and Islamic groups and, as a result, became the first enemy of Islam. Since the United States had no rival power, it was important that Muslims realize they were its enemy. The issue, therefore, became an Islamic priority everywhere in the Islamic world.

The belief was translated into action when a statement by the global Islamic front was issued in February 1998 that called for killing the Americans and Israelis everywhere and anytime. The statement was signed by Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin, Dr Ayman al-Zawahiri on behalf of the Egyptian Jihad Group, Rifa'i Taha on behalf of the Egyptian Islamic Group, a leader of a Kashmir faction, and a renowned Pakistani Islamic leader. The press published the statement, which was a major transition for Shaykh Usama on different levels:

First: He embarked on a global project rather than focusing on US forces in the Arabian Peninsula.

Second: He expanded the circle of bloodletting and abandoned the caution that he used to exercise regarding the legal Islamic position.

Third: For the first time, Shaykh Usama became a party in a semi-Islamic alliance of jihadist groups after he used to work with his group alone and to refuse open alliances. He agreed to the idea of cooperation and coordination with other alliances.

Mullah Omar was not happy with these activities. He viewed them as a violation of the moral commitment between him and Shaykh Usama. Mullah Omar sent a letter to Shaykh Usama to inquire about the situation. Shaykh Usama replied that the circumstances had changed and there was no need for the media hush-up. Shaykh Usama used the card of scholars to support his position since the Taliban never refuted the opinion of scholars despite their respect for mullah Omar.

Mullah Omar was angry but he contained his anger and tried to persuade Shaykh Usama to keep quiet. Shaykh Usama, however, aggravated the situation when he called a press conference in May 1998. He arranged secretly for the press conference in the Khost suburbs in an area near the border with Pakistan. A limited number of journalists were invited to attend the press conference. A few days prior to the conference, Shaykh Usama was interviewed by the American ABC network. During both the conference and the interview, Shaykh Usama hinted that acts against the Americans would take place soon but he did not identify where.

Mullah Omar raised objections once again and requested an explanation from Shaykh Usama, who had no means to convince him other than the scholars. Shaykh Usama said that he would agree to the legal opinion of scholars. However, Mullah Omar refused the idea, not in disdain of scholars but to prevent every deviant from taking advantage of them. Tension escalated between the two men.

However, Mullah Omar could not prevent Shaykh Usama from his media activity and decided to tolerate the situation.

When Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin threatened to launch a strike within weeks, the Americans were in a state of alert for fear of attacks. They took security measures in the Arab region, the Gulf, and -- to some extent -- the Horn of Africa. While the Americans were in full alert, the strike took place at an unexpected location -- at their embassies in Kenya and Tanzania where two vans laden with explosives were detonated on 18 July 1998.

Although official US spokesmen exercised caution in blaming certain parties, the media, politicians, and anonymous official sources made a flood of comments and analyzed the repercussions of the events. We examined their analysis and came up with the following remarks:

First: Islamic movements -- or what the West called Islamic fundamentalism -- were the prime suspects. All other parties including Iran, Iraq, and Libya, were simply ruled out. Many parties referred to Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin and the Egyptian Jihad Group, particularly Shaykh Usama's threats in the ABC interview, in which he said he would deal a strike within weeks, and a statement by the Al-Jihad Group that was published in an Arabic newspaper two days before the explosions. A connection was made between Shaykh Usama and the Egyptian Al-Jihad group via a statement by the "Global Islamic Front to Fight Jews and Crusaders" that the two sides signed.

Second: The bombings reopened the file of the Al-Khubar explosion. Those responsible for the latter were not announced by then. For the first time, the US press quoted US officials as saying that the United States believed that Shaykh Usama was responsible for both the Al-Khubar and Riyadh explosions. Earlier, US sources sounded skeptical about the Saudi story of the involvement of Shiites and Iran. They pointed out the likelihood of domestic opposition that was responsible for the Al-Khubar explosion.

Third: Comments by the press and academic circles linked the two incidents to the US presence in the region in general and in Saudi Arabia in particular. Moreover, they linked the two explosions to US policy vis-a-vis Israel and Iraq, US support for governments in the region, and the governments' cooperation with the United States to arrest wanted Islamic terrorists. The latter became particularly embarrassing for Arab regimes that cooperated with the anti-Islam US policy. The regimes felt that these jihadists were able to harm their American masters. In other words, the jihadists had far more logistic capabilities than these regimes and this was extremely embarrassing for them.

Although there was evidence that certain Islamic groups were responsible for the explosions, the well-known parties did not claim their responsibility. There was one official statement made by the so-called "Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Sites." The statement by the previously unknown group was directly linked to the suspected groups. The statement attacked US policy and called for the departure of US forces from the Arabian Peninsula. It called for the release of Shaykh Omar Abd-al-Rahman. The statement gave the identity of the party that issued it when it demanded the release of shaykhs detained in Saudi Arabian jails at that point in time, including Shaykhs Salman (al-Awdah) and Safar (al-Hawali). The groups that carried out these acts must have known that the message could be conveyed without claiming responsibility openly. The intelligence agencies of the United States and Arab regimes realized who was behind the explosions. As for the masses, they did not need to know the party. The demands in the statement were enough for them. By declining to claim responsibility for the incidents in public, these groups got rid of any negative repercussions of the incident.

One more conclusion that should be mentioned was the fact that the Islamic parties suspected of masterminding the two incidents proved they had the logistic, technical, and human power to carry out such acts. They proved that they could employ the element of surprise when they coordinated to carry out the explosions and inflict substantial damage.

Shaykh Usama did not speak in public but he was quoted as denying responsibility for the explosions. Apparently, however, the United States made another conclusion in the first week after the explosion. It maintained that Shaykh Usama was fully responsible for both explosions whether he admitted it or not. Consequently, the United States launched their attacks on Sudan and Afghanistan. Scores of cruise missiles rained down on Sudan and Afghanistan that targeted two specific locations in both countries. Was it a smart US retaliation?

Without feeling it, the United States was carrying out parts of the program of jihadist groups. The US assault aggravated hostility against the United States in the Islamic world. This was exactly what jihadist groups wanted. These groups succeeded in provoking the United States to carry out its offensive to achieve their goal -- rallying Islamic public opinion against the United States and proving that these groups were the superpower's adversary. Subsequently, they justified a long-term conflict with the United States regardless of whether their policy was right or wrong.

The way the United States announced the strikes in the media and on official levels was just what these groups were dying to achieve. These groups in general and Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin in particular appeared as a real opponent to the United States and a power that forced Washington to act arbitrarily. Shaykh Usama was not only the man some US and Western channels argued should be taken into consideration. He also became a nightmare for the United States, as the US President and other officials admitted. Millions of people around the world witnessed how the US President, the defense secretary, and the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff focused on Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin in their speeches and answers to the press to justify the strikes. Such a reaction gave momentum to individuals affiliated with the jihadist tenets, particularly Shaykh Usama's supporters. It boosted their spirits and made them feel as if they were a superpower against the United States. The hasty strikes appeared as proof that these groups had confused the United States.

As for Arab and Islamic public opinion, the story was fresh in memory. People lacked heroism and sacrifices. They were waiting for someone to retaliate for US terrorism against Muslims in Palestine, Iraq, the Arabian Peninsula, Africa, Turkey, and elsewhere. The scene of US officials admitting their confusion and fear of Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin quenched this thirst for revenge and bolstered the popularity of Shaykh Usama. Unlike Arab rulers who alleged that they were opposed to the United States, the shaykh was not accused of treason. The history of this new symbol was completely different from the history of those rulers. No one doubted his credibility when he announced that he would face the United States. These ramifications became significant after the strike. Public admiration and support for Shaykh Usama in many Arab countries was not a security embarrassment anymore. In Pakistan and the Islamic Far East, people not only admired him but they also viewed him as a commander and savior of the Islamic nation from the hegemony of the United States. Rallies were held in public there with people carrying his picture everywhere.

Another loser in this mess were the Arab governments that lived under US protection. These governments looked small between two superpowers -- the United States and Bin Ladin. They were so embarrassed. They could not support US strikes or else they would prove they were traitors and they could not condemn them or else they would indirectly recognize Shaykh Usama. Such feelings were obvious in the Saudi media when the television, radio, and local press in the kingdom reported the

strikes briefly without any reference to Shaykh Usama.

(Description of Source: London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic -- London-based independent Arab nationalist daily with an anti-US and anti-Saudi editorial line; generally pro-Palestinian, tends to be sympathetic to Bin Ladin)

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POWERED BY **Dialog****Eleventh Part 11 of Serialized Book on Al-Zarqawi, Al-Qa'ida Published****Part 11 of Serialized Book: "Al-Zarqawi...The Second Generation of Al-Qa'ida" by Fu'ad Husayn, Jordanian writer and journalist***AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI**Thursday, July 7, 2005 T12:01:23Z***Journal Code: 1430 Language: ENGLISH Record Type: FULLTEXT****Document Type: FBIS Translated Text****Word Count: 4,149**

The Saudi press abroad, on the other hand, could not ignore Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. Therefore, it was allowed to mention his name on condition that he was not referred to as Saudi.

For their part, the Taliban felt extremely embarrassed in the aftermath of the first bombing and prior to the US strike. Both incidents coincided with the participation of Arab Afghans -- most of whom were affiliated with Shaykh Usama -- with the Taliban in the latter's war against Dustum in northern Afghanistan. An earlier attack by the Taliban alone was unsuccessful and therefore, Arab Afghans played a significant role in exterminating Dustum's forces. During that time, the United States tried once again to negotiate with the Taliban concerning Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. Mullah Omar, however, refused to discuss the issue. As a result, the United States sent a message to Mullah Omar in which it explained the reason for its demand -- US concern about its security and the security of its nationals. Mullah Omar replied by saying that the United States should leave the Islamic world, particularly the Arabian Peninsula, if it was serious about its security.

The United States could have clamped down on Shaykh Usama and jihadist groups if it had exercised patience and if it had highlighted the news of innocent people -- particularly Muslims -- who were killed in the Kenya and Tanzania explosions. It could have made Shaykh Usama and the jihadists appear as bloodthirsty men who did not care about killing their own kinsmen and innocent Muslims. The United States had an opportunity to take full advantage of religious establishments in Egypt and Saudi Arabia to tarnish the image of these groups by blaming them for killing scores of defenseless Muslims to kill a few Americans. It had an opportunity to make these groups appear as the last one to abide by the shari'ah. Had the United States been patient, had it tolerated the repercussions of the strike, and had it done the right thing, Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin and the jihadist groups would have been in a difficult situation with peoples everywhere and with the Taliban. The United States could have raised skepticism about the Islamic legitimacy of such acts by means of the aforementioned establishments. It could have got rid of much of the popularity of these groups. The United States could have appeared as the party that was treated unjustly without any justification whatsoever. However, the United States denied itself this option to the extent that it could not go back to it. It reacted excessively, overplayed Shaykh Usama's power, and indicated that he could do them so much harm.

Washington's reaction to Bin Ladin was similar to its reaction vis-a-vis Al-Zarqawi when it embellished his image via the media. In his speech before the UN Security Council in February 2003, US Secretary of State Colin Powell referred to Al-Zarqawi and blamed him for every resistance act in

Iraq. Once again, the United States glorified Al-Zarqawi's image as a hero and a savior whom Arab and Islamic masses were waiting for to salvage them from constant defeats and US humiliation of peoples of the region.

In the weeks that followed the Kenya and Tanzania explosions and US retaliation, the United States embarked on an arrest campaign against some Arabs and Muslims under the pretext that they were affiliated with Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. Statements made by the United States were reminiscent of statements made by some Arab countries. No sooner would they announce that "an amir of a group" was arrested or killed than they would announce that another "amir" was arrested or killed. It sounded like there were more amirs than there were members in these groups. This was the approach that the United States used to polish its image when it was hunting for the alleged network of Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. Every day, a private secretary, a businessman, or "a central figure" of Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin's network emerged. The US Government took advantage of the ignorance of the American people regarding the details of the situation in the region and exaggerated the issue to make up for its inability to handle the war on "terrorism" or locate Shaykh Usama. The same thing is going on in Iraq at present. During the first half of 2005, US authorities in Iraq or the US-installed government there announced the arrest of scores of amirs of the Al-Qa'ida network and aides of Al-Zarqawi. The number of detained leaders exceeded the number of detained members of these groups.

As for Shaykh Usama, he remained under the Taliban's protection for fear of assassination or abduction. An official spokesman for the Taliban denied rumors that Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin was under house arrest. The spokesman emphasized that Shaykh Usama enjoyed freedom of movement everywhere in Afghanistan.

The Saudi Government continued to exercise pressure on the Taliban to extradite Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. The government used the last arrow in its quiver when it sent Turki al-Faysal -- a Saudi prince knowledgeable about Afghanistan affairs -- to Kandahar in the company of Islamic Affairs Minister Abdallah al-Turki and Salman al-Umari, the Saudi charge d'affaires in Kabul. The delegation met with Mullah Omar and requested the extradition of Shaykh Usama to the United States. The Saudi delegation and the Taliban exchanged insults. Although Mullah Omar was not in agreement with Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin concerning the latter's actions, he told the Saudis that they should not blame him if he spoke on behalf of Shaykh Usama since they were speaking on behalf of the United States.

During that meeting, Turki al-Faysal claimed that he came within the framework of an offer from Mullah Omar to hand over Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. Mullah Omar denied that he had made such a pledge. He criticized the legitimacy of such a request in the first place. Arguments escalated between the two parties to the degree that Mullah Omar said harsh words to the Saudi delegation. The interpreter hesitated to translate the words, but Mullah Omar rebuked him and said that he insisted they be translated. Before Turki al-Faysal was about to leave, Mullah Omar asked him to take the Saudi charge d'affaires in Kabul with him after he described him with the most insulting words. When Turki al-Faysal returned to Riyadh, he sent an apology to Mullah Omar, who turned down both the apology and a request for the return of the Saudi charge d'affaires to Kabul. As a result, the Saudis decided to expel the Afghan charge d'affaires from Riyadh.

Toward the end of September the same year, the Saudi Government decided to expel the Taliban's envoy without an official explanation. The reason, however, became clear when the Taliban refused Saudi demands to extradite Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin, crack down on his activity, or hand over pro-Taliban Arab Afghans.

The Saudi Government's decision to expel the Taliban's representative was not as surprising as its swift recognition of the movement was. The Saudi recognition was established on a wrong evaluation that the new world order under the United States should embrace the new entity. There was no country better than Saudi Arabia to embrace this entity in view of its spiritual weight in the Islamic world and its expertise and influence during the former Afghan jihad. The Saudi Government decided to deal with the Taliban in exactly the same manner it used to handle former Afghan party leaders. It thought that the Taliban were an Afghan party and that it could deal with them the way it dealt successfully with the other parties. Therefore, the kingdom's rulers tried to ignore the issue of Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin at the beginning and recognized the Taliban for nothing. The Saudis thought that the Afghans would pay back this substantial favor. The Saudi Government took one further step when it invited Taliban leaders to perform the pilgrimage and minor pilgrimage as official guests of the Saudi state. A number of Taliban leaders were offered attractive incentives. Moreover, the Saudi Government tried to take advantage of its religious weight when it sent some scholars or messages from scholars to influence the Taliban position. The Saudi Government hoped that the Taliban would at least accept the minimum demands of the Saudi Government to extradite Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin or curb his activities.

None of that happened despite several attempts by the Saudi Government. However, the government did not lose hope and tried to influence some Taliban officials whom it viewed as flexible. This did not work either and Saudi Arabia was in a dilemma. It did not contain the Taliban and it was accused of collaborating with the movement against the United States. Consequently, the Saudi Government wanted to get rid of such an allegation, especially that its relations with the Taliban became useless. Therefore, it made its decision to expel the Taliban envoy. The expulsion decision, which was linked to Prince Abdallah's visit to Washington, came one day before the prince arrived in the US capital. The decision was an attempt to acquit the Saudi Government of its suspected relations with the Taliban who were giving shelter to the prime enemy of the United States -- Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. It was inappropriate that Prince Abdallah would be a guest of the Americans when his country was pleased with the Taliban, the source of "terrorism."

While Saudi Arabia was exercising pressure for the extradition of Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin to Washington, Arab Afghans under Bin Ladin were able to protect one of the frontlines of Kabul against Ahmad Shah Mas'ud. The Taliban were engaged in battles against Shiites in the Bamiyan region and Dustum's forces in the north. The Taliban were grateful to Arab Afghans since Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, who was viewed as a seasoned field commander, wanted to take advantage of the absence of Taliban soldiers on one of the frontlines. Arab Afghans moved swiftly since that they had a post near northern Kabul on the front against Mas'ud's forces. The Arabs fought amazingly in this battle. Almost 50 Arabs were able to prevent Mas'ud from entering Kabul. Observers of developments in Afghanistan noticed that since then Mas'ud began to make statements against Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin after he used to ignore him in the past. In a related development, mujahidin from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and other countries joined Arab Afghans. Almost all of them were supporters of Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin.

The Taliban regime shocked the world when it executed a man whom a Saudi prince designated to kill Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin, as Taliban sources claimed. In cooperation with Shaykh Usama's group, the Taliban arrested a number of mercenaries including Saudis who were planning to carry out sabotage operations in Afghanistan and kill Shaykh Usama, according to the Taliban's story. The detainees comprised Afghans, Pakistanis, and Arabs, including Saudis. Following interrogation of them, the Taliban announced that they were sent by the director of Saudi security who was in charge of the Afghanistan and Pakistan file.

Despite the unsuccessful visit of Turki al-Faysal to Kabul, Saudi Arabia did not give up. It opted to use other means that had nothing to do with the Taliban. It decided to exercise direct pressure on Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin. The Saudi Government knew that Shaykh Usama missed his mother, who was banned from travel and was denied a visit to her son when he was in Sudan. Therefore, it arranged for a private plane to carry his mother to Kandahar to blackmail him. Shaykh Usama's mother actually traveled with her husband, who was of Al-Attas family. The mother arrived and Shaykh Usama met her for the first time in so many years. As anticipated, the meeting was moving. Shaykh Usama, however, was absolutely clear. He said that he would not compromise his position despite the blackmail attempt. The beleaguered mother returned home after the heartwarming visit with her son. However, she did not fulfill the demands of the person who sent her with her husband.

At the beginning of 1999, Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin appeared suddenly again in some US newspapers and on two television stations. His appearance was embarrassing for the Taliban. Shaykh Usama's answers and comments indicated that there was no change in his position. Since the United States and Saudi Arabia gave up hope that the Taliban would react to diplomatic pressure, they decided to use all means at their disposal. This prompted the Taliban to make a decision to isolate Usama Bin Ladin from the world to achieve two objectives: Protect him and prevent him from embarrassing them, particularly in that they were not in agreement with Shaykh Usama regarding a recent fatwa. Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin remained isolated. At that point in time, there was news that he left Afghanistan but such reports was never substantiated.

The United States decided to use its power at the Security Council to impose sanctions on the Taliban and force it to extradite Usama Bin Ladin. The Security Council passed a resolution but to no avail. Shaykh Usama Bin Ladin remained sheltered in a special place with a large number of Arabs. No significant development took place to change his position.

The 11 September events took place but Mullah Omar and the Taliban refused to extradite Bin Ladin no matter what. Consequently, the US invasion took place, Kabul was occupied, and the conflict between Washington and Bin Ladin entered a new stage. This time, the entire world became an arena for their conflict. At this stage, Al-Zarqawi was the head of the spear of Al-Qa'ida.

Mankind shapes time and space. This saying is important to explain the events of the past and equally important to explore future events around the world. Therefore, we should examine the personality of Abu-Mus'ab Al-Zarqawi in view of his role in Iraq. Abu-Mus'ab's impact is expected to extend to other countries near Iraq within the next three years.

In Al-Zarqawi's perspective, the Islamic faith is not only rituals but also a methodology and way of life. It defines relationships with oneself, with the Creator, with others, and with society. It identifies relations between a Muslim society and other societies. In his opinion, this depends on an understanding of Islam that focuses entirely on the pure Islamic faith, similar to the understanding of virtuous ancestors of the nation's scholars and great mujahidin who proved their devotion to this nation and this faith.

Accordingly, Al-Zarqawi concludes that the whole world is unsound. He believes that it contravenes shar'iah since mankind violates the most important characteristics of divinity -- governorship, which should be totally for God. According to this perspective, Abu-Mus'ab concludes that the situation in the world is illogical and contradicts his beliefs. The human race, he thinks, breaches the governorship of God Almighty Who created this world and mankind. God chooses for humankind the faith that they should follow if they want to succeed on earth and in heaven. Every deviation from the path of this

faith will result in failure to achieve a dignified life for mankind in this world. It will be a great loss for people in the hereafter.

Abu-Mus'ab believes that God Almighty gives mankind life for a period as a test. Life is short and, therefore, Abu-Mus'ab believes that it is unfair that people do not live under this faith. Thus, if the current situation continues, he believes that it will be against humanity. A rational man does not allow this to happen. Logic says that concerned people who are not satisfied with their situation should seek change. This is in harmony with a shari'ah judgment that Abu-Mus'ab believes in. It is established on the following hadith of the prophet, prayers and peace be upon him: "Whoever amongst you sees anything objectionable, let him change it with his hand, if he is not able, then with his tongue, and if he is not even able to do so, then with his heart, and the latter is the weakest form of faith."

In general, Abu-Mus'ab believes in changing the objectionable with the hand. We have mentioned that Abu-Mus'ab is originally a Bedouin who is free in nature. A free man does not accept injustice or humiliation for himself, his family, or the underprivileged. Abu-Mus'ab grew up in Al-Zarqa -- a city where people shared social and cultural backgrounds. It was a mini model of the situation of the Arab and Islamic nation. The majority of the city's population was originally Palestinians who were expelled unjustly from their homeland. Therefore, the residents of this city were generally oppressed and their rights denied. They lived a miserable and not a free or promising life. They could see no horizon and no change. Their spirits, however, were high and they were looking forward to freedom.

In his early endeavors for freedom, Abu-Mus'ab was a tough person -- or as the common people called it, "a bully." The beginning was understandable and justified. Toughness for Arabs meant manhood, generosity, courage, protection of the defenseless, and support for justice regardless of the consequences. From the beginning, Abu-Mus'ab was looking for freedom since he was earnestly looking for the truth. This stage of gallantry lasted less than two years during which Abu-Mus'ab gained qualities that shaped his character. In Arab countries, the traits of gallantry involved firmness, adventure, self-sacrifice for friends, kindness, and transparency.

This stage, which won Abu-Mus'ab the most important qualities that he currently enjoys, did not last long. Since he was constantly looking for justice, God guided him to Islam via proponents of da'wah in the city. His search for the right path was not supported by traditional da'wah activists but rather by proponents of jihad aimed at changing the situation of the nation. These men understood jihad as the sacrifice of one's soul, efforts, and property to remove all obstacles, barriers, and earthly or material taghuts (evil idols) that refused to accept the propagation of Islam or the freedom of people from slavery to man in favor of the worship of the Lord of all human beings. For them, jihad was defense of the nation's territory, dignity, honor, resources, and freedom.

This was how Abu-Mus'ab understood Islam, given that it accommodated his personality. Proponents of this ideology used to encourage Muslim young men to go to the battlefields of jihad in Afghanistan -- the only available arena for jihad then. Pro-da'wah activists believed that the fields of jihad were an all-embracing school that prepared young Muslim men who were capable of making a change in the situation of the nation and mankind. The fields of jihad provided a suitable environment, which was not available under regimes that ignored the agony of the human race. In the fields of jihad, there were only true believers. The evidence of their sincerity was the fact that they left their property, wives, children, homelands, and personal security to go to rugged, cold, and dangerous battlefields.

An individual gains the qualities of the people around him. These men in these arenas were free to express everything they believed in without barriers or financial or moral obstacles. Moreover, these

men represented various communities and social fabrics in the entire world. The presence of young men in the fields of jihad provided them with invigorating ideas and enabled them to apply everything they learned in theory. These individuals were the most sincere, the most aware, and the most willing to sacrifice. Honesty with oneself prompts a person to seek the truth. Searching for the truth leads a person to awareness, and the apex of awareness is sacrifice to achieve one's beliefs. Such an environment was available for Abu-Mus'ab from the beginning. He learned much more there than he would have learned if he had stayed in Jordan or Al-Zarqa.

Young Muslim men went to the arenas of jihad to learn pure Islam that was unblemished by the fatwas or opinions of kings or sultans. These men returned to their original homelands to propagate the sound faith. The Afghanistan stopover gave Abu-Mus'ab two years of experience that was enough to make him realize the truth.

The truth that Abu-Mus'ab realized maintained that the human race had distanced itself from the faith of tawhid -- the unique lordship and governorship of God Almighty. This remoteness from God was the root cause of all the problems from which mankind suffered everywhere. The system that prevailed in the world was established on the slavery of mankind to mankind in contravention of the faith of monotheism that Al-Zarqawi believed in. The prevailing order caused injustice, slavery, hegemony, appropriation of resources, and usurpation of homelands. There would be no salvation or change except by means of returning to tawhid that was established on the sound understanding of "there is no deity but God." Believers in this faith had a full picture of how the human race should live.

Such a perspective is based on the principles, ideas, and values that are the outcome of such understanding. An individual is a slave to God alone. He obeys God in everything and stays away from everything that God forbids. He does not do injustice, does not attack, does not appropriate, and does not enslave other people. This is Abu-Mus'ab's understanding of the faith of tawhid. Logic says that everyone who believes in this faith should do his utmost to create the change that accommodates this perception of the faith.

Furthermore, God Almighty said: "Whoever rejects taghut and believes in Allah hath grasped the most trustworthy hand-hold that never breaks. And Allah heareth and knoweth all things." (Koranic verse). An interpretation of this verse says that a believer should excommunicate taghut first of all. Believers should fight taghuts in every form or content. Accordingly, Abu-Mus'ab views the regimes that do not rule in harmony with the shari'ah as atheist. He maintains that the systems, rulers, and peoples of these regimes are viewed as taghut that should be exterminated and changed. He believes that the entire world order, which is established on principles and foundations that contravene shari'ah, are taghut which should also be fought and eliminated. The current world order, he thinks, produces flagrant injustice, blatant sin, and atrocious hegemony of the powerful against the underprivileged on earth who have no power to repulse the enormous aggression.

Abu-Mus'ab, therefore, believes that the propagation of tawhid is the path that Muslims and the underprivileged on the globe should take. Tawhid, he believes, will salvage them from this ignorance and weakness and will make them a fierce power capable of achieving justice, preventing sin, alleviating misery, and resisting the atrocities exercised by the major powers in breach of all norms. This theory of Abu-Mus'ab is established on a divine promise by God Almighty Who said: "And We wished to be Gracious to those who were being depressed in the land, to make them leaders (in Faith) and make them heirs."

Such an understanding prompted Abu-Mus'ab and a group of young men who went for jihad in Afghanistan return to Jordan in the wake of the defeat inflicted on the Soviets. Abu-Mus'ab and these men were confident that this ideology and faith that defeated the Soviets would be capable of making a long awaited change. However, the experience of Abu-Mus'ab and his companions was not sophisticated enough in the field of da'wah or organizational action. Therefore, they made plain mistakes that prompted security services in Jordan to hunt them down. Their detention, however, disciplined their character, refined their skills, and increased their knowledge. They learned the holy Koran by heart and understood the foundations of the faith of tawhid. These were some of the advantages that Abu-Mus'ab and his comrades won over almost five years in prison. They came out of jail stronger and more determined to pursue change. Jail strengthened the faith and determination of the proponents of such ideologies.

Following this experience, Abu-Mus'ab began to think as a responsible commander who shouldered an enormous responsibility. His experience was the cornerstone of the next stage of his life -- the last three years from 2002-2005 -- with its specific and general dimensions. Hence, we currently deal with an outstanding commander who initiated resistance against the US occupation of Iraq. He embarked on confrontations with US forces who arrived in the area where Abu-Mus'ab was present -- on the northwestern outskirts of Baghdad -- with a group of less than five young men.

(Description of Source: London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic -- London-based independent Arab nationalist daily with an anti-US and anti-Saudi editorial line; generally pro-Palestinian, tends to be sympathetic to Bin Ladin)

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POWERED BY **Dialog****Twelfth Part of Serialized Book on Al-Zarqawi, Al-Qa'ida Published****Part 12 of Serialized Book: "Al-Zarqawi...the Second Generation of Al-Qa'ida" by Fu'ad Husayn, Jordanian writer and journalist***AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI**Saturday, July 9, 2005 T21:21:55Z***Journal Code:** 1430 **Language:** ENGLISH **Record Type:** FULLTEXT**Document Type:** FBIS Translated Text**Word Count:** 3,414

Abu-Mus'ab arrived in the Kurdish areas of northern Iraq at the outset of 2002. The Ansar al-Islam group -- an Islamic organization of jihadist tenets -- was launching a war against leftist and secular Kurdish groups affiliated with the east and West. The group took Iraq's Kurdistan mountains as its base. There, Abu-Mus'ab met with some Jordanian young men who were fighting alongside Ansar al-Islam including Ra'id Khuraysat and Nidal Arabiyat, both of whom asked him to stay with them. Abu-Mus'ab, however, told them that "the Americans are coming and we have to get ready to confront them. We should count on Sunni Arabs for the confrontation since they have better resources and capabilities." Abu-Mus'ab, therefore, opted to move to Baghdad and central Iraq to prepare for the inevitable confrontation.

Abu-Mus'ab was certain that the US-British assault aimed at overthrowing the regime. He believed that the attack would be similar to that on Afghanistan. Thus, he began to draw up his own plan in cooperation with the men who were with him. His plan focused on the following points:

1. Gathering quick information regarding Iraqis who took part in the Afghan jihad, including Umar Hadid who was killed during recent battles in Al-Fallujah, evaluating their situation, contacting them, and exerting efforts to convince them to handle developments wisely.
2. Taking the Euphrates peninsula as a base for the group's leadership in view of the fact that the area was a geographic triangle with a population of similar demographic characteristics. Sunni Arabs made up the bulk of the population of the area, which was home to some renowned Arab tribes and Sunni Turkmen. Abu-Mus'ab used to speak with a Bedouin accent similar to the accent spoken in this region, which was an easy passage between Iraq and Syria. A few Syrians were with Abu-Mus'ab, including his companion Abu-al-Ghadiyah, whose real name was Sulayman Khalid Darwish. Abu-al-Ghadiyah was entrusted with making trips to Syria to recruit young men in his area of origin in Aleppo, Hims, and Hamah. He was also entrusted with re-establishing communication with his fraternal Syrian brothers across Europe to obtain funds to finance the group.
3. Getting in touch with some men in the Gulf including Saudis and Kuwaitis to secure an ample supply of recruits and funds and open channels of communication with Al-Qa'ida leaders in other regions.
4. Re-establishing relations with Abu-Mus'ab's friends in Jordan.
5. Collecting and storing weapons.



Abu-Mus'ab and his companions succeeded in carrying out the five aforementioned points. The effort that was exerted prior to the US attack enabled Abu-Mus'ab and his group to initiate resistance without delay. The Iraqis who took part in the Afghan jihad were convinced of Abu-Mus'ab's idea. Abu-al-Ghadiyah, meanwhile, succeeded in recruiting up to 400 Syrian men who later formed a martyrdom-seeking army. He contacted Syrians in Europe who began to supply him with funds and men. Moreover, Gulf-based men were in favor of the idea. Kuwaiti-born Khalid al-Dawsari began to play a pivotal role in supplying Abu-Mus'ab with men, funds, and information and opening channels of communication with Al-Qa'ida groups across the world to take part in Abu-Mus'ab's project. Abu-Mus'ab succeeded in reestablishing contact with his friends in Jordan. He entered Jordan secretly and met with a number of his friends to brief them on the highlights of the next stage.

Abu-Mus'ab had a plan and succeeded in carrying it out prior to the war. This enabled him to embark on the battle at an earlier time. It encouraged others to join him promptly. The success of Abu-Mus'ab's plan confused the Americans and their Iraqi allies since the Americans did not anticipate such resistance. Abu-Mus'ab, therefore, had a plan from the beginning. In his address to the Islamic nation in April 2004, he said that the US invasion had three objectives:

1. Keeping the Islamic nation in an endless state of weakness and denying it every successful endeavor to possess the financial power that would help it come out of the circle of hegemony. Islamic weakness was the result of division and expropriation of resources and homelands. Furthermore, Western powers were not satisfied with the outcome of the division that emerged as a result of the Sykes-Picot agreement 90 years ago. Let us explain this theory and cite Iraq as an example.

In the aftermath of World War I and the downfall of the Islamic caliphate state, the West divided the Arab and Islamic world geographically, economically, and demographically by means of establishing satellite entities in favor of its interests. Iraq, for instance, had an estimated land area of 280,000 square kilometers. When Iraq won superficial independence in the early 1940's, its population did not exceed 4 million. Its gross national income was nearly 35 million pounds sterling. At present, the population of Iraq stands at 26 million. Had the situation of the country returned to normal the way it used to be before the first Gulf War, Iraq's gross national income would have amounted to \$40 billion. In the past, there were a few hundred people who held bachelor's degrees in Iraq. Today, there are nearly 5 million people with a bachelor's degree and hundreds of thousands who hold master's and PhDs.

In brief, Iraq, which was meant to remain weak in harmony with the Sykes-Picot division agreement, became strong in terms of the economy and qualified human resources. Moreover, the political leadership in Iraq tried to get rid of hegemony when it announced that Arab oil was for the Arabs. Iraq, therefore, became an economic power with well-qualified human resources. Moreover, the political leadership in Iraq changed its outlook vis-a-vis the political situation governing the world. Iraq, therefore, could have become a major power that would influence the situation in the region and the world if it were left alone. This, however, could have tipped the balance governing the current circumstances in the world. Interference, therefore, was necessary to deny everyone a chance to come out of this circle of hegemony.

2. In Abu-Mus'ab's opinion, the second objective for invading Iraq was maintaining security. A powerful Iraq with a leadership that made an effort to get rid of hegemony would pose a threat to Israel's security in the short and long run. Israel's security was vital and should never be jeopardized for one second.

3. The third objective was expropriating Arab oil. The economic power behind the US dollar came from the revenues of almost 25 million barrels per day of Arab oil. Up to 75 percent of oil revenues were pumped into the US economy every day. US experts realized the consequences if the US economy lost such revenue. The US administration, therefore, did not hesitate to take expeditious steps to seize Arab oil. That was the most important goal that forced the US administration to attack and occupy Iraq.

In the opinion of Abu-Mus'ab and Muslim jihadists across the world, the aforementioned three points were the US motives to invade Iraq. As a result, the reaction of Abu-Mus'ab and jihadists worldwide to repel the US attack and prevent the United States from achieving its goals centered on the following points:

1. The Americans and their allies came to thwart Saddam's attempt to possess the power that would enable him to come out of the circle of hegemony. Abu-Mus'ab and the jihadists decided to take Iraq as a pivotal center for Islamic jihadist action. The security mayhem that resulted from the downfall of Saddam Husayn's regime and US inability to control the situation as a result of the lack of a preplanned comprehensive strategy to address the ramifications of the collapse of Saddam's regime created fertile soil for pro-Islamic jihadist activists. The jihadists were able to carry out a far-reaching program to prepare men and obtain financial resources to establish an Islamic army that would carry out the process of change and liberation in the region. Such a process should pave the way for declaring a state of Islam, a state of wise caliphate, as promised by Prophet Muhammad, prayers and peace be upon him. Observers of the Iraq situation believed that Islamists were making progress to build this army and possess the necessary power to liberate and change the situation of Arabs and Muslims.

2. The second objective that the Americans wanted to achieve by overthrowing Saddam's regime was to defend Israel's security and eliminate every possible threat against it. The United States claimed that the former regime posed a threat to Israel's security. Nevertheless, this regime was replaced by men who would focus on exterminating Israel to fulfill a divine commandment. These men believed that Israel represented a major obstacle to the primary goal of establishing a state of Islam. Therefore, persistent effort would be exerted to remove this obstacle. Al-Qa'ida decided that its ultimate priority was to keep up its efforts to embark on a direct confrontation with Jews in Palestine in the near future. When they succeed, they believed, they will win the support of all Arabs and Muslims. Since everyone agrees that whoever fights Israel has the priority to lead the nation, the jihadist movement will enjoy further support and will thwart the second goal behind invading Iraq.

3. The Americans came to save their deteriorating economic situation from collapse by means of seizing Iraq's oil. For this reason, jihadists decided to burn Arab and Nigerian oil. They were convinced that undermining the United States economically and militarily would not happen unless the United States was deprived of the revenues of the entire Arab oil. The three-year plan of the jihadists was established to burn Arab oil to undermine the United States and its allies of Arab regimes in the region. As a result, the United States would not be able to face the substantive challenge. If Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida achieved these objectives, their greater project would be a stone's throw away and they would succeed in carrying out their strategy to expel US forces from Iraq in the long run. Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida would not prefer a quick US withdrawal from Iraq since such a withdrawal would deny them a suitable environment to motivate the nation to rally its potential resources toward freedom under an Islamic leadership.

Al-Qa'ida's strategy is founded on convincing Arab and Islamic nations that a genuine Islamic

leadership has emerged. The strategic vision and tactical steps enabled this leadership to achieve victory in ongoing battles. Al-Qa'ida seeks to maintain these victories by planning to draw the Americans into new battlefronts, bring this serpent out of its hole, and deal strikes to it to exhaust US strength. This should provoke the United States to carry out acts that would expose its goals to seize Arab resources -- particularly oil -- and protect its relations with Israel. Al-Qa'ida's leadership could convince Muslims of its strategy of dealing successive strikes to the British and Americans everywhere to force them to stop supporting the state of Israel. Consequently, Israel would remain alone against the nation that was looking forward to revenge after Israel committed its atrocities against beleaguered Palestinians, Lebanese, and all Arabs. Thus, the far-reaching vision of Abu-Mus'ab and the global jihadist movement vis-a-vis Israel in Palestine is based on the following foundations:

1. The establishment of the state of Israel coincided with the European-Jewish conspiracy to overthrow the Islamic caliphate state as represented by the Ottoman Empire. Palestine was an important part of this state. In terms of international law and logic, Jews and Europeans would not have succeeded in establishing the state of Israel had the Ottoman state remained intact. The West allied with Jews and drew up a well-defined plan that the Jews achieved when it destroyed the Ottoman state from within by means of infiltration and conspiracy. The West, meanwhile, took care of undermining the Ottoman state at the international level. The West and the Jews would have been unable to establish the state of Israel had the state of Islam remained intact. Thus, the major powers in alliance with the Jews succeeded in establishing the state of Israel. By the same token, Arabs and Muslims will not be able to defeat the state of Israel unless they establish their own state. Islamist jihadists are seriously seeking to establish a state of Islam that will be capable of building an integrated power proportionate to the power of the pro-Israel West. They are determined to build a power that is capable of deterring the West and forcing it to stop providing Israel with everything it needs. This was obvious in most of the messages of Usama Bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri.

2. The establishment of the state of Israel coincided with Arab and Islamic division. Islamist jihadists believed that Israel could not have survived without these several Arab states surrounding it or other countries in the region. These countries paved the way for the establishment of the state of Israel and protected its foreign security afterward. This was what actually happened. As soon as the British mandate decided to withdraw from Palestine, Arab armies entered Palestine with the alleged intention of liberating Palestine. The reason, however, was to protect Israel's security since Jews were not capable of taking control of all of Palestine at that point in time. They did not possess the human or financial resources that would enable them to do so. Arab armies, therefore, entered Palestine to provide Israel with security and prevent Palestinians and other peoples in the region from keeping up their resistance, which was capable of undermining the newborn state at that time. These armies were designated to keep the Palestinians in a state of weakness and deny them a chance to defend the rest of their territory. This was what happened in the war of June 1967 when the rest of Palestine fell to Israeli forces within hours with minimum resistance by the armies that remained there. Orders were given for these armies to withdraw and the Palestinian people were not able to initiate resistance since they were not allowed to possess any kind of weapons that could help them defend their territory.

Abu-Mus'ab, Al-Qa'ida, and Islamist jihadists around the world linked Israel's power to Western support for the Jews. In the holy Koran, God Almighty described the Jews by saying: "Shame is pitched over them (Like a tent) wherever they are found, except when under a covenant (of protection) from Allah and from men." Al-Imran Surah, Verse 111. Men are the Western powers and some Arab countries. The state of Israel will not be eliminated unless Western support comes to an end. Western support will not stop unless a state of Islam is established. The establishment of a state of Islam is

necessary to deal a strike to the West to halt or undermine its support for Arab regimes and Israel. Only then will an Islamic state be able to deal with these regimes unilaterally and undermine the state of Israel. Al-Qa'ida believes there is a substantial link between these regimes and the state of Israel. It believes that these regimes will become weak if Al-Qa'ida deals a strike to the state of Israel. Similarly, eliminating the state of Israel in Palestine will become easy if Al-Qa'ida gets rid of these regimes.

Resistance against Israel will win Al-Qa'ida credibility among the masses of the nation and will prove that it is eligible to lead the nation. This will provide Al-Qa'ida with enough recruits and financial and moral support to fulfill the desired goals.

3- Islamist jihadists believed that the state of Israel is the head of the spear that the West planted in the heart of the Islamic world. They believed that the situation of Muslims will keep bleeding if the spear remains in the heart. They maintained that the Palestinian cause is one of the nation's central causes and for that reason the utmost efforts should be exerted. Islamist jihadists called the front that they agreed to form in 1998 the "Global Islamic Front against Jews and Americans." The name had substantial significance that linked Jews to Americans. In their opinion, this was important strategically and tactically to run the current conflict in the world in their favor.

From the beginning, Abu-Mus'ab realized the enormous dangers surrounding the nation. He realized that no matter how organized and prepared an individual, a group, or a party is, it will not possess the power to make the desired change unilaterally. He believed that the network could employ the entire resources of the nation to achieve its goal if it possessed a sound vision. The challenge was not easy and accordingly, every reaction should rise to the level of such challenge. The camp of the foes of the Islamic nation had human resources, funds, knowledge, and practical experience that were not available to any alliance or camp throughout the history of mankind. Consequently, the step that Abu-Mus'ab took to open channels of communication with Al-Qa'ida after he arrived in Iraq prompted him to pledge full allegiance to Al-Qa'ida's leadership. Such fealty gave Al-Qa'ida a new sense of credibility and added new dimensions to the network. Abu-Mus'ab had an army of at least 5,000 full-time fighters who were supported by vigorous proponents whose number exceeded 20,000 men. This huge number of men gave Al-Qa'ida momentum that made it look invincible. It gave the network further credibility among the population of the Islamic nation. Abu-Mus'ab had his group in Iraq and the achievements they made enhanced the popularity of Al-Qa'ida and its accomplishments and enabled it to become the nation's genuine leadership that made good its promises.

The merger of Abu-Mus'ab and his group with Al-Qa'ida won the network high credibility and added elements of new power to both sides. In the wake of the downfall of the Islamic emirate in Afghanistan, Al-Qa'ida was in need of new significant positions. Abu-Mus'ab's allegiance provided it with a new regional and global position of the following importance:

Al-Qa'ida's operations and military activities were intermittent. However, following the pledge of allegiance of Abu-Mus'ab and his group, Al-Qa'ida is there every day and every hour. The nation's masses follow these acts with extreme admiration. They enhance the position of the network to extract the legitimacy it needs from the hands of regimes. The victories achieved by Abu-Mus'ab in Iraq against the Americans are crucial winning cards in Al-Qa'ida's hand.

Al-Qa'ida enjoys widespread support in the Arabian Peninsula, which is adjacent to Iraq. Therefore, Abu-Mus'ab's fealty to Al-Qa'ida provides unlimited human and financial resources that enable Al-Zarqawi to keep up the resistance against the Americans and gives him a chance for constant

escalation. It increases available human and financial support, not to mention the new experiences that are gained all the time. Whenever the confrontation escalates, the resources of mujahidin will increase and this falls in harmony with the strategic plan drawn up by Al-Qa'ida.

Abu-Mus'ab's pledge of allegiance to Al-Qa'ida has won him many financial and moral victories that will play a substantive role in determining the outcome of the battle against the Americans and their allies in Iraq and the region. Iraq is not an insignificant country in the region. It has been the cradle of human civilization throughout history. The first Islamic state was established in Medina in the Arabian Peninsula. In its second phase, the state moved to Bilad al-Sham from where it relocated to Iraq during the era of the Abbasids. The Islamic civilization emerged there and began to take shape in view of the resources that Iraq possessed. If Abu-Mus'ab defeats the Americans and succeeds in expelling them from Iraq, it will be the dawn of the reestablishment of an Islamic state that is capable of addressing the responsibilities it will shoulder.

(Description of Source: London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic -- London-based independent Arab nationalist daily with an anti-US and anti-Saudi editorial line; generally pro-Palestinian, tends to be sympathetic to Bin Ladin)

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**Thirteenth Part of Serialized Book on Al-Zarqawi and Al-Qa'ida Published**  
**Part 13 of serialized book: "Al-Zarqawi... The Second Generation of Al-Qa'ida" by Fu'ad Husayn, Jordanian writer and journalist**

*AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI*

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The future strategy of Abu-Mus'ab al-Zarqawi is based on expanding the conflict with the United States and Israel and involving new parties in it. Simultaneously, a broad-based Islamic jihadist movement will assume responsibility for changing the circumstances that have prevailed in the region for a long time and establishing an Islamic caliphate state that will take Iraq as its base. The prospects of this strategy are as follows:

Turkey, which is located north of Iraq, is currently viewed as the most important Islamic state. Turkey's importance emanates from its available financial resources, since the country has made significant achievements in the industrial, agricultural, and education sectors. Turkey's gross national income has increased rapidly. In addition to its growing financial and human resources, Turkey enjoys a significant strategic location. Abu-Mus'ab, who is currently in Iraq, keeps these facts in mind. Earlier, Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida used to make spontaneous plans and give priority to swift strikes to achieve tactical objectives. At present, however, Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida have involved Turkey in their strategic plan. They believe that the country lacked self-determination and freedom in view of the fact that the Jews of Dunma were the real powerbrokers in the country. The Jews were in control of the army and the economy. Therefore, Turkey's salvation and return to the ranks of the nation with its tremendous resources will not happen unless a powerful strike is dealt to the Jewish presence in that country. The plan of Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida stipulated that the situation in Turkey should remain calm at present. Small strikes will open the eyes of the security services and prompt them to go on alert. A slow, but well-examined infiltration is Al-Qa'ida's current approach in Turkey. When tangible victory is achieved in Iraq, a fatal strike will take place against the Zionist influence in Turkey. Al-Qa'ida hopes that such a strike will cost the Jews control of the army and vital economic spheres.

Iran is the second country that Al-Qa'ida seeks to involve in this conflict. Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida have already started to implement this plan, according to information available to us. Steps have already been taken to prompt Iran to retaliate for a US or Israeli attack on the country. Iran has substantive information about the Zionist influence in Turkey. Its secret wings in Turkey are capable of making significant achievements. The key to change in Turkey is in the hands of Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida, and Iran might be the means to achieve this goal.

The strategy of Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida to rely on Iran to achieve future change in Turkey is based on intelligence information that confirmed that Iran has succeeded in possessing the components of an atomic bomb. Iran expects that the United States and Israel will deal a powerful and sudden strike to a

number of nuclear, industrial, and strategic Iranian facilities. Accordingly, Iran is preparing to retaliate for or abort this strike by means of using powerful cards in its hand. These cards might deter the United States and Israel from launching the strike or might prompt them to think twice before launching it. The United States might have already embarked on withdrawing the following cards from Iran's hand:

1. Iran prepared to attack the entire Gulf oil sector and shut down the Strait of Hormuz, Bab al-Mandeb, and the Bosphorus to cut off 60 percent of the world's oil supplies and deprive the United States of oil revenues. The strike will inflict harm on various countries in the world to prompt them to hold the United States and Israel responsible for the difficult situation. Washington has not embarked on a public initiative to guarantee that Iran will not use this card.
2. For 15 years -- or since the end of the first Gulf War -- Iran has been busy building a secret global army of highly trained personnel and the necessary financial and technological capabilities to carry out any kind of mission. Iran has identified American and Jewish targets around the world. This secret army is led by two professional Lebanese men who have pledged full allegiance to Iran and who hold enough of a grudge against the Americans to qualify them to inflict damage on Jewish and American interests around the world.
3. The Palestinian resistance in the occupied territories: Iran succeeded in establishing good relations with the wings of the Palestinian resistance, including the Islamic Jihad movement, some groups of the Fatah-affiliated Al-Aqsa Martyrs' brigades, the popular resistance committees and their military wing, the Al-Nasir Salah al-Din Brigades in Gaza, and some groups of the Islamic Resistance Movement, HAMAS. Iran views these parties as its entrenched wings in occupied Palestine. The US-Israeli plan regarding this issue is clear. The Sharm al-Shaykh meeting, which was held at the end of January 2005, represented the beginning of this plan, which stipulated a truce between the Palestinians and Israel and made many promises to appease the Palestinians. The objective was to cool this front and withdraw the Iranian card. Al-Qa'ida interpreted this as the first step toward launching an attack on Iran.
4. The Lebanese Hizballah party is an executive wing of Iran. The party, which is stationed near the northern border of Israel, has well-trained men and enough military equipment to inflict severe damage on the state of Israel if it receives orders to do so. The party harbors deep-rooted hatred against Israel. The United States and Israel are aware of these wings in Lebanon and are determined to eliminate them prior to the battle with Iran. The plan that the United States, Israel, France, and some Lebanese parties agreed on resulted in Security Council Resolution 1559 and concrete steps that began with the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri. The assassination was the first step to help implement the articles of the resolution that stipulated the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon and the disarmament of the resistance party. The resolution aimed to undermine Syria -- Iran's ally -- and exterminate Hizballah -- Iran's military wing in Lebanon, which stands on the frontlines of confrontation with Israel. The military campaign against Iran will begin when the United States and Israel succeed in disarming Hizballah.
5. The Iraqi situation and resistance: Iran believes that it is the main winner of the campaign by the United States and its allies against Iraq. Iran's most hated enemy -- Saddam Husayn and his regime -- was overthrown, and pro-Iran Shiites won the lion's share in recent elections. Iranian intelligence has nearly 30,000 agents in Iraq. Since the Americans have not succeeded in eliminating the Sunni resistance, how can they deal with the situation if the Shiites join the resistance? Iran plans to incite its proponents in Iraq to join the anti-US resistance in the event that the United States or Israel launches

an attack on Iran. Iran plans to open its border to the resistance and provide it with what it needs to achieve a swift and major victory against the Americans.

These are some of the deterrence cards that Iran possesses. They are not a secret to the services of Al-Qa'ida in Iraq. Abu-Mus'ab is drawing up the appropriate plan that will take full advantage of the circumstances in case the Americans and Jews deal a strike to Iran.

Consequently, we are on the threshold of a critical stage, the outcome of which seems obvious in light of our knowledge of the US-Israeli way of thinking, which says a confrontation with Iran is inevitable. In light of our knowledge of the way of thinking of Abu-Mus'ab and Al-Qa'ida, we expect that they will carry out the following plan over the next stage:

1. One of Al-Qa'ida's theories stipulates the expansion of the geographic area of confrontation with the enemy to disperse its forces, increase the chances of inflicting damage on it, and carry on the war of attrition against it. The area of the war will expand, and its horizon will open if the United States and Israel attack Iran. Pro-US Shiites in Iraq and Afghanistan will feel very embarrassed and might reconsider their alliances. The United States and Israel might succeed in destroying Iran's infrastructure. As a result, the Iranian regime will be taken aback and will lose its ability to control the situation. This will provide Al-Qa'ida with better circumstances and a larger, vital area to carry out its activities. Al-Qa'ida will relocate thousands of its proponents and Taliban supporters to Iraq to take quick steps against the Americans. Under the current circumstances, these supporters cannot pass via Iran. However, if the Iranian Government's control is undermined, the passage of these proponents will become easy, if not protected by Iran. Al-Qa'ida's anticipation is based on the hadith of the prophet, prayers and peace be upon him, in which he said the black banners will be launched from Afghanistan and will settle in Jerusalem.

2. Syria is one of Iran's main allies in the region. The Iranian-Syrian alliance and coordination began following the success of the Islamic revolution of Khomeyni. Iran-Syria relations have remained solid since then. Undermining Syria will coincide, or might precede, an attack on Iran. Undermining the Syrian regime will be in favor of Al-Qa'ida and Abu-Mus'ab in Iraq. The 800-kilometer Syria-Iraq border will enable several thousand supporters of Abu-Mus'ab in Syria to move freely. The weakness of the Syrian regime will provide Al-Qa'ida with freedom and a larger area to move across the border. It will provide them with the opportunity to infiltrate into Lebanon. In this event, the state of Israel will be a stone's throw away for Al-Qa'ida men. Al-Qa'ida will take this opportunity to win the nation's credibility, which no other organization or revolutionary party has won before. As a result, Al-Qa'ida will be crowned as a genuine legitimate leadership of the Islamic nation. Al-Qa'ida, therefore, has the potential and resources to infiltrate into Syria and Lebanon in the event of an attack on Iran. The situation in Lebanon will not remain stable. Sunnis in Lebanon and Syria are supportive of the tenets of Al-Qa'ida more than of any other ideology.

3. When Iran starts to retaliate for the attack, it will target the Jews of Dunma and their influence in Turkey. This, too, will help Al-Qa'ida because it will shuffle cards and salvage Turkey from the control of the Dunma Jews, which has been intact for almost 100 years. In Al-Qa'ida's opinion, the nation will get rid of this dangerous evil that infiltrated its body and will win back Turkey, which is looking forward to freedom and liberation. Al-Qa'ida is getting ready for these developments and available opportunities.

4. Iran plans to attack Gulf oil. Al-Qa'ida announced and planned to do so earlier than Iran. Chances are high that Iran will attack Gulf oil, in view of its capabilities, which are not available to Al-Qa'ida.



Such an attack will be in favor of Al-Qa'ida's plan to demoralize the United States everywhere in the world.

5. Al-Qa'ida is looking forward to Iran's confrontation with the United States and the Jews, since the global secret Iranian action against the Americans and Jews will shuffle the cards and create better circumstances for Al-Qa'ida to act. It will increase this circle of confrontation, undermine the Americans, and provide a larger area of action. In fact, Al-Qa'ida is planning eagerly for the next stage.

Al-Qa'ida is the name the Arabs give to a place where fighters are prepared and trained. It is the place from where fighters set out toward their target.

The communists were destined to succeed in Afghanistan when they toppled the regime via a military movement in the early 1980s. The communists, however, did not succeed in controlling the country due to the opposition they faced from the Afghan Islamic movements that developed into armed resistance. The communist masters in Moscow interfered directly and found an opportunity to advance to the south, toward the warm waters and the oilfields of the Arab Gulf region. The Soviet incursion into Afghanistan aggravated Islamic resistance.

The Islamists began to express their rage by taking practical steps that centered on three dimensions in support of Afghan jihadist movements.

The first dimension was moral support, represented by inflammatory speeches and media outrage that influenced many Muslims, particularly in the rich Arab Gulf.

The second dimension was the transfer of funds in support of mujahidin in Afghanistan. Some wealthy Gulf shaykhs went to Pakistan to deliver the funds in person. Saudi national Usama Bin Ladin was one of the wealthy young men who arrived there. He met mujahidin leaders in Peshawar, on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Bin Ladin saw the suffering of Afghan refugees. He realized that financial assistance alone was not enough from Muslims who needed to perform their duty in compliance with their religion. Bin Ladin believed in the following shari'ah ruling -- which Muslim scholars confirmed unanimously throughout Islamic history -- "If an inch of Muslim territory is usurped, jihad becomes an individual duty for every Muslim man and woman. A woman goes out to jihad without the permission of her husband, a boy without his father's permission, and a slave without the permission of his master." Bin Ladin returned to Saudi Arabia and began to underline the importance of the participation of Muslim young men alongside their fraternal Muslim Afghans in the jihad against the Soviet assailants.

Subsequently, the third dimension crystallized, and young men began to converge on Pakistan individually or in groups. The goal was to support their Muslim brothers, repulse the aggression, and defend the faith and homelands.

Western sources put the number of jihadists who arrived in Pakistan to participate in Afghan jihad from the four corners of the world at approximately 80,000. In his book *Abu-Mus'ab al-Suri* (the Syrian), whose real name is Mustafa Bin-Abd-al-Qadir Nassar, better known as Umar Abd-al-Hakim, said: "It was yet more regrettable that the home of Islam was established in Afghanistan during that era of Taliban. For six years, the door was open to establish camps and front lines. An opportunity for jihad was provided under the banners of shari'ah, although the number of those who entered the country for immigration and jihad did not exceed 1,500 mujahidin, including 300 with their families. The number meant that one in a million of the nation's population took part in jihad. God blessed a

limited number of mujahidin to gain from the preparation and training in the arena of jihad. Worse yet was that none of the Muslim scholars, particularly renowned clerics, and none of the symbols of da'wah who deafened the world with empty slogans about jihad immigrated there.

"We will find that the ratio remains 1:1 million if we count up the number of those who mobilized for jihad to help their brothers in Afghanistan -- who fell under the oppression of the former blatant occupation of Russians -- Bosnia, Chechnya, Palestine, or other Islamic countries that came under recent occupation. This was actually the percentage, despite the pounding drums of the media, which did not stop overplaying armed jihad or the so-called "terrorism" to justify aggressive objectives. Do not believe the skyrocketing numbers that US intelligence published in the media under the name of Al-Qa'ida to achieve US goals. I reconfirm the numbers I mentioned, since I witnessed this stage in the field, thank God."

Those who arrived to take part in the Afghan jihad included doctors, engineers, military men, and journalists of various ages, diverse cultures, and considerable experience in numerous fields. Mujahidin had sufficient time to learn shari'ah from honest scholars. They entered into a war that made them realize that the nation would be capable of repulsing every aggression if it returned to Islam and adhered to its foundation in the face of challenges.

Those young men gained experience in fighting and technical skills that enriched their knowledge and enhanced their self-confidence. The great victory that they were able to achieve against the Soviets raised their spirits and gave them hope that they could realize their ambitions. Simply, you enjoy high self-esteem when you defeat a country like the former Soviet Union.

The winds, however, blew in the opposite direction. Disputes emerged among factions of Afghan mujahidin and sedition arose. Arab Afghans opted not to interfere. Many of them returned to their motherland. Some of them opted to go to other arenas of jihad. Some others went to places where governments did not have total control. Yemenis and Jordanians who did not have problems with their countries' governments returned to their homelands. On the other hand, Egyptians, Saudis, and Libyans spread all over the world. The battlefields of jihad made the jihadists aware of their ambitions and high spirits.

The men who joined the battlefields of jihad achieved success and outstanding victories. We saw how they achieved victories in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The greater victory was the defeat of Americans in Somalia. Jihadists tried to support Al-Turabi's government in Sudan, but Al-Turabi and his group were not ready to shoulder the responsibilities associated with the presence of these men. The Americans and some governments in the region began to exercise pressure on the Sudanese Government to prompt it to expel jihadists from Sudan. The Americans attacked the Al-Shifa pharmaceutical factory under the pretext that it was manufacturing chemical weapons.

Al-Qa'ida ideologues were in favor of supporting Sudan, since the country possessed substantial economic and human resources. Sudan could have become a foundation for Arab and Islamic renaissance and progress in the region. However, the reaction of the Sudanese Government was not up to the ambition of Al-Qa'ida. The government could not resist the pressure. It asked these men to leave Sudanese territory, including Bin Ladin and his close aides. It did not take these men long to find a new safe haven when the Taliban movement began to make progress in Afghanistan. The movement comprised shari'ah students who were studying at religious schools on the Pakistani border where Afghan refugees were living. The Taliban movement's faith and perspectives were clear from the beginning. The movement had a future plan to establish an Islamic state. These circumstances

encouraged young Arab men who left Afghanistan to return to the country. Their return gave the Taliban movement momentum and helped it to achieve the major victories that enabled it to establish an Islamic emirate on Afghan territory.

(Description of Source: London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic -- London-based independent Arab nationalist daily with an anti-US and anti-Saudi editorial line; generally pro-Palestinian, tends to be sympathetic to Bin Ladin)

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**Fourteenth Part of Serialized Book on Al-Zarqawi, Al-Qa'ida Published**  
**Part 14 of Serialized Book: "Al-Zarqawi...The Second Generation of Al-Qa'ida" by Fu'ad Husayn, Jordanian writer and journalist**

*AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI**Wednesday, July 13, 2005 11:06:28Z***Journal Code:** 1430 **Language:** ENGLISH **Record Type:** FULLTEXT**Document Type:** FBIS Translated Text**Word Count:** 2,498

The alliance of Arab mujahidin with the Taliban and their contribution to the significant victories that the Taliban achieved provided them with a safe haven. The mujahidin were able to regroup and build up their human and financial resources once again. Thousands of them returned with one big question in mind: What should be done to save the nation from its dilemma?

They were aware that the problem needed a quick diagnosis. Their preliminary diagnosis said that Western interference in the affairs of Arabs and Muslims resulted in the current control over the nation and its assets. In their opinion, such control was the root cause of the problem since it led to the usurpation of the nation's authority, expropriation of its wealth, and equivocation of the truth from its population. Western colonialism resulted in the occupation of Arab and Islamic countries and the humiliation of their population. It prearranged the situation and handed power over to lackeys in accordance with well-defined plans. Consequently, regimes that had nothing to do with the Islamic nation from far or near came to power although they did not adhere to Islam. They were hostile to Islam and Muslims. They supported the enemy against Arab and Islamic causes. These regimes helped the nation's enemy to seize its wealth and undermine its dignity. They exercised flagrant oppression against the population and denied them the chance or means to achieve progress.

The diagnosis of the mujahidin clarified the following:

The Islamic nation's situation is unacceptable. It contravenes shari'ah and human values.

The Islamic nation's leadership is illegitimate. It came to power by means of conspiracies with the foreign enemy.

The nation's resources are expropriated in favor of the enemy and corrupt rulers.

There is no one to solve the nation's major problems or dress its wounds.

There is a conspiracy aimed to keep the nation in an environment of scientific, technologic, and economic backwardness. The nation will be too weak to face the challenges imposed on it.

The existing parties, organizations, and groups that introduced themselves as frameworks for change and liberation failed in their endeavors to make tangible progress.

The enemy's unity intensified and their ambitions escalated.

This was the diagnosis of the Al-Qa'ida founders after which they began to look for a remedy. They asked the following logical question: Who caused all this to the nation and who was responsible for its tragedies?

Their answer was easy. It was the Zionist, Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon alliance that emerged at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Such alliance became clear for everyone when the then British foreign secretary announced the so-called Balfour Declaration in 1917 that expressed the sympathy of the British Government for establishing a national homeland for Jews in Palestine. The declaration was followed by the 1922 downfall of the Islamic caliphate -- as represented by the Ottoman state -- and the occupation of its territories including Palestine. In 1920, the League of Nations Mandate was issued to calm the situation in Palestine and pave the way for the establishment of a Jewish state. This coincided with the resolutions issued by the 1919 peace conference and the Sykes-Picot Agreement that stipulated the division of the estate of the caliphate among the victorious allies.

Therefore, Al-Qa'ida founders identified precisely the enemy that caused the tragedies of the Islamic nation. This enemy could not be influenced ideologically, according to Al-Qa'ida's religious beliefs that were anchored in the holy Koran, in which God Almighty said: "Strongest among men in enmity to the believers wilt thou find the Jews and Pagans." Al-Qa'ida founders believed that the enemy would not change their stance by means of depriving them of the privileges and influence they enjoyed in Muslim countries. The reason was the fact that decision making was not in the hands of the nation's population but rather in the hands of our own kinsmen of rulers who do as they are told.

Consequently, authority should be obtained, war should be declared on the enemy, and successive strikes should be launched to force the enemy to change or renounce its position. Authority should have a framework and, for that reason, a new organization was born under the name of the "Global Islamic Front Against Jews and Americans." The name came as a logical result of the aforementioned diagnosis of the status quo and knowledge of who caused the damage.

The first step that this organization took was to gather information about individuals and groups who held similar beliefs. At that point of time, mujahidin began to return to Afghanistan and Arab camps reopened there. This time, however, the young men did not return for good. They came to receive the necessary training and then relocate all over the world. Apparently, the United States and Jews were not present in Afghanistan. This was why Al-Qa'ida came to be known as "Qa'ida al-Jihad al-Mubarak" (Foundation of Blessed Jihad). As we mentioned before, Arabs used the word Al-Qa'ida to name a place where fighters were trained and mujahidin were provided with everything they needed. They used the word to describe a place from where warriors set out toward their target. The first stage of jihad in Afghanistan lasted from the early 1980's until the early 1990's. It was the cradle where Al-Qa'ida's ideology and men were nurtured.

Al-Qa'ida's beliefs came as a natural product of the development of the Islamic jihadist ideology that emerged in the mid-20th century. The ideology was basically established on a specific understanding of the Islamic faith on the foundation of "there is no deity but God alone." In other words, God is the only one to be worshipped in the whole universe. God is the Creator, God is the Maker, God is the Sustainer, God gives life and death, God determines everything and makes one's path easier. He has the power over all things. "There is no deity but God" is a methodology of life that puts forward a comprehensive perception of the life of man on earth. "There is no deity but God" denies men lordship since it is for God alone. Lordship and governorship is the most important characteristics of divinity. God's governorship does not do injustice. It does not ignore, deceive, or favor someone to the

detriment of another. Divine governorship organizes the life of mankind. It produces equality, justice, and genuine freedom.

In harmony with this understanding, faith -- if we want to translate it into political language -- means that the regimes and governments in power these days have usurped the most important characteristic of divinity -- governorship -- and have accorded it to mankind. In Al-Qa'ida's opinion, the governorship of mankind has produced all the injustice that has prevailed in the world since Islamic rule ceased to exist. Therefore, Al-Qa'ida's men have opted for a tough mission and a tougher objective. Their objective is to take mankind back to the right path. In their opinion, the right path is the supremacy of God's shari'ah that can only prevail under the umbrella of an Islamic state. Al-Qa'ida's strategic goal is to resume Islamic life by means of reestablishing the state of Islam. This issue poses the following question: What is the strategy of Al-Qa'ida and what is its plan to accomplish this principal goal?

The key ideologues of Al-Qa'ida had the opportunity to know a large number of Islamic movements over a period of two centuries. Correction movements began with the Wahhabism in Najd and Hijaz, the Sanusi movement in Libya, the Mahdi movement in Sudan, modern Islamic jihad movements that faced imperialist forces in the Arab Maghreb and the East, and contemporary Islamic movements including the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami (the Islamic Liberation Party), and the Islamic Group in India and Pakistan. Al-Qa'ida ideologues had a firsthand look at the experience of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and his proponent, Muhammad Abduh, as represented by the Islamic Jama'ah (Group). Furthermore, they came to know Islamic jihadist and reformist movements in Egypt, Palestine, Afghanistan and other regions.

This knowledge was not merely academic but also direct. Al-Qa'ida's men, leaders, and ideologues came from different ethnic groups. They include Arabs, Turks, Afghans, Pakistanis, Indians, and Caucasians. They had various intellectual and organizational backgrounds. Some were affiliated with Al-Salafiyyah, some with the Muslim Brotherhood group, some with the Al-Tahrir Party, and some with the Al-Da'wah wa al-Tabligh group. Some of them lived in the east and some were born in the West and lived there. The diverse nationalities, backgrounds, and experiences gave -- and will give -- Al-Qa'ida a renewed and constructive ability of coexistence under all circumstances.

Al-Qa'ida's ideologues concluded that the failure of various Islamic movements was attributed to the following reasons:

Islamic movements had different diagnoses of the nation's situation. Wrong diagnoses produced unsound judgment of the situation. As a result, tremendous efforts that were exerted did not achieve crucial results.

These movements did not draw up plans to identify goals and means.

Islamic movements did not dare to introduce themselves as a genuine leadership of the nation and an alternative to the weak and fake leaders who were not working in favor of the nation.

Islamic movements were unable to employ the nation's human and financial resources. Al-Qa'ida, therefore, submitted a specific perspective that outlined its future path:

- o The nation's mujahidin who defended its territories, holy sites, and freedom are the legitimate leaders of the Islamic nation. The rulers and regimes of Islamic countries are usurpers of authority and they conspire with the foreign enemy.

o The situation of the world is not any different from the status quo of the Islamic world since it contravenes the shari'ah and faith. It is a pre-Islamic situation in view of the fact that it gives the human race the power of legislation to draw up and implement laws in breach of the commandments of the Lord of the universe. The pre-Islamic situation produces injustice, blatant aggression, sins, and corruption that affect human life and result in tragedies that make mankind deviate from the right path.

o There should be a well-defined plan of clear objectives and means within well-examined timeframes that take care of organization and the nation's exclusive and objective circumstances.

o The desired change in the situation of mankind should be established on the foundation of changing the ideological, theoretical, and theological conditions of humanity. However, the regimes and pre-Islamic forces that control the world do not allow and will not allow -- as Al-Qa'ida believes -- any constructive ideological activity. They are an obstacle that should be removed. Their removal will only take place by means of jihad, which Al-Qa'ida interprets as sacrificing one's soul, effort, and property to eliminate all obstacles, financial barriers, and worldly taghuts. Al-Qa'ida believes that jihad will get rid of these obstacles. With well-designed action, the force that such a jihadist project needs is on the rise.

Al-Qa'ida drew up a feasible plan within a well-defined timeframe. The plan was based on improving the Islamic jihadist action in quality and quantity and expanding it to include the entire world.

Al-Qa'ida believed that jihad would enhance the nation's power that would frighten its enemy and eventually force them to relinquish their control of its resources. The enemy would ultimately leave the nation to deal with its rulers. Authority would return to the nation, God's shari'ah would prevail, and all domestic and foreign problems would be solved naturally.

Al-Qa'ida's feasible plan was divided into stages linked to a timeframe. The seven stages should take place over a 20-year period. The plan that began in 2000 with the New York strikes will end in the year 2020. Following are the stages in sequence:

1. The awakening stage: Al-Qa'ida ideologues believed that the Islamic nation was in a state of hibernation unprecedented throughout its long history. The hibernation began in the early 19th century and extended to the 20th century. The consequences of this hibernation were the catastrophes inflicted on the nation as a result of the challenge that the enemy imposed on it. The nation did not respond properly to this challenge. The plans that Al-Ba'th drew up to respond to such a challenge did not succeed. Therefore, Al-Qa'ida leaders drew up a plan to deal a strike to the head of the serpent and cause it to lose consciousness and act chaotically against those who attacked it. This entitled the party that hit the serpent to lead the Islamic nation.

When the United States dealt powerful strikes to the Islamic nation and declared an outright war on it, Al-Qa'ida launched the 11 September attacks to force the Americans to reveal the truth behind their actions and intentions. As a matter of fact, Bush senior (as published) announced that his war was a crusade. He called for an international coalition to combat and eliminate terrorism. He began by invading Afghanistan and then Iraq. Al-Qa'ida leaders believed this was a successful first stage of their plan to trigger Washington to attack the Islamic nation and awaken it from its hibernation. Al-Qa'ida leaders believed that the response of the United States was a strategic mistake committed by the Zionist-Anglo-Saxon coalition under US leadership. Thus, Al-Qa'ida's main objective was achieved by means of the 11 September attack. The recipe succeeded and the Americans were fooled.

This stage -- the awakening stage -- began with the preparation for the 11 September attacks at the

outset of 2000. It ended with the US occupation of Baghdad on 9 April 2003. Al-Qa'ida strategists commended the outcome of the first stage saying it forced the Americans to leave their conventional bases. Thus, the battlefield expanded and the Americans and their allies became easy and close targets. The battle will continue around the clock and so will the escalating war of attrition against the superpower.

Al-Qa'ida believed that the second important achievement it made at this stage was that its tenets became known everywhere. Al-Qa'ida grew from an organization of limited resources and capabilities to a widespread network of tremendous and ever-increasing human and financial resources. A month before the Taba attack, Ayman al-Zawahiri addressed his supporters and called on them to embark on forming leadership frameworks and centers of power everywhere they exist, each in harmony with his circumstances and capabilities. His address was clear evidence that the Islamic nation and its peoples began to wake up from their hibernation step by step and began to realize the bitter reality they face.

(Description of Source: London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic -- London-based independent Arab nationalist daily with an anti-US and anti-Saudi editorial line; generally pro-Palestinian, tends to be sympathetic to Bin Ladin)

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POWERED BY **Dialog****Fifteenth Part of Serialized Book on Al-Zarqawi and Al-Qa'ida Published**  
**Part 15 of serialized book: "Al-Zarqawi... The Second Generation of Al-Qa'ida" by Fu'ad Husayn, Jordanian writer and journalist***AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI**Friday, July 15, 2005 T21:19:28Z***Journal Code:** 1430 **Language:** ENGLISH **Record Type:** FULLTEXT**Document Type:** FBIS Translated Text**Word Count:** 3,328

Al-Qa'ida intellectuals believe that the eye-opening stage began with the occupation of Baghdad on 9 April 2003, after which the Islamic nation woke up to a harsh reality. Homelands were occupied; the enemy was at large; resources were expropriated, and rulers never cared about the nation. These rulers were involved in conspiracies against their nation and were no longer concerned about keeping the fig leaf that used to cover them. The nation was denied its freedom. Its honor was desecrated for the whole world to see. The nation's blood was spilled by spiteful and savage criminals with no one to stop them. Meanwhile, the bribed and sinful preachers of sultans sang the praises of their masters day and night and exerted relentless efforts to cover their deception. Corrupt governments gave free rein to the myrmidons of interrogation and torture in their security departments to exceed their limits in suppressing and intimidating the nation's honorable men and virtuous vanguards. Poverty spread as a result of corruption, mismanagement, and conspiracies with the foreigners.

In accordance with the plan and vision of Al-Qa'ida's intellectuals, the eye-opening stage will last for three years, until the end of 2006. This stage will enable the nation to realize the truth and uncover hidden plots. During this stage, Al-Qa'ida aims to prolong the confrontation with the enemy, since it views such a confrontation as a victory, regardless of the consequences. The intellectuals believed that previous battles with the nation's enemy were fabricated. They thought that the scenarios of those battles were drawn up and implemented precisely. The outcome was successive defeats that cost the nation its self-confidence. In light of these defeats, conquered rulers proposed sick ideas. Peace with the Jews became their only strategic and irrevocable option. Acquiescence to the West and the Americans became a must. All these issues combined prompted the nation's sincere young men to join the newcomer who wanted to change the situation. The awaited newcomer was Al-Qa'ida, its leadership, and methodology.

Consequently, the eye-opening stage will bolster Al-Qa'ida and turn it from a network into a mushrooming invincible and popular trend. During this stage, Al-Qa'ida plans to achieve the following:

- Engage in direct confrontation with the State of Israel in Palestine.
- Burn Arab oil and deprive the West and proxy regimes of benefiting from oil revenues.
- Prepare for the stage of electronic jihad via the Internet and give it high importance. The impact of electronic jihad will materialize with the beginning of the third stage.

-- Proceed with the calm and productive establishment of power in vital areas of the Arab and Islamic world. This process is led by the second generation of leaders within Al-Qa'ida's framework.

-- Take Iraq as a base to build an army of jihad of new blood. This army will redeploy in neighboring countries by the beginning of the third stage to assume action within specific and carefully planned agendas.

-- Prepare shari'ah studies and disseminate them soon. These studies will steer Muslims toward paying zakat (almsgiving) and making donations to the mujahidin to help them obtain the necessary equipment and weapons for the success of their project, in retaliation for the US policy of freezing the assets of "terrorists."

The aforementioned points are a prelude for the third stage. Direct confrontation with Israel in Palestine will begin when eyes are opened and the movement's power is multiplied.

Al-Qa'ida ideologues give themselves a time frame of approximately three years to carry out this stage, from the beginning of 2007 to the beginning of 2010. For them, standing upright means the ability to take effective and productive action. The characteristics and objectives of this provisional stage will create a major transition in the process of change in the region surrounding Iraq. The focus will be on Al-Sham at the beginning. Al-Sham was not a random choice, since the ideologues referred to authenticated hadiths in which the prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, mentioned the siege of Al-Sham following Iraq. The belief of the ideologues was based on the fact that Israel and the United States planned to divide Al-Sham -- currently Syria, Lebanon, and northern Jordan -- into sectarian mini-states. Moreover, US-European outrage at the current Syrian regime aims to disintegrate every power around the State of Israel, regardless of its structure, to reorganize the region in favor of the ambitions of the State of Israel. Al-Qa'ida believes that the anti-Syria reaction would undermine the Syrian regime and would deny it the ability to control the domestic situation effectively.

The theory of the Islamic jihadist action of Al-Qa'ida is based on exploiting every instance where security control is lost. The Jund (soldiers of) al-Sham idea was proposed in Afghanistan a long time ago, but it did not materialize as a result of the US invasion. The young men who worked on the idea returned to Syria and Lebanon. Some of them are currently in Iraq. They have prepared themselves to make the most of possible events in Lebanon at present and Syria next. If it is true that Islamists assassinated Al-Hariri due to his relationship with the US- and Saudi-backed Iyad Allawi, this means these young men will try to speed up time to achieve this stage sooner.

By the end of this stage, Al-Qa'ida will have completed its preparations to engage in direct clashes with the State of Israel, both in Palestine and on Israel's border. In this event, Al-Qa'ida will unquestionably become a legitimate leadership of the Islamic nation. As a result, Al-Qa'ida will have a huge supply of human and financial resources. According to the plan, attacks on Israel will not be confined to Palestine alone, but will extend to some Islamic countries where Jews have a powerful influence. We mean Turkey, as we previously mentioned in this book. An end to the control by the Dunma Jews over the Turkish Army and the Turkish economy will enable the Islamic nation to regain substantial military and financial power.

At this stage, Al-Qa'ida will win large numbers of trained and educated young men who are no longer affected by the complex of defeats and catastrophes. These young men will give Al-Qa'ida tremendous force and capability to move on to the fourth stage of its plan.

This stage is set to begin in 2010 and end by 2013. It will focus on overthrowing regimes by means of direct and fierce clashes with them. Al-Qa'ida strategists believed that the current US approach in dealing with the Arab region would expose the cards and flaws of the ruling regimes for everyone near or far. Step by step, the *raison d'être* of these regimes will cease to exist. When the regimes gradually disintegrate, Al-Qa'ida and the Islamic jihad trend will grow persistently. Furthermore, the constant deterioration of US power will take place by means of expanding the circle of confrontation and maneuvering. The United States will not be able to continue to support the regimes. At this point in time, the jihadist movement will be able to attack and burn Arab oil and deprive the Americans of the most important economic source. Without oil, the regimes will further disintegrate, since they will not be able to build their economic capabilities.

By then, Al-Qa'ida will have completed its electronic capabilities, and it will be time to use them to launch electronic attacks to undermine the US economy. Al-Qa'ida ideologists began to implement an idea proposed by the Islamic Al-Tahrir Party that underlined the importance of using gold as the standard exchange value in international markets. The ideologists will powerfully disseminate this idea around the world and will prepare the necessary research to support it. Consequently, the value of the US dollar will drop and will eventually collapse.

Al-Qa'ida has recruited economists and earnest researchers to refute the economic theory that Jewish economists promoted in the United States. This theory stipulated that there was no need to back currencies with precious metals, including gold and silver. It maintained that a country's gross national product was enough to evaluate its currency. This theory prompted the Americans to print their currency without reflection. When this theory is nullified and when the Americans are denied the exploitation of Arab oil -- combined with the exhaustion of the economy by means of the escalating battle -- skepticism regarding US economic capabilities will find its way to Japanese, Chinese, and foreign investors. It will prompt them to withdraw their investments that are threatened by the giant US market. This giant will begin to act chaotically and will destroy everything around it. Influential Israeli and American economists in the United States will then deal a fatal blow to the US economy.

Al-Qa'ida's information points out that these economists embarked on buying gold and other precious metals as a precaution against any depression that would affect the US economy and the dollar. Al-Qa'ida theorists believe that the dollar will be gone with the wind when these activities are exposed. Consequently, the American people will vent their anger on the economists, and a major transition will take place. American support for the State of Israel will stop gradually, until it comes to a halt under public pressure as a result of the tragedies that the Israelis inflicted on the Americans. A halt to US support will undermine the State of Israel in the region. Al-Qa'ida believes that such a development will affect the correlation between the power of regimes and the importance of their existence, on one side, and the State of Israel and its influence in the world, on the other. Eventually, the outcome will be in favor of Al-Qa'ida.

The Americans are weak, exhausted, and unable to shoulder the responsibilities of the current world order. Weakness will affect Israel step-by-step as a result of both its confrontation with jihadists in the region and US weakness. The ruling regimes will lose their eligibility and capability to defend themselves when US and Western support stops. All these events combined will enable Al-Qa'ida and the Islamic jihadist trend to move to the fifth stage.

According to Al-Qa'ida's strategy, the beginning of this stage will last from 2013 to the beginning of 2016. At this stage, the Western fist in the Arab region will loosen, and Israel will not be able to carry out preemptive or precautionary strikes. The international balance will change. China will become a

superpower if it continues to witness constant growth and so will India. The rising unity of Europe will not continue. Al-Qa'ida's analysis says the British will not allow this unity to rise because they believe it will go against almost three centuries of Anglo-Saxon supremacy in the world. Therefore, the British will not stand by and watch the rug be pulled out from under their feet. Some people who disagree with Al-Qa'ida's theory ask the following question: How then did the British endorse US supremacy? Al-Qa'ida ideologists respond by saying that US rulers were and still are Anglo-Saxons. British relinquishment of supremacy in the mid-20th century was merely a trick to fool European nations and the world.

Al-Qa'ida ideologues believe that the outcome of future events will be in favor of change and the global Islamic jihadist trend that will be able to declare an Islamic state -- a caliphate -- that will be resurrected. Al-Qa'ida ideologues and leaders anticipate a state of global weakness in the ranks of the enemy and the emergence of a new global power that is not strongly opposed to Muslims. This will coincide with a persistent increase in self-power that will provide Al-Qa'ida and the Islamic jihadist trend with a golden opportunity to declare the establishment of an Islamic state. The declaration of the state is the strategic goal of Al-Qa'ida. For them, it means the following:

- Ability to control and lead.
- A chance for genuine reconstruction.
- Ability to motivate the nation's human and financial resources and employ them ideally in favor of the nation's causes to meet its needs.
- Creation of a new international balance of power whereby the nation's enemy will slink away into their black holes.
- Dissemination of right, justice, freedom, and equality on earth.

God's promise of "And We wished to be Gracious to those who were being depressed in the land, to make them leaders (in Faith) and make them heirs." (Koranic verse). Eventually, all corrupt regimes in Muslim countries will collapse and this is what Al-Qa'ida leaders and intellectuals are looking forward to.

Al-Qa'ida ideologues estimate that the beginning of 2016 will be the outset of the all-out confrontation between the forces of faith and the forces of global atheism. The all-out confrontation will begin immediately after the establishment of an Islamic state. The world will be divided into two camps: the camp of faith and the camp of atheism. Bin Ladin referred to this in many of his messages. As a matter of fact, Al-Qa'ida is established on an idea founded on a divine Koranic verse that the network views as the foundation of change. The verse says: "And say: Truth has (now) arrived, and Falsehood perished. For Falsehood is (by its nature) bound to perish."

In other words, falsehood will come to an end and will cease to exist when the truth is established. For Al-Qa'ida, the Islamic state represents the truth. When the conflict begins, falsehood will not be able to hold out and will perish. The Islamic state will lead the human race once again to the shore of safety and the oasis of happiness.

Al-Qa'ida ideologists believe that the all-out confrontation with the forces of falsehood will take a few years at most. The enormous potential of the Islamic state -- particularly because the Muslim population will amount to more than 1.5 billion -- will terrify the enemy and prompt them to retreat

rapidly. Israel will not be able to withstand the substantial Islamic power that will frighten the heart of the enemy. The world will realize the meaning of real terrorism in accordance with the Islamic perception. Such terrorism will terrify the enemy and make them think a thousand times before attacking Muslims and the beleaguered or attempting to violate their rights.

This is the final stage of the well-defined Al-Qa'ida plan that gives Al-Qa'ida credibility, which no other contemporary Islamic movement has ever enjoyed. This comprehensive plan and these clear objectives will help Al-Qa'ida achieve further progress.

The Islamic nation is undergoing a difficult situation. In general, the regimes governing the nation are ignorant and iniquitous. They lack determination and awareness. They work in favor of the nation's enemy and actually follow a program aimed to keep the nation weak and unable to overcome the circle of ignorance and backwardness. Arab rulers seized the nation's authority and cooperated with the foreigners to expropriate the nation's resources. They exercised all means and exerted every effort to hide the truth from the masses. All these issues combined have become obvious. The nation's young generation and masses have become aware and capable of realizing all dimensions and details of the truth. Everyone is looking forward to the day when they will get rid of these regimes and the unacceptable situation. In light of these circumstances, Al-Qa'ida will win approval and support when it proposes itself as the nation's leader. Large sectors of the population will support the new leadership, particularly if it adopts a reasonable address capable of handling all issues wisely.

Parties operating on the Arab and Islamic front failed to realize the hopes of the nation's masses, especially regarding the process of change and liberation. The bulk of these parties did not have plans, programs, or a sound vision to deal with the status quo. Rather, they accommodated their situation in harmony with the interests of their leaders. Some of them made peace with the regimes and did not care about change anymore. Some of them altered the axiomatic principles of Islam to accommodate the democracy and secularism of regimes. Some organizations offered compromises and made peace with the nation's enemy in exchange for unattainable pledges.

In Al-Qa'ida's opinion, such failure coincides with the enthusiasm of the nation's young generation and masses to the newcomer that enjoys the desired qualities. Al-Qa'ida believes that its tenets are the newcomer that enjoys these characteristics. The trend of Al-Qa'ida will flourish and will spread in harmony with this vision.

Al-Qa'ida theorists believe that the non-stop aggression against the Islamic nation for almost two centuries, the occupation of its territories and wealth, the disdain of its dignity, and the confiscation of its freedom have left bleeding wounds in the nation's body. Al-Qa'ida believes that the situation in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Kashmir, Sudan, Eritrea, and the Philippines was enough to awake the conscience of Muslims and incite them to look for a haven or a solution to repulse the aggression. Al-Qa'ida's methodology against the enemy is the nation's promising hope to bring double retaliation on the enemy.

Al-Qa'ida establishes its theory to achieve victory on the following divine verse: "When comes the Help of God, and Victory, And thou dost see the people enter God's Religion in crowds, Celebrate the praises of thy Lord, and pray for His Forgiveness: For He is Oft-Returning (in Grace and Mercy)." Al-Fath Surah (Victory Chapter of the Koran). The aforementioned verse of the holy Koran followed a significant victory that the prophet, prayers and peace be upon him, and his virtuous companions achieved in Mecca. Following this conquest, large numbers of the Arabs of the peninsula converted to Islam voluntarily. Every victory, large or small, achieved by Al-Qa'ida will open the door to large

numbers of the nation's young men to join its ranks and various fields all over the world. Someone who cannot join directly will embark on forming his own group that feeds on the same ideology in an endeavor to achieve the goal by using the same means and approaches.

Al-Qa'ida believes that the situation will be aggravated in light of the escalating US and Jewish aggression. Al-Qa'ida plans to provoke this aggression every day. The US deployment in the Islamic homeland will enable mujahidin to clash with them easily everywhere. Al-Qa'ida views every clash with them as victory, since the nation has not engaged in real battles for a long time. The strategy of Al-Qa'ida is based on well-defined stages. Its objectives are specific and its means clear. Its plan is based on sound understanding of the stages of history and founded on a series of logical expectations. Al-Qa'ida is prepared to deal with events and invest them fruitfully. Its growing power is derived from its ability to energize the nation's capabilities. Its sole option is to persist in the conflict. This continuation will exhaust the capabilities of the enemy.

Al-Qa'ida's vision is established on action, initiative, and ability to manipulate events. Al-Qa'ida has a global message aimed at alleviating injustice against the beleaguered in the world. Al-Qa'ida does not compromise. It proposes radical solutions based on shari'ah rulings and a significant understanding of the current situation. Al-Qa'ida's warriors and mujahidin do not consider death a loss. They do not view defeat in a certain battle as the end. They have faith in the divine promise of victory and power for the virtuous worshipers of God. They assure believers of the inevitability of victory.

(Description of Source: London Al-Quds al-Arabi in Arabic -- London-based independent Arab nationalist daily with an anti-US and anti-Saudi editorial line; generally pro-Palestinian, tends to be sympathetic to Bin Ladin)

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