

Al-Qaeda

The Organization
And
The Movement

The Face of the New Terrorist

- Presentation for

The Reserve Officers Course

18 July 2008

Joseph E. Goldberg, Ph.D.

Department of National Security Studies

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

National Defense University

U.S. Department of State
Definition of International Terrorism

*“premeditated, politically motivated
Violence perpetrated against
Noncombatant targets by subnational
Groups or clandestine agents, usually
Intended to influence an audience”*

Premeditation; Political Motivation;
Targets Combatants; Perpetrators are
Either Subnational Groups or
Clandestine Agents.

Al-Qaeda “the base”

- Al-Qaeda was formed in 1988
- Among its founders were:
 - Osama bin Ladin
 - Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

Conceptual Lines Between Terrorism and Other Forms of Political Violence

- These Lines are Blurry Under any
Definition

Uncertainty remains as to whether certain specific incidents are acts of terrorism.

The blurriness of the definitional lines is a reminder that terrorism is but one form of behavior along a continuum of possible political behaviors of those who oppose the status quo.

Al Qaeda Today

The 2001 September 11th attack brought home to the U.S. the dangers posed By Al Qaeda and Islamic Extremist Movements

At the time, Al Qaeda had an established base in Afghanistan supported by the Afghanistan Taliban regime.

After 9/11 and the U.S. response, Al Qaeda no longer possessed this Base—it no longer was a state within a state.

This deprived Al Qaeda of training camps and operational bases and a very solid command-and-control nexus.

Most of us believed that Al Qaeda was on the run.

Lacking an operational base, Al Qaeda now provided other Islamic extremists inspiration.

Al-Qaeda was now an ideological movement not an organization.

Al Qaeda Today

2

Al Qaeda's capabilities migrated from physical space to virtual space
Bruce Hoffman

Its effectiveness was inspirational and driven by the Internet

The UK's M15 is convinced that the planning of the July 2005 London Underground attacks as well as the planning for the August 2006 Airline plot has shattered our view that Al Qaeda is impotent—incapable of carrying out terrorist activity.

The London bombings were carried out by British Muslim terrorists enlisted by al-Qaeda and directed and assisted by al-Qaeda cells in Pakistan.

Contrary to what was originally believed, the 2005 bombings were not carried out by homegrown terrorists.

Its ring leader had visited jihad camps in Pakistan.

Al Qaeda Today

3

Al-Qaeda has regrouped and reorganized and marshaled its resources due to the establishment of an effective sanctuary that it has established in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas [FATA] in Pakistan.

Federally Administered Tribal Areas Consist of 7 Agencies:

Bajaur

Mohmand Agency

Khyber Agency

Kurram Agency

North Waziristan Agency

South Waziristan Agency

Population is dominantly Pashtun

From the Summer of 2002 to the Summer of 2004, the Taliban, hard core al-Qaeda leadership, foreigners, and other allies reorganized themselves by Mobilizing Pashtun Taliban.



Al Qaeda Today

4

Many of those who were mobilized had fought against the U.S. in Afghanistan.

According to Ahmed Rashid, they were the “fixers” who guided the fighters across Pakistan into Afghanistan and now they became commanders.

These Taliban are far more ideological as they had been connected to Al-Qaeda. Other Pashtuns had not been associated with al-Qaeda.

They have destroyed traditional Pashtun tribal authority structures and replaced it with their authority—reconstituted traditional Pashtun society.

Rashid believes that “every bomb attack in Europe since 2004 appears to have a FATA connection.

Al-Qaeda Today

5

Al Qaeda has demonstrated that it has the ability to be organized from the top down as well as from the bottom up.

It is a terrorist organization with the ability to adapt.

Al Qaeda provides inspiration, guidance, and assistance.

Osama Bin Laden

- Born in Riyadh, Saudia Arabia in 1957



Ayman al Zawahiri



Born in Cairo, Egypt on June 19, 1957

Trained surgeon who headed Egypt's al-Jihad

Bin Laden's Background

- Son of Muhammad Awad bin Laden, who founded Saudi Construction and contracting companies
- One of 53 children
- Mother, Muhammad's fourth wife, was a Syrian.
- Educated in Jeddah schools before entering King Abdul Aziz University where he studied management and economics.

Bin Laden

- In 1979, Bin Laden left Saudi Arabia for Afghanistan where he participated in the Jihad against the Soviets.
- He primarily raised funds and provided logistics
- In 1984, Bin Laden moved to Peshawar, Pakistan.
- Founded the Services Office (*Maktab al-Khidamat*) with Dr. Abdullah Yusuf Azzam to funnel money to the resistance, to recruit fighters, and to train them.

Bin Laden

- In the late 1980s, Bin Laden broke off from Azzam and formed Al-Qaeda in 1988.
- Dispute with Azzam was over Bin Laden's desire to export jihad to other areas while Azzam believed they should concentrate on supporting Muslims in Afghanistan.
- Azzam was murdered in late 1989 by a car bomb.

Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

Spiritual Mentor of Bin Laden

- Born in the province of Jenin in the West Bank in 1941
- Graduated from Khadorri College, an agricultural School, and later enrolled in Sharia College at Damascus University where he obtained a B.A. in Islamic Law in 1966.
- In 1967 he immigrated to Jordan where he fought against Israel

Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

- In 1971 Azzam entered Al-Azhar University in Cairo where he received his Ph.D. in Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence in 1973.
- Accepted a university position in Saudi Arabia.

Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

- Leaves Saudi Arabia for Islamabad, Pakistan where he is appointed a lecturer at the International Islamic University.
- Resigns to devote himself to jihad and moves to Peshawar where he founds the *Bait-ul-Ansar* (Mujahideen Services Bureau)

Azzam's Theoretical Legacy

- “Only by means of organized military force would the *Ummah* (Islamic Nation) emerge victorious.”
- “Jihad and the rifle alone: no negotiations, no conferences and no dialogues.”
- Creation of a kind of Islamic “internationale” through the recruitment of volunteers throughout the Muslim world to export the Islamic revolution to the world at large.

Intellectual Fathers of al-Qaeda

Sayyid Qutb

- Sayyid Qutb born in Mush, Egypt in 1906
- Hanged on August 29, 1966
- Major Works: *Fi Zalal al-Koran* (In the Shadow of the Koran); Milestones.



Philosophic Roots of Al Qaeda

Sayyid Qutb

- **Early Christianity imported from Greek philosophy the belief in a spiritual existence completely separate from physical life, a zone of pure spirit.**
- **Christianity lost touch with the physical world—its division of the world into Caesars and God's put the physical world in one corner and the spiritual world in another.**
- **Through revelation, the Prophet Muhammad established the correct, non-distorted relation to human nature.**
- **He dictated a new strict legal code which put religion at ease with the physical world.**

Sayyid Qutb

- **The Koran instructed man to take charge of the physical world.**
- **Through science Islam seized the leadership of mankind.**
- **The Muslims, however, came under attack from Crusaders, Mongols, and other enemies. And because the Muslims proved unfaithful to Muhammad's revelations, they could not fend off these attacks.**
- **The Muslim discoveries of science were imported to Europe where modern science emerged in the 16th Century and Europe dominated the world.**

Sayyid Qutb

- **The European way of life brought a sense of drift, purposelessness, and a craving for false pleasures.**
- **Treacherous Muslims inflicted Christianity's "schizophrenia" on the world of Islam.**
- **The recognition of more than one authority—God's in the spiritual realm and man's in the physical realm was a step back into paganism.**
- **European imperialism was a continuation of the Medieval Crusades against Islam.**
- **The conflict between the Western liberal countries and the world of Islam remains in essence-- ideology—religion was the issue.**

Sayyid Qutb

- **The first step is to open people's eyes—Muslims had to recognize the nature of the danger.**
- **ISLAM HAD COME UNDER ASSAULT FROM OUTSIDE THE MUSLIM WORLD AND ALSO FROM INSIDE THE MUSLIM WORLD.**
 - **THE ASSAULT FROM THE OUTSIDE WAS LED BY CRUSADERS AND WORLD ZIONISM.**
 - **THE ASSAULT FROM THE INSIDE WAS FROM MUSLIMS WHO POLLUTED THE MUSLIM WORLD WITH INCOMPATIBLE IDEAS DERIVED FROM ELSEWHERE.**

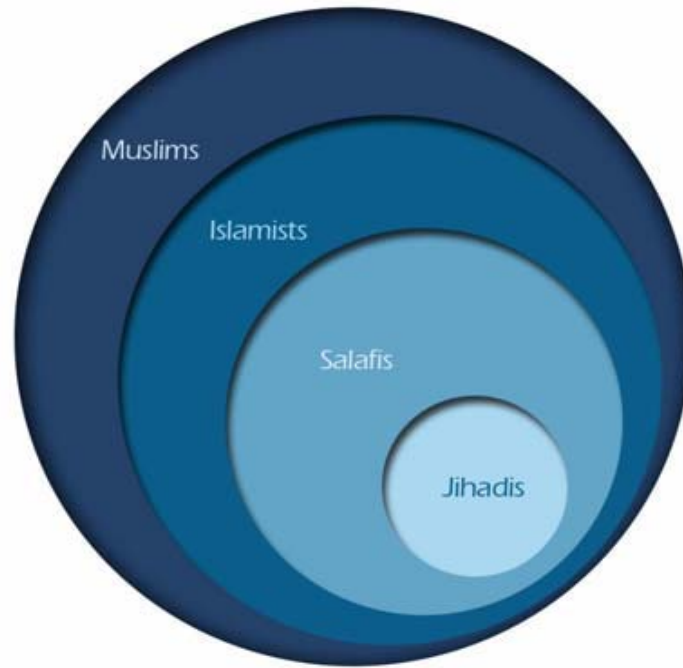
Sayyid Qutb

- **THE VANGUARD OF TRUE MUSLIMS WAS GOING TO UNDERTAKE THE RENNOVATION OF ISLAM AND OF CIVILIZATION ALL OVER THE WORLD.**
- ***SHARIAH* WOULD BE REINSTATED AS THE LEGAL CODE FOR ALL OF SOCIETY.**
- **IT IS THE ABOLITION OF MAN MADE LAWS.**
- **Paul Berman, “The Philosopher of Islamic Terror,” *The New York Times Magazine* (March 23, 2003)**

Bin Laden's May 1998 *Fatwa*
(Published in *Al-Quds al-'Arabi*)
February 23, 1998

- **The primary reason for the declaration of Jihad against Americans is that “for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples.”**
- **“The devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people.”**
- **“The American role in serving the ‘Jews’ petty state and its occupation of Jerusalem.”**

Islam's Challenge



Source: U.S. Military Academy, Combatting Terrorism Center

Muslims-Islamists-Salafis-Jihadis

- **Muslims**—the 1.4 billion members of the Islamic faith throughout the world irrespective of their observance of Islam.
- **Islamists**—those adherents of Islam who are committed to living their lives in accordance with *sharia*, islamic law
- **Salafis**-derived from *as-salaf as-saliheen*, the ‘pious predecessors’ of the early Muslim community. They believe that observance of Islam requires direct access to the Koran and Hadith and the inspiration provided by the actions and experiences of the Prophet and his followers (*salaf al-salih*, the righteous ancestors). Most salafists are pietistic who wish to reform society through the reform of individual mores and patterns of behavior. Their emphasis is on teaching—on *dawa*, the call to Islam. They preach the strict and literal imitation of the Prophet and his companions as the model of Islamic society.
- **Jihadis**-believe that Islam must be defended through armed struggle and are a minority of Salafists.

—

Jihadists

- “The links between salafism and jihadism lie in salafi sectarian hostility to Christians, Jews and Shi’a and a literalist reading of the Quran, which contains a scattering of verses that valorize warfare against unbelievers.”
- Steven Simon, Haib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow at CFR
- **Salafi jihad:** Those who identify present day Muslim societies as *Jahilyya* (the barbaric state of ignorance existing before the Prophet’s revelations) because their leaders refuse to impose Sharia and true Islamic way of life. Such leaders are viewed as apostates, deserving death. These salafis advocate the violent overthrow of these regimes (THE NEAR ENEMY) and to restore Islam at home before venturing to defeat Israel and the West (THE FAR ENEMY). As advocated by Qutb.

Jihadists (Continued)

- **Global Salafi Jihad: Those salafists who place their priority on fighting the “far enemy,” the West and specifically the U.S. and Israel, before turning against the “near enemy.” This view is expressed in bin Laden’s 1996 *fatwa*.**
- **[The distinction between the Salafi jihadists and the Global Salafi Jihadists is that of Marc Sageman in his “Statement to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States,” July 9, 2003.**

The “Third Wave of Jihadists”

- **City of New York Police Department Report, “Radicalization in the West: the Homegrown Threat,” (2007) emphasizes the importance of understanding the radicalization process that drives “unremarkable” people to become terrorists.”**
- **They examine jihadi-Salafi ideology as the motivator and identify critical stages of the radicalization process.**

Phases of Radicalization

City of New York Report

Pre-Radicalization: point of origin for individuals before they begin this progression. It is their life situation before they were exposed to and adopted jihadi-Salafi Islam as their own ideology.

Self-Identification: individuals, influenced by both internal and external factors, begin to explore Salafi Islam, gradually gravitate away from their old identify and begin to associate themselves with like-minded individuals and adopt this ideology as their own.

**Many types of triggers: economic, social,
political. personal**

Radicalization

Indoctrination: an individual progressively intensifies his beliefs, wholly adopts jihadi-Salafi ideology and concludes, without question, that the conditions and circumstances exist where action is required to support and further the cause.

Jihadization: the phase in which members of the cluster accept their individual duty to participate in jihad and self-designate themselves as holy warriors or mujahedeen.

Marc Sageman's Profile of Global Salafi Jihadists

(Based on Data from more than 130 members)

Country of Origin

60% come from core Arab countries

– **Mostly Saudi Arabia and Egypt**

- **30% come from the Maghreb Arab countries**
- **10% come from Indonesia**

Socio-Economic Status

Two-thirds from solid upper or middle class backgrounds.

Most of the rest came from the “excluded” Maghreb immigrants or second generation in France, as well as Western Christian converts.

They came from caring intact families.

Profile of Global Salafi Jihadists (2)

- **Religious Background**

Indonesians were uniformly religious as children

60% of the Core Arab children were religious

None of the Maghreb Arab children were religious.

Education Background

As a group, the terrorists were relatively well educated with 60% having some college education.

Only the Indonesian group was almost exclusively educated in religious schools.

Most had occupational training and only a quarter were considered unskilled with few prospects.

Profile of Global Salafi Jihadists

(3)

- **Marital Status**

- Three quarters were married and the majority had children.

- **Mental Status**

- No mental illness was detected in this group or any common psychological predisposition to terror.

- **Age of Jihadists**

- Average age for joining the jihad was 26 years.
- The Indonesians joined at a later age (30)
- Core Arabs at a younger age (23)

Profile of Global Salafi Jihadists

(4)

- **Context of Joining the Jihad**
- **“The prospective terrorists joined the jihad through pre-existing social bonds with people who were already terrorists or had decided to join the group.**
- **Affiliation with the jihad was through FRIENDSHIP, KINSHIP, DISCIPLESHIP AND WORSHIP.**
- **65% of the cases, pre-existing friendship bonds played an important role; homesick young men drift to familiar settings, like mosques, to find companionship and alleviate their loneliness. There small clusters of friendship formed spontaneously and they often moved into apartments together.**
- **15% joined the jihad through relatives already in the jihad.**
- **Indonesians were all disciples of Abu Bakar Baasyir and had studied in one of his two religious boarding schools.**
- **10% gave religious beliefs as the only reason for joining the jihad.**

Bin Laden's May 1998 *Fatwa* **(Continued)**

- **“All of these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on God, his messenger, and Muslims. And ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries.”**

Issue of the 1998 *Fatwa* to all Muslims:

- **“The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque from their grip, and in order their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim.**

Al-Qaeda's Intentions

- Who are the audiences that al-Qaeda attempts to influence through speech and deed?
- What are the messages that al-Qaeda expects these audiences to receive?
- What does al-Qaeda expect their responses to be?

The Audiences

- The Islamic World
 - Muslims, Islamists, Salafists, Jihadists
- The Near Enemy
 - Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the Gulf States, Turkey, India, Pakistan
- The Far Enemy
 - Israel
 - The United States
 - Europe and the West

Possible Intent of Al-Qaeda Action

- Videos and interviews that are broadcast and published are intended:
 - To change the policies of countries allied with the U.S. by eroding popular support for assisting the U.S. in the war against terrorism.
 - Strip allies away from the U.S. and keep it isolated.
- Bin Laden's November 12, 2002 "Speech to American Allies"
 - Claimed attack on the U.S. was due to the "killing [of] our sons in Iraq [through U.N. sanctions] and [because of] what America's ally Israel is doing."
 - Action would lead U.S. allies to distance themselves.
 - The cost of supporting the U.S. would be al-Qaeda attacks.
 - Examples: attacks on German tourists in Tunisia and Australians and Britons in Bali.

Intention of Al-Qaeda Acts

Michael Scheuer, "Al-Qaeda Doctrine for International Warfare,"
Terrorism Focus Vol. 3, Issue 42 (October 31, 2006)

European populations blamed their political leaders for stimulating the attacks by maintaining their policies.

Media blamed P.M. Blair's support for the U.S. following the July 2005 metro attacks in London.

Pro U.S. Spanish government defeated after the March 2003 attack, and Spain withdrew its forces from Iraq.

Summer 2006 Italian election, P.M. Berlusconi's government was defeated.

Possible Results of Al-Qaeda attacks on potential opponents of the group attacked

- **Al-Qaeda attacks of September 11th led to the West's defeat of the Taliban.**
- **Many al-Qaeda leaders were arrested and killed.**
- **Osama bin-Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri are in hiding and do not appear to be in control of operations which have become “franchised” to local groups.**
- **In Europe, the jihadist cause was taken up by home-grown extremists.**

Intelligence Analysis of al-Qaeda

“On the March,” Economist (January 18-24, 2007)

- Outgoing DNI John Negroponte said in Congressional testimony in January 11, 2006:

“Al-Qaeda’s core leadership was ‘resilient.’ Its hiding places in Pakistan were ‘secure’ and it was “cultivating stronger operational connections and relationships” with affiliated groups across the Middle East, north Africa and Europe.”

Testimony is consistent with British Intelligence Chiefs.

In November 2006, Dame Eliza Manningham-Buller, head of M15, said there were 200 terrorist networks involving about 1,600 suspects, and investigating up to 30 high-priority plots.”