

‘ABDALLAH ‘AZZAM’S OUTLOOK FOR JIHAD IN 1988 – “AL-JIHAD BETWEEN KABUL AND JERUSALEM”

Nico Prucha

(Affiliated Researcher at the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (OIIP), Ph.D. Candidate, University of Vienna)

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‘Abdallah ‘Azzam’s outlook for jihad in 1988 – “al-jihad between Kabul and Jerusalem”

Published in form of a video and a transcript by the “*nukhbat al-i’lam al-jihadi*” media group on the mainstream jihad forums in September 2008, one of ‘Azzam’s last known *khutbas*, held in 1988 in Seattle, USA, reveals his insight of the ending Afghan *jihad* against the Soviets and subtly attacks the US and the West as subsequent future enemies while, however, for the time being focusing on liberating the Islamic countries first. In his speech, packed in a tight ideology that was later to become mainstream in parts by al-Qaeda and reflected by the leadership circle of Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, he openly demands donations for the cause in Afghanistan by his US-based audience and defines *jihad* not only as a divine command but as a logical undertaking to also free Palestine. While the US and the CIA had only been used, according to ‘Azzam, in order to receive mostly technical help and weapons to down Soviet aircraft and hence crush the control of the skies over Afghanistan, the western lifestyles conflict with the Islamic habits and thus Muslims living in the US must be extra aware who they really serve. He questions his audience and accuses them of having gone astray while their true pious brothers are worshipping God properly by conducting *jihad* and aiding the Afghan Muslims. This is part of a divine command and a guarantee to gain entry to Paradise while at the same time this is beneficiary for Islam and the spreading of the ‘true’ interpretation. Such a notion includes the need for Muslims in the US to free themselves from social coherences such as drinking Pepsi and to be proud believers again. Parts of ‘Azzam’s arguments have always been an inspiration for other ideologues, to this day, and ‘Azzam is frequently cited and referenced in various writings and videos by the global operating al-Qaeda.

Key Words: ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam, Afghanistan, jihad, qital, ribat, karamat, shahid, Islamic state, khutba, Seattle.

“What do you have? You’ve got your wife, your house, a second child; a four [persons household]! How much do you make a month? How much do you pay for your rent, for food and drinks and other stuff like Pepsi and Cola? How much do you make? Am I speaking about a thousand Dollar? I am with you, 600, 400 Dollars. If you donate 150 Dollars, if everyone spends 150 Dollars, I donate 150 Dollars for Islam a month, then the situation of Islam and for Muslims will change.”

‘Abdallah ‘Azzam (1988, Seattle, USA)

“A sword, if you want to propagate “there is no God but God” (*shahada*), there is no God but God and do not propagate, except by the sword. That is what the Prophet – peace and blessing be upon him – said: “I was sent in this instant with the sword in between of my hands. Why? Until God, one is He, He has no partners, is worshipped.” *Tawhid* (unity of God) without a sword protecting it, without a sword there will be no *tawhid* on earth!” - ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam (1988, Seattle, USA)

“Democracy is the contract of clientage of the Jews and Christians. They are ruling contrary to what God sent [to mankind]. They are torturing our brothers the *Mujahideen* and are testing them in their religion and in their captivity. Our brothers are detained in prisons, their *‘ird* (honor) violated and their *hurmat* (inviolabilities, wives, sacrosanct) is brutally attacked while they insult God – mighty and exalted is He – and His Prophet Muhammad Muhammad – peace and blessing be upon him – for no one undertook anything against this. Therefore, we, the youth of Islam, are setting out – with the permission of God – to support our Prophet Muhammad; what are we waiting for? Are we waiting for the Jews and Christians to wipe out and triumph over our religion? No, by God! We are men, *Mujahideen*, on His path!”

*Abu ‘Atta’ al-Hudaydi – Suicide-bomber who targeted the US-embassy in Sana’a, Yemen.*¹

In March 2008 a jihadist media group calling themselves *Nukhbat al-i’lam al-jihadi*, “the Elite of jihadist Information”, published an Arabic language video and a transcript of what can perhaps be considered as the last known filmed sermon (*khutba*) by jihadist ideological mastermind ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam. He was a prime recruiter, Osama bin Laden companion and founder of the *maktabat al-khidamat* (Service Bureau) in Afghanistan that would become the platform for al-Qaeda (AQ). The filmed recording had been digitalized and published by the usual jihadist online forums where the materials of ‘Azzam are widely consumed and have their subsequent impact for individual postings as ‘Azzam is often mentioned and referenced (particularly in jihadist videos depicting violence and major suicide-bombings). ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam was an Islamic scholar (*shaykh*) from Palestine and had been a university lecturer for Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in Amman, Jordan.² In 1989 he and his two eldest sons Muhammad and Ibrahim were killed in a car bomb in Peshawar, Pakistan.³ ‘Azzam is until now, two decades after he died in, one of the most influential ideologues, who is being regularly cited, referenced and eulogized by all outlets of jihadist media capacity.⁴ The publishing of his last known *khutba* thus led to a great response in the jihadist forums where both the video as well as the transcript are well received. Allegedly, ‘Azzam travelled to Seattle, USA, in 1988 and his *khutba* had been filmed there while the conflict in Afghanistan was slowly but surely coming to an end. Dominated by the events of the jihad against the Soviet Red Army, ‘Azzam not only tries to recruit and ‘re-introduce’ Islam to his audience of America-based Muslims but he moves a step ahead and attacks the United States as another major, logical future enemy at

¹ Al-Malahim, a video production for the al-Qaeda on the Arab Peninsula (2010) Wa-yatakhudh minhum ash-shuhada’. ‘Azzam also appears in this video.

² Hegghammer, T. (2008) Abdullah Azzam, der Iman des Dschihad in Kepel, G. / Milelli, J. (2008) Al-Qaida – Texte des Terrors (München, Zürich: Piper), pp. 148-157. Hegghammer describes ‘Azzam’s academic development, his “religious studies in Damascus (1963-1966)”, his “Palestinian *Jihad* (1967-1970)”, his “promotion at the al-Azhar” University, Cairo, (1971-1973) and his “years in Amman (1973-1980)”. He became a professor in Jidda and was able to acquire a position in the Saudi funded new international Islamic University in Islamabad.

³ He was killed on Friday, 24.11.1989 at about seven o’clock in the morning, on his way to a mosque in Peshawar to preach the Friday sermon. Muhammad was 20 and his brother 15 years old (Hegghammer). Various conspiracy theories exist, who killed ‘Azzam (Hegghammer, pp. 163-164). Ranging from bin Laden who had him removed to gain control over the Arab fighters, to al-Zawahiri, who wanted the Egyptians in charge and who wanted to attack the regimes in the Middle East while ‘Azzam vowed for the Mujahideen to remain in Afghanistan to found a true Islamic state. Or was it a personal revenge, committed by an Afghan splinter group or was it the ISI?

⁴ The double-agent Abu Dujana al-Khurasani, aka Humam Khalil Abu-Mulal al-Balawi, who on 30 December 2009 killed several CIA and Jordanian GID agents in Khost, Afghanistan, by undertaking a suicide-operation claimed in one of “last interviews” also to have revenged ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam. According to al-Balawi, the GID is responsible for his murder. Prucha, N. (2010) Notes on the Jihadists’ Motivation for Suicide-Operations, *Journal for Intelligence, Propaganda and Security Studies*, 4 (1), pp. 65.

a second or third stage of *jihad* with the victory in Afghanistan in sight for the *Mujahideen*. ‘Azzam’s *khutba* provides a usual mix of citations from the Qur’an and *sunna*, bound to his contemporary tales of the fighting *Mujahideen* as well as the suffering Muslim population in Afghanistan. While he also includes stories and details of individual Mujahidin who fought and died, who attained the “*shahada* on the path of God” (i.e. died as ‘martyrs’) and witnessed divine blessings during their service for God, ‘Azzam repeatedly addresses the need to “establish an Islamic state” that can only be realized by jihad, combat (*qital*) with the potential to enter Paradise (*janna*) while struggling for this divine aim. ‘Azzam, who was a highly industrious writer and who frequently gave sermons, introduced stories from the Afghan *jihad* and tales of the *shuhada*’, killed *Mujahideen* who as a result attained the *shahada* for the sake of religion, and has made such stories from the frontlines of *jihad* popular, accessible and perhaps somewhat mainstream.⁵ One of his documents, the 251 page long writing entitled “The Craving for the Women of Paradise” (*al-hur*)⁶, can be considered as a template for contemporary jihadist publications (writings and videos) regarding the *shuhada*’, glorifying *jihad* and providing the theological and historical necessity to do so.



1988, Seattle, West Coast of the U.S. – Dr. ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam’s *khutba*

Nothing is mentioned in the film or the transcript that would provide some insight into ‘Azzam’s tour in the United States. The sermon starts out, in – what appears to be – a classical improvised mosque and receives great attention from his male audience, who gather close to the preaching *shaykh* to catch every word. ‘Azzam incites the audience, asks to financially support Islam, questions the Muslims in the U.S. and ties his exegesis of Qur’anic verses to the ongoing *jihad* in Afghanistan. The main focus in his religious rhetoric is the essential understanding of the “oneness of God” (*tawhid*), which is a fundamental of Islam and stated in the Islamic creed (*shahada* - “there is no God but God and Muhammad is His Messenger”). ‘Azzam additionally mentions from the Qur’an that “God is one, He has no partners.”⁷ This is not uncommon for jihadist circles, but it has established itself as a thorough principle in most radical

⁵ ‘Azzam, ‘A. (1987) *Ilhaq bi-l-qafila*, <http://tawhed.ws/r?i=6nxrvref> (25.10.2010). ”Join the Caravan” is a classical work of the *jihad* literature.

⁶ ‘Azzam, ‘A. ‘Ushshaq al-Hur, <http://tawhed.ws/dl?i=pwtico4g> (02.10.2010). “The ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam folder” can be accessed here: <http://tawhed.ws/a?a=a82qriko>.

⁷ A reference to Quran 6:163.

writings published online since early 2000 and has particularly been used and introduced by al-Qaeda on the Arab Peninsula (AQAP) since 2003 as well as the mainstream global al-Qaeda (AQ) members, sympathizers and leaders. It could be stated, that jihadists – contemporary as much as in the 1980s – clearly distinguish themselves by a particular notion and a specific rhetoric bound to religious texts interpreted accordingly to justify and sanction political decisions and violence. Thus, with the growth of the jihadists corpus, the Islamic *shahada* and historical as well as certain theological concepts have been hijacked and utilized by AQ and its affiliated torrents and sub-groups and freely roam the internet available for download. ‘Azzam introduces his *khutba* by reciting the 111th and 112th verse of the ninth *surah* (*al-Tawbah*) of the Quran, which he subsequently interprets and ties to the necessity to both conduct *jihad* and the aim of establishing an Islamic state:

“God bought from the believers their lives and their fortune for that the Paradise belongs to them; they shall fight (*yuqatiluna*) on the path of God and are thus killing (*yaqtuluna*) or are killed (*yuqtaluna*) and who other than God fulfills his promise binding on Him in truth, through the Law, the Gospel, and the Quran. And who is more faithful to his covenant than God. So rejoice in the bargain which you have concluded, that is the supreme achievement.” – No one, ‘Azzam adds and then concludes: “Those that turn (to God) in repentance; that serve Him, and praise Him; that wander in devotion to the cause of God; that bow down and prostrate themselves in prayer; that enjoin good and forbid evil; and observe the limit set by God.- (These do rejoice). So proclaim the glad tidings to the Believers.”

The Qur’an terms this as a „divine covenant“ worthy for the believers and ‘Azzam includes this into a greater context of rigid interpretation for the actions in Afghanistan in 1988 that are then addressed in combination with the question of Palestine as well as the status of Muslims living and working in the US. Part of the 9th verse include, as found frequently in religious sources in general, a “merit” or “credit” (*thawab*) for *qital* (combat) and *jihad* “on the path of God” for the pious believer. The term “war” (*harb*) in this context is mostly avoided whereas *qital* has a tighter connotation to religious sources which are to be read in their historic conditions and are then consequently translated and derived to contemporary times and the geo-political setting. *Qital* and *jihad* are undistinguishable terms in the greater AQ ideology and embedded in a vast and intensive ideological corpus that is mainly published online and that continues to attract sympathizers and potential recruits to its alleged cause of justice and divine righteousness.

According to ‘Azzam, “this verse demarcates the intention (*ghaya*)⁸ of the believer (*mu’min*) in his life, as the intention is the Paradise.” The line of demarcation is subtly drawn between those of the believers, who sincerely adhere to salafist-jihadist ideology and thus are enabled to attain the *shahada* and to gain entry to Paradise for their worldly deeds (i.e. violent *jihad*) and those of the Islamic communities, who abstain from the “divine command”, as frequently stated. For “the seller is the *mu’min* and the buyer is God – mighty and exalted is He (...). Bought of the *mu’min* is their self and their worldly possessions, the price is oneself and one’s goods, in exchange for Paradise.” The ‘deal’ is hence between the individual believer and God as “we do not pay anything, as the soul and the goods are His; He is the One who created the souls, bestowed the worldly goods and Paradise without exchange “for that the Paradise belongs to them;” what are they doing? “They shall fight on the path of God and are thus killing or are killed” – *qital* is a dire necessity until we arrive in Paradise. An manifest distinguishing mark is that we begin performing the transaction, the contract [between God and the believer] and that is *qital*. For they shall fight as truly promised by Him in the Torah, the Gospels and the Qur’an – and who can live of his promise in full to

⁸ Often this is also expressed by another Arabic term (*niya*), whereas the *niya* of the *Mujahid*, must be clear in order to gain rewards for his actions in this world.

God? No one.” After further stressing the importance and the necessity for this divine trade, ‘Azzam continues to recite verses from the Qur’an and ties specific elements to chosen concepts that are applicable for every Muslim – while not sparing his audience from critical commentary and questioning their status in a non-Islamic society. “Indeed, what do we want? Do we want supplication and missionary work for Islam? What do the Muslims want? Are they thinking about Paradise? Are they really sincere in seeking *al-firdaws* (Paradise)? This is in the Afterlife (*akhira*), if we want the Paradise in the Afterlife, in this world (*dunya*), what do we want?” ‘Azzam questions any worldly goods, including receiving bread or academic degrees as a result for as long as the Muslim countries, including foremost Palestine, are “torn apart” and again addresses the Muslims in non-Islamic countries. “What have you taken from life in this country? Palestine? The Jews have taken that. O Palestinian-Arabs, you are ill-treated, come to us, please, we have opened the door to America for you. The Lebanese have opened the door to America for you. They pressured you until granting you to sit here to serve. Come! Serve us and you are allowed to buy land. Then your children grow up and the daughter goes astray, the son loses himself, you lose your religion, your homeland vanishes and you keep on talking about Palestine. I will return to Palestine – we will return Palestine – where is this Palestine you want to return to?!” As members of the American society, ‘Azzam further concludes, each Muslim contributes to the capitalistic system, being exploited as cheap migrant workers. This conception is part of a greater, a global, Jewish conspiracy against Islam in order to protect and support Israel⁹ and Arab Muslims in the U.S. are involuntarily working for such an entity.¹⁰ ‘Azzam interweaves this rhetoric and these allegations to his audience to the broader concepts and the goal to establish an Islamic State that can only be achieved by conducting *qital* and *jihad*. “We are exploring to establish an Islamic state, we are saying, we want to establish an Islamic state – an Islamic state without *qital* and slaughter? Not plausible! Always impossible, how can there be an Islamic state, the whole world, all the enemies and all the infidel, have declared war against you, shooting at us with one longbow, the Jews, Christians and the *mushrikeen*¹¹!”

Unlike Usama bin Ladin and his deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri, ‘Azzam abstained from directing his rhetoric against the United States as the potential future enemy that must be tackled after the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan became clear. ‘Azzam, however, does question his Muslim audience in the U.S. why and how they can support a system, a country, a belief-set by contributing their work-force and by living there although this is – according to the salafist-jihadist creed – absolutely contrary to “Islam”. His anger and hatred is directed at the west and particularly against the U.S. who he understands as the prime force hindering the resurrection of “an Islamic state” while supporting Israel and the continued occupation of Palestine. The goal to establish an Islamic state is always bound to the approach of conducting *jihad* while “there is no Paradise without *jihad* and without patience.” ‘Azzam seeks to restrict violent Islamic resistance movements within the Arabic and Islamic countries, hence the title of his *khutba*, with “time

⁹ ‘Azzam ask the audience whether “you want to enter an American enterprise, who give you five hundred, or a thousand Dollars and you work for them? Everything of you pours into [pockets of] Jewish industrialists, into their financial factories and into their banking houses which they have. All of our blood, all of our sweat, our whole life pours now into the usurious banks of the Jews.” In another part of his *khutba*, he states “do you want to get a piece of paper of a Jewish-American university? How much you have paid and endeavors undertaken until you get the paper after five years. If you were only to work one fourth of what you have invested for this paper for Islam, to aid Islam.”

¹⁰ In the jihadists’ language, the world is subjugated not only to (neo-) Crusaders but also to obscure Zionist-Shiite alliances and other types of secret organizations (Freemasonry), conspiring against Islam (and thus against God).

¹¹ A term used by the jihadists’ to describe also Christians and non-Muslims in general. Historically, the *mushrikeen* had been Arabs of the Arab Peninsula who adhered and worshipped deities; thus, by doing so, partnered other Gods next to God. This is a fundamental violation of the Islamic monotheism. See also FN 5

(<http://rieas.gr/images/prucha.pdf>).

being not important” in his perception. If only Muslims would truly and sincerely pursue “their religion”, resist, fight and combat – as incited by the *jihadists*’ corpus of works and *sharia*-bound statements – within the alleged divine commandments for an Islamic state, then the next logical phase would be a unified *umma* that could counteract the West and expel western influences. The aspect of conducting a violent *jihad* is thus a fundamental part as “there is no Paradise without destitution, suffering and tremor, without *jihad* and patience, without fighting and killing, without the blood and the bodies, without the spirits of the ‘martyrs’ (*shuhada*) – that’s not reasonable! By God, if there were an Islamic state, or an Islamic society that would be founded without these sacrifices, then the first of people exempted of such an entity would be the Messenger of God – please and blessings upon him – and his companions.” As change and commitment always consumes blood, sweat and tears, ‘Azzam tries to highlight his reasoning by asking whether or not, “my dear brother, any principle on earth [exists] that triumphed without [any] blood[shed], without sacrifice; the communist Ba’ath Party [in Syria] – do you assume that Hafiz al-Assad came to power for free?”¹² The most important strategy for ‘Azzam is primarily to safeguard, defend and protect Muslim territories, as he has published in his book¹³, and thus ties this to his Afghan war experiences where he among his fellow *Mujahideen* are conducting what could perhaps best be described as a stage-one *jihad*: Defending a Muslim country with the claim of re-introducing a properly interpreted form of Islam in combination of alleged divine commandments to fight and kill as part of a worship and veneration. “States are impossible for you to establish without great destruction, without a pile of flesh and blood and skulls. Right now in Afghanistan, how many have died? Until now 1.5 million *shahid*, seas of blood, every four minutes a *shahid* falls on the Afghan soil. Every minute a refugee (*muhajir*)¹⁴ of the women, children and elderly flees from the villages to the bushes and the mountains¹⁵ (...) Trust me, brothers, the dismay of the war in Afghanistan remind us of the horror of Judgment Day.” Furthermore, just as much as the *jihad* is a form of worship, “the *jihad* in Afghanistan is like the circling of the Ka’aba: it never stops. Not even for a brief moment, not in the Summer and not in the Winter, not at night, not at day. It doesn’t stop. After these sacrifices, God knows it, the Islamic state will be established or not.” ‘Azzam then continues to call out to his audience to actively contribute to the *jihad* in Afghanistan, questioning why not even 150 Dollars a month can be spend for Islam and ties this, once again, to the possibility of attaining entry to Paradise. “Therefore, we are pure¹⁶ while we are sincere with the directive of our religion. So take it by force, then into Paradise, Paradise!” Touching theological grounds, ‘Azzam further incites his listeners to distinguish themselves as active Muslims and to undertake practical and active commitments to *jihad* in Afghanistan, portraying the principal of *ribat* and recognizing their status and conditions as Muslims living in the United States.

¹² It may be assumed that ‘Azzam has the siege of the Syrian city of Hama in mind where the Muslim Brotherhood rebelled against Assad’s Ba’ath Party in 1982. After declaring anyone remaining in the city a rebel, Hafiz al-Assad had the city surrounded and destroyed by non-stop shelling.

¹³ ‘Azzam, ‘A. ad-Difa’ ‘an aradi l-muslimmeen aham furud al-‘a’iyan, <http://tawhed.ws/r?i=x483iubf> (24.10.2010).

¹⁴ This term describes the “emigrant” but in this context the translation “refugee” seems more appropriate. The *muhajir* in jihadist terming usually depicts the *Mujahid* who was “migrated” to the frontlines of *jihad* and who is thus in a state of *hijra* as early Muslims had been.

¹⁵ An interesting book, translated to Arabic by Muhammad Harb, provides some insight of a woman who fled to Pakistan during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in the 1980s: Ma’ruf, M. (1989) *al-Hijra min Afghanistan* (Beirut: Dar al-Qalam

¹⁶ *Suraha*’ can also be read as “unadulterated” or “uncontaminated”, “sincere”.



Cover of the re-published (2010) transcription of his *khutba*. In the background: The al-Aqsa Mosque

The psychological-ideological element of *ribat* – fortifying the firm belief of ‘divine terrorism’ and setting a standard for its future use by AQ

As this element is of great importance, and as such expressed in ‘Azzam’s *khutba*, the impact of *ribat* in combination with the alleged worship¹⁷ conducted by fulfilling *jihad* must be noted. By this, ‘Azzam attempts to further incite and actively engage his audience to not only question their lives in the West, but rather to at least donate to those, who are as a matter of fact considered as *murabiteen*, *mujahideen* and – in parts – *muhajireen*. The understanding and translation of the Arabic term *ribat*¹⁸ is very comprising. The general notion of *ribat* is to be understood in the *jihad* genre in close context of a verse of the Quran, where it is interpreted in connection of warfare. *Ribat* is referenced in the 60th verse of the eight chapter, the *surat al-anfal* (“the Spoils of War”), whereas this specific verse is often found to legitimize acts of war, for example, in bomb making handbooks or for the alleged theological justification of “suicide operations”, that are expressed in *fatwas* or uttered by *Mujahideen* in videos. To this day (2010), parts of sermons and speeches by ‘Azzam appear in *jihad* videos to underline the importance and legitimacy of violence. It is in general considered as a justification, a divine command, to prepare militarily for combat and to conduct *jihad* as being part of a broader understanding of religious service and hence worship on the “path of God.” *Ribat* as stated in the Quran, is referenced to the “steeds of war” (*ribat al-khayl*), that must be kept in an alert state, made ready for war and hence remain “tied”, mostly in border regions or contested areas. In order to “strike terror into [the hearts of] the enemies of God”, these “steeds of war” are to be unleashed with their power for militarily purposes, by mounted *Mujahideen* (who thus are the *murabiteen* – also in a sense of being garrisoned, or pinned down on the frontlines):

“Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of God and your enemies, and others besides, whom you may not know, but God knows them. Whatever you spend in the path of God, will be repaid to you, and you will not be treated unjustly” (Quran 8:60).

‘Azzam has picked this up and deploys the citation “to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies” as an ultimate argument that is unleashed according to the settings and conditions he, as the religious authority received, sets. “And if *jihad* would be a crime and terrorism would be a crime? Yes, we are terrorists. We

¹⁷ A good and comprehensible example on the jihadists’ notion of worship, divine commandment and the individuals obligation to commit *jihad* is expressed in a statement entitled “regarding the latest recantations”, published in The Voice of Jihad, No. 5 (2003), pp. 5-6.

¹⁸ *Ribat* is a historical-religious term that is being misused and systematically exploited by the ideology of AQ & co. For an excellent description of *ribat* and the coastal defense system during the Umayyad Caliphate and the status of the “fighter in a frontier fort”: Khalilieh, H. (2008) The Ribat of Arsuf and the Coastal Defense System in Early Islamic Palestine, *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19 (2), pp. 159–177.

Long, M. (2009) *Ribat*, al-Qa’ida, and the Challenge for US Foreign Policy, *The Middle East Journal*, 63(1), pp. 31-47.

Prucha, N. (2009) Jihadists’ use of Quran’s *ribat* Concept, *Jane’s Islamic Affairs Analyst*, pp. 2-4.

know who we are – we are terrorists and terrorism is a obligation according to the Book and the *sunna*. What if those unbelievers (*kuffar*) wouldn't terrorize us? Then we would not be on the Islamic path; if they wouldn't terrorize us, we wouldn't be true Muslims as a matter of fact." 'Azzam actually uses the English word "fundamentalist" and "fanatics" as a description being used by the western media for the *Mujahideen* in Afghanistan who draw parallels to figures such as Sayyid Qutb. A similar rhetoric as also used by the prominent Saudi cleric Hamud bin 'Uqla' al-Shu'aybi, who complained that "the *Mujahideen* are termed with scandalous nicknames such as "terrorists", "extremists", and "fanatics" because they sacrifice themselves in the fight against the Zionists, the Russians, Buddhists and others. What doubts exists, that our brothers, the *Mujahideen*, are terrorists by this meaning: We terrorize the enemies of God, realizing His command."¹⁹

Any secret services, particularly the CIA as well as the KGB are nothing compared to the power and the divine commandments under which the "true Muslims" act. "What has the CIA become in our cause? Like it is more powerful then the Lord of the Worlds²⁰, operating on earth? (...) Who is more exalted ('*aliy*)?²¹ Who is stronger? Who is greater? Who is more powerful? The Lord of the Worlds or the CIA, America, its missiles and what have you?" The individual *Mujahid* cannot lose but only gain as he commits by undertaking the *jihad* and subsequently *ribat*. He thus gains a higher chance to enter Paradise. Citing historical sources based on Prophet Muhammad, 'Azzam continues to provide waterproof arguments and convictions that the *jihad* is not only for the good of the common Muslims by liberating or defending Islamic countries, rather it is also the ultimate possibility for the true and firm believer to distinguish himself while having the outlook to either die as a 'martyr' (*shahid*) or to win.²² Nevertheless, such service will enable the individual entry to Paradise – either way, for "this world is a corridor not an abode (*fa-l-dunya dar mamarr wa-laysat dar maqarr*)"²³ as members of other Islamist and jihadist groups such as Hamas often state and address.

In the jihadists' mindset, writings, videos and general (Photoshopped) propaganda the element of *ribat* is a vital ingredient. The overall doctrine and as it is being depicted in the videos²⁴, is of great appeal and founded on mostly historical facts derived from Islamic heritage. Scholars such as 'Azzam, however, take certain elements, translate these into contemporary times and pinpoint historical theologians specific notions based on the rich Islamic corpus with the aim to provide a 'proper' commentary and a exegesis of the Quran (*tafsir*). 'Azzam takes religious findings and links these to the ongoing *jihad* in Afghanistan

¹⁹ Al-Shu'aybi, H. (2001) *Hukm al-jihad wa-isti'dhan al-walidayn fihi*, *Minbar al-Tawheed wa-l Jihad*, <http://www.tawhed.ws/r?i=822&PHPSESSID=6e7cd3991ebce2b89175bbbac81ca16>. Al-Shu'aybi was one of the ideologues who favored the 1980s *jihad* in Afghanistan and who frequently published radical writings and *fatwas*. He was a member of the Saudi '*ulama*. He was arrested by Saudi authorities in the aftermath of 9/11 and – unlike others – refused to recant his writings. According to official statements, al-Shu'aybi died due to a natural cause in prison. Naturally, he is considered a *shahid* in jihadist circles. See also <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C05E4DD153BF932A15752C0A9649C8B63> (06.05.2008).

²⁰ A reference for God.

²¹ This term, however, with the article *al* is also one of God's attributes (the Most High, the Supreme) and yet another word game quite typical for the jihadists' rhetoric.

²² Either victory or death as often stated, whereas both are a success for the individual.

²³ Alshech, E. (2008) Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies and Eulogies, *Die Welt des Islams* (48), pp. 23-49. Alshech references <http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/Hamas/shuhda/abokwak/waseyah.htm> - where the *wasiya* (testimony) can be accessed (12.10.2010).

²⁴ In such productions the "caravans of *Mujahideen*" are as much portrayed "on the path of God" as individuals.

(1988) together with the status the individual *Mujahid* attains and at the same times accuses his US-based audience of having walked into a trap set by the West while going astray as Muslims, being idle as believers. As in the jihadists' worldview, a giant, and in most parts bizarre global conspiracy is at work and as such *ribat* is a means to "purify" oneself. In doing so, 'Azzam enforces a religious-social authority and re-reads chosen historical key words in his specific interpretation which is embedded in both an active violent individual stance as well as a contemporary geo-political / global discourse.

"One day of *ribat* on the path of God is more beneficial than this world (*dunya*) and what's on it. Not better than Seattle, Portland, Washington B.C. [sic!], New York or America and US companies and their Jewish employers and their banks; more beneficial than the *dunya* and what's in it."²⁵ This essence is directly related to the understanding that "all ones goings on the path of God and the speech on the path of God, if you take it from Quran or Sunna, as Ibn Hajjar said, when meaning that *jihad* is obvious by applying the term on the path of God. That is *jihad* as the *jihad* has been decreed by the four legal law schools of Islam: *qital* by the sword, that is what *jihad* is."

'Azzam points further out, that "*jihad* must undergo four steps until we unite –*jihad* is constituted by four chapters:

- 1) The *hijra* (emigration);
- 2) military preparations and training;²⁶
- 3) *ribat*. *Ribat* is the residing under arms on the border and "open passes, frontiers" (*thughur*)²⁷ of Islam, for that you are fearing the enemy and he is fearing you [deterrence, securing of borders, clear spheres of ruling and governance], considering that you are attacking him or the enemy is attacking you – this is *ribat*;
- 4) *qital*: Don't ask about it. Performing one hour in the rows [of the *Mujahideen*] for *qital* is more benevolent than 60 years [of prayer or religious service].²⁸ If led astray, spending the nights in Seattle [for prayers for] sixty years; spend one hour on top of the mountains of Afghanistan or within Gaza, carrying with you just a revolver, firing at the enemy, at the Jew, this is more benevolent than being in Seattle for sixty years; [based on] a authentic *hadith*."

²⁵ Such a rhetoric is nowadays just as much a vital backbone and frequently expressed in jihadist writings disseminated online. *Ribat*, according to *hadith* sources is generally more benevolent, as 'Izz al-Din al-Maqdisi wrote in his book (2005) published in all major jihad forums as a downloadable PDF: "What Muslim transmits in his *sahih* of the *hadith* of Salman, the Messenger of God said: "*ribat* for one day on the path of God is more benevolent than fasting for one month, and should death arrive upon him in its deed, when performing it, he [shall] receive the highest reward and its endowment and protection from the two angels of death" (*sahih* Muslim, No. 3537). According to the collection of another authentic *hadith* scholar, al-Bukhari, "*ribat* for one day on the path of God is better than this world and what is in it" – (*sahih* al-Bukhari, No. 2678). Al-Maqdisi, 'I. (2005) *Tanbih al-rahil ila aham ma yahtajjuhu min al-masa'il*.

²⁶ As also implied in jihadist-speak in Quran 8:60 and its implementation in various videos and writings, perhaps dominantly in the statements and memoranda of the Saudi AQAP in 2003/04, who published AQAP's electronic magazine *Sawt al-jihad* ("The Voice of Jihad"). Prucha, N. (2010) *Die Stimme des Dschihad – „Sawt al-gihad“ al-Qa'idas Erstes Online- Magazin* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac).

²⁷ This ideological term is bound to *ribat*, the frontlines, the protection of the "border" or contested areas where Muslims, the "people of the border", live. Taken from historical principles, as described by Hassan Khalilieh, the "people of the border" is another element hijacked by contemporary jihadist ideologues who further build their arguments of conducting various types of *jihad*, such as a defensive-*jihad* to protect Muslims in areas whereas enemies could have access or are occupying Islamic territory.

²⁸ As 'Izz al-Din al-Maqdisi cited 13th/14th century scholar Ibn Taymiyya: "The consensus of the scholars is that *ribat* is more favorable than neighboring the [Grand] Mosque in Mecca."

The *jihad* and thus *ribat* in Afghanistan is embedded in ‘Azzam’s argumentation to not only defend and liberate Muslim territories but also to protect and restore any violations of Islamic Laws committed by non-Muslim invaders (or apostates or vassals of the Soviets). Not only is the desire of an “Islamic state” constantly repeated,²⁹ but the path to the creation of such a statehood, that would not violate the laws of God, is clearly only possible by fighting for it. The problem, however, is finding sincere men who are not affected by worldly appeals and enemy propaganda, who are free and pious followers of the jihadists’ and salafists’ creed of “re-enacting prophecy”³⁰ and are thus able to move out and become *Mujahideen* as well as *Murabiteen*. “The al-Aqsa Mosque fell in the year 1967. It would not have fallen if only ten men had defended it.”

Drawing a further line of demarcation – wonderful tales of individuals of the *jihad* in Afghanistan

The *khutba* naturally includes stories and divine wonders witnessed by the *Mujahideen* in Afghanistan that ‘Azzam tells as a participant and as a religious authority.³¹ This article could only highlight specific aspects due to the length of the *khutba*. But what is quite appalling besides the bragging about alleged victories against the Afghan National Army and the Russians (“at least 50.000 Russians killed; 1.300 tanks destroyed”) and the constant criticism of Muslims living in the west, ‘Azzam’s final and concluding attempt to further incite and reach out to his audience is by telling the tales of “gracious wonders”, “miracles” or “thaumaturgic” occasions. Such *karamat*, whereas a *Mujahid* experienced a miracle by God while fighting on His path, are the concluding remarks and should summon up how a Muslim can further draw a line of demarcation to ‘passive’ believers by joining the *jihad*. Such ‘acts of God that emanate at the hand of creation’ are of course reserved only for the *Mujahideen* in the literature genre of *jihad* while one may argue that God shows signs of approvals, expressed by miracles, to confirm the righteousness of those wandering on His path, fulfilling their promise to Him (as frequently stated). Ironically, as the *jihadist* despises *Sufism*, *karamat* are essential in the *sufists*’ spiritual notion. ‘Azzam’s analytical attempts of the world are mixed with religious-spiritual experiences each and every *Mujahid* may be exposed to in the process of conducting “*jihad* on the path of God.” As *jihad* is a method and a place of veneration, those who die as a *shahid* – for example – are subjected to unnatural conditions as their bodies smell like musk³² and do not decompose. As ‘Azzam wrote extensively about killed *Mujahideen* in Afghanistan, he easily recalls several examples in his sermon to underline the *karamat* for the killed before he refers to *karamat* experienced by fighters who under normal and logical circumstances would have been killed,

²⁹ Should an Islamic state be existent, then it would be the duty of every pious and sincere Muslim to emigrate to this State. This dogma is not only expressed in the writings and pamphlets of groups such as the *Hizb at-Tahrir* but had also been a factor in the writings based on the first generation of the Saudi AQ organization that consisted in great parts of Arab Afghanistan veterans who had fled after the US-led intervention in October 2001 and who understood the Taliban state in Afghanistan as such an state, with the necessity to undertake the *hijra* there in order to develop and defend it.

³⁰ Prucha, N. (2010) Die Stimme des Dschihad – „Sawt al-gihad“ al-Qa’idas Erstes Online-Magzin, pp. 82-94.

³¹ For more on ‘Azzam’s role in Afghanistan and the “Arab-Afghans”: Anas, ‘A. (2002) *Waladat al-Afghan al-Arab – sira ‘Abdallah Anas bayna Mas’ud wa-‘Abdallah ‘Azzam* (Beirut: Dar al-Saqi). The book contains next to interviews with ‘Azzam and Ahmad Shah Mas’ud a personal account of the 1980s jihad.

³² See also Eli Alsheeh (2008) who states that the texts of Hamas’ commonly state that the martyrs’ corpses, gravesites, and personal belonging emit the scent of musk, a fragrance that the Qur’an associates with Paradise and that the Islamic tradition (*hadith*) considers a proof that a martyr was accepted by God.” *Die Welt des Islams* (48), pp.35-36. In reference the *hadith* was related: “No-one is wounded in the Path of God, and God knows best who is wounded in His Path, except that he will come on the Day of Resurrection with his wounds spurting blood. Its colour will be like the color of blood and its smell will be that of musk” (al-Bukhari, Book 7, No. 441).

however, wondrously survived unharmed! Their clothes are burned, but their bodies remain untouched, unharmed, non-violated and thus pious and pure.

As the youth came to Pakistan from all Arab countries “as America watched and found them”, they moved on to Afghanistan to seek “‘martyrdom’ and not to die.” Two young Saudis, who came to Afghanistan, died and were buried next to one another impressed “‘Abd al-Matin, a leader of the Afghan front, who told me: “An *‘alim* had come to us, reciting the Quran on top of the head of Sa’ad al-Rushud [from al-Qasim] after he had attained the *shahada* 18 hours ago. As he heard the Quran, he – Sa’ad al-Rushud – started to tremble out of fear and awe and from their grave a light emitted on Monday and Thursday night. The light came out of their grave, up to the sky and then returned to their grave.” Another story describing the *karamat* for those who attained the *shahada* in the jihadists’ reasoning is about two young Arabs (both 19 years of age), who “had been buried two months ago inside of al-Mas’ada³³” which is depicted as a “center for the Arabs who gathered the Arab youths there. The two had been buried, their blood, before they were buried was like precious musk. They buried them and a light started to come out of their graves, also on the second day. ‘Abdallah al-Ghamidi, he was 18 years old, out of his grave came the *takbir* “Allahu akbar”. The scream “Allahu akbar” came repeatedly out of his grave. Khalid al-Kurdi, from the city al-Manawwara (Medina, Saudi Arabia), a landmine exploded under him. He lost his leg, his stomach was blasted open, his bowels and intestines gushing out on the ground. Doctor Salih al-Libi came to him, fixing his intestines up and started to wrap up his stomach with bandages. Doctor Salih was crying, and Khalid said to him: “O doctor Salih, why are you crying, this is just a slight injury on the back of my hand? [pointing to it]” It wasn’t so bad that his leg was blown off and his stomach blasted open. He met God after two hours while he told his brothers that it wasn’t so bad that his leg and his stomach had just been injured.”³⁴ Such attributes of the *shuhada’* continue in the jihadists’ narratives (in writing and film)³⁵ to this very day.

³³ It should be noted that *al-Mas’ada* in the meantime is a highly active online-jihad media group.

³⁴ ‘Azzam narrates this very same story in a *khutba* (“The Sword is the Solution”) in Afghanistan. In this sermon ‘Azzam provides more details on the death of al-Kurdi, who “asked to attain the *shahada* as well that his brothers may seal their life with it.” ‘Azzam then relates that the “pleasant smell of musk was spread, when he left” this world. Usood 2, published by the Ansar al-Mujahideen in 2007 who include besides *khutbas* by ‘Azzam contemporary training sequences and speeches by Osama bin Laden, Abu Yahya al-Libi and Abu ‘l-Layth al-Libi (who was killed in a drone strike in early 2009).

³⁵ Another example is the opening of the grave of Osama al-Shurbshi, a Palestinian *shahid*. His grave was opened to place his deceased father (d. 2007) next to his son, who died for the cause of al-Fatah (1982). As his corpse is uncovered, the smell of musk is predominant, such an unnatural state is claimed being *karamat al-shuhada’*: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69Vgx4vIKuY> (22.10.2010). The video has more than 600,000 hits. For more information: <http://moneer1976.maktoobblog.com/578717/قصه-حقيقية-جنت-الشهيد-أسامة-الشوربي-م> (next to musk, “something like smoke exited the grave and a strong (perfume like) scent was smelled. One of the brothers passed out due to this strong and beautiful aroma.” In this example (1.7 million hits) a *karama* is accredited to a Palestinian boy before he died. Lying in a coma in a hospital bed, only his left index finger is moving (and interpreted as confessing the *shahada*); <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z9ZrPn3rDe8>.

Pictures of the *shuhada’* appear regularly in various jihadist videos and in some cases *karamat*, such as the sprawled right index finger of deceased (confessing the unity of God (tawhid)) or – what is interpreted as – a smile on the face of the dead are to ‘proof’ that the *shahid* has confessed to the last and now has gained entry to Paradise.



“Abdallah al-Masri attained the *shahada* on the first of *shawwal* 1407 (29.05.1987) and we found him on the second of *dhu al-qa’da*, a month and a day later. He was as if he were sleeping, his blood kept flowing, it was sticky and hadn’t frozen.³⁶

Abu Hafz al-Urduni (“the Jordanian”) fell on the ground. His face was illuminated like the full moon (*badr*) although he was brown. And the light came out from his grave. And considering the Afghans, the matters are of the *karamat* – like the youths who entered the battle and only got their clothes burned, without one of them being wounded.”

Furthermore, the *karamat* continue in the sermon as ‘Azzam asks “how many of the youth have entered battles and their clothes had been burned, and not one of them had been injured.” The heroic epics, ongoing primarily in the *online jihad* propaganda of AQ today, had already been popular and fascinating in the modern sense of the *jihad* in Afghanistan. “One, his name was Ahmad Banna from the leadership circle of Ahmad Shah Mas’ud, approximated that about 30 of the youth destroyed about 500 tanks in eight years. Najeeb³⁷ – the president of the state – send him [a note]: “O Banna, reduce your attacks and we will give you what you want. You know that we have your brother imprisoned, we will kill him if you continue to attack our tanks.” This Ahmad Banna read a *hadith* “in the name of God” (who says at the time of the morning “in the name of God,” who does not lead anything on earth or in heaven by His name astray, for He is the all-hearing and all-knowing). Banna as a matter of fact believed that no bullet can injure him, as long as he recited this *hadith* three times.³⁸ He took autobuses and public transports [i.e. minibuses and shared taxis] on the Highway where the Russians had set up check points and unarmed watch points. Banna’s picture was distributed among the Russians who named him General Banna. As one of the Russian soldiers spotted him and said “Banna!”, fear overcame him. An Arab youth told me: “By God, the weapons slipped out of the hand of the Russians who were at the checkpoint while Ahmad fended them off unarmed, jumping out of the car, and coming under machinegun fire. Only his clothes were burned. He was not wounded, not even a scratch.” The attention is focused on the *karamat* that could

³⁶ A similar expression, “as if he were sleeping” is found in ‘Azzam’s description of the *karamat* in his book ‘Ushshaq al-hur, p. 150.

³⁷ Muhammad Najeebullah

³⁸ In some regards, Voodoo witchcraft in Africa is being used to make soldiers “bulletproof”. Rituals are replaced by the mere fact of reciting a *hadith* or just participating in *jihad*. It may be, that the firm belief in God’s aid and guidance leads to high-risk actions that are, if survived, particularly unharmed, defined and termed as “miracles” for the individual *Mujahid*.

be understood as a reward by God in this world, just as ‘Azzam continues with two, perhaps at best termed paranormal, stories from the battlefields of Afghanistan, where he attributes *karamat* to individual *Mujahideen* during battle or when under fire. Following a classical-historical line of classical Arabic texts, ‘Azzam re-enacts the *hadith* by copying its rhetorical style:

“I said to Abu Hafz al-Urduni before he was ‘martyred’ and returned from the Russian border, I said to him: “Tell me about the *karamat*, that you have seen.” He said: : “O *shaykh* ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam you are relating [stories] of the *karamat*, but you surely won’t believe this *karamat* I will now tell you.” I said: “Tell me.” He said: “We had been at battle and a RPG³⁹ was fired at the Afghan *Mujahids*. Such a RPG is capable to destroy a tank of 46 tons and just burned his clothes. He wasn’t wounded by the RPG that can destroy a tank like a rocket, perforating up to 17 cm of steel, wasn’t able to penetrate one cm of his flesh.” I said to the leader in Qandahar: “*ya fulan*⁴⁰” he and his aide had been *shaykh* Siyyaf, who was sitting with him, said to him: “*ya fulan*, tell me about the *karamat* you have seen.” He said: “One guy, I think his name was Yar Muhammad, one of the *Mujahideen*, once had an airplane flying over him. Therefore, he threw himself onto the ground and placed his weapon underneath his stomach. The aircraft fired a missile at him but only hit him on his back. His weapon underneath his stomach was broken while his back was not harmed.”

Both, the *karamat* for the ‘martyrs’ (*karamat al-shuhada*) as well as *karamat* to protect the *Mujahideen* are an important religious-psychological tool that only applies to the pious believers who actually move out and actively join the *jihād*. This is, of course, not only reserved for the *Mujahideen* in Afghanistan, or now for the global outlets of AQ, but also systematically deployed by groups such as Hamas. Such *karamat* apply to the graves, bodies and in another most interesting case to a newborn, as Eli Alsheech portrays in his fantastic article on Hamas ideology and the Intifadas: “For example, accounts of miracles which the documents attribute to Palestinian martyrs can be viewed as a direct catalyst for consolidating Hamas power and expanding its ideological grip over an ever-growing convictional community. Such is the case in the biography of the martyr named ‘Alaa ‘Ayyad. A few days after ‘Alaa’s death, a nephew was born to him. On the nephews face a birthmark shaped like the word ‘Alaa. Attached to his biography is a picture of the newborn on which the birthmark, shaped like the word ‘Alaa, is clearly visible. The caption underneath the picture explains: “This is the glory of God as reflected in the martyrs’ miracles (*karamat al-shuhada*)”.

By depicting the birthmark as a divine miracle and explaining it as evidence of God’s glory, as reflected in ‘Alaa’s martyrdom, the biography casts ‘Alaa as a divine instrument that God uses to broadcast His splendor in the world.”⁴¹

³⁹ Rocket Propelled Grenade – primarily a shoulder fired anti-tank weapon.

⁴⁰ Ya fulan, “o someone”, a stranger who is being addressed. This is quite common for the *hadith* where strangers and unknown (mostly) men addressed Muhammad with questions.

⁴¹ Alsheech, E. (2008) Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas’ Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs’ Ethical Wills, Biographies and Eulogies, *Die Welt des Islams*(48), pp. 40. The story of this *shahid* (inclusive the pictures) is found here: <http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/hamas/shuhda/2003/alla/syrah.htm> (22.10.2010).



Karamat al-shuhada' apply to the 'martyrs' who are portrayed by some groups as saints (particularly Hizbullah and Hamas) as much as the *karamat* are applicable to the *Mujahideen* in general and who may be spared by divine intervention in battles and subsequently continue their strive for God.

"Miracles" and marvelous tales add to 'Azzam's claim that Islam is sooner or later dominating the world while Afghanistan serves as a center to train, fight and return home to continue the *jihād* between Kabul und Jerusalem. Although the U.S., together with Russia, have somehow aligned to try to "stop the Islamic advance, which is set in motion from Afghanistan, as they are not afraid that the cause will end with the expelling of the Russians defeated from the inside of Afghanistan. They are very well fearful, Islam is starting to roll from Afghanistan to penetrate Russia and to, once again, subdue Europe and that Europe pays the *jizya* as was the case for six centuries when it was paid to the Muslim Turks."

Perhaps his concluding remark was a sign for the future to expand and widen the *jihād* between Kabul and Jerusalem?: "O brothers, the Afghan *jihād* is a *jihād* striving to re-establish Islam on earth and indeed has Islam returned to the international agenda, today we are hearing "all praise be God" in Palestine, for there are Islamic jihadists movements starting to get operational. There is a connection between the Afghan *jihād* and between Palestine. I just read in a newspaper, citing a Jewish journalist that now they are in terror of [Muslim] youths present inside of Palestine and that they have uncovered that some of the youths are training in Afghanistan and will return. And the story of a young girl named 'Attaf, who wanted to use her car as a bomb against a governmental building in Tel Aviv. They have found out that two of the youths, who both prepared for the operation, have been trained in a military training camp of the *Mujahideen* in Afghanistan." While the focus may have been between Kabul und Jerusalem, the conviction of the *Mujahideen* to have broken and destroyed the Soviet Union, as individuals in contemporary *as-Sahab* publications state⁴², may have led to the change of attitude in terms of widening the *jihād* on a global scale as it started in 'first contact clashes' with US-troops in Somalia in 1993.⁴³



⁴² As is the case of Abu Talha al-Almani (aka Bekkay Harrach) who claims that the same fate is due to happen to West. The economic crisis is simply the beginning and "proof" of the coming victory (as-Sahab German language video, 2009).

⁴³ As it was published in writings of the Saudi AQAP "The battle of Somalia convinced some of the leaders of *jihād* of the possibility to confront the Americans and revealed the power of the US-Army." Prucha, N. (2010) Die Stimme des Dschihad – „Sawt al-gihad“ al-Qa'idas Erstes Online- Magazin, pp. 28-29.

Written underneath: “ ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam, the *shahid* of the Islamic *umma*.”⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Al-Hami, S. (2008) ‘Ushshaq al-hur ila bilad al-afrah, pp. 56. This 878 page strong book published by the notorious *Nukhbat al-i’lam al-jihadi* contains several stories of killed, outstanding figures of the 80s *jihad* as well as includes contemporary faces such as Abu Mus’ab al-Zarqawi.