

Name: Al-Qaeda

Type of Organization:

- Non-state actor
- religious
- terrorist
- transnational
- violent

Ideologies and Affiliations:

- Jihadist
- pan-Islamist
- Qutbist
- Salafist
- Sunni
- takfiri

Place of Origin:

Afghanistan and Pakistan

Year of Origin:

1988

Founder(s):

Osama bin Laden, Abdullah Azzam, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Sayeed al-Masri, Mamdouh Mahmud Salim, Abu Ubaidah al-Banjshiri, WaelHamzaJulaidan, Sayyed Imam al-Sharif, Mohamed LoayBayazid (Abu Burhan, Sheikh Tameem, Abu Hajir, Abu Anas, Abu al Hasan al-Maki, Abu Ibraheem)

Places of Operation:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Burma, Djibouti, Ethiopia, France, India, Kashmir, Kenya, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Syria, Tunisia, United States, Yemen

Overview

Executive Summary:

[Osama bin Laden](#) [1] founded al-Qaeda during the latter stages of the Soviet-Afghan War with the goal of waging global jihad. Since its founding in 1988, al-Qaeda has played a role in innumerable terrorist attacks, and is most notoriously responsible for the multiple attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. The 9/11 terror attacks—the deadliest ever on American soil—left nearly 3,000 people dead and provoked the United States to wage war against al-Qaeda in the group’s home bases in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and other sanctuaries worldwide. Since then, the group has established five major regional affiliates pledging their official allegiance to al-Qaeda: in the Arabian Peninsula, North Africa, East Africa, Syria, and the Indian subcontinent.

In addition to directing and carrying out the 9/11 attacks, al-Qaeda is responsible for terrorist atrocities across the globe, including the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the 2002 Bali bombing, the 2003 Saudi Arabia bombings, the 2004 Madrid bombing, and the 2005 London bombing. Al-Qaeda is also responsible for several failed operations, including the 2009 Christmas Day plane bombing attempt, the 2010 Times Square bombing attempt, and the 2010 cargo plane bombing attempt. Today, al-Qaeda’s structure is increasingly decentralized, with affiliates acting semi-autonomously as extensions of al-Qaeda’s core mission. These affiliates carry out fatal terrorist attacks and hostage operations, and wage war under the al-Qaeda banner. Although al-Qaeda maintains affiliates worldwide, some of its

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affiliates have pledged allegiance to al-Qaeda's former affiliate in Iraq and current competitor, [ISIS](#) [2]. However, despite the dramatic rise of ISIS since 2013, the Pentagon, the National Counterterrorism Center, and the U.S. House Intelligence Committee have all forcefully stressed that al-Qaeda remains a critical terrorist threat.¹ This assessment was borne out in January 2015, when al-Qaeda's Yemeni affiliate, [al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula \(AQAP\)](#) [3], was credited with the deadly attack on French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* that left 12 people dead. Despite important strategic and ideological differences, Zawahiri has indicated that future cooperation with ISIS is not out of the question, for the ultimate goal of destroying the United States or, in the event of ISIS's own destruction, absorbing its fighters into a reinvigorated al-Qaeda.² In April 2017, Iraqi Vice President Ayad Allawi confirmed that al-Qaeda was seeking an alliance with ISIS, as Iraqi forces closed in on Mosul, ISIS's last key stronghold. Allawi claimed discussions were occurring between representatives of Baghdadi and Zawahiri.³

Doctrine:

Al-Qaeda is a jihadist network that seeks to establish a caliphate (global Muslim state) under sharia (Islamic law). In 1996, bin Laden issued a declaration of jihad against the United States and its allies, the contents of which continue to serve as the three cornerstones of al-Qaeda's doctrine: to unite the world's Muslim population under sharia; to liberate the "holy lands" from the "Zionist-Crusader" alliance, and to alleviate perceived economic and social injustices.⁴

Ultimately, al-Qaeda believes that it is fighting a "defensive jihad" against the United States and its allies, defending Muslim lands from the "new crusade led by America against the Islamic nations..."⁵ In his 1996 declaration of jihad against the United States, Osama bin Laden justified the use of force by citing 13th century Islamic scholar Ibn Taymiyyah: "To fight in defence of religion and Belief is a collective duty; there is no other duty after Belief than fighting the enemy who is corrupting the life and the religion. There [are] no preconditions for this duty and the enemy should be fought with [one's] best abilities."⁶

Since then, the group has adapted its strategy in an effort to meet its evolving goals. In 2005, details of al-Qaeda's 20-year strategy to implement its ideology emerged. Following a series of interviews and correspondence with senior al-Qaeda officials by Jordanian journalist Fouad Hussein, he described the "stages" leading to the ultimate objective of establishing a caliphate. According to Hussein, the first stage was the "awakening stage," which ranged from the 9/11 attacks to the U.S. taking over Baghdad in 2003.⁷ This period was then to be followed by the "opening eyes" stage which was expected to last between 2003 and 2006. According to Hussein, this stage entailed enhanced al-Qaeda operations in the Middle East, centralizing power in Iraq, and establishing bases in other Arabic states. The third stage, "Arising and Standing Up," was staged to last between 2007 and 2010 and was focused on goading Syria to conduct attacks on Israel and Turkey. The following three years, 2010 to 2013, would involve the overthrow of Arabic monarchies and cyber-attacks on the United States economy. The declaration of the caliphate would come between 2013 and 2016.⁸

However, al-Qaeda's planned declaration of a caliphate was usurped by [ISIS](#) [4]. In September 2015, on the eve of the 14th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, al-Qaeda leader [Ayman al-Zawahiri](#) [5] denounced ISIS for its so-called unilateral and premature imposition of a caliphate without coordination with other jihadist groups through sharia courts, which he calls the "prophetic method."⁹ In particular, Zawahiri expressed his dismay that ISIS leader [Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi](#) [6] had anointed himself the fourth caliph "without consulting the Muslims."¹⁰ Zawahiri also strongly criticized infighting among jihadist groups, especially the killing of other Muslims because, according to Zawahiri, it distracted from the overriding goal of destroying the United States.¹¹

Since then, and despite the local-oriented activities of al-Qaeda's regional affiliates, Zawahiri has maintained that the group's primary target is the United States and "its ally Israel, and secondly its local allies that rule our countries."¹² Despite al-Qaeda's criticism of ISIS, Zawahiri has not ruled out the possibility of cooperating with ISIS, or absorbing its fighters if ISIS is eventually defeated.¹³ In April 2017, the Iraqi vice president confirmed that an al-Qaeda-ISIS merger was a possibility as the government had seen reports of high-level talks between the two groups.¹⁴

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Organizational Structure:

Al-Qaeda's central command, which includes current leader [Ayman al-Zawahiri](#) [5] and his top aides, has traditionally been headquartered in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Al-Qaeda has long pledged allegiance to the Afghan-based [Taliban](#) [7], which provided sanctuary to al-Qaeda after the United States turned its military focus on the group following the 9/11 attacks. In June 2016, Zawahiri reaffirmed al-Qaeda's allegiance by publicly endorsing the Taliban's new leader, [Mullah Haibatullah Akhundzada](#) [8].¹⁵

Since the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent U.S.-led campaign against the organization's base of operations, al-Qaeda spawned affiliate groups that have spread throughout North Africa and the Sahel, East Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and most recently, South Asia. Despite the affiliates' dispersal over such a vast area, the commander of each branch has pledged allegiance to—and takes operational directions from—al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri.¹⁶

In North Africa and the Sahel, al-Qaeda is represented by [al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb \(AQIM\)](#) [9] and its breakaway factions. In East Africa, the group is represented by Somali-based [al-Shabab](#) [10]. [Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula \(AQAP\)](#) [3], which many security analysts believe poses the greatest security threat to Western targets, operates primarily in Yemen. [Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Subcontinent \(AQIS\)](#) [11] is the most recent regional al-Qaeda affiliate to be established, operating chiefly in India, Bangladesh, as well as in the traditional al-Qaeda "home" countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan. For years, al-Qaeda has sustained a formal affiliate in Syria, the [Nusra Front](#) [12]. In July 2016, the groups announced that they had split, a move which some analysts have dismissed as artificial.¹⁷

Recent developments suggest that al-Qaeda's primacy of command is not exclusive to the group's geographical base in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In August 2013, Zawahiri appointed [Nasir al-Wuhayshi](#) [13], former head of AQAP, as deputy leader of al-Qaeda's global organization.¹⁸ After Wuhayshi died in a U.S. airstrike in June 2015, Zawahiri appointed deputy leader [Abu Khayr al-Masri](#) [14], who was also killed in a U.S. airstrike.¹⁹ Zawahiri reportedly groomed Osama bin Laden's son [Hamza bin Laden](#) [15] for a senior leadership role prior to Hamza bin Laden's death in 2019.²⁰

The 2011 death of bin Laden compounded with the deaths or arrests of other al-Qaeda leaders have degraded the group's communications, financial support, and facilitation of terror attacks, according to the U.S. State Department. Nevertheless, al-Qaeda's core remains a source of inspiration for its affiliate groups, according to the State Department.²¹

Financing:

In its early stages, al-Qaeda's primary bankroller was its founder Osama bin Laden. Since then, al-Qaeda has come to rely on donations and extorted funds for financing. The CIA estimates that al-Qaeda maintained a \$30 million annual budget prior to the 9/11 attacks, and that donations primarily made up this budget.²² A 2002 report by the Council on Foreign Relations identified a network of "charities, nongovernmental organizations, mosques, websites, intermediaries, facilitators, and banks and other financial institutions" that were serving to finance the terrorist organization.²³

Today, al-Qaeda receives funding from a wide range of sources, including private donors, Islamic charities and foundations, state sponsors, and from activities linked to drug trafficking, bank robbery, and hostage-taking. Nonetheless, wide-ranging sanctions by the United States, United Nations, Financial Action Task Force, and other international financial organizations have slowed the flow of money to the terror group. By 2009, al-Qaeda was reportedly suffering from negative cash flow and was forced to seek out new revenue streams²⁴ as al-Qaeda recruits complained of being charged for weapons and other supplies.²⁵ In October 2009, David S. Cohen, then-assistant Treasury secretary for terrorist financing, said that al-Qaeda was in its "weakest financial condition in several years."²⁶

After bin Laden's death in 2011, analysts questioned whether al-Qaeda could survive financially or if it had depended too much on bin Laden's celebrity. But al-Qaeda had laid the groundwork for a new fundraising strategy based on drug trafficking and kidnappings to bolster its finances.²⁷ A year before, a U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration official had

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pointed to an “unholy alliance” between al-Qaeda and Colombian guerillas in the cocaine smuggling trade.²⁸

U.S. forces searching bin Laden’s Pakistani compound in May 2011 discovered a trove of financial records. Analysts believe that al-Qaeda’s structure of international affiliates necessitated a paper trail in order for the group’s leadership to maintain control of its affiliates’ finances.²⁹ Receipts found in an al-Qaeda hideout in Mali in 2013 revealed al-Qaeda’s corporate-like financial structure. The group meticulously kept receipts and invoices for major and minor expenses, from propaganda trips to fresh produce and tea.³⁰ According to William McCants, a former adviser to the State Department’s Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, “They have so few ways to keep control of their operatives, to rein them in and make them do what they are supposed to do. They have to run it like a business.”³¹

Private Donors

During the 1990s, bin Laden built a network of private donors to al-Qaeda using contacts he established during the Soviet-Afghan war. Bin Laden’s early donors to al-Qaeda in the 1990s relied “on ties to wealthy Saudi individuals that he had established during the Afghan war in the 1980s,” according to the U.S. 9/11 Commission.³² In 2002, U.S. forces in Bosnia seized a cache of al-Qaeda documents that revealed a global network of private donors. Among the documents was a 1988 memorandum that identified a group of 20 Saudi financial donors, referred to as “the Golden Chain,” which included members of bin Laden’s family, as well as prominent wealthy Saudis such as Saleh Kamel and Khalid bin Mahfouz, and the Al-Rajhi family.³³

High-profile private donors to al-Qaeda also include: ‘Abd al-Rahman bin ‘Umayr al-Nu’aymi;³⁴ ‘Abd al-Wahhab Muhammad ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Humayqani;³⁵ Enaam Arnaout;³⁶ Muhammad Yaqub Mirza;³⁷ Shafi Sultan Mohammed al-Ajmi;³⁸ Hajjaj Fahd Hajjaj Muhammad Shabib al-Ajmi;³⁹ and Abd al-Rahman Khalaf Ubayad Juday al-Anizi.⁴⁰

By 2009, donations to al-Qaeda had reportedly slowed to a near halt. On June 3, 2009, bin Laden issued an appeal for “charity and support” for al-Qaeda’s affiliates in Pakistan and Afghanistan. In an audio message a week later, al-Qaeda’s Afghanistan leader, Mustafa Abu al-Yazid, said that the group lacked food, weapons, and other supplies.⁴¹ That August, then-deputy al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri entreated Pakistani Muslims in particular to “back the jihad and mujahideen with your persons, wealth.”⁴²

In October 2015, a U.S. airstrike killed [Sanafi al-Nasr](#) [16], a former senior al-Qaeda financial leader who had revived the group financially.⁴³ Nasr had set up a fundraising network based in Iran, from where he transferred donations from around the Persian Gulf to al-Qaeda’s leadership in Afghanistan and Pakistan.⁴⁴ Today, according to the U.S. State Department, al-Qaeda funding continues to come primarily from donations and the diversion of funds from Islamic charities.⁴⁵

Recruitment:

Al-Qaeda has focused its recruiting on the Middle East, where al-Qaeda’s holy war garners adherents from a wide variety of backgrounds.

Potential recruits are often identified due to the character of their faith. Recruiters patrol certain mosques known for extremist interpretations of Islamic texts and seek out the most curious or fervent believers.⁴⁶ Recruits are quickly immersed in doctrines of martyrdom and jihad and instructed in the religious duty to establish the caliphate.

Local insurgent groups in the Middle East and North Africa have found that the al-Qaeda label itself helps to attract new members on the basis of al-Qaeda’s global revolutionary agenda. As counterterrorism scholar Daniel Byman notes, “Groups like al-Shabab often have an inchoate ideology; al-Qaeda offers them a coherent—and, to a certain audience, appealing—alternative.”⁴⁷

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In Europe, al-Qaeda has sought recruits from those marginalized by society. They have actively, if informally, recruited members from Europe's prison system. In 2006, Steve Gough of the U.K.'s Prison Officers Association said he did not think there were "al-Qaida-controlled wings" yet in British prisons. Nonetheless, Gough noted that al-Qaeda was already recruiting prisoners who shared their cells or were held in cells nearby.⁴⁸ In France, two of the alleged January 2015 Paris attackers, Amedy Coulibaly and Cherif Kouachi, met al-Qaeda's "premiere European recruiter," Djamel Beghal, in prison.⁴⁹

In recent years, both al-Qaeda and ISIS have reportedly focused their international recruitment efforts on young adults. Psychologists call this group "in-betweeners," referring to young adults who have not solidified their identities.⁵⁰ One example is [Ahmad Khan Rahami](#) [17], the 28-year-old naturalized Afghan-American who allegedly planted bombs in New York City and New Jersey in September 2016. Police discovered that Rahimi had praised bin Laden and deceased AQAP cleric Anwar al-Awlaki in his journal.⁵¹ Rahimi spent several weeks in Afghanistan and Pakistan in 2011, and his father believed he had radicalized on the trip.⁵²

In Pakistan, al-Qaeda entices recruits through a plethora of benefits. Documents recovered from bin Laden's Pakistani compound in May 2011 revealed that married al-Qaeda fighters received seven days of vacation for every three weeks worked, while bachelors received five days of vacation per month. Married fighters received a monthly salary of \$108, or more if they had more than one wife.⁵³

Al-Qaeda's online recruitment has grown increasingly sophisticated. Its broad goal has been twofold: to increase the charm of an austere existence rooted in religion and then to shame those who abstain from this duty. These dual messages are conveyed online in many ways. Jihadist-inspired rap music, video games, and comics have successfully cast holy war positively and pulled new recruits into the organization.⁵⁴

Training:

Al-Qaeda relies on multiple methods to train its fighters, ranging from physical training camps to propaganda. In May 2012, AQAP's English-language magazine, *Inspire*, published instructions on how to carry out domestic terror attacks, focusing on arson.⁵⁵ Also that month, al-Qaeda released a training manual for Western recruits, authored by American AQAP member [Samir Khan](#) [18]. The manual included information to help Western recruits acclimate to life with al-Qaeda in the Middle East, though it also encouraged recruits to instead carry out terror attacks in their home countries. According to the manual, one of the "pillars of modern day jihad" is secrecy.⁵⁶

From the Lackawanna Six to Charlie Hebdo

Sahim Alwan was one of the "Lackawanna Six" from Buffalo, New York, who were convicted of supporting al-Qaeda after attending a terror training camp in Afghanistan in the spring of 2001.⁵⁷ More than 10 years later, Saïd Kouachi, one of the perpetrators of the *Charlie Hebdo* killings, confirmed that he spent "a few months" training in small-arms combat, marksmanship, and other skills on display in videos of the military-style attack. Thus, despite the increase in lone-wolf incidents since 9/11, traditional terrorist operations, including recruitment and training at foreign camps, remain a threat to Western security today.

Training Camps

Al-Qaeda training camps are located in numerous countries around the globe. While allied with the Taliban, al-Qaeda established several training camps in Afghanistan, including the sprawling Tarnak Farms, where Osama bin Laden allegedly plotted 9/11. Most Afghan camps were destroyed during the U.S. invasion and occupation of the country after 9/11.⁵⁸ Unfortunately, as Joshua E. Keating of *Newsweek* noted in January 2015, "Where once there were few sanctuaries for jihadists [i.e., primarily in Afghanistan], now there are many—in Syria and Iraq, Pakistan and Yemen, Nigeria and Somalia." Today's jihadist training camps are created by a dispersed membership of not only al-Qaeda core but also offshoots like AQAP and AQIM.⁵⁹

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In Africa, AQIM ran a training camp for eight months in Timbuktu, Mali before France conducted an airstrike that destroyed the unassuming building. A cook and cleaner at the facility recalled, “[The building was] ringed by a perimeter fence topped with barbed wire” and “became the hub for AQIM's new recruits. They [the recruits] ate, slept and trained in the old Gendarmerie, turning some of its rooms into dormitories.”⁶⁰

Al-Qaeda also relies on proxy training facilities from like-minded terrorist outfits like Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET) in Pakistan. The latter group allegedly plotted the 2008 Mumbai attacks.⁶¹ Keating notes that:

The camps these groups run are often small, just one or two buildings, and temporary — such groups stay on the move to avoid detection by satellite or intelligence agents. These groups are believed to be increasingly sharing resources when it comes to training. According to some estimates, there are about 40 militant training camps around Pakistan.⁶²

Nonetheless, in late 2015, U.S. and Afghan forces discovered a large training camp in Qandahar Province, suggesting that al-Qaeda has “expanded its presence in Afghanistan.”⁶³

Indoctrination

In addition to physical training, indoctrination through study, videos, prayer, and a generally regimented lifestyle is meant to reinforce the singular message of jihad that al-Qaeda wishes to inspire in its trainees. Alwan noted that at the camp he attended, there was a billboard displaying a Quranic message that said, “Prepare for them what you can of strength so they may cast fear in the enemies of God.”⁶⁴

An al-Qaeda manual found in May 2000 further illustrates the degree of indoctrination that jihadists face in camp. The 180-page “handwritten terror instruction book” is dubbed the “Manchester Manual” because British anti-terror police found it in a raid on the apartment of al-Qaeda commander Abu Anas al-Liby in Manchester, England. Liby was wanted for plotting the 1998 U.S. embassy attacks in Kenya and Tanzania.⁶⁵ The manual provides significant insight on the type of training al-Qaeda soldiers receive beyond physical training. Specifically, according to the U.S. Joint Task Force Guantanamo, “The Manchester Manual is literally an overarching basic guide that simply covers just about everything. It covers how to conduct general combat operations, how to escape and evade capture and how to behave in captivity. There is even a chapter on how to poison yourself using your own feces.”⁶⁶

Much of the information in the manual was corroborated by Guantanamo Bay detainees regarding al-Qaeda operative training. For example, Omar Sheik [a kidnapper of Daniel Pearl] told his interrogators that he was trained in... the art of disguise... secret rendezvous techniques; hidden writing techniques; [and] cryptology and codes... Moreover, Khalid Sheik Muhammad—the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks—admitted that he assisted the hijackers in preparing to live a Western lifestyle by instructing them how to order food at restaurants and wear Western clothes, amongst other things. Furthermore, an al-Qaeda training manual entitled, “Declaration of Jihad Against the Country’s Tyrants (Military Series),” written primarily with the stated purpose of helping operatives avoid detection when infiltrating an enemy area, teaches lessons in forging documents and counterfeiting currency, living a cover, cell compartmentalization, and meeting and communicating clandestinely...⁶⁷

Today, there are numerous ideological offshoots that either continue to support or have deviated from al-Qaeda in the Middle East and other regions. As mentioned above, al-Qaeda itself continues some training camps but also increasingly outsources to allied groups in countries such as Pakistan. The need for such camps to remain under the radar will only grow as more countries band together to fight ISIS (which has more than 40 camps in Iraq and Syria alone) and other violent extremist groups like the Nusra Front and Boko Haram.

¹ “Special Issue: The Al-Qa’ida Threat 14 Years Later,” Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, September 2015, <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=787133> [19]; Eric Schmitt, “ISIS or Al Qaeda? American Officials Split Over Top Terrorist Threat,” *New York Times*, August 4, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/05/world/middleeast/isis-or-al-qaeda-american-officials-split-over-biggest-threat.html?_r=0 [20].

² Carla E. Humud, “Al Qaeda and U.S. Policy: Middle East and Africa,” Congressional Research Service, August 11, 2016, <https://fas.org/spp/crs/mideast/R43756.pdf> [21]

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- ⁵ <http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/terror/RL32759.pdf>.
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Key Leaders



Ayman al-Zawahiri
current emir of "core" al-Qaeda



Abu Khayr al-Masri
Second-in-command, Deputy Leader

History:

- **August 14, 2019:** Al-Qaeda affiliate al-Shabab releases their third installment of “Then Fight the Leaders of Disbelief” series.
The video is filled with messages intending to justify al-Shabab’s jihad against the Somali government and opposition to allegedly illegitimate rulers elsewhere. Among other incendiary statements, the narrator states that these rulers have “justified” their own “deposal,” because “the kafir [infidel] has no authority over a Muslim.” Source: Thomas Joscelyn, “Shabaab’s jihad against the ‘leaders of disbelief,’” Long War Journal, August 14, 2019, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/08/shabaabs-jihad-against-the-leaders-of-disbelief.php> [74].
- **August 13, 2019:** The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation intends to question an alleged Egyptian al-Qaeda operative living in Brazil.
The FBI added Mohamed Ahmed Elsayed Ahmed Ibrahim to its Most Wanted List the day prior for “providing material support,” since 2013 for Al Qaeda. Source: “FBI seeking to question alleged Al Qaeda operative in Brazil,” Reuters, August 13, 2019, <https://af.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idAFKCN1V311N> [75].
- **July 31, 2019:** U.S. officials report that Osama bin Laden’s son and the “heir” to al-Qaeda, Hamza bin Laden, is dead.
Source: Courtney Kube, “Osama bin Laden’s son and heir, Hamza, is dead, U.S. officials say,” NBC News, July 31, 2019, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/u-s-has-intel-osama-bin-laden-s-son-heir-n1037236> [76].
- **July 30, 2019:** According to a U.N. report, al-Qaeda “remains resilient” and continues to closely cooperate with Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Haqqani network, while also routinely functioning as military and religious instructors for the Taliban.
However, the health of its leader, Ayman Muhammed al-Zawahiri is in doubt. Source: “Al-Qaeda remains resilient, continues to cooperate closely with LeT: UN,” The Economic Times of India, July 30, 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/al-qaeda-remains-resilient-continues-to-cooperate-closely-with-let-un/articleshow/70445882.cms?from=mdr> [77].
- **July 30, 2019:** Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the accused al-Qaeda mastermind of the September 11, 2001 attacks, indicates a willingness to cooperate in a lawsuit filed by victims seeking damages from Saudi Arabia, if the United States decides not to seek the death penalty against him.
Source: “Accused 9/11 mastermind open to testimony against Saudi Arabia,” Al Jazeera, July 30, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/07/accused-911-mastermind-open-testimony-saudi-arabia-190729231512390.html> [78].
- **July 26, 2019:** Al-Qaeda’s emir Ayman al-Zawahiri releases a video titled “Don’t Forget Kashmir.”
His video message calls upon jihadist crusaders to incite violence against India and Pakistan for the plight of Muslims in Kashmir. Source: Animesh Roul, “Al-Qaeda’s Ayman al-Zawahiri Invokes Kashmir Again, Calls for ‘One’ Jihad,” The Jamestown Foundation, July 26, 2019, <https://jamestown.org/program/al-qaedas-ayman-al-zawahiri-invokes-kashmir-again-calls-for-one-jihad/> [79].
- **July 19, 2019:** U.S. forces launch an airstrike near the town of Kunyo Barrow, killing Mohamed Nur Ikhlās, head of al-Shabab’s domestic intelligence.
Ikhlās was al-Shabab’s top political officer. Source: Harun Maruf, “Somalia Car Bombing Kills at Least 17,” Voice of America, July 22, 2019, <https://www.voanews.com/africa/somalia-car-bombing-kills-least-17> [80].
- **July 3, 2019:** A court in Kenya sentences al-Shabab militant Rashid Charles Mberesero, to life in prison for his role in the 2015 Garissa University College attack, which killed over 148 people.
His two other accomplices Mohamed Ali Abikar and Hassan Edin Hassan each receive a 41-year sentence. Source: “Garissa University attack: Tanzanian and Kenyans get long sentences,” BBC News, July 3, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-48859937> [81].
- **July 1, 2019:** The U.S. carries out an airstrike against al-Qaeda in northwest Syria.
The strike targets a training facility holding “operatives responsible for plotting external attacks threatening U.S. citizens,” claims U.S. Central Command. Source: “U.S. says it struck al Qaeda in Syria,” Reuters, July 1, 2019, <https://af.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idAFKCN1TW2H6> [82].
- **June 28, 2019:** Indian forces kill Shabir Ahmad Malik, the spokesman for al-Qaeda affiliate Ansar Gazwat-ul-Hind.
Malik was originally a member of Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, but defected to AGH. Source: Thomas Joscelyn, “Indian forces kill spokesman for al Qaeda group in Kashmir,” Long War Journal, June 28, 2019, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/indian-forces-kill-spokesman-for-al-qaeda-group-in-kashmir.php> [83].
- **June 13, 2019:** Asim Umar, the emir of al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent, releases a statement praising the Taliban’s “victory” in Afghanistan.
The “victory” refers to the on-going peace talks between the United States and the Taliban as “America once threatened war, it is now “begging for ceasefire.” Umar also asks Allah to “end this ISIS fitnah forever which has stabbed Jihad and Caliphate in the back.” Source: Thomas Joscelyn, “Senior al Qaeda official praises Taliban’s ‘victory’ in Afghanistan,” Long War Journal, June 13, 2019, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/senior-al-qaeda-official-praises-talibans-victory-in-afghanistan.php> [84].
- **June 2019:** According to sources on Telegram, Abdul Haseeb al-Kashmiri, a member of AQIS is killed sometime in late June.
The Telegram post stated, “The brother was known as the destroyer of tanks as he had destroyed many American tanks in recent battles fought with Americans and it’s [sic] apostate allies in mainland Ghazni and other parts of Afghanistan.” Source: Thomas Joscelyn, “AQIS member from Kashmir reportedly killed in Ghazni, Afghanistan,” Long War Journal, June 24, 2019, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/aqis-member-from-kashmir-reportedly-killed-in-ghazni-afghanistan.php> [85].
- **May 23, 2019:** Indian forces kill Zakir Musa after an 11-hour gunfight in Indian-administered Kashmir.
Musa served as the rebel commander of Ansar, an al-Qaeda affiliated insurgency. Source: Rifat Fareed, “Zakir Musa: Tensions in Kashmir after killing of top rebel,” Al Jazeera, May 24, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/zakir-musa-tensions-kashmir-killing-top-rebel-190524092820067.html> [86].

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- **May 2, 2019:**A U.S. district court shortens Najibullah Zazi's sentence from life in prison to 10 years in prison. Zazi plotted to bomb New York City's subways in 2009, then switched sides after his arrest, providing over a decade of help to the U.S. to identify and prosecute terrorists. Zazi is a naturalized U.S. citizen who was radicalized and received explosive training from al-Qaeda after traveling to Pakistan in 2008. Source: Jim Mustain, "Would-be NYC bomber gets 10 years in foiled al-Qaida plot," Associated Press, May 2, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/e780912718c64c14ab462f9436424a47> [87].
- **March 20, 2019:**U.S. forces carry out airstrikes near Afgoye, Somalia, killing three suspected al-Shabab militants. The frequent airstrikes have helped to bolster Somalia's central government against al-Shabab. Source: Abdi Sheikh, "Air strike kills four people in Somalia -relatives," Reuters, March 20, 2019, <https://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFKCN1R117G-OZATP> [88].
- **February 8, 2019:**Libyan authorities arrest Abdel Qader Azuz, a suspected al-Qaeda leader. Azuz was one of the senior militants in Derna. Source: "Libya arrests suspected al Qaeda leader, source says," Reuters, February 8, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security/libya-arrests-suspected-al-qaeda-leader-source-says-idUSKCN1PX1DY> [89].
- **January 18, 2019:**Eastern Libyan forces kill Abu Talha al-Libi in southern Libya. Al-Libi was a senior figure in al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. Source: "Eastern Libyan force says it killed senior al Qaeda operative," Reuters, January 18, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security/eastern-libyan-force-says-it-killed-senior-al-qaeda-operative-idUSKCN1PC1LU> [90].
- **January 6, 2019:**U.S. forces conduct an air raid in the Marib governorate of Yemen. The raid kills Jamal al-Badawi, an al-Qaeda operative who orchestrated the deadly 2000 USS Cole bombing. Source: "Al-Qaeda operative linked to USS Cole attack killed: Trump," Al Jazeera, January 6, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/01/al-qaeda-operative-linked-uss-cole-attack-killed-trump-190106155356883.html> [91].
- **December 14, 2018:**A Saudi man pleads guilty in a federal court in Oklahoma to visa fraud and lying to the FBI about attending an al-Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan in 2000. Naif Abdulaziz M. Alfallaj faces up to 18 years in prison. Source: "Saudi man pleads guilty in Oklahoma to lying about al Qaeda training," Reuters, December 14, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-crime-saudi/saudi-man-pleads-guilty-in-oklahoma-to-lying-about-al-qaeda-training-idUSKBN1OD2MQ> [92].
- **November 30, 2018:**U.S. forces launch an airstrike in Libya's southwestern desert. At least 11 suspected al Qaeda militants are killed. Source: "U.S. strike kills 11 suspected Qaeda militants in Libya: Africom," Reuters, November 30, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security/us-strike-kills-11-suspected-qaeda-militants-in-libya-africom-idUSKCN1NZ238> [93].
- **November 21, 2018:**A U.S. drone strike hits a suspected al-Qaeda site in al-Bayda province. The strike kills six suspected AQIM members, including two people believed to be local leaders of the group. Source: "Six suspected al Qaeda militants killed in Yemen drone strike," Reuters, November 25, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-al-qaeda/six-suspected-al-qaeda-militants-killed-in-yemen-drone-strike-idUSKCN1NU0OZ> [94].
- **October 12, 2018:**The U.S. launches a precision airstrike near Harardhere, Somalia. At least 60 al-Shabab fighters are killed. Source: "Al-Shabab in Somalia: US air strike 'kills 60 militants'," BBC News, October 16, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45881008> [95].
- **August 21, 2018:**U.S. officials express confidence that al-Qaeda's top bomb maker and mastermind of the attempted 2009 Christmas Day bombing, Ibrahim al-Asiri, was killed in Yemen sometime in the second half of 2017. Source: "Some U.S. officials confident feared al Qaeda bomb maker killed," Reuters, August 21, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-yemen-militant/some-u-s-officials-confident-feared-al-qaeda-bomb-maker-killed-idUSKCN1L61UG> [96].
- **July 1, 2018:**U.S. authorities arrest Demetrius Pitts, who pledged allegiance to al-Qaeda, in Cleveland, Ohio. Pitts allegedly had plans to bomb the city's 4th of July parade. Source: Travis Fedschun, "July 4 terror plot thwarted in Cleveland, suspect pledged allegiance to Al Qaeda, FBI says," Fox News, July 2, 2018, <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2018/07/02/july-4-terror-plot-thwarted-in-cleveland-fbi-says.html> [97].
- **June 8, 2018:**Al-Shabab attacks a joint U.S.-Somali-Kenyan outpost near Kismayo, killing one American and wounding four others. Source: "U.S. soldier killed in attack by al Qaeda affiliate in Somalia," CBS News, June 8, 2018, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/us-soldier-killed-al-shabaab-attack-somalia-2018-06-08/> [98].
- **April 20, 2018:**Al-Qaeda releases a propaganda video showing local commanders using Google Maps to plan attacks. The video also features former Guantanamo Bay detainee Ibrahim al-Qosi fighting alongside al-Qaeda fighters in what appears to be Yemen. Source: Lukas Mikelionis, "Al Qaeda uses Google Maps to plan attacks new video reportedly shows," Fox New, <http://www.foxnews.com/tech/2018/04/23/al-qaeda-uses-google-maps-to-plan-attacks-new-video-reportedly-shows.html> [99].
- **April 2018:**Hamza bin Laden releases a video calling for an uprising in Saudi Arabia. Urges Muslims throughout the Arabian Peninsula to rebel against their leaders and sever ties with the West. Source: Ciaran McGrath, "Osama bin Laden's Son Calls for Saudi Arabia Uprising as He Vows to Redistribute Wealth," Daily Express, April 5, 2018, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/941853/osama-bin-laden-hamza-bin-laden-al-qaeda-terrorist-terrorism-uprising-saudi-arabia> [100].
- **March 28, 2018:**The United States carries out its first airstrikes against al-Qaeda in Libya killing a local AQIM leader near Ubari, Libya. Source: Ryan Browne, "US conducts first airstrike against al Qaeda in Libya," CNN, March 28, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/03/28/politics/us-airstrike-al-qaeda-libya/index.html> [101].
- **February 27, 2018 - March 4, 2018:**A new Syrian rebel group forms under the name Hurras al-Deen ("Guardians of the Religion") and pledges loyalty to al-Qaeda central.

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The affiliation, however, is not confirmed by al-Zawahiri. On March 4, three Syrian rebel groups that had recently defected from Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham—Jaysh al-Malahim, Jaysh al-Badiya, and Jaysh al-Sahel—join Hurras al-Deen. Sources: Thomas Joscelyn, "Jihadists form 'Guardians of the Religion' organization in Syria," Long War Journal, March 4, 2018, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/03/jihadists-form-guardians-of-the-religion-organization-in-syria.php> [102]; Thomas Joscelyn, "Jihadists try to rally opposition in southern Syria," Long War Journal, June 27, 2018, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/jihadists-try-to-rally-opposition-in-southern-syria.php> [103].

- **February 16, 2018:**Ibrahim Suleiman Adnan Adam Harun is sentenced to life in prison for his role in a 2003 al-Qaeda attack against U.S. and coalition troops in Afghanistan as well as for attempting to bomb the U.S. embassy in Nigeria in 2004.
Source: Ralph Ellis and Tammy Kupperman. "Al Qaeda operative sentenced to life in prison," CNN, February 26, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/16/us/al-qaeda-operative-gets-life-sentence/index.html> [104].
- **January 23, 2018:**The U.S. Department of State designates Khalid Batarfi as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist. The State Department's announcement comes the day after AQAP releases a video featuring Batarfi in which he threatens the United States and Jews. Sources: Thomas Joscelyn, "Senior AQAP leader added to US terror list by State Department," Long War Journal, January 23, 2018, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/01/senior-aqap-leader-added-to-us-terror-list-by-state-department.php> [105]; Office of the Spokesperson, "State Department Terrorist Designation of Khalid Batarfi," US Department of State, January 23, 2018, <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2018/01/277593.htm> [106].
- **December 8, 2017:**Zawahiri releases a new audio statement urging "jihad in Allah's name ... targeting the vital interests of the United States and its Zionist and Crusader (Christian) allies everywhere" in response to U.S. President Donald Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.
Source: "Al-Qaeda urges attacks on US, Israel after Trump's recognition of Jerusalem," Times of Israel, December 8, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/al-qaeda-urges-attacks-after-trumps-recognition-of-jerusalem/> [107].
- **December 2017:**Following U.S. President Donald Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, Hamza bin Laden releases a video calling for the overthrow of Saudi Arabia's monarchy due to Riyadh's alliances with the West.
Source: Cristina Maza, "Bin Laden's Son Calls for Overthrow of Saudi Arabian Regime Following Trump's Jerusalem Announcement," Newsweek, December 11, 2017, <https://www.newsweek.com/bin-ladens-son-saudi-arabia-jerusalem-743990> [108].
- **November 24, 2017:**Several al-Qaeda-affiliated groups in Egypt's Sinai condemn the suspected ISIS attack of a Sufi mosque that killed more than 300 worshipers earlier that day. Both Jund al-Islam and Ansar al-Islam offer condolences to the victims' families and condemn the perpetrators as "Khawarjis."
Source: Tim Lister, "Why the massacre of Muslims in Sinai was too extreme for al Qaeda," CNN, November 27, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2017/11/27/middleeast/egypt-sinai-attack-isis-al-qaeda/index.html> [109].
- **November 7, 2017:**In a new audio statement, Hamza bin Laden eulogizes his father and calls on "trusted scholars" to spread the call to Jihad and for "oppressed Muslim masses" to "[r]ise in rebellion against oppression and tyranny."
Source: Thomas Joscelyn, "Hamza bin Laden lionizes his father and incites 'rebellion' in new audio message," Long War Journal, November 7, 2017, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/hamza-bin-laden-lionizes-his-father-and-incites-rebellion-in-new-audio-message.php> [110].
- **September 14, 2017:**Hamza bin Laden releases a video addressed to jihadists in Syria, commending their "patience" and "endurance" while urging unity and strength against the "Crusader enemy along with its Rafidhi [Shiite] allies."
Source: Thomas Joscelyn, "Hamza bin Laden tries to rally jihadists in Syria," Long War Journal, September 14, 2017, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/hamza-bin-laden-tries-to-rally-jihadists-in-syria.php> [111].
- **August 15, 2017:**Al-Qaeda urges its followers to target trains and train stations in the West in its latest issue of *Inspire* magazine. The magazine includes detailed instructions on how to build a device that will derail trains "without requiring martyrdom."
Source: Jack Moore, "U.S. TRAIN STATIONS THE TARGET OF AL-QAEDA IN LATEST MAGAZINE," Newsweek, August 15, 2017, <http://www.newsweek.com/us-train-stations-target-al-qaeda-latest-magazine-650334> [112].
- **May 15, 2017:**Media reports publish a recording of Osama bin Laden's son, Hamza bin Laden, calling for fresh attacks against Westerners, Russians, and Jews. Hamza bin Laden, believed to be in his late 20s, is reportedly being groomed to take over his father's leadership position. He came to public prominence in 2015, where he was introduced by leader Ayman al-Zawahiri as an al-Qaeda "lion."
Source: "Latest al Qaeda propaganda highlights bin Laden's son," CNN, May 15, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2017/05/15/middleeast/al-qaeda-bin-laden-son/index.html>.
- **April 24, 2017:**Al-Qaeda leader al-Zawahiri calls for "guerilla war" against the Syrian government. In an audio recording entitled "Syria will only bow to God," Zawahiri urges fighters to wage a "long war against Crusaders and shia allies." The al-Qaeda leader had previously not appeared in public for several months.
Source: "Al-Qaeda's Zawahiri calls for 'guerilla war' in Syria," Al-Jazeera, April 24, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/04/al-qaeda-zawahiri-calls-guerrilla-war-syria-170424115728643.html>.
- **April 2017:**According to Iraqi Vice President Ayad Allawi, al-Qaeda is seeking an alliance with ISIS, as Iraqi forces seek to wrest control from ISIS fighters in Mosul. Allawi claims that there are discussions occurring between representatives of Baghdadi and Zawahiri.
Source: "Islamic State seeking alliance with al Qaeda, Iraqi vice president says," Reuters, April 17, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-islamic-state-idUSKBN17J1DT>.

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- July 28, 2016:** Nusra Front leader Abu Muhammed al-Golani announces the group's split from al-Qaeda. The move comes hours after Ayman al-Zawahiri releases an audio statement giving the Nusra Front permission to break ties. Source: "Syrian Nusra Front announces split from al-Qaeda," BBC News, July 29, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36916606>.
- June 11, 2016:** Al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri pledges his support to the Taliban's new leader, Mullah Haibatullah Akhundzada. Source: "Al Qaeda's Zawahiri backs new Taliban chief Akhundzada," Deutsche Welle, June 11, 2016, <http://www.dw.com/en/al-qaedas-zawahiri-backs-new-taliban-chief-akhundzada/a-19323475>.
- May 9, 2016:** In an al-Qaeda video, Osama bin Laden's son, Hamza, calls for Muslims to "participate in the intifada" by "killing the Jews and attacking their interests everywhere" and to attack Western interests in Islamic countries. Hamza bin Laden also praises the stabbing of Jews by Palestinians. Source: "Bin Laden's son urges jihad Against Jews, US interests," Fox News, May 9, 2016, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/05/09/bin-ladens-son-urges-jihad-against-jews-us-interests.html>.
- March 13, 2016:** AQIM gunmen open fire at a beach resort in Grand-Bassam, a coastal town located 25 miles east of Abidjan. The attack—the first al-Qaeda attack in the country—leaves 19 people dead, including 16 civilians and three Ivorian soldiers. Among the killed are foreign citizens from France, Germany, Burkina Faso, Mali, and Cameroon. Sources: Joe Bavier, "Al Qaeda Gunmen Drank In Bar Before Unleashing Ivory Coast Attack," Reuters, March 15, 2016, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/584273.html>; "After Ivory Coast Al Qaeda Attack, Is Senegal Next? Muslim Population, Unemployment Make Tourist Destination A Target," International Business Times, March 17, 2016, <http://www.ibtimes.com/after-ivory-coast-al-qaeda-attack-senegal-next-muslim-population-unemployment-make-2337915>.
- January 16, 2016:** Al-Qaeda affiliate AQIM storms a hotel and nearby cafe in Ougadougou, Burkina Faso, killing 28 and wounding dozens. The attack is perceived as a message of strength to rival ISIS and in response to France's deployment of 3,000 military personnel designed to combat Islamist militant groups in West Africa. Source: "Why did Burkina Faso become al-Qaida's latest target?" Guardian (London), January 18, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/18/why-did-burkina-faso-become-al-qaidas-latest-target>.
- November 20, 2015:** Al-Mourabitoun claims responsibility for a deadly gun and hostage attack on the Radisson Blu Hotel in Bamako, Mali, allegedly as part of a joint attack with al-Qaeda affiliate, AQIM. According to U.N. spokesman Olivier Salgado, 21 people were killed in the attack when gunmen stormed the hotel using counterfeit diplomatic license plates. Source: Faith Karimi and Erin Burnett, "Mali hotel attack: Gunmen barged in, shot at 'anything that moved,'" CNN, November 22, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/11/21/africa/mali-hotel-attack/>.
- March 6, 2015:** Al-Qaeda confirms the death of Abu Hommam al-Shami, the military commander of AQ's affiliate in Syria, the Nusra Front. Source: Associated Press, "Al Qaeda's Syrian Branch Confirms Death of Senior Commander," *Wall Street Journal*, March 6, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/al-qaedas-syrian-branch-confirms-death-of-senior-commander-1425634067> [113].
- March 5, 2015:** Al-Qaeda's Syrian affiliate, the Nusra Front, announces the death of its general military commander Abu Humam al-Shami due to a U.S. led coalition airstrike in Syria. To date, al-Shami is the most senior militant to be killed in the Syrian civil war. Source: Mariam Karouny, "UPDATE 3—Blast in Syria Kills Top Al Qaeda Commander, 3 Others," Reuters, March 6, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/03/05/mideast-crisis-syria-nusra-idUKL5N0W75GO20150305> [114].
- March 3, 2015:** Five people are killed in an AQAP suicide attack on a Houthi outpost in central Yemen. Source: "UPDATE 1-Five dead in Qaeda suicide attack on Houthis in central Yemen," Reuters, March 3, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/03/yemen-security-idUSL5N0W551J20150303> [115].
- February 28, 2015:** A U.S. drone attack in Yemen kills four suspected AQAP militants in the southern province of Shabwa. Source: Mohamed Ghobari, Amena Bakr, and Hugh Lawson, "U.S. Drone Attack in Yemen Kills Four Suspected Al Qaeda Militants: Security Sources," Reuters, February 28, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/28/us-yemen-attack-us-idUSKBN0LW0B320150228> [116].
- February 26, 2015:** A New York City jury convicts al-Qaeda's 'minister of communications,' Khaled al-Fawwaz, on charges of participating in a conspiracy that led to the 1998 bombing of two U.S. embassies in East Africa. Source: "Khalid al-Fawwaz guilty of US embassy bombings," BBC News, February 26, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-31652380> [117].
- February 26, 2015:** CNN reports that the Brooklyn terror trial of Abid Naseer reveals the documents and coded communication strategy of some al-Qaeda operatives planning attacks in the U.S., U.K., and Europe. Source: Ray Sanches, "Al Qaeda documents outline U.S. terror campaign," CNN, February 26, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/02/26/us/new-york-terror-trial/> [118].
- February 26, 2015:** A Pakistani court sentences four al-Qaeda operatives to death. The four men had attacked a Pakistani prison in Lahore in July 2012, killing 10 and injuring seven. Source: "Pakistan sentences four Al-Qaeda members to death," First Post, February 26, 2015, <http://www.firstpost.com/world/pakistan-sentences-four-al-qaeda-members-death-2122957.html> [119].
- February 25, 2015:** The *Guardian* reports that Russian intelligence fears al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is planning attacks against European targets in the Mediterranean from North Africa with a "kamikaze" marine unit. Source: Seumas Milne and Ewen MacAskill, "Al-Qaida Planning Kamikaze Attacks on Ships in Mediterranean, Cables Claim," *Guardian* (London), February 25, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/25/al-qaida-planning-kamikaze-attacks-ships-mediterranean-russian-cables> [120].

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- **February 24, 2015:**A Saudi court jails at least 13 men on counts including recruitment for 9/11 attacks and harboring Osama bin Laden in Pakistan.
Source: "Saudi court jails al Qaeda recruiters, bin Laden associate- newspaper," Reuters, February 24, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-saudi-security-court-idUSKBN0LS1G520150224> [121].
- **February 17, 2015:**The U.S. trial of accused Pakistani al-Qaeda operative Abid Naseer begins. Naseer allegedly headed an al-Qaeda cell in Manchester, England and participated in a 2009 plot to attack the New York City subway system. Source: Tom Hays, "Trial starts for terror suspect accused in US, Europe plots," Associated Press, February 17, 2015, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/c2d1f6b92b3c4ecdbd9a7dd35ffc44c4/trial-starts-terror-suspect-accused-us-europe-plots> [122].
- **February 14, 2015:**The prosecution rests its case in the U.S. trial of Khaled al-Fawwaz, an accused early leader of al-Qaeda who allegedly helped plan the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.
Source: Larry Neumeister, "American: Bin Laden asked him in '90s to use plane as weapon," Associated Press, February 14, 2015.
- **February 13, 2015:**Al-Qaeda fighters attack a Yemeni prison, freeing six al-Qaeda militants.
Source: Jason Hanna and Hakim Almasari, "Al Qaeda freed 6 inmates in Yemen prison attack, officials say," CNN, February 13, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/02/13/world/yemen-unrest/> [123].
- **February 12, 2015:**AQAP militants seize a large army base in southern Yemen, just hours after the U.N. warns that the country is on the brink of civil war.
Source: Mohammad Mukhashaf, "Al Qaeda fighters seize Yemen army base, U.N. warns of civil war," Reuters, February 12, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/12/us-yemen-security-idUSKBN0LG0VE20150212> [124].
- **February 5, 2015:**A senior AQAP official, Harith al-Nadhari, is killed in a drone strike in Yemen. In January 2015, he publicly praised the deadly attacks on the offices of French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*. Source: Shuaib Almosawa and Rod Nordland, "Drone Strike in Yemen Said to Kill Senior Qaeda Figure," *New York Times*, February 5, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/06/world/middleeast/senior-qaeda-figure-in-yemen-killed-in-drone-strike.html> [125].
- **January 30, 2015:**Fighting in Syria between Nusra Front and Western-backed rebel spreads.
Source: Oliver Holmes, "Syria battle between al Qaeda and Western-backed group spreads," Reuters, January 30, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/30/us-mideast-crisis-syria-idUSKBN0L311Z20150130> [126].
- **January 14, 2015:**AQAP officially claims responsibility for the *Charlie Hebdo* attack.
Source: Sami Aboudi, "Al Qaeda claims French attack, derides Paris rally," Reuters, January 14, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/14/us-france-shooting-aqap-idUSKBN0KN0VO20150114> [127].
- **January 8, 2015:**Britain's MI5 warns that the Nusra Front is planning massive attacks on the West.
Source: Guy Faulconbridge, "Britain's MI5 chief warns al Qaeda in Syria planning mass attack on West," Reuters, January 8, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/08/us-britain-security-idUSKBN0KH27M20150108> [128].
- **January 7, 2015:**The perpetrators of the Paris attacks on the offices of satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* and a kosher supermarket claim that they received funding from AQAP. One of the two Kouachi brothers had previously trained with al-Qaeda in Yemen. Source: Eric Schmitt, Michael S. Schmidt and Andrew Higgins, "Al Qaeda Trained Suspect in Paris Terror Attack, Official Says," *New York Times*, January 8, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/09/world/europe/paris-terror-attack-suspects.html> [129].
- **January 3, 2015:**Yemeni authorities arrest three foreigners over possible links to al-Qaeda.
Source: "Yemen arrests three foreigners over possible al Qaeda links," Reuters, January 3, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/03/us-yemen-arrests-idUSKBN0KC04V20150103> [130].
- **December 12, 2014:**Pakistani authorities arrest Shahid Usman, a commander of al-Qaeda's newly created South Asian wing.
Source: Syed Raza Hassan, "Pakistan arrests suspected South Asian al Qaeda commander," Reuters, December 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/12/us-pakistan-militants-idUSKBN0JO11W20141212> [131].
- **December 6, 2014:**Pakistani military kills an al-Qaeda leader—Saudi national Adnan el-Shukrijumah— wanted by the U.S. He is believed to have been al-Qaeda's external operations chief.
Source: Hafiz Wazir, "Pakistan military kills al-Qaeda leader wanted in U.S.," Reuters, December 6, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/06/us-pakistan-military-militants-idUSKCN0JK08O20141206> [132].
- **November 25, 2014:**Yemeni and U.S. forces free eight hostages being held by al-Qaeda, including six Yemenis, a Saudi, and an Ethiopian. Despite previous assertions, there were no living American hostages present at the time of the raid. U.S. Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel states on December 6 that al-Qaeda militants had killed U.S. hostage Luke Somers in the raid. Sources: Mohammed Ghobari, "Yemeni forces free eight al Qaeda hostages; U.S. says no Americans," Reuters, November 25, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/25/us-yemen-kidnapping-idUSKCN0J909R20141125> [133]; Phil Stewart, "Al-Qaeda militants killed Somers during U.S. rescue bid: Hagel," Reuters, December 6, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/06/us-yemen-usa-hostage-death-idUSKBN0JK0B820141206> [134].
- **November 5, 2014:**Yemeni officials kill al-Qaeda leader Turki al-Asiri, a.k.a. Marwan al-Mekki, in a raid in southern Yemen.
Source: "Senior al Qaeda leader killed in south Yemen: officials," Reuters, November 7, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/07/us-yemen-security-qaeda-idUSKBN0IR1R620141107> [135].
- **October 27, 2014:**The Jordanian government arrests al-Qaeda scholar and "spiritual guide" Abu Mohammad al-Maqdisi for incitement.
Source: Suleiman al-Khalidi, "Jordan arrests influential al-Qaeda scholar for 'incitement'," Reuters, October 27, 2014,

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<http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/27/us-jordan-islamist-idUSKBN0IG1VS20141027> [136].

- **October 20, 2014:**Al-Qaeda suicide bombings and gun attacks kill at least 33 people in Yemen.
Source: Mohammed Ghobari, "Al Qaeda attacks kill at least 33 in Yemen," Reuters, October 20, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/20/us-yemen-crisis-fighting-idUSKCN0I91PO20141020> [137].
- **October 15, 2014:**In Yemen, Shiite Houthi rebels clash with al-Qaeda militants.
Source: "Yemen: Shiite Rebels Clash With Qaeda Militants," *New York Times*, *em*, October 16, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/17/world/middleeast/yemen-shiite-rebels-clash-with-qaeda-militants.html> [138].
- **October 5, 2014:**At least 16 Nusra Front fighters are killed in clashes with Hezbollah in eastern Lebanon.
Source: "Al Qaeda Affiliate Battles Hezbollah in Lebanon," *New York Times*, October 5, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/06/world/middleeast/al-qaeda-affiliate-battles-hezbollah-in-lebanon.html> [139].
- **September 27, 2014:**Nusra Front spokesman vows retaliation on the U.S.-led coalition amidst continued airstrikes, warning, "It's not a war against Nusra Front, it's a war against Islam.
These countries have done a despicable act that will put them on the list of those targeted by jihadist forces all over the world."Source: "Syrian al Qaeda offshoot vows retaliation against U.S.-led airstrikes," Reuters, September 27, 2014, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/09/27/uk-mideast-crisis-nusra-idUKKCN0HMON820140927> [140].
- **September 17, 2014:**Al-Qaeda's new wing in South Asia hijacks a Pakistani naval ship, and tries to use it to launch rockets towards U.S. vessels.
Source: Maria Golovnina, "New al Qaeda wing in South Asia claims major attack," Reuters, September 17, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/17/us-southasia-attacks-idUSKBN0HC0YS20140917> [141].
- **September 14, 2014:**Al-Qaeda denies that that it is in "decline" as asserted by the U.S. government.
Source: "Al Qaeda denies decline, acknowledges 'mistakes' by its branches," Reuters, September 14, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/14/us-mideast-idUSKBN0H90MU20140914> [142].
- **September 11, 2014:**The Nusra Front releases hostage U.N. peacekeepers into the Israeli-controlled Golan Heights.
Source: Baz Ratner, "Syria's Nusra Front releases U.N. peacekeepers in Golan," Reuters, September 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/11/us-syria-crisis-fiji-idUSKBN0H60C120140911> [143].
- **September 4, 2014:**Al-Qaeda opens a new branch in the Indian subcontinent.
In a video posted online, al-Qaeda leader al-Zawahiri says that it has taken more than two years to "gather the mujahedeen in the Indian subcontinent into a single entity."Source: Ellen Barry, "Al Qaeda Opens New Branch on Indian Subcontinent," *New York Times*, September 4, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/05/world/asia/al-qaeda-announces-new-branch-on-indian-subcontinent.html> [144].
- **September 2014:**The U.S. carries out airstrikes against the Nusra Front, as well as al-Qaeda's 'Khorasan' cell in Syria.
Source: Greg Miller and Kevin Sieff, "As U.S. Takes on the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda Remains Degraded but not Defeated," *Washington Post*, September 26, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/as-us-takes-on-the-islamic-state-al-qaeda-remains-degraded-but-not-defeated/2014/09/25/1f15c2c0-3eba-11e4-b0ea-8141703bbf6f_story.html [145].
- **August 31, 2014:**Al-Qaeda's Syrian proxy, the Nusra Front, confirms that it is holding 44 U.N. peacekeepers hostage in southern Syria, blaming the U.N. for failing to help Syrian civilians during Syria's civil war.
Source: Ben Hubbard, "Affiliate of Al Qaeda Confirms Capture of U.S. Peacekeepers in Syria," *New York Times*, August 31, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/01/world/middleeast/un-peacekeepers-captured-in-syria.html> [146].
- **April 24, 2014:**Two al-Qaeda gunmen try and fail to kidnap U.S. embassy staff in Sanaa, Yemen.
Source: JC Finley, "U.S. embassy employees repel AQAP kidnapping attempt in Yemen, killing 2 militants," United Press International, May 12, 2014, http://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2014/05/12/US-embassy-employees-repel-AQAP-kidnapping-attempt-in-Yemen-killing-2-militants/4231399905320/ [147].
- **February 2014:**Al-Qaeda cuts ties with ISIS.
Source: Ben Hubbard, "Al Qaeda Breaks with Jihadist Group in Syria Involved in Rebel Infighting," *New York Times*, February 3, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/04/world/middleeast/syria.html?_r=0 [148].
- **January 3, 2014:**ISIS takes control of the Iraqi city of Fallujah— where 100 American forces died battling al-Qaeda in 2004— and declares it part of the "Islamic state."
Source: Liz Sly, "Al-Qaeda-Linked Force Captures Fallujah Amid Rise in Violence in Iraq," *Washington Post*, January 3, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/al-qaeda-force-captures-fallujah-amid-rise-in-violence-in-iraq/2014/01/03/8abaeb2a-74aa-11e3-8def-a33011492df2_story.html [149].
- **August 2013:**Al-Zawahiri names AQAP leader Nasir al-Wuhayshi his deputy.
He reportedly gives him "clear orders" to carry out an attack, prompting the U.S. to temporarily shut down its embassies and consulates in the Middle East and North Africa.Source: Ellen Nakashima and Anne Gearan, "Al-Qaeda Leader Zawahiri Is Said to Have Ordered Terrorist Attack; U.S. Citizens Urged to Leave Yemen," *Washington Post*, August 6, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/al-qaeda-leader-zawahiri-is-said-to-have-ordered-terrorist-attack/2013/08/05/9eb4799e-fe1b-11e2-bd97-676ec24f1f3f_story.html [150].
- **June 15, 2013:**ISIS renounces its affiliation with al-Qaeda after Zawahiri reprimands the group for fighting against the Nusra Front, another group that pledged its allegiance to Zawahiri.
ISIS's leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi reportedly said, "I have to choose between the rule of God and the rule of al-Zawahiri, and I choose the rule of God."Source: Ty McCormick, "Al Qaeda Core: A Short History," *Foreign Policy*, March 17, 2014, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/03/17/al_qaeda_core_a_short_history [151].

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- **April 2012:**Al-Qaeda in Iraq rebrands to become the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) as it becomes more heavily involved in the Syrian war.
Source: Ty McCormick, "Al Qaeda Core: A Short History," *Foreign Policy*, March 17, 2014, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/03/17/al_qaeda_core_a_short_history [151].
- **February 2012:**Al-Zawahiri urges jihadists to take advantage of the Syrian civil war to "Establish a state that defends the Muslim countries, seeks to free the Golan, and continues Jihad until the flag of victory is raised above the usurped hills of al-Quds...."
Then in September 2012, he releases a 35-minute audiotape reminding militants that "Supporting *jihad* in Syria to establish a Muslim state is a basic step towards Jerusalem...."Source: Paul Cruickshank and Tim Lister, "Zawahiri Messages Underline Al Qaeda's Focus on Syria," CNN, September 13, 2012, <http://security.blogs.cnn.com/2012/09/13/zawahiri-messages-underline-al-qaedas-focus-on-syria/> [152].
- **February 2012:**Al-Shabab leader Mukhtar Abu al-Zubayr releases a video tape pledging his allegiance to new al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri and announcing that the two groups had formally merged.
Source: Thomas Joscelyn and Bill Roggio, "Shabaab Formally Joins Al Qaeda," *Long War Journal*, February 9, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/02/shabaab_formally_joi.php# [153].
- **September 30, 2011:**Anwar al-Awlaki and Samir Khan, both American citizens and members of AQAP in Yemen, are killed in a drone strike carried out by the Central Intelligence Agency.
According to the White House, Awlaki had assumed "the lead role in planning and directing the efforts to murder innocent Americans."Source: Mark Mazzetti, Eric Schmitt, and Robert Worth, "Two-Year Manhunt Led to Killing of Awlaki in Yemen," *New York Times*, September 30, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/01/world/middleeast/anwar-al-awlaki-is-killed-in-yemen.html?pagewanted=all> [154].
- **May 2, 2011:**Navy SEALs kill bin Laden during a raid on his compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan.
Source: Peter Baker, Helene Cooper, Mark Mazzetti, "Bin Laden Is Dead, Obama Says," *New York Times*, May 1, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/02/world/asia/osama-bin-laden-is-killed.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> [155].
- **2010:**Bin Laden allegedly drafts a letter that discusses "increased mistakes" on the part of Muslims carrying out attacks across the world.
The letter is thought to be an attempt by bin Laden to unite various regional militant groups under al-Qaeda Central's control.Source: "Bin Laden's Final Letters," *Wall Street Journal*, 16-17, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702304743704577381823646622112> [156].
- **December 25, 2009:**Nigerian citizen Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab attempts to detonate explosives hidden in his underwear aboard a Northwest Airlines flight.
The flight was travelling from Amsterdam to Detroit. Abdulmutallab is subdued by passengers after setting his pants on fire. Abdulmutallab allegedly received training and explosives from AQAP in Yemen.Source: Dan Eggen, Karen DeYoung, and Spencer Hsu, "Plane Suspect Was Listed in Terror Database after Father Alerted U.S. Officials," *Washington Post*, December 27, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/12/25/AR2009122501355.html> [157].
- **September 2009:**Afghan native Najibullah Zazi, who spent time in an al-Qaeda training camp in Pakistan's Waziristan region, is arrested for allegedly planning to detonate homemade explosives in New York City's subway system to mark the anniversary of 9/11.
Zazi pleads guilty in February 2010 to three charges: conspiring to use weapons of mass destruction, conspiracy to commit murder in a foreign country, and providing material support to a terrorist organization.Source: Julian Cummings, "Najibullah Zazi Pleads Guilty in New York Terrorism Plot," CNN, February 23, 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/CRIME/02/22/najibullah.zazi.plea/> [158].
- **September 11, 2006:**Ayman al-Zawahiri announces a partnership between al-Qaeda and the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) in Algeria.
In January 2007 the group becomes al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and carries out attacks in Algeria, Niger, Mauritania, and Mali.Source: Ty McCormick, "Al Qaeda Core: A Short History," *Foreign Policy*, March 17, 2014, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/03/17/al_qaeda_core_a_short_history [151].
- **February 3, 2006:**23 alleged al-Qaeda militants in Yemen escape from prison, including Nasir al-Wuhayshi, the future leader of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).
Source: Ty McCormick, "Al Qaeda Core: A Short History," *Foreign Policy*, March 17, 2014, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/03/17/al_qaeda_core_a_short_history [151].
- **January 19, 2006:**In a video aired by Al Jazeera, bin Laden offers the U.S. a "long term truce." The U.S. government rejects his offer.
Source: "Timeline: Al-Qaeda," BBC News, September 4, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3618762.stm> [159].
- **July 7, 2005:**Suicide bombers attack the London Underground railway and a civilian bus, killing 56 people in the worst terrorist attack in U.K. history.
All four bombers are British nationals. On July 21, four British nationals attempt to blow up three trains and a bus in London but the bombs do not detonate.Source: "Al-Qaida Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **July 2005:**The U.S. confiscates a letter from Ayman al-Zawahiri to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi that describe al-Qaeda's long-term global strategy.
The letter also criticizes al-Zarqawi for videotaping and distributing footage of beheadings, saying that such violence could alienate the Islamic world from al-Qaeda's cause.Source: "Zawahiri's Letter to Zarqawi (English Translation)," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, accessed February 19, 2015, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/zawahiris-letter-to-zarqawi-english-translation-2> [161].
- **December 2004:**On December 6, al-Qaeda launches an attack against the U.S. consulate in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia,

Al-Qaeda

killing five non-American employees.

On December 29, militants attack Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Interior in Riyadh. Saudi forces kill seven of the assailants. Source: "Al-Qaeda Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].

- **October 17, 2004:** Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's Tawhid and Jihad group pledges allegiance to bin Laden, uniting under the name al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI).
Source: Ty McCormick, "Al Qaeda Core: A Short History," *Foreign Policy*, March 17, 2014, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/03/17/al_qaeda_core_a_short_history [151].
- **May 17, 2004:** A suicide bomber with suspected ties to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi detonates a bomb and blows himself up near the U.S.-led coalition headquarters in Baghdad, killing the acting president of the Iraqi Governing Council, Ezzedine Salim.
Salim's death comes 45 days before the occupation forces are set to transfer limited political control back to the Iraqis. Source: Ian Fisher and Christine Hauser, "The Struggle for Iraq: Political Violence; Suicide Bomber Kills President of Iraqi Council," *New York Times*, May 18, 2004, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/18/world/struggle-for-iraq-political-violence-suicide-bomber-kills-president-iraqi.html> [162].
- **March 11, 2004:** Four rush-hour commuter trains in Madrid are bombed simultaneously, killing 191 and wounding more than 1,800.
Police discovered that the bombs were hidden in backpacks and detonated remotely with mobile phones. Al-Qaeda claims that the attacks are in retaliation for Spain's troop presence in Iraq and Afghanistan. Spain indicts 29 people in the attacks, including 15 Moroccans, nine Spaniards, two Syrians, one Egyptian, one Algerian, and one Lebanese. Source: "The 2004 Madrid Bombings," *Guardian* (London), October 31, 2007, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/oct/31/spain.menezes> [163].
- **November 2003:** On November 8, suicide bombers driving vehicles disguised as police cars attack another residential compound in Riyadh, killing 17 and injuring 122.
On November 15, al-Qaeda affiliate Abu Hafis al-Masri Brigades simultaneously bomb two synagogues in Istanbul, Turkey. The bombings kill at least 29 and wound dozens more. Five days later, 32 people are killed when suicide bombers from the Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front detonate trucks packed with explosives outside of HSBC bank and the British consulate in Istanbul. The Saudi militant cell calls itself al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). Sources: "Al-Qaeda Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160]; Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Terrorist Attacks by Al Qaeda," Congressional Research Service, March 31, 2004, 4, <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/033104.pdf> [164].
- **May 2003:** On May 12, al-Qaeda militants in Saudi Arabia attack three Western housing compounds in Riyadh, killing 34 people.
Four days later, on May 16, fourteen suicide bombers from al-Qaeda affiliate al-Salafiyah al-Jihadiyah detonate 5 bombs in Casablanca, Morocco. The attacks kill 44 people, including 12 of the assailants, and wound nearly 60. Source: "Al-Qaeda Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **March 1, 2003:** CIA and Pakistani forces captured senior al-Qaeda leader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed— who U.S. authorities believe helped plan 9/11— near Islamabad.
Source: "Timeline: Al-Qaeda," BBC News, September 4, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3618762.stm> [159].
- **November 28, 2002:** Al-Qaeda bombs a hotel in Mombasa, Kenya that is owned and frequented by Israelis, killing 15 people and wounding 40.
Meanwhile, the group also tries but fails to shoot down an Israeli airliner with a surface-to-air missile as it takes off from the airport in Mombasa. Source: Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Terrorist Attacks by Al Qaeda," Congressional Research Service, March 31, 2004, 4, <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/033104.pdf> [164].
- **October 2002:** Al-Qaeda reportedly carries out attacks on a French oil tanker in Yemen on October 6, killing 1.
On October 8, the group claims responsibility for attacking and killing two U.S. Marines on Faylaka Island in Kuwait. Then on October 12, al-Qaeda claims responsibility for bombing the Kuta Beach nightclub district of Bali, Indonesia, killing 202 and wounding hundreds more. Source: "Al-Qaeda Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **September 11, 2002:** Pakistani authorities arrests suspected 9/11 plotter Ramzi bin al-Shibh.
Source: "Timeline: Al-Qaeda," BBC News, September 4, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3618762.stm> [159].
- **April 11, 2002:** Al-Qaeda claims responsibility for a synagogue bombing in Djerba, Tunisia that kills 19 and injures 22.
Source: Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Terrorist Attacks by Al Qaeda," Congressional Research Service, March 31, 2004, 4, <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/033104.pdf> [164].
- **March 28, 2002:** Pakistani authorities captures senior al-Qaeda operative Abu Zubaydah during a raid and hand him over to U.S. officials for questioning.
Zubaydah is allegedly Bin Laden's field commander and is the number three al-Qaeda leader wanted by the U.S. Source: "Timeline: Al-Qaeda," BBC News, September 4, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3618762.stm> [159].
- **January 2002 - February 2002:** *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl is kidnapped and beheaded in Pakistan while on assignment to interview a militant leader about his ties to Richard Reid.
Source: "U.S. Journalist Daniel Pearl is Dead, Officials Confirm," CNN.com, February 22, 2002, <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/south/02/21/missing.reporter/> [165].
- **December 23, 2001:** British citizen Richard Reid is arrested after he tries to detonate explosives hidden in his shoes on an American Airlines flight from Paris to Miami.
Nicknamed the "Shoebomber," Reid pledged his allegiance to bin Laden during trial. Source: "Timeline: Al-Qaeda," BBC News, September 4, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3618762.stm> [159].

Al-Qaeda

- **September 11, 2001:** Nineteen al-Qaeda operatives hijack U.S. commercial airliners and fly them into the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC.
A fourth hijacked airplane, whose target may have been the U.S. Capitol building, crash in a field in rural Pennsylvania. More than 3,000 civilians are killed and thousands more are injured. The U.S. launches military operations against al-Qaeda's suspected safe havens in Afghanistan six weeks later. Source: "Timeline: Al-Qaeda," BBC News, September 4, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3618762.stm> [159].
- **October 12, 2000:** Suicide bombers driving an inflatable raft packed with explosives ram into the USS Cole as it is mooring a U.S. Navy destroyer to a buoy in the Port of Aden, killing 17 U.S. servicemen and injuring at least 40. Both bombers are Yemenis, and six men are arrested in connection with the plot, including Saudi national Abdel Rahim al-Nashiri, who is reportedly al-Qaeda's chief of naval operations in the Persian Gulf. Source: "Suicide Bombers Attack USS Cole," BBC News, October 12, 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/12/newsid_4252000/4252400.stm [166].
- **January 1999:** U.S. federal prosecutors obtain indictments against bin Laden and 11 of his associates.
This was on charges of conspiring to kill American citizens, including military personnel stationed in Saudi Arabia and Somalia, and U.S. embassy employees in Tanzania and Kenya. Source: "Osama Bin Laden: A Chronology of His Political Life," PBS Frontline, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/etc/cron.html> [167].
- **August 1998:** Simultaneous suicide bombings at the U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya kill 258 people and wound more than 5,000.
In retaliation, the Clinton administration launched cruise missile attacks on suspected al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan and on the Al Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum. Source: "Osama Bin Laden: A Chronology of His Political Life," PBS Frontline, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/etc/cron.html> [167].
- **August 1996:** Bin Laden issues a declaration of *Jihad*.
Among his objectives are forcing the U.S. military out of the Arabian Peninsula, dethroning the Saudi government, punishing the U.S. and its allies for their "Crusade" against Islam, and liberating Muslim holy sites. Source: "Bin Laden's Fatwa," PBS Newshour, August 23, 1996, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/military-july-dec96-fatwa_1996/ [23].
- **May 1996:** Bin Laden loses his safe haven in Sudan and returns to Afghanistan after the U.S. and Saudi Arabia pressure the Sudanese government to expel him.
Source: "Osama Bin Laden: A Chronology of His Political Life," PBS Frontline, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/etc/cron.html> [167].
- **June 1995:** Members of Egyptian Islamic Jihad attack Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's motorcade during his visit to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to attend the Organization of African Unity summit.
Egyptian officials believe that bin Laden planned the attack. Source: "Al-Qaida Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **November 1994:** Bin Laden's associates in Manila conduct surveillance of U.S. President Bill Clinton and his Secret Service detail during a state visit to the Philippines.
This was in preparation for an assassination attempt during Clinton's planned trip to the APEC summit in November 1996. Surveillance tapes, maps, and notes are passed to Bin Laden in Sudan. Source: "Al-Qaida Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **June 1994:** Bin Laden meets with Hezbollah chief Imad Mughniyeh in Khartoum, where Mughniyeh allegedly offered Bin Laden his operational advice.
Source: "Al-Qaida Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **April 1994:** The Saudi government rescinds bin Laden's citizenship and freezes his local assets due to his support for militant groups.
Source: "Osama Bin Laden: A Chronology of His Political Life," PBS Frontline, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/etc/cron.html> [167].
- **March 1994:** Ramzi Yousef and a militant cell in Bangkok hijack a delivery truck and attempt to deliver a one-ton bomb to the Israeli embassy.
The plot fails when the truck crashes and the militants are forced to abandon it. Source: "Al-Qaida Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **October 1993:** An al-Qaeda cell in Somalia allegedly shoots down a U.S. black hawk helicopter in Mogadishu.
Source: Andrew Wander, "A History of Terror: Al-Qaeda 1988-2008," *Guardian* (London), July 12, 2008, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jul/13/history.alqaida> [168].
- **April 1993 - June 1993:** The FBI stops a plot to bomb several targets in New York, including the Lincoln and Holland tunnels, the George Washington Bridge, the Statue of Liberty, the United Nations, the Federal Building, and one location in the Diamond District.
Source: "Al-Qaida Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **February 1993:** Khalid Sheik Mohamed's nephew Ramzi Yousef masterminds the first attack on the World Trade Center, which kills six and wounds 1,500.
Source: "Al-Qaida Timeline: Plots and Attacks," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4677978/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/al-qaida-timeline-plots-attacks/#.U4idFpwqRdg [160].
- **December 1992:** Bombs explode at a hotel in Aden, Yemen where U.S. troops had stayed before traveling to Somalia.

COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

Al-Qaeda

Two Austrian tourists die in the attack. Source: "Osama Bin Laden: A Chronology of His Political Life," PBS Frontline, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/etc/cron.html> [167].

- **April 1991:** Bin Laden is forced to leave Saudi Arabia after publicly rebuking the monarchy for its alliance with the U.S. He flees to Afghanistan and then to Sudan between 1991 and 1992, establishing numerous businesses. Source: "Osama Bin Laden: A Chronology of His Political Life," PBS Frontline, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/etc/cron.html> [167].
- **August 1990:** Iraqi troops invade Kuwait. Fearing further Iraqi aggression, bin Laden urges Saudi King Fahd to allow him and his "Afghan Arabs" — Arab fighters who cut their teeth fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan — to defend the Arabian Peninsula. King Fahd declines bin Laden's offer in favor of military intervention by U.S. and allied forces. Source: Andrew Wander, "A History of Terror: Al-Qaeda 1988-2008," *Guardian* (London), July 12, 2008, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jul/13/history.alqaida> [168].
- **February 1989:** Soviet forces withdraw from Afghanistan ten years after invading the country. Bin Laden and other Arab and Muslim fighters from the Afghan war return to their home countries emboldened by their perceived triumph over the Soviet forces. Source: "Timeline: Al Qaeda's Global Context," PBS Frontline, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/knew/etc/cron.html> [169].
- **August 1988:** During a three-day meeting at Osama bin Laden's house in Peshawar, Pakistan, bin Laden, Abu Ubaidah al-Banjshiri, Abu Hajir, and 6 others establish al-Qaeda's Advisory Council. Additionally, they develop membership requirements and a pledge of allegiance. Source: "TareekhOsama/50/Tareekh Osama 122-123," Intelwire.com, February 24, 2009, <http://intelfiles.egoplex.com/1988-08-11-al-qaeda-founding.pdf> [170].

Al-Qaeda

Violent history:

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Al-Qaeda

- **May 2003:** On May 12, al-Qaeda militants in Saudi Arabia attack three Western housing compounds in Riyadh, killing 34 people. Four days later, on May 16, 14 suicide bombers from al-Qaeda affiliate al-Salafiyah al-Jihadiyah detonate 5 bombs in Casablanca, Morocco. The attacks killed 44 people, including 12 of the assailants, and wounded nearly 60.⁸³
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- **February 22, 2006:** Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) bomb the Shiite Al Askari Mosque in Samarra, Iraq, one of the four major Shiite shrines in Iraq and the burial place for two of the 12 revered Shiite Imams. Reportedly, "a group of men dressed like Iraqi police commandos" walked into the shrine and set off the explosions.⁹² The mosque attack set off a wave of intensified Shiite-Sunni attacks across Iraq.⁹³
- **August 16, 2007:** Suicide bombers from AQI simultaneously detonate five fuel trucks in the Yazidi Kurdish villages of al-Qataniyah and al-Adnaniyah, killing more than 300 Iraqis, injuring several hundred, and destroying dozens of homes. It is considered the worst terrorist attack in Iraq during the post-Saddam era.⁹⁴
- **September 2007:** Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) detonate a car bomb in the northern town of Dellys, killing 28 coast guard officers. Just days before, AQIM set off an explosion in a crowd that was waiting to greet Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika.⁹⁵
- **September 2009:** Afghan native Najibullah Zazi, who spent time in an al-Qaeda training camp in Pakistan's Waziristan region, is arrested for allegedly planning to detonate homemade explosives in New York City's subway system to mark the anniversary of 9/11. Zazi pleads guilty in February 2010 to three charges: conspiring to use weapons of mass destruction, conspiracy to commit murder in a foreign country, and providing material support to a terrorist organization.⁹⁶
- **December 25, 2009:** Nigerian citizen Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab attempts to detonate explosives hidden in his underwear aboard a Northwest Airlines flight travelling from Amsterdam to Detroit, but was subdued by passengers after setting his pants on fire. Abdulmutallab allegedly received training and explosives from AQAP in Yemen.⁹⁷
- **November 2010:** Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula attempts to mail bombs loaded in printer cartridges via UPS and FedEx to Jewish community centers in Chicago. The bombs made their way from Yemen to Britain and Dubai before a last minute tip from Saudi intelligence alerted officials in each country to the cargo and foiled the plot.⁹⁸
- **May 2012:** The Central Intelligence Agency and foreign intelligence services foil an attempt by al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula to send a suicide bomber carrying an "experimental bomb aboard an airliner" travelling to the U.S.⁹⁹

Al-Qaeda

- **September 11, 2012:** Al-Qaeda affiliate Ansar al-Sharia in Libya attack the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi, killing U.S. Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other Americans at the Consulate.¹⁰⁰
- **January 23, 2013:** Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb seize control of a natural gas plant in eastern Algeria, tying up dozens of Western workers and planting explosives throughout the facility. After four days of negotiations failed, Algerian forces storm the facility, killing and driving out the militant. However, at least 37 hostages die in the hostage crisis and ensuing assault.¹⁰¹
- **September 21, 2013:** Reportedly, gunmen from Al-Shabab open fire on bystanders at the Westgate Mall in Nairobi, Kenya, killing more than 60 people during an 80-hour siege of the mall by Kenyan security forces.¹⁰²
- **January-February 2014:** Militants from Boko Haram in Nigeria stage numerous attacks on colleges and villages in Nigeria during the first two months of 2014, shooting and burning male students alive. According to estimates, the group murder more than 200 students during a four-week span.¹⁰³
- **April 24, 2014:** Two al-Qaeda gunmen try and fail to kidnap U.S. embassy staff in Sanaa, Yemen.¹⁰⁴
- **September 17, 2014:** Al-Qaeda's new wing in South Asia hijacks a Pakistani naval ship, and tries to use it to launch rockets towards U.S. vessels.¹⁰⁵
- **October 20, 2014:** Al-Qaeda suicide bombings and gun attacks kill at least 33 people in Yemen.¹⁰⁶
- **January 7, 2015:** The perpetrators of the Paris attacks on the offices of satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* and a kosher supermarket claim that they received funding from AQAP. One of the two Kouachi brothers had previously trained with al-Qaeda in Yemen.¹⁰⁷
- **January 14, 2015:** AQAP officially claims responsibility for the *Charlie Hebdo* attack.¹⁰⁸
- **February 12, 2015:** AQAP militants seize a large army base in southern Yemen, just hours after the U.N. warns that the country is on the brink of civil war.¹⁰⁹
- **February 13, 2015:** Al-Qaeda fighters attack a Yemeni prison, freeing six al-Qaeda militants.¹¹⁰
- **February 25, 2015:** The *Guardian* reports that Russian intelligence fears al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is planning attacks against European targets in the Mediterranean from North Africa with a "kamikaze" marine unit.¹¹¹
- **March 3, 2015:** Five people are killed in an AQAP suicide attack on a Houthi outpost in central Yemen.¹¹²
- **November 20, 2015:** Al-Mourabitoun claims responsibility for a deadly gun and hostage attack on the Radisson Blu Hotel in Bamako, Mali, allegedly as part of a joint attack with al-Qaeda affiliate, AQIM. According to U.N. spokesman Olivier Salgado, 21 people were killed in the attack when gunmen stormed the hotel using counterfeit diplomatic license plates.¹¹³
- **January 16, 2016:** Al-Qaeda affiliate AQIM storms a hotel and nearby cafe in Ougadougou, Burkina Faso, killing 28 and wounding dozens.¹¹⁴
- **March 13, 2016:** AQIM gunmen open fire at a beach resort in Grand-Bassam, a coastal town located 25 miles east of Abidjan. The attack—the first al-Qaeda attack in the country—leaves 19 people dead, including 16 civilians and three Ivorian soldiers. Among the killed are foreign citizens from France, Germany, Burkina Faso, Mali, and Cameroon.¹¹⁵
- **October 14, 2017:** Al-Qaeda affiliate al-Shabab is suspected of detonating a suicide bomb in Mogadishu, killing more than 500 people. While al-Shabab is an al-Qaeda affiliate, more than 200 fighters have defected since 2015 and declared allegiance to ISIS.¹¹⁶
- **January 12, 2018:** Al-Qaeda prison inmate Christian Ganczarski injures three guards in a knife attack at the French prison where he is being held. Ganczarski was linked to the 2002 Tunisian synagogue bombing that killed 21.¹¹⁷
- **January 21, 2018:** The al-Qaeda affiliated Haqqani Network kills 22 people including several U.S. citizens in a 12-hour attack on a hotel in Kabul, Afghanistan.¹¹⁸

Al-Qaeda

- **January 27, 2018:** Al-Qaeda fighters attack and briefly seize control of a Malian army base near Soumpi, Timbuktu, killing 14 and wounding 18.¹¹⁹
- **March 25, 2018:** Al-Qaeda affiliate al-Shabab detonates three car bombs over four days in Mogadishu, Somalia, killing nearly 20 people.¹²⁰
- **July 7, 2018:** An al-Shabab suicide bombing in Mogadishu kills at least nine.¹²¹
- **November 9, 2018:** Suicide attackers set off two car bombs at a hotel in Mogadishu. The explosion kills at least 22 civilians and six militants. Abdiasisi Abu Musab, al-Shabab's spokesman for military operations, said the group targeted the Sahafi hotel because of its proximity to Somalia's Criminal Investigations Department.¹²²
- **January 15, 2019:** Four gunmen and one suicide bomber storm a complex in Nairobi. The 19-hour siege claims the lives of 26, including the attackers, and injures 28. Al-Shabab claims responsibility for the attack as it was "a response to the witless remarks of U.S. president, Donald Trump, and his declaration of al-Quds [Jerusalem] as the capital of Israel."¹²³
- **March 13, 2019:** Six Malian troops are killed after driving over improvised land mines. Two army vehicles were struck in Dialloubé killing two soldiers, and four soldiers are killed after driving over an explosive in Hombori.¹²⁴
- **March 17, 2019:** Gunmen linked to al-Qaeda attack and briefly seize a Malian army base in Mopti region. At least 16 soldiers are killed.¹²⁵
- **March 23, 2019:** Gunmen launch assaults on the villages of Ogossagou and Welingara. At least 110 Fulani herders are killed. It is suspected that the gunmen were associated with al-Qaeda.¹²⁶
- **March 28, 2019:** An explosive-laden vehicle detonates outside a busy restaurant in Somalia. At least 16 people are killed and another 17 are wounded. Al-Shabab claims responsibility for the attack.¹²⁷
- **May 12, 2019:** Gunmen attack and burn down a church in Dablo, Burkina Faso. At least six people, including the priest, are killed. No group claims responsibility, but it is expected that the gunmen were affiliated with either al-Qaeda or ISIS given the rise of jihadist attacks in neighboring Mali.¹²⁸
- **May 19, 2019:** Gunmen raid Timbuktu, Mali, targeting U.N. troops stationed there. One soldier is killed and three other peacekeepers are injured. The attackers are suspected to be associated with al-Qaeda.¹²⁹
- **July 14, 2019:** At least four al-Shabab militants attack a hotel in Mogadishu. The assailants blew up the gate of the hotel with a car bomb, taking over the building and killing over 26 people in the process. Somali forces manage to recover the hotel.¹³⁰
- **July 22, 2019:** A car bomb detonates near a hotel close to the busy K-4 junction in Mogadishu. At least 17 people are killed and another 28 are taken to a hospital. Al-Shabab claims responsibility for the explosion.¹³¹
- **July 24, 2019:** A suicide bomber detonates an explosive inside a Mogadishu government building. The attack kills seven, including Abdirahman Omar Osman, the mayor of Mogadishu. Al-Shabab claims responsibility for the attack, claiming to target United Nations officials who were visiting the government building.¹³²
- **August 2, 2019:** Al-Qaeda militants storm the al-Mahfad army base in Abyan province, Yemen. The attack kills at least 19 soldiers.¹³³
- **August 14, 2019:** Al-Shabab militants attack a government military base in Somalia. The assailants deploy car bombs and open fire on the base, with unofficial reports claiming over 50 soldiers are killed.¹³⁴
- **August 14, 2019:** Al-Shabab militants attempt to attack a military camp in Mogadishu. Somali troops manage to fend off the two car bombs and gun raid, but three people are killed in the crossfire.¹³⁵
- **August 15, 2019:** Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS), otherwise known as the Nusra Front, shoots down a government warplane in Idlib. The militants capture the pilot who was ejected from the plane. Pro-government forces sought to destroy the Nusra Front's headquarters following their recent successful seizure of new grounds from rebels near the

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strategic town of Khan Sheikhoun.¹³⁶

- **August 20, 2019:** The U.S. military conducts air raids targeting an al-Shabab fighter in Qunyo Barrow, Somalia. The militant is killed in the raid.¹³⁷
- **August 21, 2019:** Suspected jihadists ambush Malian soldiers between the cities of Hombori and Boni. At least five soldiers are killed. It is unconfirmed which insurgent outfit the rebels belonged to, but jihadist groups linked to al-Qaeda and ISIS have exploited ethnic rivalries in Mali and the surrounding areas to boost recruitment and render swathes of territory ungovernable.¹³⁸

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Designations:

Designations by the U.S. Government:



October 8, 1999: The Department of State designates Al-Qa'ida (AQ) as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (under section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act).¹³⁹

The Department of State designates Al-Qa'ida as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (under Executive Order 13224).¹⁴⁰

The Office of Foreign Assets Control, U.S. Treasury Department designates Al-Qa'ida as a Specially Designated Terrorist (under Executive Order 13224).¹⁴¹

In addition to designating hundreds of terrorist groups affiliated with al-Qaeda, the U.S. Department of the Treasury has formally designated dozens of Islamic charities and front companies tied to al-Qaeda.¹⁴²

Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:



Australia—listed Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization on October 21, 2002.¹⁴³



Canada—listed Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization on July 23, 2002.¹⁴⁴



EU—listed Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization on May 27, 2002.¹⁴⁵



France—designated Al-Qaeda according to rule (CE) n° 881/2002 of May 27, 2002.¹⁴⁶

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India—listed Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization on April 9, 2002.¹⁴⁷



Israel—listed Al-Qaeda as an Unlawful organization on April 10, 2001.¹⁴⁸



New Zealand—listed Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization on October 17, 2002.¹⁴⁹



United Arab Emirates—listed Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization on November 15, 2014.¹⁵⁰



United Nations—listed Osama bin Laden as a terrorist on October 15, 1999.¹⁵¹



United Kingdom—listed Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization in March 2001.¹⁵²

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¹⁴⁹ “Designated Individuals and Organisations,” New Zealand Police, February 10, 2015, <http://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/designated-entities-10-02-2015.pdf> [218].

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¹⁵⁰ "UAE lists scores of groups as 'terrorists,'" Al Jazeera, November 16, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/11/uae-lists-scores-groups-as-terrorists-2014111517644316294.html> [219].

¹⁵¹ "Resolution 1267 (1999)," United Nations Security Council, October 15, 1999, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1267%281999%29 [220].

¹⁵² "Proscribed Terrorist Organisations," Home Office, last modified January 23, 2015, 6, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/400902/Proscription-20150123.pdf [221].

Associations:

Ties to Extremist Entities designated by the U.S. or foreign governments:



Khorasan [222]

The terrorist cell exposed in September 2014 as “the Khorasan Group” is a conglomerate of al-Qaeda fighters integrated or fully embedded within al-Qaeda’s affiliate in Syria, the Nusra Front. President Obama introduced Khorasan to the American public as “seasoned al Qaeda operatives in Syria.”¹⁵³ Reports indicate that U.S. internal documents refer to the group as the Khorasan Shura,¹⁵⁴ essentially the leadership council of core al-Qaeda. Khorasan is considered by some to be a reallocation of a portion of al-Qaeda’s core leadership to Syria and, by others, to be an externally directed arm of al-Qaeda’s affiliate in Syria. Both of these claims hold that Khorasan’s purpose is to recruit Western jihadists in Syria and redirect them to carrying out attacks against the U.S. and Europe.



Muslim Brotherhood [223]

In response to Egypt’s crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood, Ayman al-Zawahiri released a video condemning the crackdown and saying, “We call on the people to put their revolution on the right track and undertake slogans calling for Islamic Sharia, the path of freedom, social justice and human dignity.”¹⁵⁵ The Egyptian outlet El-Watan has exposed conversations between Egypt’s former president and member of the Muslim Brotherhood Mohammed Morsi and Ayman al-Zawahiri’s brother, Muhammad al-Zawahiri. According to these conversations, Morsi allegedly colluded with Zawahiri to release terrorists from Egyptian prisons in order to garner support for the Brotherhood.¹⁵⁶



Hamas [224]

In 2002, the Washington Post quoted official U.S. government sources as confirming a loose alliance “between al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Hizbullah.”¹⁵⁷ In 2003, Israel arrested three Hamas fighters returning from al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan.¹⁵⁸ That same year, Jordanian security officials confirmed to Time that two Hamas members went on a recruiting mission in Afghanistan in the hopes of bringing al-Qaeda fighters back to the Palestinian territories.¹⁵⁹



[225]

Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)

Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) is the union of al-Qaeda’s branches in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. AQAP has carried out violent jihadist attacks both domestically and internationally in service of al-Qaeda’s ideology. AQAP is most known for its terrorist plots on U.S. soil, including the Christmas Day Bomber of 2009 and the Times Square Bomber of 2010, as well as its brutal war against the Yemeni government.



ISIS [4]

ISIS was originally an al-Qaeda affiliate in Iraq. Under al-Qaeda’s auspices from October 2004¹⁶⁰⁽⁶¹⁾ until February 2014, ISIS, formerly al-Qaeda in Iraq, was responsible for a score of terrorist bombings that resulted in the death of thousands. In February 2014, the two groups split over a leadership dispute when ISIS’s leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, refused to obey al-Qaeda’s leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri.



Al-Shabab [226]

Al-Shabab publicly praised al-Qaeda between 2006 and 2008, condemning U.S. oppression of Muslims worldwide. In 2010, the group announced that it sought to “connect the horn of Africa jihad to the one led by al-Qaeda.”¹⁶² Al-Shabab officially announced its union with al-Qaeda in February 2012. Following Godane’s death in September 2014, the group and its new leader reaffirmed the alignment.¹⁶³



Nusra Front [227]

The Nusra Front has a long and proven history of serving as al-Qaeda’s loyal affiliate in Syria. In July 2016, however, al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri released an audio statement giving the Nusra Front formal permission to break ties with al-Qaeda if the link was “conflicting with [the Nusra Front’s] unity and working as one body.”¹⁶⁴ Hours later, Nusra Front leader Abu Muhammad al-Golani formally severed ties with al-Qaeda’s central command.¹⁶⁵ Analysts have long surmised that a formal, or at least artificial, break from al-Qaeda could allow the Nusra Front the opportunity to attract more funding from Gulf states, consolidate local support, and present itself as a legitimate insurgent group in Syria.¹⁶⁶ Even as the Nusra Front formally declared its independence from al-Qaeda, the group thanked al-Qaeda’s leadership for giving “priority to the interests of the people of Al-Sham, their Jihad, [and] their revolution.”¹⁶⁷

For years before the announcement, the Nusra Front had reaffirmed its allegiance to al-Zawahiri, even in the face of competing claims to its leadership. In April 2013, after al-Baghdadi unilaterally claimed that the Nusra Front answered to his al-Qaeda in Iraq group (now ISIS), Nusra Front leader Abu Muhammad al-Golani broke ties with ISIS and affirmed its allegiance to al-Qaeda central.¹⁶⁸



Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) [11]

Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) is al-Qaeda [225]’s fifth official chapter.¹⁶⁹ The group was founded in September 2014 at the behest of al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri [228], who appointed Asim Omar [229] as emir (leader) of the new affiliate. Like its parent group, AQIS seeks to wage jihad in order to establish governance by sharia (Islamic law). The affiliate allegedly operates in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Burma, Bangladesh, and Kashmir. Al-Zawahiri stated that AQIS seeks to “rescue” the subcontinent’s Muslim population from “injustice, oppression, persecution, and suffering.”¹⁷⁰

Al-Qaeda



Jamaah Islamiyah [230]

Jl's experiences with al-Qaeda jihadists in Afghanistan significantly influenced its doctrine and also served to solidify a connection between Jl and al-Qaeda core.¹⁷¹ Al-Qaeda core had initially provided a bulk of revenue to Jl also, though Jl members are able to raise their own funds. Some analysts believe the group is still financially connected.¹⁷² Some members of Jl associate with al-Qaeda's formal affiliate in Syria, the Nusra Front, and have joined the group there.¹⁷³



Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) [231]



LeT has had long-standing relationships with al-Qaeda members since the 1980s. In August 1998, LeT fighters were killed when training camps run by Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan were hit by U.S. cruise missiles.¹⁷⁴ After 9/11, LeT provided safe havens to al-Qaeda militants, including senior AQ member Abu Zubaydah. Abu Zubaydah was eventually captured by the Pakistani government in 2002.¹⁷⁵ LeT member David Headley, conspired with AQ operative Ilyas Kashmiri in 2009 to plan attacks on a Danish newspaper and other targets in Copenhagen.¹⁷⁶ Like the Afghan Taliban, al-Qaeda reportedly learned some of its outreach and media techniques from LeT.¹⁷⁷ According to reports, al-Qaeda has tried to poach members from Pakistani-backed jihadist groups such as LeT. Despite cooperating with LeT, al-Qaeda seeks to create an independent jihadist presence in Jammu and Kashmir that operates outside of Pakistan's political interests.¹⁷⁸

Ansar al-Islam

Ansar al-Islam is an al-Qaeda affiliate operating in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula. Hisham Ashmawy, a former captain in the Egyptian special forces, founded the group after defecting from Ansar Bait al-Maqdis when it declared allegiance to ISIS in November 2014.¹⁸³ Ashmawy is responsible for the May 2013 attempted assassination of former Interior Minister Mohamed Ibrahim and the June 2015 assassination of Egypt's top public prosecutor with a car bomb.¹⁸⁴



Ansar al-Sharia in Libya [232]

ASL is the union of two smaller groups, the Ansar al-Sharia Brigade in Benghazi (ASB) and Ansar al-Sharia Derna (ASD). U.K. Foreign Secretary Phillip Hammond stated that both ASD and ASB "have links with Al Qaeda and are responsible for acts of terror in Libya, including bomb attacks, kidnappings, and murder."¹⁷⁹ In November 2014, the United Nations sanctioned ASL as an entity associated with al-Qaeda.¹⁸⁰ Many members of ASL are personally connected to al-Qaeda, including former Guantanamo detainee and founder of ASD, Abu Sufyan Bin Qumu. Following the capture of Abu Anas al-Libi, ASL called for the release of the al-Qaeda militant "by all possible means."¹⁸¹ The emir of the organization, Mohamad al-Zahawi, has spoken favorably about al-Qaeda. Officially, however, ASL denies any connections to al-Qaeda.¹⁸²

¹⁵³ "Statement by the President on Airstrikes in Syria," U.S. Department of State, September 23, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/p/nea/rls/rm/232045.htm> [233].

¹⁵⁴ Zack Beauchamp, "Khorasan, Explained: Why the US Is Bombing an Al-Qaeda Group You've Never Heard Of," Vox, September 26, 2014, <http://www.vox.com/2014/9/26/6836491/khorasan-isis-syria-al-qaeda> [234].

¹⁵⁵ Adam Koppeser and AbdelHalim H. AbdAllah, "Al Qaeda Chief Declares Solidarity with Muslim Brotherhood, Urges Followers to Kidnap Westerners," *Daily News Egypt*, April 27, 2014, <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2014/04/27/al-qaeda-chief-declares-solidarity-muslim-brotherhood-urges-followers-kidnap-westerners/> [235].

¹⁵⁶ Ariel Ben Solomon, "Egyptian Reports Highlight Alleged Morsi-Al-Qaida Cooperation," *Jerusalem Post*, February 6, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Egyptian-reports-highlight-alleged-Morsi-al-Qaida-cooperation-340556> [236].

¹⁵⁷ Jonathan Schanzer, "The Hamas-Al Qaeda Alliance," *Weekly Standard*, May 2, 2011, http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/hamas-al-qaeda-alliance_558605.html [237].

¹⁵⁸ Jonathan Schanzer, "The Hamas-Al Qaeda Alliance," *Weekly Standard*, May 2, 2011, http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/hamas-al-qaeda-alliance_558605.html [237].

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http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/hamas-al-qaeda-alliance_558605.html [237].

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¹⁶¹ McCormick, "Al Qaeda Core: A Short History," *Foreign Policy*, March 17, 2014, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/03/17/al_qaeda_core_a_short_history [151]; "Terrorist Organization Profile: al-Qaeda Organization in the Land of the Two Rivers," START: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, accessed March 16, 2015, http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=4416 [238]; "Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant / al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI): ISIL - Early History," GlobalSecurity.org, accessed March 16, 2015, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/aqi-2.htm> [239].

¹⁶² Jonathan Masters, "Al-Shabab," Council on Foreign Relations, last modified September 5, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/somalia/al-shabab/p18650> [240].

¹⁶³ Reuters, "Al-Shabaab pledge allegiance to new leader," Al Arabiya, September 8, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/2014/09/08/Somalia-s-al-Shabaab-pledge-allegiance-to-new-leader.html> [241].

¹⁶⁴ Reuters, "Al Qaeda tells Syrian branch Nusra Front it can drop links," Thomas Reuters Foundation News, July 28, 2016, <http://news.trust.org/item/20160728110801-ogj17> [242].

¹⁶⁵ Orient News, "Nusra Front, Abu Mohammed Joulani commander officially announced the disengagement from al-Qaeda and the establishment of a new entity," YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oossAtDYbrs> [243]; Dania Akkad, "Nusra confirms split with al-Qaeda 'to protect the Syrian revolution,'" Middle East Eye, July 28, 2016, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/nusra-front-announces-official-split-al-qaeda-520293064> [244].

¹⁶⁶ Bassem Mroue, "AP EXPLAINS: Why Syria's al-Qaida may be considering a split," Associated Press, July 27, 2016, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/d10d759d35824b70b47501d85f0ff8c3/ap-explains-why-syrias-al-qaeda-may-be-considering-split> [245]; Reuters, "Al Qaeda tells Syrian branch Nusra Front it can drop links," Thomas Reuters Foundation News, July 28, 2016, <http://news.trust.org/item/20160728110801-ogj17> [242].

¹⁶⁷ Orient News, "Nusra Front, Abu Mohammed Joulani commander officially announced the disengagement from al-Qaeda and the establishment of a new entity," YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oossAtDYbrs> [243].

¹⁶⁸ "Syria Crisis: Al-Nusra Pledges Allegiance to Al-Qaeda," BBC News, April 10, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22095099> [246].

¹⁶⁹ Alastair Reed, "Al Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent: A New Frontline in the Global Jihadist Movement?," ICCT Policy Brief, May 2015, 1, <https://www.icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/ICCT-Reed-Al-Qaeda-in-the-Indian-Subcontinent-May2016.pdf> [247]

¹⁷⁰ Bill Roggio, "Al Qaeda Opens Branch in the 'Indian Subcontinent,'" Long War Journal, September 3, 2014, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/09/al_qaeda_opens_branc.php.

¹⁷¹ David Gordon and Samuel Lindo, "Jemaah Islamiyah," Center for Strategic & International Studies, November 2011, http://csis.org/files/publication/111101_Gordon_JemaahIslamiyah_WEB.pdf [248]

¹⁷² Yanina Goldburt, "An In-Depth Look at the Jemaah Islamiyah Network," al Nakhlah (Fall 2004), <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Al-Nakhlah/Archives/~media/Fletcher/Microsites/al%20Nakhlah/archives/pdfs/golburt.ashx> [249]

¹⁷³ Julie Chernov Hwang and Noor Huda Ismail, "There and Back Again: Indonesian Fighters in Syria," Middle East Institute, January 27, 2015, <http://www.mei.edu/content/map/there-and-back-again-indonesian-fighters-syria>.

¹⁷⁴ Protecting the Homeland against Mumbai-Style Attacks and the Threat from Lashkar-e-Taiba, Before the House Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, 113th Cong. (2013) (statement of Jonah Blank, Senior Political Analyst, RAND Corporation), <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/HM/HM05/20130612/100964/HHRG-113-HM05-Wstate-BlankJ-20130612.pdf> [250]

¹⁷⁵ Gerry J. Gilmore, "Rumsfeld Confirms Capture of Senior Al Qaeda Leader," Department of Defense News, April 2, 2002, <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=44203> [251]

¹⁷⁶ Protecting the Homeland against Mumbai-Style Attacks and the Threat from Lashkar-e-Taiba, Before the House Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, 113th Cong. [3] (2013) (statement of Jonah Blank, Senior Political Analyst, RAND Corporation), <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/HM/HM05/20130612/100964/HHRG-113-HM05-Wstate-BlankJ-20130612.pdf> [250]

¹⁷⁷ Neil Padukone, "The Next al-Qaeda? Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Future of Terrorism in South Asia," World Affairs, November/December 2011, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/next-al-qaeda-lashkar-e-taiba-and-future-terrorism-south-asia> [252]

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Joscelyn, "Indian forces kill spokesman for al Qaeda group in Kashmir," Long War Journal, June 28, 2019, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/indian-forces-kill-spokesman-for-al-qaeda-group-in-kashmir.php> [83].

¹⁷⁹ Thomas Joscelyn, "UN Recognizes Ties between Ansar Al Sharia in Libya, Al Qaeda," *Long War Journal*, November 19, 2014, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/11/un_designates_ansar.php [253]

¹⁸⁰ Thomas Joscelyn, "UN Recognizes Ties between Ansar Al Sharia in Libya, Al Qaeda," *Long War Journal*, November 19, 2014, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/11/un_designates_ansar.php [253]

¹⁸¹ Nadia Radwan, "Libya: Ansar Al-Sharia Intensifies Recruitment," AllAfrica, November 15, 2013, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201311180744.html> [254]

¹⁸² Faisal Irshaid, "Profile: Libya's Ansar Al-Sharia," BBC News, June 13, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27732589> [255]

¹⁸³ Tim Lister, "Al Qaeda leader to ISIS: You're wrong, but we can work together," CNN, September 15, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/09/14/middleeast/al-zawahiri-al-qaeda-isis-olive-branch/> [256].

¹⁸⁴ Ahmed Hassan, "One of us: the militant Egypt's army fears most," Reuters, October 16, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-army-militant-insight/one-of-us-the-militant-egypts-army-fears-most-idUSKCN0SA0XT20151016> [257].

Al-Qaeda

Media Coverage:

Al-Qaeda's Arab Spring: Decimated or Expanding?

Among the contentious debates that have surrounded al-Qaeda for years is the current state of al-Qaeda's core leadership. Even during the Bush administration in 2005 and 2006, U.S. intelligence said that Al Qaeda's core leadership was "cut off from their foot soldiers," only to reverse that analysis one year later.¹⁸⁵

The outbreak of mass protests across the Arab world in January 2011, seemingly spontaneous, peaceful and devoid of Islamist underpinnings, caused many analysts to judge that the "Arab Spring" would mark the downfall of al-Qaeda. On May 2, 2011, the *Guardian's* Ian Black wrote that "None of the uprisings...has involved significant Islamist activity - let alone the violent, extremist *jihadi* ideas promoted by Bin Laden...Al-Qaida had already looked marginal and on the back foot for several years. But the dawn of largely peaceful change in the Middle East and North Africa this year rendered it irrelevant."¹⁸⁶

Fawaz Gerges, writing in the *Daily Beast*, asserted that, "Only a miracle will resuscitate a transnational *jihad* of the al-Qaeda variety...the Arab Spring represents a fundamental challenge to the very conditions that fuel extremist ideologies. Time will tell if the Arab revolts will manage to fill the gap of legitimate political authority. If this happens, Arab opinion will deliver the final blow to al-Qaeda and its local branches."¹⁸⁷

Perhaps the staunchest advocate of this view has been Peter Bergen, an expert on al-Qaeda and terrorism analyst for CNN who was part of the crew that interviewed Bin Laden in 1997. In 2006, he took issue with Bush administration officials who used the terms "on the run" and "decimated" to refer to the state of al-Qaeda at the time, preferring to say that, "Yes, al-Qaeda as an organization is severely impaired, but it has been replaced by a broader ideological movement...motivated by a doctrine that can be called "Binladenism."¹⁸⁸

But by June 2012, Bergen wrote, "Time to declare victory: al-Qaeda is defeated."¹⁸⁹ Bergen pointed to the assassination of 28 al-Qaeda leaders in Pakistan and Yemen during the Obama administration, and to the fact that al-Qaeda had failed to *successfully* attack the West since the London Underground bombing in July 2005. In Bergen's estimation, Ayman al-Zawahiri "inherited the Blockbuster Video of global *jihad* and has done nothing to resuscitate it."¹⁹⁰

On the other side of the debate are those who say that, despite the assassination of Bin Laden and many other high-level al-Qaeda operative, the organization's expansive affiliate network might make it even more potent. According to Thomas Joscelyn, a terrorism analyst for the *Long War Journal*, "al-Qaeda's expansion in recent years has led to more threats against the U.S. Homeland, not less."¹⁹¹ Joscelyn pointed to numerous plots against the U.S. and Canada since 2009 that nearly succeeded, including the attempted December 25, 2009, bombing of a commercial airline traveling to Detroit, and the May 2010 attempted Times Square car-bombing which proved failed when the explosives failed to detonate.¹⁹²

In *Foreign Policy*, Marc Lynch argued in August 2013 that the Arab Spring actually benefitted al-Qaeda. Lynch noted that, "Had the revolutions led to successful democratic transitions, the blow to al-Qaeda could well have been fatal," but transitions in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia proved disastrous, and al-Qaeda has been a major player in the Syrian civil war. Rather than marking the end of al-Qaeda, Lynch pointed out that, "The failure of most of the Arab uprisings has therefore been an extraordinary gift to al-Qaeda."¹⁹³

One month later, after al-Shabab's attack on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya, the *Economist* published a scathing critique of the Obama administration's counterterrorism strategy that focused on limiting terrorist attacks to local, soft targets away from the homeland. "Mr Obama might argue that the assault on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi by al-Qaeda's Somali affiliate, the Shabab, was just the kind of thing he was talking about...Yet the inconvenient truth is that, in the past 18 months...al-Qaeda and its jihadist allies have staged an extraordinary comeback. The terrorist network now holds sway over more territory and is recruiting more fighters than at any time in its 25-year history. Mr Obama must reconsider."¹⁹⁴

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¹⁸⁵ Mark Mazzetti and David Rohde, "Terror Officials See Al Qaeda Chiefs Regaining Power," *New York Times*, February 19, 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/19/world/asia/19intel.html?pagewanted=print&_r=0 [258].

¹⁸⁶ Ian Black, "Al-Qaida Already Looked Irrelevant after Arab Spring," *Guardian* (London), May 2, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/02/al-qaeda-irrelevant-arab-spring> [259].

¹⁸⁷ Fawaz A. Gerges, "Fawaz A. Gerges on How the Arab Spring Beat Al Qaeda," *Daily Beast*, May 13, 2012, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/05/13/fawaz-a-gerges-on-how-the-arab-spring-beat-al-qaeda.html> [260].

¹⁸⁸ Peter Bergen, "Al-Qaeda, Still in Business," *Washington Post*, July 2, 2006, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/30/AR2006063001342.html> [261].

¹⁸⁹ Peter Bergen, "Time to Declare Victory: Al Qaeda is Defeated," CNN, June 27, 2012, <http://security.blogs.cnn.com/2012/06/27/time-to-declare-victory-al-qaeda-is-defeated-opinion/> [262].

¹⁹⁰ Peter Bergen, "Time to Declare Victory: Al Qaeda is Defeated," CNN, June 27, 2012, <http://security.blogs.cnn.com/2012/06/27/time-to-declare-victory-al-qaeda-is-defeated-opinion/> [262].

¹⁹¹ Thomas Joscelyn, "Global Al Qaeda: Affiliates, Objectives, and Future Challenges," *Long War Journal*, July 18, 2013, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2013/07/global_al_qaeda_affi.php# [29].

¹⁹² Thomas Joscelyn, "Global Al Qaeda: Affiliates, Objectives, and Future Challenges," *Long War Journal*, July 18, 2013, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2013/07/global_al_qaeda_affi.php# [29].

¹⁹³ Marc Lynch, "The Gift," *Foreign Policy*, August 8, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/08/08/the_gift_al_qaeda_arab_spring [263].

¹⁹⁴ "The New Face of Terror," *Economist*, September 28, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21586832-west-thought-it-was-winning-battle-against-jihadist-terrorism-it-should-think-again> [264].

Osama Bin Laden's Demise

Western media reported on the raid that killed Bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan on May 2, 2011, with relief and jubilation. *Fox News* described the actions of the Navy SEALs team that killed Bin Laden as "heroic."¹⁹⁵ *CNN* noted that President Obama's announcement of Bin Laden's death "drew cheering crowds to the streets of New York and the gates of the White House." The network interviewed numerous people who lost family members in the 9/11 attacks, including the father of a New York firefighter who praised it as a "win for the United States of America."¹⁹⁶

Many outlets also covered the details of how the raid on Bin Laden's compound occurred, the planning that led up to it, as well as the potential backlash from it.¹⁹⁷ The *Washington Post* reported reactions from jihadist web sites that threatened attacks on Americans. One user "warned that those who celebrate the killing will face men 'who do not fear death and who will reap your souls,' and another said that "Americans should expect to see 'hell.'"¹⁹⁸

Days after the raid, many papers also television networks also carried reports on the SEAL Team Six that performed the operation. According to the *Washington Post*, "The team was formed in response to the 1980 American hostages rescue attempt in Iran...They exist outside military protocol and engage in operations that are at the highest level of classification and often outside the boundaries of international law."¹⁹⁹ *CNN* interviewed former SEALs who described what it means to be part of the elite unit. One former SEAL said, "Be a quiet professional...There is no room for braggarts in the SEALs. Talking hurts missions and gets people killed." Brandon Webb, former SEAL and author of "The 21st Century Sniper," said that, "They need to go far beyond just being a skilled warrior...The guys behind this mission [to capture or kill bin Laden] have never given anyone a reason to doubt that they are trustworthy and very focused. They are the best of the best."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ "Bin Laden Killed by CIA-Led SEALs Team, Death Hailed as Blow to Al Qaeda," *Fox News*, May 2, 2011, <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2011/05/02/bin-laden-killed-cia-led-seals-team-death-ailed-blow-al-qaeda/> [265].

¹⁹⁶ "Bin Laden Killing Caps Decade-Long Manhunt," *CNN*, May 2, 2011, <http://www.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/asiapcf/05/02/bin.laden.dead/index.html> [266].

¹⁹⁷ "How Osama Bin Laden Was Located and Killed," *New York Times*, May 8, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/05/02/world/asia/abbottabad-map-of-where-osama-bin-laden-was-killed.html?ref=asia> [267]; "U.S. Troops Kill Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan," *CNN*, May 2, 2011, <http://news.blogs.cnn.com/2011/05/02/obama-to-make-statment-tonight-subject-unknown/> [268].

¹⁹⁸ Scott Wilson, Craig Whitlock, and William Branigin, "Osama Bin Laden Killed in U.S. Raid, Buried at Sea," *Washington Post*, May 2, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/osama-bin-laden-killed-in-us-raid-buried-at-sea/2011/05/02/AFx0yAZF_story.html [269].

¹⁹⁹ Elizabeth Flock, "Navy SEALs Who Killed Osama Bin Laden Are from the Elite 'Team 6,'" *Washington Post*, May 2, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/post/navy-seals-who-killed-osama-bin-laden-are-from-the-elite-team-6/2011/05/02/AFCC93YF_blog.html [270].

²⁰⁰ Ashley Fantz, "Navy SEALs, the 'Quiet Professionals,' Got Bin Laden," CNN, May 3, 2011, <http://www.cnn.com/2011/US/05/03/binladen.seals/> [271].

The Western Media and al-Qaeda's Messages

For years, videotapes and audio recordings released by Osama Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri have been gold mines of information about al-Qaeda for Western media outlets. As the manhunt for Bin Laden unfolded after the September 11 attacks, al-Qaeda's tapes served to update the media on the status of key leaders, the group's reaction to certain events, and plans for future operations.

In June 2002, the *New York Times* reported on an al-Qaeda audio tape, broadcast by Al Jazeera, which claimed responsibility for a synagogue bombing in Tunisia and "dismissed reports that Mr. bin Laden and his main lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahiri, had been killed or wounded during the American-led assault on the Tora Bora area of Afghanistan."²⁰¹

In March 2004, Al Jazeera broadcast an audio recording of al-Zawahiri just days after Pakistan thought it was closing in on his location along the Afghanistan border. The *Guardian* noted that, while the voice had not been authenticated as al-Zawahiri's, "Its appearance yesterday suggested a deliberate taunting of the Pakistani government and military over their failure to capture him."²⁰²

Another video from al-Zawahiri in February 2005 criticized the U.S. for trying to spread democracy, warning that it "will end with your defeat, the killing of your sons and the destruction of your economy." Trying to determine when al-Zawahiri recorded the message, CNN reported on his comment that it had been about three years the U.S. began detaining prisoners in the war on terrorism at Guantanamo Bay. According to CNN, "It could not be determine when or where the Ayman al-Zawahiri tape was recorded, but...The United States did move Taliban detainees early in 2002 from Afghanistan to [Guantanamo Bay], where there have been allegations that some of them were tortured."²⁰³

In April 2008, another audio message from al-Zawahiri suggested to media outlets that al-Qaeda may have been changing its tactics and public relations strategy. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the fact that al-Zawahiri answered critical questions from users on al-Qaeda internet forums "suggested that dissent among its supporters may be forcing Al Qaeda to change tactics..." Another signal that the group was changing tactics was al-Zawahiri's denials about targeting innocent civilians. When a web user asked him who was killing innocent people in "Baghdad, Morocco, and Algeria," al-Zawahiri responded that, "If there is any innocent who was killed in the Mujahideen's operations, then it was either an unintentional error or out of necessity."²⁰⁴

In August 2011, months after Osama Bin Laden was killed, a video message from al-Zawahiri telling his followers to, "Hunt [America] down wherever you may encounter her," prompted ABC News to wonder if the tape was intended as a 9/11 message.²⁰⁵

Finally, CNN described an April 2014 video released by al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula as "unsettling" after it showed deputy emir Nasir al-Wuhayshi being greeted by followers. The report warned that the U.S. has "good reason to worry," because as Peter Bergen noted, "The main problem about this group is that it has a bomb maker who can put bombs on to planes that can't be detected."²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Neil MacFarquhar, "Qaeda Says Bin Laden Is Well, and It Was Behind Tunis Blast," *New York Times*, June 23, 2002, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/23/us/qaeda-says-bin-laden-is-well-and-it-was-behind-tunis-blast.html> [272].

²⁰² James Astill and Brian Whitaker, "Zawahiri Tape Taunts Pakistanis," *Guardian* (London), March 25, 2004, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/mar/26/pakistan.alqaida> [273].

²⁰³ "New al-Zawahiri Tape Lashes U.S. Policy," CNN, February 21, 2005, <http://www.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/meast/02/20/zawahiri/> [274].

²⁰⁴ Arthur Bright, "New Zawahiri Tape Suggests Al Qaeda PR Shift," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 4, 2008, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/terrorism-security/2008/0404/p99s01-duts.html> [275].

²⁰⁵ Rym Momtaz and Brian Ross, "9/11 Message? New Al Qaeda Leader Calls for US Attacks," ABC News, August 15, 2011, <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/911-message-al-qaeda-leader-calls-us-attacks/story?id=14308081> [276].

²⁰⁶ Barbara Starr, "Unsettling Video Shows Large Al Qaeda Meeting in Yemen," CNN, April 16, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/15/world/al-qaeda-meeting-video/> [277].

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Broadcasting al-Qaeda's Message on Arab Satellite Television

Beginning in 1999, Arabic satellite network Al Jazeera became the preferred media outlet for al-Qaeda to broadcast its interviews and video tape messages. In a January 1999 interview on the network, Bin Laden praised the bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.²⁰⁷ In September 2000, Al Jazeera broadcast a videotape that showed Bin Laden, three Egyptian clerics, Ayman al-Zawahiri, and others demanding the release of Omar Abdul Rahman, the "blind sheikh" who is serving a life sentence for planning the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and several other unsuccessful attacks.²⁰⁸

The network continued broadcasting al-Qaeda's videotapes for years after September 11, 2001, including on subsequent anniversaries of the attacks, allowing the group to claim responsibility for attacks, threaten future attacks, and provide proof to millions of viewers that its leaders were still alive.²⁰⁹

However, the network did not simply act as a propaganda machine for al-Qaeda. As Marc Lynch, a professor at George Washington University, noted in 2006, Al Jazeera would bring in experts to discuss the tapes issued by Bin Laden and al-Zawahiri on air, which in one instance "transformed Zawahiri's lecture into a dialogue and denied him the monopoly on political discourse he so craved." In another instance when Bin Laden released a tape, the network "invited the able, Arabic-speaking American diplomat Alberto Fernandez to respond."²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ "Timeline of Al-Qaida Statements," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4686034/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/timeline-al-qaida-statements/#.U4uMaSjOddg [278].

²⁰⁸ "Timeline of Al-Qaida Statements," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4686034/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/timeline-al-qaida-statements/#.U4uMaSjOddg [278].

²⁰⁹ "Timeline of Al-Qaida Statements," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4686034/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/timeline-al-qaida-statements/#.U4uMaSjOddg [278].

²¹⁰ "Timeline of Al-Qaida Statements," NBC News, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4686034/ns/world_news-hunt_for_al_qaida/t/timeline-al-qaida-statements/#.U4uMaSjOddg [278].

The London Underground Bombing

On the day of the July 7, 2005 bombings in London, *The Guardian* reported on the events with minute-by-minute updates. During its coverage on that day, the paper refrained from drawing conclusions about links to Islamic extremism.²¹¹ The only piece of reporting that attributed the attacks to al-Qaeda was a quote from then-Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, who said that the bombings bore the "hallmarks of an [al-Qaeda] related attack."²¹²

According to the *International Herald Tribune*, British media reacted cautiously while reporting the bombings. The BBC London talk-radio station reportedly urged callers to the station "not to speculate wildly, but to report only what they had seen." The paper also noted that BBC News, "in order to report fairly what [was] happening," also waited almost two and a half hours after the initial bomb exploded to report on "the possibility that the bombings might be the work of [al-Qaeda]." According to the BBC's then head of television, "It was a terrible, dreadful event, but it wasn't like 9/11, where you had this sense of all of America under attack...the fact is that much of London was functioning normally."²¹³

The day after the bombing, the *New York Times* ran an op-ed piece by Peter Bergen, an expert on al-Qaeda and CNN terrorism analyst, who warned that "one of the greatest terrorist threats to the United States emanates not from domestic sleeper cells or, as is popularly imagined, from the graduates of Middle Eastern madrassas, but from some of the citizens of its closest ally, Britain."²¹⁴ The same day, another op-ed in the paper from Thomas Friedman discussed the likely fall out from the attacks. "When jihadist-style bombings happen in Riyadh, that is a Muslim-Muslim problem...But when Al-Qaeda-like bombings come to the London Underground, that becomes a civilizational problem. Every Muslim living in a Western society suddenly becomes a suspect, becomes a potential walking bomb."²¹⁵

²¹¹ "Bomb Blasts Plunge London into Chaos," *Guardian* (London), July 7, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/news/blog/2005/jul/07/explosionsplun> [279].

²¹² Sarah Left, Mark Oliver, "38 Dead in London Blasts," *Guardian* (London), July 7, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2005/jul/07/terrorism.transportintheuk> [280].

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²¹³ Eric Pfanner, "British News Media Reacted to Bombings with a Measure of Caution," *International Herald Tribune*, July 11, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/11/business/media/11bomb.html> [281].

²¹⁴ Peter Bergen, "Our Ally, Our Problem," *New York Times*, July 8, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/08/opinion/08bergen.html> [282].

²¹⁵ Thomas L. Friedman, "If It's a Muslim Problem, It Needs a Muslim Solution," *New York Times*, July 8, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/08/opinion/08friedman.html> [283].

Madrid Train Bombings

Reporting of the March 11, 2004 train bombings in Madrid was relatively consistent across Western media. The *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Guardian* all emphasized that Spanish authorities were initially implicating the ETA Basque separatist group, but had found a stolen van with detonators and an audio tape with Quranic verses inside that suggested a possible link to Islamic extremists.

However, the *New York Times* seemed to place more importance on potential al-Qaeda linkages than the other papers did. The paper reported on the 2003 indictment of Syrian businessman Muhammad Galeb Kalaje Zouaydi, who was accused of "distributing \$800,000 for the Qaeda network under the cover of a Spanish real-estate development company."²¹⁶ Moreover, the paper noted that "Spain has continued to serve as an important recruiting, financial and logistical hub for Al Qaeda. Many of the dozens of Islamic terrorism suspects arrested in Spain since the Sept. 11 attacks are believed to be mid-level logistical planners and operatives who have helped move money, either through charities or legitimate businesses..."²¹⁷

Meanwhile, the *Guardian* pointed out discrepancies with the attacks and the typical behavior of ETA—a Marxist, separatist group. The chief of Europol, the EU police agency, said that, "It could have been Eta...But we're dealing with an attack that doesn't correspond to the modus operandi they have adopted up to now." The same article also quoted the ETA's founder, Julen de Madariaga, who simply said that bombing working-class areas was "not Eta's method of working."²¹⁸

For its part, the *Wall Street Journal* seemingly downplayed the al-Qaeda connection in its reporting in favor of the ETA-theory, quoting Spain's then-Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar saying, "[The ETA] tried to blow up trains in Madrid three times now in the past months...And al Qaeda is going to try the fourth time? And succeed three days before the elections?"²¹⁹ Aznar also claimed that bomb-laden backpacks were "typical of the ETA...There's still the case of the cassette in Arabic, but that's the only piece of evidence in favor of al Qaeda."²²⁰

²¹⁶ Tim Golden and Don Van Natta Jr., "BOMBINGS IN MADRID: THE SUSPECTS; Carnage Yields Conflicting Clues as Officials Search for Culprits," *New York Times*, March 12, 2004, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/12/world/bombings-madrid-suspects-carnage-yields-conflicting-clues-officials-search-for.html> [284].

²¹⁷ Tim Golden and Don Van Natta Jr., "BOMBINGS IN MADRID: THE SUSPECTS; Carnage Yields Conflicting Clues as Officials Search for Culprits," *New York Times*, March 12, 2004, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/12/world/bombings-madrid-suspects-carnage-yields-conflicting-clues-officials-search-for.html> [284].

²¹⁸ Giles Tremlett, "Massacre in Madrid," *Guardian* (London), March 11, 2004, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/mar/12/alqaida.spain1> [285].

²¹⁹ Carla Vitzthum, Keith Johnson, and Marc Champion, "Train Bombings Kill At Least 198 in Spain," *Wall Street Journal*, March 12, 2004, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB107899319607552435> [286].

²²⁰ Carla Vitzthum, Keith Johnson, and Marc Champion, "Train Bombings Kill At Least 198 in Spain," *Wall Street Journal*, March 12, 2004, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB107899319607552435> [286].

9/11 Attacks

Though al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden did not become household names to many Americans until after the September 11, 2001 attacks, Western media outlets immediately suggested that Bin Laden—or groups like Hezbollah, Hamas, and Egypt's Islamic Jihad—likely had a hand in the plot.

Numerous articles published by the *New York Times* on September 12 raised the likelihood that Bin Laden was a prime suspect. As one article put it, "Nobody immediately claimed responsibility for the attacks. But the scale and sophistication of the operation, the extraordinary planning required for concerted hijackings by terrorists who had to be familiar with

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modern jetliners, and the history of major attacks on American targets in recent years led many officials and experts to point to Osama bin Laden, the Islamic militant believed to operate out of Afghanistan.²²¹

Another article, titled, “America the Vulnerable Meets a Ruthless Enemy,” pointed out that, “One of those certain to be high on that [suspect] list, Osama bin Laden, has made America’s helplessness in the face of terrorism a rallying cry, one he has used repeatedly to taunt the United States and to draw new recruits to his ranks of suicide bombers.”²²²

For its part, the *Wall Street Journal* suggested “multiple reasons to suspect Islamic extremists” like Bin Laden. For one, four al-Qaeda members were convicted in a Manhattan courtroom for their roles in the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. “At the same time, Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, the spiritual leader of Al-Gama’a al-Islamiyya, Egypt’s largest militant group, sits in a U.S. prison in Minnesota for his role in planning an earlier but failed attempt at terrorism.”²²³

However, in the UK, the *Guardian’s* coverage was not as quick to point the finger at Bin Laden. Ahdaf Soueif wrote, “You could almost say that US officialdom, the media and Hollywood dreamed this nightmare into reality...The prime suspect, we are told, is Osama bin Laden. It may have been him...Why did he do it? Because he hates America and wants to damage her?...Then why does he not gloat? Why has he said it was not his doing? The too-easy thing about having a fanatic perpetrator is that you can ignore logical questions to do with purpose and motivation.”²²⁴

Also writing in the *Guardian*, John Sutherland criticized George W. Bush’s rhetoric against al-Qaeda as “chillingly fundamentalist.” In response to Bush’s claim that Americans’ responsibility was to “answer these attacks and rid the world of evil,” Sutherland retorted, “The world? At least Reagan only wanted to destroy the evil empire...Bush, it seems, has Alexandrian ambitions in his world war on evil.”²²⁵ Near the end of his piece, Sutherland skewered Bush for using the phrase “our hearts are steel” to mean that Americans will be steadfast in the face of terror. “Steel is not what modern armies use for high-grade weaponry...But somewhere, from the magmatic depths of his vocabulary, he wanted to echo Bismarck’s ‘Blut und Eisen’—blood and iron. It was adapted by Hitler, who instructed his troops that, in genocide, their hearts must be ‘hart wie Kruppstahl’—hard as Krupps steel.”²²⁶

²²¹ Serge Schmemmann, “U.S. ATTACKED; President Vows to Exact Punishment for ‘Evil,’” *New York Times*, September 12, 2001, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/12/us/us-attacked-president-vows-to-exact-punishment-for-evil.html?gwt=pay> [287].

²²² John F. Burns, “America the Vulnerable Meets a Ruthless Enemy,” *New York Times*, September 12, 2001, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/12/international/12OSAM.html> [288].

²²³ David S. Cloud and Neil King, “Attacks on Symbols of U.S. Power Alter Nation’s View of World Role,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 12, 2001, 1, 12, <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/wsj-paper-09122001.pdf> [289].

²²⁴ Ahdaf Soueif, “Our Poor, Our Weak, Our Hungry,” *Guardian* (London), September 15, 2001, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/15/september11.politicsphilosophyandsociety> [290].

²²⁵ John Sutherland, “Crazy Talk,” *Guardian* (London), September 18, 2001, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2001/sep/19/september11.usa> [291].

²²⁶ John Sutherland, “Crazy Talk,” *Guardian* (London), September 18, 2001, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2001/sep/19/september11.usa> [291].

Bin Laden Interviews with Western Media

Since the early 1990s, when Osama Bin Laden was the mujahedin darling of the Afghan war, the media-savvy former al-Qaeda leader agreed to conduct interviews with numerous Western journalists. Eventually, his interviews with these journalists became platforms for him to communicate his message of *jihād* to the masses around the world.

In late 1993, Robert Fisk of *The Independent*, ostensibly conducted the first interview with Bin Laden by a Western journalist while he was living in Sudan and overseeing construction and agricultural projects. In Fisk’s article, Bin Laden denied that he had any ambitions for leading a global *jihād*. Instead, he claimed that Arab media and Western embassies were falsely reporting that his troops from the Afghan war were preparing for their next battles in Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt. Bin Laden told Fisk, “I am a construction engineer and an agriculturalist. If I had training camps here in Sudan, I couldn’t possibly do this job.”²²⁷

When Fisk interviewed Bin Laden again in 1996, Bin Laden had been exiled from Sudan and was back in Afghanistan.

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There, he was also no longer just a construction engineer and agriculturalist, but already an enemy of the United States, Europe, and Arab governments, especially Saudi Arabia. The interview was conducted 10 days after a bombing in al-Khobar, Saudi Arabia killed 19 U.S. soldiers, and though responsibility for that attack has been attributed to both al-Qaeda and Iran, Bin Laden told Fisk that, "This doesn't mean declaring war against the West and Western people - but against the American regime which is against every American...The explosion in al-Khobar did not come as a direct reaction to the American occupation, but as a result of American behavior against Muslims, its support of Jews in Palestine, and of the massacres of Muslims in Palestine and Lebanon..."²²⁸

American television networks first interviewed Bin Laden in 1997, and again in 1998. Both interviews, conducted by *CNN* and *ABC* respectively, were wide-ranging discussions about the reasons for Bin Laden's Declaration of *Jihad*, his vision for overthrowing unjust Arab regimes, and his connections various "Islamic movements" in Chechnya, Kashmir, and the Arab World.²²⁹

²²⁷ Robert Fisk, "Anti-Soviet Warrior Puts His Army on the Road to Peace: The Saudi Businessman Who Recruited Mujahedin Now Uses Them for Large-Scale Building Projects in Sudan. Robert Fisk Met Him in Almatig," *Independent* (London), December 6, 1993, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/antisoviet-warrior-puts-his-army-on-the-road-to-peace-the-saudi-businessman-who-recruited-mujahedin-now-uses-them-for-largescale-building-projects-in-sudan-robert-fisk-met-him-in-almatig-1465715.html> [292].

²²⁸ Robert Fisk, "A Close Encounter with the Man Who Shook the World," *Independent* (London), May 3, 2011, <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/fisk/robert-fisk-a-close-encounter-with-the-man-who-shook-the-world-2278035.html> [293].

²²⁹ Peter Arnett, "Transcripts of Osama Bin Ladin Interview by Peter Arnett," Information Clearing House, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article7204.htm> [294]; John Miller, "Greetings, America. My Name Is Osama Bin Laden.," *Esquire*, February 1, 1999, http://www.esquire.com/features/ESQ0299-FEB_LADEN [295].

Rhetoric:



[296]

[Hamza bin Laden \[296\]](#)

"[Muslims should] participate in the intifada" by "killing the Jews and attacking their interests everywhere"²³⁰



[297]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, July 2016 \[297\]](#)

Audio message the Nusra Front on severing its ties to al-Qaeda:

"You can sacrifice without hesitation these organizational and party ties if they conflict with your unity and working as one body. The brotherhood of Islam among us is stronger than any organizational affiliation ... Your unity and unification is more important to us than any organizational link."²³¹



[298]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, September 2015 \[298\]](#)

"We call for cooperation with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and his brothers to push back the attack of the enemies of Islam."²³²



[299]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, September 2015 \[299\]](#)

"[I]f there is fighting between the crusaders, the Safavids, and the secularists, and any group from the Muslims and the mujahideen, including the group of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and those with him, then our only choice is to stand with the Muslim mujahideen, even if they are unjust to us."²³³



[300]

[Abu Sulayman, May 8, 2015 \[300\]](#)

"Jihad is not in need of us, we are in dire need of jihad."²³⁴



[301]

[Abu Qatada, May 2015 \[301\]](#)

"The act of jihad is what can help us reach our goals and defeat the circles of apostasy."²³⁵



[302]

[Abu Sulayman, May 2015 \[302\]](#)

"I do believe that our affiliation with a global jihad (al-Qa'ida) is more positive than negative."²³⁶

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, April 28, 2015 \[303\]](#)

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[303]

“Don’t buy into the Martin story. This man never gave u freedom. Just mental slavery. #BaltimoreRiots #YouNeedShariah.” (Tweet)²³⁷



[304]

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, April 28, 2015](#) [304]

“One individual is able to put a whole nation onto it’s [sic] knees.” (Tweet)²³⁸



[305]

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, April 23, 2015](#) [305]

“If only we had men like these brothers in the #States, our beloved Muhammad would not have been drawn.” (Tweet)²³⁹



[306]

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, April 23, 2015](#) [306]

“The brothers from the Charlie Hebdo attack did their part. It’s time for brothers in the #US to do their part.” (Tweet)²⁴⁰



[307]

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, April 2015](#) [307]

“Where are the warriors of this Ummah [community]?” (Tweet)²⁴¹



[308]

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, April 2015](#) [308]

“Ask yourselves what caused the riots. Its [sic] because of the oppression of Democracy. Its time u accept #Shariah #BaltimoreRiots#YouNeedShariah.” (Tweet)²⁴²



[309]

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, April 2015](#) [309]

“Some people consider broken windows more valuable than broken necks. Fight for your rights. Accept #Shariah #BaltimoreRiots#YouNeedShariah” (Tweet)²⁴³



[310]

[Nasser bin Ali al-Ansi, AQAP ideologue, January 14, 2015](#) [310]

Claiming responsibility for the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks: “As for the blessed Battle of Paris, we...claim responsibility for this operation as vengeance for the Messenger of God. [The] one who chose the target, laid the plan and financed the operation is the leadership of the organization [sic].”²⁴⁴

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[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, December 25, 2014 \[311\]](#)

[311]

“You are being enslaved once more with badges & guns. You will never be able to free yourselves with protests. #AntonioMartin #Ferguson.” (Tweet)²⁴⁵



[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Twitter Direct Message, December 2014 \[312\]](#)

[312]

“The caliphate will reach everywhere insha’Allah. Even the house of filth [the white house].” (Twitter Direct Message)²⁴⁶



[Hani al-Sibai, November 21, 2014 \[313\]](#)

[313]

“The concept of peaceful protesting has proved too inadequate and has to be put aside. Protesters have to be ready and careful; otherwise the demonstrations will turn into other massacres of Muslim men and women.”²⁴⁷



[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, November 2014 \[314\]](#)

[314]

“If only every Muslims could kill 1 Jew, everything would change.” (Tweet)²⁴⁸



[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, October 2014 \[315\]](#)

[315]

“The necks of your citizens will be cut, so long as you participate in the Crusade against Islam and the Muslims. #UK #US #AlanHennig.” (Tweet)²⁴⁹



[Usama Mahmoud, spokesman for al-Qaeda’s South Asia wing, September 17, 2014 \[316\]](#)

[316]

Describing an attack on a Pakistani naval ship: “These mujahideen had taken control of the Pakistani ship, and they were advancing towards the American fleet when the Pakistani army stopped them. As a result, the mujahideen, the lions of Allah and benefactors of the Ummah, sacrificed their lives for Allah, and the Pakistani soldiers spoiled their hereafter by giving up their lives in defense of the enemies of the Ummah the Americans.”²⁵⁰



[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, September 11, 2014 \[317\]](#)

[317]

On 9/11 commemorations: “God willing you’ll have more of them to remember soon.” (Tweet)²⁵¹

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, September 11, 2014 \[318\]](#)

Responding to a photo of the twin towers exploding: “What a beautiful sight to look at.”

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[318]

This is heart cooling for the Believers.” (Tweet)²⁵²



[319]

[Abu Qatada, September 2014](#) [319]

“Journalists shouldn’t be killed - it's not permitted because they are messengers of the truth, unless they are working for foreign intelligence.”²⁵³



[320]

[Abu Qatada, September 2014](#) [320]

ISIS fighters are like “dogs of hellfire.”²⁵⁴



[321]

[Hani al-Sibai, August 2014](#) [321]

“Young British Muslims are now afraid of mosques, and are cautious of Imams who ask them about what is going on in Muslim countries because they believe mosques are under surveillance from British security.”²⁵⁵



[322]

[Hani al-Sibai, Tweet, July 8, 2014](#) [322]

“The silence of #Khorasan leadership and its branches regarding the announcement of the new caliphate is not wise. Suggestions and innuendoes will not do! An explicit...statement is necessary, for this intense issue is mighty.”²⁵⁶

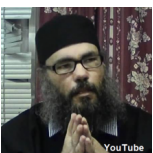


[323]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, April 2014](#) [323]

Video condemning an Egyptian crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood:

“We call on the people to put their revolution on the right track and undertake slogans calling for Islamic Sharia, the path of freedom, social justice and human dignity.”²⁵⁷



[324]

[Hani al-Sibai, April 2014](#) [324]

“The Muslim Brotherhood is active in more than 80 countries around the world and I do not think that Britain will ban the group as this would affect its interests around the globe, particularly when you take into account the fact that Britain has relations with Brotherhood-affiliated parties in countries like Morocco and Tunisia, and the group is also present in countries like Pakistan, Malaysia and Indonesia.”²⁵⁸



[325]

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, February 14, 2014](#) [325]

“I fight for Allah and yea [I am in] Al Qaeda...” (Tweet)²⁵⁹

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[Hani al-Sibai, February 7, 2014](#) [326]

"Allah said that any person who is not a Muslim is a criminal."²⁶⁰

[326]



[Hani al-Sibai, February 7, 2014](#) [327]

"France relishes the taste of Muslim blood, especially the blood of Tunisians."²⁶¹

[327]



[Hani al-Sibai, February 7, 2014](#) [328]

"The (Tunisian rulers) love the taste of blood. They offer it as a sacrifice to get closer to their Great Satan - the US and the West."²⁶²

[328]



[Abu Qatada, February 2014](#) [329]

In reference to Islamic Front leader Abu Khaled al-Souri: "[His] killing resembled the murder of the Caliph Ali, may God bless him, who was killed by the criminal [Abdel Rahman] Ibn Muljam. [The death] of Abu Khaled was a great loss for us. I knew him well and met with him in London. His loss is like the loss of the Mujahid Sheikh Osama bin Laden."²⁶³

[329]



[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Tweet, January 29, 2014](#) [330]

"My Heart is in Sham, my eyes are in Aqsa and My Soul is in Somalia." (Tweet)²⁶⁴

[330]



[Abu Qatada, January 2014](#) [331]

"[ISIS will] disintegrate eventually. [Its fighters have been] misled to fight a war that is not holy."²⁶⁵

[331]



[Abu Sulayman, 2014](#) [332]

"The cowardly strikes of the US, planes roaring over our heads and drones spying on the Muslims will not deter us from our path."²⁶⁶

[332]



[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, Ask.fm, 2014](#) [333]

"There is a big difference, The Muslim women have right[s] and the disbelieving women of today have none. I say that because today the disbelievers are all MUHARIBEEN as in they are in combat. If not with the Gun then with the financial and the Ideas. The brothers in Nigeria did a great job if they Abducted only Disbelieving women. There is one time

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that the disbelievers have rights and that's when they live under the Islamic Rule and they pay the Taxes to the Islamic Administration and we don't see that today."²⁶⁷



[334]

[Muhammed Abdullahi Hassan a.k.a. Mujahid Miski, 2014](#) [334]

"Being connected in Jihad make you stronger and you can all help each other by fulfilling the duties that Allah swt put over you...Like us in Somalia the brothers from mpl are well connected so try to do the same....It is something we have learned after six years in Jihad."²⁶⁸



[335]

[Abu Qatada, December 2013](#) [335]

"Our brave Jihadists in Syria should unite their ranks and be obedient to Dr. Ayman to prevail in the war."²⁶⁹



[336]

[Abu Qatada, Letter to Syrian fighters Qatada sent from a Jordanian prison, November 2013](#) [336]

"Your jihad in Syria is the property of the Islamic nation, not yours. Every day the brothers delay the solution to their differences implies additional sins, and the bloodshed today or tomorrow is a consequence of the separation."²⁷⁰



[337]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, June 2011](#) [337]

On Osama bin Laden's death:

"We must continue on [Bin Laden's] path of jihad to expel the invaders from the land of Muslims and to purify it from injustice.

"The man who terrified America in his life will continue to terrify it after his death. You will continue to be troubled by his famous vow: You shall not dream of security until we enjoy it and until you depart the Muslims' lands.

"America is not facing an individual or a group, but a rebelling nation, which has awoken from its sleep in a jihadist renaissance."²⁷¹



[338]

[Hani al-Sibai, May 2, 2011](#) [338]

"In my view, Sheikh Osama bin Laden - as he is referred to by his followers and by those who love him - is the reviver of Islam in our times, and he is one of the lions of Islam. Sheikh Osama bin Laden did not leave his country for a trip of pleasure, or in search of a good time. He left his country as a *mujahid*, putting himself in harm's way, and leaving his previous life behind."²⁷²



[339]

[Hani al-Sibai, May 2, 2011](#) [339]

"Let me tell you: I love Sheikh Osama bin Laden as a Muslim. I am not glorifying or extolling anything. I am simply telling it as it is - Sheikh Osama is loved by millions of Muslims. Sheikh Osama is a hymn in the hearts of the downtrodden - from Jakarta to the Hindu Kush Mountains, to the villages and rural areas of Egypt... Ask those downtrodden and poor people, and they will tell you that they are grieving for Sheikh Osama bin

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Laden.²⁷³



[340]

[*Hani al-Sibai, May 2, 2011 \[340\]*](#)

“Sheikh Osama bin Laden fought occupation forces. He never killed civilians, and he never said he did. On the contrary, he extended his hand in peace to Europe and the West, and they were the ones who rejected it.”²⁷⁴



[341]

[*Abd al-Majeed al-Zindani, March 1, 2011 \[341\]*](#)

Addressing several thousand anti-government protesters in Yemen:

“An Islamic state is coming!... [President Saleh] came to power by force, and stayed in power by force, and the only way to get rid of him is through the force of the people.”²⁷⁵



[342]

[*Anwar al-Awlaki, Former Senior AQAP Media Official, Summer 2010 \[342\]*](#)

“The U.S.'s open corruption takes place at the highest level—that is, [at the level of] the president of the U.S. himself, who has approved a law permitting homosexuals to join the military, a matter that demonstrates the level of degeneration to which this people has sunk.”²⁷⁶



[343]

[*Anwar al-Awlaki, Former Senior AQAP Media Official, May 23, 2010 \[343\]*](#)

“My message to the Muslims in general, and to those in the Arabian Peninsula in particular, is that we should participate in this Jihad against America... America cannot withstand this Islamic nation. It is too weak. America’s cunning is weaker than a spider web.”²⁷⁷



[344]

[*Adam Gadahn, Al-Qaeda Spokesman, April 7, 2010 \[344\]*](#)

“As you start to make your plans, you shouldn’t make the mistake of thinking that military bases are the only high-value targets in America and the West. On the contrary, there are countless other strategic places, institutions and installations which, by striking, the Muslim can do major damage to the Crusader West and further our global agenda and long-range strategic objectives... We must keep in mind how even apparently unsuccessful attacks on Western mass transportation systems can bring major cities to a halt, cost the enemy billions and send his corporations into bankruptcy.”²⁷⁸



[345]

[*Abd al-Majeed al-Zindani, January 15, 2010 \[345\]*](#)

“The U.K. request for an international conference on Yemen is meant to pave the way for a U.N. Security Council resolution to approve an occupation of Yemen and to put it under a U.N. mandate.”²⁷⁹



[346]

[*Abd al-Majeed al-Zindani, January 11, 2010 \[346\]*](#)

“We accept any [international security] cooperation in a framework of mutual respect and common interest. But if someone occupies your country ... a Muslim has a duty to defend [against such invaders].”²⁸⁰

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[347]

[Abd al-Majeed al-Zindani, January 11, 2010 \[347\]](#)

"I am a general lecturer and a writer of books. If someone says they listened to my lectures or read my books, am I to blame if he then, say, divorces his wife, or if he attacks someone? If that's the case, then all teachers and professors should be accused."²⁸¹



[348]

[Anwar al-Awlaki, Former Senior AQAP Media Official, November 9, 2009 \[348\]](#)

"Nidal Hasan is a hero. He is a man of conscience who could not bear living the contradiction of being a Muslim and serving in an army that is fighting against his own people. Any decent Muslim cannot live, understanding properly his duties towards his Creator and his fellow Muslims, and yet serve as a U.S. soldier."²⁸²



[349]

[Anwar al-Awlaki, Former Senior AQAP Media Official, November 9, 2009 \[349\]](#)

"The U.S. is leading the war against terrorism, which in reality is a war against Islam. Its army is directly invading two Muslim countries and indirectly occupying the rest through its stooges. The heroic act of brother Nidal also shows the dilemma of the Muslim-American community. Increasingly, they are being cornered into taking stances that would either make them betray Islam or betray their nation."²⁸³



[350]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, August 2009 \[350\]](#)

"Path of Doom" video address:

"The war in the tribal areas and Swat is an integral part of the crusade on Muslims across the world.

"There is no honor for us except through Jihad.

"People of Pakistan ... back the jihad and mujahideen with your persons, wealth, opinion, expertise, information and prayers and by exhorting others to help them and preach their message."²⁸⁴



[351]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, August 2009 \[351\]](#)

"O Allah, annihilate the Americans and Jews and the hypocrites and apostates who help them."²⁸⁵



[352]

[Anwar al-Awlaki, Former Senior AQAP Media Official, February 2009 \[352\]](#)

"I pray that Allah destroys America and all its allies."²⁸⁶

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, January 2009 \[353\]](#)

"Thwart the efforts of these traitors by striking the interests of the enemies of Islam -

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namely, the Christian and the Jews - wherever and by whatever means you can... [T]he biggest threat to Islam is the Crusader/Zionist assault and its agents, the apostate rulers...we endorse every operation against Jewish interests."²⁸⁷



[354]

[*Hani al-Sibai, November 2008*](#) [354]

"When Muslim land is occupied by non-believers, jihad is mandatory for all Muslims, male and female. Women are allowed to conduct jihad without the approval of parents or spouse."²⁸⁸



[355]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, March 2008*](#) [355]

"[Muslims should] attack the interests of the Jews and the Americans. Select your targets, collect the appropriate funds, assemble your equipment, plan accurately and then charge towards your targets. There is no place today for those who claim that the battlefield with the Jews is limited to Palestine. Let us hit their interests everywhere."²⁸⁹



[356]

[*Adam Gadahn, Al-Qaeda Spokesman, January 6, 2008*](#) [356]

"Regrettably, Christianity today...is nothing but various combinations of Jesus worship, Mariolatry, iconolatry, cross-worship, saint-worship, and even pope and priest worship, not to mention blatant idolatry..."²⁹⁰



[357]

[*Hani al-Sibai, July 2007*](#) [357]

"There are no real men except for the people of Islam. Look at the people who give reason to hold the head of Islam high."²⁹¹



[358]

[*Hani al-Sibai, July 10, 2007*](#) [358]

"What has become of Kemal Ataturk's Turkey? Go to Europe and you will see. Most of the Turks here are drug dealers, outcasts. Moreover, the English here have a custom. On Christmas, they eat what they call 'turkey.' Imagine, they call it 'turkey' and serve it as food at the table. This shows the kind of hatred that is deeply rooted in the West—they serve the Turkish, Ottoman, Muslim man as food at the table for entertainment and as a sign that they have slaughtered him."²⁹²



[359]

[*Hani al-Sibai, July 10, 2007*](#) [359]

"Look at the people who give reason to hold the head of Islam high. In politics - they are the masters. In the battlefield - they are the masters. They are the ones who rub in the mud the nose of the occupation forces in Afghanistan, in Iraq, in Palestine, and throughout the world. The perpetuality [sic] of the conflict makes them strong. In contrast, what is the contribution of those who are devoid of any ideology, whose faith has been deformed, who are divorced of their religion? The only they have contributed is destruction. They are evil omens for their people. They lead their peoples to hell. The masses must vomit them from their midst. They should be placed in public squares so that people can hit them with their shoes and spit on them."²⁹³

Al-Qaeda



[360]

[Hani al-Sibai, July 10, 2007 \[360\]](#)

“The Islamists are always the ones who help people and save them from their plight. They are active and that is why they are envied by these microbes, which have spread their ideology throughout our countries. These Islamists, even in Jordan. Take any place in the world, and you will see that the Islamists are the masters of the world. There are no real men except for the people of Islam.”²⁹⁴



[361]

[Adam Gadahn, Al-Qaeda Spokesman, May 29, 2007 \[361\]](#)

“Cease all interference in the religion, society, politics, and governance of the Muslim world. And leave us alone to establish the Islamic shura state, which will unite the Muslims of [the] earth in truth and justice. A single word of American protest shall be silenced by a thousand Islamic bombs.”²⁹⁵



[362]

[Adam Gadahn, Al-Qaeda Spokesman, May 29, 2007 \[362\]](#)

“End all support, moral, military, economic, political, or otherwise, to the bastard state of Israel, and ban your citizens, Zionist Jews, Zionist Christians, and the rest from traveling to occupied Palestine or settling there. Even one penny of aid will be considered sufficient justification to continue the fight.”²⁹⁶



[363]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, October 6, 2002 \[363\]](#)

“[T]here is no need to explain and prove the degree of American support for Israel. The creation of Israel is a crime which must be erased. Each and every person whose hands have become polluted in the contribution toward this crime must pay its price, and pay for it heavily.”²⁹⁷



[364]

[Adam Gadahn, Al-Qaeda Spokesman, July 8, 2006 \[364\]](#)

“I’m not saying that we should go and slaughter their women and children one by one, like they did ours, at Haditha, and Ishaqi, and Mahmudiya, and God knows where else, even if some of our legal experts have permitted that...But what I am saying is that when we bomb their cities and civilians, like they bomb ours, or destroy their infrastructure and means of transportation, like they destroy ours, or kidnap their non-combatants, like they kidnap ours, no sane Muslim should shed tears for them.”²⁹⁸



[365]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, July 2006 \[365\]](#)

“Oh Muslims everywhere, I call on you to fight and become martyrs in the war against the Zionists and the crusaders...The war with Israel does not depend on ceasefires... It is a jihad for God's sake and will last until religion prevails...from Spain to Iraq.”²⁹⁹



[366]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, January 2006 \[366\]](#)

“Neglecting *jihad*, which is prescribed in our religion, is a grievous sin. The best death for us is under the shadow of swords [Paradise]. Do not let your strength and modern arms fool you, for they but win a few battles yet lose the war. Patience and steadfastness are greater, and the end result is the most important thing. With patience and crude weapons we battled the Soviet foe for ten years. We bled their economy and by the grace of Allah they are now nothing. In that there is a lesson for you. Steadfast shall we fight you, until

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our strongest die, and we shall never quit the struggle until our weapons quit.”³⁰⁰



[367]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, November 18, 2005 \[367\]](#)

“Your [Jordan’s King Abdullah II] star is fading. You will not escape your fate, you descendant of traitors. We will be able to reach your head and chop it off.”³⁰¹



[368]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, November 10, 2005 \[368\]](#)

“It was agreed that explosive vests would be used in order to strike with precision at the targets, and to cause greater damage. At the time of execution, brother, Abu-Khubayb attacked the leaders of unbelief and atheism with [weapons that] sent them to their fates...”³⁰²



[369]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, November 10, 2005 \[369\]](#)

“After studying the targets and reconnoitering them, execution sites were selected at some of the hotels that the tyrant of Jordan had converted into a back yard for the enemies of the religion: the Jews and the Crusaders, and a place of iniquity for the nation’s apostate traitors...”³⁰³



[370]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, November 10, 2005 \[370\]](#)

“In these blessed days, in which the lions of monotheism are fighting against the might of the Crusader infidel and the treachery of the Shiites on the lands of Mesopotamia, and write sagas of pride in times of desperation and displacement. [sic]”³⁰⁴



[371]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, November 10, 2005 \[371\]](#)

“[T]hese specific hotels [November 9, 2005 suicide bombings in Amman, Jordan] were selected for many reasons, including the fact that they had become the favorite work locations for intelligence services, especially those of America, Israel and some Western European countries, with the participation of the intelligence services of Egypt, the Palestinian Authority, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. [These locations contained] the secret war-rooms from which the battles of the so-called ‘War against Terrorism’ are commanded...”³⁰⁵



[372]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, November 10, 2005 \[372\]](#)

“After the blessed attack [November 9, 2005 suicide bombings in Amman, Jordan] conducted by the heroes of the nation, the lions of the al-Barra’ bin-Malik Brigade, against some of the dens of evil in Amman, we committed to explain to Muslims some of the reasons the jihad fighters targeted these dens, so that all may know that we did not target [the dens] until after we had determined that they were centers for waging war against Islam and for supporting the Crusader’s presence in Mesopotamia and the

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Arabian Peninsula...³⁰⁶



[373]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, November 2005 \[373\]](#)

“This impious state has let loose the hand of the Zionist enemy, and has allowed it to infiltrate into Jordanian society economically, politically, and socially. The Jewish economic lords have grasped control of most companies, banks, factories, laboratories, etc...”³⁰⁷



[374]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, November 2005 \[374\]](#)

“The Jewish economic lords have grasped control of most companies, banks, factories, laboratories, etc...”³⁰⁸



[375]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, September 14, 2005 \[375\]](#)

“The Mujahideen... convey that the Cross Worshipers have received a big blow and are tasting the humiliation at the hand of the Mujahideen. Martyrdom operations are ongoing at Tal-Afar; in addition to planting explosive devices, and luring the enemy into street fights avoiding civilian casualties between Muslim women and children.”³⁰⁹



[376]

[Adam Gadahn, Al-Qaeda Spokesman, September 11, 2005 \[376\]](#)

“Yesterday, London and Madrid. Tomorrow, Los Angeles and Melbourne, Allah willing. And this time, don’t count on us demonstrating restraint or compassion... [W]e love nothing better than the heat of battle, the echo of explosions, and slitting the throats of the infidels.”³¹⁰



[377]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, September 11, 2005 \[377\]](#)

“The latest raid on the Crusaders’ homes was the blessed raid on London [the London bombings], which was a slap in the face to British Crusader arrogance, after the mujaheed lion of Islam, Sheikh Osama bin Laden, may Allah protect him, had offered the peoples of the West a truce, if they leave the countries of Islam, but their arrogance drove them to crime, and their conceited foreign secretary, Jack Straw, said that these proposals should be treated with contempt. So let them pay the price of their government’s filth and arrogance.”³¹¹



[378]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, September 11, 2005 \[378\]](#)

“The Organization of Al-Qa’ida in Mesopotamia has decided...to announce all-out warfare against the Shiites in Iraq, wherever they may be found, tit for tat, for it is you who started this [sic]. Take care, for we swear that we shall offer you no mercy...”³¹²

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, July 14, 2005 \[379\]](#)

Al-Qaeda



[379]

“Not only did I adopt the idea that [suicide operations] are permissible, but I see fit to advocate them as commendable.”³¹³



[380]

[Hani al-Sibai, July 8, 2005 \[380\]](#)

“The term ‘civilians’ does not exist in Islamic religious law.”³¹⁴



[381]

[Hani al-Sibai, July 8, 2005 \[381\]](#)

“If Al Qaeda indeed carried out this act, it is a great victory. It rubbed the noses of the world's eight most powerful countries in the mud.”³¹⁵



[382]

[Abu Musab Al Suri, Al-Qaeda Operations Head, July 2005 \[382\]](#)

In a statement released after the July 2005 bombings: “[In my teachings] I have mentioned vital and legitimate targets to be hit in the enemy’s countries ... Among those targets that I specifically mentioned as examples was the London Underground.

[Targeting this] was and still is the aim.”³¹⁶



[383]

[Abu Musab Al Suri, Al-Qaeda Operations Head, July 2005 \[383\]](#)

Message to the British and European peoples and governments after the bombings of July 2005: “I swear to God that I have in me a joy stronger than the joy of the farmer who sees the harvest of his fruits after a long planting and efforts and patience throughout decades of building.”³¹⁷



[384]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, July 2005 \[384\]](#)

“I believe that the destructive hurricane [Katrina] which hit America, within its own house, was nothing but the result of a prayer of a father or a mother whose son was killed, or of a boy who became an orphan, or of a woman whose honor was violated on the lands of Afghanistan, Iraq or others.”³¹⁸



[385]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, May 19, 2005 \[385\]](#)

“The shedding of Muslim blood...is allowed in order to avoid the greater evil of disrupting jihad.”³¹⁹



[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, May 19, 2005 \[386\]](#)

“The legitimacy of these [means] has been established even if [their use] results in the

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[386] killing of a number of Muslims even if it is known that they are likely to be there at the time, for whatever reason... Admittedly, the killing of a number of Muslims whom it is forbidden to kill is undoubtedly a grave evil; however, it is permissible to commit this evil - indeed, it is even required - in order to ward off a greater evil, namely, the evil of suspending jihad."³²⁰



[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, May 2005](#)

[387]

"The killing of infidels by any method including martyrdom [suicide] operations has been sanctified by many Islamic scholars even if it means killing innocent Muslims. This legality has been agreed upon ... so as not to disrupt jihad."³²¹



[Hani al-Sibai, February 22, 2005](#) [388]

"The only riffraff I know are the Americans."³²²

[388]



[Hani al-Sibai, February 22, 2005](#) [389]

"I have an historical religious source of authority. Islamic history has no term for 'civilian' in the Western sense. This is a Western term. In our Islamic rules of war, one can be a 'combatant,' a 'non-combatant,' or 'protected by an agreement.' A person can be a combatant even if he does not carry a weapon. In other words, a person who came to wash and cook for the American soldiers in order to free them to fight - like the Nepalese - such a person is considered a combatant."³²³

[389]



[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, January 23, 2005](#) [390]

"Democracy is based on the freedom to form groups and political parties, etc. regardless of the beliefs, thoughts, and moral standards of these groups. And this is not permissible under the Sharia."³²⁴

[390]



[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, January 23, 2005](#) [391]

"One may not make a [peace] treaty with an apostate, nor grant him safe passage or protection. According to Allah's religion, he has only one choice: 'Repent or be killed.'³²⁵

[391]



[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, January 23, 2005](#) [392]

"Democracy is based on the idea of freedom of religion and creed. Under democracy, a person has the right to believe whatever he pleases, to adopt the faith of his choice, and to revert to any religion whenever he wishes to do so, even if this apostasy leads to the abandonment of the religion of God almighty, to atheism, or the worship of [a false god] other than God. Beyond doubt, this is a matter that is in contradiction of many Sharia texts. A Muslim who reverts from his religion to disbelief shall be sentenced to death under Islam, as is set forth in the Hadith narrated by Bukhari and others: 'He who

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exchanges his religion, kill him.' [The hadith does not say] 'leave him be.'"³²⁶



[393]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, January 23, 2005 \[393\]](#)

"Democracy is based on freedom of expression and speech, no matter what the expression is, even if it contains attacks and insults to God and the rules of the religion. In democracy nothing is sacred that cannot be addressed or insulted."³²⁷



[394]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, January 2005 \[394\]](#)

"We have declared a bitter war against democracy and all those who seek to enact it... Democracy is also based on the right to choose your religion... [which is] against the rule of God."³²⁸



[395]

[Adam Gadahn, Al-Qaeda Spokesman, October 27, 2004 \[395\]](#)

"Fighting and defeating America is our first priority... People of America... you too shall pay the price for the blood that has been spilled... The magnitude and ferocity of what is coming your way will make you forget all about September 11th... The streets of America shall run red with blood... casualties will be too many to count and the next wave of attacks may come at any moment."³²⁹



[396]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, September 11, 2004 \[396\]](#)

"The enemies of God are aware that this war is a turning point in the world, that it is a choice between and absolute control of the infidel West, is culture, and way of life and the Islamic renaissance which is coming, God willing."³³⁰



[397]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, April 6, 2004 \[397\]](#)

"I come back and again say that the only solution is for us to strike the religious, military, and other cadres among the Shi'a with blow after blow until they bend to the Sunnis."³³¹



[398]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, March 2004 \[398\]](#)

"Attack Israel and additional Western targets...strike the interests of Jews, the Americans, and all those who participated in the attack on Muslims."³³²



[399]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, February 12, 2004 \[399\]](#)

"As for the Shi'a, we will hurt them, God willing, through martyrdom operations and car bombs."³³³

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[400]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, February 2004 \[400\]](#)

"We were involved in all the martyrdom operations - in terms of overseeing, preparing, and planning - that took place in this country except for the operations that took place in the north. Praised be to Allah, I have completed 25 of these operations, some of them against the Shi'a and their leaders, the Americans and their military, the police, the military, and the coalition forces. There will be more in the future, god willing."³³⁴



[401]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, January 4, 2004 \[401\]](#)

"The confrontation and conflict will go on because the conflict between right and falsehood will continue until Judgment Day... There can be no dialogue with the occupiers except with weapons... Islamic countries in the past century were not liberated from the Crusaders' military occupation except through *jihad* in the cause of God... *Jihad* is the path, so seek it... I urge the Muslim youths to carry out *jihad*, particularly in Palestine and Iraq."³³⁵



[402]

[Abu Musab Al Suri, Al-Qaeda Operations Head, 2004 \[402\]](#)

Global Islamic Resistance (published on the Internet in 2004): "I dedicated my time during my solitude to focus on the nature of upcoming confrontations and battles [being] one of the remaining jihadist specialists in the field."³³⁶



[403]

[Abu Musab Al Suri, Al-Qaeda Operations Head, 2004 \[403\]](#)

Lone Wolf Terrorism (from GIR published in 2004): "We ask the Muslim youth to be a terrorist. Why do we ask for such individual terrorism? First because secret hierarchical organizations failed to attract Muslims. The youth fear joining such an organization because if there is a mistake then the authorities will reach them. Second because we need to give the youth the chance to play a role without being part of an organization. Some youth don't want to join an organization and don't know how to act on their beliefs. Third due to pressure from the Jews, Crusaders and lapsed Muslim regimes."³³⁷



[404]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, October 6, 2002 \[404\]](#)

"It brings us both laughter and tears to see that you have not yet tired of repeating your fabricated lies that the Jews have a historical right to Palestine, as it was promised to the in the Torah. Anyone who disputes with them on this alleged fact is accused of anti-Semitism. This is one of the most fallacious, widely circulated fabrications in history. The people of Palestine are pure Arabs and original Semites. It is the Muslims who are the inheritors of Moses (peace be upon him) and the inheritors of the real Torah that has not been changed."³³⁸



[405]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, October 6, 2002 \[405\]](#)

"[Y]ou [Americans] are the worst civilization witnessed in the history of mankind. You are the nation who, rather than ruling by the *sharia* of God in its Constitution and Laws, choose to invent your own laws as you will and desire. You separate religion from your policies, contradicting the pure nature which affirms Absolute Authority to the Lord and your Creator."³³⁹

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[406]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, October 6, 2002*](#) [406]

“You [America] are the nation that permits usury, which has been forbidden by all the religions. Yet you build your economy and investments on usury. As a result of this, in all their different forms and guises, the Jews have taken control of your economy, through which they have then taken control of your media, and now control all aspects of your life making you their servants and achieving their aims at your expense... Your law is the law of the rich and wealthy, who hold sway in their political parties, and fund their election campaigns with their gifts. Behind them stand the Jews, who control your policies, media, and economy.”³⁴⁰



[407]

[*Abd al-Majeed al-Zindani, February 2002*](#) [407]

“Who is the terrorist and what is terrorism? I think it applies to anyone who is against Western or American policy.”³⁴¹



[408]

[*Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, December 2, 2001*](#) [408]

“[W]e must acknowledge that the west, led by the United States, which is under the influence of the Jews, does not know the language of ethics, morality, and legitimate rights.”³⁴²



[409]

[*Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, December 2, 2001*](#) [409]

“The masters in Washington and Tel Aviv are using the regimes to protect their interests and to fight the battle against the Muslims on their behalf.”³⁴³



[410]

[*Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, December 2, 2001*](#) [410]

“...[H]istory would make a new turn, God willing, in the opposite direction against the empire of the United States and the world’s Jewish government.”³⁴⁴



[411]

[*Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, December 2, 2001*](#) [411]

“A new awareness is increasingly developing among the sons of Islam, who are eager to uphold it; namely, that there is no solution without jihad.”³⁴⁵



[412]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, November 2001*](#) [412]

“The Jewish lobby has taken America and the West hostage.”³⁴⁶

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, October 21, 2001*](#) [413]

“[W]e kill their innocents—this is valid both religiously and logically... We treat others like

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[413]

they treat us. Those who kill our women and our innocent, we kill their women and innocent, until they stop doing so.”³⁴⁷



[414]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, October 21, 2001*](#) [414]

“[W]e are in a strong and brutal battle, between us and the Jews, with Israel being the spearhead, and its backers among the Zionists and Crusaders. So we have not hesitated to kill the Jews who conquered the sanctuary of our Prophet.”³⁴⁸



[415]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, October 7, 2001*](#) [415]

“Allah Most High has struck America in its most vulnerable spot, destroying its mighty buildings, praise be unto Him. Look at America—filled with terror from north to south, east to west—all praise be to Allah!”³⁴⁹



[416]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, October 7, 2001*](#) [416]

“God has struck America at its Achilles heel and destroyed its greatest buildings, praise and blessings to Him. America has been filled with terror from north to south and from east to west, praise and blessings to God.”³⁵⁰



[417]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, December 1998*](#) [417]

“It is now clear that it is Israel that is behind all the attacks on states in the Islamic world... the Jews were able to employ American and British Christians to do the job of attacking Iraq. America claims that it is bringing Iraq to account and to justice, but the fact is that the Israeli authority and the Jewish authority, which has become powerful inside the White House, as everyone can see—the Defence Minister is Jewish, the Secretary of State is Jewish, the CIA and National Security officials are Jewish, all the biggest officials are Jews—led the Christians to clip the wings of the Islamic world.”³⁵¹



[418]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, February 23, 1998*](#) [418]

“To kill the American[s] and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty upon every Muslim in all countries... With God’s permission we call on everyone who believes in God and wants reward to comply with His will to kill the Americans and seize their money wherever and whenever they find them.”³⁵²



[419]

[*Ayman al-Zawahiri, February 1998*](#) [419]

World Islamic Front fatwa issued with Bin Laden:

“All these sins and crimes committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on God, his messenger and 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 every country in which it is possible to do it...”

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"We, with God's help, call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it."³⁵³



[420]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, 1998](#) [420]

Following al-Qaeda's attacks on U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania:

"Tell America that its bombings, its threats and its acts of aggression do not frighten us. The war has only just begun."³⁵⁴



[421]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, December 29, 1994](#) [421]

"The current Jewish enemy is not an enemy settled in his own original country fighting in its defense until he gains a peace agreement, but an attacking enemy and a corrupter of religion and the world, for whom the words of the Sheikh of Islam ibn Yamiyya apply: 'There is no greater duty after faith than unconditionally fighting the attacking enemy who corrupts religion and the world. He must be resisted as hard as possible...'"³⁵⁵



[422]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, December 29, 1994](#) [422]

"We declared *jihad* against the U.S. government, because the U.S. government is unjust, criminal, and tyrannical... Due to its subordination to the Jews, the arrogance and haughtiness of the U.S. regime has reached such an extent that it occupied the *qibla* [direction of prayer, i.e. towards the Kaaba in Mecca, Saudi Arabia] of the Muslims... For this and other acts of aggression and injustice, we have declared *jihad* against the U.S., because in our religion it is our duty to make *jihad* so that God's word is the one exalted to the heights and so that we drive the Americans away from all Muslim countries."³⁵⁶



[423]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, 1991](#) [423]

"The current rulers of Muslim countries who govern without the *sharia* of Allah are apostate infidels. It is obligatory to overthrow them, to wage *jihad* against them, and to depose them, installing a Muslim ruler in their stead."³⁵⁷



[424]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, 1991](#) [424]

"As for the principle of equality regarding rights and duties among the citizens of democracies, this makes for a number of situations—all of them blasphemous.⁹ We have indicated these before, and among them are: A. No limit to apostasy [which, under sharia law, earns the death penalty], since the Constitution declares freedom of religion; likewise abolition of jihad against the apostates. B. Abolition of jihad in the way of Allah—that is, [Offensive] Jihad against infidelity and blasphemy—since the Constitution has established freedom of religion. C. Abolition of the *jizya* and the *dhimmi* conditions applied to those who are not Muslim—since there is no difference between citizens, due to the fissure created by the premise of equality, rights, and obligations. D. Abolition of man's dominion over woman. The Most High said: 'Men have authority over women, for Allah has made the one superior to the other' [4:34]. But in a democracy, women have the right to emulate the dignity and legal status of men. Such are the fruits of 'equality'—the essence of democracy: for man's domination over woman contradicts the concept of equality. Like we said, the principles of democracy confront the commands of the sharia in direct opposition."³⁵⁸

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[425]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, 1991](#) [425]

“The bottom line regarding democracies is that the right to make laws is given to someone other than Allah Most High. Such, then, is democracy. So whoever is agreed to this is an infidel—for he has taken gods in place of Allah. Legislation is an exclusive right of the Most High. Whoever legislates anything for mankind erects himself up as a god among them. Whoever permits him to do this takes him for a god.”³⁵⁹



[426]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, 1991](#) [426]

“Thus whoever claims to be a ‘democratic-Muslim’ or a Muslim who calls for democracy, is like one who says about himself ‘I am a Jewish Muslim’ or ‘I am a Christian Muslim’—the one worse than the other. He is an apostate infidel.”³⁶⁰



[427]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, 1991](#) [427]

“[T]he foundation of democracy is built atop the premise ‘rule by the people for the people’ and rejection of the Commandments of Allah, which are all-comprehensive for mankind. Its [democracy’s] essence revolves around the whims and fancies of man, which are articulated in a number of ways, and which become the ruling godhead. It rebels against and prevents the sharia of Allah from becoming established law.”³⁶¹



[428]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, 1991](#) [428]

“[D]emocracy is a man-made infidel religion, devised to give the right to legislate to the masses—as opposed to Islam, where all legislative rights belong to Allah Most High: He has no partners. In democracies, however, those legislators [elected] from the masses become partners worshipped in place of Allah. Whoever obeys their laws [ultimately] worships them.”³⁶²



[429]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, Leader, 1991](#) [429]

“[W]hoever claims to be a ‘democratic-Muslim’ or a Muslim who calls for democracy, is like one who says about himself ‘I am a Jewish Muslim’ or ‘I am a Christian Muslim’—the one worse than the other. He is an apostate infidel.”³⁶³



[430]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined](#) [430]

“Cooperation with the West against what they call Islamic extremism [or ‘fundamentalism,’ ‘radicalism’], whether it’s performed by one word, or a declaration, or any other manner, either directly or indirectly, is apostasy from the religion of Allah Most High... whoever refuses the principle of terror[ism] against the enemy also refuses the commandment of Allah the Exalted, the Most High, and His *sharia*.”³⁶⁴



[431]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined](#) [431]

“The defense of Muslims is [ensured] through *jihad*—not dialogue and coexistence. And know that the standard of *jihad* shall never fail or diminish, till the Day of Judgment. It is our *only* option for glory, as has been continuously demonstrated in the [Islamic] texts.”³⁶⁵

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[432]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined*](#) [432]

“Offensive *Jihad* is an established and basic tenet of this religion. It is a religious duty rejected only by the most deluded. So how can they [Saudi intellectuals] call off this religious obligation [Offensive *Jihad*], while imploring the West to understandings and talks “under the umbrella of justice, morality, and rights”? The essence of all this comes from right inside the halls of the United Nations, instead of the Divine foundations that are built upon hating the infidels, repudiating them with tongue and teeth till they embrace Islam or pay the *jizya* with willing submission and humility.”³⁶⁶



[433]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined*](#) [433]

“The West is hostile to us on account of Loyalty and Enmity, and [Offensive] *Jihad*. So how can the writers of the declaration address those infidels who attack our faith by word and deed with such trivial matters that have nothing to do with the heart of the conflict? What the West desires is that we abandon [the doctrine of] Loyalty and Enmity, and abandon [Offensive] *Jihad*. This is the very essence of their request and desire of us. Do the intellectuals, then, think it’s actually possible for Muslims to abandon these two commandments simply to coexist with the West?”³⁶⁷



[434]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined*](#) [434]

“What did the Prophet, the Companions after him, and the righteous forebears do? Did they wage *jihad* against the infidels, attacking them all over the earth, in order to place them under the suzerainty of Islam in great humility and submission? Or did they send messages to discover “shared understandings” between themselves and the infidels in order that they may reach an understanding whereby universal peace, security, and natural relations would spread—in such a satanic manner as this? The *sharia* provides a true and just path, securing Muslims, and providing peace to the world. If Muslims wished it thus, all they need do is follow it.”³⁶⁸



[435]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined*](#) [435]

“Battle, animosity, and hatred—directed from the Muslim to the infidel—is the foundation of our religion. And we consider this a justice and kindness to them. The West perceives fighting, enmity, and hatred all for the sake of the religion as unjust, hostile, and evil. But who’s understanding is right—our notions of justice and righteousness, or theirs?”³⁶⁹



[436]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined*](#) [436]

“[T]his manner of deciding truth from falsehood, through the ballot box, is one of the methods the writer of the declaration utilized straight from the West. For they [Westerners] vote over everything—even over legalizing homosexual marriage! They raised their voices in all their parliaments and thus legalized it... Nonetheless, what is false is false—even if a billion individuals agree to it; and truth is truth—even if only one who has submitted [i.e., a Muslim] holds on to it. Abundance or dearth [by way of votes, opinions, etc.] is not indicative of truth and falsehood... Just because people agree to your falsehoods does not mean that falsehood has become truth—even if people unanimously reject it [truth] and wage war against it. Truth and falsehood are discerned through the Book [Koran] and the sunna—not by the amount of votes from the voters.”³⁷⁰

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[437]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined \[437\]*](#)

“For it is, in fact, part of our religion to impose our particular beliefs upon others... we are to force people by the power of the sword to [our] particular understandings, customs, and conditions, all in order to induce debasement and humility, just like Allah commanded... And the West’s notions that Islam is a religion of jihad and enmity toward the religions of the infidels and the infidels themselves is an accurate and true depiction.”³⁷¹



[438]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined \[438\]*](#)

“In fact, Muslims are obligated to raid the lands of the infidels, occupy them, and exchange their systems of governance for an Islamic system, barring any practice that contradicts the sharia from being publicly voiced among the people, as was the case at the dawn of Islam.”³⁷²



[439]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined \[439\]*](#)

“The appropriate and most suitable response from the [Saudi] intellectuals’ declaration to the Crusaders [should have been] that we will rise up individually and collectively in order to support jihad and the mujahidin, and we will support and increase martyrdom operations. It is incumbent upon us to respond to them by transferring the battle from the military realm to the political and economic realms, and the cultural, intellectual, and social realms, and all of life’s realms... the good of the people is found in Islam; and Islam is spread with the sword alone, just as the Prophet was sent forth with the sword... and everything they [Western intellectuals] evoked in [their] declaration [to the Saudi intellectuals]—freedom, justice, mercy, and rights—is in complete accordance with the notions of the infidels, not the notions of Islam.”³⁷³



[440]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined \[440\]*](#)

“Our talks with the infidel West and our conflict with them ultimately revolve around one issue—one that demands our total support, with power and determination, with one voice—and it is: Does Islam, or does it not, force people by the power of the sword to submit to its authority corporeally if not spiritually? Yes. There are only three choices in Islam: either willing submission; or payment of the *jizya*, through physical though not spiritual, submission to the authority of Islam; or the sword—for it is not right to let him [an infidel] live. The matter is summed up for every person alive: Either submit, or live under the suzerainty of Islam, or die.”³⁷⁴



[441]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined \[441\]*](#)

“[T]he religion can never possibly honor the Western man who rejects Allah Almighty. Indeed, He describes him as a cow; and He has cursed him and prepared the everlasting Fire for him.”³⁷⁵



[442]

[*Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined \[442\]*](#)

“Muslims, and especially the learned among them, should spread sharia law to the world—that and nothing else. Not laws under the ‘umbrella of justice, morality, and rights’ as understood by the masses... And whoever openly and clearly repudiates these issues, we consign him to the infidels...”³⁷⁶

Al-Qaeda



[443]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined \[443\]](#)

“How does one go about evoking these insignificant expressions [Islamic teachings praising Christians], while abandoning dozens of texts wherein the Christians are cursed, and their blasphemies and treacheries enumerated? Though these expressions came in truth, they lead to falsehood. Could it be that these words mean that there is good in them [Christians], acknowledged by Islam, and, based on that, it is possible for us to coexist with them? Such would be a vain injunction. The good in them has to do with minor particulars, which are definitely not grounds for living with them, nor debating with them, nor “dialoguing” with them, as they call it. First of all, they distort the Messiah and they reject Muhammad. Thus they do not practice the true religion. They neither hold on to their religion, nor are they content with Muhammad’s religion. So according to what, exactly, are they to be praised, and according to what are we to reach an understanding? [...] So whoever possesses such attributes, but in reality is not pious, or merely practices a religion created by popes—such a one, what use is it trying to reach an understanding and living with him?”³⁷⁷



[444]

[Osama bin Laden, Founder of Al-Qaeda, Date Undetermined \[444\]](#)

“[R]egarding which shared understandings, exactly, is it possible that we agree with the immoral West? The secular West, which does not practice any religion—this the intellectuals claim we hold things in common with! What commonalities, if our foundations contradict, rendering useless the shared extremities—if they even exist? For practically everything valued by the immoral West is condemned under *sharia* law... the issues most prominent in the West revolve around secularism, homosexuality, sexuality, and atheism. So what shared aspects are we to advance dialogue over in order to make for ‘a better place for us all’?”³⁷⁸



[445]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, Date Undetermined \[445\]](#)

“[Shi’ites] are a people of treachery and cowardice. They are arrogant only with the weak and can attack only the broken-winged. Most of the Sunnis are aware of the danger of these people, watch their sides, and fear the consequences of empowering them.”³⁷⁹



[446]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, Date Undetermined \[446\]](#)

“They, i.e., the Shi’a, have declared a secret war against the people of Islam. They are the proximate, dangerous enemy of the Sunnis, even if the Americans are also an archenemy. The danger from the Shi’a, however, is greater and their damage is worse and more destructive to the [Islamic] nation than the Americans, on whom you find a quasi-consensus about killing them as an assailing enemy.”³⁸⁰



[447]

[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Leader and Founder of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, Date Undetermined \[447\]](#)

“We are striving urgently and racing against time to create companies of mujahidin that will repair to secure places and strive to reconnoiter the country, hunting the enemy - Americans, police, and soldiers - on the roads and lanes. We are continuing to train and multiply them. As for the Shi’a, we will hurt them, God willing, through martyrdom operations and car bombs.”³⁸¹



[448]

Abu Musab Al Suri, Al-Qaeda Operations Head, Date Undetermined [448]

Regarding Nasar's Jihadi Training: "I joined a training course which prepared the Muslim Brotherhood's military branch cadres during the Jihad and revolution against Hafez Assad's regime. I was 22 years old and that was in the Iraqi army's Racheed camp in Baghdad in 1980. The trainer was a righteous man from the old guards who pledged allegiance to Sheikh Hassan al Bannah [the founder of the Muslim brotherhood] at 17. He accompanied Sayyid Qutb [the leading ideologue of the jihadist movement], and then spent the rest of his life outside Egypt. I recall that the first thing he said [was] 'Are you Muslim brotherhood members.' We all said 'yes.' Then the trainer said while pointing at his neck 'you will all get slaughtered, do you approve of that?' Then we happily and joyfully said 'we approve Sir.' He then turned to the chalkboard and wrote the title of his very first lecture: 'Terrorism is a duty and assassination is a Sunnah [an action ordained by the Prophet Mohammed].'³⁸²

²³⁰ "Bin Laden's son urges jihad Against Jews, US interests," Fox News, May 9, 2016, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/05/09/bin-ladens-son-urges-jihad-against-jews-us-interests.html> [449].

²³¹ Lisa Barrington and Suleiman Al-Khalidi, "Al Qaeda tells Syrian branch Nusra Front it can drop links," Reuters, July 28, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-nusra-front-idUSKCN10819R> [450].

²³² Tim Lister, "Al Qaeda leader to ISIS: You're wrong, but we can work together," CNN, September 15, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/09/14/middleeast/al-zawahiri-al-qaeda-isis-olive-branch/> [256].

²³³ Tim Lister, "Al Qaeda leader to ISIS: You're wrong, but we can work together," CNN, September 15, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/09/14/middleeast/al-zawahiri-al-qaeda-isis-olive-branch/> [256].

²³⁴ Mark Schliebs, "Top Aussie terrorist warns of 'perpetual war' on Twitter," *Australian* (Surry Hills), May 14, 2015, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/in-depth/terror/top-aussie-terrorist-warns-of-perpetual-war-on-twitter/story-fnpdbcmu-1227354039977> [451].

²³⁵ Ali Hashem, "Al-Qaeda theorist calls for infiltrating political systems," *Al-Monitor*, May 29, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/al-qaeda-political-system-infiltration.html> [452].

²³⁶ Mark Schliebs, "Top Aussie terrorist warns of 'perpetual war' on Twitter," *Australian* (Surry Hills), May 14, 2015, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/in-depth/terror/top-aussie-terrorist-warns-of-perpetual-war-on-twitter/story-fnpdbcmu-1227354039977> [451].

²³⁷ "ISIS Fighters, Supporters Hijack #BaltimoreRiots Twitter Hashtag, Discuss Race Issues, Urge Attacks On Policemen," Middle East Media Research Institute, April 28, 2015, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8541.htm#_edn13 [453].

²³⁸ Brian Ross, Rhonda Schwartz, Randy Kreider, and James Gordon Meek, "The American Terror Recruiter's Link to Texas Shooting," ABC News, May 5, 2015, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/american-terror-recruiters-link-texas-shooting/story?id=30827653> [454].

²³⁹ Tim Lister, "The cheerleaders and the freelancers: the new actors in international terrorism," CNN, May 7, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/05/07/world/cheerleader-freelancer-terror/> [455].

²⁴⁰ Brian Ross, Rhonda Schwartz, Randy Kreider, and James Gordon Meek, "The American Terror Recruiter's Link to Texas Shooting," ABC News, May 5, 2015, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/american-terror-recruiters-link-texas-shooting/story?id=30827653> [454].

²⁴¹ Brian Ross, Rhonda Schwartz, Randy Kreider, and James Gordon Meek, "The American Terror Recruiter's Link to Texas Shooting," ABC News, May 5, 2015, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/american-terror-recruiters-link-texas-shooting/story?id=30827653> [454].

²⁴² "Extremists Use #BaltimoreRiots To Spread Propaganda, Recruit New Members," Counter Extremism Project, https://storify.com/CEP/isis-extremists-user-baltimoreriots-to-spread-prop?utm_content=buffer8c50b&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer [456].

²⁴³ "Extremists Use #BaltimoreRiots To Spread Propaganda, Recruit New Members," Counter Extremism Project, https://storify.com/CEP/isis-extremists-user-baltimoreriots-to-spread-prop?utm_content=buffer8c50b&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer [456].

²⁴⁴ Sami Aboudi, "Al Qaeda claims French attack, derides Paris rally," Reuters, January 14, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/14/us-france-shooting-aqap-iduskbn0kn0vo20150114>.

²⁴⁵ A. Agron, "The Issue Of Race In The Discourse Of The Islamic State (ISIS) And Its Supporters," Middle East Media Research Institute, April 16, 2015, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8524.htm> [457].

²⁴⁶ Tom Lyden, "Minnesota man's ISIS connection to Garland, Texas shooting," KMSF Fox 9, May 5, 2015, <http://www.myfoxtwincities.com/story/28975221/minnesota-mans-isis-connection-to-garland-texas-shooting> [458].

²⁴⁷ Adham Youssef, "Calls to carry the Quran in Salafi Front protests 'invitation for strife': Al-Azhar," Daily News Egypt, November 22, 2014, <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2014/11/22/calls-carry-quran-salafi-front-protests-invitation-strife-al-azhar/> [459].

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- ²⁴⁸ Esme Murphy, "Minn. Terror Suspect Returns To Twitter, Posts False Information," WCCO-TV, May 5, 2015, <http://minnesota.cbslocal.com/2015/05/05/minnesota-terror-suspect-returns-to-twitter-posts-false-information/> [460].
- ²⁴⁹ Hayes Brown, "Turns Out It's Pretty Hard To Shut Down Jihadi Twitter," BuzzFeed News, November 6, 2014, <http://www.buzzfeed.com/hayesbrown/turns-out-its-pretty-hard-to-shut-down-jihadi-twitter#.nxA42myn> [461].
- ²⁵⁰ Maria Golovnina, "New al Qaeda wing in South Asia claims major attack," Reuters, September 17, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/17/us-southasia-attacks-idUSKBN0HC0YS20140917> [141].
- ²⁵¹ James Gordon Meek, "As US Remembers, Jihadis Trade 9/11 Jabs Online," ABC News, September 11, 2014, <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/headlines/2014/09/as-us-mourns-jihadis-trade-911-jabs-online/> [462].
- ²⁵² James Gordon Meek, "As US Remembers, Jihadis Trade 9/11 Jabs Online," ABC News, September 11, 2014, <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/headlines/2014/09/as-us-mourns-jihadis-trade-911-jabs-online/> [462].
- ²⁵³ Natasha Culzac, "Abu Qatada condemns Islamic State beheadings as 'against religious teachings,'" *Independent* (London), September 7, 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/abu-qatada-condemns-islamic-state-beheadings-as-against-religious-teachings-9717057.html> [463].
- ²⁵⁴ Natasha Culzac, "Abu Qatada condemns Islamic State beheadings as 'against religious teachings,'" *Independent* (London), September 7, 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/abu-qatada-condemns-islamic-state-beheadings-as-against-religious-teachings-9717057.html> [463].
- ²⁵⁵ Mohammed Al-Shafey, "ISIS British-born rapper was under psychological pressure after father's arrest: source," *Asharq Al-Awsat*, August 16, 2014, <http://www.aawsat.net/2014/08/article55335498/isis-british-born-rapper-was-under-psychological-pressure-after-fathers-arrest-source> [464].
- ²⁵⁶ Thomas Jocelyn, "Al Qaeda ally calls for statement on Islamic State's caliphate," *Long War Journal*, July 9, 2014, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/07/al_qaeda_ally_calls.php [465].
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