

Analysis and Evolution of the Global Jihadist Movement Propaganda

MANUEL R. TORRES

Department of Public Law, University Pablo Olavide, Seville, Spain

JAVIER JORDÁN

Department of Political Science, University of Granada, Spain

NICOLA HORSBURGH

International Policy Institute King's College, London, England

The Global Jihadist Movement (GJM) has a series of well-defined objectives, which constitute the central points of their ideology. In the realization of these goals, propaganda and public communication play a central role. This article studies the evolution of the principal characteristics of GJM propaganda, analyzing over 2,000 documents issued by the GJM between 1996 and 2005.

Keywords Al Qaeda, communication, Jihad, propaganda, terrorism

Introduction

Al Qaeda and the various other associated groups that form what we will here label the Global Jihadist Movement (GJM), have, as is true of any terrorist organization, a pronounced need for public communication. Violence in and of itself, despite the magnitude and spectacular levels it can reach, is never sufficient to achieve the ultimate aims of terrorists. Violence has as its purpose destroying that which it considers the enemy and spreading fear in the affected population. However, at the same time it is a mechanism that permits transmission of content. On said occasions this message is transmitted via symbols used in communiqués or through the interpretation the population will “read into” the attacks themselves.

Nevertheless, on most occasions this act of communication does not occur so subtly, and murder, threats, or kidnappings convert themselves into macabre reminders that permit the terrorist group to concentrate public opinion so its message is heard. In this way, violence is converted into a key element that permits the terrorist group to reach public opinion (and wider audiences) and realize their objectives, be

Manuel R. Torres is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Pablo de Olavide, University of Seville. He is the recipient of a National Award (Spain) in political science studies. Javier Jordán (Ph.D.) is a Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University of Granada, Spain. Nicola Horsburgh is a Research Associate of the International Policy Institute, King's College, London.

Address correspondence to Manuel R. Torres, Department of Public Law, Pablo de Olavide University, Carretera de Utrera Km. 1, 41013, Sevilla, Spain. E-mail: mrtorsor@upo.es

that to gain new activists, awaken sympathy among sectors of their audience, or terrorize and thus seek the surrender of their enemies. It is well known that the GJM makes extensive use of propaganda to intimidate Western public opinion and to obtain support within the Muslim community. However, it is difficult to paint a clear picture of the concrete characteristics, historical tendencies, and real influence of this form of communicative action. The objective of this article is to offer a descriptive analysis of the propaganda produced by the armed Jihadist groups. This, it is hoped, will permit integration and better understanding of the information available today and in the future. In the creation of an analytical framework, this presents difficulties of a methodological nature, and these are discussed below.

1. Methodology

Selection Criteria/Exclusion of Communiqués and Groups

The number of active Jihadist-related websites has metastasized since September 11, 2001. When Professor Gabriel Weimann, at the University of Haifa in Israel, began tracking terrorist-related incidents on the Web 1990s, he found twelve; in August 2005, he tracked more than 4,500.¹ Thus, before investigating the communicative action of Jihadists, it is crucial to establish a few methodological criteria that permit one to collect and analyse this type of propaganda. The following have been adopted:

- a) Only messages with propaganda content have been taken into account—in other words, information presented and diffused with the ultimate objective of obtaining information geared towards a determined cause² (in this case that of the GJM), independent of the format, which can vary greatly (interviews, letters, reports, etc.). Military training materials or the diffusion of technical knowledge to carry out terrorist attacks are thus not included, unless the information has content which promotes political or religious views in favour of the GJM.
- b) Only communiqués issued by groups that directly practice violence have been accounted for. Although strong support for Jihadism points to a clear position in favour of those that kill, there exists a substantial difference between those that take up arms and those that only support the groups morally and dialectically. The first assumes a compromise that frequently places one's life and freedom at risk, leading one towards a clandestine lifestyle. The second work in a less dramatic situation. For this reason, few actively join militant Jihadist groups compared to the many that support militancy and its discourse. In this piece, we are only concerned with the propaganda strategy of those groups that have engaged in and perpetrated violence. Thus, only those groups that have committed at least one violent act or individuals who act in representation of those groups are included here. This first criterion entails those excluded official notices coming from the "outer concentric ring," Islamist radical groups not directly violent—this is to say, all religious leaders, associations, Islamic centres, media and other organisations that share the Jihadist ideology but do not have direct operative links to armed Jihadist groups.

However, to this second criteria must be added an important exception. Many of the Jihadist communiqués carry a series of abbreviations over which there are well-founded doubts as to whether they are a terrorist group capable of executing armed

action. Denominations like Mohamed Atta Brigades, Al-Islambouli Brigades, Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigades, or Ansar al-Zawahiri Organization have sometimes led to media attention, vindicating attacks, or sending specific threats.

Although no identification or detention of any member of these organizations has been carried out, they contribute to the Jihad as a result of the demoralization and confusion that their actions cause in the West. Terrorism is not just the use of violence but also the threat surrounding its use. The big spokesmen of the GJM (Osama bin Laden, Ayman Al Zawahiri, Abu Musab Al Zarqawi, etc.) have never made explicit reference to these abbreviations, nor have they condemned or attempted to de-legitimise their communicative action, certainly aware of the utility of their actions in the attainment of the propagandistic objectives of Jihadist terrorism. Many of these “ghost” groups have obtained great notoriety in the media given the tone of the threat of their communicative actions.

Following the trail of this success, several clandestine denominations specializing exclusively in the information dimension of the Jihad have emerged: Global Islamic Media Front, the Jihad Information Brigade, Jihad Media Battalion, etc. These arguments together with the goal of this paper, have led us to include communiqués from these clandestine organisations, despite the fact that these lack a responsibility for violent acts, pretending to contribute in other ways to the Jihad front.

- c) Within armed Jihadist organizations, only those that have links to the Global Jihadist Movement are accounted for.³ This category includes all those armed groups that fulfil the following criteria:
- Justify their armed struggle appealing to the tradition of the armed Jihad.
 - Their reference group is the global community of believers (Ummah) and the struggle is directed towards the enemies of said community. The adversary is both distant (the USA, its allies, non-Islamic governments like Russia) and close (governments of Muslim majority that do not share the same Jihadist ideology or cooperate with the West). In many cases, the groups to which we refer here limit their armed activity to a concrete geographic space (Algeria, Iraq, or Chechnya) but they all interpret their struggle as a contribution to the global efforts of the GJM. For this reason, terrorist groups like Hamas, Islamic Jihad, or Hizbollah are excluded from analysis since, although Jihadist, their political agenda is too geographically remote to be considered part of the GJM and on occasions they have expressed their public condemnation against particular actions of the GJM.⁴
 - In relation to this second criterion, these groups must manifest an explicit connection to the ideological principles and the general strategy of Al Qaeda. Said connection can be combatant ties with Al Qaeda or similar strategic objectives and operational methods of that group. This is relevant since not all GJM groups are directly linked to Al Qaeda. As Rohan Gunaratna points out, Al Qaeda began as an organization, but with time it has transformed into a movement that inspires millions in no direct contact with the initial network.⁵ In this paper, “movement” is taken to represent the GJM.
- d) A third criterion for consideration is that the material must be directed to an audience that goes beyond the domain of the terrorist organisation. In other words, the propaganda has been produced to be consumed by as many people as possible, distributed for easy access independent of inevitable and logical language, material, or logistical barriers. Thus, material for internal distribution and

use has not been considered here, although these have been intercepted and distributed to security agencies. For example, the infamous home video found by American soldiers in Kandahar in late 2001 with bin Laden talking about the 9/11⁶—attacks or the controversial letter by Ayman Al-Zawahiri to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi in 2005⁷—which demonstrated his concern over the impact of attacks against Shiites in Iraq upon Muslim public opinion—are not analysed here. What is relevant here is the message that Jihadists emit in a conscious and intentional manner.

In terms of a framework to this study, the following guiding conditions have been adopted:

- Communiqués distributed between 1996–2005 (inclusive). Although Al Qaeda emerged in the late 1980s, its initial propaganda activities were very limited and it was a difficult (in terms of access) organisation to follow beyond the Jihadist environment. In 1996, bin Laden made public a letter in which he declared war against the USA and Saudi Arabia. Around eighteen months later, in February 1998, he “debuted into society” the “Global Islamic Front for the Struggle against Jews and the Crusaders.” This is one of the first and most explicit manifestations of the existence and intentions of the GJM. During this period, Al Qaeda was gaining influence and prestige among other GJM groups. Al Qaeda felt sufficiently strong to attack the USA alone, without tying itself to the financial dependence of other Jihadist groups.⁸ The years since then have been crucial in the evolution—and as yet short—history of global Jihadism, reason enough for us to consider this a significant temporary period.
- Format: text on paper or online, audio, and visual recordings.
- Accept a wide range of communiqués as long as they remain propaganda: letters to the general public, interviews with the media, press notes, videos containing details of attacks, documenting the Mujahedin lifestyle, the assassination of a hostage following a communiqué, etc.
- Diffusion via “open” channels, although in practice some are only known by those sympathetic to the Jihadist cause. These channels of diffusion include global television satellite, radio, newspapers and Jihadist websites—accessible to all who navigate cyberspace (although in reality a knowledge of Arabic and knowing where to surf would be necessary).
- Lastly, communiqués have been accounted for just once, even if they are re-used and appear in various places. In practice many groups copy material from one another. This explains somewhat the proliferation of thousands of radical websites.

Sources and Obstacles to the Investigation

Despite the theoretically open character of GJM propaganda, its study presents important obstacles. To sum up, the following difficulties in research have emerged:

- a) *Locating GJM propaganda material.* Exceptionally, some communiqués attain media attention (usually those in which Osama bin Laden or Ayman Al-Zawahiri are mentioned). However, this is not the case with the majority of GJM propaganda, which has an almost exclusively Muslim audience in order to encourage operational support towards militant Jihadism. GJM propaganda is thus distributed in large part online by the groups themselves, on remote and hidden sites

Table 1. Principle data source in the collection of Jihadist communiqués

Counterterrorism Blog	http://counterterror.typepad.com/
Evan Kohlmann website	http://www.globalterroralert.com
Global Research in International Affaire (GLORIA) Center	http://www.e-prism.org
Intelcenter	http://www.intelcenter.com/
Jihadunspun	http://www.jihadunspun.net
Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)	http://www.memri.org/
Northeast Intelligence Network	http://www.homelandsecurityus.com/
SITE Institute	http://www.siteinstitute.org/
Stratfor	http://www.stratfor.com/
The Jamestown Foundation	http://www.jamestown.org/
Internet Haganah	http://haganah.org.il/

that change addresses frequently so as to avoid virtual termination by anti-terrorist agencies. A radical follower is likely to be aware of these changes but a casual observer would not.

- b) *The language barrier*—in the use of classic Arabic—is also a key issue since if no language skills are at hand, then the quality of the translation is pivotal. Not all material from Jihadist sources is translated and divulged in its entirety, leading to a potential knowledge gap in our study.
- c) Lastly, the *authenticity* of documents also presents a challenge in terms of its validity for analysis.

From the perspective of the authors of this paper, it is not possible to completely overcome the limitations highlighted above. Thus, one must assume that hundreds of documents represent only a section, not the totality, of the GJM propaganda machine. Nevertheless, the study is deemed viable since we have amassed a sufficiently representative sample of propaganda, with trustworthy translations into English. To do this, an assortment of sources have been used: websites of Jihadist orientations that provide translations of their own material, news and international communication translation services, and particularly, commercial, foundation, and think-tank services (both subscription and free services) that specialize in the sourcing, translation, evaluation and, analysis of GJM propaganda material (see Table 1).

Together, these organisms offer a great quantity of open source information on GJM propaganda, permitting one to trace the communicative action undertaken by Jihadist groups that operate below the media radar (in this case, most). Thanks to this constant monitoring and analysis, it has been possible to introduce into our database hundreds of communiqués, in total 2,878 during the period 1996–2005.

Variables in Analysis

In our analysis, several variables have been applied:

- a) Recipient audience (see Table 2). Despite its public character, which in theory would suggest accessibility, in practice Jihadists develop material with a specific audience in mind. The target audience can include general Muslims,

Table 2. Target audience of GJM propaganda

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Muslims	1	0	7	0	0	11	46	38	186	2341
Non-Muslims	1	0	1	0	1	2	3	1	31	16
Both	1	1	4	3	0	6	14	21	49	93
Total	3	1	12	3	1	19	63	60	266	2450

non-Muslims, or both. Categorizing each communiqué and propaganda material into groups is a subjective decision and as such is subject to possible revisions. However, a series of indicators exists, greatly aiding the classification process. For example, those communiqués directed only and exclusively towards the Muslim population are full of ritual expressions of Islam and numerous Quranic references regarding Allah and his Prophet. All of these elements disappear when such messages are directed to the non-Muslim population. Likewise, it is common that both Al Qaeda and its associated groups begin their communiqués with an explicit reference to the addressee, an element that eliminates all doubt of its classification. However, the “both” category seen in Table 2, which encompasses both the Muslim and non-Muslim population, presents greater difficulties.

Among Muslims, it is not possible to distinguish between supporters and those against Jihadism, since the intention is to mobilize the community of believers. The GJM assumes that all “true Muslims” are susceptible to religious and political discourse via rational arguments and the use of highly symbolic and emotional content. Moreover, it is assumed that the Muslim who pays attention to such material usually has a favourable predisposition towards its content (if only because it is difficult to access). Documents directed towards non-Muslims tend to be of an intimidating character. Material targeting both audiences mixes both objectives: intimidate some and mobilize others.

b) Thematic content. In analysing the content of propaganda, a pattern of themes can be drawn out:

- Threat of new attacks
- Blackmail on the taking of hostages
- Commentary on current affairs
- Religious-political discourse
- Assassination of hostages
- Mobilization of new Mujahedin
- Denial of responsibility for attacks
- Re-vindication of an attack

A considerable number of communiqués shared more than one of the above categories, but for the purpose of this paper and descriptive clarity, only those examples of one category are analysed here, so as to highlight more sharply the GJM propaganda process underway.

c) Medium of diffusion (see Table 3). Three categories have been used to classify the material in our database: written press, audiovisual means, and the Internet. The category “unknown” is also added for a number of pieces lacking data. In these

Table 3. Medium of diffusion used

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Internet	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	19	234	2439
TV	0	1	1	2	0	9	4	5	18	10
Written mediums	3	0	1	1	0	3	30	19	12	0
Unknown	0	0	10	0	1	7	16	17	2	1
Total	3	1	12	3	1	19	63	60	266	2450

categories we refer to the means used by Jihadists to transmit their message, beyond that of any prior airing in the press. Thus, this category is not directly linked to media impact but to the preferences and possibilities for diffusion within and from without the GJM.

2. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of GJM Propaganda

The application of the three variables discussed above to a sample of 2,878 documents now follows. We insist that this number does not represent the entirety of the GJM propaganda machine, nonetheless we consider the number a sufficiently representative and viable sample for analysis.

A first key data is the sharp increase in communicative action in the last two years. In this respect, our sample is not reflective of the early period since propaganda was distributed mostly in hard-copy format for internal use among Muslim sympathizers, and organisms for the study of open source intelligence (OSINT) on Jihadist propaganda did not then exist. During 1996–2000, it is very likely that the number was higher than that which appears here; it is to be assumed that the real impact on its audience was not dramatic since the audience was already militant or had access to other related propaganda material. In this light, the recent increase reflects well the importance and intensity of GJM communicative action.

Various factors can explain this increase in GJM propaganda. One is the impact of 9/11 and other recent large-scale attacks around the world. Possibly another factor is the growing importance of the propaganda dimension as part of the mobilization strategy and the proliferation of a decentralized and spontaneous form of terrorism. Without a doubt, one of the most crucial factors is the enormous use of the Internet by Jihadists in recent years.

In another vein, the application of the first variable in analysis (the recipient audience) highlights that most communicative action targets a Muslim public. This complements the mobilizing nature of the GJM. Jihadists tend to repeat in their communiqués that they can change history if the Muslim nation unites against its enemies:

Our job is to instigate and, by the grace of God, we did that and certain people responded to this instigation.⁹

This mobilization is undertaken not by using explicit arguments (as Table 4 demonstrates this as a very small portion) but via the re-vindication of attacks and commentary on current affairs from a Salafist Jihadist perspective. In this way, the GJM attempts to gather both credibility and prestige, molding the audience's

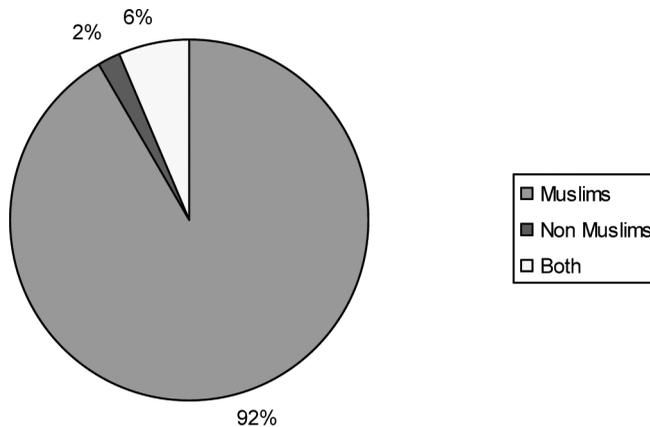
Table 4. Principal themed content

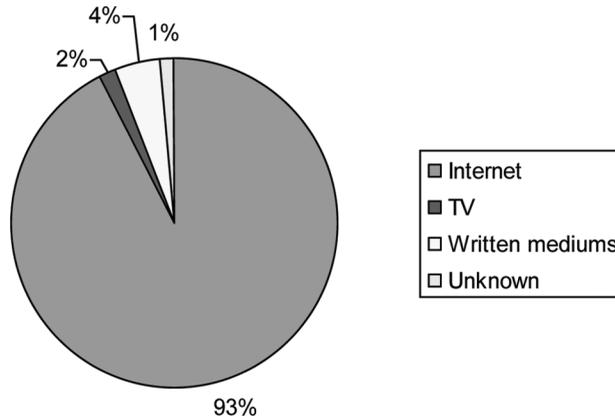
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Threat	1		2	1	1	3	5	16	20	96
Commentary on current affairs	2	1	5	2		9	45	26	53	220
Blackmail for hostage taking							1		16	22
Political-religious discourse (exclusively)						2	4	5	2	41
Assassination of hostages							1	1	20	17
Denial of responsibility for an attack			1			2			4	8
Mobilization (exclusively)			3			2		3	10	21
Re-vindication of an attack			1			1	7	9	141	2025
Total	3	1	12	3	1	19	63	60	266	2450

perception of reality. The primacy of the Muslim public as their target audience also explains why most material appears in Arabic.

The messages directed exclusively to the non-Muslim public (see Graphic 1) constitute a minimal portion and are mostly dedicated to outlining threats and blackmail. The general tone has been of scorn or indifference with respect to the possibility of “winning over” this sector of public opinion. In this way, we can assess how the effect desired in the Western public opinion points more towards demoralization provoked by fear rather than towards feelings of sympathy for or comprehension of the motivations of GJM members.¹⁰

Regarding the medium of diffusion employed, the use of the Internet is pre-dominant (see Graphic 2), offering advantages in terms of economic cost, accessibility,

**Graphic 1.** Distribution of GJM propaganda during 2001–2005.



Graphic 2. Medium of diffusion used during 2001–2005.

diffusion, and security. Cyberspace is an opportunity for Jihadists, opening them up directly to a wider audience without the media distorting or influencing the image of the Mujahedin. In his document, *Knights Under the Prophet's Banner*, Ayman al-Zawahiri lamented precisely this, the media's distortion of the GJM's message.

The fundamentalist movement's message continues to be mostly geared toward the elite and the specialists. This is a gap that the jihad movement must strive to fill earnestly. . . . If we add to the foregoing the media siege imposed on the message of the jihad movement as well as the campaign of deception mounted by the government media we should realize the extent of the gap in understanding between the jihad movement and the common people.¹¹

Osama bin Laden was as explicit in 2002:

The time has come to have the media take its rightful place, to carry out its required role in confronting this aggressive campaign and the open declared Crusader war by all means that can be seen, heard, and read. It is upon the media people, whether writers, journalists, analysts or correspondents, to exercise responsibility in reporting events, and to carry out their required role by showing the Ummah the reality of the events, and to announce the real intentions of the enemy, to reveal his plans and his tricks, and to stand unified in one line regardless of their different attitudes, for the enemy today doesn't differentiate between one group of people and another, for his aim is to get rid of everyone who's related to the Arab nation and Islam.¹²

Later on, this dimension to the evolution of GJM propaganda will be examined in greater detail.

Lastly, in terms of content, the primacy of re-vindicating attacks by groups within the GJM orbit (some probably fictitious) is clear. As will be demonstrated in the paragraphs below, Al Qaeda deliberately made sure it maintained a low profile until 9/11. This discretion frustrated the anti-terrorist struggle since the threat posed

by this global network of terror was unknown in Western societies. In fact, there was no explicit mention of Al Qaeda until after 9/11.¹³

Much more explicit in this respect was the spokesperson of Al Qaeda, Suleiman Abu Ghait, in a declaration made in December 2002:

While the nature of the work in the previous phase prohibited us from claiming responsibility for our Jihad operations against this unjust alliance, we find ourselves in a better state and stronger position that enables us to do so.¹⁴

Beyond a quantitative analysis of the themed content, one can move onto a more qualitative assessment of the strategic nucleus of GJM¹⁵—in other words, the deep motives that animate and unite such a dispersed global network of individuals and armed groups. To summarise, these ideas are concentrated within the following ideological nucleus:

- a) *Religious nucleus*: They coincide considerably with the fundamental principles of the Salafist movement.¹⁶ original grandeur of Islam and later decadence following the moderation of believers; need to return to the glory of the beginning and the path of the pious predecessors (the prophet and his companions); prize won by genuine believers in another life; and assured victory in this effort through divine help.

Some of these ideas are clearly expressed in the following texts:

The first thing we have to do is to sincerely return to Allah, making an honest repentance to Him to be sincere in our work and to be honest in our intention, focusing solely on the truth, making judgments according to the Sharia in all the aspects of our work and our behaviour, and for every small and big matter in our lives.¹⁷

Great evil is spreading throughout the Islamic world: the imams calling people to hell are those who appear more than others at the side of rulers in the region, the rulers of the Arab and Islamic world. Through the media and their own apparatuses, through their ruin of the country by their adoption of destructive ideas, and laws created by man... from morning to evening, they call the people to the gates of hell...¹⁸

True reform is based on three principles: The first principle is the rule of Sharia, because Sharia, which was given by God, protects the believers' interests, freedom, honour, and pride, and protects what is sacred to them. The Islamic nation will not accept any other law, after it has suffered from the anti-Islamic trends forcefully imposed on it.¹⁹

- b) *Political nucleus*: Need to re-establish the caliphate, politically uniting the countries with a Muslim majority and establishing a form of government that guarantees the primacy of religion in society and state affairs. To achieve this end, it is necessary to remove tyrants that govern Muslim states and end the international order led by the West and particularly its influence over Islamic territory and to struggle also against those governments that occupy the land of Islam: countries such as Israel, Russia, India, China, the Philippines, and especially the

United States and its allies in Iraq. Need to avenge and end aggressions by the enemy against Muslims (this is usually transmitted via emotive images that reveal women crying and children hurt or dead).

This can be appreciated here:

The jihad movement must adopt its plan on the basis of controlling a piece of land in the heart of the Islamic world on which it could establish and protect the state of Islam and launch its battle to restore the rational caliphate based on the traditions of the prophet.²⁰

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. If the shrapnel from the battle reach their homes and bodies, they will trade accusations with their agents about who is responsible for this.²¹

The sheik Osama Bin Laden believes that the United States is the cancer and great snake through which Islam suffers humiliation. Attacking Americans is a strategic objective through which we can achieve victory in Palestine and other areas of Islam. In this sense, the attack on the United States is an attack on all those despots that have tyrannized Muslims on Islamic territory.²²

And what America is facing today is something very little of what we have tasted for decades. Our nation, since nearly 80 years is tasting this humility. Sons are killed, and nobody answers the call.²³

A growing power is surging under the Jihad thanks to God He is anxious to find compensation for the blood of martyrs, mothers pain, the deprivation of orphans, the suffering of prisoners, and the people tortured throughout the Earth of the Islam, from the East of Turkey to Al-Andalus.²⁴

- c) *Instrumental nucleus* (to obtain political and religious objectives): Need to mobilise the Muslim world so it can regain consciousness of its greatness and the humiliation it suffers. This demands action on behalf of a vanguard of genuine believers. The struggle against oppression requires the use of force. This is an asymmetric and indiscriminate struggle of global scale which will ultimately end the reign of the most powerful states in the world. In this battle, suicide attacks play a crucial role given their operative efficiency: providing testimony and intimidation to adversaries. The fight is long-term. Need to rise above differences among different Jihadist groups and to unite efforts in the struggle against their common enemies.

Examples of these include:

Nevertheless, it must be obvious to you that, due to the imbalance of power between our armed forces and the enemy forces, a suitable means of fighting must be adopted, i.e. using fast moving, light forces that work under complete secrecy. In other words to initiate guerrilla warfare, where the sons of the nation, and not the military forces, take part in it.²⁵

America does not understand the language of ethics and principles. Neither America nor the American people shall be persuaded to stop supporting Israel, unless that support, becomes a source of danger for the

interests and security of America. It is obligatory upon us to deprive America of security until we experience this very security, ourselves, in Palestine and the lands of Islam.²⁶

We have not reached parity with them. We have the right to kill four million Americans—two million of them children—and to exile twice as many and wound and cripple hundreds of thousands. Furthermore, it is our right to fight them with chemical and biological weapons, so as to afflict them with the fatal maladies that have afflicted the Muslims because of the chemical and biological weapons.²⁷

The jihad Islamic movement, however, has not set a specific date for achieving this goal. More importantly, this is a goal that could take several generations to achieve.²⁸

Dispersion is a weakness, and unity over a commandment of the Law, is a duty and an obligation imposed by the circumstances. The people of the Jihad, and the knights of Islam are in greater need of it; for this reason, the Quran orders for unity and coalition under the shadows of the swords, and in the dust of the battles.²⁹

3. Evolution of GJM Propaganda

Beyond the qualitative and quantitative analysis provided above, it is possible to distinguish between different periods in the historical evolution of GJM propaganda. At present, four phases have been identified.

First Phase: Traditional Methods, Personalism and Nebulous Information (1994–September 11, 2001)

In this first period, propaganda-related activity followed common patterns of other organisations: the elaboration of written and audio-visual documents that repeated over and over the demands of the group; video documentaries that describe the training activities of the group, demonstrate arsenals, and capture images of some armed action (for example of Mujahedin in Bosnia or Algeria); and audio/visual recordings of discourses by ideological leaders of the organisation. Most of this material was for internal consumption: for the activists of the support networks or individuals that moved within circles that included potential recruits. The various internal channels of diffusion and the scarce attention received by the mass media meant that the GJM reach did not extend beyond sympathizers that surrounded the movement.

Al Qaeda produced little propaganda during this first phase, a few dozen communiqués at most. Other GJM groups were considerably more active in terms of propaganda production, but exact figures to testify to its influence have not been found given the lack of monitoring during this period. These groups include: Armed Islamic Group (GIA), the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM), Jemaah Islamiya organization (JI), al-Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad), Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group), Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM), etc.

For example, in the 1990s, the GIA regularly published the magazine *Al-Ansar*. Its director was a well-known Jihadist ideologue, Omar Othman Abu Omar, aka

“Abu Qatada.”³⁰ *Al-Ansar*, like other edited magazines, was distributed at an individual level and in a format of poor quality. Typically, they are distributed as photocopied bulletins or as video tapes, with little to no editing. Indeed, one of the sympathizers of Abu Dahdah’s network in Spain was the owner of a photocopy shop, where samples of several communiqués by bin Laden were edited and pamphlets of the GIA and other groups were distributed in a clandestine fashion in Islamic centres around Madrid.³¹ In London, sale and distribution was public although its market was limited. As is well known, the mosque in Finsbury Park was during many years one of the main centres for GJM propaganda.³² Al Qaeda’s roots in the U.K. can be traced back to 1994, when Osama bin Laden named an Arab student, Khalid al-Fawwaz, as director of the Advice and Reformation Committee (ARC), an organization established purportedly as the media wing of Al Qaeda.³³

In relation to Al Qaeda, the majority of communiqués had a clear personality: Osama bin Laden was almost the only protagonist of all messages transmitted. The modest profile of the organisation was eclipsed by the figure and charisma of its leader. Moreover, during this period bin Laden was not interested in divulging the real essence of the terrorist project that was still in an embryonic stage. The attacks committed and supported by the network were not re-vindicated directly by Al Qaeda but by ad-hoc, fictitiously named groups inspired by the Jihad (for example, the simultaneous attacks by Al Qaeda against the United States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in summer 1998 were re-vindicated by a self-denominated Islamic Army for the Liberation of the Holy Places³⁴). Al Qaeda was thus protected by nebulous information that complicated international anti-terrorist cooperation. Declarations called for a holy war and the actions of the Mujahedin were praised, but no responsibility was claimed.

During this first period, bin Laden granted various interviews to Arab and Western journalists. The subjects for discussion during this first phase were largely Saudi Arabia and the American presence on holy Muslim land. This was explicitly outlined in 1995:³⁵

It has been proven that your system has committed the kind of violations that invalidates its legitimacy according to Allah’s law. The widespread corruption and total failure of your system is mandated to be ousted You have forced people to be governed by man-made laws in total rejection to Allah’s principles. Allah is the only law giver. You have also taken the kafirs [infidels] as allies and protectors against Muslims. These violations clearly make you an apostate, making your system invalid and one that must be toppled.

The precarious nature of the propaganda mediums used by GJM in this phase is explained to a large extent by the limitations in terms of data transmission via the Internet (the downloading of a document would take hours using an old modem and the use of digital video cameras had yet to proliferate) and the lack of access to the Internet. On the other hand, it is very likely that many of the veterans of Afghanistan, Algeria, and Bosnia were scarcely aware of the technological possibilities within the information society.

However, the success of certain experiences, like the radicals in 1996 who launched the website *azzam.com*, or the beneficial effects that Al Qaeda hoped to reap from televised interviews with bin Laden (increase in donations, new recruits,

growing prestige, and greater psychological impact of actions) possibly convinced senior members of Al Qaeda of the need to strengthen the information dimension of their activities.

For example, the journalist Peter Bergen details the circumstances that surrounded the first televised interview granted by Osama bin Laden with an illustrative anecdote: when the American got in contact in London with the spokesperson of the Commission for Advice and Reform to grant an interview with the Saudi millionaire with CNN, Khalid al-Fawwaz received a call from Al Qaeda's media representative, manifesting the predisposition of the leader towards an interview with the BBC, the CBS *60 Minutes* programme or CNN. Ultimately, the planetary reach of the American news channel via satellite played a key role in bin Laden's final decision.³⁶ The revelation made by the British journalist Jason Burke is also significant: in early 1998, Osama bin Laden sent a signed letter to a collaborator in Pakistan in which he was asked that payments to certain journalists be increased to heighten media profile.³⁷

Beyond the television channels, Jihadists were gradually experimenting with the Internet to spread their propaganda.³⁸ The Internet offered a low-cost approach to the editing process. In an intercepted communication by the Spanish police between Abu Dahdah and an Islamist leader resident in the U.K., it was commented that his book had been published on the Internet and not to produce a hard copy of this until money was available to do so.³⁹ Thanks to this system, Abu Qatada was able to publish his work, *Articles Between Two Doctrines*, a recompilation of 98 articles on his world views. The work was available online on a website that has been shut down since 9/11. The Internet as a medium for propaganda also favours greater dispersion and accessibility and the ability to become aware of news with greater speed.⁴⁰ As John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt have highlighted in their renowned work on Netwar, the information revolution offers new and promising opportunities for terrorist organisations on a global scale.⁴¹

On the other hand, the recording on video of armed operations undertaken by groups belonging to the GJM was gaining popularity and interest. These mediums were useful not only in terms of recruitment and for the purpose of internal consumption (most were concerning the Jihad in Algeria and Bosnia) but could be used to transmit a version of events different from that offered by the mass media from the other side of the battlefield. As Timothy L. Thomas affirms:

Even in the war in Chechnya, there were times when the Chechens would report a successful ambush of a Russian convoy, and the Russians would deny the event ever happened. To prove their point, the Chechens would show video footage of the ambush on the Internet, thus offsetting the credibility of the Russian official media and undercutting the power of their propaganda machine.⁴²

In this regard, the innovations that the Chechen Mujahedin introduced in the armed conflict against the Russians was an essential precedent which helps one to understand the change in course that GJM propaganda took from the first phase and 9/11. The Chechen Jihadists, some of them members of the GJM, and lead by the Jordanian "commandant Khattab," were conscious that an ambush of a small Russian convoy in a side road in the Caucasus would have minimum effects. However, they understood that if this operation was filmed and offered to the world, the consequences would be much greater in terms of demoralising Russian public

opinion, and especially in obtaining and mobilising support within radical Muslim circles. The Chechen Mujahedin managed to transmit one of its first videos in 2000, titled “Russian Hell 1.” They also had the support of azzam.com to further spread material and to cope with information demands, as recognized by Ibn ul-Khattab:

The brothers in Britain, may Allah reward them, have put in much efforts to publicize the Jihad. There is an organization by the name of Azzam Publications, which is run by brothers who are known to us and maintain regular contact with us. So anyone who wishes to support us or requires any further information about the situation here, they should contact this organization. We keep them informed with news updates about the state of affairs here, so if the people have any questions we can answer them through this organization.⁴³

The Chechen Jihadists became a model for other groups within the GJM, like the Algerian Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), and even Al Qaeda. Between late 2000 and early 2001 Al Qaeda debuted its video “The Destruction of the Destroyer, *USS Cole*.” This video (almost two hours long, with versions in Arabic and English) shared a similar structure and objectives to its Chechen predecessor. It was produced by an Al Qaeda communication commission. The video contains the most popularly shown Al Qaeda footage seen in the media from the group’s al-Farooq training camp in Afghanistan as well as excerpts from a number of speeches by Osama bin Laden. The video was meant to include video of the bombing of the *USS Cole* after cell members in Yemen failed to tape the operation and a graphics substitute was used instead.⁴⁴ The attack against *Cole* increased the prestige of Al Qaeda and the success of its recruitment process.⁴⁵

Second Phase: The Compensations of Terror (September 11, 2001–Spring 2003)

Following 9/11, Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda were the focus of global attention and any public declaration from the groups was almost certainly reported in major papers and on key news channels.

Under these circumstances, Al Qaeda sought to profit from this exposure by transmitting its message to mobilize Muslims and threaten its enemies.⁴⁶ It also measured its output, so that it would not saturate the media or exhaust its audience, making sure that the organisation remained in the spotlight. In the context of the man-hunt for bin Laden, every new appearance of the terrorist leader provided a sense of defeat for the West. These appearances of senior leaders of the organisation led to speculation of dormant cells and the real value of the threat, without clearly reaching any conclusion.⁴⁷

Until then, the GJM was limited in terms of distribution and reach, with semi-clandestine networks struggling to maintain visibility among the Islamic community in the West (with little interference from Western and European security forces). But as Osama bin Laden commentated, 9/11 transmitted a message that was understood globally, *by Arabs, non-Arabs, even the Chinese*.⁴⁸ From then onwards, the message became global, using major news channels to spread the propaganda. Among them, Al Qaeda preferred Al Jazeera. Indeed, just before the first anniversary of 9/11, Khalid Sheik Mohamed and Ramzi Binalshibh offered the Al Jazeera journalist

Yosri Fouda an exclusive interview and documentary—elaborated by Al Qaeda—to outline in detail the planning behind the attacks.⁴⁹

In another light, the information interest that the organisation generated and the measured approach taken by the leaders in its subsequent output explains why there was no attempt to better the appearance of the material. Together with videos that scrupulously take care of the scene, there are other materials more difficult to adapt to the audiovisual world (written text and audio recordings), but all of them without exception received their corresponding media attention.

Together with the growing use of the Internet and the global media, Al Qaeda continued to encourage personal and clandestine distribution of propaganda in diverse formats. For example, in 2003 the Al Qaeda magazine *Voice of Jihad*, distributed online, recommended its distribution in various formats to those making a pilgrimage to Mecca:

If you intend to make the pilgrimage, or know someone who is planning to do so, take with you issues of *The Voice of Jihad*, printed out on sheets of paper or copied onto CD, to distribute to all the Arab pilgrims and primarily to the people of the Gulf, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt.⁵⁰

Table 5 contains basic elements of the information management system used by Al Qaeda. These elements have been imitated somewhat by other groups with the GJM, especially among those groups that have surfaced since 9/11.

During this second phase Al Qaeda placed into motion two propaganda actions that have since been imitated by other GJM groups in the third phase of evolution.

- a) Kidnapping and killing of hostages for propaganda gain. It is possible to find precedents in the filming of decapitations from Algerian and Chechen Jihadists, but in these cases the victims were almost always soldiers taken prisoner. The recording of assassinations was intended to terrorise the enemy and demoralise public opinion, highlighting cruelty and the cold-blooded nature of the Mujahedin.

However, the kidnapping in Pakistan in early 2002 of the American journalist Daniel Pearl by members of Al Qaeda was different for several reasons. On this occasion, the victim was not a combatant, and his capture was a principal objective of the operation. This terrorist action led to a horrifying video that complemented the primacy given to all violent news content.

The media success of this simple formula and the possibility of inserting specific objectives of the group were not ignored by the GJM. Indeed, Abu Musab Al Zarqawi used this to gain notoriety. The Jordanian terrorist personally (as stated in the title of these videos) carried out the ritual assassinations of the U.S. businessman Nick Berg and South Korean translator Kim Sun-il. These actions not only afforded him great credibility among Jihadists but also global fame as one of the protagonists of the Jihad.⁵¹

- b) The model Alneda.com or “how to manage a Jihadi website.” Although Al Qaeda has never claimed to maintain any particular website, it has conferred a semi-official status to certain sites and pages, using them to house propaganda. One of these was Alneda.com. The veteran commandant of Al Qaeda, Abu-al-Layth al-Libi, recommended the site to one of the surfers on Islamic Jihad online, stating that it was:

Table 5. Some patrons of Al Qaeda’s communicative action, related to propaganda on attacks (1996–2003)

Lessons	Manifestations	Examples
Integrate the information dimension of the attacks in the design and execution.	Some members of an operative cell will have as their principal objective the attainment of images of the action. Conserve materials and evidence of an attack so as to extend in time the propaganda exploitation of an attack.	<i>USS Cole</i> (2000)
Exploit the pedagogic value and the mobilization of attacks.	Obtain and diffuse testaments of the martyrs. Re-vindicate (or, at least praise the attack) once media attention begins to wane.	Mohammed Atta in an interview by Al Jazeera with KSM and Ramzi Binalshibn (2002) Video with a testament of one of the suicides of 9/11 (2002) Embassies in Africa (1998), <i>USS Cole</i> (2000), 9/11 (2001),
Manage the “times.”	To dose video appearances so as to maximise attention through mediums.	“visual Mutism” bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri during prolonged periods of time

(Continued)

Table 5. Continued

Lessons	Manifestations	Examples
Execute attacks for propaganda ends.	Macabre assassination of hostages to provide images that assure media attention.	Video recording of Daniel Pearl's decapitation (2002)
Adoption of a determined Jihadist aesthetic.	Images where the protagonist appears carrying or surrounded by weapons. Traditional Arab clothes or military attire.	Videos of bin Laden: October 7, 2001, November 3, 2001, December 26, 2001... Idem.
Equip discourse with religious legitimacy.	To call and pre-warn of attacks so as to ensure religious legitimacy and create a disquieting threat of attack. To decorate the messages with continuous religious invocations and appointments of the Koran to emphasize the spiritual motivation that drives Jihadists.	Interview with bin Laden between Peter Arnett (1997) and John Miller (1998) All
	To attribute responsibility for victories or the defeats of the Mujahedin to the divine will. The Jihadists are mere instruments that follow the aims of Allah.	All

A web managed by trusted brothers and financed by brothers you know. It is a good website and we hope that God accepts its actions . . . we will not waste efforts or remove anything that we can offer on this website.⁵²

That Al Neda was the official face of Al Qaeda had repercussions for all those groups and networks that looked to bin Laden as a role model and inspiration. In this website, it was possible to find under an attractive, colourful format a wide array of sources: official communiqués, news on the Jihad, audio/visual archives, photos, logotypes, security recommendations for activists, technical instructions for a “cyberJihad” and chat forums to share ideas.⁵³ Fortunately, Western security services have managed to eliminate key Jihadist websites. In response, the GJM has replicated the contents of its websites so that the Jihadist message is not silenced in cyberspace. As the website *Azzam.com* recommended just before its disappearance:

We expect our web-site to be opened and closed continuously, therefore, we urgently recommend any Muslims that are interested in our material to copy all the articles from our site and disseminate them through their own web-sites, discussion boards and e-mail lists. This is something that any Muslim can participate in, easily, including sisters. This way, even if our sites are closed down, the material will live on with the Grace of Allah.⁵⁴

***Dispersion in the Production of Propaganda and the Primacy of the Internet
(Spring 2003–2005)***

The relevant operative protagonists within the GJM, particularly those groups that are active within the framework of the Iraq war, have further decentralized the production of Jihadist propaganda. Propaganda produced by Al Qaeda has become a mixture of texts, videos, and audio recordings during this period. However, this has not marginalised the organisation; it remains prestigious within the GJM.

The bin Laden network continues to practice a charismatic leadership that allows it to incite, applaud, and justify actions undertaken by others. It also marks the strategic direction of the global Jihad. For a period, a sharing of responsibility between Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri was promoted from a propaganda point of view. In communiqués in 2003 and 2004, bin Laden established the grand strategies, using a less aggressive tone, making calls to the Western population to withdraw support for its governments.⁵⁵ Al-Zawahiri took charge of more operative issues, commenting on the attacks of other groups and social and political issues.⁵⁶

However, during 2005, Ayman al-Zawahiri assumed both roles since bin Laden did not release any communiqué that year. The last communiqué released by bin Laden that is recorded here in our analysis was December 2004.

Overall, in this phase, Iraq became the epicentre for GJM propaganda. The volume of material has increased so much that only few (particularly cruel videos or genuine re-vindications of lethal attacks) receive mass media attention.

The saturation of propaganda and decreasing media attention has forced Jihadists to diffuse almost all their audio/visual/written documents on the Internet. This contributes to the growing use and accessibility of the internet (many Jihadist “surfers” are in their twenties and are far more familiar with the Internet than

Mujahedin in Afghanistan and Bosnia). In the case of Iraq, it also contributes to the use of the Internet in an urban environment, more developed than the mountainous and primitive landscape of Afghanistan.

Together with the growing amount of propaganda, one must also highlight the better technical quality, in particular of videos on terrorist operations in Iraq. This is possibly due to greater opportunities in terms of editing programmes and the desire to satisfy the younger audience, accustomed to more sophisticated multi-media products.

Conclusion

The evolution and analysis of GJM propaganda permits one to extrapolate various conclusions. First, one can confirm the importance that Jihadists attribute to communicative action. This is not a nihilist terrorism directed solely towards an audience of divine nature. Its actions follow strategic objectives that are repeatedly reiterated in communiqués. At the same time, they make sure that this terrorism can be imitated by others that share the same ideology and used to gain sympathy, support, and volunteers to fight the Jihad.

Another conclusion drawn is the importance of the role played by “Al Qaeda the organization.” The spectacular character of its actions has led to global media attention that other GJM groups crave and pursue, using means outlined in Table 5. Al Qaeda has also become the vanguard of the GJM in terms of global communicative action.

Lastly, an aspect not covered here in this study, given methodological problems, is the real effect of GJM propaganda in the different audiences to which propaganda is directed. This makes it difficult for one to establish how this propaganda influences public opinion in the West and the grade of support garnered within Muslim audiences. However, it is easy to guess the importance of propaganda for those that sympathize with the Jihadist Salafist cause and particularly those that maintain links with GJM groups.

Propaganda, via video, books, periodicals, and the news consulted in Jihadist webpages help to maintain a collective identity within the group and other members of the grand network. In his analysis on “The Information Age,” Manuel Castells explains that many individuals witness the unravelling of traditional identities in the globalized world, where the predominant social and economic model is found profoundly marked by individualism. To protect oneself from these effects, some individuals resort to identity oases. Castells warns that in some cases these identities can convert into “resistance identities”; in other words, identities “generated by those actors that are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society.”⁵⁷ According to this theory, one could consider a Jihadist network as an identity oasis, based on a resistance identity of radical Islamism. Evidently, propaganda is not the only contributory factor in the appearance, of these identity oases. The sense of brotherhood and friendship between these groups must also be taken into account.⁵⁸ But there is no doubt that the communicative action of the GJM plays a primary role in the appearance, maintenance, and transition to violence within radical environments that sympathize with Jihadist Salafism. As a consequence, it is to be expected that the GJM will continue to apply great efforts in its propaganda strategy so as to further embed and extend the global decentralized Jihad.

Notes

1. *The Washington Post*, 7 August 2005.
2. Brian McNair, *An Introduction to Political Communication* (London: Routledge, 1995), 188–192; William E. Daugherty and Morris Janowitz, *A Psychological Warfare Casebook* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958), 5–8.
3. U.S. State Department, Counterterrorism Office, Country Reports on Terrorism 2004. Available at <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/c14818.htm>.
4. For example, following the attacks by Zarqawi in Jordan in November 2005, Hamas released a communiqué condemning the action. According to the statement, such attacks do not “serve the national interest, nor the nation’s interests and issues.” SITE Institute, November 10, 2005.
5. Rohan Gunaratna, “The Post-Madrid Face of Al Qaeda,” *The Washington Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 93.
6. Transcription of a video of Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan, 13 December 2001. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/ubl-video.html>.
7. In this document, valuable information can be found outlining the Jihadist perspective on the Iraqi conflict for the global Jihad, the importance of gaining Muslim public opinion support, and how the struggle is taking place “in the battlefield of the media.” Available at http://www.dni.gov/release_letter_101105.html.
8. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, 67. Available at <http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf>.
9. Osama bin Laden. *TIME*’s 11 January 1999 interview with Rahimullah Yusufzai.
10. One of the principle strategists of Al Qaeda, Abu ‘Ubeid Al-Qurashi, wrote in an article posted in a Jihadist website the following concerning September 11: “*They did not aspire to gain Western sympathy; rather, they sought to expose the American lie and deceit to the peoples of the world—and first and foremost to the Islamic peoples.*” See: MEMRI, “Al-Qa’ida Activist, Abu ‘Ubeid Al Qurashi: Comparing Munich (Olympics) Attack 1972 to September 11,” *MEMRI*, March 12, 2002.
11. Obtained from FAS website <http://www.fas.org/sgp/news/secretcy/2002/01/010202.html> (accessed December 2003).
12. Osama bin Laden, Statement on Occasion of One-year Anniversary of the Beginning of the U.S. War in Afghanistan, November 10, 2002.
13. Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 235.
14. Sulaiman Abu Ghait, Audio Statement on the occasion of the blessed Eid al-Fitr, 7 December 2002.
15. For example: Michael Scheuer, *Through Our Enemies’ Eyes: Osama Bin Laden, Radical Islam, and the Future of America* (Washington: Brassey’s Inc, 2002); Michael Scheuer, *Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey’s, 2004); Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003); Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Ian O. Lesser, Bruce Hoffman, John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt, Michele Zanini, and Brian M. Jenkins, *Countering the New Terrorism* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1999); Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); Bernard Lewis, *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (New York: Modern Library, 2003); Peter Partner, *God of Battles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); M. J. Akbar, *The Shade of Swords: Jihad and the Conflict Between Islam and Christianity* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Bruno Etienne, *L’islamisme Radical*, (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Peter L. Bergen, *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden* (New York: Free Press, 2001); Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism* (London and Washington: Pinter, 1997); Jonathan Schachter, *The Eye of the Believer: Psychological Influences on Counter-Terrorism Policy-Making* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002).
16. In this article, Salafism is understood broadly, as a current renovation of Islam initiated in the eighteenth century together with Wahabism and other Sunni revivalist movements, later expanded during reform in the nineteenth century and currently in other doctrinal

current linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, the Tabligh movement and Wahabi preaching. It is not easy to find a single definition of Salafism. However, the definition used in our study is operative from an analytical perspective and is supported in other works, like Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism* (London and Washington: Pinter, 1997) and Quintan Wiktorowicz, "The New Global Threat: Transnational Salafis and Jihad," *Middle East Policy* 8, no. 4, (2001): 18–38.

17. Osama bin Laden Statement (12/10/2002): "To the Islamic Ummah on the First Anniversary of the New American Crusader War," <http://www.jihadunspun.com/articles/10152002-To.The.Islamic.Ummah/faotnacw01.html> (accessed 6 January 2006).

18. MEMRI, "A New Bin Laden Speech," *Special Dispatch Series - No. 539*, July 18, 2003, <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP53903> (accessed 6 January 2006).

19. Video of Ayman al-Zawahiri released by Al Jazeera 17 June 2005.

20. Obtained from FAS website <http://www.fas.org/sgp/news/secrecy/2002/01/010202.html> (Accessed December 2003).

21. Ibid.

22. Abd Al Azim Al Muhajir, "Interview for Al Sharq Al Awsat," 18 May 2002.

23. Video of bin Laden for Al Jazeera: America "filled with fear." 7 October 2001.

24. Obtained from FAS website <http://www.fas.org/sgp/news/secrecy/2002/01/010202.html> (accessed December 2003).

25. Osama bin Laden: "Declaration of War on America," 23 August 1996.

26. Audio interview by unknown-interviewer, Ayman al-Zawahiri, 9 January 2002.

27. Suleiman Abu Gheit. "In the shadow of the lances," 6 December 2002.

28. Obtained from FAS website <http://www.fas.org/sgp/news/secrecy/2002/01/010202.html> (accessed December 2003).

29. Communiqué on the unification of the "Mujahid Salafist" Group and "Attawhid Wal Jihad" Group, 13 May 2003.

30. Reuven Paz, "Middle East Islamism in the European Arena," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 3 (2002): 65–76.

31. Javier Jordán and Nicola Horsburgh, "Mapping Jihadist Terrorism in Spain," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28 (2005): 169–191.

32. Gilles Kepel, *À l'ouest d'Allah*. (Paris: Seuil, 1994): 333–341; Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 116–117.

33. Rita Katz and Michael Kern, "Center of the Jihadist World," *National Review*, 11, July 2005.

34. Ben Venzke & Aimee Ibrahim, *The al-Qaeda Threat: An Analytical Guide to al-Qaeda's Tactics & Targets* (Alexandria, VA: Tempest Publishing, 2003).

35. Osama bin Laden Statement: "Open Letter to King Fahd in Response to the Latest Ministerial Changes." August 1995. Available at: <http://www.jihadunspun.com/articles/05272002-Open.Letter.To.King.Fahd/>

36. Peter L. Bergen, *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden* (New York: Free Press, 2001)

37. Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2003).

38. Michael Whine, "Islamist Organizations on the Internet," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 11 (Spring 1999).

39. Indictment of Al Qaeda Cells in Spain, Summary 35/01, Central Court of Instruction, Number Five, National Audience, Madrid, 2003, p.421.

40. Tim Jordan, *Cyberpower: The Culture and Politics of Cyberspace and the Internet* (London: Routledge, 1999), 165–166.

41. John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, "The Advent of Netwar (Revisited)," in John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, eds., *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001), 1–25.

42. Timothy L. Thomas, "Al Qaeda and the Internet: The Danger of "Cyberplanning," *Parameters* (Spring 2003): 120.

43. Evan Kohlmann, "Dossier: Azzam Publications UK (Azzam.com, Qoqaz.net) and Mazen Mokhtar," 2004, available at <http://www.globalterroralert.com/azzam-mokhtar.pdf>.

44. Intelcenter, "Evolution of Jihadi Video (EJV) v.1.0," Tempest Publishing, Alexandria, VA, 11 May 2005, available at <http://www.intelcenter.com/EJV-PUB-v1-0.pdf>
45. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, 191, available at <http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf>
46. Bruce Hoffman, "Al Qaeda, Trends in Terrorism and Future Potentialities: An Assessment," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26 (2003): 429–442.
47. Stratfor.com, "Al Qaeda Warnings: The Question of Predictive Value," 20 August 2004.
48. Transcript of video of Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan, 13 December 2001. Available at <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/ubl-video.html>.
49. Yosri Fouda and Nick Fielding, *Masterminds of Terror: the Truth behind the Most Devastating Terrorist Attack the World Has ever Seen* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2003).
50. MEMRI, "Al-Qa'ida's 'Voice of Jihad' Magazine," Special Dispatch Series, No. 650, 27 January, 2004.
51. Rohan Gunaratna, "Abu Musab Al Zarqawi: A New Generation Terrorist Leader," IDSS Commentaries (25/2004).
52. Michael Scheuer, *Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror* (Washington: Brassey's Inc, 2004), 79.
53. See Stephen Ulph, "A Guide to Jihad on the Web," *Terrorism Focus* 7 (2005).
54. Anti-Defamation League, "Jihad Online: Islamic Terrorists and the Internet," ADL (2002), 14, available at: http://www.adl.org/internet/jihad_online.pdf.
55. Christopher M. Blanchard, "Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology," CRS Report for Congress, February 4, 2005.
56. Michael Scheuer, "The Zawahiri-Zarqawi Letter: Al Qaeda's Tactical and Theater-of-War Concerns," *Terrorism Focus* 21 (2005).
57. Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 8.
58. Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 110–111.